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The Business Manager at Irving's Lyceum,
"an individual who calls himself
Bram Stoker, who seems to occupy
some anomalous position between
secretary and valet",
or the forefather of Theatre Administrators?

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September 1991

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To

Alasdair and my Parents

for their support and encouragement.

Thanks to

Peter Clarke

for generously providing the wordprocessor.

Andrew

for the illustrations.

Iain

for the illustration captions.

Bram Stoker



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SUMMARY

Between 1878 and 1905 Bram Stoker was employed as a Business Manager by Henry Irving. During the same period he established a secondary career as a writer. A short biography puts his theatrical career into perspective and shows the extent to which it dominated his life during his years with Irving.

Stoker's interest in the theatre began in his childhood, developed further during his years at Trinity College and in 1871 he became an unpaid theatre critic. This work brought about his first meeting with Henry Irving, in 1875, and the friendship that developed over the next three years culminated in 1878 with Irving's offer of employment. A clear picture of the Lyceum's system of administration, and Stoker's duties and responsibilities within it, has been built up from his own writings with corroboration from other sources. One of his main responsibilities was the upkeep of the theatre's account books, which he kept meticulously. The survival of these accounts means that it has been possible to analyse the Theatre's finances between 1878 and 1899, the period of Irving's independent management. To project further, one can construct a picture of the administration of a major theatre in the late nineteenth century.

Stoker's interest in contemporary theatrical issues was displayed in a number of articles which were published in Nineteenth Century magazine and the Fortnightly Review. Between

1890 and 1910 he expressed his opinions on three major contemporary issues; the actor-manager system, the National Theatre and stage censorship. He gave evidence to the Government Select Committee on Stage Censorship in 1909. He was also actively involved with the 1905 Mansion House Committee for the erection of a Shakespeare Memorial in London.

Finally, Stoker's fiction, although not directly based on his experiences at the Lyceum, reflects his impressions of Irving and the roles he played and shows the influence of the Lyceum's style and atmosphere.

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAIL

Bram Stoker was born at Clontarf Bay outside Dublin in 1847. He was the third born of seven children and had four brothers and two sisters. His father, Abraham Stoker was a Civil Servant at Dublin Castle. Charlotte Stoker was a strong mother who devoted herself to her sons, but she also found time to campaign for social reform and women's rights. The influence of both parents would be noticeable in Stoker's choice of career. His father introduced him to the theatre and provided the stimulus to his literary interests, whereas his mother's strength of character and love of storytelling were to influence his writing.

Life at Clontarf gave him a familiarity and love of the sea that later manifested itself in his writing. He lived there with the family until 1872 when, overcome by debt, his parents and sisters emigrated to Europe, where they believed they could live more economically. The debt had slowly mounted since Abraham Stoker's retirement in 1865. Stoker, who had become self sufficient, moved in to the centre of Dublin and took on responsibility for the family finances.¹ He collected the monthly pension and divided it; using some to pay off the creditors and sending the remainder to the family. In 1875 he was able to visit the family in Switzerland and it was the last time that he saw his father, who died in Italy the next year.

Stoker was a sickly child and remained bedridden until the age of eight. It was then that his education began and he

discovered his father's well stocked library. As he was behind in his education he was tutored privately by a Reverend William Woods. In his teens he began to try his hand at writing and, although his educational progress was not outstanding he managed to gain a place at Trinity College in 1864. Unlike his brothers, three of whom had chosen careers in medicine and the fourth who had joined the Indian Civil Service, Stoker had no notion of what career he should follow.

Six years later, in 1870, he graduated with an honours degree in mathematics and science. Whilst at university, he sat and passed exams for the Civil Service. Stoker had not decided upon a career in the Civil Service, but his father arranged the exams believing that they would stand him in good stead. He took an active part in university life and the sickly child became a good athlete. In 1866 he was athletics champion as well as a capped footballer and champion road walker. He joined both the Philosophical and the Historical Society and became a driving force behind them, taking an active part in debates. In 1867 he began to read the works of the poet Walt Whitman and, unlike many of his fellow students, he formed an understanding of and a liking for Whitman's work. His opinions gained the support of Edward Dowden, Professor of English Literature, and a few students. Together they championed the poet. Whitman influenced Stoker's writing, in particular, his romantic view of American men. Stoker corresponded with Whitman, and in later years was able to meet him when touring America.

When he graduated, Stoker joined the Civil Service and was posted as a clerk at Dublin Castle, as his father before him. The job was secure but uninspiring and he remained there until 1878. In 1876 he was given a promotion but no raise in salary. Dissatisfied with the work he applied for a new post, that of Dublin City Treasurer, but failed to get the post. Some consolation did come later in 1876, when he was promoted to Inspector of Petty Sessions with a good increase in salary. This work got him out of the office and he toured the courts of Petty Session inspecting the work of the clerks. Whilst doing this he realised that the clerks lacked efficiency because they did not have a handbook of regulations and standards, and he set himself the task of providing one. The Duties of Clerks of Petty Sessions in Ireland was published in 1879.² It remained the standard handbook for clerks for many years.

Not satisfied with his life in the Civil Service Stoker continued his association with Trinity College and in 1875 he obtained his MA. He also remained a member of the Historical and Philosophical societies. He spoke on a variety of subjects which included; Keats, Nineteenth Century Hobbies, Shelley, King Lear, Fools in Shakespeare, and Votes for Women. In 1872, whilst President of the Philosophical society, he was elected as Auditor of the Historical Society. This position was similar in status to the presidency of the Student Union at either Oxford or Cambridge. He was unique in holding both posts simultaneously.

Stoker's career as a writer began in 1871 when he became an unpaid theatre critic for the Dublin Mail. This work continued

until 1876 when the work involved with the new Civil Service posting made it impossible for him to continue. It was the work for the Dublin Mail that instigated his first meeting with Henry Irving. He extended his writing in 1872 when he began to write unsigned commentaries for the magazine called The Warder.³ In the same year his first piece of fiction was published by London Society magazine. It was a short story, The Crystal Cup.⁴ In 1873 Stoker was asked to become the editor of a new daily newspaper The Irish Echo, which was to provide the latest and the most important news of the day with no political bias.⁵ The cost would be a half penny as opposed to the usual selling price of one penny. Within two days of its first edition the paper had to change its name to The Halfpenny Press because another paper of the same name was to^{be} published. It was a poor start, but the first few weeks looked promising, and then sales began to drop. After four months Stoker decided that the paper was unlikely to succeed. He was getting little financial reward for his hard work; and at Dublin Castle his superiors were unhappy about his involvement with a newspaper: he resigned his editorship. In 1875 Stoker began to concentrate more on fiction and a number of adventure stories were serialised in The Shamrock: they were The Chain of Destiny, The Primrose Path and Buried Treasures.⁶ The Warder published The Castle of The King in the next year.⁷

As Auditor of the Historical Society Stoker was included on the invitation lists of a section of society that he had not associated with before. He met Sir William Wilde, the famed ear and eye specialist, and an important associate of the Society. Stoker's ability to speak well and his association with the

theatre made him a success with the Wildes. It was this social success that made him eligible for the editorship of The Halfpenny Press. Stoker greatly enjoyed mixing with this lively group of Dublin's society. It was through these connections that he was able to engineer a meeting with Florence Balcombe whom he married in 1878. She was an intelligent woman eager to improve her knowledge and shared his interest in theatre and music.

In 1878 Stoker got his release from the Civil Service when he took up Henry Irving's offer of employment at the Lyceum. He remained with Irving until the actor's ^{death} in 1905. After he and Florence were married, they left Ireland for London, and made their home in Chelsea where they remained until his death. In 1879 Florence gave birth to their only son and child, ^{Irving} Noel Thornley. In later years he chose to be known by his ^{second} name as he disliked the first. Charlotte Stoker returned to Dublin, from Italy, in 1884 and died there in 1900. During the period 1878 - 1905 Stoker was largely concerned with the theatre and his writing, but there were two other achievements in his life. In 1882 he was awarded a medal from the Royal Humane Society for his attempt to save a man from drowning in the Thames. He also studied to be a barrister and was called to the Bar in 1890.

Stoker maintained as full a family life as possible. Although he was unable to spend evenings at home with his wife and son he did manage to return home each afternoon. Sundays were also free for him to spend with Florence and Noel. Family holidays were taken in August, Lyceum tours permitting, and occasionally they would holiday separately. In 1886 Florence and

Noel took a holiday in France and Stoker was on holiday on his own when he discovered Cruden Bay in Aberdeenshire. He introduced Florence and Noel to it the next year and it became a regular holiday haunt. There were occasions, however, when the Lyceum did intrude on family life. For example, the timing of the American tours meant that Stoker was unable to be with his family at Christmas; and they spent their silver wedding anniversary, in 1903, apart for the same reason. In 1886 Florence Stoker had accompanied her husband on an American tour, unfortunately the Atlantic crossings were too much for her and the experience was never repeated. On another occasion husband and wife took a working holiday with Irving, Ellen Terry and Hawes Craven.⁸

In Dublin Stoker's position in the Historical Society had afforded him contacts with a section of society that a Civil Servant would not normally have associated. Florence Stoker had also been a known Dublin socialite. The social life that they had both enjoyed was to continue in London, where Stoker's association with Irving and his growing reputation as an author gave them access to fashionable society. The choice to live in Chelsea would have been governed by their desire to remain in contact with fashionable and respectable society. Most of their socialising took place on Sundays when they would either visit friends or be open to visitors. Their close circle of friends included William Whistler*, W S Gilbert and the Tennysons. In 1895 the family was honoured when Stoker's brother, George, by then an eminent surgeon, was knighted. That same year Walter Frederick Osborne did a graceful portrait study of Florence, which was hung in the Royal Academy and drew much public attention. He also did

portraits of Charlotte and Abraham Stoker which were hung in the Royal Hibernian Academy in Dublin.⁹

Stoker continued to develop his writing skills and in 1881 his first book, a collection of short stories for children titled Under The Sunset, was published.¹⁰ It was a number of years before he published his second novel, The Snakes Pass, which had been serialised in The People and various other provincial newspapers, late in 1889, prior to its publication as a full novel in 1890.¹¹ In this novel he returned to previous themes from his short stories; adventure and lost treasure. Between the two books Stoker did not cease writing, producing a pamphlet and a short story. In 1885 after the second American tour Stoker gave a lecture at the London Institute based on his knowledge and views of America. In the following year the lecture was published as a shilling booklet, A Glimpse of America.¹² The year 1886 also saw the publication of a short story, The Dualists, in Theatre Annual.¹³ It was a macabre tale of a childhood game and rivalry going terribly wrong.

The 1890's were a prolific period for Stoker and he produced four novels, a number of short stories and the first of his articles connected with the theatre. In 1894 The Watter's Mou, a tale about wrecking that was set at and inspired by Cruden Bay, was published.¹⁴ The Shoulder of Shasta came out the following year, and had been inspired by the scenery that Stoker had seen in America.¹⁵ It was also the first of a number of romances that he would write: he returned to the theme in 1898 with Miss Betty.¹⁶ 1897 saw the peak of Stoker's literary career with the

publication of his masterpiece of horror, Dracula.¹⁷ In 1892 Cassell's Magazine published the results of a literary experiment, a tale of murder and the supernatural titled The Fate of Fenella.¹⁸ A number of popular authors, including Stoker, had each provided a chapter. Other authors who contributed included Helen Mathers, Florence Marryat, G Manville Fenn, F Ainsley and Arthur Conan Doyle. Stoker supplied the chapter in which the heroine is accused of murder. On an Easter holiday that same year Stoker was inspired by the Cornish coast; the result was a short story The Coming of Abel Behenna, a tale of jealousy in love and murder with a macabre twist at the end.¹⁹ In the following year he wrote three more short stories, The Man of Shorrox, The Burial of The Rats and The Squaw.²⁰ The first was a comic tale about a corpse and the latter two returned to the theme of horror. This continued through the short stories written in 1897, Crooken Sands and The Secret of Growing Gold.²¹ In 1898 the article "Actor Managers" appeared in Nineteenth Century magazine.²²

In 1900 Stoker began work on The Mystery of The Sea, his second novel to be set at Cruden Bay.²³ In it he incorporated the supernatural with a hunt for lost treasure. The first chapter, in a slightly altered form, was published in London Magazine in 1901 and the finished novel was published in 1902. At this point Stoker began to realise that he would have to depend on his writing as a source of income for the future. In 1903 he published another adventure inspired by the supernatural, The Jewel of Seven Stars.²⁴ In the same year he began work on another romance The Man.²⁵ Only one article, "The Art of Ellen Terry",

appeared during this period and it was published in both Cosmopolitan (New York) and The Playgoer.²⁶

After Irving's death in 1905 Stoker suffered a stroke which rendered him unconscious for twenty four hours and he never fully recovered. By the end of 1909 Stoker's health and energy finally ran out when his gout turned to Bright's disease. He had continued to holiday at Cruden Bay and visited it for the last time in 1910. Also, in 1910, his son joined an accountants' firm and got married. Stoker and Florence gave up the family home and moved into a smaller house. When his health allowed he sat for the portrait artist Goldsborough Anderson, who was using him as a model for William II in his work William II Building The Tower of London which was hung in the Royal Exchange. In 1911 Stoker finally became bedridden.

Stoker wrote continuously throughout this period for it was his only means of support and his financial affairs were pressing. In 1906 he had a brief foray back into theatre management with David Bispham, but his main achievement was the production of seven books and numerous articles. In 1905 The Man was published and in 1906 Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving went to print.²⁷ Two more books appeared in 1908; Lady Athlyne, a romance, and Snowbound, a collection of theatrical stories.²⁸ A further two books were published the following year. The first was a novel, The Lady of The Shroud, which was set in eastern Europe and combined high adventure with a hint of horror: and a study of Famous Imposters in British history.²⁹ His last novel The Lair of The White Worm was written during his final

illness and was published in 1911.³⁰ Prior to his death Stoker had been collecting together a number of his short stories, some published and some unpublished, which he had intended to have printed in a single volume. His literary executor, a man called Jarvis who had worked with him at the Lyceum, found the manuscript and saw that it was published. The collection, Dracula's Guest appeared in 1914.³¹

In 1906 Stoker wrote a series of short articles for an Irish edition of Worlds Work. He interviewed William De Morgan, wrote about the theatrical treasures owned by W S Gilbert and commented on the work at the Harland and Wolff shipyards. It was also during this period that he wrote the majority of his theatrical articles. In 1908 Nineteenth Century magazine included two articles; one on the "Censorship of Fiction" and another about "The Question of a National Theatre".³² The next year he expanded his interest in censorship and Nineteenth Century published an article "The Censorship of Stage Plays".³³ Fortnightly Review also included pieces on "Americans As Actors" and "Dead Heads".³⁴ His final article, "Henry Irving and Stage Lighting", was a celebration of Irving's lighting techniques which was published in 1911.³⁵

Stoker died in April 1912 aged sixty-four. He was buried at Golders Green cemetery and the funeral was attended by Hall Caine, Genevieve Ward, Laurence Irving and Ford Madox Hueffer. Ellen Terry and Arthur Pinero sent wreaths.

FOOTNOTES

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAIL

1. Stoker's first home was a rented flat on Kildare Street, and in 1875 he moved to a larger rented flat on Harcourt Street.
2. Bram Stoker, The Duties of Clerks of Petty Sessions in Ireland, Office of The Registrar of Petty Session Clerks, Dublin, 1879.
3. Harry Ludlam, A Biography of Bram Stoker Creator of Dracula, NEL Books, 1977, p.35.
4. Bram Stoker, "The Crystal Cup", London Society, Sept. 1872; also published in Shades of Dracula, Ed. Peter Haining, William Kimber, 1982.
5. Harry Ludlam, Bram Stoker, p.36.
6. Bram Stoker, "The Chain of Destiny", The Shamrock, Jan. 1875; "The Primrose Path", The Shamrock, Feb-Mar. 1875; "Buried Treasures", The Shamrock, Mar. 1875. These stories also appear in Shades of Dracula.
7. Bram Stoker, "The Castle of the King", The Warder, 1876; also published in Stoker's Under the Sunset, Sampson Low & Co., 1881, and Shades of Dracula.
8. The group travelled to Nuremburg in 1885 to research for the forthcoming production of W G Wills' Faust.
9. The portraits were done a number of years after Abraham Stoker's death and, therefore, his likeness had to be taken from a photograph.
10. Bram Stoker, Under The Sunset, Sampson Low & Co., 1881.
11. Bram Stoker, The Snakes Pass, Sampson Low & Co., 1890.
12. Bram Stoker, A Glimpse of America, Sampson Low & Co., 1886.
13. Bram Stoker, "The Dualists", Theatre Annual, 1886.
14. Bram Stoker, The Watter's Mou, ACME Press, 1894.
15. Bram Stoker, The Shoulder of Shasta, Constable & Co., 1895.
16. Bram Stoker, Miss Betty, Constable & Co., 1898.
17. Bram Stoker, Dracula, Constable & Co., 1897.
18. Also incorporated in Shades of Dracula.
19. This story was published in Dracula's Guest, Heinemann, 1914, a posthumous publication of a number of Stoker's short stories.

20. Dracula's Guest, as above.
21. Dracula's Guest, as above.
22. Bram Stoker, "Actor Managers", Nineteenth Century, Vol 27, 1890, pp.1040-1058.
23. Bram Stoker, The Mystery of The Sea, Heinemann, 1902.
24. Bram Stoker, The Jewel of The Seven Stars, Heinemann, 1903.
25. Bram Stoker, The Man, Heinemann, 1905.
26. Bram Stoker, "The Art of Ellen Terry", The Playgoer, Vol I, 1902.
27. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving, 2 vols, Heinemann, 1906.
28. Bram Stoker, Lady Athlyne, Heinemann, 1908; Snowbound, Collier & Co., 1908.
29. Bram Stoker, Famous Imposters, Sidgewick & Jackson, 1910.
30. Bram Stoker, The Lair of the White Worm, William Rider & Sons, 1911.
31. Bram Stoker, Dracula's Guest, Heinemann, 1914.
32. Bram Stoker, "The Question of a National Theatre", Nineteenth Century, Vol 63, 1908, pp.734-742.
33. Bram Stoker, "The Censorship of Stage Plays", Nineteenth Century, Vol 66, 1909, pp.976-989.
34. Bram Stoker, "Dead Heads", Fortnightly Review, Vol 86, 1909, pp.646-685.
35. Bram Stoker, "Henry Irving and Stage Lighting", Nineteenth Century, Vol 69, 1911.

EARLY THEATRICAL INTEREST

Stoker's interest in the theatre was first aroused by his father. As a young boy he would listen eagerly to his father's nostalgic accounts of Edmund Kean's Dublin performances some thirty years before. The interest grew with him and when he went to Trinity College, like his father before him, he began to frequent the Theatre Royal. He saw the performances of such renowned artists as Mr and Mrs Charles Mathews, Mr and Mrs Herman Vezin, Charles Dillon and Mr and Mrs Charles Kean. On these gala nights he would arrive at the theatre early to watch the fashionable society arrive. They emerged from their carriages to be bowed to their seats by the proprietor in his resplendent formal dress. In later years Stoker's memories of those occasions were to be relived when he performed a similar duty at the Lyceum.

During the 1860's Dublin audiences were ill-served. There was in effect only one theatre, the Theatre Royal, to which all the touring stars came and these gala evenings were infrequent. It was the period of the badly paid stock companies; when theatres hired actors cheaply for the season and interspersed their performances with whichever well known stars were available. The stars seldom had time for rehearsals with the resident company so the plays were all essentially set pieces, with all stage business played strictly by the book. The visiting star expected to be fed with the right lines at the right time, have the right disposition of supporting characters and have the

cast appear from the usually placed entrances. The standard of the acting amongst the native stock players could be erratic. One night at the Queen's Theatre, during a performance of Macbeth, Stoker saw stock acting at its worst. When the actor playing Lennox came to the lines,

The night has been unruly; where we
lay,
Our chimneys were blown down

Stoker heard,

The night hath been rumbunctious
where we slep,
Our chimbleys were blew down¹

recited in the worst of Irish accents.

Two performances in 1867, however, were highlights in Stoker's theatre going experience. He spent a brief holiday in London that year and saw the first London appearance of Christine Nilsson the famous Swedish singer. The second of these highlights was back in Dublin when Miss Louisa Herbert and her company from the St James Theatre, London, came to the Theatre Royal. She was at the height of her career and was a beautiful, if not remarkable, actress. It was, however, not the actress who caught Stoker's attention, but the actor playing Captain Absolute in The Rivals.

This was the first time that Stoker saw Henry Irving. The actor, still early in his career, could not tamper with the standard business of the play. Despite these limitations he was able to produce an astonishing depth to the part, the like of which Stoker had never seen before. In 1906 Stoker wrote;

To this day I can remember the
playing of Henry Irving as Captain

Absolute; which was very different from any performance of the same part which I had seen. What I saw to my amazement and delight was a patrician figure as real as the persons of one's dreams, and endowed with the same poetic grace. A young soldier, handsome, distinguished, self dependent; compact of grace and slumbrous energy.²

The Irish Times had a different view, and a week after the performance its critic wrote,

Of those who support Miss Herbert, Mr and Mrs Frank Mathews are, undoubtedly the best. Mr Stoyale is full of broad comedy, but now and then he is not true to nature. Mr Irving and Mr Gaston Murray are painstaking and respectable artists.³

Stoker was unable to see any of the company's other productions which included The Belles' Stratagem, Lady Audley's Secret, The Road To Ruin, The School For Scandal and She Stoops To Conquer.

Stoker's interest in the theatre extended further than regular visits to the city's theatres. At university he was a member of the Dramatic Society and took part in amateur dramatics. In 1870 the Dublin Evening Standard commented on his performance as David in The Rivals;

Mr Stoker as David elicited frequent rounds of applause, and somewhat improved the part by making the faithful servant an Irishman.⁴

In the same year the Irish Times described him as an "admirable exponent" of Nettle Croker in the Blighted Being. He also played Snake in The School For Scandal.

That Irving was to become a moving force within Stoker's life became apparent in 1871. In that year Irving returned to Dublin with the Vaudeville Company. It was Irving's performance as Digby Grant in Albergy's comedy, The Two Roses, that caused Stoker to become a critic. This, in turn, brought about their first meeting. In 1876, Stoker recalled this performance in the introduction to his criticism of Irving, stating,

....he sustained the part of Digby Grant with such wonderful perfection as to stamp it on the minds of those who had the pleasure of seeing him as a histrionic genius.⁵

The performance so impressed him that he went to see it on three successive occasions during the company's two week stay. There was no mention of the play in any of Dublin's newspapers. This brought to a head Stoker's growing discontent with the attention accorded to the theatre by the papers. He went to see Dr Henry Maunsell the proprietor of the Dublin Evening Mail, who agreed to allow him to write for the paper as an unpaid critic.

Stoker was given an absolutely free hand in his critical work and was not obliged to give a fair or any notice to a particular theatre. When he referred to his work as a critic in his Reminiscences he wrote,

I have always held that in matters critical the critic's personal honour is involved in every word he writes. I could always feel that duty I had undertaken was a grave one.⁶

He learnt a great deal during the five years that he was a critic and the experience proved a good grounding for his work with Irving at the Lyceum. With more than a little pride and an air of

self importance he set out to draw public attention to where it was due.

Stoker's first review appeared in the Dublin Evening Mail in November 1871; it was unsigned as were all his notices. The play was Amy Robsart and the review mildly critical and painstaking in its reference to all concerned. This was to be characteristic of most of his reviews. He wrote,

Mr Halliday has shown a good deal of skill as an adapter in his construction of this drama, portraying the chief figures with vigour and boldness.

Louisa Moore in the title role was acknowledged as "a very pleasing actress with a graceful manner". Shortly afterwards the Gaiety Theatre opened with a production of She Stoops To Conquer and Stoker wrote a full column covering the opening. It was the auspicious nature of the occasion rather than the quality of the production that inspired most of his commentary. The house style of the Gaiety was to be similar to that of the Royal.

The Gaiety and Royal theatres were to command most of his attention, however, he was prepared to review a good cross-section of Dublin's entertainment. In January 1872 he provided half a column on the newest and most over-dressed pantomime at the Theatre Royal, Fee, Faw, Fum; or Harlequin Jack, The Giants and The Leprachauns. He chose to concentrate on the scenery rather than individual performances, and was particularly impressed by the "splendid drama" of the outdoor scenes of the Cornish Village, The Fairy Lake, and The Giants' Causeway. The

designer was William Telbin who later went to work for Irving at the Lyceum. During those early months Stoker also reviewed "the great success Miss Eliza Clayton in the romantic play Eudora or The Wrongs of Twenty Years" at the Queen's Theatre, and Mrs Scott Siddons' selection of "choice readings from the celebrated poets and dramatists" at the Exhibition Palace. He drew public attention to regular recitals by the Irish Academy of Music and in 1876 he reviewed the Italian Opera, with Salvini taking the leads in Hamlet and Othello.

At the Theatre Royal and at the Gaiety Theatre, Stoker got the opportunity to review more solid drama. This ranged from melodrama, such as The Colleen Bawn, starring Mr and Mrs Dion Boucicault and Black Ey'd Susan with Kate Lawler, to the more naturalistic drama of T W Robertson with the Belfast Theatre Company's productions of Progress and Society. More importantly it was at these theatres that he was able to concentrate his study of the old school of acting, in which movement, gesture, reading, phrasing and timing were kept in exact accordance with the accepted style. Stoker studied the performances of Charles Kean, T C King, Charles Dillon, Vandenhoff and Barry Sullivan.

The force and flamboyance of Barry Sullivan's performance caught his imagination. In 1874 Sullivan returned to Dublin as an actor of repute and Stoker was greatly impressed by his performance as Sir Giles Overreach in A New Way To Pay Old Debts. In order to confirm his opinion he persuaded his father to go and see him. Abraham Stoker had seen Edmund Kean's performance of Sir Giles Overreach. At the end of the play he declared "He's as good

as the best of them!".⁸ Stoker saw Sullivan in a variety of plays which included, Richard III, Richelieu, Hamlet, The Lady of Lyons, The Gamester, Macbeth and Othello. In 1875, with complete confidence, he assured his readers that

Mr Barry Sullivan is at present acknowledged to be the leading legitimate actor of our stage notwithstanding the innovations and supposed improvements of some new shooting stars whose light gleams fitfully upon the dramatic world.⁹

By 1876, when Irving returned to Dublin a star, Stoker was a champion of Sullivan and had ample knowledge of the traditional style with which to compare the new school of acting being introduced by Irving.

Stoker had a keen eye for spotting new talent. This had already become evident in his earlier interest in Irving. In 1874 he was similarly impressed by the talents of Genevieve Ward. Her first appearance was in the play Adrienne Lecouvreur, a tired old drama hardly worth a mention, but of Genevieve Ward he wrote,

To a fine presence Miss Genevieve Ward adds great power and grasp of character and keen intelligent appreciation of plot and situation. Her movements are particularly graceful - no common gift in these times; she walks across the stage rhythmically, as it were to music. We must advise our readers to take this opportunity of seeing a really gifted actress.¹⁰

Stoker could not understand why she had only filled a couple of hundred seats. It transpired that she had only just begun her career as an actress and that this was her second engagement. Prior to this she had had a career in opera, but overwork had strained her voice. Genevieve Ward appeared in four more plays

during her engagement and Stoker went to see all of them. He chastised Dublin for not doing likewise and complained,

were her merits as an actress
better known in the city the
theatre would be crowded.¹¹

On her last night Stoker wrote in his diary "will be a great actress". It was as Irving's manager he was able to make his prediction a reality.

Other aspects of his work were to be useful in later years. As a critic he was able to gain access to the backstage area of the theatres. He became familiar with the type of work and effort needed in mounting a production. He was also able to become friendly with a number of actors and actresses. In 1875 before joining his family in Switzerland, Stoker spent several days in Paris where he met an actress called 'Miss Henry', and somewhat rashly, he decided that he would write a play for her. On his return to Dublin he intended to give up his Civil Service post and go to London where he would embark upon a career as a writer. He wrote to his father to inform him of his decision. Abraham Stoker was appalled and advised his son, that the proper time to quit his secure and pensioned post was only when he could be certain of success as a writer. He went on to express his grave doubts about Stoker's friendship with Miss Henry;

I am sure that you will not think that I want to dictate to you as to the class of acquaintances which you ought to make, but I may offer to you some experience of my own early life, which was very varied, and during which I was acquainted with both actors and actresses. Although I am ready to admit that in many instances their society was very agreeable, still I don't think

they are altogether desirable acquaintances to those not connected with their own profession (if I may call it), because it may involve expense and other matters which are not at all times advantageous. Under all the circumstances I believe such acquaintanceship is better avoided.¹²

Stoker could afford to smile at his father's anxiety, as his friends already included Barry Sullivan, Helen Barry, J L Toole and Charles Kelly. In the event he decided against going to London.

His friendships were important sources of knowledge. He often spent hours talking with Barry Sullivan about acting and stage history. He learned, also, how to deal with the artistic temperament and saw its need for praise and encouragement. The actress Helen Barry found relief in unburdening herself to Stoker, and like others she was quick to rely on his judgement. On one occasion she sent him a play with two possible endings and asked which he preferred and which would go down best with the public. The ability to know what an audience wanted was an invaluable skill.

Irving returned to Dublin in 1876 with three of his London successes, The Bells, Hamlet and Charles I. Stoker had been unable to follow Irving's rise to stardom and was excited at the prospect of the actor's return. He was "a little jealous lest the newcomer should overthrow" his friend and countryman Barry Sullivan. In the introduction to his review of Hamlet he cautioned,

When an actor has arrived at the distinction which Mr Henry Irving has undoubtedly achieved, he must not be judged by the same rules of praise and blame as hold good in the judgement of less distinguished performers. Mr Irving holds in the minds of all who have seen him a high place as an artist, and by some he is regarded as the Garrick of his age; and so we shall judge him by the highest standard which we know.¹³

Irving stood the test admirably and Stoker's review declared,

His acting is splendid, and, although a little too extreme in parts, conveys a wonderful sense of reality to the audience. In his fits of passion there is a realism that no one but a genius can ever effect.¹⁴

He was so impressed that he went to see Hamlet on three successive nights and gave it a second review, an unprecedented honour.

He found Irving's Hamlet to be more subtle and more intellectual than Sullivan's. Stoker wrote in his first review,

Mr Irving's conception is undoubtedly that of a thoughtful, loving student of his author and his art. It bears evidence of thoughtfulness, of patient, minute scholarly attention and a rare thoroughness. He has taken certain passages as points d'appui in his conception of the character and upon them he centres his forces, both physic and intellectual, choosing rather those minor passages where an author's meaning is made manifest unconsciously than those which are better known.¹⁵

The second review dealt with what Stoker termed as the 'mystical' aspect of the character. He argued,

There is another view of Hamlet, too, which Mr Irving seems to

realise by a kind of instinct, but which we recommend to his notice as one requiring to be more fully and intentionally worked out. This is a view which we have before now put forward, and which we have never yet found an actor to hold in its entirety. It is that the great, deep, underlying idea of Hamlet is that of a mystic. In several passages Mr Irving seems to have a tendency towards this rendering.¹⁶

Stoker felt that in the present performance this aspect would not be noticed by the less perceptive amongst the audience. He suggested that Irving should "render a little plainer" the mystic in Hamlet. It may have been presumptuous of Stoker to offer such advice, but when he saw Hamlet again in 1877 he found that,

Hamlet as Mr Irving now acts it, is the wild, fitful, irresolute, mystic, melancholy prince that we know in the play.¹⁷

Stoker's admiration for Irving did not cloud his critical faculties. He commented on Irving's physique, noting that it had "certain great advantages and disadvantages for the due rendering of the part". At times there was

a variance between voice and gesture, or expression, which was due to want of physical power.¹⁸

He also commented on Irving's voice which, in moments of passion, became "somewhat inarticulate". There was a noticeable peculiarity of voice which in spite of training manifested itself in moments of passion.

He was no less impressed by Irving's performance as Mathias in The Bells and wrote,

Anything more splendid than Mr Irving's performance, it would be hard to conceive. The character is all his own, and on it he has stamped his individuality in a way never to be forgotten. There is a thoroughness and reality about the whole character which makes it difficult to pick out any portion of his acting for special notice.¹⁹

In particular, he commented on the actor's ability to sustain the subjective horror throughout the play; and his use of gesture and expression to display the tragic horror in the "wonderfully powerful and weird" third act. The review of Charles I remarked on Irving's skill with make-up and costume. Stoker was amazed at the resemblance between Irving as Charles and the Van Dyke portrait of the king.

Irving was flattered by the first review of Hamlet and asked the manager of the theatre to arrange for him to meet Stoker. They met the next evening before the performance. Full of praise for Stoker's criticism, Irving asked him to return to the dressing room after the play. There, conversation continued so animatedly that Stoker followed the actor back to his hotel for supper. Irving was taken by Stoker's ardent devotion to the theatre, his ability to discuss it freely, and his eagerness to improve his stage knowledge. He was quick to note that Stoker was well read and had literary ambitions. In spite of his familiarity with praise he was drawn by Stoker's earnestness.

The second criticism greatly impressed Irving and he contacted Stoker and invited him to dinner. On that evening their friendship was sealed. After dinner each guest gave a recitation.

Irving chose Thomas Hood's poem The Dream of Eugene Aram. Stoker found that his command was so great and his dominance so pronounced that all sat spellbound as if hearing it for the first time. Afterwards Stoker broke down with uncontrollable emotion. When he recovered Irving presented him with a signed photograph. The inscription read, "My dear friend Stoker - God Bless You! Henry Irving, Dublin December 3 1876". The emotion of the moment was so great that both men knew that they had each found a dear friend for life. Before Irving left Dublin, Stoker arranged a University Night in his honour. A glowing address written by himself was presented to Irving and the students of Trinity College took over the theatre for one night. After the performance they pulled Irving's carriage back to the hotel. Two years earlier Stoker had taken part in a similar event arranged in honour of Barry Sullivan.

Over the next two years the friendship grew stronger and Stoker saw Irving at every available opportunity. At this point Stoker had to give up his work as a critic; however, his association with Irving meant that he continued to add to his knowledge and experience of the theatre. In 1877 Irving returned to Dublin to give a promised reading at Trinity College. He brought with him his newly engaged stage-manager, Harry Loveday. This was the first meeting of the trio who were to work closely together for a quarter of a century. A fortnight later Stoker took a holiday in London. It was a dream holiday during which he spent his days with Irving at the Lyceum where he sat in on rehearsals, and in the evenings he sat with the actor in his dressing room between acts. In the autumn Irving was back in

Dublin for a fortnight's engagement. On this occasion Stoker was not so much taken by Irving's acting but the confidences which he had to impart. One night after supper in Stoker's rooms Irving expressed his discontent with the Lyceum management. He discussed with Stoker his plans for when he had a theatre of his own and that he would need a trustworthy business manager. This news held promise for Stoker, who at last could see his release from the Civil Service. He wrote in his diary, "London in view!".

Stoker was able to return to London the following year. He arrived in time for the opening night of Vanderdecken, an eerie production based on the legend of the Flying Dutchman. The play had been written by W G Wills, an erratic Irish playwright. The play did not do particularly well on the first night. It had been written poetically and lacked proportion and bite and had none of the strong sense of the macabre that Irving had hoped to put over. The next day was Sunday and Stoker joined Irving to go over the play. They cut and altered the script improving the business and tightening up the action. The following day they continued their efforts and rehearsed the changes with the company. The result was infinitely better. Two months later Irving came back to Dublin to do a charity reading and he stayed with Stoker's brother William. They spent many hours talking. In September Irving was back again for a fortnight engagement and once more he stayed with William Stoker. This meant that he and Stoker were able to be constant companions. Stoker was able to sit in on rehearsals and they discussed the future. Each knew the other's nature and ambitions and Irving confided that his takeover of the Lyceum was imminent.

Stoker jubilantly wrote to a friend in London telling him of his likely future. The friend wrote back,

It is splendid. I think of you permanently in London and working at the best theatre. It seems too good to be true. I can fancy what you will be like behind the scenes; how you will keep them all in order, and make their men behave like gentlemen and be awfully kind and thoughtful for the ladies, and altogether make them all feel, more than they did before, that they belong to a noble profession and should strive to be worthy of it....²⁰

Weeks later Stoker received a telegram from Irving who was in Glasgow, on tour. He took the first boat and was with Irving the next evening. He learned to his delight that Irving had taken the lease of the Lyceum. He was formally asked if he would give up the Civil Service and become the Lyceum's Business Manager. He accepted, handed in his resignation and joined Irving in Birmingham in December 1878.

FOOTNOTES

EARLY THEATRICAL INTEREST

1. Harry Ludlam, Bram Stoker, p.18.
2. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.3.
3. Bram Stoker, as above, p.7
4. Dublin Evening Standard, 4 February 1870, The Stoker Collection, Shakespeare Birthplace Centre, (Stratford-Upon-Avon), Box 34/Env.9.
5. The Dublin Evening Mail, 25 November 1876.
6. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.13.
7. Bram Stoker, as above, p.21.
8. Harry Ludlam, Bram Stoker, p.22.
9. Harry Ludlam, as above, p.42.
10. Harry Ludlam, as above, p.39.
11. Harry Ludlam, as above, p.39
12. Harry Ludlam, as above, p.43.
13. The Dublin Evening Mail, 28 November 1876.
14. Evening Mail, as above.
15. Evening Mail, as above.
16. The Dublin Evening Mail, 1 December 1876.
17. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.48.
18. The Dublin Evening Mail, 28 November 1876.
19. The Dublin Evening Mail, 4 December 1876.
20. Harry Ludlam, Bram Stoker, p.55.

THE LYCEUM

Introduction

When Irving took over the Lyceum management in 1878 he was confirming a dominance of its stage that he had enjoyed for the last seven years. During this period he had built up his reputation with a series of successful productions which had been produced in spite of the management. It was on Irving's insistence and with Mrs Bateman's great reluctance that The Bells had been produced. Prior to The Bells the theatre had suffered a trouble-some twenty years with numerous unsuccessful productions. In its new lease of life, the Lyceum was regarded as Irving's rightful home.

Irving had a genius for picking gifted subordinates who played key roles in the success of the management. His closest associates were Harry Loveday his stage manager, Hawes Craven, his chief designer, Ellen Terry, and Bram Stoker. Harry Loveday and Hawes Craven were inherited from the Bateman management. Irving had certain requirements when it came to choosing these subordinates. He looked for love of the theatre, intelligence and ability, loyalty, honesty and enormous quantities of energy. It was Stoker's enthusiasm for the theatre and Irving's acting that brought them together and Irving soon became aware of Stoker's intelligence and ability to organise when, in 1876, he had arranged an address in Irving's honour at Trinity College.

Stoker's loyalty was never doubted. In 1878, to prevent a clash of interests, he refused to act as Genevieve Ward's business manager during her summer lease of the theatre. His friend William Whistler asked him to take over the management of his finances in 1886 and again Stoker declined. When Irving announced his retirement George Alexander enquired about Stoker's availability. Alexander's first business manager had absconded to South America with the contents of the theatre's safe. The offer was tempting, but Stoker refused to leave Irving so long as he needed him. Stoker and Loveday remained with Irving until 1905. The overall fidelity of Irving's staff was surprising. Ellen Terry worked with him for twenty-three years and many leading actors made return engagements. Supporting actors such as John Archer remained for decades, he worked with Irving between 1875 and 1905. Technical staff also remained for lengthy periods. Jimmy Allen, Loveday's immediate subordinate worked with the management for twenty-eight years. Ellen Terry was the one exception to Stoker's rule about advising others. He advised her on a number of matters including correspondence and articles and arranged most of her social engagements.

Stoker's work at the Lyceum was all demanding and his working day was rarely less than twelve hours. He went to the theatre after breakfast and worked through until early afternoon, when he returned to the family home. Dinner was at six, and he returned to the theatre one hour before the doors opened. On a normal night he left the theatre at about midnight. Early on in his relationship with Irving Stoker gained an appreciation of the actor's liking for late hours. Irving's calls to Beefsteak Room

conferences and guest suppers were frequent, which meant that often it was three o'clock in the morning before Stoker left the theatre. Occasionally he was still there at dawn.

Irving, Stoker and Loveday shared an office which eased the burden of management and made communication easier. Each was able to keep abreast of the others' activity. There were three tables in the office; Irving's was nearest the door, Loveday's faced it and Stoker's was to the right of Loveday's in an alcove. This gave Stoker added privacy because much of his work required concentration. The arrangement, however, also reflected each man's position in the theatre. Irving and the stage business were most prominent and Stoker, whose tasks were administrative rather than artistic was set apart.

The management of the Lyceum was well structured and the duties and responsibilities of the individuals within that structure were also clearly defined. Irving reserved the unchallenged right to give instructions directly to an employee, but much of the power was delegated to Loveday and Stoker. Everyone in the theatre was responsible to these two with the exception of a handful of specially engaged designers and composers. Loveday controlled the artistic and production staff whilst Stoker dealt with administration, finance and Front of House. Loveday was subordinate to Stoker in matters of finance. This was reflected in a wage that was £2 per week less. Stoker's salary of £22 per week was an extremely good rate for white collar work, but it was well deserved. Stoker can be regarded as the fore-runner of the modern day Theatre Administrator; however,

his position as Business Manager incorporated many duties that are now given to individuals. He was a Social and Personal Secretary, Literary Advisor, Administrator, Publicity Officer, Front of House Manager, Tour Manager and Accountant.

Stoker's General Administrative Duties

Irving used Stoker's skills as a personal and social secretary to the full. His reluctance to leave the theatre was so great that he occasionally requested Stoker's help in personal matters out-with the theatre. He sent Stoker on a number of family visits which included going to Marlborough School to check on how his sons fared, and to St Ives to visit Irving's aunt, Sarah Penberthy, who had looked after him as a boy. At the Lyceum Stoker arranged Irving's day to day itinerary with great efficiency making certain that all went smoothly. Stoker acted as a barrier between Irving and his admirers, critics and hangers-on, with all appointments and requests channelled through him. He organised interviews and sittings for artists as well as Irving's presence at numerous public occasions. This was a marathon task because Irving's eminence and popularity created a vast social demand for his presence not only in London but throughout the country. Irving could keep his mind at rest knowing that he would always be in the right place at the right time.

Another of Stoker's duties as social secretary was to arrange the dinners and banquets at the Lyceum. Intimate post performance dinners were held in the Beefsteak rooms which seated

up to thirty-six. At the end of the first season Stoker was given the task of refurbishing the rooms which were situated backstage. Thereafter he assumed responsibility for their provision and upkeep. First and last night banquets took place on the stage with between one and six hundred guests. On special occasions, for example, the coronation of Edward VII, the guest list could almost double to one thousand. The organisation on these occasions was like a well oiled machine. Stoker had to arrange to have the stage cleared of scenery and set up with chandeliers, drapes, tables, chairs and food in as short a space of time as possible after the performance. On a good night the stage could be completely transformed in forty minutes.

Irving liked to entertain in a lavish manner that was in keeping with his style of production, and consequently a great deal of preparation was needed for the dinners and banquets. Stoker was responsible for the preparation of the menus and dealt with vintners and caterers. At times he did question the extravagance of the banquets; for instance, when Irving requested one hundred and forty gallons of best Crawford's whiskey, and on the occasion when he caught a waiter walking off with a whole ham hidden under his coat tails. Stoker maintained a guest list, which included many members of polite society, organising the invitations many of which he conveyed verbally. Not surprisingly Stoker was particularly proud of his guest list which lent an air of social acceptance to the profession that was still seeking respectability. His inclusion of it in his Personal Reminiscences was seen as blatant name dropping and provoked much criticism, which caused him to regret doing so.

As Irving's personal secretary, Stoker had a large workload. When he first joined Irving he took over the actor's mail. The amount of correspondence was massive, there was a constant stream of letters and requests all of which had to be answered in the interests of Public Relations. Irving could seldom be persuaded to write his own replies and Stoker wrote no less than fifty letters a day on Irving's behalf, a total of half a million letters all hand written.

Irving made many speeches and attached great importance to them, regarding them as the medium through which he supported and defended his profession. Stoker claimed to have helped Irving write his speeches, and draft copies in Stoker's hand exist. In 1881, however, Irving appointed L F Austin as a personal secretary. One of his principal duties was to prepare speeches for Irving. Stoker, who jealously guarded his position saw Austin as a usurper, which resulted in a mutual dislike. During the 1884 American tour Austin remained in England and Irving requested draft speeches by post rather than rely totally on Stoker. In 1885 the jealous wrangling reached a peak during preparations for a reception given by Harvard students. Austin wrote to his wife from New York;

I am chiefly delighted about this business because that idiot Stoker wrote a speech for the same occasion and I was disgusted to find it on the Governor's table. When I read mine to Henry, he said: "Poor old Bram has been trying his hand but there isn't an idea in the whole thing." I said: "I should be very surprised if there was."

The fact is Stoker tells everybody that he writes Henry's speeches and articles, and he wants

to have some real basis for this lie. This is why he worried H.I. into putting his name to an article which appeared in the Fortnightly Review, a frightful piece of twaddle about American audiences that B.S. was three months in writing....¹

There were occasions when Irving also discarded Austin's speeches in preference for his own drafts.

Austin's comment about the Fortnightly Review article explains why the article does not display the concern for the people that Irving was so aware of when writing a speech. It also provides an explanation for the unity of style and opinion between it and Stoker's subsequent article "American Actors".² The authorship of Irving's article "Actor Managers" written in 1890 and printed in Nineteenth Century magazine with Stoker's article of the same name, can also be questioned. It is most likely, however, that after the 1885 incident Irving took control over his own article writing. His article is quite different from Stoker's both in style and content. Stoker wrote a lengthy, ponderous reply to the system's and, in particular, Irving's critics; whereas Irving chose to discuss a number of the problems faced by managers and did not challenge his critics.

Stoker's work as a Literary Advisor was invaluable. Irving's eminence made him a prime target for authors who wanted plays produced and he was sent many hundreds. His main problem was finding from their midst plays that were suitable for production. All of the plays were read and, according to Stoker, neither trouble nor expense was spared in obtaining good works. It was

Stoker's job to read the plays as they arrived and then pass on to Irving those that he thought were suitable. Stoker had a good appreciation of what constituted a good play, and was responsible for obtaining and re-writing Nance Oldfield for Ellen Terry, and Forget-Me-Not for Genevieve Ward. Once Irving had made a decision on a play Stoker arranged the contracts, fees and re-writing. At this time, the interests of playwrights were not adequately covered by the Copyright law and theatre managers did not have to consult authors on changes or offer them a contract. When Tennyson sent Beckett to Irving the manuscript was so large that both he and Stoker were reluctant to open it. Stoker eventually tackled it and then passed it to Irving who cut it to a manageable size. Stoker was sent to negotiate the changes with Tennyson and his diplomatic handling of the situation gained the poet's full cooperation. A firm friendship built up between them and from then on Stoker handled all the transactions with Tennyson personally.

Irving delegated most of the General Administration and management to Stoker, so that he was free to concentrate on production and artistic policy. Apart from authors' contracts and fees Stoker had various other legal and contractual business to deal with. It was an area of the theatre's business in which he took a keen interest and his work at the Bar stood him in good stead. Every member of the Lyceum company was given a contract of employment. Stoker contacted the actors and actresses on Irving's behalf, made the offer of employment, negotiated any terms and finally drew up the contract.

In 1881 to 1882 Stoker drafted the rules for The Actor's Provident and Benevolent Fund which was officially founded by Irving, Toole and Bancroft. They, along with Hare, Wyndham, Kendal and Wilson Barrett, acted as trustees. Arthur Pinero was the secretary, and Stoker acted as treasurer. He collected the annual pledges, takings from benefits and public dinners, and calculated the Fund's expenses. The rules were based on the resolutions agreed by Irving and the other trustees. Their principal aim was to give financial support to "distressed and decaying actors". At first the fund was financed entirely by the profession with annual pledges ranging from Irving's £100 to a little over £5, which was donated by Stoker and Loveday. The demand on the resources was so great that in 1891 Irving introduced benefit performances and public dinners as a further means of fund raising. Stoker became further involved with the administration of such events, particularly the benefits. Participation in the benefits was unpaid and voluntary. Stoker was responsible for notifying the company of forthcoming benefits and taking note of those who wished to become involved. He also arranged advertising and took control of ticket sales.

The most important aspect of the Lyceum's legal affairs for which Stoker was responsible was licensing. He applied to the Lord Chamberlain's Office for the required licences for both the plays and the theatre itself, ensuring that in each case, the Lord Chamberlain's reader of plays received a copy of the play, and that the theatre was ready for inspection by a council surveyor. An understanding existed between the Lord Chamberlain's Office and the London Council that a theatre would not be granted

a licence unless it met certain safety standards set by the Council. Stoker was, therefore, responsible for any necessary repairs or refurbishment to ensure that the theatre maintained safety standards.

A proportion of Stoker's administrative duties evolved around the stage. There were occasions when he had to ensure that everything was ready for rehearsals to begin on Irving's return from holiday. Stoker's first experience of this was in 1879, when he received written instructions from Irving, who was on holiday in Venice. Apart from making enquiries concerning Ellen Terry's availability he was to work with Loveday to arrange the rehearsals, sets and advertising:

The rehearsals will begin I suppose on the 6th or 8th Sept. I should like everybody to be perfect by the 13th. Till I get back the principal time had better be devoted to the farces and you'd better get the address of Miss Ewell and engage her for three months for The Boarding School, Pinero's piece, I hope has turned out well. By the 13th, too, I should like the music, scenery and properties all ready, so that we can break the neck of The Iron Chest before we re-open. I shall rehearse it, I think, in the evening.

Advertisement enclosed, have inserted a fortnight before we open, and put up a few posters - "Mr Irving in tragedy and drama. September 20th". These won't need renewing.³

During the course of a normal season Stoker still had responsibilities connected with the stage. Generally the preparation of scenery and props was delegated to the relevant heads of department, but it was Stoker who dealt with specially

commissioned artists and composers. He would convey Irving's wishes to them, make any financial arrangements and monitor their progress to ensure that they were running to schedule. Stoker was also responsible for arranging the delivery and payment for stage properties as well as the maintenance of the theatre's scene store in Southwark.

The publicity for the Lyceum was a straightforward task which Stoker handled easily and efficiently. Newspapers, magazines, bill posters and hand bills were the principal means of advertisement. He ensured that advertisements appeared on a daily basis providing details of the night's performance and, less frequently, to give audiences information on forthcoming seasons, tours and holidays. Stoker also dealt with the printing of and distribution of the bill posters and hand bills. Another aspect of Stoker's work within this area was to liaise with, and ensure that seats were available for, members of the press. Irving's success at the Lyceum generated a great deal of public interest which made this a sizable task, especially when the company was on tour.

Irving's success and style provoked adverse as well as good press and, thanks to the instruction of Colonel Bateman, he was able to hold his own with those who attacked him. On the whole he ignored and treated with contempt all but a few critics' opinions, considering the public's verdict alone as being worthy of consideration. When Irving had come to London dramatic criticism had been at a low ebb, with many critics open to various forms of bribery. He put considerable effort into

challenging the standards of criticism. In 1878 he acquired The Theatre magazine as a means of pursuing his own policy with regard to the press. The magazine made an effort to present a balanced view. Although Irving's activities at the Lyceum, in the lecture hall or on the public platform were fully reported, a small amount of adverse criticism was also included to disguise his interest in the magazine. In 1879 Irving handed the magazine over to Clement Scott for the sum of £1000 and a share in the future profits, neither of which were realised. The favourable coverage continued until 1889 when Scott, with Irving's consent, sold the magazine. None of Stoker's articles appeared in The Theatre. One reason for this may have been to maintain the magazine's image of unbiased criticism. It may also have been because Irving did not rate Stoker highly as a writer.

Stoker had a higher opinion of the press and a more benevolent attitude towards it, treating its members with a degree of respect and courtesy. His own work as a critic meant that he knew and understood the pressures that journalists were subject to, and so he was able to maintain a friendly relationship with them. In his Personal Reminiscences he devoted several pages to making this point and wrote,

I could always speak quite openly with them individually on a subject which we wished for the present to keep dark, simply telling him or them that the matter was not for present publication. Anyone who knows the inner working of a newspaper, and of the keenness which exists in the competition for the acquisition of news, will know how much was implied by the silence - the scorn and contempt that would now and then be hurled at those

who "couldn't get a story". I have no doubt that sometimes the engagement on the paper was imperilled, or even cancelled. Of course I always tried to let them get 'something'.⁴

At the same time Stoker guarded Irving's interests well, interviews with Irving could only be gained via Stoker and there were very few impromptu interviews. Often the pressure of work meant that Irving was unavailable for interview and Stoker spoke on his behalf. All statements were carefully considered and the financial side of the management was never discussed. It was 1904 before Stoker gave even an approximation of Irving's takings to a newspaper, and then only with Irving's express permission.⁵

Stoker revealed only one occasion when he had disagreed with a reporter, the result of which was amusing and did not harm Irving's reputation. The incident occurred in America prior to a night journey between Chicago and Detroit. Stoker was approached by ^astrange young man who stated his intention of travelling with the company to write about "the incidents of the night". Stoker told him patiently but firmly that the company never took strangers with them as they would not feel able to relax, and then had him firmly escorted away. The next day a Detroit paper contained an article describing how the Irving Company travelled, and even went so far as to describe members of the company in varying states of undress. A note at the end of the article stated that the paper could not vouch for the accuracy of the article because the reporter had not been allowed to travel with the company.

One of Stoker's main areas of control within the theatre was Front of House, and he became as familiar a sight there as Irving was on the stage. He felt at ease with the public and played the benevolent host to perfection. The theatrical writer J B Boothe wrote of the familiar sight that greeted guests as they arrived at the theatre;

We ascend the steps and enter the heavily carpeted vestibule from which an immensely wide staircase, covered with thick, soft carpets, leads to the back of the circles, and on each side of this staircase stand the programme attendants - small boys in Eton suits, for the program girl is not yet.

At the top of the staircase a tall, reddish-bearded man in evening dress greets us. It is Bram Stoker, Irving's faithful friend and manager.⁶

What confirmed the Lyceum in its popular appeal was the hospitality that the management showed to all classes of patrons. Stoker frequently appeared to chat with the queues for the pit and gallery. On first nights he arranged for them to have free refreshments consisting of tea and bread and butter.

Stoker instituted a nightly routine which was carried out before the theatre opened to the public. He would walk to the centre of the Stalls, call by name each member of staff that was on duty, Front of House, in the Dress and Upper Circle and the Gallery, before roaring at full pitch, "Open!". He did this so that all would recognise his voice and authority in case of fire. The precaution was vital not only for the safe evacuation of the audience but also the four to six hundred people employed in the theatre.

Stoker also implemented an efficient and accurate Box Office routine. Each member of staff was given a specific duty and responsibility. Joseph Hurst, the Manager, and his clerks dealt with advance bookings. They marked reserved seats on layout charts which were returned, with the receipts, to Stoker on a daily basis. Stoker was then able to compare these with similar sheets, filled in each evening by the Ushers. The staff who worked the machines that dispensed tokens for admission to the Pit and Gallery reported directly to Stoker rather than Hurst. Applications for, and the allocation of, complementary tickets were dealt with by Stoker himself.

Stoker was also responsible for the employment and management of the fifty or so staff within the areas that he controlled. In the office he employed a maximum of six people; this included three or four clerks, Stoker's assistant, and the theatre's Treasurer. E Hurst was appointed as Stoker's assistant in 1887. He helped with the mail, the accounts and accompanied Stoker on Provincial tours. Hurst's salary of £4 per week, however, suggests that the work largely consisted of addressing envelopes and copying Stoker's entries into the account books. The position of Treasurer was a nominal one and Charles Howson had little financial responsibility. He was an old actor and musician who had turned to copying scores when Irving generously appointed him. He dealt with small sums of money paying the lesser salaries and routine bills which were delegated to him by Stoker. Eight people were employed in the box office; Hurst, his three clerks, and four operators for the token machines. Hurst also supervised four pages and fourteen ushers. The remainder of

Stoker's staff formed a miscellaneous group. A Bill Inspector was employed to ensure that shops and libraries displayed the bills delivered by the Bill Posters. There was also a dozen or so cleaners and saloon staff. Finally there were a number of charitable cases, employed at Irving's request, "to look after the theatre cats".⁷

The Lyceum On Tour - Stoker's Duties

Tours of the Provinces and the United States were an important area of the Lyceum's business. They allowed a larger proportion of the theatre-going public to see the achievements of Britain's leading actor.

Such an enterprise was without precedent. Irving carried the theatrical standards of London, which he had largely created, through the whole kingdom so that henceforward provincial playgoers would see the best that London had to offer and accordingly could adjust their critical viewpoint.⁸

Stoker had had firsthand experience of this in 1876, when he first reviewed Irving.⁹ The tours, and in particular those to America, also provided a welcome source of income used to supplement the Lyceum coffers. The organisation of the tours was left to Stoker, a job that he thoroughly enjoyed and at which he excelled. In 1888 the Chicago Daily News commented on the success of Irving's tours and stated,

This gives us an opportunity to say that Mr Irving's great success in this country has been due to a very considerable extent to the shrewd management of Bram Stoker. We know of no manager more

vigilant, more indefatigable, more
audacious than he...¹⁰

Stoker organised a total of twenty Provincial and eight American tours, of which nine and five, respectively, took place during Irving's sole management of the Lyceum. His duties were similar to those he performed at the Lyceum, but with the added complication of the company having no fixed abode for a number of months. In addition he had to arrange itineraries, haulage, transport, and accommodation. When American tours were organised Stoker travelled to the United States up to six months before the tour to ensure that the preparations were carried out in accordance with Irving's wishes.

The first Provincial tour of Irving's management was in 1881 and he was determined that it would outshine anything previously done in Britain. The complete scenery and equipment for nine plays, a company of approximately forty actors and ten key staff went on tour; and this set the pattern for the Provincial tours. A typical company on a tour of the Provinces numbered between seventy and eighty. Stoker, Loveday, Arnott, the Properties Master, and Walter Collinson, Irving's dresser, were indispensable as key staff and accompanied every tour. Actors for small parts and Supers were engaged in the individual towns for the duration of the stay.

The touring repertoire always included Irving's newest production and a number of past successes: for example, The Bells, which was taken on every tour, The Lyons Mail, The Merchant of Venice and Louis XI. The number of productions taken

to the Provinces varied considerably, dropping from nine to seven after the first tour and subsequently to five; five and seven being the numbers most frequently toured. With the exception of 1896 the size of the repertoire did not relate to the length of the tour. In that year, four plays were taken on tour for a period of five weeks. All productions were taken on tour with full scenery and equipment. It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that it was considerations of freight and haulage that determined the number of plays taken on tour. All the plays were fully rehearsed and overhauled before a tour.

Stoker organised the itineraries according to the availability of theatres and, as far as possible, to ensure that the shortest distance was covered between towns. Irving normally toured the Provinces for a period of three months and, on average, visited seven or eight towns. The tours usually incorporated stops in Scotland and Ireland. The company would normally stay in a particular town for a minimum of one, and a maximum of three weeks. This allowed the company to visit a reasonable number of towns, and at the same time avoided the fatigue and transport problems that a mid-week change would have involved. A Provincial tour was shorter if it preceded a trip to America, as in 1883 and 1887, or if it followed one, as in 1886. On the first occasion the company toured for a month and visited Glasgow, Edinburgh and Liverpool: and on the second they toured for two months, adding Manchester to the above itinerary.

In the late 1890's the number of tours and towns visited increased dramatically. This coincided with the financial decline

of the Lyceum. From 1896 onwards Irving undertook annual Provincial tours and the number of stops increased from five in 1896 to thirteen the following year. Although the tour period did not extend to incorporate these additional stops the engagements were restricted to one week per town. In 1898, however, the company toured for four months, as opposed to three, visiting seventeen towns and three of London's suburban theatres.

The travel arrangements for the Provincial tours were relatively straightforward and only involved the provision of suitable rail transport for freight and the company. The size of the company and the uncommonly large amount of freight created special needs for which Stoker had to liaise with representatives of the rail companies. LNWR appointed a Theatrical Traffic Manager to arrange personally and, if necessary, to escort theatrical traffic. In 1921, a short notice appeared in The Star concerning the retiral of a Mr Wright, who had held the above position.¹¹ It drew attention to the work he had undertaken for Irving. The appointment of such a person eased Stoker's task giving him a reliable and knowledgeable contact. The preparation and packing of the scenery and equipment for the tour was primarily Loveday's responsibility; however, Stoker assisted him to ensure that all the correct pieces were included. Stoker always supervised the unpacking of the scenery once it had reached its destination.

A draft contract for the actress Julia Arthur states that the Lyceum paid all travel expenses when on tour.¹² It was, therefore, simpler for Stoker to arrange for the entire company

and the freight to travel on the same train. This ensured that they and all the necessary equipment arrived simultaneously at the correct destination. The company travelled in specially assigned trains or in private coaches added to a scheduled train. This ensured a certain level of comfort and privacy, which, in turn, allowed them to relax and rest. Irving, Ellen Terry and Stoker were given additional privacy and were accommodated in more comfortable carriages separate from the rest of the company. Stoker's remaining task, the provision of accommodation, was equally straightforward. The above mentioned contract also stated that members of the company were responsible for the payment of their own accommodation. This is verified by the absence of hotel expenses in the tour accounts. It was Stoker's job to ensure that a variety of suitable and affordable hotels or digs were available for the entire company.

The Lyceum's first American tour took place in 1883 and was largely arranged by the impresario, Henry Abbey. A company of over fifty including the key staff toured America with eight plays. Although the tour was successful, a number of problems were encountered. The itinerary was badly organised which added to the amount of time spent travelling. The result of this was that the company found the tour too arduous. The transportation of an enormous quantity of scenery and equipment was found to be impractical and a quantity of it had to be put into storage after the third stop. It was also obvious to Irving, that if he dispensed with Abbey's services he would be entitled to a greater share of the takings. As a result Stoker organised all subsequent tours.

After the first tour the company that was taken to America grew to between eighty and ninety, including key staff, and in 1895-96 there were ninety-six staff on the salary list. The increased size of the American company was in part due to the larger repertoire. It would also appear that Irving did not rely on local American talent in the same way that he did in the Provinces; therefore, additional small part performers were required for the company. Extra staff were also required to act as understudies and cover for illness. At the start of the tour in 1884 Ellen Terry was so ill after the rough Atlantic crossing that Winifred Emery had to stand in for her for a week. Additional key staff were also necessary, not only to help manage the larger company, but to instruct American performers and staff who were unfamiliar with Irving's techniques.

The repertoire that Irving took to America was similar in content to the one toured in the Provinces; however, slightly different criteria were used to decide on the number of plays to be included. The size of the repertoire varied between seven and nine plays. That a greater number were taken to the United States is understandable when it is considered that these tours were less frequent and longer than the British tours. In spite of the difficulties encountered with the freight on the first tour, nine plays were taken on the second, and eleven were taken on the fifth and longest tour. The smallest repertoire was taken on the third tour, when the number of plays was restricted because of the inclusion of Faust, which required a great deal of scenery and equipment to re-create the effects for the play. For the same reason this was the shortest of the tours.

The careful organisation of itinerary was particularly important for the American tours because of great distances that they were required to travel. The tours of 1883-84 and 1884-85 lasted for approximately six months covering Southern Canada and North East America. Quebec, Chicago, St Louis and Cincinnati marked the outer perimeter of the tour area. The first tour made twenty-three stops with a great deal of unnecessary travelling backwards and forwards between towns.¹³ The result of the hectic schedule was that in one particular week the company visited five New England towns. When Stoker arranged the second tour he cut the itinerary down to a more manageable size with sixteen stops. The tour also followed a more direct route, beginning in Quebec, moving south as far as Philadelphia, west to Chicago and finally back to the east and north. Under normal circumstances a city was visited for a period of between one week and four weeks. Occasionally they would stop in a town for as much as two months. The short tour of 1887-88 lasted for four and a half months and visited three towns.

As with the Provincial tours the pace increased in the 1890's. In 1893 and 1895 the Lyceum company toured for a period of seven and eight months respectively. The number of stops increased to seventeen on the fourth tour and to twenty-seven on the fifth. The area of the United States covered by the tours was also extended during this period. In 1893 the company travelled to the west coast and the tour started from San Francisco, moved north to Portland, Seattle and Tacoma, and then east to Minneapolis and familiar territory in the north. The fifth tour began in Toronto and worked its way south as far as Atlanta and

New Orleans, and back north via Memphis and Nashville. The increased number of stops made it necessary, at times, for the company to visit between two and four cities in one week.

It was obvious from the haulage problems on the 1883-84 tour that Irving would have to re-think his policy of touring with full productions, as he did in Britain. In the early stages of the first tour the company travelled with two sixty foot box cars, a gondola and one hundred and fifty stage baskets. After the journey from New York to Philadelphia, twenty-seven cloths, eighty flats, sixty wings, twenty set pieces and twelve framed cloths were sent back to New York to be stored until the company's return to Britain. Thereafter Irving relied upon local carpenters and resources to provide the shortfall. The decision for future tours was to reduce the amount of scenery and equipment taken rather than the size of the repertoire. The only exception to this was Faust and it has already been seen that special arrangements were made to allow the full production to go on tour.

Stoker also had to arrange for the scenery and equipment to be transported across the Atlantic. When on tour Stoker kept an itemised schedule of all property being transported. A typical schedule for an Atlantic crossing could detail as much as, four hundred and sixty-seven cases of scenery, one hundred and twenty-seven cases^{of} properties, forty-seven of wardrobe, nineteen of electrical equipment, six of limelight, three prompt, three office and one of music. This did not include the company's personal luggage. Property was particularly vulnerable when being

transported. After the 1883 crossing, Stoker discovered to his horror, that the fall-and-rise from the vision scene in The Bells had totally disintegrated. Such accidents reinforced the necessity of adequate insurance. Stoker referred to another incident when a train caught fire and the insurance company had to underwrite £500 worth of damages.¹⁴ Once in the United States the freight was transported on the special trains that were arranged for the company. The arrangements for rail transport were similar to those made in Britain.

The Lyceum paid company members' travelling expenses on the American tours also. Stoker was responsible for booking the Atlantic crossings and allotting the berths. There were normally between two and four company members sharing a cabin. As privileged members of the company Stoker and Loveday took single cabins. Irving and Ellen Terry each had the equivalent of a suite of rooms. In 1883 the company crossed the Atlantic aboard two ships. Ellen Terry and Irving set out in one steamer, which left England several days after the ship that carried Stoker, the rest of the entourage and the cargo. This arrangement provided Stoker with two days to get the company settled and make the theatre ready. He also had to fence with members of the press and public whose interest provided an overwhelming reception when Irving arrived. On subsequent tours the entire company crossed the Atlantic together; except in 1893 and 1895, when Irving and Ellen Terry took a holiday in North America prior to the tour itself.

The Atlantic crossings could be arduous, and rough weather particularly distressing if not hazardous. Ellen Terry was

extremely ill on the 1884 crossing to America. Stoker's wife accompanied the tour for the first and last time in 1887, when she found the Atlantic crossing too much for her nerves. She was frightened and hysterical for the whole time it was rough, which was distressing for everyone concerned. In 1899 Stoker received a fairly serious leg injury when a trunk, that had been lashed to the companion way, broke free during a storm. The incident could have had more serious consequences had Stoker not reacted so quickly. Several women would have been injured also if he had not pushed them clear. He himself was fortunate, because if the trunk had caught the bone (which it missed by half an inch) he would almost certainly have lost his leg.

In 1893 the Gazette of the SS New York made reference to an on board entertainment:

The musical and dramatic entertainment which was organised on Thursday night had an unusual interest, for, as judge Daly who presided, did not fail to remind his hearers in the Grand Saloon, the chief performers were members of the greatest London company of Actors, the ladies and gentlemen of the Lyceum, who were going to join Mr Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry at San Francisco.

The programme which had been drawn up by the amiable and popular business manager of the Lyceum, Mr Bram Stoker, was of the most generous and varied character.¹⁵

This was an additional task that Stoker voluntarily took upon himself. Stoker was a man who thrived on activity, therefore, one can presume that he regarded the organisation of these events a relief from boredom rather than a task. The entertainments helped to raise money for various seamen's charities. Stoker collected

and invoiced the donations, and gave an explanation of the charities' work to the audience.

The programme usually included recitations, songs and instrumental solos which were chosen by the performers. Although Stoker performed a number of recitations there is no evidence to suggest that they were his original work. The programmes were of an informal nature and did not always give the title or credit the author of the piece. Evidence also suggests that Irving and Ellen Terry did not normally participate in these events.

A significant amount of time was spent travelling by rail in America. Stoker was a considerate organiser and divided the company into what he described as small 'family' groups, each of which was allotted a carriage or number of compartments. This arrangement lent itself to a pleasant atmosphere in which friends and companions could relax together. Stoker also respected their privacy and never allowed strangers to travel with the company. Irving and Ellen Terry travelled in great comfort. In 1883, Abbey paid \$3000, almost £620, for the rail journey between Baltimore and Chicago. The train included a number of luxurious compartments that the president of Erie Railroad put at Irving's disposal. Irving used a parlour car that had belonged to the financier James Fisk as well as a private sitting room and smoking room. Ellen Terry was given a reception room with two easy chairs, a settee, tables and a buffet. In addition to these grand travelling apartments there was a kitchen at their disposal.

The appearance of accommodation expenses in the US tour accounts implies that the Lyceum paid for the company's accommodation. Stoker usually arranged for Irving and Ellen Terry to stay in separate hotels, in order to avoid rumours concerning their relationship. Finally Stoker made arrangements for Irving and members of the company to gain entry into various societies and clubs. These included the Bostonian, the Lotus and the Centenary. The latter two were the equivalent of the Savage and Garrick clubs in London.

The Lyceum in Irving's Absence

Whilst Irving was on tour, or on holiday the Lyceum hosted a number of visiting artists and companies. These periods were known as Interim Seasons and a summarised record of them can be found in the main account books. Apart from the details of receipt and expenditure, the Interim accounts provide the names of the artists and companies. A variety of British, American and European performers played the Interim seasons. None of them was unknown and each held a respected position within the profession. The productions met with varying success and the British artists generally fared better than their American counterparts.

The Interim seasons had two main functions. First, if the theatre had been left in darkness its audiences would have drifted to other venues; the Interim tenancies allowed Irving to retain his audience. Secondly, he was able to provide continuous employment for the staff who did not go on tour with the company. The continual losses shown in the Interim accounts indicate that

Irving did not consider finance to be an important issue when he instituted the Interim seasons. It would also appear that there was a definite artistic policy behind the seasons and that the tenants were chosen accordingly.

The maintenance of the house style and Irving's standards of production were of primary importance. Irving sought tenants who were successful in their own right with repertoires similar to his, and who acted in the romantic tradition. In addition tenants were able to use the Lyceum staff and in some cases, this included the theatre's resident designers. The most obvious choice of tenant was someone who had connections with the existing company. They would be known to the Lyceum patrons and Irving's training and style would be reflected in their productions. William Terriss was the first actor within this category to appear in an Interim season. He had joined Irving's company in 1880, toured the Provinces and America with them in 1883, and, in 1884, remained at the Lyceum during Irving's second American tour.

Terriss appeared with the American actress, Mary Anderson, who had leased the theatre. He played Romeo to Mary Anderson's Juliet, and, although the production as a whole did not receive favourable criticism, Terriss's performance was singled out for praise. In many respects he was a typical product of Irving's company. His acting was described as distinctly English; being strong, powerful and virile. Terriss proceeded to have a successful career as a melodramatic actor at the Adelphi, which

was cut short by his untimely death. when he was murdered by a madman outside the theatre.

Johnston Forbes Robertson and John Martin Harvey were the only former members of the Lyceum company who played Interim seasons under their own management. Both actors followed Irving's tradition of heightened, poetic acting with an emphasis on the psychological. Their style of production was also similar to Irving's in its striking use of detail. Robertson took the Lyceum for three Interim seasons in 1895, 1897 and 1898.

Forbes Robertson produced five plays in the 1895 season, which was, on the whole, successful. The first production was Romeo and Juliet and his Romeo was handsome, picturesque and played with gentlemanly discretion. The performance, however, lacked youthfulness and fire. The criticism of his restrained acting was similar to that which was levelled at Irving's Romeo in 1882. Romeo and Juliet was followed by Michael and His Lost Angel, which in spite of high expectation was unpopular with audiences. Shaw suggested that Robertson's interpretation of the vicar as low church had alienated his audience.¹⁶ Further presentations in the season were For the Crown and Magda (a translation of Sudermann's Heimat). The latter provoked much discussion around Mrs Patrick Campbell's powerful and highly emotive performance. The first season ended with School For Scandal, noted for its distinguished cast which included, Mrs Patrick Campbell, William Farren, Cyril Maude and Fred Terry.

Robertson's most successful season was that of 1897 when he produced Hamlet. Shaw wrote of the performance "nothing so charming has been seen by this generation".¹⁷ Irving's Hamlet had been considered one of the greatest of its era. Robertson's success meant that the mantle fell from Irving's shoulders to his own. Irving, however, gave it up willingly as he had decided to drop Hamlet from his repertoire. He also gave Robertson the use of his own sets and costumes for the play. In 1898 Robertson produced Macbeth in which Mrs Patrick Campbell played Lady Macbeth, Bernard Gould, Banquo, and Robert Tabor Macduff. The production was in true Lyceum style with no less than sixteen separate scenes and a specially commissioned score. After overcoming a number of technical problems, the play ran successfully.

John Martin Harvey was the last actor to lease the Lyceum during Irving's sole management. He had been a member of Irving's company for fourteen years. In his 1898 season he capitalised on Irving's training and melodramatic success with a production of Freeman Wills' The Only Way, an adaptation of Dickens' A Tale of Two Cities. His performance as Sidney Carton was considered to be one of the most celebrated displays of romantic acting in the period.

Irving also had to safeguard his position as star of the Lyceum and the recognised leader of his profession. This policy was at odds with his desire to maintain a high standard of production; and was probably of greater importance in his choice of tenant. It is significant that it was the 1890's before actors

from his own company were given Interim seasons. In both cases it was their first attempts at actor-management. This and the lack of experience meant that they were not in a position to unseat Irving. Of all the tenants Forbes Robertson presented the greatest challenge to Irving, but his success, which was reminiscent of Irving's in the 1880's, did much to give new lustre to the Lyceum's fading fortunes.

Giving Interim seasons to foreign actors was also a means of protecting himself. They were an unknown quantity as far as British audiences were concerned, and being visitors they were unlikely to present a strong or permanent challenge. The American actor Lawrence Barrett leased the Lyceum in the summer of 1884.¹⁸ The season was disappointing. His first production Yorick's Love, met with a cool reception at first, but the audiences soon began to warm to him. The second production Richelieu was an unwise choice. Although Barrett was the accepted representative of the part in America, he failed to reach British expectations. In his acting Barrett avoided exaggeration and his performances tended to be refined, intelligent and noted for their grace and poetry. His Richelieu lacked power and strength in comparison to Irving's, and consequently the production was unsuccessful.

Irving invited another American actor, Richard Mansfield, to the Lyceum for the Interim season of 1888. In his native America Mansfield was often compared to Irving. His acting was intellectual and he possessed peculiarities of manner and affectations similar to Irving. His production of Jekyll and Hyde that had been a success in America gained only a flicker of

interest, and his second play, A Parisian Romance, was a complete failure. Mansfield left Britain in Irving's debt for unpaid rent and a generous loan, without which he would not have been able to return to America. The debt was repaid six years later. There is no record of the season in the Interim accounts nor any mention of it in Stoker's biography. It is, however, briefly mentioned in Laurence Irving's biography.¹⁹

On the two occasions when foreign actors did present a challenge to Irving special arrangements were made to avoid it. Edwin Booth came to Britain in 1880 for a season at the Princess's theatre. He was let down by the poor quality of the company and the *mise-en-scène* that were provided by the management, and the season was unsuccessful. During this period he renewed his acquaintance with Irving whom he had met in 1860. Booth asked Irving if it would be possible for him to undertake a series of matinee performances at the Lyceum. Irving agreed and after some thought proposed a more lucrative and mutually advantageous alternative; that they act together. Booth agreed, and Othello was produced, with the two actors alternating as Othello and Iago. The play ran for two highly profitable months, and Irving got a great deal of credit for suggesting that he act with Booth rather than compete with him.

In 1898 Coquelin was eager to bring his successful production of Cyrano de Bergerac to London. Coquelin's previous tours in 1879 and 1889 had been of little consequence to Irving. At that time he was at the height of his powers and his interpretation of Mathias, in The Bells, presented a strong

challenge to Coquelin's performance in Le Juif Polonais. In 1898 Irving's position was weaker and rather than compete, he arranged a short season in the suburbs for himself, and let the Lyceum to Coquelin. The production was a great success. Irving had taken the option of an English translation of Cyrano de Bergerac, but it was never produced.

A challenge to Ellen Terry was less dangerous than to Irving, and consequently the majority of the Interim seasons were given to actresses. Ellen Terry's position in Irving's company was secure and her popularity with the public so great, that it would have been near impossible to present a serious threat. Several of the actresses who took Interim seasons were the products of a classical, more measured school of acting and gave performances that appeared old-fashioned in comparison to Ellen Terry's natural vitality and exuberance. Differences in repertoire also made comparison difficult.

The first of these was Genevieve Ward, who rented the Lyceum for a seven week season in 1879 and again for a single week in 1888. Although American born, most of Genevieve Ward's career was spent in Britain and Europe, and she came to be regarded as an anglo-phile. In 1879 her first production Zillah failed miserably, but she went on to produce her greatest success, Forget-Me-Not. It was Stoker who found the play for her, negotiated the acting rights, and who helped to re-write parts of it. Genevieve Ward's talents as a classical actress and her classical beauty were highly regarded. In later years she joined the Lyceum company to play the heavier roles that were unsuited

to Ellen Terry; which included Queen Eleanor in Beckett and Morgan Le Fey in King Arthur.

The impresario H E Abbey, who organised Irving's first American tour, provided a number of Interim managements. The first of these was Mary Anderson, who took the Lyceum in 1883-4, 1884-5 and 1887-8. Five plays were produced in her first season; two old works, Ingomar and The Lady of Lyons; a recent work by Gilbert, Pygmalion and Galatea, and his most recent work Comedy and Tragedy, and finally, Romeo and Juliet. The season opened with Ingomar which set the pattern for the critical press throughout her stay. Some reviewers found her acting limited and artificial. She had not learned to conceal her effort in creating the part, and was accused of seeming more concerned with the look of her drapes than the drama. In spite of these reservations the play and the season as a whole were successful.

The major production of 1884 was Romeo and Juliet and, whilst the acting did not match Lyceum standards, the sumptuous use of setting did. Mary Anderson turned down Irving's offer of his own sets and costumes for the play. Instead, she employed Lewis Wingfield, an antiquary and expert on costuming, as her designer. Her second production that year was The Winter's Tale in which she played both Perdita and Hermione and was the first actress to do so. The 1887 season saw a revival of The Winter's Tale.

In 1887 and 1889 seasons were arranged for Sarah Bernhardt by the impresario M L Mayer. She enjoyed great success and her

reception far exceeded expectation with the receipts for two weeks in the first season in excess of £8000. Four of her most renowned productions were seen in 1887; Théodora, La Dame Aux Camelias, Fedora and Adrienne Lecouvreur. Her classical and declamatory style of acting was particularly different from the more natural style of the Lyceum company. Sarah Bernhardt, herself, praised Irving and Ellen Terry's style of acting and visited the theatre socially on a number of occasions.²⁰

The American impresario Augustin Daly brought his company to the Lyceum in 1890 and 1891. The star of the company was Ada Rehan, a renowned comic actress. A number of farces in which she appeared; Casting The Boomerang, The Great Unknown and The Last Word were not successful. The American style of humour did not sit well with British audiences. In view of that it was surprising that a fourth farce, A Night Off, was a success. In addition to the farces three of her best roles were presented at the Lyceum, Rosalind, Kate and Lady Teazle, of which the first took London by storm. Ada Rehan's performances as Kate and Rosalind established her firmly in the public's heart, who had longed to see Ellen Terry as Rosalind. That she had never played the part was a matter of personal regret and she envied Ada Rehan's success. The principal reason for this gap in Ellen Terry's repertoire was that there was not a suitable lead for Irving in As You Like It.

A number of the Interim seasons were marked by their diversion from the normal house style. In 1889 the theatre hosted the first production of Verdi's Otello. It was directed by the

composer, conducted by Faccio and starred Tamagno and Maurel. A second occasion when opera was presented at the Lyceum was more the result of fate than planning. In 1898, whilst Irving was ill, Forbes Robertson could only play until Christmas. Rather than close the theatre Stoker arranged for the Carl Rosa Opera to take the theatre for five weeks.

The Interim season of 1893-4 was unusual in that Oscar Barrett had a success with the pantomime Cinderella. The Lyceum did not have a reputation for pantomime, but, that year, stole the success from Drury lane (which was renowned for its pantomimes). Ellaline Terriss played the lead and her charm and beauty captivated large audiences. The sumptuous production, believed to have been influenced by Irving's style, was noted for its taste and charm. It was, in fact, a co-production in which Irving shared the receipts and expenses, and Hawes Craven designed the sets. Oscar Barrett returned to the Lyceum for a second season in 1894-5 when his production of Robinson Crusoe was not as popular.

In 1894 H E Abbey organised a season for Lillian Russell which was also a diversion from the normal Lyceum fare. She appeared in a comic opera, The Queen of Brilliants, which had originally been a success at the Carl Theatre in Vienna. Lillian Russell's beauty gave her a following comparable to the Hollywood stars of the 1930's and 40's. Also, her celebrated diamonds and personal life made her something of an institution in America. This and the high salary she commanded, well into middle age,

meant that many English managers regarded her as too great a risk.

The majority of Irving's Interim tenants were American, and complex issues surround his attitude and policy towards them. When Irving visited America, it was not as a missionary of the theatre, but as a challenger to a well-established theatrical tradition. He knew that he would be compared to Booth and other established actors. English actors who had preceded him across the Atlantic, including his great friend John Toole, had suffered badly at the hands of the American press and public. Irving was acutely aware of the need to establish and maintain good relations with his American contemporaries and the press.

When Irving and Booth acted together in 1881, Irving was accused, by certain sections of the press, of attempting to curry favour in America in preparation for when he should go on tour. In his biography, Stoker refuted the accusation. He stated categorically and at length that the offer was an act of friendship made to an actor that he greatly admired; and, furthermore, who was an acquaintance of twenty years standing.²¹ At the time Irving had no plans for a tour, but would have been a fool not to take the opportunity to promote good will. The success of the season provided Irving with a strong ally in America. American actors were also included in Irving's social circle and Stoker's guest lists for the theatre and Beefsteak Rooms include Lawrence Barrett, Richard Mansfield and John McCullough.

Irving's readiness to lease the Lyceum to American performers was another form of diplomacy. It would not have been unreasonable of Irving to expect his support and generosity to be rewarded with similar consideration in the United States. American artists still sought endorsement from the more cultivated English and European audiences, and there was great kudos attached to playing at the Lyceum. Although their contracts were less preferential than those of their British counterparts in terms of rent and inclusion of key staff, sets and costumes, Irving did provide them with a ready made audience. The provision of an audience was particularly important as Augustin Daly realised in 1891 when he opened his own theatre in London. Daly was unable to attract a sufficiently large audience to support the theatre which passed from his control in 1895. The provision of a skilled and professional front of house and backstage staff should not be overlooked either.

The close association with H E Abbey was important to Irving's success in the United States. Although he only arranged the first Irving tour, the association continued and Irving appeared at the opening of Abbey's theatre in New York in 1893. Abbey's highly respected position within the theatrical world made him a valuable contact. He had been responsible for the showing of good drama and opera outside of New York, and was the first impresario to engage major continental stars in America. He organised tours for John Hare, Sarah Bernhardt, Coquelin, Mounet Sully and Réjane. His endorsement was almost a guarantee for success.

The American press was highly influential and a favourable reception was essential. Irving made great use of the press and before his first tour he made a point of befriending American journalists, Joseph Hatton and William Winter, who agreed to head an advance press campaign.²² After the first tour Joseph Hatton published Henry Irving's Impressions of America, which voiced his great admiration for the country and its people.²³ Further publicity made it known that Irving had been influenced in his early career by Booth and E A . Sothern. People were also reminded that it was an American, Colonel Bateman, who had introduced him to the Lyceum.

Irving's opinions on America and its actors were not expressed personally except in carefully rehearsed interviews. In the interests of public relations it would have been difficult for him to voice anything other than favourable comments. This would explain why Austin was so irritated by the article on American audiences, that Stoker wrote for Irving. The article was critical of the importance of personality within the profession. It stated that some actors owed their popularity and success to the audiences' appreciation of the individual's personality rather than their skills as actors.

It was not until 1909, that Stoker wrote a further article on American theatre, "Americans as Actors".²⁴ It was patronising in tone and suggested that Stoker was generally unimpressed by their talents. The article began with a number of general points. Stoker found that the opposition to acting as a profession was less violent in America than in Britain. He had also seen a great

deal of potential within American theatre. From his experiences on tour, Stoker believed that there was no match for the quality of workmanship found amongst stage-hands. Similarly he considered minor performers to be perfectly adequate, and was confident that a manager would benefit from including American actors in a tour company to play supporting roles.

On the subject of leading actors he was less complimentary and wrote that they did not match British standards. Stoker felt that they were unable to disguise fully their technique when acting and that as a result the performances lacked spontaneity. The statement was unfair in so much as it was a sweeping generalisation; however, it should be remembered that in some cases it was true. Mary Anderson's performances had received unfavourable criticism for that same reason. Stoker's final point dealt with accents and was particularly patronising. He was certain that what he described as a strong American brogue was not suited to Shakespeare and great drama. He stated that whilst it was acceptable in their native America, it would hinder their acceptance with British audiences. This comment may have been provoked by the fact that in Britain standard English was the accepted form of delivery and actors were expected to lose any dialect that they possessed. It is worth noting, however, that the top rank American stars who performed in Britain, such as Edwin Booth, Genevieve Ward and Elizabeth Robins, did not have American accents. It is possible, therefore, that Stoker's comment was directed towards the second rank of leading actors.

Stoker dealt with the business and managerial arrangements for the Interim seasons. Although the choice of tenant ultimately lay in Irving's hands, Stoker may well have advised him on the matter. He could certainly have recommended Genevieve Ward as a suitable tenant. Once the tenant was decided upon it was Stoker's job to handle all communication with them and to draw up the contract, agreeing the terms with the tenant in accordance with Irving's own wishes. The variety of levels of rent that were set suggest that there was no standard contract, and that Irving set the terms according to the tenant.

The entire Lyceum staff did not go on tour and the Interim accounts include salary expenses. These would have been for the box office and front of house staff as well as stage-hands. In his biography, Stoker states that in 1879 Irving agreed to include "the heads of department, box office and the usual working staff at an inclusive rent, as he wished to keep all his people together".²⁴ Part of their work during these periods was to make preparations for Irving's return. Stoker had to ensure that a responsible person remained at the Lyceum to administrate these staff, look after Irving's interests and inform Stoker regularly about the daily business. Occasionally, if the Interim season did not coincide with a tour, as in 1879, Stoker was able to take care of the business as usual.

In 1884-5 George Terry (brother to Ellen Terry) assumed the responsibility of business manager during Mary Anderson's tenancy. He only represented Irving's interests and Mary Anderson had her own business manager, Abud. Terry had joined the Lyceum

staff in 1880 after acting as Ellen Terry's business manager during a summer tour with Charles Kelly. How long he stayed with the company or what his duties were is not clear. In her memoirs, Ellen Terry wrote,

.... my brother was given a position at the Lyceum, where, I fear, his scrupulous and uncompromising honesty often got him into trouble. Perquisites, or "perks", as they are called in domestic service, are one of the heaviest additions to a manager's working expenses, and George tried to fight the system. He hurt no one so much as himself.²⁶

This would indicate that his position was managerial, and that his stand against the system of "perks" made him unpopular.

During the Interim season of 1883-4 George Terry wrote a series of letters to Stoker giving a day to day account of the theatre's business.²⁷ The letters give a clear picture of how the theatre was administered in Stoker's absence. Stoker retained control of the finances and sent cheques to Terry rather than give him authorisation to draw money directly. Terry, in return, had to provide him with statements of income and expenditure.

The letters also provide details of the frustrations of daily business in the theatre. One of the first problems that Terry referred to was a sum of money due for Poor Law and Vestry taxes, was the theatre itself or Mary Anderson responsible for the payment? He encountered problems with the Lyceum animals, the theatre's mule had a damaged fetlock and he was uncertain as to whether or not the baggage master's pony and trap were to be sold. On one occasion the Prince of Wales arrived for a

performance unannounced and on another there was a small fire during a performance of the Lady of Lyons. Terry also made reference to a number of repairs that were needed; these included the replacement of battens, the overhaul of the token machines and a repair to the plumbing of the urinals in the front of house. Under normal circumstances Stoker would have taken such things in his stride and accepted them as part of his daily routine.

L F Austin, Irving's secretary, had filled the same position as George Terry in the previous year, 1883. That was an unusual choice, because his skills would have been of more use to Irving in America, and indeed he was sorely missed.²⁸ The theatre's treasurer Charles Howson was Irving's representative in 1899. John Martin Harvey mentioned Howson in his autobiography, where he stated that Howson came to him each week to demand the money owed to the Lyceum.²⁹ Harvey's tenancy was unusual in that Stoker had originally agreed to act as Harvey's business manager, as long as the press was not informed. Unfortunately, they found out and Stoker withdrew his services. Harvey did state that Stoker made other provisions, but there is no mention of who replaced him. It is unlikely that it was Howson because that would have brought about a clash of interests. Finally, it is possible to surmise that the business managers for the Interim seasons were appointed from whomsoever was available amongst the theatre's administrative and office staff. They were given limited responsibility and powers, and visiting artists were responsible for appointing their own business managers if they were required.

FOOTNOTES

THE LYCEUM

1. Laurence Irving, Henry Irving: The Actor and His World, Faber & Faber, 1951, p.453.
2. Bram Stoker, "Americans as Actors", Fortnightly Review, Vol 85, 1909, pp.243-252.
3. Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.332.
4. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscence, Vol I, p.297.
5. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.307.
6. Harry Ludlam, Bram Stoker, p.91.
7. Joseph Hatton, "Henry Irving", The Grand, December 1905, p.710.
8. Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.382.
9. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.22.
10. Chicago Daily News, 2 April 1888, The Stoker Collection, (Stratford), Box 34/Env.9.
11. The Star, 20 January 1921.
12. The Stoker Collection, (Stratford), Box 30/Env.2/Item.3.
13. Itinerary for the first tour: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Chicago, St Louis, Cincinnati, Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Toronto, Boston, Washington, New Haven, [Worcester], Springfield, Hartford, Providence, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, New York.
14. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.285.
15. SS New York Gazette, 2 August 1993, p.2, The Stoker Collection, (Stratford), Box 15/Env.12.
16. George Bernard Shaw, "Michael and His Lost Angel", Plays and Players, OUP, 1955, p.54.
17. George Bernard Shaw, "Hamlet", Plays and Players, p.269.
18. Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.436.
19. Laurence Irving, as above, pp.493-495, p.510.
20. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, pp.161-166.
21. Bram Stoker, as above, p.88.

22. Joseph Hatton was the London correspondent for the New York Tribune, and William Winter the drama^{critic} for the same paper.
23. Joseph Hatton, Henry Irving's Impressions of America, London 1884.
24. Bram Stoker, Americans as Actors, pp.243-252.
25. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.172.
26. Ellen Terry, Ellen Terry's Memoirs (with additional notes by Edith Craig and Cristopher St John), Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1933, p.125.
27. "Lyceum Accounts", file held by the British Theatre Museum.
28. Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, pp.431-433.
29. John Martin Harvey, The Autobiography of John Martin Harvey Harvey, Sampson, Low & Marston & Co., 1951, p.223.

THE LYCEUM ACCOUNTS

Introduction

One of Stoker's main responsibilities as Henry Irving's business manager was the maintenance of the theatre's seasonal and touring account books. He did not have any control over the theatre's financial policy which was determined by Irving alone. Stoker did, however, have access to the theatre's bank account to enable him to pay the salaries and bills. He was also the sole keyholder for the theatre safe. The level of Irving's trust in Stoker's ability with his finances became apparent on three separate occasions when Stoker was granted a Power of Attorney. The three documents, dated 1899, 1901 and 1903, gave Stoker complete control over the actor's finances for the duration of the American tours in these years.

Stoker and Irving maintained a policy of strict reticence on the subject of the theatre's finances, which Stoker maintained even after the actor's death. Stoker formulated a system of accounting which meant that apart from the chartered accountants (who checked the account books on a monthly basis and provided a seasonal audit), he and Irving were the only two people who had a complete overview of the theatre's financial position. Lesser officials simply dealt with the finances within their own department.

Charles Howson, the Treasurer, was only responsible for minor financial transactions. Stoker allowed him to make small lodgements with the bank, pay small cash accounts and distribute the smaller salaries. The heads of departments involved with production were only permitted to handle minor bills, which had to be verified by Loveday before payment was made, and all receipts were returned to Stoker. They knew nothing of the box-office receipts and, likewise, box-office staff knew nothing of expenditure. This policy affected every level of the theatre's business including minor transactions such as the payments in kind made to traders who displayed bill posters. It was normal practice for the Bill Inspector to deliver such payments; but at the Lyceum, the job was done by the office clerks who simply delivered the sealed envelopes that they were provided with. This helped to preserve the secrecy surrounding the number of complimentary tickets that were given out.

Stoker kept the accounts meticulously and twenty-three of the books have survived to the present day: fifteen of them cover Irving's nineteen London seasons as an independent manager and the remainder cover the Provincial and American tours. In the books that deal with the London seasons, each week is represented by opposing pages of receipts and expenditure and there is a final synopsis at the end of each season. The duration of the seasons varied greatly, averaging seven to ten months, but there were also a number of three month seasons and two long seasons which lasted a full year. All of the short seasons, except the first, followed American tours. The varying length of the seasons makes it difficult to determine the financial trend during

Irving's management; however, it is possible to compare seasons of similar length with each other.

Profit and Loss

Irving began his management over £10,000 in debt having made arrangements for a £12,000 overdraft. Although the first season made a large loss of £6,394, Irving was able to reduce the theatre's debt by £3,000. At this point he also received a bequest of £5,000 which was paid into the Lyceum treasury and further reduced the theatre's overdraft.¹ The second season, like the first, covered a ten month period, but its accounts showed a healthy profit of £9,652. This marked the beginning of a largely profitable period which lasted until 1891. There were a further five ten month seasons between 1881 and 1891.² The profits for these seasons peaked in 1882-83 when Irving made £15,732, which represented an increase of 63% on the profit from the second season.

The next ten month season was in 1885-86 when there was a 24% drop in the profits with the synopsis showing a £12,016 margin between receipts and expenditure. It should, however, be noted that 1882-83 was an exceptional season due to the amazing success of the new, main production, Much Ado About Nothing. The two seasons preceding, and the two following, it give a clearer indication of the profit levels with an average of a little under £11,000. A definite decline in profits occurred in 1890-91, which was a slightly longer season of eleven months. Irving made a

greatly reduced profit of £4,100, 74% less than in 1882-83 and 63% less than the expected average.

In 1881-82 the first of a number of seven month seasons, made a large loss of £3,970, or £5,131 if a discrepancy in Stoker's accounts is taken into consideration: however, the next two seasons of this length, in 1888 and 1889, made respectable profits of £5,471 and £4,095. A decline, although on a lesser scale than in the longer seasons, is also noticeable in these seasons.³ In terms of profit and re-couping expenditure the long seasons were essential. Shorter seasons fared less well and were unable to sustain the theatre's level of expenditure and production costs. If the above figures are looked at in relation to the longer seasons an average profit of £7,000 to £8,000 would be expected. It is not surprising, therefore, that all the three month seasons worked to sizeable losses. The greatest loss during a three month period was £3,091, which occurred in 1884. This dropped to £1,377 in the following season and then rose again to £2,134 in 1888. There is no obvious financial trend in the losses incurred during three month seasons. It is, therefore, difficult to relate them to the longer seasons, except to show that this length of season was not a viable proposition at the Lyceum.

In 1892 the Lyceum ceased to be a profitable enterprise and lost £4,575, almost £500 more than the previous season's profit. The theatre's expenditure peaked in that year, but it was brought under control in the following seasons with dramatic results. By 1895 the seasonal losses had been reduced to a mere £148, and it would not have been unreasonable to hope for a return to profit

in the next season. In 1896-97 the short, post American tour season was abandoned in favour of an extended twelve month one. It is possible that this decision was made in the hope that a long season would tip the balance and return a profit; however, the season was disastrous and accounted for a loss of almost £10,000.⁴ A major part of this loss was the result of a four week closure brought about by a knee injury sustained by Irving in February 1897.⁵ The three main productions of the season, Cymbeline, Richard III and Madame Sans Gêne, failed to attract large enough audiences to offset the losses.

Irving's final season as an independent manager lost £3,255. It was generally believed that Irving was near bankrupt when the syndicate was formed in 1899. The accounts show unequivocally that this was not the case, and the profits from the successful seasons more than covered the ten unsuccessful seasons. In 1899 Irving should have had a little over £31,500 in the bank. The main cause of Irving's losses can be attributed to the rapid growth of expenditure, which the box-office failed to match, rather than any significant decline in receipts.

Production Policy and Box-Office Receipts

The account books also provide a record of the seasonal programme, the number of new productions and the number of performances that each play received. This information should be taken into consideration and looked at in conjunction with the theatre's receipts. It is possible to determine both the effect

of individual productions on the box-office and, the extent to which the box-office influenced the seasonal programme.

The Lyceum made great use of the long run and successful plays could run continuously for well over one hundred, and often for two hundred, performances. This policy was financially, if not artistically sound. The number of plays included in a season, therefore, not only depended on the length of the season, but also on the success of the new productions. The repertoire for a season could include between three and a dozen plays. Each season incorporated at least one new production that was backed up by old successes. The inclusion of past successes in the seasonal repertoire reduced the risks and, to a certain extent, guaranteed receipts.

Between 1878 and 1885 Irving built up the basis of his repertoire and there was a total of sixteen new productions.⁶ The number of new productions in a single season peaked in 1880-81 and 1881-82, when four and three new productions were staged respectively. In the 1882-83 season, out of eleven plays performed the only new production was Much Ado About Nothing. In terms of receipts it was arguably one of Irving's greatest successes and over two hundred performances were given in that season. When it was taken off the bill in June 1883 the receipts were still £300 a night. Much Ado About Nothing was preceded by Romeo and Juliet which was continuing a long run from the previous season. The two plays accounted for more than half of the performances given during the season and their success meant that there was no need for a second new production. The remaining

nine plays got a total of eighty-nine performances, of which a matinée piece, The Captain of the Watch had thirty-three and The Lyons Mail twenty-seven.

In 1885-86 the season ran for eleven months, as had 1882-83, but its repertoire only included three plays, Olivia, Louis XI, and Faust, the new production, which was a great success that ran for one hundred and eighty-seven performances out of the season's total of three hundred and twenty-eight. The run continued well into the next season with a further two hundred performances. Consequently, the new productions of that season, Werner and The Amber Heart, were minor plays that were given a single performance, and which never became fully integrated into Irving's repertoire.⁷

A less productive period followed between 1888 and 1894, with only one new production in each season and a heavy reliance on revivals. The last three seasons saw an increase in new productions as Irving desperately searched for another success. During this period Irving was unable to achieve the same level of success with his new productions. Of the plays produced between 1888 and 1898 Henry VIII had the longest run and was performed one hundred and seventy-two times. In the latter seasons new productions such as Cymbeline, Peter The Great and The Medicine Man ran for less than a hundred performances. The gradual erosion of the long run meant that the revivals were being performed as often as some of the new productions, and the emphasis shifted from the new to the old.

The Lyceum's long seasons saw the most dramatic fluctuation in receipts. Over the first three seasons the receipts rose from £32,689 to £64,641, an increase of 98%; and there was a further increase in 1882-83 when the receipts totalled £89,081. These figures completely justified the long run system. The beginning of a decline of receipts in the long seasons was marked in 1885-86, with a return of £88,117 over the eleven months. In spite of the success of Faust the receipts dropped by a further £12,742 in the next season. It was at this time that Irving began to rely more heavily on revivals, and this appears to have been reflected in the box-office. A long season of revivals could not draw such large audiences. By 1890-91, the last profitable season, the receipts had dropped to £70,670. The downward trend continued and the last long season in 1896-97 returned £66,137.

Theatrical success is a transient thing that relies largely upon the whim of the public. Irving could not have expected to maintain the level of success that he achieved in 1882-83 and, therefore, a certain decline in receipts was understandable. Although the receipts in 1896-97 were well below those of the 1880's, they were still almost double those of the first season and were quite respectable. The shorter seasons, however, did not suffer the same decline and produced healthy receipts throughout.

A seven month season was more suited to a programme that was largely made up of revivals and the receipts for these seasons rose from £47,912 in 1881-82 to £58,639 in 1892. Clearly, the losses of that season cannot be attributed to a lack of public interest. Subsequent seven month seasons did show a slight

decline with the receipts dropping to £50,504 in 1895 and £38,514 in the last season. It should be noted, however, that this decline was not reflected in the losses of the seasons in question. In both cases there was a considerable reduction in the losses from the previous seasons. There was a large amount of fluctuation in the receipts for three month seasons; and as there were only four throughout Irving's management it is impossible to draw any conclusions from them. Finally, if the receipts are taken as a whole, a genuine decline did not occur until the mid 1890's, and it was not significant enough to cause great concern.

Changes in seat prices did not greatly affect the Lyceum's receipts. There was still a reluctance amongst managers to increase prices, and it is possible that that is why Irving did not use increased admission charges as a means of capitalising upon his popularity. The cost of admission for London's theatres varied to some degree according to the class of audience that particular theatres attracted; and, understandably, the Lyceum was one of the more expensive theatres. There was a single, relatively small, rise between 1878 and 1885.⁸

1878 -

Stalls 10s

Dress Circle 6s

Upper Circle 3s

Pit 2s

1885 - Boxes 2-4 Guineas

Stalls 10s 6d

Dress Circle 6s 6d

Upper Circle 4s

Amphitheatre 2s 6d

Pit 2s

Gallery 1s

The most significant increases were in the Stalls and the circles. The Pit, and presumably, the Gallery remained the same. This and a breakdown of the receipts shows that the Stalls and the Dress Circle provided the bulk of the receipts. An article in Saturday Review, July 1887, confirmed this. Titled "The State of London's Theatres", it stated that there was seldom a vacant Stall at the Lyceum.

Irving clearly regarded the Stalls and the Dress Circle as the most important areas of his auditorium and audience. In 1878 he had made them more comfortable. Again in 1885 he removed four of the six Boxes at stage level to provide more Stalls. This enabled him to remove one row and provide the remaining ten with more leg room. These alterations were not made at the expense of the rest of his auditorium. In 1878 he put backs on the Pit and Gallery seats, and in 1885 improved the Gallery sight lines.

Without a reasonable rise in admission charges Irving had to rely upon a growth of patronage to increase his receipts. Alterations to the auditorium between 1879 and 1885 almost doubled the box-office capacity which increased from £228 to £420. In 1879 the Amphitheatre was created, and in 1881 £12,000 was invested in a refurbishment which increased the potential box-office to £328. The addition of the extra Stalls and further refurbishment in 1885 took the capacity to between 1700 and 1800 people. In 1881, however, Irving discovered a more lucrative method of extending his patronage, touring the Provinces and the United States.

In 1909 Stoker discussed the subject of dead heads (non-paying members of an audience) in an article, of the same name, that was published in Fortnightly Review.⁹ This article would suggest that some revenue was lost through the use of complimentary tickets. Stoker justified the distribution of complimentary tickets by stating that there were always a number of seats that were not filled by paying guests; and, therefore, were available for the management to use as they saw fit. Stoker claimed that from experience he was able to calculate that during a long season or run a London theatre could expect an average nightly audience of seven hundred and fifty. He stated that this could vary according to the size and drawing power of the individual theatres. This comment of Stoker's could be used as an explanation for the fluctuation and apparent decline in the receipts for the Lyceum's long seasons.

Stoker defined four categories of dead head, two of which could be found in the Lyceum and two not. He stated that the Lyceum did not use dead heads to fill the house, maintaining that the circumstances that necessitated such action never arose, because if a drop in attendance occurred the programme was changed. It should, however, be noted that an audience of seven hundred and fifty would have filled less than half of the Lyceum's auditorium. The second category that was not used was the claque or 'clapper'. These were people who were given free seats and, who, in return, were expected to applaud at designated points during the performance. This encouraged other members of the audience to applaud and gave the impression of a favourable house. Even allowing for a slightly higher average audience this

still left a large number of vacant seats, many of which will have been filled with the two types of dead head that Stoker referred to as guests.

The dead heads that could be found in the Lyceum audience were defined by Stoker as guests courtesy of the management or official guests. He believed that both of these groups had a right or purpose to be included in the audience, and as such were not in fact dead heads at all.

The class of "official" guests mainly comprises persons who have either a community of interest in the theatre or the play, or whose general work is or may be of ultimate benefit to either of them.¹⁰

'Official' guests included the Lord Chamberlain or his readers, critics and journalists, printers and various suppliers, officials from the railways who helped to organise tours, members of the local constabulary who were admitted for security purposes, and finally, holders of Bill Orders. The latter group consisted of people and organisations who received complimentary tickets in return for displaying bills and advertisements. The majority of the Bill Order holders were given tickets for the Pit and Gallery; although Stoker states that the more influential amongst them, such as hotel proprietors, were placed in the Stalls or Dress Circle. Stoker did not provide information concerning the location of the other guests, 'official' or otherwise, but it can be assumed that people were placed according to their professional importance and social standing.

Stoker stated that courtesy guests included;

the family, relations and friends of the manager and of some of his most important officials before and behind the curtain. To this class may be added such free admissions as are given to the families of those employed in the theatre who do not give 'quid pro quo' in any direct form, but whose loyalty is thus secured or upheld. These comprise the authors, the actors, the composers, scene-painters, "producers" of various kinds, costumiers, property makers, perruquiers. These in themselves compose a numerous body. Much of their work is special, so that, although only a few take part in the preparation of any individual play, there are many of each kind who occasionally aid; and such, of course, have to be included in the courtesy list of the theatre.¹¹

This was indeed a large group considering that the permanent staff at the Lyceum never dropped below three hundred and fifty. If temporary and specially contracted artists are included this figure can rise to over six hundred. Stoker also stated that the courtesy list was extended to include

those engaged in other similar enterprises. Theatre managers are hospitable in practice as well as in intent, and to the personnel of other theatres are extended habitually facilities of enjoyment or study.¹²

Guest lists were, and are, a necessary part of a theatre's business. As Stoker stated, they are an expression of goodwill that should, in return, benefit the theatre. A question, however, that has to be asked is, did the benefits warrant a guest list of this size? The answer has to be no. At the height of its popularity the Lyceum could not have accommodated all of its 'official' and courtesy guests in unsold seats. It was,

therefore, losing revenue by giving them seats that could have been sold. Alternatively, if the guests were being given unsold seats it was a form of 'house filling'.

Expenditure

Seasonal expenditure at the Lyceum was not governed by the season length, but the scale of the productions within the season. Consequently, a seven-month season could be as costly as a ten-month one. Production and running costs rose steadily throughout the eighties and had almost doubled by 1892. The accounts of a revival of Hamlet in 1885 revealed that since 1879 the running costs had doubled from £700 to £1500 a week. Irving expressed his concern in a note to Stoker, "now or never is our time. If we cannot reduce now we never shall."¹³ Again, after the production of Macbeth in 1888-89, Irving asked his departments to economise: a difficult task to achieve when Irving himself did little to curb the lavish style of production. The barely noticeable reduction in expenditure after 1892 does not show any signs of serious economy, and proves that Irving found it difficult to control the level of expenditure.¹⁴

The Lyceum's expenditure between 1878 and 1899 came to a total in excess of £970,000 and 64%, almost £620,000, of that total can be attributed to the stage expenses.¹⁵ This incorporates stage salaries, supers, stage staff and expenses, lighting (gas, electricity and limelight), the orchestra and production account. Irving spent a little over £145,000 on the

production account, and although it was not the greatest of the stage expenses it was the most significant. It effectively controlled all the other stage related expenses, and as it rose so did they. The production account should also have been the easiest expense to control as it was not affected by outside influences, but was governed directly by Irving. It was Irving, and he alone, who determined the scale of each production.

Although included in the total expenditure, the production account kept a separate total of the cost of each production exclusive of the overall running expenses. The account included the cost of sets, costumes and properties, whether prepared in the theatre's workshops or by outside contractors; fees paid to composers, designers and authors (excluding royalties), and some salaries. A further breakdown shows four areas of expenditure, new productions, maintenance of existing stock, planned productions that were produced in a later season, and planned productions that were not produced. The first two of these accounted for the bulk of the expenditure. As Irving acquired a larger repertoire it added to the cost of maintenance as well as new stock.

Expenditure on the production account rose by an alarming 224%, from £4,443 to £14,344, between 1878 and 1892. At the beginning of Irving's management the production account expenses represented approximately 11% of the seasonal expenditure, but in 1892 it accounted for 23%. With the exception of limelight this was the largest percentage rise amongst the stage expenses. The production account figures provide the clearest record of

Irving's production policy. He desired to put upon the stage the most spectacular, lavish and realistic impressions that it was within his bounds to give, and each successive production drove him further along this path. Irving once stated that he did not go into management to make a profit, but to present to his audience the fruits of artistic endeavour. This statement is backed up by the production account figures which deny any form of economy. In spite of his concern over the production costs of Macbeth, Irving's extravagance continued and peaked in 1892 with the production of Henry VIII, Irving's most expensive production. Nearly £11,900 of the production account expenditure was marked against Henry VIII. This would appear to have tipped the balance between profit and loss. It is interesting to note that the decrease of £681 in the next season's losses was matched by a decrease of £677 in the production account.

There was a considerable amount of wasted expenditure in the production account. The amount of money spent on plays that were never produced falls into this category. In his Personal Reminiscences, Stoker stated that Irving paid over £9000 for twenty-seven plays that were never produced.¹⁶ The twenty plays that appear on the production account and which were not produced account for £3,629 of Stoker's total. His total can be reached by adding the amounts listed against "Authors' Fees" to those in the production account. The average expenditure per play was between £100 and £200, but there were four plays for which considerably more was paid; £350 was paid for Robert Emmett by Frank Marshall, £700 for Rienzi by W G Wills, £600 for a play called Edgar and Lucy, £432 for Adolph Faucquez' Guilty, and £563

for Cyrano de Bergerac. The higher cost of these plays may have been because they were of particular value to Irving, or because the authors' status demanded that level of payment.¹⁷

The provision of sets, costumes and properties was another area in which there was unnecessary or extravagant expenditure. Irving followed the example set by the Bancroft management and paid for his company's costumes. The casts utilised by the Bancrofts were considerably smaller than those used by Irving. In productions such as Faust, Irving provided costumes for over one hundred performers and it was reported that four hundred and eight costumes were made for the 1888 production of Macbeth.¹⁸ The provision of costumes was a considerable burden on the production account. It was, however, an expense that Irving was prepared to pay because it gave him complete control over the theatre's wardrobe and allowed him to create whatever style he desired.

Like many other managers Irving was concerned with archeological accuracy in setting and realistic detail in costumes and properties. This created another area of excessive expenditure. Irving commissioned a number of Royal Academicians and historians to design and research for him. These included Sir Laurence Alma-Tadema, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Edwin Abbey RA, and Onslow Ford RA. It is difficult to justify the large fees paid to these men when the strength of talent amongst Irving's own designers, property master and stage manager, is taken into consideration. Each was considered to be the best in his field within the profession. The work of the academicians had more a

social than an artistic impact. They lent a degree of academic or intellectual respectability to the productions that they worked on. Irving also benefitted socially from the association because they had achieved the social status to which he and other managers aspired.¹⁹

An analysis of the production account for Henry VIII, in relation to the receipts and other productions, highlights the excesses to which the production account was prone, and the extent to which it affected profit and loss. Irving's production of Henry VIII was a box-office success and ran for one hundred and seventy-two consecutive performances in its first season and a further thirty-three in the following one. Apart from Henry VIII, there were six performances of Richelieu, one of The For/esters and a benefit. The receipts for the 1892 season were £58,639 and the average nightly box-office total was £322 (out of a possible £420). Henry VIII, therefore, took approximately £55,000 during its first run, which compared favourably with Irving's other Shakespearean productions.

<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	£50,000 over 250 performances
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	£34,000 over 130 performances
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	£62,000 over 212 performances
<u>Macbeth</u>	£49,000 over 151 performances

Stoker wrote that the production took over £60,000 for the 205 performances. Although the receipts are similar to those for Much Ado About Nothing there is a noticeable difference in the percentage audiences. This is partly due to the box-office

capacity, which in 1882-83 was £328. The average audience during the 1892 season was 76%, and using Stoker's total it is possible to deduce that the nightly audience for Henry VIII was 70% of capacity. In 1882-83 the average audience throughout the season was 90% and for Much Ado it was 89%.

The production account for Henry VIII does not compare favourably with other productions. A total of £16,544 was spent on the play and the only production to come close to that level of expenditure was Faust with a total production account of £15,402. The production costs for other plays were considerably smaller.

<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	£9,544
<u>Macbeth</u>	£9,354
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	£6,617
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	£6,589
<u>Twelfth Night</u>	£3,991
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	£2,163
<u>Hamlet</u>	£1,398

Production costs were cut dramatically in the seasons after Henry VIII and the initial production expenses on the next three productions were less than half the £11,879 for Henry VIII.

<u>King Lear</u>	£2,986
<u>Beckett</u>	£4,723
<u>King Arthur</u>	£4,500

The relatively small production costs for Much Ado About Nothing contributed greatly to the large profit that it made. The figures for Henry VIII proved that there was a ceiling on initial production costs of £8,000 to £9,000.

The total expenditure on Henry VIII can be broken down. It first appeared on the production account in 1886-87 when £58 was spent. The next payment, £133 came in 1890-91, and then during the Interim season of 1891 a further £1,469 was spent. This last figure can be further broken down:

Paint Rooms	£643/7/2
Carpenters	£525/7/9
Properties	£72/12/6
Wardrobe	£8
Gas	£31/2/11
Artists	£35/17/6
Gas Dept.	£31/2/11
Supers	£24/14
Bills	£7/12/6
Cartage	£14/13
Salaries	£20
Band	£8

The bulk of these expenses seem to have been for the preparation of scenery. The greatest of the production costs occurred in the season of production, when £11,879 was spent. In the following season a further £2,986 was paid out, the highest ever single

post-production payment. Finally in 1894 £317 was marked against it which was lower than the average maintenance costs.

As there is no breakdown for the 1892 expenses it is difficult to judge exactly what made them so high. Costuming and scenery must have accounted for much of it. Stoker wrote that Seymour Lucas RA superintended the production. He had a team working in South Kensington for months beforehand. Stoker also wrote that antique materials were reproduced and specially woven for the production. Irving's robe was an exact reproduction of the Rudolph Lehmann painting. Such attention to detail cost dear; however, some restraint was shown. When choosing cloth of gold Irving rejected the real thing, costing ten guineas a foot, for stencilled bolton from the theatre's prop room. The bolton cost a mere eighteen pence a yard. Stoker claimed that the real article was rejected because it did not look right under the lights. Surely, even Irving's extravagance would not have stretched to the amount that real cloth of gold would have cost. Stoker attempted to justify the expense of the production in two ways; firstly, the belief that it was important and relevant politically; and secondly, that as the period was well documented great care had to be taken to get detail right.

Beerbohm Tree also produced Henry VIII, in 1910, and Tree was regarded as Irving's natural successor. His Majesty's Theatre attained similar pre-eminence to the Lyceum in the 1880's and 90's. He further developed Irving's techniques of pictorial romanticism and mass effects. He too, adhered to archeological and historical precepts, and their execution in design, scene

painting, costumes and properties. Unlike Irving's production Beerbohm Tree's made a substantial profit of £19,282 as opposed to a loss of £4,575. The profit was further supplemented by £793 for cinematographic rights. The play ran for eight months, some two hundred and fifty-four performances. No other Shakespearean production had had an uninterrupted run of that length. The nearest was Irving's production of The Merchant of Venice which had run for two hundred and fifty performances.

The total number of spectators is not known, but by the one hundred and sixty-eighth performance two hundred and fifty thousand people had attended. If there was no fall-off, and newspaper comments do not indicate any, some three hundred and seventy-five thousand people saw the play. Unfortunately there are no such totals for the Lyceum. The theatre, however, had a similar capacity to the Lyceum, £406 (1700 people). Tree's box-office total was £77,475, an average of £306 per performance. This means that the average attendance was 75%. The figures do not differ greatly from Irving's, but it was a slightly more popular production.

Not surprisingly, it is in the production costs that the two differ most. Beerbohm Tree's total production costs were £7,204, under half those of Irving. His running costs were £41,079 and if this and the production costs are added the total is some £15,000 less than 1892 season's expenses at the Lyceum. The biggest single item of Tree's production costs was the costuming upon which £2,756 was spent. The material for Wolsey's robe cost £1 a yard and sixteen yards were needed for the train alone. Material

for the king's dress was £2 a yard; and the queen's underdress was specially woven at £2 a yard. Irving's cost must have been similar. This would also support the view that a large proportion of Irving's costs was on costumes. One of Irving's scene painters, Joseph Harker produced the scenery and Percy Macquoid RI received £250 for advice and designs for furniture, props and costumes, and the bill for properties came to £545. Macquoid probably had a hand in the scene designs also. Like Seymour Lucas, he worked on the production for some months before rehearsals. Beerbohm Tree's expenses under this heading were not dissimilar to those of Irving. In spite of expensive costumes and the employment of a member of the Royal Institute, Tree managed to keep his expenditure under control.

The greatest of the stage expenses were the stage salaries which totalled some £280,000. If the salaries are looked at as a percentage, they represent between 24% and 34% of a season's overall costs. The cost of salaries increased from £9,751 to £14,465 between the first two seasons. It continued to rise until the season of 1890-91 and 1892, by which time the salary bill had more than doubled to £22,626 and £14,123 respectively.²⁰ If the different length of these two seasons is taken into account the two totals are comparable.

Salaries remained low and constant throughout Irving's management. His own salary of only £70 per week (p.w.) was small considering his status within the company and the profession as a whole. There was a clear divide in the salaries with the established actors receiving more favourable rates than the

newcomers and character actors. Young actors received between £5 and £10 p.w., but newcomers such as John Martin Harvey who joined the company in 1883 began at £2.²¹ The more established actors' salaries began at £14 and rose to between £30 and £40 p.w.. Stoker is reticent over Ellen Terry's salary, but it can be assumed that she was given £100 p.w. if not more.²² In contrast a character actress such as Georgina Pauncefoot received £8 p.w. for the twenty years that she worked for Irving. As Irving and Ellen Terry were the sole stars of the company only a handful of more established actors were employed, and the company was made up of a large number of less well paid actors. The salary costs rose as the company expanded in relation to the grand scale of Irving's productions.

As with the production account and the stage salaries the cost of supers rose during the 1880's and reached its peak in 1892. The rise can partially be attributed to a number of increases in the nightly payment that a super received. Stoker reveals that Irving paid substantially more than the going rate:

When the standard pay was sixpence per night he gave a shilling. When that sum became standard he gave one and sixpence. And when that was reached he paid two shillings - an increase of 300 per cent. in his own time.²³

This was an extremely generous, if not foolish, undertaking on Irving's behalf considering the extensive use that he made of supers. A total expenditure of £16,600 gave employment to a large number of supers. The costs began modestly with bills of £373 and £484 for the first two seasons. By 1882-83 the bill had risen to over £1,000 and in 1892 it was £2,221. During this period 2-3% of

Irving's total expenditure for a season was taken by the supers. This was a large percentage considering that they were temporary performers and that the stage staff also cost 3%.

The salary costs for the stage crew also began to rise in the 1880's; however, they did not show any decline after 1892 and, in fact, continued to rise. Between 1878 and 1897 there had been a 145% increase.²⁴ Unlike other industries, the theatre does not seem to have been much influenced by the advances in technology, which could make production less labour intensive. Rehearsals were a particularly expensive affair and a cost which Stoker resented because, unlike the actors, the stage staff spent much of the time standing idle. The normal working day of a stage hand was eight hours. If rehearsals were held after the day's normal performance overtime was paid at the following rate: the next four hours counted as a second day and the two after that as a third.²⁵

This particular stage expense was controlled more by the established rights of stage crews than the management. Stoker explained the situation in his Personal Reminiscences:

Stage work is divided into departments, and the mechanical things are under several masters, each controlling his own set of men. There is the Master Machinist -commonly called Master Carpenter- the Property Master, the Gas Engineer and the Electric Engineer, the Limelight Master. In certain ways the work of these departments impinge on each other in a way to puzzle an outsider. Thus, when a stage has to be covered it is the work of one set of men or the other, but not of both. Anything in the nature of a painted cloth, such

as tessellated flooring, is scenery, and therefore the work of the carpenters; but a carpet is a "property" and as such to be laid down by the property staff. A gas light or an electric light is to be arranged by the engineer of that cult, whilst an oil lamp or a candle belongs to properties. The traditional laws which govern these things are deep seated in trade rights and customs and are grave matters to interfere with.²⁶

London stage hands were a highly organised and supportive group and, therefore, any attempt to change the status quo could be met by a threat of industrial action.

Irving's lighting cost a total of £32,300 of which £20,000 was for gas and electricity and £12,300 for limelight.²⁷ The gas bill remained fairly static throughout, but the cost of gas in London was falling which meant that the bill was, in effect, rising. It was the bill for limelight that showed the most dramatic increase of all the stage expenses. Between 1878 and 1886 the costs quadrupled rising from £292 to £1,467. There was a drop of approximately 34% in the early 1890's after which the expenditure steadied. In 1911 Nineteenth Century published an article on Irving's use of stage lighting written by Stoker.²⁸ The article states that Irving did much to advance lighting techniques and turn it into an art form in itself. Stoker wrote that he recognised the atmospheric potential of lighting and experimented with it to ensure that he used the lighting to full effect. Irving was one of the first managers to have full lighting rehearsals, and on occasion these lasted into the early hours of the morning. It is, therefore, not surprising that lighting costs escalated; or that the highest bills, and

particularly for limelight, occurred in the two seasons that were straddled by the long run of Faust.

There are four areas of expenditure outwith the stage expenses that are worth comment, and the first of these is taxation. Obviously the amount of tax paid varied according to the level of income, however, neither this, nor an allowance for an increase in the basic rate of taxation accounts for a 200% increase in the Lyceum's taxes. Irving paid £539 tax in his first season, by the third season this had risen slightly to £644, but in the fifth season in 1882-83 the bill was £1,303. In 1886-87 the tax costs peaked at £1,597. Although the tax is marked against the London seasons it does not cover that income alone, but also that of the Provincial and American tours.²⁹ Taxation is not included in the tour accounts expenditure and it is at the time that Irving started to tour that the tax bill began to rise. The relationship between the tours and tax costs becomes more apparent in the loss making seasons when the income from the London seasons was beginning to drop but the tax bills remained high.

Advertising accounted for 4-9% of seasonal expenditure, quite a high percentage which made it one of the major expenses. Irving regarded it as an important and necessary aspect of the theatre's business and expenditure.³⁰ It also followed a fairly predictable path in that it generally remained steady throughout the 1880's, averaging £3,000 - £3,500, but then rose by just over 30% in the 1890's. The cost of bill-posting showed a similar rise although it represented a smaller percentage of the expenditure

(1-3%). This would tend to confirm the fall in receipts during the latter years of Irving's management. These costs fluctuated on occasion and did not always rise and fall in unison. For example, in 1880-81 the advertisement costs were higher than average and the bill-posting cost lower. The former may have been increased to inform the public, firstly, of the production of Othello with Edwin Booth, and, secondly, of Irving's pending absence on his first Provincial tour. The decrease in bill-posting costs may also have been in anticipation of Irving's departure.

Irving spent a total of £48,500 on the "house", this covered structural maintenance and refurbishment costs. This expenditure was extravagant and wasteful when he did not actually own the building. If, indeed, he had owned the building this expenditure would have been an investment that would have improved the value of his capital. Irving was given the option to purchase the building in 1881 for the sum of £110,000, but for some reason chose not to take the offer. The expenditure on the house also had a knock-on effect in that it increased the salary bill for the house staff and the house expenses. In the season following the refurbishment in 1881, which increased the capacity of the auditorium, there was a 39% increase in the salary costs and a 200% increase in house expenses. A certain amount of this expenditure will have been necessary to fulfil legislative requirements and to improve health and safety standards. A large proportion of it, however, will have been purely cosmetic and undertaken for social reasons. Irving created a comfortable environment that would appeal to the upper echelons of society.

The refurbishment of the Beefsteak Rooms was a prime example, where Irving created a private dining room in which a select group of guests were entertained. The Beefsteak Rooms enabled Irving, and certainly Stoker, to fulfil their social aspirations.

Stoker did not list the cost of hospitality as a separate item of expenditure, but the costs will have been extremely high. He described the ordinary hospitalities of the Beefsteak Rooms as "endless", and there were also the large on-stage gatherings that catered for several hundred guests. Stoker published a list of over a thousand names in his Personal Reminiscences and it is thought that Irving entertained some five thousand guests during his twenty-year management.³¹ The cost of these lavish entertainments would certainly account for the £12,000 of sundry expenditure. Once again, to the observer, this type of expenditure appears to be unnecessarily extravagant, but to Irving and other theatre managers it was a required social obligation. Stoker wrote:

For more than twenty-five years Irving did for England that which in other nations is furthered by the State; and his theatre was known and respected all over the world. This entailed not only hospitality in all forms to foreign artists, but to many, many strangers attracted by the fame of his undertaking, and anxious to meet so famous a man in person. This duty Irving never shirked; he had ever a ready hand for any stranger, and in the long career of his ministration of the duties of hospitality he actually aided, so far as one man can do, the popularity of his own country amongst the nations of the world.³²

Whatever the reasons that were used to justify it, this type of

expenditure was common to all theatres and continued well into the twentieth century.

Interim Seasons and Tour Accounts

There were fourteen Interim seasons during Irving's independent management of the Lyceum.³³ In financial terms they were disastrous and served to highlight Irving's excess and generosity at their worst. All but one of the seasons lost money, and the total of these losses amounted to £38,613 whilst the profit was a mere £956. This gave an overall loss of £37,657, which effectively cancelled out the £31,500 profit that remained from the London seasons, and left an overall loss of a little over £6,000 in 1899.³⁴

The usual agreement for letting out a theatre to a visiting company and artist was to take a percentage of the receipts by way of rent. Irving, however, chose not to follow this practice and used a system of fixed rents which varied according to the artist. The rent was usually set somewhere between £100 and £300 with the average being £200. As a general rule foreign, and in particular American, artists were charged higher rates than British performers. It would also appear that artists were given favourable rates for their first season, and that these were increased in subsequent seasons.

Genevieve Ward's rent for the first Interim season in 1879 worked out at £100 p.w. inclusive of house and stage staff.

Irving's expenditure on the house and stage staff for the season came to £959, far more than the £600 he received in rent. When she took a week in the 1887 season she paid £200 exclusive of staff. The difference between the two seasons was that 1879 was her first season under her own management, whereas in 1887 she was an established and successful artist. Forbes Robertson was treated in a similar way. During his first Lyceum season in 1895-96 his rent was £140 p.w. inclusive of costumes, and as with Genevieve Ward, this was his first season under his own management. For his second season three years later he paid £200. John Martin Harvey did not get quite such favourable terms for his first and only season, because his season came at the end of Irving's management when money was sorely needed.³⁵ The £200 p.w. did, however, include house and stage staff as well as the orchestra. Inclusive rents such as these did not cover Irving's expenses, and he was in effect subsidising the Interim managements.

Mary Anderson's rent for her first season in 1883 was £110, this went up to £170 in 1884 and £200 in 1887. The low rent in her first season was probably a gesture of good will on Irving's part as her tenancy coincided with his first American tour, which had been arranged by her impresario, H E Abbey. The increase between her first two seasons may have been a response to news of her success conveyed in the letters of G E Terry. He also commented in his letters that, in view of her success, the rent was too low. Mary Anderson's rents do not appear to have been inclusive of the house and stage staff salaries. Other established artists such as Sarah Bernhardt, Lillian Russell paid

a straight rent of £200 p.w.. Augustin Daly took the Lyceum for two Interim seasons in 1890 and 1891. In the first of these his rent varied between £200 and £340 p.w., with the higher of these being paid at the beginning of the season and the lower at the end. There is no explanation for this and it is not that Irving was receiving a share of receipts. If this had been the case it would have been marked as such. The second season's rent was set and remained at £200. It was rumoured that Irving did not particularly care for Augustin Daly and this may have had something to do with the way in which his rent was set.

Three of the Interim seasons in the 1890's were arranged on a share basis. Irving received rent and a 50% share of receipts from Oscar Barrett in 1893 and 1895. However, Irving also paid half the production costs. In the first of these seasons the pantomime made Irving a profit of £1,638, but the season made an overall loss of £4,307. Both the pantomime and the season lost in 1895-96. For his three weeks in the 1898-99 season, Coquelin also paid a nominal rent of £377, and one third of his receipts which came to £2,021. This was a respectable income for three weeks, but it was a drop in the ocean compared to the season's expenditure of £16,822. There is no explanation for why Irving chose a rental rather than a share system; it may have been that he preferred the security of knowing that regardless of the success of the artist he was guaranteed a certain income. Most of the Interim seasons, however, met with a reasonable degree of success and it would have been better for him to have opted for the share system.

The problem with the Interim seasons, as with the main seasons, was the level of Irving's expenditure. The total expenditure was £113,132 compared to an income of £8,453, which did not even cover the theatre's rent of over £26,000.³⁶ Irving used the Interim seasons to prepare productions for the main seasons and this incurred production account expenditure, staff and stage expenses. It is difficult to get a clear idea of some areas of expenditure as they are often grouped together; however, the stage related expenses exceeded £11,298. The production account is marked separately and more than £23,000 is marked against it, some 20% of the total expenditure.

Irving could not have hoped to make the Interim seasons pay with that level of expenditure even if he had charged higher rents or taken a proportion of the receipts. There would have been no benefit from reducing the expenditure because it would have resulted in a proportionate rise in the main seasons' costs. The accounts for the Interim seasons back up the theory that the theatre was let out, primarily, to prevent it from going into darkness whilst Irving went on tour; and, secondly, as a gesture of goodwill to his fellow artists.

If Irving had not extended his audience and his income by going on tour he would almost certainly have been bankrupt in 1899 or shortly after. There were ten Provincial tours between 1881 and 1899, and all except the third made a profit with the total amounting to £31,599.³⁷ Irving's share of the receipts was two thirds between 1881 and 1890, and, thereafter, 70% less £40 p.w.. This was either marked against the expenditure or deducted

from the receipts before they were entered into the accounts. There are no surprises in the Provincial tour accounts and little that can be said except that receipts and expenditure remained fairly constant throughout; and, inevitably the greatest of the expenses were for the salaries and travel and carriage.

The accounts for the five American tours tell a similar story. All five made a profit which totalled approximately £69,000.

1883-84	£11,726
1884-85	£14,785
1887-88	£11,934
1893-94	£23,944
1895-96	£6,000/£6,627

There is not an exact figure for the last tour as the accounts were not totalled and do not detail the share of the receipts.³⁸ It was a much reduced profit considering that the tour was the longest of the five by about six weeks. If Laurence Irving's totals are to be believed the reduction in profit was due more to the hefty expenditure than a drop in receipts. If an allowance is made for the changes in the share, the receipts remained fairly constant. Irving decided after the first tour that he could make more money by arranging them himself and he was proved right. His share on the first tour was 50% + £200 p.w., whereas on the second and third tours he took 80%, and on the fourth 65% or 50% + \$1000/\$1500. It can be assumed that the arrangement on the fifth tour was similar to the fourth. The expenses almost doubled

after the first tour, but that was to be expected, as Abbey had shared the expenses of the first tour. They then remained steady until 1895-96 when they rose by approximately 17%. This can be attributed to the additional salary, travel and haulage costs that resulted from the larger than normal repertoire that was taken on this tour.

To conclude, the tours provided a large and much needed income that was used to keep the Lyceum afloat. It has also become apparent from the accounts that Irving's main problem was his large and excessive expenditure. Irving was not, and did not claim to be, a business man, he was an artist and the aim of his management was artistic. Stoker wrote:

Irving was determined from the very first to strain every nerve for the honour of his art; for the perfecting of stage work; for his own fame. To these ends he gave himself, his work, his fortune.³⁹

It may have been Irving's desire to remain an artist rather than a businessman that made him reject the advice that he received from the financier W R Lawson on how to limit his liabilities. In 1887 Lawson had made two suggestions; firstly, that a company with a capital of £200,000 acquire the theatre, the lease and properties and become Irving's landlord. Secondly he suggested that Irving include himself as an asset and that the shareholders be entitled to 50% of his profits and 5% of the investment.

The state of the Lyceum's finances cannot be blamed on Stoker's financial mis-management because he did not have the

control to either manage or mis-manage. Much of Beerbohm Tree's financial control can be credited to his devoted and capable business and stage-staff, whom he retained to compensate for his own vague and chaotic handling of financial affairs. Irving's managers and staff were also extremely capable and it is possible that had he given them more responsibility they could have curbed his extravagance. Much of the excess, however, was a result of the style of management. No great reduction could have been made without a significant change in Irving's style of management and production.

FOOTNOTES

THE LYCEUM ACCOUNTS

1. The bequest came from Mrs Hannah Brown, a life-long friend of Baroness Burdett-Couttès. See Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, pp.308-309.
2. The following dates include eleven and twelve month seasons: 1880-81, 1882-83, 1885-86, 1886-87, 1890-91.
3. The 1888-89 season was a month longer than the previous season, within this grouping, but its profit was down by £1,376.
4. The decision to extend the season was made prior to the losses, as it was the 1896 summer break that was given up.
5. After a one week closure Stoker revived Cymbeline, but it failed to draw a worthwhile audience. This was mainly because Ellen Terry was also absent on holiday. Stoker, therefore, cut his losses and closed the theatre for a further three weeks.
6. For details of new productions and account breakdown see Appendix A.
7. Werner was an old and difficult play to produce and there was no part for Irving in The Amber Heart.
8. These are the only available prices for 1878.
9. Bram Stoker, "Dead Heads", Fortnightly Review, Vol 86, 1909, pp.646-658.
10. Bram Stoker, as above, p.652.
11. Bram Stoker, as above, pp.651-652.
12. Bram Stoker, as above, p.652.
13. Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.456.
14. It is worth considering what effect, if any, inflation had upon Irving's expenditure. Records for the period are unreliable, and it is difficult to set a percentage figure as we are accustomed to today. However, throughout the century prices rose and there was a moderate rate of inflation that fluctuated. The indication is, that inflation peaked in the mid 1870s and was actually dropping during the 80s and 90s, the period when Irving's expenditure was rising. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the steady rise in expenditure was due more to Irving's extravagance than inflation.
Reference E G Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital, Abacus, 1985;
Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation, Methuen, 2nd

- edition, 1983; Mitchell & Dean, Abstract of British Historical Statistics, Cambridge University Press, 1962.
15. This expenditure was comfortably matched by receipts in excess of £1 million excluding the tours.
 16. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.134.
 17. W G Wills was a particular favourite of Irving's and much patronised. He provided Irving with Charles I, Eugene Aram, Vanderdecken, Faust, Olivia and King Arthur.
 18. Alan Hughes, "The Lyceum Staff: A Victorian Theatrical Organisation", Theatre Notebook, Vol 28, 1974.
 19. John Pick, The West End, Management and Snobbery, John Offord Publications Ltd, 1983, p.90, "By such patronage...".
 20. This represented a 132% increase on 1878.
 21. When John Martin Harvey left the company in 1898 he was receiving £30 p.w..
 22. Ellen Terry's salary on American tours was £200 p.w. in 1887 and £300 p.w. in 1895-96, but performers received higher salaries when on tour to cover the additional expenses.
 23. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.158.
 24. The total expenditure in 1878 was £1,112 and in 1897 £2,732.
 25. John Pick, in The West End, calculates that three long rehearsals could amount to fourteen hours overtime, which would double their weekly salaries. See p.94.
 26. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.178.
 27. Electric lighting was installed in 1890.
 28. Bram Stoker, "Irving and Stage Lighting", Nineteenth Century, Vol 69, 1911.
 29. Alan Hughes, "Henry Irving's Finances: The Lyceum Accounts 1878-1899", Nineteenth Century Theatre Research, Vol 1, 1973. Hughes' comments in this article do not appear to take this fact into consideration.
 30. In The Stoker Collection, (Stratford), there are many proof copies of newspaper advertisements with corrections and amendments marked on them. See, also, Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.332; and Dan Farson, The Man Who Wrote Dracula, Michael Joseph, 1975, p.193.
 31. John Pick, The West End, p.92; and Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, pp.315-326.
 32. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.313.

33. See Appendix B.
34. This figure does not take the tour profits into account.
35. John Martin Harvey, Autobiography, p.223.
36. The rent was included with other expenses in some of the accounts and this is the total of rent expenses that were listed separately.
37. See Appendix C for receipt, expenditure, profit and loss totals.
38. The profit figures for this tour are taken from Alan Hughes, "Henry Irving's Finances", p.96, and Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.588. My own calculations produce a figure of £9,175, with receipts of £73,787 and expenditure of £64,612. As there is such a large difference between these figures and those produced by Hughes and Laurence Irving, which more or less agree, I have chosen to quote the Hughes and Irving figures.
39. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.317.

THE FINAL YEARS

During the second half of the 1890's Irving was plagued by misfortune and the failure of his good health. It began with his knee injury in 1896 and the disastrous losses incurred by his absence as a result of the accident. In her memoirs, Ellen Terry wrote:

It is now common knowledge that Henry Irving's health began to fail in the year 1896, but for years few outside the small circle of his fellow-workers and intimate friends were aware that he was constantly ill. He fought valiently against the physical weakness each illness increased, and seldom betrayed in his acting that he had to be careful how he exerted himself.¹

In mid-October 1898 during the Provincial tour Irving became ill and was found to be suffering from pleurisy and pneumonia. He was bed-ridden for seven weeks in Glasgow before returning to London and Bournemouth to convalesce. It was spring 1899 before he returned to work. This was Irving's first serious illness and he never recovered his former strength because the damage to his lungs failed to heal.

In February 1898 there had also been a fire in the Southwark scene store which destroyed the bulk of the theatre's scenery. The store had held the scenery for forty-four plays, twenty-two of which formed the main stay of Irving's repertoire.² During the previous year Irving had asked Stoker to reduce the insurance cover for the store from £10,000 to £6,000. He had believed it to be a waste of money because, as Stoker put it:

the premises were secure in every way we could devise, we looked upon them as comparatively immune from fire risk. No one lived in them. They were all brick, stone, and slate - as the insurance policies put it.³

As a result the scenery was greatly underinsured but that was the least part of the loss. Nothing could repay the time, labour and artistic experience that had gone into creating it. Irving had lost his capital and financial security in one fell swoop.

The loss of Irving's capital and health made the state of the Lyceum's finances all the more serious. With poor health and no stock scenery he could no longer rely upon the tours as a means of subsidising the Lyceum. The use of revivals to provide a steady income was now also out of the question. It was now essential that the Lyceum be made to pay its own way, and, given that the majority of Irving's more recent productions had failed to achieve the level of success of those in the 1880's, the prospect of this seemed bleak.

In December 1898 Stoker travelled from Manchester, where the company was, and saw Irving in London to discuss their plans for the forthcoming year. Stoker had to emphasise their financial weakness and the need for serious economy. He suggested a three month provincial tour followed by a two month holiday then an eight week London season and a tour of America in the autumn. The provincial tour would begin at Easter and they could cut the expenses by touring a few plays with small casts, and boost receipts by playing in places where Irving had not appeared before. The break would help Irving recuperate his strength ready

for the London season. Irving had already planned that Robespierre should be his next production and Stoker advised that he should continue as planned. The expenses of the production would be cut by £1,000 that Irving had already paid out for royalties. Stoker had also received an offer of £10,000 for the lease of the Lyceum during the American tour, which also promised a rich reward.

The plan was sound and Irving seemed to be happy with it. Stoker stated that "Irving's judgement was at high tide when with fresh hope and vigour he accepted this policy".⁴ It, however, was dependent upon Irving's continued improvement and return to health and the success of Robespierre, which was in no way guaranteed. These thoughts may have been in Irving's mind when he received and tentatively accepted an offer put to him by a syndicate headed by his friend, Comyns Carr.⁵ Stoker and Loveday were not consulted and knew nothing of this offer until they were summoned to Bournemouth in mid-January to discuss the proposal. They were also surprised at Irving's readiness to consider the offer when he had already accepted Stoker's plan for financial recovery.

The company proposed that Irving convey to them his lease, which still had eighteen years to run, and all of his furniture and fittings. For five years - the duration of the contract - Irving had to guarantee one hundred performances a year at the Lyceum at a rate that was 10-25% less than he normally received when playing in other theatres. In addition he was to tour for a minimum of four months a year and give the company a quarter of

the profits. The company also asked for free use of Irving's scenery and properties. In the first year of the contract Irving was to pay all production costs and 60% in future years. For the first season Irving was to guarantee the company a minimum share of £100 per performance, pay all stage expenses and half of the advertising.

In return Irving was to receive £26,500 in cash and £12,500 in fully paid shares in proportion to the two classes of shares that would be put on the market.⁶ Stoker immediately saw that the proposals were balanced heavily in the company's favour and strongly advised Irving against it. He provided Irving with estimated figures for both the syndicate's plan and his own, as well as devising a third option if Irving wanted to abandon or amend the scheme he had agreed to in the December. Stoker's figures showed that after five years his own plan would realise similar profits to that of the syndicate and leave Irving in possession of his lease, scenery and properties of all kinds. Irving's mind, however was made up and he was determined to go ahead with the syndicate's plan. Stoker wrote:

The new scheme was attractive to him in his then condition and circumstances. He had been recently and was still physically weak. He had for over two years felt the want of capital or such organised association of interests as makes for helpfulness; and here was something which would share, if it did not lift, the burden. At any rate, whatever may have been the cause or the prevailing argument or interest with him, he had in this matter made up his mind.

What Stoker did not realise was that Irving was being swayed by

the similarities between this scheme and the one suggested by Lawson in 1887. Stoker had not been involved in those discussions, which is probably why he found Irving's actions so surprising.

Stoker was left to try and negotiate a better deal for Irving, but the only important change that he was able to effect was that Irving should receive a nominal salary of £70 p.w.. He also told Irving that under no circumstances should he agree to be a director of the company. The actor took his advice in this instance. The business was finalised while Stoker was in America making arrangements for the American tour which was to go ahead as planned. On his return he was horrified to learn that Irving had allowed himself to be named as a Dramatic Advisor and that £120,000 of mortgage debentures had been added to the company's responsibility. It was massively over-valued.

The company survived from 1899 to the the end of the 1902 season, when it was forced into bankruptcy by a demand from London City Council for £20,000 worth of structural renovation. Stoker attended the final shareholders' meeting, where he spoke out against the accusations blaming Irving's mis-management for the failure of the company. The only profitable seasons that the company had were those played by Irving, and the season in which William Gillette played Sherlock Holmes, a piece which Irving had recommended to the directors. Irving's work had provided the company with £29,000. The £12,500 of shares that Irving had received were valueless, and the £26,500 that he received in cash plus £2,500 of his own money were eaten up by production costs.

As Stoker put it he lost two years of his working life for nothing.

In his Personal Reminiscences Stoker completely disassociated himself from The Lyceum Company:

I should like to say, on my own account, and for my own protection, inasmuch as I was Sir Henry Irving's business manager, that from the first to last I had absolutely no act or part in the formation of the Lyceum Theatre Company - in its promotion, flotation, or working. Even my knowledge of it was confined to matters touched on in the contract with Irving. From the first I had no information as to its purposes, scope and methods, outside the above.

He went on to state that he possessed no shares until the company's future looked insecure, and then he bought five shares to give him the right to attend shareholders' meetings. Stoker did not even see a prospectus of the company for nearly a year after its formation.

After the failure of the company the remainder of Irving's career was mainly spent touring and his last two London seasons were played at Drury Lane. Between 1898 and 1905 Stoker continued to work for Irving in much the same way as before and he probably worked harder in those last seven years than during Irving's independent management. During Irving's illness it was decided that the tour should continue and Stoker virtually lived on trains for seven weeks. He saw the work started and finished in each of the tour venues and between times travelled up to Glasgow to see Irving, and down to London to organise the extension of

the Interim season at the Lyceum. He then had to go on and organise the provincial and American tours for 1899 as well as negotiate with the syndicate. The strain began to have an effect on his health also, and he was ill for several days prior to his trip to America and had an attack of pneumonia just before the 1899 season opened.

Ellen Terry wrote that "Henry was a changed man from the time he sold his rights in the theatre to the company. He became less autocratic both as a producer and manager, and left things to other people."⁹ One of those people was Stoker who, in an effort to spare Irving, took on as much of his day-to-day business and responsibility as he could. Irving no longer came into the office or the theatre when on tour and so Stoker visited him daily either at his flat in London or hotel elsewhere. After the failure of the company Irving no longer had a fixed base and was constantly on tour. This gave Stoker an even heavier workload as it took tremendous effort to organise and administrate tours.

In 1898, for the first time in over twenty years, a rift appeared in Stoker and Irving's relationship, which will have been an added difficulty in Stoker's work. When referring to the setting up of the Lyceum Theatre Company in his Personal Reminiscences Stoker stated that:

It was an unfortunate thing for his own prosperity that Irving did not adhere to the arrangement then made. I fear that the chagrin which he felt at the check to his plans had too operative a force within him. When the offer made by the parent Lyceum Theatre Company was put before him he jumped at it".¹⁰

Stoker's fear may well have been right, but there was also a certain pique on his part because Irving had not consulted him. A hint of the misunderstandings that occurred at this time can be seen in a letter that Irving sent to Stoker during the rehearsal of Robespierre:

There has been the most astounding, stupid mistake about the Sunday papers, which have no advertisements. Tell them in future to show me an advt. list - which I will supervise - infact it is you who ought to make advts. for which I am responsible for biggest share. At all events you must revise.

I thought it was understood that you should take it over. As it is now we have destroyed six notices in the papers with a very big circulation - one omitting to notice play at all.¹¹

The situation will have been made worse in 1902 when Stoker's misgivings over the company were proved correct. Again, in 1903, Irving did not take advice proffered by Stoker on the subject of Dante. Stoker tried to persuade him to drop plans for the costly production of this play because he felt it would not appeal to audiences. Irving continued with the production which met with only partial success. Also against Stoker's advice the production was taken to America where it failed dismally, and the scenery was abandoned in America rather than pay the carriage to return it to England.

Apart from professional misunderstandings there was also less opportunity for them to communicate and socialise as they had prior to 1898. Irving's failing health meant that he had to conserve his energy and strength for his work and he limited his entertaining to dinners on Sundays. There were no longer the late

night dinners in the Beefsteak Rooms, or the long intimate chats about future hopes that continued in to the early hours of the morning, and Stoker sorely missed these. That he understood the situation is clear in his comment towards the end of his Personal Reminiscences:

It was, of course, in part that hopes and purposes belonged to an earlier age. There is more life and spring in intentions that have illimitable possibilities than in those that are manifestly bounded, if not cramped, by the existing and adverse facts. But the effect was the same. The man, wearied by long toil and more or less deprived by age and health of the spurs of ambition, shrank somewhat into himself.¹²

Stoker did not become disillusioned with his lot and his loyalty and friendship remained firm during the last seven years that he spent with Irving. He continued to work tirelessly for him and his best interests always came first. Even after Irving's announcement, in 1904, that he intended to retire in 1906, Stoker refused to consider working for anyone else.¹³ The increase in his literary output indicated that he intended to retire with Irving.

However, Stoker's career as a manager did not end with Irving's death. Towards the end of 1906 David Bispham asked Stoker if he would act as Business Manager for a musical production of The Vicar of Wakefield, and he agreed. The venture was beset with trouble from the start. There was some difficulty in finding a suitable tenor for the part of Squire Thornhill, and Laurence Housman who was engaged to prepare the book, refused to

be billed as author after Bispham made severe cuts to it. Their disagreement became public on the opening night, when Housman arrived at the theatre and argued with Bispham in front of the press. The show received conflicting criticisms and was not well attended. When the financial situation became critical Stoker was the first to volunteer a cut in salary, but no such efforts could save it and it failed after two months. This was Stoker's last venture in the theatre and a sad conclusion to his career as a Business Manager.

FOOTNOTES

THE FINAL YEARS

1. Ellen Terry, Ellen Terry's Memoirs, p.259.
2. Stoker lists these plays in Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, pp.300-301.
3. Bram Stoker, as above, p.300.
4. Bram Stoker, as above, p.331.
5. There were two other members in the syndicate, both Comyns Carr's brothers, who were a solicitor and a financier,
6. The agreement was for £100,000 of 6% Preference shares and £70,000 of Ordinary shares to be sold.
7. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.331.
8. Bram Stoker, as above, p.319.
9. Ellen Terry, Ellen Terry's Memoirs, p.250.
10. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.331.
11. Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.626.
12. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.341.
13. Stoker was approached by George Alexander, see earlier chapter, The Lyceum, p.32.

INVOLVEMENT WITH CONTEMPORARY THEATRICAL ISSUES

Stoker's interest in the theatre went beyond his work at the Lyceum, and he took a keen interest in contemporary theatrical issues. The first debate that he became involved with was the actor-manager controversy to which he contributed an article in 1890. His interest in the various proposals for a National Theatre began in 1905 when he joined a committee that was to consider schemes for the construction of a Shakespeare Memorial in London. In 1908 an article was published in which he considered the viability of a National Theatre. The third, and last, issue that Stoker became involved with was censorship. He gave evidence to the 1909 Select Committee on stage plays and censorship, and his further thoughts were put into an article that was published in the same year. Stoker's stance on all of these issues was both similar to that of the actor-managers and predictable; he defended the actor-manager system of management, thought the foundation of a National Theatre was not financially viable, and supported censorship in its present form.

The Actor-Manager Controversy

In 1890 Fortnightly Review and Nineteenth Century magazines published a number of articles in which the current state of English drama and theatre management was discussed. Two of these articles, both of which were titled "The London Stage" by Oswald Crawford, were highly critical of the lack of intellectual drama

produced by London's theatre managers, and of the actor-manager system.¹ He was not the only person who was critical of the current state of the theatre; and it is, therefore, interesting to note that only one of the articles written in response to "The London Stage" supported Crawford's views. The playwright Henry Arthur Jones entered the debate with a piece that provided a critical but rather more balanced argument.² Several years later, in the preface to William Archer's The Theatrical World of 1894, Bernard Shaw discussed the same problems.³

Crawford believed that there was a general dissatisfaction with "the stage, its plays and players", which was becoming more apparent with the increased popularity of the theatre. He was concerned about the predominance of melodrama, French farce and Shakespearean revivals which he felt were restricting the development of a new intellectual drama. Crawford identified a number of factors which had brought about this situation, the first of which was the audiences. They were made up of both educated and non-educated patrons which meant that the playwrights and actors had to cater for two audiences simultaneously and were unable to satisfy either.

His solution was to provide the Music Halls with a licence allowing the production of plays. They would then be able to produce the melodrama and farce that appealed to the uneducated audience, and this, in turn, would remove the Pit and Gallery audiences from the legitimate theatre. Crawford hoped that once the audiences were separated, the intellectuals would become critical and demand better drama. William Archer and Bernard Shaw

also commented on the fact that audiences were no longer critical. They, however, laid much of the blame on censorship, which removed the moral and intellectual responsibility from the audiences.

Audiences were indeed sharply divided by class which was reflected in their location in the theatre. The Stalls and Circle held the wealthiest patrons whilst the Pit and Gallery housed the poorest, and unruly behaviour in the latter areas was considered to be a problem. Mid-priced seating was available in the cheaper Stalls, the Upper Circle and parts of the Pit. The choice of repertoire caused some variation in the audience make-up. Audiences for a Shakespearean revival would have had a higher proportion of educated people and 'London Society' in them than a low comedy or French farce. However, the low seat prices meant that the majority of theatres were accessible to all the social classes. The average weekly wage of an industrial worker was 24s and a seat in the Pit ranged from 6d to 2s, which was affordable. An increase in the prices would have segregated audiences, but the residual fear of the Old Price Riots made managers reluctant to do so. When the Lyceum's other prices rose in the early 1880's the Pit and Gallery had remained the same.⁴

The second problem identified by Crawford was the long run system which he believed numbed actors into mediocrity, and kept away a large number of what might have been regular theatre goers. He stated that in their place were visitors from the Provinces and the Empire who had little experience of the theatre and who, consequently, were unable to be critical. Crawford went

on to suggest that each week an evening or *matinée* should be set aside for the production of new plays. The production of a variety of high quality drama at more convenient times, such as the *matinée*, would encourage the return of an educated and critical audience. Crawford also pointed out that the timing of evening performances was inconvenient for 'London Society' and that people were not prepared to dine early when the theatres did not provide the type of entertainment that they wanted.

In Crawford's opinion, the third (and main) fault with the theatre at that time was the predominance of the actor-managers and the problems related to their style of management. The first problem that he identified was the star system and its corollary, personal jealousy. In place of ensemble playing there was rivalry and competition. He also believed that actors of equal or superior ability to the actor-manager were unable to advance their careers as long as they were in his company. Secondly, Crawford blamed the actor-managers for the insufficiency of new drama. They were accused of accepting inferior plays in their search for works that suited their individual abilities and idiosyncrasies. Thirdly, excessive amounts of capital were expended by actor-managers on the front of house and stage decoration to the detriment of the company as a whole. Crawford advised a return to a style of production similar to that of the Elizabethans, because he believed that it was the wealth of poetry in Elizabethan drama and not visual stimuli that had excited the audiences' imagination.⁵ He was reacting against the Victorian passion for pictorialism and the presentation of Shakespeare as a series of pictures.⁶ Crawford went on to suggest

that the money saved could be put ^{to} better use by increasing salary levels, which would benefit the entire company.

Finally Crawford suggested a number of alternative forms of management in his article. The first proposal that he put forward was the introduction of a state recognised theatre. Any theatre that worked as an ensemble, maintained a high standard of production, and endeavoured to satisfy the intellectual requirements of the public would be recognised by the state and patronage encouraged. His second alternative was the establishment of municipal theatres, in which local authorities would decide upon the policy of management. The next two proposals were inspired by Crawford's admiration of the Théâtre Libre and the Comédie Française. He suggested either a board of management that consisted of both professionals and non-professionals, or, a management committee made up of artists from the company itself. Such a committee would encourage ensemble playing and generate a large and varied repertoire. Lastly he proposed greater public investment within the present system, which would give the audiences greater control and the authority to demand change.

Crawford had support from one of the prime critics of the nineteenth century theatrical establishment, George Bernard Shaw. In his preface to The Theatrical World in 1894 Bernard Shaw wrote, that theatrical management was a desperate form of financial gambling. He estimated that the minimum expenses for running a play were £400 p.w., but it was not only the running costs that made a long run necessary. If Shaw had also taken into

consideration the vast pre-production costs of a lavish and decorative production style he would have found further justification. The Lyceum's accounts show that the theatre's survival depended on long runs. In the 1840s and 50s Samuel Phelps at Sadler's Wells had found that his policy of frequent changes to the programme^{was} financially hazardous. His solution had been to enlarge his catchment area and to draw audiences from the City of London. The West End theatres did not have this option.

Crawford did not, at any point in his article, concern himself with the reasons behind the actor-managers' dominance of the stage. In 1894, however, Bernard Shaw attributed their dominance to a combination of the star system and financial circumstances and made the following points. Under the present system leading actors were able to earn enough to enable them to build up sufficient capital to finance their own productions. The star system encouraged actors to head their own company as single stars, instead of joining together and forming an ensemble. Each actor's popularity could attract further backing for his company, and the financial rewards of a successful production made the enterprise hard to kill. Whilst this philosophy continued it would be impossible to establish true ensemble playing.

The implication of Shaw's comments was that if star salaries were limited in some way fewer actors would go into management. In addition there was the lack of constant employment to be considered. The growing popularity of the theatre throughout the century had encouraged more people to enter the profession. Between 1865 and 1885 fourteen new theatres had been

built in London, but the buildings were unable to accommodate the increasing workforce. Not surprisingly, more actors opted for the apparent safety of their own management. Whilst the financial gains could be great so were the risks and few actors were good businessmen. The state of the Lyceum accounts in 1899 is proof of this. The number of managers who left fortunes on their death were few and far between; Irving left £20,527, Tree £40,085, which was small in comparison to Charles Wyndham who left £197,035 and Squire Bancroft who left £174,535. The last, however, had left management years before and invested his profit whilst it was still intact.

The actor-managers responded quickly to refute Crawford's charges and defend their profession. Bram Stoker, Henry Irving and Charles Wyndham presented a united front with a single article, titled "Actor Managers".⁷ Beerbohm Tree contributed two articles, "The London Stage - A Reply" and "A Stage Reply"⁸ Each writer's primary objective was to justify the existence of actor-managers and demonstrate the high quality of their work. Their defence, however, was weakened by their refusal to acknowledge that there was a problem at all, and their failure to consider each of Crawford's points.

Irving's contribution to "Actor Managers" was the shortest and most general piece; and, rather typically, did not directly address any of Crawford's accusations. He sympathised with those whose anxiety over the welfare of the theatre would have relieved actors of the burden of management. Indeed, Irving wondered how

actors managed to remain popular when their interests were divided between the administration of their theatres and their art. The fact was that many of them employed men like Stoker to deal with the day-to-day administration.

Like most of his fellow actor-managers, Irving believed that actors went into management because of their love for the art and not to profit. He stated that many had sacrificed their fortunes to manage their own theatres. Macready, Charles Kean and Samuel Phelps had all found it necessary to tour after their managements had ended, in order to provide for their retirement. Irving went on to say that they would have been better off financially had they resisted going into management, but then the public would have suffered. He believed that proven and experienced actors were the most able to manage the country's theatres.

Irving's final comments concerned the training of actors. The actor-managers provided a training ground for young actors which was essential in the absence of a national school. Irving claimed to have learnt much that was of value to him in his own management, during the years that he spent with Mr Glover in Glasgow and Mr Wyndham in Edinburgh. During the first half of the century the Provincial stock companies had provided training for young actors, but the increase in touring by London based companies had brought about their decline. This meant that the burden of training fell quite naturally into the actor-mangers' hands.

Stoker's contribution to "Actor Managers" was the most substantial and it dealt with each of Crawford's arguments. He defended the existence of the actor-manager on historical precedent. Stoker believed that the actor-manager was a natural evolution from theatre legislation since the reign of Elizabeth I. He had no doubts regarding the quality of their work and wrote:

The foremost and most progressive managements have always been those of actors; and today nearly every theatre in London where serious plays are seriously produced under wholesome and permanent conditions is thus managed.⁹

This view was very similar to that expressed by Irving:

I can say, without hesitation, that the managements which have benefitted and advanced our calling and added vastly to the intellectual recreation of the people have been those of the actor.¹⁰

The accusation of jealousy was refuted as general and unsupported by Stoker. He stated that such claims had always been made against actor-managers; and that they would continue as long as there were inferior artists who had inflated opinions of their own talents. The article referred to a meeting, in 1889, of unemployed actors. A delegation of actor-managers had listened to their grievances, and decided to provide the group with a sum of money which enabled them to go into management. Stoker wrote that the scheme failed because of internal dissension, mutual recrimination and unpaid accounts. Unemployment amongst actors was a problem at this time. Between 1811 and 1911 there was a fourfold increase in the number of actors. At the same time the

increase in theatre building had been matched by the decline in the number of itinerant and stock companies.

Stoker thought that an actor had every right to capitalise on his stardom and take the leads in the plays that he produced, seeing it as a privilege of his position. Not surprisingly his views on the subject of mis-casting concurred with the other managers. He added authority to their claims that they surrounded themselves with the best available actors, by quoting a London newspaper's praise of a company that had been gathered for the current season.

Stoker's arguments on the point of excessive expenditure were similar to his explanation of the existence of the actor-manager. The same accusation had been made since Betterton, who had been given £500 by Charles II for the costuming of Catiline. Garrick and Macready had been accused of extravagance when they had employed de Louthembourg and Clarkson Stanfield. Kean, in particular, had faced criticism over his concern for historical detail and had been described as an upholsterer. Stoker, however, believed that scenic design was beneficial to both the plays, and the other arts as a form of patronage.

The trend for lavish decoration had gained impetus in the 1840s and 50s when the theatres had had to compete for small audiences. Irving employed Royal Academicians and noted historians over and above his own designers throughout his management. Those who objected to the obsession with scenery felt that it detracted from the drama. William Archer saw it as one of

the main hindrances to the development of new drama, and George Moore, in Our Dramatists and Their Literature accused Irving of reducing drama to pantomime. He referred, in particular, to Irving's production of Faust, stating that it was pandering to the "baseness of public taste". Irving's productions of Macbeth and Henry VIII could also have been cited.

None of the managers, including Stoker, commented on front of house expenditure. It may have been that they felt this was not necessary as it was a legitimate form of expenditure. A certain amount of refurbishment was necessary for health and safety reasons, and, on occasion, to enlarge the capacity of the auditorium. Front of house decoration was important to the actor-managers, as it reflected the theatre's image to the public. In the majority of cases, however, such expenditure was not an investment as most of them rented their theatres.

Stoker was not prepared to give any credence to the accusation that the expenditure on decoration was detrimental to actors' salaries. He pointed out that salaries had virtually doubled under the actor-manager and that young actors currently received the same as an established actor had earlier in the century. This point was perfectly valid; and although the changing value of the pound makes it difficult to compare salaries throughout the century, actors were generally better off by 1890. There was, however, a wide range of salaries and it was the stars and leading actors who benefitted most from the increases. The majority of minor salaries were much the same in 1890 as they had been in the 1830s. There had been a rise in the

cost of living between 1840 and 1870 which, taken in conjunction with the decline of benefit performances meant that there had effectively been a drop in the lower salaries.¹¹

Stoker believed that the actor-managers were best qualified to choose plays and that good drama increased under their managements, and that currently there were a large numbers of new plays being written. He read all the plays that were submitted to Irving and calculated that on average one play per day was written, and that of those one per month was worthy of production. That was a large number and, therefore, it is clear that Stoker's opinion of what constituted good drama differed greatly from Crawford's. Stoker stated that managers had to take a number of points into consideration when choosing plays. The actor-manager was one of the best actors in the company, therefore, his skill and versatility was of primary importance. The skill of the company as a whole was also considered because it would have been far too costly for the manager to constantly change the company to suit each play. According to Stoker, therefore, the Lyceum's plays were chosen to suit the company as a whole. He also pointed out that it would have been suicidal for a manager to turn down a play simply because it did not have a part for him because another management could take it. Irving bought the rights for a large number of plays that he did not produce. It might have been fairer to the authors and beneficial to audiences had he decided to let them go and given another manager the opportunity to produce them.

On the subject of alternative forms of management Stoker made several comments. He pointed out that the French systems of management were not without their faults, in particular the Comédie Française which had lost its stars. Rachel, Bernhardt and Coquelin had each left the company in search of star status. Stoker was referring to Barnay when he stated that the best theatre in Berlin was 'actor-managed'. Another reference that Stoker made was to a gathering, in London, of leading actors from Britain, Europe and America. A German actor had stated that government aid was a good thing and that under it acting flourished, but that the freedom that actors and managers enjoyed in Britain was more desirable.

Beerbohm Tree was the only manager to address Crawford's comments on audiences and the long run. On the subject of audiences he accused Crawford of having considerable contempt for the theatre-going public. Tree regarded the theatre as a benefactor of all society and not purely a pastime for a small section. He believed that the managers would be accused of pandering to the few if the patrons of the Pit and Gallery were removed from theatre audiences. These fears were justifiable and based on fact. In 1880, the Bancrofts had removed the Pit from the Haymarket theatre with the explanation that it was necessary in order to maintain the high standard of production. This did not go down well with the public and the first night was marred by disturbances from those in favour of restoring the Pit.

The views of the profession were sharply divided and Henry James accused the Bancrofts of making the theatre

a fashion among a certain class, and the last luxury of the few, rather than taking its place in the common habits of the people as it does in France.¹²

No other manager followed their example. In 1878, however, Irving had made improvements to both the Pit and Gallery which would imply that he was attracting, or hoped to attract, a 'better class' of audience. His actions were, perhaps, a more subtle way of achieving what the Bancrofts tried in 1880. Tree also disagreed with Crawford's view that audiences were no longer critical, claiming that the drama of the nineteenth century was the result of the audiences' demand for greater realism in place of the artificiality of eighteenth century comedy. His final comment on this subject was; that if a production was not approved of, attendances dropped and it was necessary to change the programme.

Tree agreed that the long run system was not ideal; but he saw no end to it as long as it continued to fill the theatres, and provide managers and writers with financial security. Tree pointed out that in addition to the financial benefits, managers gained extended rehearsal time which improved the quality of the productions. He also suggested that a regular income from a successful play gave authors the freedom and opportunity to write in an alternative style.

Tree knew from experience and stated that Crawford's notion of using matinées to encourage an educated audience was not viable. Tree had used matinée performances for experimental

productions of new drama. One of the matinée productions was Ibsen's An Enemy of the People, and Bernard Shaw praised

Mr Tree's notion of feeding the popular drama with ideas, and gradually educating the public, by the classical matinées, financed by the spoils of the popular plays in the evening bill.¹³

He did, however, have reservations about Tree's humorous interpretation of Stockman, which bore little relation to Ibsen's character. Tree also took the leads in these productions thus perpetuating the star system and failing to allow the type of ensemble playing that Crawford had suggested. The experiment gained little support and failed to encourage audiences. Its lack of success prompted the press to dub the matinées "Unpopular Mondays".

In his defence of the actor-manager Tree barely touched on Crawford's arguments. Like Stoker, Tree defended the existence of the actor-manager on historical precedent. His defence was based on the premise that the actor-manager had existed, and been in the majority since Shakespeare. Whilst this explained their existence it did little to prove that the actor-manager system was infallible or even the best available. Tree claimed that it was the actor-managers, both past and present, who upheld the interests and high values of the drama and presented the best productions. Apart from citing the managements of Macready, Kean, Phelps, Irving, the Bancrofts and John Hare as examples of this, he also quoted from Barton Baker's Old Actors. Baker had written that after the deaths of Wilkes and Booth, and the retirement of Cibber, there was a period during which the theatre fell into the

hands of unprincipled and mercenary men. These men were wholly indifferent to the art and lowered the theatre to the "lowest depths of degredation".¹⁴

Tree had little to say regarding the accusation of jealousy, except that if an actor's vanity or over-estimation of his own ability caused him to mis-cast himself, or other members of the company, the mistake would be reflected at the box-office. His only comment about over-expenditure and decoration was that it was better to see Shakespeare "over-dressed" than not at all. On the subject of the drama itself, Tree was in agreement with Crawford, in so far as there was a lack of good plays; however, he did not agree that the actor-managers were to blame. In his opinion they were constantly searching for promising scripts, and produced the best that were available. Tree had received bad plays from authors with literary credentials, and was of the opinion that there was more to a good play than literary merit. He stated that a new tradition of good drama would not develop until playwrights had understood and learnt the concepts of stage-craft.

Beerbohm Tree's final comments were directed at the alternative forms of management suggested by Crawford. He knew that the current system was not free of abuses, but did not think that the alternatives were any better. His views on a state aided theatre were similar to Stoker's. A state aided theatre was good in theory, but there was a danger that red tape could make it a "state hampered" theatre, and the level of control involved would go against the grain of individuality.

Tree also stated that a speech given before the Royal Academy by Lord Salisbury had revealed the government's opposition to state aid. The notion of Municipal or Council run theatres, was in his opinion, ridiculous. What he referred to as the puritanical streak in such bodies would greatly interfere with the production policy of the theatre. Tree did not deal with Crawford's other suggestions, except to say that a number of French actors had told him that the strength of English theatre was the actor-manager.

Charles Wyndham's piece, like Irving's, did not provide an adequate defence against Crawford's accusations; although Wyndham did state that he thought there was only one point in the article worthy of consideration - that it was an abuse for an actor-manager to be the star of his own company. Wyndham based his defence on the grounds of good business. The theatre was a business as well as a seat of artistic endeavour and a good businessman makes the most of his assets, which include the theatre, its furnishings, scenery and properties, the company and the actor-manager himself. Like Stoker he thought that he had every right to use his own talents to the full, when it was his own capital that was invested in the enterprise. Like-wise Wyndham believed that an actor-manager would be a fool not to produce the type of drama that was demanded by the public. The implication being that the current success of actor-managers was proof that they were doing just that. There was, however, a basic flaw in this argument. When the managers continually produced what was known to be popular, they deprived the audience of the opportunity to criticise.

Wyndham thought that Crawford was presenting a minority or purely individual view. He felt that the public as a whole had no complaint, and held the same opinion as Beerbohm Tree; that they would be the first to speak out if a manager were to mis-cast a play or fail to notice the talents of his fellow actors. Wyndham also wished to know where the "crushed" actors were and why they were not coming forward to voice their complaints. This was, he stated, because there were none, and he then posed a question; had Irving held back the careers of William Terriss or George Alexander, or himself Beerbohm Tree, or Tree Fernandez? Like Irving he believed that actors had to go through a period of learning and prove themselves before they could become stars or managers.

What Wyndham and his fellow managers were failing to realise was that this was the root of the problem. By upholding the star system and not embracing ensemble playing, up and coming actors had no alternative but to go into management, thus making the system self-perpetuating. Irving provided ample proof of this. He did not give young and talented actors leading roles and so in order to further their careers they left the company. Irving in turn offered them favourable terms for the Lyceum's interim managements. It would have been a more progressive move if he had offered them better parts and salaries as an inducement to stay with the company, which would have created a true ensemble.

It was Henry Arthur Jones who put the argument into perspective, by considering the point of view of both factions before stating his own opinions. Jones believed that it was good

that the matter had been brought into the open, but that Crawford's lack of knowledge of the internal workings of the theatre had weakened his argument. He thought that a number of Crawford's judgements were flawed, that he had failed to identify the true problem and that his solutions were largely impractical. Jones could find no basis for the accusation of jealousy. His own experience had shown him that managers employed the best actors available, and he did not support the notion that a good actor would find himself unemployed for any length of time. There were on occasion minor disagreements over billing or advertising; and business prudence sometimes demanded the limitation of salaries for minor parts.

Jones found Crawford's view of stage literature confused. He believed it stemmed from the general confusion of the public who put Shakespeare, Bulwer Lytton, Goethe and Knowles into equal niches of legitimate drama and modern blank verse in another niche somewhere below. He stated that the modern playwrights who wished to write literary drama about modern English life were faced with a number of problems. They had to use colloquial language and any deviation from that was immediately noticeable. This demand was at odds with the demand for literature because modern conversation was not literary. At the same time the playwright had to avoid the commonplace, advance the plot and characterisation, and ultimately produce a play that must appeal to the entire audience. It was, in Jones' opinion, an extremely difficult thing to do.

Jones had a number of thoughts on the subject of alternative forms of management, and believed that a variety should be tried out. He thought that Crawford's suggestion of boards and committees would not work because they would lack direction, and felt that it was better to have one person with a sense of purpose to guide a company. A board or committee to advise a manager was, in his opinion, worthy of consideration. Jones thought that a National Theatre and Municipal run theatres were possible if the schemes were carefully thought out and regulated. He also agreed with Crawford's suggested use of matinées and that a system similar to that of the Théâtre Libre was worth experimenting with. He himself suggested author-managers, and a company where the leads and supports alternated, which was similar to the system devised by a Mr Palmer in New York.

The response of the actor-managers was also criticised by Jones. He stated that their arguments scarcely touched the real issue, which was how they were affecting the stage at present, and how they would affect it in the future. It was not, in his view, conclusive to claim that the actor-managers produced more good work than non-actor-managers simply because they were in the majority. Jones had found that an actor-manager's artistic spirit made him more pleasant to deal with than a purely commercial manager. There was a complete subordination of commercial interests in his dealings with Beerbohm Tree, Wilson Barrett and Edward Willard. Jones agreed with Charles Wyndham that an actor had every right to use his name and influence, and that no one wished to dispute that except on the occasions when it was abused. He did, however, object to the view that mis-casting

would be reflected in the box-office, stating that an actor who knew his trade could sustain a part wrongly for years without detection. A long run might show it up, but by that time the damage was already done.

Stoker was credited with advancing indisputable facts about the advantages of the system. Jones did, however, query Stoker's claim about the development of the actor-manager system; was it the only and inevitable form that modern drama could take? He stated that if nature crystallises into an undesirable form it can be changed and reformed. In Jones' opinion the question was not about the advantages and disadvantages of the system because every system has them. Nor was it a question of artistic endeavour, for the names and the enterprises spoke for themselves. The real problem was the authority that the actor-managers had over the playwrights, and the star system.

Jones agreed that there was discontent with the intellectual and literary poverty of the drama. It had to be brought into line with literature so that it represented the age, its tendencies and thoughts. Contrary to Crawford's view, however, Jones believed that the actor-managers were also clamouring for this; but, at the same time, he detailed a number of reasons for why they were responsible for the lack of development. As head of the company, producer and star, the actor-manager had a unique degree of control over the playwright and his work. The actor-manager had to play the lead, and his primary concern when looking for new plays was a suitable part for himself. Playwrights, therefore, had to write with a particular actor in mind and, in

Jones' opinion, they could not be expected to produce their best work when fettered in this way. He also stated that the actor-manager was the least able to produce a play on the grounds that it was not his creation. Jones believed that T W Robertson's situation with the Bancrofts had been close to ideal. Robertson was not hampered by a star-system and he helped with the production of his own plays. Jones thought it unfortunate that Robertson did not have a successor.

To conclude, there were clearly weaknesses in both sides of the argument. Crawford was not professionally involved with the theatre; therefore, whilst he was able to identify the problems, his assessment of them, and solutions lacked a certain credibility. The hasty and emotional response of the actor-managers did little for their cause. If Stoker had not contributed to "Actor Managers" their defence would have been virtually non-existent. Although he did not address Crawford's general points about audiences and the long run, he was the only manager to take issue, and deal logically with each of Crawford's arguments concerning the actor-managers. As a Business Manager and administrator, his knowledge of the system and how it worked was immense and did much to strengthen the defence, which he was best qualified to lead.

Finally, it was evident that contrary to the actor-managers' fears, the critics were not questioning or threatening their existence, but rather their monopoly of the theatre. The critics sought alternatives that could co-exist with the actor-manager system. The star system and the financial uncertainties put too

many constraints on the actor-managers. William Archer and Harley Granville Barker wrote in their preface to A National Theatre, Scheme and Estimates;

We also admit that the stage owes much, in many ways, to the actor-manager and the long run. Both of these institutions have their merits, and a National Theatre, while excluding them from its own economy would in no sense be hostile to them. What is harmful is their present predominance over the whole field of theatrical enterprise. In the interests of both authorship and of acting, a fair proportion of repertory theatre ought to co-exist with the actor-managed and long run theatre.¹⁵

It sums up the situation most adequately. The actor-managers themselves were prepared to consider alternatives and some of the system's most successful managers signed a letter in support of a National Theatre. The signatures included Henry Irving, Beerbohm Tree and Henry Arthur Jones.

The Question of a National Theatre

During the second half of the nineteenth century schemes for a National Theatre were closely related to plans for a Shakespeare Memorial in Stratford-Upon-Avon and London. They were also a reaction against the commercial actor-managed theatre, influenced by contemporary theatrical movements in France and Germany. The original concept of a National Theatre was attributed to Effingham Wilson, who, in 1884, wrote two pamphlets on the subject.

The first paper, A House for Shakespeare, neatly summarised the principles on which the majority of future discussions were based.¹⁶ In 1847 the Shakespeare Committee had been formed and Shakespeare's birthplace bought for the nation. Wilson suggested that the Committee should remain active and aim to provide a National Theatre for the serious representation of Shakespeare. A theatre was to be bought by national subscription and held in trust by the government, who would appoint a management committee. He believed it to be a worthwhile cause because of the theatre's potential to educate its audiences.

Wilson detailed a basic policy for the theatre, which was to set an example for others to follow by achieving and maintaining a high standard of production. To make such an achievement possible the best manager and company available had to be appointed. The works of Shakespeare were to form a substantial part of the repertoire, and a single five act play was to be presented in an evening. A National Theatre was to be available to all members of society; therefore, seats had to be reasonably priced and free admission was not to be allowed. Any profit was to form a reserve fund to provide for a school of dramatic art. Wilson suggested a sum of £3,000 - £4,000 for the purchase of a theatre. His second paper confirmed the arguments of the first, and expressed his belief that the nation was not yet ready for such a scheme.¹⁷ He attributed the lack of readiness to the apathetic attitude of the nation towards drama and to the lack of royal patronage.

There had already been a movement towards the setting up of national foundations. In 1753 the British Museum was founded, and in 1824 the National Gallery was opened. The Municipal Museum Act was passed in 1845. A writer under the pseudonym of Dramaticus briefly considered the principles of a National Theatre in an article, The Stage As It Is, which was written in 1847.¹⁸ He was of the opinion that a National Theatre should receive government sanction, and that a "talented and judicious" censor, appointed by the government, would advise a management council on the choice of a suitable repertoire. Financial security was to be provided by a public subscription fund. After this piece and Wilson's pamphlets the issue remained dormant until 1876 when the first active move was made towards realising a scheme.

The Urban Club was formed in 1858 and its membership included theatre practitioners, Barry Sullivan, J L Toole, W G Wills and Charles Vandenhoff, as well as interested members of the public. One such member was Charles Flowers, a brewer, who was a moving force within the Committee. In 1876 the Club produced a pamphlet, titled The National Theatre Projects.¹⁹ In doing this the Club became associated with Charles Lowndes of the Shakespeare Memorial Association, Effingham Wilson and Tom Taylor. It proposed that a National Theatre be built in Stratford for "the presentation of Shakespeare and the higher dramatists and the foundation of a school for actors".²⁰ The pamphlet generated a great deal of interest and, although the provincial location of the theatre was criticised, letters of praise were also received. Lord Lytton, Charles Dickens, Sheridan Knowles and Charles Kemble expressed their support for the scheme, but whilst

seeing the merit of the proposal they were despondent as to its viability. In 1877, a plan for the building was chosen and the scheme became more concrete. The theatre incorporated a library and gallery to be used for exhibitions relating to Shakespeare.

The principles of management were based on Wilson's ideas, and the privately subsidised Saxe-Meiningen company was used as a model for the scheme. The Association was registered as a company and the finances for the project were raised by public subscription. People who had subscribed the sum of one hundred guineas formed the board that governed the theatre. A sum of £10,000 was required for the theatre building, and when the plans were chosen in 1877, £6,000 of that had been raised, the majority by Charles Flowers. The Memorial Theatre opened in 1879 and Shakespeare festivals were held annually. The fact remained, however, that it was provincial. That fact, together with the Shakespearean emphasis, meant that it never really achieved the status of a National Theatre, as hoped. A larger London based organisation was required.

In 1903, the monopoly that Stratford held was brought to an end; and an opportunity for a National Theatre in London arose. Richard Badger, also a brewer, advocated the erection of a Shakespeare Memorial in London and was prepared to offer a sizeable donation towards a scheme. Other parties interested in such a scheme included William Poel, who had founded the Elizabethan Stage Society in 1894, and the London Shakespeare League. In 1905, a meeting was held at the Mansion House where the Shakespeare Memorial Committee for London was established.

The venture generated interest from the theatrical profession and the proposal to set up the committee was seconded by Herbert Beerbohm Tree.

The various committees and the plans that evolved were, like the Stratford Committee, pre-occupied with the erection of a Shakespeare Memorial. The committee that was formed in 1905 was a general one, charged to organise the movement and determine the form a memorial should take. A number of sub-committees followed, to consider the various aspects of the scheme. One of those was the Special Committee, whose responsibility was to investigate the individual proposals for the memorial. Stoker and Irving became involved with the Special Committee.

Two of the proposals for a statue and an architectural monument were purely decorative. Four more functional proposals included a small theatre for the furtherance of dramatic art and literature; a National Theatre; a Shakespeare House that would function as a museum; and a Shakespeare fund, that would contribute sums of money towards suitable and worthy productions of Shakespeare's works. The Committee chose to concentrate on the statue and monument, and a compromise was eventually decided upon. A monument that incorporated a statue was to be erected on an appropriate site, probably the South Bank. In the event, a site on Park Crescent was chosen. Of the other proposals the Committee decided that a small theatre was worth considering in the future. It was stressed that such a building would not be of an ambitious character, and would be expected to fulfil the requirements of a National Theatre.

The Committee's conclusions on a National Theatre were not encouraging and it was agreed that a scheme might be possible at some future date. The report read:

The suggestion that the most fitting memorial in London would be a National Theatre has reached us from many quarters.... Without pronouncing on the necessity for a National Theatre the special committee has come to the conclusion that it cannot recommend the general committee to adopt the scheme for a National Theatre as that most likely to be successful. The controversial character of the proposal and the very large sum of money that would be required for building and endowment, have among other considerations weighed with the committee.²¹

The objections and concern over finance that the committee voiced were similar to those discussed by Stoker in his article, written three years later.

Consideration of a project for a National Theatre was not restricted to the Shakespeare Memorial Committees, neither of which were capable of developing a scheme to its full potential. Greater involvement from the theatrical profession was needed. At a Social Science Congress in 1878, George Godwin, Henry Irving and Herman Vezin spoke on the subject of a National Theatre. Their views did not differ greatly from those of Effingham Wilson. George Godwin saw a National Theatre modelled on the Théâtre Libre or the German Stadt Theatres. In his opinion the educational value and purpose of drama made government backing worthwhile. Alternatively, finances could be provided by patron subscription. Once the value of the enterprise was proven, public funding could be replaced by state finance. A purpose built

theatre was required which did not operate a long run system and had a policy of reasonable pricing. Godwin felt that a commercially run theatre would not be suitable, because the limited repertoire that it would operate would not be conducive to the founding of a school of dramatic art.

Irving wholeheartedly supported the concept of a National Theatre. Apart from this manifesto, Irving actively supported a number of schemes. He contributed £100 to the Stratford Memorial, and in 1903 he endorsed William Archer and Harley Granville Barker's A National Theatre - Scheme and Estimates.²² His involvement with the London Shakespeare Memorial Committee was brief because of his death in the same year. In his manifesto Irving stated clearly why a National Theatre was needed and justified its foundation and existence. He answered two questions; was a National Theatre desirable; and, was the establishment of a permanent theatre possible? He believed that commercial theatre was overly constrained by financial concerns and could not be relied upon to produce work of a consistently high standard, therefore, a National Theatre was a necessity. It would be free from commercial competition and would set and maintain high standards of production. The repertoire was to be progressive and varied, changing in accordance with the nation's changing attitudes. In Irving's opinion such achievement justified its existence.

Irving stated that to maintain the standards expected of it the theatre had to be permanent and financially stable. He proposed corporate or private financing rather than state

subsidy, which could limit the theatre's freedom. Government interference was a danger to be avoided. It was also unlikely that the government would agree to fund an individual enterprise of that sort. It was imperative that any losses be merged in steady gain, and if possible a pension scheme should be provided. Irving believed that the foundation of a National Theatre which was given official recognition could only do good for the profession as a whole. It would gain stability and respectability, and a home for the propagation of talent.

The following year Mathew Arnold wrote "The French Play in London", which incorporated his manifesto for a National Theatre.²³ Unlike his predecessors, whose dissatisfaction was phrased diplomatically, Mathew Arnold was particularly blunt in his criticism of the commercial theatre. He believed that the abolition of the patents and that the freedom that this had given to Britain's theatres was born out of a fear of state interference. This freedom, however, had resulted in impotence and there was no purpose in contemporary drama. Arnold saw the theatre as a weapon for the cultural education of the masses and, therefore, the state had a right to be involved in the theatre. He proposed that a company be gathered together and given a West End theatre. A government grant was to be awarded and a state appointed advisor was to work with the company, who would ensure that set standards were maintained. The repertoire had to consist of old and new drama, and a school of acting would eventually be founded. Mathew Arnold also proposed that small theatres be founded on the same principles in the provinces financed with Municipal funds.

The first real blueprint for a National Theatre was produced in 1903 by Harley Granville Barker and William Archer. The plan, A National Theatre - Scheme and Estimates was published in 1907 and attracted support from many quarters including actors, businessmen and politicians.²⁴ Henry Irving, Squire Bancroft, J M Barrie, Helen D'Oyley Carte, John Hare, Henry Arthur Jones and A W Pinero endorsed the private publication in 1903. The endorsement read:

Having read and carefully considered this scheme for a National Theatre, we desire to express our belief that such an institution is urgently needed, and that it could in all probability be successfully established on the general lines here indicated.²⁵

The scheme sought the support of the actor-managers in its acknowledgement of their work. It did not threaten their position and, if successful, would reflect on the profession as a whole. The more perceptive managers realised the fact and were willing to pledge their support in 1903, although in 1890, when the actor-manager controversy raged they had felt threatened.

The first chapter of Archer and Barker's scheme detailed the need for a National Theatre. In essence it was not greatly different from previous manifestos. The need for the Theatre was just as great as that for the National Gallery and British Museum, and they perceived it as a cathedral dedicated to drama. English drama ranked high in the world and a National Theatre would be a focus for it and would attract foreign visitors. Archer and Barker stated that there was a need for good drama that was well produced, and whilst commercial theatre was able to

produce good drama it was subject to many constraints. The most offensive of these was the need to make profit. Their scheme for a National Theatre was to be free from that constraint and able to cater for minority tastes without financial risk. A true repertory system provided variety, exploited success and allowed for the easy removal of failures without risking financial loss. The resulting stability and security would produce high quality ensemble acting and allow the drama to flourish. As a national institution high standards would have to be set and maintained. The remaining chapters provided full details for the design of the theatre and the finances required.

Beerbohm Tree saw the folly in so many different groups all working individually towards the same end. After much lobbying he succeeded in getting supporters for both the Shakespeare Memorial and the National Theatre to join forces. The meeting was held at the Lyceum in May 1908 and the Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre Committee was formed, and the following year a handbook was produced. It was closely modelled on Archer and Barker's scheme. The aims of the Committee were to keep the works of Shakespeare in the repertory and to revive whatever else was vital in English classical drama. Contemporary plays of merit were to be prevented from falling into oblivion, new plays were to be produced and the development of modern drama encouraged. Representative works of ancient and modern foreign drama were to be incorporated into the repertoire. The art of acting was also to be stimulated. Finally, it was proposed that a sum of £500,000 would be a suitable endowment for the foundation of the theatre.

The handbook, unlike the Archer/Barker scheme, received an antagonistic response from the commercial theatre. A group of actors including Squire Bancroft, who had originally endorsed the scheme, Charles Wyndham, W H Kendal, Edward Terry, Charles Hawtrey, Cyril Maude, Fred Terry and H B Irving, issued a circular containing their objections to the scheme. The appearance of Squire Bancroft's signature was surprising after he had pledged his support for the original scheme produced by Archer and Barker. It is possible that it was felt that the plan was becoming more of a threat to the established theatre, the closer it came to being a reality. A letter signed by Charles Wyndham summarised the group's attitude:

A National Theatre, if it is to be in fact what is indicated by the name, would be a type of institution alien to the spirit of our nation and of our age, which has always believed in, and relied on, individual effort and personal competition as a healthier stimulus than the motherly or grand-motherly fostering of a state nurse.²⁶

These men failed to see the potential for excellence in the gathering of an ensemble of great talent that a National Theatre would provide.

The group stated that they felt duty bound to point out the dangers of the scheme. First, the appointment of a large number of non-theatrical people to the Committee worried them, but, of course had they lent their support the balance would have been retained, and indeed it should have been encouraging that so many of the public took such an interest. Secondly, it was agreed, that although the original concept was good, it was endangered by

idealism and a lack of practical foresight. The failure of the project would be a disappointment to the subscribers and detrimental to the profession. Thirdly, the proposed form of management, that of a committee of trustees, was cumbrous and impractical. Fourthly, it was suggested that if a scheme sought to attract first rate actors, a pension fund would have to be provided. Otherwise actors would be tempted by the chance of profit under their own management. The final point dealt with the matter of capital. It was thought that the proposed sum was not enough, and a primary endowment of £1 million was suggested.

It is conceivable that both the actors' objections and the suggestion of a £1 million endowment were influenced by Stoker. In May 1908 his response to the Lyceum meeting, and the Archer/Barker scheme, was an article in Nineteenth Century magazine, titled "The Question of a National Theatre".²⁷ The article contained his opinions on the subject and supplied a number of financial figures for a National Theatre. Stoker did not support the plans for a National Theatre, which was unusual because normally his opinions were similar to Irving's. His hostility, however, is not particularly surprising, if his loyalty to the commercial theatre, and his involvement with the 1905 Special Committee are taken into consideration. In Stoker's opinion a National Theatre could not fulfil the role of a Shakespeare Memorial, because the works of Shakespeare would form a relatively small section of the repertoire.

Stoker admitted that the idea was attractive, and if the venture was successful, a National Theatre could gain the state

recognition that contemporary theatre sought; however, certain criteria had to be met for it to succeed. Apart from setting and maintaining high standards of excellence it had to be seen to benefit the nation, otherwise its existence and the expense could not be justified. Stoker thought it unlikely that a single theatre could maintain that level of consistency, especially if the risks were taken into consideration. He briefly noted several forms of subsidy including, the state, the city, a syndicate or a beneficent individual. The particular merits of the various forms of subsidy were not discussed, although he did state that government recognition could take the form of a subsidy. He believed that careful regulation would be needed to avoid abuse of position and to protect the investment. Stoker also suggested that a board of governors appointed for life and provided with a pension would provide and administer a management policy.

His main objection to the scheme was that it would be detrimental to the commercial theatre which, in his opinion, already produced plenty of good drama. The commercial theatre did not have the money or resources to compete with the ideal conditions that a National Theatre would possess. Actors who were not employed in the National Theatre would suffer financially and a jealous rift form in the profession. Stoker was unable to conceive that the commercial theatre was not expected to compete. They were two different forms of theatre that could benefit from each other. All actors would have the right to work for the National Theatre, and the use of a limited term contract would allow for a regular turnover.

The figures that Stoker provided were not greatly detailed and were largely based on his knowledge of the Lyceum finances. His estimates were calculated on the assumption that a National Theatre was to be managed in the same way as the commercial theatre that he knew; employing a vast number of staff and utilising the long run to the full. Archer and Barker's Scheme and Estimates provided a full breakdown of all expenses. Their budget was for a modest concern that would be run as a repertory, short run, theatre. Barker stated in the introduction to the scheme that the figures could not be compared with existing figures because the new organisation was to be such a different concept. It is possible, however, and of some interest, to make a comparison between their figures and Stoker's.

Both Stoker and Barker were well qualified to make financial estimates. They were experienced managers within their own sphere of theatre management. Stoker's opinions and estimates were based on bitter experience. Prior to its financial losses the Lyceum was considered, by some, to be a National Theatre. This would explain his cynicism as well as the view that all the characteristics of a National Theatre were to be found in the existing theatre. Alternatively the Archer/Barker scheme was full of hope and enthusiasm; however, although their optimism was refreshing, it did mean that their figures were not necessarily realistic.

Stoker and Barker agreed that a National Theatre had to be located in central London and purpose built, but thereafter, their opinions differed. Stoker budgeted for a large building

with a capacity in excess of four thousand. He considered architectural splendour and internal comfort to be of great importance. Archer and Barker had planned a theatre of "modest splendour" with a capacity of between thirteen and fifteen hundred, about one third of the size that Stoker envisaged. The sums of money detailed reflect these differences. Stoker allowed £500,000 for the purchase of a site and the construction of a theatre. Barker's estimate was comparatively smaller; £75,000 was recommended for the site and £50,000 - £80,000 for the building, a total of £150,000. Proportionately the estimates were similar.

Stoker saw a number of problems related to the employment of both performers and staff, of which a total in excess of six hundred was needed. He stated that positions within the Theatre would hold great honour and the fierce competition to gain employment could lead to nepotism. In Stoker's estimation the company would number one hundred of the total staff, which represented only one percent of the entire profession. Stoker saw, also, that it would be near impossible to find a suitable manager. The man would have to be a paragon; he had to be both young and experienced, ambitious for the scheme and not himself, receptive to new ideas but able to stand firm on his own opinions.

Stoker calculated that the cost of the actors' salaries could be as high as £60,000 per annum (p.a.), with leading actors earning as much as £100 per performance. His estimates were based upon the Lyceum salaries and his knowledge of the star system. Lesser members of the company could receive as little as £250

p.a.. His estimated total for salaries was approximately four times the Lyceum's average annual. This was not only due to the increased numbers, but also the fact that Irving and Ellen Terry had never taken salaries that reflected their true drawing power. From Stoker's breakdown of the Lyceum's finances it is possible to estimate the salary totals for other departments. Front of house and general staff would cost £1,800 p.a., stage staff £3,000 p.a., which brought the estimated salary total to £66,300.²⁸

The style and size of production that Archer and Barker planned meant that their ideas of staffing were very different from Stoker's. Overall it was a fairer and more equitable plan. The total staff estimated was approximately two hundred and fifty, a third of Stoker's estimate. A number of trustees would be responsible for appointing a Director, a Literary Manager, a Business Manager, and members for a Reading Committee.²⁹ These men in turn would appoint departmental heads, actors and general staff. The spread of the responsibility of management meant that there would be no need to look for the paragon that Stoker sought. The company itself was to number sixty six, forty-two actors and twenty-four actresses. The performers would be employed on a three year contract with an option for renewal. It was hoped that this would create an ensemble. Financial security was added in the form of a basic salary plus an additional performance fee, and a certain number of performances were guaranteed to each actor. The system allowed for manoeuvre giving actors greater opportunity; and it also controlled the Director. It was, in effect, a safeguard against nepotism.

In the Archer/Barker scheme the company salaries totalled £28,027. The actors' salaries ranged from £250 - £900 p.a.. Performance fees were set at 10s - £5, with between seventy-five and one hundred performances guaranteed. Actresses were paid £200 - £700 p.a., with performance fees of between £1 and £5 and fifty to seventy-five guaranteed performances. The cost of front of house and general staff was £7,977, backstage £10,000 and the orchestra £3,900. Including the supers and the management salaries the overall cost came to £55,231. Proportionately the salary total was high, only £10,000 less than Stoker's and for fewer staff. The expenditure, however, was much more evenly spread, there were no inflated star salaries, and the lesser members of the company and the general staff were paid higher salaries than in the commercial theatre.

Stoker gave the repertoire for the theatre little consideration. It is clear, however, that he thought in terms of splendid and extravagant productions similar to those of Irving and his contemporaries. The Lyceum had spent an average of £650 p.a. on authors' fees and production costs averaged £7,500 p.a.; but this figure is misleading in that production costs were, in reality, an escalating expenditure that rose to crippling proportions. Lighting and stage expenses added a further £1,600 and £2,000 respectively. On the basis of these figures Stoker estimated that the annual running costs of a National Theatre would be a minimum of £75,000, of which £45,000 was allotted to production costs.

When Archer and Barker planned their repertory they even listed play titles. Between four and seven plays were to be produced in a week, including one by Shakespeare. The scale of production was smaller and simpler, which left the emphasis on the drama and acting. It was estimated that Royalties would take 10% of the revenue, approximately £5,210 p.a.. Their production costs were grossly under-estimated. A sum of £1,428 was allowed for scenery, £823 for properties and £2,480 for costumes. The production costs were to be recovered easily within the repertory system. Archer and Barker planned to make savings on production costs by having all scenery and costumes made in the theatre by their own workmen. A large proportion of the production expenditure in the commercial theatre was for the services of experts, such as Royal Academicians. The annual production costs for Archer and Barker's scheme totalled £64,000, which did not differ greatly from Stoker's, and it was the Royalties and salaries that accounted for this.

Stoker and the Archer/Barker plan gave estimates for the capital sum required for the foundation of a National Theatre, and the two figures were incomparable. Archer and Barker predicted nightly receipts of £345 maximum and £301 average. The minimum that was required to cover the costs was just over £196 per night. Taking that sum the annual receipts came to £71,329, which gave a profit of £7,000. They predicted a possible profit of £29,641. Taking all of the above figures into consideration Archer and Barker estimated that a primary endowment of £380,000 was needed, with a further £150,000 for a guarantee fund, but they sought a capital sum of £0.5 million.

Stoker expected receipts of no more than £50,000 p.a., which was considerably less than Archer and Barker. Setting that against expenditure of £75,000 a deficit or loss of £25,000 was left. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that he had little or no faith in the scheme. He advised that if a scheme were to go ahead a vast capital was needed and proposed a primary endowment of £1 million. If a safety margin was to be included the initial capital was raised to £1.5 million. Finally, to allow for the effects of inflation he advised a further increase, which raised the capital sum to £1.7 million.

Ideologically the two estimates were a world apart. Archer and Barker were not simply planning a National Theatre, but an ideal which incorporated an entirely new system of management and form of theatre. They were looking to the future. This meant that they had little or nothing to base their figures upon and so the estimates were speculative and assumed success. The scheme did have modesty in its favour. It had less to lose and the repertory system generated audiences and spread the burden of production costs, but the over estimation of the possible revenue and profit lost it some of its credibility. Stoker, on the other hand, presented a blinkered view, which looked to the past and refused to consider a new form of management. His predictions of heavy losses would have been correct if the National Theatre was managed in the style that was typified by Irving's management of the Lyceum. The risks were too high, the margin for loss immense and vast production costs impossible to cover. The Lyceum and other managements had proved that that system did not work.

Stage Censorship

In 1909 the dissatisfaction with the Lord Chamberlain's reader of plays had reached a peak. The erratic working of the office had caused increasing concern amongst authors and a number of managers. In 1907 a group of seventy-one writers had petitioned to the government, and written to The Times, to protest against "An office autocratic in procedure, opposed to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to common justice and to common sense".³⁰ The petition had little effect; but when Robert Harcourt, an author and Member of Parliament, raised the question in the House, it was decided that a Joint Select Committee of both Houses should be formed. It was convened in July 1909 and Bram Stoker was one of the many witnesses who gave evidence, speaking on behalf of the theatre managers. That was not his only involvement with the controversy. In 1892 he had helped to prepare Irving's statement for a similar committee that reported on Theatre Licensing and Censorship.³¹ In 1908 Stoker had written an article on "The Censorship of Fiction", in which he also made reference to stage plays.³² Finally after the publication of the 1909 report he wrote a second article that dealt specifically with stage censorship and the findings of the Select Committee.³³

Select Committees had met in 1853, 1866 and 1892 to consider the working of the censorship system. On each occasion it was reported that the system was working satisfactorily, which was not the case. In 1865 playwrights, including Boucicault, Yates and Burnand signed a petition calling for the abolition of censorship, but it was a futile gesture. In 1866 the report of

the Committee stated that "the censorship of plays has worked satisfactorily and it is not desirable that it should be discontinued". In 1892, when the inconsistencies of the office were beginning to manifest themselves, only one witness spoke against the system, William Archer. Henry Irving spoke in favour of the system believing it to be both necessary and fair. He stated that he was in favour of it continuing as it was, in the hands of the Lord Chamberlain, and disagreed with the suggestion that censorship be put in the hands of city councils, in the belief that it would become puritanical and repressive.

Opposition to censorship had grown through the 1880s, 1890s and the early years of the new century, as English drama gained new impetus under the influence of contemporary European playwrights. In 1885 William Archer had written an article on the subject of stage censorship in which he stated;

I may as well state at once my belief that during the eighteenth century, and, indeed until our own day, the censorship did not seriously impede the development of the English drama....The conditions of the times were not favourable to the development of a great and serious national drama....I believe in short, that until quite recently, the censorship was vexatious rather than noxious. Now on the other hand the repressive tendency which was once merely potential is becoming actual, and will grow more galling with every year that passes.³⁴

Archer believed that the rising flood of modern thought would have an effect on the theatre, and that a new drama which realised the theatre's potential as a social, moral and political force would develop. This drama would need

other pilotage than that of a court censor whose dominant desire must necessarily be to get it anchored in the placid pool of prejudice and convention.³⁵

The need for reform became more apparent as an increasing number of playwrights clashed with the censor and had plays banned. Between 1894 and 1909 Bernard Shaw had three plays banned; Mrs Warren's Profession on the grounds of indecency because the character in question was involved with prostitution, The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnet because of the language that Shaw used when referring to God, and Press Cuttings for its satirical treatment of the government and the Conservative party.

The Independent Theatre Society was formed in 1891 and its aim was to present plays of artistic merit that had little commercial value. Its first production, Ibsen's Ghosts, was presented without a license as a private performance. The use of a private performance as a means of getting round the Lord Chamberlain's veto was pioneered by the Shelley Society in 1886, when it had organised a performance of The Cenci.³⁶ Private performances became established with the formation of the Stage Society in 1899, which produced a number of banned plays by European playwrights as well as Mrs Warren's Profession, The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnett, Harley Granville Barker's Waste, and Edward Garnett's The Breaking Point.³⁷ It was the veto of Waste and The Breaking Point, in 1907, that provided a rallying point for the anti-censorship movement, who went on to petition the government.

In July 1909 the Joint Select Committee was appointed to

inquire into the censorship of stage plays as constituted by the theatres act, 1843, and into the operations of the acts of parliament relating to the licensing and regulation of theatres and places of entertainment, and to report any alterations of the law or practice which may appear desirable.³⁸

Mr Herbert Samuel chaired the Committee. There were four representatives from the Commons including Robert Harcourt. The five Committee members from the Lords included Lord Gorrell, a high court judge, and Lord Plymouth, the chairman of the Shakespeare Memorial Committee. The members of the Committee were not particularly suited to their task, but it would have been impossible to find a group of politicians with relevant experience and knowledge.

Forty-nine witnesses were examined and all the interested parties were represented, except the theatre-going public. The Speaker of the House of Commons spoke on behalf of the government, and the Lord Chamberlain was represented by his Reader of Plays, George Redford. The Bishop of Southwark and J G Snead-Cox gave the opinions of the Anglican and Catholic church. The majority of the witnesses were connected with the profession. The critical representation was headed by A B Walkley of The Times and Israel Zangwill who was also a playwright. Frank Gerald and Clarence Derwent from the Actors' Union gave evidence on behalf of the actors. Many of the managers were also able to give an actor's point of view. William Archer, Granville Barker and Bernard Shaw headed the case against the censor. Their opinions were shared by many of their fellow writers including Galsworthy,

J M Barrie and Pinero.³⁹ Not surprisingly, Frederick Whelen, the founder of the Stage Society, also spoke out against censorship. It was, however, the managers with their vested interest in the present system of censorship, whose presence and opinions predominated.⁴⁰ Squire Bancroft, Forbes Robertson, Beerbohm Tree and George Alexander were amongst this pro-censorship group.

The behaviour of the Committee did not inspire confidence. It was decided that any discussion on the content of banned plays was to take place in camera. When it was realised how indecent the content of some of the licensed plays was a similar restriction was applied. The whole affair descended to the level of farce when Bernard Shaw tried to submit a written statement as Irving had done with the previous Committee. In 1909 the Committee refused to accept the statement and cleared the room when Shaw attempted to read it. In effect, they imposed their own form of censorship.

In his preface to The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnett, which included the rejected statement, Shaw accused the Committee of having a lack of respect. It was not so much a lack of respect as too high a regard for the Lord Chamberlain. Shaw believed that the Committee thought that a censure of the Lord Chamberlain, who was a member of the King's household, would be a censure of the King himself. It was improbable that criticism would be seen in that light. It is most likely that the Committee was influenced by the managers' opinions. Shaw also stated that whilst all agreed that changes were needed, there were two distinct groups

of thought and expectations, and it was unlikely, therefore, that the Committee's conclusions would be acceptable to both.

George Redford reported to the Committee that between 1895, when he had been appointed as reader, and 1909 some seven thousand plays had been put forward for licensing. Thirty of these were permanently vetoed and thirteen or fourteen were temporarily banned. In reality, however, a great number of plays only received licenses on the condition that certain alterations be made. These alterations were greatly resented and several authors, including Shaw and Barker, had chosen to have their plays banned rather than alter them. The number of plays vetoed was a small percentage of the whole and the production lists of the Stage Society verify this. Between 1899 and 1910 ten out of a total of over fifty plays were unlicensed at the time of performance. It was, however, the quality of the plays and the reasons behind their veto, rather than the actual numbers that was significant.

The arguments against the censor were put forward eloquently and forcefully. It was argued that the basic problem with censorship was that it did not function well. Highly moral and serious plays that questioned convention and standards of morality were vetoed, whilst frivolous plays that made a joke of immorality or glossed over it were licensed.⁴¹ The printing and private performance of banned plays made veto futile and redundant. There was a feeling that the office had become an anomaly. It was the continuance of a royal prerogative long since done away with in other areas of the law and none of the other

arts fell under such control. Some objectors saw the Lord Chamberlain as the victim of his own office, unable to do right.

It was widely believed amongst the opposition that censorship had many harmful effects on, and greatly restricted the growth of, new drama. It was repeatedly stated that the true damage that it had caused was incalculable, and that too many texts had been altered to too great an extent. No one knew how many writers had chosen not to write for the stage or on particular subjects for fear of veto. Censorship put an unjustifiable stigma on authors whose works had been banned. Shaw was widely regarded as immoral and subversive because he had attempted to provoke thought. The result of censorship in its present form was conformity and the destruction of individuality.

The case against the censor did not suggest the complete abolition of control. It was thought that censorship should be the responsibility of the public and the managers. The existence of an official censor had brought about a moral inertia and if that authority was removed the audiences and the managers would set and impose their own moral standards. Public intervention could be used to stop or prevent performances of objectionable material. It was suggested that the prosecution of the offending managers should be put into the hands of the Director of Public Prosecution and the Attorney General. Trials would be held before a jury under the law of the land, which was constant and not subject to personal prejudice. The opposition believed that this would be fairer to the managers and authors who would be given the opportunity to defend their actions. If the censor was

removed, authors and managers could seek advice from the Foreign Office on matters of foreign policy and etiquette, and the Church about what would be thought religiously offensive. Finally, they conceded that if the Censor was to remain, that an advisory committee to aid him with his decisions would be beneficial.

The arguments for the retention of censorship were weak in comparison, and Shaw wrote that their arguments destroyed their own case because they were confused and contradictory. He also stated that many managers displayed an amazing lack of knowledge outwith their own managements and experience. To the managers censorship was a beneficent institution which protected the public and themselves by eliminating controversial and potentially harmful material from the stage. Through the Censor they were able to enforce alterations to texts, that they otherwise did not have the authority to do. In reality they used the Chamberlain's Office as a convenient scapegoat. Censorship meant that they did not have to take responsibility for the plays that they produced, or the condition in which they were produced. The managers feared that the removal of the Censor would cause a rise in the number of indecent plays, and believed that objectionable plays were produced under the present system because it was not stringent enough. This shows a remarkable lack of confidence in their own judgement and values.

The Lord Chamberlain's office guaranteed the managers a degree of financial security. They were prepared to admit that they benefitted from the immunity from prosecution that licensing gave them, and believed that without it the process of choosing a

repertoire would become almost impossible. It was felt that there would always be some minority group or 'fanatic' that would be offended and prosecute them. Managers were concerned about the amount of money that would be put at stake or lost if it were possible to prosecute after the first performance of a play. If the case was lost, in addition to the fine and damages, the money spent on the production would be lost. Even if the case was won, there was the loss of revenue from the closure of the theatre during the proceedings to be considered. Finally, the managers' greatest fear was the damage to reputation that a public prosecution would involve. They were conveniently forgetting that that was precisely what happened to the authors under the present system.

The Committee's final report appeared in November 1909. Firstly, it concluded that, in the interests of the public, regulation of the theatre should be retained. Secondly, that the power of veto should be removed from the Lord Chamberlain because there was a danger that official control could hinder the development of new drama. Thirdly, it suggested that charges against objectionable material should be dealt with by the law courts and a committee of Privy Council, who in turn would make a ruling. Finally, the committee expressed its concern over the financial risks involved with a system of post-production prosecution.

A number of proposals came out of these conclusions. The Lord Chamberlain was to remain as licenser, and the appointment of a Reader was to continue, but an advisory committee was to be

set up to help him with his decisions. The submission of plays for licensing was to become optional and the possession of a license would no longer guarantee immunity from prosecution. The Attorney General and Privy Council were to be given the power to stop performances of plays that were objected to and impose fixed penalties on the offenders. The Committee also redefined the grounds on which a license could be refused.⁴² In their proposals, the Committee had tried unsuccessfully to please both groups. Those who were against censorship saw the proposals as the old censorship under a new guise; where as the pro-censorship faction felt that to make licensing optional was to make the office redundant. In the event none of the proposals were put into practice.

Stoker was regarded as an important witness by the Committee because of his many years of experience as a manager. Unfortunately that experience was not accompanied by an enlightened point of view. Stoker's opinions, on the whole, concurred with those of his fellow managers, and were also rather confused. He did not accept that the growth of drama had been injured by censorship, and on the subject of the New Drama that had been vetoed he said,

I have not seen the plays, but so
far as I have heard or read of them,
I should think the fewer of them we
have the better.⁴³

Stoker was of the opinion that writers were not deterred from writing by the censorship, indeed it gave them clear guidelines as to what was suitable subject matter for the stage. When asked if he had any direct experience of plays being refused licenses

he replied that he did not. If this had referred to his own attempts at playwriting his answer was correct. During his management of the Lyceum, however, two plays had been withdrawn on the advice of the Lord Chamberlain. Further on in his evidence, Stoker made a brief reference to the plays when asked if he thought that the censor prevented the production of good plays. He did not comment on their quality but merely stated that the request for withdrawal was a matter of public policy rather than censorship.

The two plays that were withdrawn during Irving's management of the Lyceum were Robert Emmett by Frank Marshall and Mohamet by Hall Caine. On each occasion the play was withdrawn after a private intimation had been received from the Censor suggesting that it would be wiser not to submit the play for licensing, as the license would be refused. A private communication of this sort was intended to avoid embarrassment and financial loss. The withdrawal of a play, however, was convenient for the Censor because it was, in fact, an unofficial but effective form of censorship. As such plays had not been formally submitted and refused a license, the office did not regard them as censored. Officially, therefore, the Lyceum had never been refused a license.

Robert Emmett was the first play to be withdrawn. Irving bore a resemblance to the Irish patriot and in 1879 it was suggested to him that he should play Emmett. Other productions took greater priority and it was 1882 before the play was considered. At that time Feinianism had become resurgent and the

Irish situation was acute. Stoker described the intervention of the Censor to the 1909 committee:

The Lord Chamberlain came, or sent, I think, Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane, who came and saw Mr Irving on the subject, and pointed out to him that it might be provocative of a good deal of public feeling, and that it would be antagonistic to the public good, and, therefore, he ventured to suggest that he should not put the play forward.⁴⁴

Stoker's interpretation was that the government believed that a forceful portrayal of a notorious political activist might have a dangerous effect upon "a people seething with revolt".

Stoker felt that political factions could be inspired by an historical play. In his Personal Reminiscences of Irving he wrote:

A great political situation may, like any other existing force form a milieu for dramatic action; making or increasing difficulties or abrogating or lessening them, or bringing an unexpected danger or aid to the persons of the drama. But where the political situation is supposed to be lasting or eternally analogous, it is apt to create in the minds of an audience varying conditions of thought and sympathy. And where these all powerful forces of an audience are opposed they become mutually destructive; being only united into that one form which makes for the destruction of the play.⁴⁵

He considered such factions a threat to the success of a play. In view of this his lack of concern over the loss of £450 paid in advance to Marshall was not surprising. Most probably he saw the withdrawal as a convenient prevention of what would have been an

unsuccessful play. Irving did not share Stoker's or the Censor's views:

I had a play, a very fine play written by a friend of mine.... a political play which I was politely requested to withdraw, and I suppose he was perfect[ly] correct in his request, although there seemed to me no possible objection to that play being performed. It was a play called Robert Emmett a most interesting story.⁴⁶

He had no qualms over the play's suitability.

It was 1890 when Irving withdrew Mohamet (a dramatisation of the Count Bournier novel). The play was unfinished when the Censor contacted Irving after notices of the forthcoming production appeared.

A representation came through pointing out that in as much as there were in Her Majesty's dominions so many millions of Mohametans who would have been gravely offended by any representation of the prophet put on stage, ...the play could not be performed.⁴⁷

It was duly withdrawn and Hall Caine refused payment for the work already done. Some years later he changed the setting to modern Morocco and it was privatey printed as The Mahdi. The objection to Mohamet was as much political as religious. The Lord Chamberlain's office was being sympathetic towards the Mohametan community, which considered representations of the prophet as sacrreligious. Again Stoker accepted the request without protest. As with Robert Emmett Irving had no doubts about the play's suitability:

The Lord Chamberlain represented to me that it would be an injudicious thing to press the proposal and gave his reasons why such a play (they

had never occurred to me) had better
not be performed, it was not
performed.⁴⁸

Hall Caine was convinced that the objections were weak. At the 1909 Committee he stated that none of the Mohametans that he knew objected to the idea. One strict Mohametan had given Hall Caine an assurance that he would have travelled to England to see the play.

It would appear from the lack of adverse reaction that the loss of two plays was of little consequence to Irving and Stoker. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, it was a situation that ^{was} unlikely to recur; these were isolated incidents within a long management. Secondly, Irving's style of production meant that his repertoire was largely safe from the Censor. Shakespearean productions did not require licenses, and other productions were of old and well known dramas previously licensed. Irving's new plays were lavishly staged costume and historical dramas, which defied any level of topical reference and intervention by the Censor. Thirdly, financially the loss of two plays was minimal considering the volume of material that Irving was sent. Each week he received up to fifty plays from established and aspiring playwrights. Mahomet had incurred no costs when it was withdrawn, and the £450 spent on Robert Emmett was a small amount of the total paid by Irving for plays he never produced.

During the course of his evidence Stoker stated that he had little knowledge of censorship or management outwith Britain, but whilst attempting to justify the retention of censorship he

referred to his experiences in America. Stoker had seen a number of indecent plays whilst touring the United States, of which one, called Sappho, had caused such a storm of protest that it had been stopped by the police. Whilst discussing the incident he admitted that it had shown that the public could be a stringent censor, more so than the official one. Stoker's replies to the Select Committee did little for the pro-censorship case and largely justified Shaw's comments.

Stoker expressed his opinions more articulately in his two articles on censorship, "The Censorship of Fiction" and "The Censorship of Stage Plays". Much of what he wrote in the article dealing with the censorship of fiction could be applied to the stage. Stoker believed that literature should be subject to a similar form of censorship as plays. Ideally there should not have been the need for a Censor, but there was a moral inertia amongst the public and writers that made it necessary. His perception of this moral inertia was in accord with many of the anti-censorship campaigners, but it was his solution that was at odds with them. Stoker believed that a true artist would not write about objectionable subjects and, indeed, his own writing was set firmly in Victorian conventions and moral standards.

The second article, "The Censorship of Stage Plays" was written from a legal and managerial stance, rather than an artistic one. If Stoker had considered censorship from a writer's point of view he might have come to different conclusions. As it was he stated that the censorship was not the concern of playwrights because, in his opinion, it was the managers and not

the dramatists who were vetoed by the decision to refuse a license. A playwright always had the option of publishing his work if it were not performed. This was a particularly narrow-minded opinion, plays were written to be visualised as well as read.

Stoker found the recommendations of the Select Committee pointless and the suggestions of the opposition impractical. He felt that the censorship should remain in its present form as there was no viable alternative. Stoker believed that optional censorship rendered the Chamberlain's authority redundant because banned plays could still be produced. This view was contrary to Shaw's; he was certain that optional censorship would not occur, because no manager would take the financial risk of producing an unlicensed play. Stoker believed that the use of the police and the courts would be heavy handed and create too much publicity. Such publicity could encourage the public to seek out the offending piece. He felt that the present system was far more subtle and removed plays before they did any harm.

During his years as Irving's Business Manager Stoker had taken care to cultivate and maintain an excellent relationship with the Lord Chamberlain's office. As the Lord Chamberlain was responsible for the licensing of the theatre as well as the plays, this type of relationship was essential. An obvious advantage of the relationship, and a sign of the respect that the office had for Irving, can be seen in the requests for the withdrawal of the two plays. These requests avoided embarrassment and saved Irving's reputation. Respect was also shown in that

Irving could deal with the Bonds and Sureties for the license at "his convenience". The Office appreciated Stoker's knowledge and concern over the laws governing the theatre. Correspondence shows that seats were available to the Reader of Plays on the first nights and on request. References were also made to holidays and the well-being of Mrs Stoker, which shows a level of informality in the relationship. The Readers during the period of Irving's management feature on Stoker's guest lists for the theatre's social events.

In matters of stage copyright Stoker could benefit from a good relationship with the Lord Chamberlain's department. Stoker copyrighted three of his novels, Dracula, The Mystery of the Sea, and Miss Betty. To copyright a piece of fiction for the stage an author had to re-write his novel or story in play form. It then had to be performed before an audience of at least one person who had paid the sum of one guinea. Prior to the performance the author had to obtain a provisional license from the Lord Chamberlain.

Stoker was greatly concerned about an author's rights over his material. In 1897 a Government Select Committee was set up to review copyright. Stoker was one of the four called to give evidence. The main topic of discussion was possible amendments to the existing law to cover material for the theatre. The basic problem was that authors had very little control over their material. It was all too simple for another author to take a novel or a play and rewrite it as the other. Shaw, in The Censorship of the Stage in England, noted an incident when an

author had to buy back the stage rights to his own story after a pirated version had been licensed.⁴⁹ He noted, also, that every prudent novelist, whose book contained dramatic material, took the precaution to establish copyright.

A major part of Stoker's work at the Lyceum was to find new material for Irving's repertoire. He had to read or commission new plays and negotiate with the authors for the acting rights. That and his own writing made him aware of the loopholes in the copyright laws. The agreements protected Irving's interests, but it was only through their own personal consideration that the author was accorded any rights. In 1897 Stoker stated that the policy adopted by the Lyceum concerning new plays was one of mutual agreement with the relevant authors. There were several approaches. The management could approach the author who would give his consent to a stage version. He would either provide the manuscript himself or allow the management to locate a suitable dramatist. Alternatively the author could go to the management with a script and they would seek permission to perform it from the original author.

In view of this Stoker proposed that it should be an infringement of copyright to rewrite a novel or play without the author's consent. A second proposal was that there should be a penalty for public performance without the author's permission. Stoker wanted to disallow private (non profit making) performances, but agreed that this would be difficult. He concurred also that there was no harm in drawing room

performances. His suggestion, therefore, was that it should be made easier for an injunction to be obtained.

Stoker's care over his own material was evident in his acquisition of copyright. This concern was confirmed in a letter from George Redford in 1897:

....I have devoted the greater part of today to a conscientious endeavour to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the very remarkable dramatic version of your forthcoming novel [Dracula] which I should say amply fulfils the letter of the copyright law. I lose no time in sending you the usual provisional license by which you will see that my official mind is satisfied that there is nothing unlicenseable in the piece....⁵⁰

The letter also confirmed Stoker's support of the laws of censorship. He clearly did not wish to perform publicly or print anything that could have been deemed morally dubious. He was, perhaps, lucky, for it was not inconceivable that the reader may have found cause for objection. Sexual connotations could have been read into the vampire's attacks upon young women; and there is a sense of the erotic in several passages, including the description of the female vampires at castle Dracula, and Dracula's infection of Mina. The copyright on Dracula lasted until 1978, and was effectively used by his wife in 1919 to stop the showing of Murnau's Nosferatu.

FOOTNOTES

INVOLVEMENT WITH CONTEMPORARY THEATRICAL ISSUES

1. Oswald Crawford, "The London Stage", Fortnightly Review, Vol 47, 1890, pp.499-516 and Vol 48, 1890, p.315.
2. H A Jones, "The Actor Managers", Fortnightly Review, Vol 48, 1890, pp.1-16.
3. Bernard Shaw/William Archer, The Theatrical World Of 1894, Walter Scott, 1894.
4. See earlier chapter The Lyceum Accounts, p.77.
5. Crawford's hopes were to be fulfilled in 1894, when William Poel founded the Elizabethan Stage Society, which was to have an enormous influence on the staging and production of Shakespeare in the early twentieth century. One of Poel's main concerns was delivery of lines and he stressed the importance of inflection and tone. Poel also wish to free Shakespeare from the cumbersome trappings of the nineteenth century and plays were produced on a stage constructed in accordance with his ideas of an Elizabethan stage and with minimal scenery.
6. For a study of the relationship between fiction, painting and drama in the nineteenth century see, Martin Meisel, Realizations, Princeton University Press, 1983.
7. Bram Stoker/Henry Irving/Charles Wyndham, "Actor Managers", Nineteenth Century, Vol 27, 1890, pp.1040-1058.
8. Beerbohm Tree, "The London Stage - A Reply", Fortnightly Review, Vol 47, pp.922-931 and "A Stage Reply", Fortnightly Review, Vol 48, 1890, pp.16-19.
9. Bram Stoker, "Actor Managers", p.1044.
10. Henry Irving, "Actor Managers", p.1053.
11. Michael Baker, The Rise of the Victorian Actor, Croom Helm, 1979, Chapter 6, pp.109-138.
12. Henry James, The Scenic Art, Rupert Hart Davis, 1949, p.136.
13. Bernard Shaw, Plays and Players, p.177.
14. Beerbohm Tree, "The London Stage - A Reply", Fortnightly Review, Vol 47, pp.925-926.
15. William Archer/Harley Granville Barker, A National Theatre Scheme and Estimates, Duckworth, 1907, p.xvii.
16. Effingham Wilson, A House for Shakespeare, H Hurst, 1848.

17. Effingham Wilson, A House for Shakespeare (2nd Paper), H Hurst, 1848.
18. Dramaticus, The Stage as It Is, F Newton, 1847.
19. John Jeremiah, Notes on Shakespeare and Memorials of the Urban Club, Clayton & Co., 1877, incorporating the pamphlet.
20. As Above, frontispiece.
21. Geoffrey Whitworth, The Making of a National Theatre, Faber & Faber, 1951, quoted on p.46.
22. William Archer/Harley Granville Barker, A National Theatre.
23. Mathew Arnold, Irish Essays and Others, Smith & Elder & Co., 1891.
24. William Archer/Harley Granville Barker, A National Theatre.
25. Archer/Barker, as above.
26. Charles Wyndham, The Times, March 10, 1908.
27. Bram Stoker, "The Question of a National Theatre", Nineteenth Century, Vol 63, 1908, pp.734-742.
28. These figures have been based on the Lyceum's annual average with a further 20% added to take account of the increase in numbers.
29. The Reading Committee was to be a group of men appointed to advise on the choice of plays for the theatre's repertoire.
30. The Times, October 20, 1907, and Richard Findlater, Banned Theatrical Censorship in Britain, Panther Books Ltd., 1968, quoted p.114.
31. Stoker referred to this involvement at the 1909 Committee, see Report from the Joint Select Committee on Stage Plays 1909, Q2833.
32. Bram Stoker, "Censorship of Fiction", Nineteenth Century, Vol 64, 1908, pp.479-487.
33. Bram Stoker, "The Censorship of Stage Plays", Nineteenth Century, Vol 66, 1909, pp.976-989.
34. William Archer, About the Theatre, T Fisher Unwin, 1886, pp.116-117.
35. William Archer, as above, p.117.
36. Shelley's The Cenci was banned because it contained references to incest. When the private performance took place, the Lord Chamberlain was so outraged by the breach of

his authority, that he threatened to refuse a renewal of the theatre's license.

37. The Stage Society produced a number of plays by European writers that had been banned including, Tolstoy's The Power of Darkness, Maeterlinck's Monna Vanna, and several plays by Brieux; Les Trois Filles de Madame Dupont, Maternité, Les Hamnetons and Les Avariés.
38. Report from the Joint Select Committee, 1909, p.v.
39. Neither Barrie nor Pinero had ever had plays altered or censored by the Lord Chamberlain.
40. Managers from Provincial theatres and the Music Halls were also called upon to give evidence to the Committee.
41. In 1886 when The Cenci was banned a far more repellent play titled Nadjezda was licensed, and a 'moralised' version of La Petite Marquise was vetoed and replaced by Les Divorçons, a less decent working of the original. Abode of Love and Dear Old Charlie were two of the most notorious English plays to be licensed during this period. Ironically Charles Brookfield, the author of the latter of these two plays, was appointed as the Lord Chamberlain's Reader in 1911.
42. It was advised that a play should be refused a license on the following grounds:
If it was found to be indecent.
If it contained offensive personalities.
If it represented persons living or dead in an invidious manner.
If it could be calculated to induce people to crime or violence.
If it did violence to religious sentiment.
If it would impair relations with a friendly power.
If it was likely to cause a breach of the peace.
These were basically the same grounds for veto as had been set in 1843.
43. Report from the Joint Select Committee, 1909, Q2830.
44. As above, Q2832.
45. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, pp.138-139.
46. Report from the Joint Select Committee on Theatres as Places of Entertainment 1892, Q1074.
47. Report from the Joint Select Committee, 1909, Q2832.
48. Government Select Committee Papers 1892, Q1074.
49. Bernard Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, Ed. E J West, MacGibbon & Kee, 1958.

50. G W Redford, Letter to Bram Stoker, May 1897, Stoker Collection, Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds.

THEATRICAL INFLUENCE ON STOKER'S FICTION

The name Bram Stoker is most often associated with that of his infamous fictional creation, Dracula, but between 1879 and 1911 he produced fifteen books and numerous short stories. Considering that he spent between ten and twelve hours of his working day at the Lyceum, more if Irving was entertaining after the evening performance, it is surprising that he managed to write regularly. This output remained consistent, although the quality did not. By far Stoker's most successful and best written fictional piece, Dracula (1897), took five years to write, most of the work being done during family holidays at Cruden Bay, far from the theatre and its concerns. Yet it is reasonable to question the extent to which the theatrical milieu in which he spent so much of his life affected his writing. Is it possible to see in his creative output a reflection of, or even a gloss on, his everyday activities?

Only two pieces of work had a theatrical setting. It was in 1875 that Stoker first used a theatrical setting. The piece was a short story, The Primrose Path, which was serialised in The Shamrock magazine. It was an undistinguished and sensational story, a pot-boiler. In spite of the theatrical setting it was primarily concerned with the evils of drink. A young carpenter dissatisfied with his life in Ireland is lured to London by a friend's letters describing his life there. Once in London the carpenter gains employment as a stage carpenter in a shabby, run down theatre in a poor area of the city. The man is tempted by

one of the actors to begin frequenting a local inn. A number of misfortunes befall him and his family, including an accident in which he receives a head injury. At the same time his drinking increases and his personality changes. One night in a drunken rage he kills his wife and then himself.

There is little in the story worthy of comment, however, in the few references to the theatre Stoker was able to display his new found knowledge of things theatrical.¹ During the course of his work as a critic, Stoker had visited all of Dublin's theatres including the less salubrious. This meant that he was able to set the scene with a degree of accuracy when he described the theatre in the story:

The outside of a small theatre is at the best of times unpromising, and this one looked, in the cool morning air, squalid in the extreme... and in the afternoon... The place looked more lively than before, although in reality still very dismal. There were a few of those nondescript, ill-clad loungers that are only seen in the precincts of theatres, hanging round the door - those seedy specimens of humanity who are the camp-followers of the histrionic army.

When Jerry asked one of them where he would find the manager, he winked at his companion, rubbed his lips, and said, with obsequious alacrity -

"This way ,sir. Come with me and I'll show you the way".

Jerry followed him through several dark passages filled with innumerable boxes of all sizes - old woodwork and portions of scenic ornamentation half covered with tarnished gilding.²

Stoker likewise displayed a familiarity with stage terms writing that

the names of the different things got so mixed up that when he was asleep that night Jerry kept dreaming of slots, and flies, and wings, and flats and vampire traps, and grooves, and P.S. (prompt side), and O.P. (opposite prompt side), all of which got jumbled together and puzzled him not a little.³

Stoker's knowledge of stage machinery was also evident in Jerry's description of a stage trap to a friend. He explained,

how a sliding board was pulled away so as to leave an open space, into which fitted exactly a piece of flooring, on which stood the person or thing to be raised; that to this flooring were attached ropes which worked over pulleys and were attached to immense counter-weights, which, when suddenly released, shot up the trap swiftly between its grooves.⁴

The main aim of The Primrose Path was to condemn alcohol abuse, a perennial problem in the theatre profession. Stoker refers to the problem in a conversation between Jerry and his wife. When Katey asks him about his work at the theatre he replies,

"Well, it is slow at times; but as a rule, there's plenty to do. So that with looking after the cellars, and the flies, and the wings, and trying to keep the men square and sober, my time isn't idle I can tell you."

"Is it hard to keep the men sober?"

"Isn't it. They'd be always over in Grinell's [public house] if I let them."⁵

When Jerry is lying injured on the stage the manager "thought it was a case of drunken-ness and turned the man over with his foot and a contemptuous 'get up' which is used on such occasions".⁶ The implication was that workers were all too often found in a

drunken state. Stoker also referred to drunkenness in his Personal Reminiscences to state that Irving did not tolerate drunkenness in the theatre. On realising that a member of his cast was drunk Irving stopped the performance, apologised to his audience for the interruption, replaced the actor and restarted the performance. The actor was dismissed and a meeting of the entire company called for the following day. At the meeting Irving reminded the company of the loyalty that was due from one craftsman to another and stated;

By that want of loyalty in any of the forms, you have helped to ruin your comrade. Some of you must have noticed....Had I been told - had the stage manager had a single hint from anyone, we could, and would, have saved him.⁷

It was a stern lesson and left the company with no doubts as to the consequences of not only drunkenness, but the failure to report it.

It was 1904 before Stoker used a theatrical setting again. Collier's Magazine (New York) published a short story entitled At Last.⁸ During the tour of 1903-4 Stoker had the idea of a collection of interlinked stories told by a group of travellers on^a train. The collection, Snowbound, was eventually published in 1908, and it included At Last. Snowbound was Stoker's only theatrical novel. In it a touring company's train is stopped by the snow somewhere between Aberdeen and Perth. All the company gather in one carriage, share their provisions, and to pass the time each relates a personal reminiscence. Stoker's depiction of a company on tour could hardly have been anything but accurate. He had experienced first hand the comforts, discomforts and the

causes of delay encountered when on tour. On a number of occasions whilst touring America the Lyceum company had been stopped by bad weather.

The scenes he described both in the initial setting of the scene and in the stories were similar to descriptions of touring trains given by other writers. In his book, Henry Irving A Record of Twenty years at the Lyceum, Percy Fitzgerald described the company on tour:

A huge theatrical train containing one of the theatrical companies with all their baggage comes up and thunders through. Here is the pullman car in which the performers are seen playing cards, chatting, or lunching. They have their pets with them, parrots, dogs etc. It suggests luxury and prosperity, but this ease is dearly purchased.⁹

It was Irving who had pioneered the use of special trains for theatre companies. The only pets that went on tour with the company were his own and Ellen Terry's small terriers. In the book Stoker depicted the two sides of touring. The actor-manager spoke of the days when touring companies and their baggage had to crowd into whatever space was available on timetabled trains. Occasionally, if they were lucky, extra carriages were added to the regular trains to provide them with more room. Alternatively there was the 'modern day' situation, where a company travelled in comfort with its own special train.

Three of the reminiscences in Snowbound, including At Last, gave three different views of a single incident. In his Personal Reminiscences, Stoker had detailed an adventure that the Lyceum

company had during the 1896 American tour, and it was that experience which inspired the three tales. Whilst travelling from New Orleans to Memphis the Lyceum company found that the bridge over the Bayou Pierre was flooded.¹⁰ This incident was used, unaltered, in Mick The Devil, the first of the three tales. In the real life incident Stoker described how when the decision was taken to cross the bridge, all except Irving, Ellen Terry and himself began to panic. As the train crossed the river at its slowest speed some people confessed their sins. This formed the basis for the second tale, In Fear of Death. The incident was developed to include details of a number of the confessions, which were minor and amusing. Stoker also altered the way in which the train crossed the bridge. In Snowbound the train crossed at speed.

The third tale, At Last, expanded on one of the confessions which was more serious and had tragic consequences. A young actress confessed to her husband of a previous marriage to a man who was already married. When the journey ends safely the husband, in spite of forgiving her, took their child and left her. The narrator of the tale had chanced across someone who had met the woman some years later; and had related how through a quirk of fate he had been instrumental in re-uniting the family.

The other tales cover a variety of topics and each member of the company tells a story linked to their own department. As befits his position, the actor-manager begins the proceedings. The story tells of his solution to the over-crowded touring trains that he had encountered in his younger days. After having

managed to rid himself of mothers and babies on one tour, he found himself inundated with pets on the next, including the leading lady's wheaten terrier. His solution was to buy a basket of snakes, which gave him plenty of space and dissuaded people from bringing pets on future journeys.

The Star Trap, which was the carpenter's contribution, describes an horrific murder and was in keeping with Stoker's taste for horror and the macabre. A master machinist decides to kill a Harlequin who has been paying attention to his wife. The murder is ingeniously thought out and the machinist tampers with the star-trap. He puts a metal plate over the trap's opening and increases the counter weights, and the Harlequin is thrust into the plate with added force.

The wardrobe mistress reminisces about an occasion when a leading lady split her breeches just before her cue. The leading lady tells how a props master thought that a body on a bed was a dummy when in fact it was herself. It was the scene painter's early career that inspired his reminiscence. He told how the owner of the studio in which he worked went bankrupt. Not to be outdone by the bailiffs the owner decides to remove some scenery contracted for America. In order to cover the operation he asked the unwitting young painter to paint a scene of the studio, which was used as a cover to delude the bailiffs.

Characterisation in Snowbound was suited to the comedic nature of the stories and each person is a caricature. The choice of names alone is an indication of this. If the characters are

not simply referred to as First Old Man, Heavy Father and Singing Chambermaid they are given amusing and unusual names. The actor-manager is Benville Nonplusser, the leading lady Miss Venables and the business manager Mr Wragge. The carpenter has the appropriate title of Mr Hempitch and the scene painter is Mr Turner-Smith. Each character is similarly given a quality in keeping with their position within the company or the parts that they play. The wardrobe mistress has a taste for gossip and scandal. Miss Venables is described as being full of goodness, alluring and shy. Mr Wragge organises everyone and remains a background figure who does not contribute to the entertainment. Benville Nonplusser possesses a wicked sense of humour of which the rest of the company falls foul.

Snowbound was not a serious novel and it was not intended to be taken as a serious study of theatrical life. Stoker's brief preface;

The truth - or rather accuracy - of these stories may be accepted or not as the reader pleases. They are given as fiction¹¹,

makes this point and challenges the reader. There was an element of truth there, but Benville Nonplusser and Miss Venables are not Irving and Ellen Terry. Stoker was writing a gentle parody of the profession. The description of Mr Wragge, the business manager,

who being by needs of his calling a pushful person, usually took such prominent responsibilities as were unallotted or unattached¹²,

was clearly written tongue-in-cheek and at his own expense. Similar reasoning could be applied to the statement about Coggins, the property master in Miss Venables' story. He was

considered to be "grave, civil, punctual, sober and as steady as a rock". At the Lyceum Loveday possessed such qualities and his intense loyalty to Irving often made him the butt of jokes. The lack of serious intention on Stoker's behalf becomes more evident when it is realised that Snowbound had only a single publication as an inexpensive paperback produced for the popular market.

Snowbound, perhaps, also answers the question, why did Stoker only write one theatrical novel? He could not have undertaken to write any form of theatrical fiction whilst he worked for Irving or prior to the actor's death. The reason for this was obvious. Readers would have made connections with the Lyceum and Irving. This had happened in the case of Dracula. It had generally been thought, and still is, that the character of Count Dracula was based on Irving. Stoker had never intended such a connection. Even after the death of Irving he was concerned with avoiding any possible link, as the preface of Snowbound suggests. His use of comic tales, larger than life characters and parody made it possible. In this way Stoker was also able to side-step any question concerning the theatre's respectability, which a serious novel may have raised. The theatre was gaining in respectability through the work of men like Irving, but there was still an element of doubt about the profession. It is both ironic and unfortunate that Stoker's commitment to the theatre far from encouraging him prevented him from writing about the life and work that he enjoyed so much.

There is a brief reference to the theatre in The Shoulder of Shasta, interesting in that it reiterates Stoker's own view of

the purpose of the theatre in society. In the novel, the main character returns to the culture of San Francisco after a holiday on mount Shasta, and begins to frequent the theatre. Stoker described the experience as follows:

.... to Esse a theatre was a veritable wonderland. Like all persons of pure imagination, the theatre itself was a means to an end. She did not think of a play as a play, but as a reality, and so her higher education - the education of the heart, the brain and the soul, was pursued, and by the sequence of her own emotions and her memory of them, she became, each time she saw a play to know herself a little better, and so to better know the world and its dwellers.¹³

In his article, "The Censorship of Fiction", Stoker stated his belief that the strength of drama lay in its appeal to the imagination because "whole worlds of fact and fancy are open to it".¹⁴ He went on to write,

Imagination does not appeal to a nation except through its units, and so must be taken as dealing with individuals only, though its effects may ultimately become of general, if not universal import.¹⁵

At the same time he stressed the educational value of the theatre referring to it as "an educational machine" and "perhaps the most powerful form of teaching available".¹⁶ The relationship between these comments and the passage from The Shoulder of Shasta becomes more apparent when Stoker's discussion of the philosophy behind Irving's art is also taken into consideration.¹⁷ Irving believed that an actor's strength lay in his ability to judge and understand "types of character written in abstractions" and present them realistically and truthfully.¹⁸ As an actor he was attempting to reach "that veritable ground

where reality and imagination join".¹⁹ It was to this point that Stoker alluded when he stated that Esse was able to gain a better understanding of herself, because she was able to discern elements of her own personality portrayed on the stage.

Even if it were the case that Stoker was hesitant about basing his literary work directly on the life at the Lyceum, he may have incorporated certain aspects of his experience and impressions of the Lyceum personalities and ethos in his fiction. Henry Irving had as great an influence on Stoker's writing as he had on his life. The man himself, his acting and his interests all had an effect on Stoker's novels and stories. In a biography of Irving, Edward Gordon Craig wrote;

Hamlet and Haunted men are what Brodribb hungered to be; to an Enchanted Isle is where Brodribb longed to go. The stately, the weird, the impossible - these three he liked, and they went with him to the end of his days.²⁰

The sentiment was equally true of Stoker.

Mesmerism and hypnotic powers are a recurring theme in Stoker's writing. It was also a subject that interested Irving. Early in his career he had revealed how the Davenport Brothers did their stage trick with which they had been mystifying England. It had nearly ruined his career. Irving had also familiarised himself with the achievements of Mesmer and Cagliostro. Edward Gordon Craig believed that Irving saw similar powers in himself and developed them to a high level. Irving was certainly charismatic and one critic wrote;

Surely there was never an actor who had such a hold on the public as he.

In all the years that I had followed his career I know of no occasion when he lost his grip on the audience.²¹

Stoker became aware of Irving's power at their first meeting, when Irving recited Eugene Aram;

But such was Irving's commanding force, so great was the magnetism of his genius, so profound was the sense of his dominance that I sat spell-bound.²²

There is no evidence of an interest in mesmerism or hypnosis prior to his association with Irving. The actor seems to have stimulated Stoker's interest in the subject.

Stoker first used hypnosis or mesmerism in The Wondrous Child, one of the stories in Under The Sunset. The child holds two other children under its spell so that they may learn the importance of goodness and love. In Dracula the vampire's strength largely lies in his ability to compel and coerce humans. The spirit of Queen Tera, in The Jewel of Seven Stars compels the Trelawneys to attempt her resurrection. The most concentrated use of hypnotic powers was in The Lair of the White Worm. The three villains, Edgar Caswell, his black manservant and Lady Arabella use their powers to have a battle of wills with Mimi and Lilla. The resulting effect is that

the weaker Lilla seemed the stronger he [Edgar Caswell] seemed to get, just as if he were feeding on her strength.²³

This is similar to Dracula, but it is also similar to Irving's portrayals of Richelieu and Louis XI. Each of these characters drew renewed strength by weakening those around them. Comparison

can also be made with Lillah McCarthy's description of Irving's performance of Beckett. She wrote;

It was as though a blizzard had swept through the theatre. We in the gallery felt icy, shivering and exhausted, and when the end came the spell was not broken.²⁴

In The Lair of the White Worm Edgar Caswell was believed to have some strange power that enabled him to make the wills of others subservient to his own. The Caswell family had been closely associated with Mesmer in Paris.

Three types of character are common to both Stoker and Irving. They are haunted and guilty men, men driven by fate, and personifications of evil. These characters provided Irving with his greatest successes and Stoker with his most notable male characters. Mathias in The Bells and Eugene Aram were the most celebrated of Irving's guilty men and had a great impact on Stoker. Irving's rendition of Eugene Aram had reduced Stoker to a state of hysteria. It is, therefore, conceivable that Eugene Aram and to a lesser extent The Bells inspired the short story A Dream of Red Hands.²⁵ There are a number of similarities. Jacob Settle commits a single, out of character, criminal act. Unlike Eugene Aram and Mathias it is not an act of greed, but a crime of passion. He murders the man who has dishonoured his fiancée and conceals the body. In later years his guilty conscience tortures him with a recurrent dream, which almost drives him mad. In the dream he is smitten from the gates of heaven when his crime is revealed by his blood stained hands. Settle eventually meets his doom whilst saving the life of a fellow worker. When his body is

recovered all but his hands, which are pure white, has been stained red by the chemicals in the water in which he drowned.

The Coming of Abel Behenna also bears a resemblance to The Bells. It is worth noting that Behenna was one of Irving's family names. In the story Eric murders his best friend, Abel Behenna, by letting him drown. Both men had courted the same girl but she had accepted Abel and they were going to be married. After the murder Eric wins the girl's affections. On the wedding day the body of Abel is washed upon the shore in such a way that his finger points towards Eric. The shock and the realisation that his crime is discovered is too much for Eric and he drops dead.

Stoker and Irving were also interested in man's relationship with fate. Violet Vanbrugh wrote of Irving's performance in the Corsican Brothers;

To go back to my impression of
Fabian dei Franchi, I see a man who
has the finger of fate upon him;
Fate seems to control his being.²⁶

This was true of a number of Irving's characterisations. In Stoker's The Mystery of the Sea three of the characters were marked by the finger of fate. The reader instinctively knows that Lachlan McCleod, Gormala and Don Escoban will not survive. Each character pursues an end with no regard for his own safety. Don Escoban is similar to Irving's Beckett. Each man is motivated by a sense of honour, duty and respect for the mother church. They become inflexible to such a degree that fulfillment can only occur in death. Characters driven in this way become distracted and distanced from their fellow men. Stoker had noted this quality in Irving's performance of Hamlet, and he wrote;

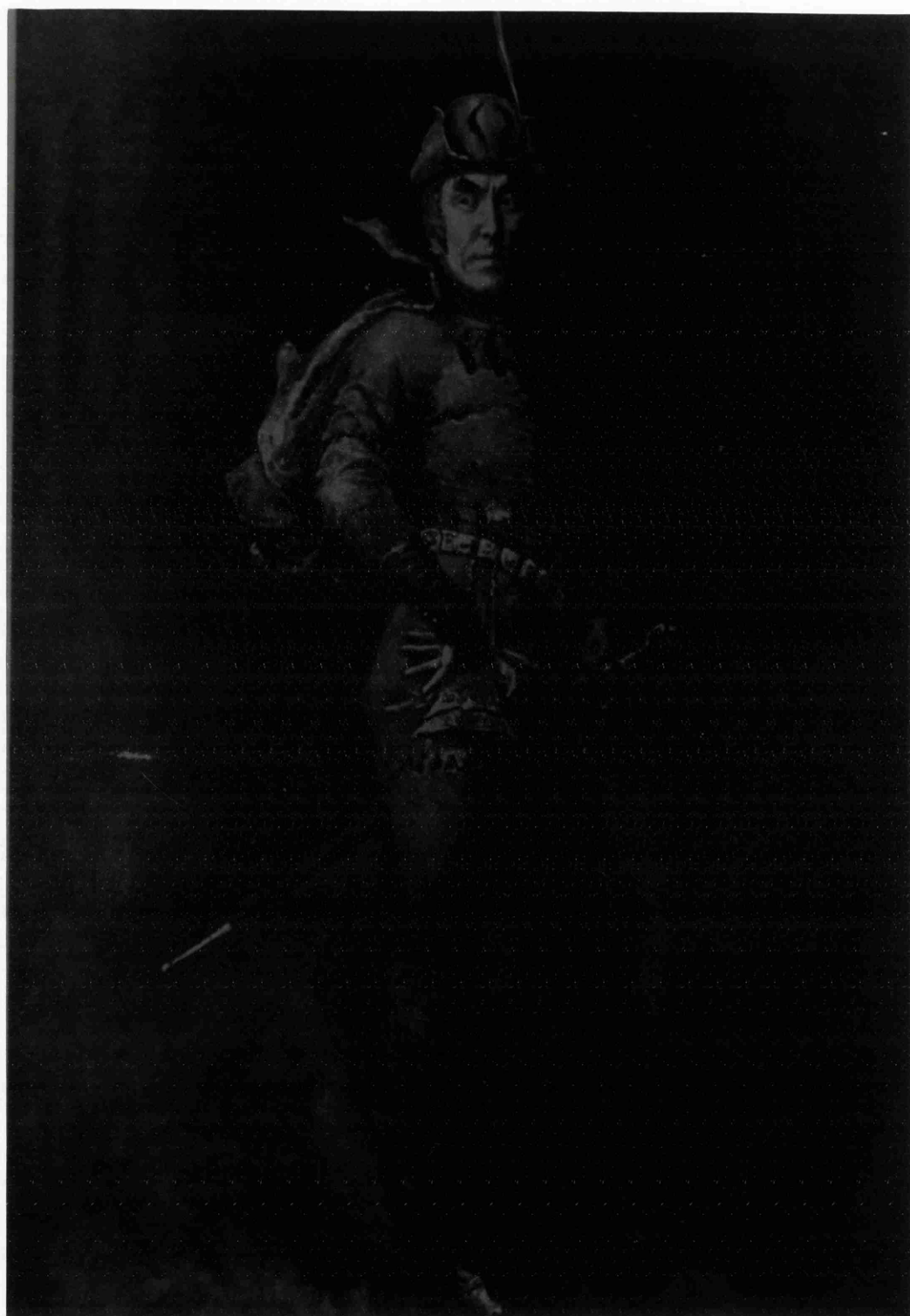
In his most passionate moments with Ophelia, even in the violence of his rage, he never loses the sense of distance - of a gulf fixed - of that acknowledgement of the unseen which is his unconscious testimony...²⁷

The first play that Stoker worked on with Irving was Vanderdecken. The fate of the main character was a living death. As with Eugene Aram and Mathias and Stoker's Jacob Settle a single criminal act determined his fate. The influence of Vanderdecken's fate can also be seen in Stoker's writing. It is echoed in The Jewel of Seven Stars where Queen Tera is condemned to eternal death for seeking the secret of eternal life. It is more evident, however, in Dracula and The Lair of the White Worm. Stoker described Irving's Vanderdecken as follows;

In his face is the ghastly pallor of the phantom Captain and in his eyes shines the wild glamour of the lost - in his every tone and action there is the stamp of death. Herein lies the terror - we can call it by no other name - of the play.²⁸

It is hard to believe that Stoker did not have these words in mind when he conceived the characters of Dracula and Lady Arabella.

The most influential aspect of Irving's acting was his ability to personify evil. The greatest examples of this were Mephistopheles in Faust (figure 1) and Synorix in The Cup. Richelieu and Louis XI also possessed elements of evil in their personalities. In Mephistopheles there was pure evil, power and malignancy that were used against mortal men. These characteristics were intensified because Irving blended them with



a "diabolical cynicism" and "mocking humour". These characteristics can all be found in Stoker's diabolical characters. Dracula is a kind of Mephistopheles. He has the power of immortality and great evil. He reeks of decadence and sensuality and takes great pleasure in mocking his enemies' attempts to defeat him. It is the cynical belief in the impotence of his victims that brings about his destruction. Lady Arabella has similar characteristics. She is immortal and evil, but in her Stoker emphasises corruption and sickening sensuality.

Synorix was the epitome of mortal evil, sensuality and decadence, "His face was pale with thin red lips. The face of a sensualist. A cruel face".²⁹ Edgar Caswell (The Lair of the White Worm) is an evil decadent man and is Lady Arabella's mortal counter-part. Geoffrey Brent in The Secret of Growing Gold is the contemporary Synorix. He is a man of noble birth fallen to decadence. When Stoker describes him he states that he might be compared with the paintings of Italian nobles, in which the artists preserved the courage, unscrupulousness, cruelty and refinement of lust of their subjects. They depicted "the voluptuary actual with the fiend potential".³⁰

A number of physical features recur in Stoker's male characters. Tall, ascetic, aquiline featured men predominate. Irving possessed all of these features. As an actor, Irving did not try to disguise his distinctive features, but used them and incorporated them into his characters. As with most people Stoker was quick to note Irving's distinctive physique. He commented upon its advantages and disadvantages in his criticism of Hamlet.

It would have been impossible for Stoker to resist the temptation of using such characteristics. The Victorians were greatly interested in physiognomy, where certain character traits were related to distinctive physical types. Stoker's interest in physiognomy is revealed in his writing. He frequently attaches characteristics to physical features.

Geoffrey Brent (The Secret of Growing Gold) was described as having that

dark aquiline, commanding beauty
which women so generally recognised
as dominant.³¹

Edgar Caswell resembled Irving (figure 2) a little more closely, the

aquiline feature, which marked them [the Caswells] seemed to justify every personal harshness. The pictures and effigies of them all show the adherence to the early roman type. Their eyes were full, their hair of raven blackness, grew thick and close and curly. Their figure was massive and typical of strength.

The thick black hair growing low down on the neck told of vast physical strength and endurance. But the most remarkable characteristic is the eyes. Black, piercing, almost unendurable, they seem to contain in themselves a remarkable will power...³²

The resemblance to Irving is not only obvious in the aquiline features, but in the colour and length of the hair and in the eyes. It does, however, relate more closely to his portrayal of Synorix.

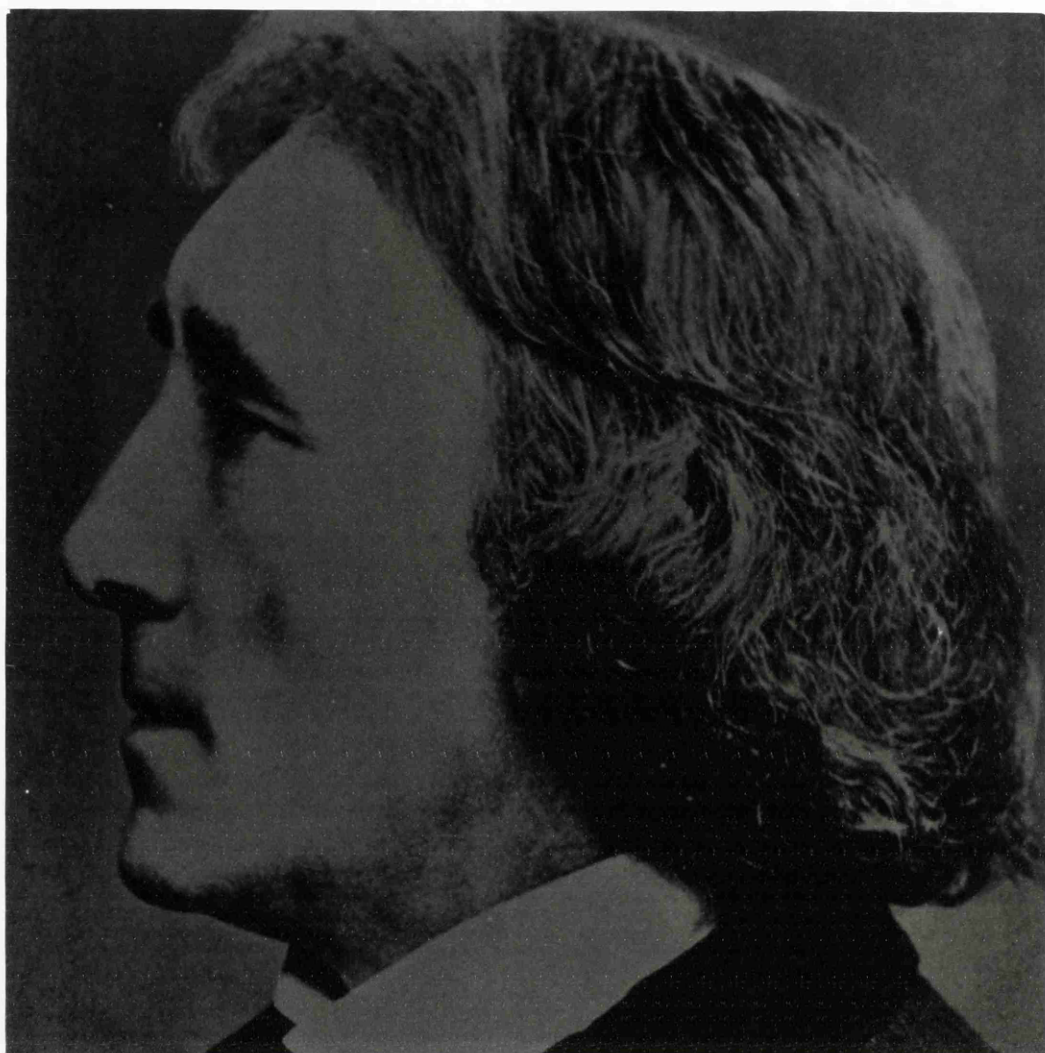
The character that Irving is most closely associated with is Dracula. It was and still is believed that Dracula is Henry Irving, not just in looks, but personality.³³ A number of Irving's less well disposed critics thought that the effect of the vampire on his victims was symbolic of Irving's employment. Not surprisingly Stoker jumped to his defence and denied any resemblance between the two. Physical similarities do exist. Jonathon Harker immediately noticed Dracula's "marked physiognomy". Dracula was a tall clean shaven man except for a moustache. His hand movements were graceful and his gestures courtly. Dracula's face was strong and aquiline, the nose was thin with a high bridge and peculiarly arched nostrils. The forehead was lofty and domed, the eyebrows were massive and his chin was broad and strong. Without the moustache it could be a description of Irving (figure 2).

There is a fact that is often overlooked when studying Dracula. There is also a resemblance between Irving and Van Helsing. Joseph Hatton described Irving as Dr Primrose as having

a pale somewhat ascetic face, with bushy eyebrows, dark dreamy eyes, a nose that indicates gentleness rather than strength, a thin upper lip, a mouth opposed to all ideas of sensuousness, but nervous and sensitive, a strong jaw and chin, and a head inclined to drop a little, as is often the case with men of studious habit. There is a great individuality in the whole figure, and in the face a rare mobility there is nothing sunnier than his smile. It lights up all of his countenance and reveals his soul in his eyes; but it is like the sunshine that bursts for a moment from a cloud and disappears to leave the landscape again in shadows flecked here and there with

2

Henry Irving



a fleeting reminiscence of the
sun.³⁴

The above description and figures 2 and 3 can be compared with
Mina Harker's description of Dr Van Helsing. She saw

a man of medium height, strongly
built, with his shoulders set back
over a broad deep chest and a neck
well balanced on the trunk as the
head is on the neck. The poise of
the head strikes one at once as
indicative of thought and power; the
head is noble, well sized, broad and
large behind the ears. The face,
well shaven shows a hard square
chin, a large resolute mobile mouth,
a good sized nose, rather straight,
but with quick sensitive nostrils,
which seem to broaden as the big
bushy eyebrows come down and the
mouth tightens. The forehead is
broad and fine rising at first
almost straight and then sloping
back above two bumps or ridges wide
apart Big dark blue eyes are
set widely apart, and arc quick and
tender or stern with the man's
moods.³⁵

There are similarities in the set of the head, the mobility of
the face, the mouth, the heavy brows and the chin. They are
descriptions of two different men and also Irving.

Stoker made particular note of Irving's hands and eyes on
the occasion that he recited Eugene Aram. He wrote,

the nervous eloquent hands slowly
moving, out-spread fanlike, round
the fixed face - set as doom, with
eyes as inflexible as fate...³⁶

added to the emotion and horror being conveyed in the words of
the poem. Stoker often made detailed references to characters'
hands and eyes. In The Jewel of Seven Stars he makes constant
reference to the beauty and eloquence of Trelawney's hands.

3
Henry Irving as Dr Primrose



Others noticed how Irving used his hands and eyes. Kenneth Barnes wrote;

In his eyes and his hands Irving showed himself to be an absolute master of dramatic expression; every look and every movement conveyed the inner thought and feeling of the character.³⁷

Constance Benson saw this in practice in his performance as Dr Primrose; she noted

his delicate hands and the nervous movement of his fingers seemed to speak of a dormant energy that might at any moment dominate and make the old man a creature of passion and vengeance.³⁸

Edgar Caswell and Lady Arabella have piercing eyes and distinctive hands. Hand gestures add to the power of the eyes when they take part in a power struggle. Mimi finds additional strength, when she uses her hands to counter the effects of their mesmerism. This is similar to the latent power described by Constance Benson.

Jonathon Harker notices Dracula's hands and eyes. The hands have a strange appearance and constantly move, from a graceful wave to a grasping motion when he becomes excited. Apart from the mesmeric quality of Dracula's eyes there are many references to a blazing light in them. When Harker cuts himself shaving Dracula's "eyes blazed with a sort of demonic fury". When Dracula is angered,

His eyes were positively blazing. The red light in them was lurid, as if the flames of hell fire blazed behind them. His face was deathly pale, and the lines of it were hard like drawn wires; the thick eyebrows that met over the nose now seemed

like a heaving bar of white hot
metal.³⁹

From this description it is also possible to visualise Irving's Mephistopheles (figure 1). In Vanderdecken a ballad gives a description of the doomed sailor, the final line reads, "And eyes like a soul's in Hell!".⁴⁰ Stoker wrote of Irving's embodiment of this

It was marvellous that any living
man should show such eyes. They
really seemed to shine like cinders
of glowing red from out of the
marble face.⁴¹

Irving's eyes and hands and the way in which he used them to convey emotion clearly inspired Stoker's characterisation.

The influence of Ellen Terry was less direct than that of Irving, but nevertheless exists. Ellen Terry's beauty and charm aroused admiration and inspiration in many. Bernard Shaw once wrote that there was not an important man who was a theatre-goer that was not in love with her.⁴² She inspired Lady Cicely in Captain Brassbound's Conversion and the Strange Lady in Man of Destiny. Shaw's description of the Strange Lady is a pen portrait.⁴³ Stoker's reminiscences of her are particularly fond, and he echoed Shaw's sentiment in his Personal Reminiscences when he wrote;

She is loved by everyone who ever
knew her. Her presence is charm, her
friendship a delight; her memory
will be a national as well as a
personal possession.⁴⁴

He also stated;

For my own part I have no words at
command adequate to tell the kindly
feeling which I have always had for
the delightful creature - to express

my reverence and regard and love
for her enchanting personality.⁴⁵

It would seem that Stoker was also a little in love with her, and it becomes apparent that it was her personality, in particular her charm, rather than her physical features that influenced him.

There is one direct reference to her. Dracula contains a report from the "Westminster Gazette" which reports how young children have been lured from their play by the 'bloofer lady', and how they had taken to play acting a similar scene. It states;

Our correspondent naively says that even Ellen Terry could not be so winningly attractive as some of these grubby-faced little children pretend - and even imagine themselves - to be.⁴⁶

Stoker believed "that no other woman of her time" had "shown such abounding and abiding charm" as Ellen Terry.⁴⁷ She affected him from their first meeting, which he recalled in Personal Reminiscences:

But not even the darkness of the December day could shut out the radiant beauty of the woman to whom Irving....introduced me. Her face was full of colour and animation, either of which would have made her beautiful. In addition was the fine form, the easy rhythmic swing, the large, graceful, goddess-like way in which she moved.⁴⁸

Although there are no pen portraits of Ellen Terry in Stoker's fiction all of his women possess a fine form, grace, charm and beauty, the very qualities that had captivated Stoker on that first meeting. His description of Ellen Terry could easily be applied to Margaret Trelawney (The Jewel of Seven Stars), Marjory Drake (The Mystery of the Sea) or Stephen (The Man).

Stoker was also influenced by the image that Ellen Terry presented to the public. On stage, she was the womanly woman, and many including Stoker saw her as a representation of the true essence of womanhood. He wrote that,

In her womanhood is paramount. She
has to the full in her nature
whatever quality it is that
corresponds to what we call
"virility" in a man.⁴⁹

This opinion was governed by what they saw at the Lyceum. She played women full of beauty, charm and grace, who were submissive and content to be defended. Her pictorial style of acting made her appear to be the physical reality of the images of the romantic poets and pre-Raphaelites, and comparative allusions were often made. She was the personification of Tennyson's queens, her Ophelia could have stepped out of a Burne-Jones painting and Camma was likened to the works of Albert Moore and the classical beauty of the Elgin marbles. Ellen Terry used her capacity for pathos to the full in Ophelia, and non-Shakespearean characters such as Henrietta-Maria, Margaret and Camma. In Portia and Beatrice she portrayed feminine sparkle, vitality and wit.

Stoker's women matched the Victorian ideal also. They were intelligent, witty and charming; and inspite of their independent natures retained their femininity because ultimately they were defenceless and dependent on men. Of all the characters played by Ellen Terry, Ophelia and Beatrice were the two that had the greatest impact on Stoker. In Beatrice Ellen Terry was able to blend her own personality with her art. The quick wit, resourcefulness and intellectual strength that was embodied in Beatrice is echoed in a number of Stoker's women including

Stephen, Margaret Trelawney, Marjory Drake, Joy Ogilvie (Lady Athlyne) and Betty (Miss Betty).

In his Personal Reminiscences Stoker stated that Irving's admiration for Ellen Terry became unbounded and that

Many and many a time have I heard
him descant on her power....He said
that her pathos was "nature helped
by genius" and that she had a "gift
for pathos".⁵⁰

Stoker went on to write that Irving never ceased to praise her Ophelia. His own opinion was expressed as follows;

For my own part, every Ophelia whom
I have seen since then had suffered
by the comparison.⁵¹

Ellen Terry believed that the tragedy of Ophelia was fear of life and a lack of inner strength. This is also true of Lilla (The Lair of the White Worm) and Lucy (Dracula), they were the nineteenth century Ophelia. The mental and emotional suffering that Ellen Terry put into Ophelia also appear in Princess Bluebell and Little Zaya (in Under The Sunset), Lady Teuta (The Lady of the Shroud), Margaret Trelawney, Mimi (The Lair of the White Worm) and Mina Harker. The difference with these characters was that they had the strength of character to face and overcome their anguish.

Another actress who appears to have had some influence on Stoker was the American born Genevieve Ward. Stoker first saw her in 1873 at the Theatre Royal in Dublin and wrote that he saw a "triton amongst minnows" and sat in growing admiration of her powers. During her visit to Dublin he met her both professionally and socially and a close friendship began. They worked together

on two occasions, in 1879, when she took the Lyceum during Irving's vacation, and in 1891 when she joined the Lyceum company and played in four productions.

Genevieve Ward and Ellen Terry were very different both in looks and acting style. Each played characters the other could not. Genevieve Ward had a capacity for tragedy and was known for playing heavy roles. Her style was measured, deliberate and accurate which was a direct contrast to Ellen Terry's naturalness and spontaneity. She played proud, regal women, and at the Lyceum was cast as Morgan Le Fey, Queen Margaret, Queen Eleanor and the third queen in Cymbeline. These characteristics and her skill with emotional invective, which Stoker praised, are echoed in Queen Tera and Lady Teuta. Genevieve Ward's success, however, lay largely in the character of Stephanie in Forget-Me-Not, the role that Stoker helped to create, and which almost certainly influenced Stephen in The Man. The similarity in the names may have been coincidental, but there are also similarities in personality. One critic described Stephanie as an "imperial force of character". She possessed intellectual brilliancy, audacity of mind and an iron will. Her manners were perfect elegance and she had a profound self-knowledge. This description could just as easily be applied to Stephen.

It was, however, Genevieve Ward's physical features that had the greatest influence on Stoker. Physically she was a direct contrast to Ellen Terry's fair beauty and charm. She too had beauty, grace and ease but was never described as having charm and vivacity to the degree that Ellen Terry had. Genevieve Ward's

beauty was dark and classical. Her hair was dark as were her eyes and her features were expressive and aquiline. In Personal Reminiscences Stoker described her as

very handsome; of a rich dark beauty, with clear cut classical features, black hair and great eyes that now and again flashed fire.⁵²

A number of Stoker's female characters possessed similar physical features; Stephen, Joy Ogilvie, Marjory Drake and more obviously Lady Teuta and Margaret Trelawney. The latter has dark, straight features and eyes black and soft as velvet with a mysterious depth out of which shone a distant light. When she is affected by the spirit of Queen Tera she becomes more regal and commanding, her eyes flash fire and she suffers emotional outbursts.

Stoker dedicated The Lady of the Shroud to Genevieve Ward, his "dear friend". Lady Teuta is virtually a pen portrait of the actress and Stoker describes a "tall slim figure" with "black hair showing glossy in the light", skin like marble and "black eyes" that "sent through their stars fiery gleams".⁵³ Other similar characteristics were her "hereditary dignity", spiritual strength and loftiness of carriage. Rupert described Lady Teuta as "an incarnate figure of pride".

Stoker seems to have selected and blended features from both Genevieve Ward and Ellen Terry in some of his characters. Joy Ogilvie incorporated physical features from both women and her aunt describes^{her} as follows;

[The] type of figure that is the most alluring of all to men; what the french call fausse maigre. She has great grey eyes as deep as the sky or sea; eyes that can drag the

soul out of a man's body and throw it down beneath her dainty feet.... her hair is black - that isn't black, but with a softness that black cannot give. Her skin is like ivory seen in the sunset....her head is poised on her graceful neck like a lily on its stem. Her nose is a fine aquiline - that means power and determination....Her hands are long and fine, patrician hands that can endure and suffer. There is there the making of a splendid woman and of a noble wife.⁵⁴

Stoker moderated the regal detachment, command and pride from Genevieve Ward with the softer qualities he perceived in Ellen Terry. All of these features combined to form an image of ideal womanhood characteristic of the views of Victorian society.

More difficult to determine is the influence of the Lyceum's settings and atmosphere on Stoker's work. One of Stoker's short stories, The Squaw, was set in Nuremburg. Clearly it had been inspired by his trip to the town prior to the production of Faust. There is, in the story a direct reference to Irving's production. The narrator states that;

Nurnberg at the time was not so much exploited as it has been since then. Irving had not been playing Faust, and the very name of the old town was hardly known to the great bulk of the travelling public.⁵⁵

This would apparently indicate how influential Irving's popularity was. It also gives an indication of the strength of appeal that Irving's romantic images (figures 4 and 5) held. It is interesting to note that the 'geographically accurate' sets of Faust, which encouraged people to visit Nuremburg, were taken

4

Scene from Faust



5

Scene from Faust



from drawings of a nearby town, Rothenburg. These drawings were used because Rothenburg was more obviously medieval.

Although Stoker's province within the theatre was front of house, he had a sound knowledge of backstage work. Prior to his appointment as manager he spent time with Irving, observing how productions were mounted. In his article on Irving's use of stage lighting he claimed to have attended all of Irving's lighting rehearsals. At the theatre he was able to see first hand, how scenery and lighting could lend itself to the creation of mood. Stoker's creation of setting and atmosphere were of a consistently high standard. It appears that after 1879 there was a greater emphasis on the above aspects of his writing. This could be explained by the move from short story to novel, in that a novel requires more detail. The emphasis, however, is also apparent in the short stories written after 1879. It is likely that Stoker was in some way influenced by Irving's genius for creating atmosphere.

Stoker does not appear to have used any Lyceum set directly. Influence seems to have been on a more indirect and theoretical level. His use of setting and mood was no less sensational than Irving's and he used them much as they were used in the theatre. Stoker made great use of local colour. He set his novels in countries and places that he had seen and knew well, such as, north east Scotland, America, Cornwall and Whitby. The exception was Eastern Europe. Exactly how he managed to create such accurate pictures of these countries will never be known. Presumably he relied upon information from Arminius Vambury and

any available travel guides. The descriptions of Castle Dracula were so convincing that for many years it was really believed to exist. The Lyceum also made use of local colour, and all three designers knew the importance of drawing from life. Trips were made to Scotland and Cornwall prior to the productions of King Lear and Macbeth, Venice inspired Irving to produce The Merchant of Venice, and there was the working holiday in Nuremburg.

Stoker had a preference for wild settings. As with the scene designer there was more scope for drama when using the grander elements of nature. Mountains, cliffs and crags were recurring and important themes in his fiction. The Snakes Pass and The Shoulder of Shasta were almost entirely set on mountains. The Lady of the Shroud was set in "the country of the Blue Mountains". The cliffs and rocky skares of north east Scotland were a prominent feature of The Mystery of the Sea. The climax of the action in The Man and The Jewel of Seven Stars occurred on cliff tops. These settings were used to enhance the sense of danger and adventure within the plots. This use of setting resembled the work of William Telbin, and Stoker would appear to have been influenced by Telbin's theories.

He had known Telbin's work since his early days as a critic, in Ireland. In one of his first reviews he had praised Telbin's wild and romantic sets for a pantomime. Telbin wrote a series of articles about his theories on stage design.⁵⁶ In one he stated that the more pronounced effects of nature were best suited to the stage. Sunrise, sunset, noon, moonlight and storms were

visually more effective. He believed that the more subtle effects of nature were lost in stage lighting. Stoker obviously concurred with this theory. He used all of these elements to make incidents within his novels more dramatic. In Dracula sunset and night herald a time of danger and are when the vampire hunts his victims. Much of the action takes place at night. Sunrise is a period of calm and hope after the horrors of the night. Jonathon Harker first arrived at Castle Dracula during a storm, and Dracula arrives in Whitby amidst a storm. Moonlight was used to create uncertainty. Jonathon Harker sees Dracula crawling down the walls of the castle in the moonlight and is uncertain of what he is seeing. Dracula's female vampires appear to Harker as dust dancing and forming shapes in a shaft of moonlight.

Other similar examples appear throughout his novels. In The Jewel of Seven Stars, Margaret Trelawney and her father are troubled by manifestations of the mummy at nighttime. The Man reaches its climax during a storm and shipwreck. Joy Ogilvie becomes aware of her womanhood and sexuality during a tropical storm. A lightning strike brings about the defeat of the worm in The Lair of the White Worm. A number of Irving's productions were similarly atmospheric. Mathias and Vanderdecken made their first appearances on stage during storms. The climax of Faust was the Brocken scene which was set in a night storm. Irving also adapted Macbeth to incorporate more mood and atmosphere. Macbeth's castle was designed as a dark gloomy medieval edifice, completely at odds with Duncan's words. The meeting of the witches on the heath was expanded to incorporate a coven meeting with eighty witches in attendance.

There was one other Lyceum scenic practice that Stoker seems to have adopted. Whenever possible, to create a contrast and change of mood, the Lyceum would juxtapose Hawes Craven's quiet and picturesque panoramas with William Telbin's dramatic scenes of rocks and ruins. In The Squaw Stoker sets the horrors of the torture chamber against the view from the city walls which is described as a Claude Lorraine landscape. The Lair of the White Worm was set in rolling farmland with Castra Regis and Doom Tower built on crags overlooking the landscape. The setting made the eruption of the evil lurking under it more fearsome. Contrast was created in The Mystery of the Sea between the rocky coast and the wooded tranquility of Crom Castle. The Lady of the Shroud juxtaposes the wild mountains with the Italianate style of architecture and landscaped gardens of one wing of the castle.

There is little evidence to support a more direct influence of the Lyceum's scenic designers. Only a small number of the original designs have survived. There are sketches by contemporary artists and souvenir edition programmes, but these do not provide an accurate record of the settings. Some similarities, however, can be seen. Stoker described the wooded trail to Crom Castle as a "regular Rosamund's bower", and the description is reminiscent of a Hawes Craven illustration of Rosamund's bower in Beckett. Illustrations in the souvenir edition of Macbeth are suggestive of Castle Dracula. William Telbin's design for the Capulet tomb in Romeo and Juliet (figure 6) conjures up images of the ruined chapel in castle Dracula and Carfax. The illustration, with Ellen Terry laid out on the plinth, is also reminiscent of a less macabre scene in The Lady

6

Tomb scene - Romeo and Juliet



of the Shroud. Rupert descends steps "roughly hewn of old in the solid rock on which the church was built" to reach a crypt "strangely lofty for a vault", where he finds Lady Teuta laid out in a huge glass covered sarcophagus

pillowed on soft cushions, and covered with a mantle woven of white natural fleece...She was marble white, and her long black eyelashes lay on her white cheeks as though she slept.⁵⁷

There is a marked similarity between the scenes. Finally there is a similarity between Hawes Craven's design for Belmont in The Merchant of Venice (figure 7) and Rupert's apartments at Vissarion (The Lady of The Shroud). He describes how the room opens out

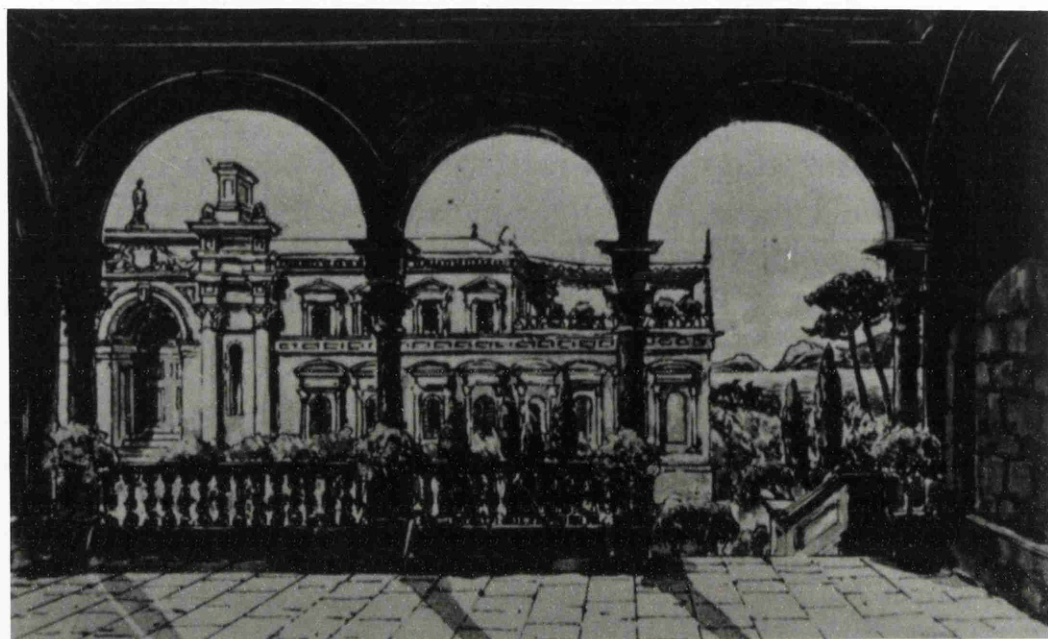
through a great french window - the french window is modern, and was arranged by or for uncle Roger; I think there must have been always a large opening there, for centuries at least - which opens on a wide terrace or balcony of white marble, extending right and left.... The balcony and staircase are quite ancient - of old Italian work, beautifully carved.⁵⁸

The balcony then leads down to an Italian garden for which "all Italy must have been ransacked in old times for garden stonework of exceptional beauty".⁵⁹

The influence of the Lyceum personalities and ethos is not overt, but is an undercurrent that runs through Stoker's fiction. The most obvious link is with Irving. Irving's physique and the personalities that he played are echoed in many of Stoker's male characters. With Ellen Terry it was her personality and her image of the perfect Victorian heroine that Stoker drew upon. He

7

Sketch for Belmont-The Merchant of Venice



blended this with the physical features of Genevieve Ward to create his own image of the perfect woman. Working at the Lyceum he was also able to gain an understanding and appreciation of the importance of atmosphere and its potential for dramatic impact. It is difficult not to imagine Dracula on the Lyceum stage; with sets designed by William Telbin, Irving's atmospheric lighting, Ellen Terry as a charming, beautiful and harrowed Mina Harker, and Irving as a beneficent and resourceful Van Helsing, or a supremely evil Dracula.

FOOTNOTES

THEATRICAL INFLUENCE

1. Stoker had begun his work as a critic in November 1871.
2. Bram Stoker, "The Primrose Path", The Shamrock, Issue 12, Oct. 1874 - Mar. 1875, p.317.
3. Bram Stoker, as above, p.330.
4. Bram Stoker, as above, p.345.
5. Bram Stoker, as above, p.334.
6. Bram Stoker, as above, p.346.
7. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.81.
8. Bram Stoker, "At Last", included in Shades of Dracula.
9. Percy Fitzgerald, Henry Irving, A Record of Twenty Years at The Lyceum, Chapman & Hall, 1893, p.VI.
10. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, pp.279-283.
11. Bram Stoker, Snowbound, Collier & Co, 1908, preface.
12. Bram Stoker, as above, p.29.
13. Bram Stoker, The Shoulder of Shasta, Constable & Co., 1895, p.138.
14. Bram Stoker, "The Censorship of Fiction", p.482.
15. Bram Stoker, as above, p.483.
16. Bram Stoker, as above, p.484.
17. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, pp.1-25.
18. Bram Stoker, as above, p.4.
19. Bram Stoker, as above, p.25.
20. Edward Gordon Craig, Henry Irving, J M Dent & Sons, 1933, p.25.
21. We Saw His Act, Ed. Saintsbury & Palmer, Benjamin Blom, NY, 1969, p.141.
22. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.29.
23. Bram Stoker, The Lair of the White Worm, p.67.
24. Lillah McCarthy, We Saw Him Act, p.305.

25. Bram Stoker, "A Dream of Red Hands", included in Dracula's Guest.
26. Violet Vanbrugh, We Saw Him Act, p.184.
27. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.48.
28. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.56.
29. We Saw Him Act, p.194.
30. Bram Stoker, "The Secret of Growing Gold", Dracula's Guest, p.65.
31. Bram Stoker, as above, p.65.
32. Bram Stoker, The Lair of the White Worm, p.18.
33. In The Stoker Collection (Stratford), Box 34/Env. 9, there is
a cutting from an article on theatre cranks from the magazine Ideas:
"Undoubtedly, however, the most remarkable personage of the type above portrayed is a mysterious individual who is known throughout the theatrical world as 'The Vampire Count' because of his supposed striking resemblance to the awesome character who constitutes the central figure in Bram Stoker's novel Dracula".
It is conceivable that this was referring to Irving.
34. Joseph Hatton, quoted in, Walter Calvert, Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry: A Record of Over Twenty Years at The Lyceum, Henry Drane, 1897, p.5.
35. Bram Stoker, Dracula, Constable & Co., 1897, p.185.
36. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.30.
37. Kenneth Barnes, We Saw Him Act, p.303.
38. Constance Benson, as above, p.252.
39. Bram Stoker, Dracula, p.313.
40. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol I, p.36.
41. Bram Stoker, as above, p.56.
42. Bernard Shaw, Pen Portraits and Reviews, Constable & Co., Revised Ed., 1932, p.165.
43. Bernard Shaw, The Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw, Constable & Co., 1931, p.158.
44. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.207.
45. Bram Stoker, as above, p.206.

46. Bram Stoker, Dracula, World's Classics OUP, 1990, p.177.
47. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences, Vol II, p.200.
48. Bram Stoker, as above, p.190.
49. Bram Stoker, as above, p.202.
50. Bram Stoker, as above, p.191.
51. Bram Stoker, as above, p.195.
52. Bram Stoker, as above, p.167.
53. Bram Stoker, The Lady of the Shroud, Arrow Books, 1967, p.71.
54. Bram Stoker, Lady Athlyne, p.25.
55. Bram Stoker, "The Squaw", Dracula's Guest, p.45.
56. William Telbin, "The Painting of Scenery", The Magazine of Art, Vol 12, 1889, pp.195-200; "Art in the Theatre; The Question of Reform", The Magazine of Art, Vol 17, 1894, pp.444-48; "Art in the Theatre - Act Drops", The Magazine of Art, Vol 18, 1895, pp.335-340.
57. Bram Stoker, The Lady of the Shroud, pp.93-94.
58. Bram Stoker, as above, pp.50-51.
59. Bram Stoker, as above, p.52.

CONCLUSION

A study of Stoker's work for Irving at the Lyceum provides an insight into the duties and responsibilities of the individual, and nineteenth century theatre business managers as a whole. Stoker's position was not unique, and indeed, most actor-managers employed a business manager. The majority of these men, however, unlike Stoker, did not achieve a high personal profile, and they exist only as names in small print at the bottom of playbills. Stoker's advantages, namely, his association with the century's most prodigious and publicised management, and his personal fame as a writer, have lifted a degree of the anonymity that surrounds these men and made it possible to acknowledge their work.

An examination of Stoker's contribution also provides a clear picture of the level of background administration that was required to run a late nineteenth century theatre. Both the management structure and the division of labour at the Lyceum were highly organised, with duties and areas of responsibility clearly defined. It is evident from this structure that theatre administration was becoming divorced from the artistic and production side of management. In view of this, Irving was careful to select a Business Manager who was suitably well qualified for the task, and there were a number of points that distinguished Stoker and made him an ideal choice.

First, he was honest and loyal, and could be relied upon to protect Irving's interests and handle his affairs with discretion.

Secondly, he possessed energy and enthusiasm, which were necessary for the life-style that working in the theatre involved. These were traits that Irving sought in all his staff, but in the case of a Business Manager they were essential. Thirdly, although Stoker did not come from a theatrical background, he had a strong interest and good basic knowledge of the theatre and its people that could be built upon. Fourthly, and more importantly, he was a proven administrator, with a successful background in the Irish Civil Service. Lastly, but of key importance to the position, he had an interest in financial administration, which had been displayed in his application for the post of Dublin City Treasurer.

The realisation that administration was a separate but necessary part of theatre management continued into the twentieth century. In larger organisations there was a further sub-division of duties, with publicity and touring also becoming individual management posts. There was a further rise in profile and the Business Manager became a Theatre Administrator. This change in title reflected the advent of subsidy which reduced commercial pressure and made the manager responsible for the administration of public funds. Today, the Theatre Administrator is an Executive Manager, a job title that reflects the importance of the position, and often places the administrator above the Artistic Director in the management structure. In a sense the job title has come full circle, in that the term 'executive', like 'business', emphasises the commercial aspect of the work.

Although Stoker was innovative within his own environment he was not a visionary, and this is evident in his opinions on

theatrical issues. His views were predictable in that they were in keeping with those of the actor-managers; but at the same time it should be noted that they were not simply a mirror-image of Irving's thoughts, and indeed, Irving and Stoker disagreed on the subject of a National Theatre. Stoker was by nature a cautious man, and it was unlikely that he would sanction change unless he thought that it would benefit the profession and improve on the existing system.

Stoker's views were firmly based in his practical experience and it is hard to dispute many of the facts that he put forward. All systems of management have disadvantages and are open to abuse. The fact that the actor-manager system had survived for so long was a measure of its success, and given that success, why should it be changed? During the first half of the twentieth century different forms of management and theatre did come into existence, and the actor-manager system began to decline. Ironically, the separation of administration from production that Stoker was a part of, and the arrival of the Theatre Administrator, contributed more to this decline than the challenge of the new forms of theatre. However, the commercial long run system of management that the actor-manager and Stoker supported, has, to this day, remained dominant.

It was not the principle of a National Theatre that Stoker was against, but after due consideration, he believed that it was not financially viable, and the figures that he provided could not be disputed. At the time when he and Archer and Barker were considering a National Theatre, the question of government funding did not come into play. Stoker's prediction of a debt has never been more true than it is today, when, with government grants National theatrical

institutions work to a constant deficit, it has become a fact of life.

Stoker was not a forward planner with dreams for the future of British theatre. Had he been he would not have stayed with Henry Irving for twenty-seven years. This lack of vision, however, is unimportant when the true value of the work that Stoker undertook for Irving is evaluated. It was of a greater practical purpose and value than schemes for alternative forms of management or a National Theatre. Stoker's management of the Lyceum formed part of the foundations of modern day theatre administration; and throughout the twentieth century it has become more and more apparent, that without effective administration, a theatre's chances of survival and success are greatly reduced.

APPENDIX A

ACCOUNTS FOR THE 'MAIN' LYCEUM SEASONS

This appendix contains the end of season synopses for the nineteen London seasons during Irving's sole management of the Lyceum. For each of these, there are receipt and expenditure totals with a profit or loss figure followed by an itemised breakdown. Between 1879 and 1883, seasons two to five, there is also a breakdown of receipts and expenditure by play. The number of performances will be included and new productions noted. Each breakdown is then followed by an itemised production account, which includes and marks plays that were never produced. For the first season and seasons six to nineteen, the itemised production account will be followed by a list of plays performed. This list will include the number of performances and new productions will be marked.

Key

NP - Denotes New Productions.

* - Denotes plays never produced

1878-79, FIRST SEASON (10 months)

Receipts: £32,689/ 2/ 9

Expenditure: £39,881/ 5/11

Loss: £6,394/ 1/11

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	2,885	19	6	Rent:	4,168	18	-
Stalls:	9,599	-	-	Tax:	539	2	3
Dress Circle:	6,653	14	-	Insurance:	139	5	7
Upper Circle:	4,369	15	-	House Staff:	1,240	11	2
Pit:	7,386	18	-	House Expenses:	1,112	3	11
Gallery:	2,356	12	-	Sundries:	466	18	5
Saloons:	See Miscellaneous			Printing:	701	1	-
Sale of Books:	See Miscellaneous			Advertising:	3,170	8	2
Miscellaneous:	618	1	3	Bill Posting:	1,405	-	1
				Stage salaries:	9,751	9	6
				Supers:	373	12	6
				Stage Staff:	1,112	3	11
				Stage expenses:	3,013	12	11
				Gas:	1,014	18	10
				Limelight:	292	2	6
				Authors' Fees:	190	11	6
				Orchestra:	2,203	7	6
				Capital Account:	1,311	5	9
				On House:	4,101	1	8
				Law and Audit:	60	-	-
				Cost of Books:	159	8	-
				Production:	4,443	6	8

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Hamlet</u> (NP)	1,100/-	-	-
<u>The Lady of Lyons</u> (NP)	1,700/-	-	-
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	300/-	-	-
<u>Richelieu</u>	400/-	-	-
<u>Louis XI</u>	300/-	-	-
<u>Charles I</u>	400/-	-	-
<u>The Bells</u>	243/	6/	8

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Hamlet</u> (NP)	108	performances
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	7	
<u>The Lady of Lyons</u> (NP)	45	"
<u>Richelieu</u>	4	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	4	"
<u>Charles I</u>	9	"
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	4	"
<u>The Bells</u>	4	"
[?]	2	"

1879-80, SECOND SEASON (10 months)

Receipts: £58,906/13/ 8
Expenditure: £49,254/11/ 5
Profit: £9,652/ 2/ 3

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	6,022	18	6	Rent:	3,834	17	4
Stalls:	19,053	-	-	Tax:	551	12	-
Dress Circle:	11,933	17	-	Insurance:	221	13	4
Upper Circle:	6,389	11	-	House Staff:	1,551	5	4
Amphitheatre:	1,473	2	6	House Expenses:	1,662	17	2
Pit:	11,281	4	-	Sundries:	1,262	4	6
Gallery:	2,880	19	-	Printing:	831	7	3
Saloons:	436	13	4	Advertising:	3,648	15	-
Sale of Books:	494	16	6	Bill Posting:	1,157	4	9
Miscellaneous:	147	2	7	Stage Salaries:	14,465	1	2
				Supers:	484	8	-
				Stage Staff:	1,716	6	8
				Stage Expenses:	3,106	6	11
				Gas:	1,538	16	8
				Limelight:	323	18	-
				Authors' Fees:	11	12	6
				Orchestra:	2,801	4	2
				Capital Account:	156	5	6
				On House:	3,860	11	7
				Law and Audit:	103	19	6
				Cost of Books:	230	1	-
				Production:	5,734	3	1

RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE BY PLAY

	Receipts	Expenditure
	£ s d	£ s d
<u>The Bells</u>	2,616/ 8/11	2,057/ 6/ 8
<u>The Iron Chest</u> (NP)	3,389/12/ 9	3,338/ 9/ 3
<u>Hamlet</u>	1,049/13/ 9	668/ 6/ 3
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u> (NP)	50,187/ 5/ 4	31,924/16/-
<u>Charles I</u>	585/- / 6	640/9/ 11

NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES

<u>The Bells</u>	15 performances
<u>The Iron Chest</u>	27 "
<u>Hamlet</u>	5 "
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	250 "
<u>Charles I</u>	3 "

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£ s d
<u>The Iron Chest</u> (NP)	593/ 2/ 2
<u>Boarding School</u>	9/11/ -
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u> (NP)	2,061/- / 9
<u>Daisy's Escape</u>	58/ 4/ 6
<u>The King and Miller</u>	186/10/ 5
<u>Iolanthe</u>	598/15/ 7
<u>The Bells</u>	17/17/ 2

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT (cont)

	£	s	d
<u>Hamlet</u>		4/14/-	
<u>The Lady of Lyons</u>		5/10/-	
<u>Book III Chapter II*</u>		7/14/ -	
<u>Vanderdecken</u>		7/11/ 2	
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	1,152/	6/ 4	
<u>Bygones</u>		50/- /-	
<u>Robert Emmett*</u>		150/- /-	
<u>Rienzi*</u>		700/- /-	
<u>The Count's Secret*</u>		50/- /-	
<u>Charles I</u>		16/13/-	
Properties		64/13/-	

1880-81, THIRD SEASON (10 months)

Receipts: £64,641/ 4/ 9
 Expenditure: £54,150/ 3/11
 Profit: £10,491/- /10

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	5,870	19	6	Rent:	3,885	18	3
Stalls:	21,546	7	-	Tax:	644	6	1
Dress Circle:	12,236	14	-	Insurance:	221	11	-
Upper Circle:	7,779	16	-	House Staff:	1,486	11	2
Amphitheatre:	3,112	15	-	House Expenses:	1,552	10	5
Pit:	11,436	2	-	Sundries:	393	4	6
Gallery:	2,792	5	-	Printing:	859	11	6
Saloons:	426	13	4	Advertising:	4,336	1	6
Sale of Books:	235	5	-	Bill Posting:	890	3	2
Miscellaneous:	45	14	9	Stage Salaries:	17,065	3	7
				Supers:	76	11	6
				Stage Staff:	1,721	7	6
				Stage Expenses:	4,315	6	2
				Gas:	1,467	7	10
				Limelight:	620	6	4
				Authors' Fees:	508	-	-
				Orchestra:	2,890	13	2
				Capital Account:	64	2	6
				On House:	1,062	4	9
				Law and Audit:	134	13	-
				Cost of Books:	448	12	-
				Production:	9,505	18	-

RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE BY PLAY

	Receipts	Expenditure
	£ s d	£ s d
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u> (NP)	42,900/ 6/ 6	26,870/ 8/10
<u>The Belle's Stratagem</u> (NP)	8,680/18/11	5,863/ 2/ 7
<u>The Cup</u> (NP)	Separate figures not available	
<u>Othello</u> (NP)	8,463/- / 2	4,657/19/ 9
<u>Hamlet</u>	1,758/13/-	1,780/ 9/-
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	887/19/-	1,040/14/ 9
<u>Charles I</u>	345/ 4/ 5	247/10/ 1
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	468/ 8/ 1	371/ 5/-
Benefit	300/ 3/-	113/ 5/ 3

NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES

<u>Bygones</u>	89 performances
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	190 "
<u>The Cup</u>	127 "
<u>The Belle's Stratagem</u>	44 "
<u>Othello</u>	22 "
<u>Hamlet</u>	13 "
<u>The Bells</u>	7 "
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	7 "
<u>Charles I</u>	2 "
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	3 "
<u>Daisy's Escape</u>	1 "
<u>Hunchback of Nôtre Dame</u>	1 "

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u> (NP)	3,934	12	5
<u>Bygones</u>	8	3	6
<u>The Cup</u> (NP)	2,369	4	1
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	102	10	-
<u>The King and Miller</u>	4	2	3
<u>The Belle's Stratagem</u> (NP)	1,637	11	8
<u>A Lover's Tale</u> *	20	-	-
<u>Othello</u> (NP)	643	-	/10
<u>Hamlet</u>	137	10	3
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	25	16	5
<u>Charles I</u>	46	12	7
<u>Olivia</u>	400	-	-
<u>Properties</u>	25	5	-

1881-82, FOURTH SEASON (7 months)

Receipts: £47,912/14/ 9
Expenditure: £53,044/ 3/ 1
Loss: £5,131/ 8/ 4

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£ s d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£ s d
Boxes:	3,779/ 1/-	Rent:	2,921/11/ 7
Stalls:	16,009/10/-	Tax:	878/13/ 5
Dress Circle:	9,549/18/-	Insurance:	316/ 1/-
Upper Circle:	6,665/12/-	House Staff:	1,245/ 7/ 2
Amphitheatre:	2,271/ 7/ 6	House Expenses:	1,329/17/10
Pit:	7,849/12/-	Sundries:	689/14/ 7
Gallery:	1,747/17/-	Printing:	252/11/-
Saloons:	303/- /-	Advertising:	2,309/ 7/ 2
Sale of Books:	352/11/-	Bill Posting:	628/13/ 3
Miscellaneous:	69/ 9/ 3	Stage Salaries:	12,945/15/ 4
		Supers:	1,689/12/ 5
		Stage Staff:	1,246/- / 4
		Stage Expenses:	3,885/ 7/ 9
		Gas:	983/ 8/ 4
		Limelight:	464/15/ 4
		Authors' Fees:	412/16/-
		Orchestra:	2,334/ 3/ 9
		Capital Account:	40/- /-
		On House:	6,394/11/ 8
		Law and Audit:	280/12/-
		Cost of Books:	200/- /-
		Production:	11,595/ 3/ 2

RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE BY PLAY

	Receipts	Expenditure
	£ s d	£ s d
<u>The Captain of the Watch</u> (NP)	Separate figures not available	
<u>The Two Roses</u> (NP)	12,933/ 1/-	10,178/16/ 5
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u> (NP)	34,254/13/ 6	24,354/19/10

NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES

<u>The Captain of the Watch</u>	58 performances
<u>The Two Roses</u>	60 "
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	130 "

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£ s d
<u>The Two Roses</u> (NP)	1,399/ 5/ 8
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u> (NP)	7,468/ 7/ 7
<u>The Belle's Statagem</u>	968/ 2/ 9
<u>Faust</u>	300/- /-
<u>The Cup</u>	28/ 1/ 6
<u>Charles I</u>	510/- /-
<u>Hamlet</u>	67/ 2/ 4
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	157/14/ 6
<u>Othello</u>	107/- /10
<u>Coriolanus</u>	500/- /-
<u>Armoury</u>	89/ 8/ -

1882-83, FIFTH SEASON (10½ months)

Receipts: £89,081/15/ 4
Expenditure: £68,529/ 1/ 1
Profit £15,732/14/ 3

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	7,377	18	6	Rent:	4,502	-	-
Stalls:	30,575	11	-	Tax:	1,303	19	10
Dress Circle:	17,122	15	-	Insurance:	405	13	6
Upper Circle:	11,561	12	-	House Staff:	2,067	9	-
Amphitheatre:	4,028	1	-	House Expenses:	4,904	6	-
Pit:	13,867	15	-	Sundries:	1,000	2	2
Gallery:	3,222	8	6	Printing:	1,350	1	7
Saloons:	456	13	4	Advertising:	3,470	2	5
Sale of Books:	696	4	7	Bill Posting:	1,009	5	11
Miscellaneous:	1,349	4	8	Stage Salaries:	19,792	10	5
				Supers:	1,006	18	6
				Stage staff:	2,039	17	8
				Stage Expenses:	6,740	9	5
				Gas:	1,454	7	11
				Limelight:	745	4	-
				Authors' Fees:	136	7	-
				Orchestra:	3,312	6	9
				Capital Account:	41	7	6
				On House:	1,622	14	6
				Law and Audit:	260	2	4
				Cost of Books:	557	7	7
				Production:	10,803	6	9

RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE BY PLAY

	Receipts	Expenditure
	£ s d	£ s d
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	6,663/11/ 3	5,756/19/11
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u> (NP)	62,182/ 3/ 9	36,294/11/ 5
<u>The Captain of the Watch</u>	Separate figures unavailable	
<u>Robert Macaire</u>	1,002/ 8/ 6	1,000/- /-
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	7,329/13/10	5,497/ 6/11
<u>Hamlet</u>	1,414/14/ 3	618/ 6/11
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	1,403/ 1/ 1	661/10/10
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	1,013/ 4/ 1	510/ 7/ 5
<u>Louis XI</u>	991/ 7/ 6	624/ 1/ 1
<u>Charles I</u>	993/ 5/ 4	607/ 2/11
Benefit	403/ 6/-	178/ 3/11

NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES

<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	161	performance
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	212	"
<u>The Bells</u>	11	"
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	27	"
<u>The Captain of the Watch</u>	33	"
<u>Hamlet</u>	4	"
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	4	"
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	4	"
<u>The Belle's Stratagem</u>	3	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	3	"
<u>Charles I</u>	3	"

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	1,524/	3/	10
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u> (NP)	4,357/	9/	3
<u>Faust</u>	290/-	/-	
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	77/	11/	10
<u>Charles I</u>	25/-	/-	
<u>Robert Emmett*</u>	200/-	/-	
<u>Edgar and Lucy*</u>	600/-	/-	
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	100/-	/-	
<u>King Lear</u>	50/-	/-	
<u>The Dead Heart</u>	600/-	/-	
<u>Chicot*</u>	100/-	/-	
Stock	2,760/	10/	10
Wardrobe	102/	15/-	
Armoury	15/	16/-	

1884, SIXTH SEASON (3 months)

Receipts: £17,411/14/ 1
Expenditure: £20,503/ 3/ 2
Loss: £3,091/ 9/ 1

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	1,176	18	6	Rent:	1,370	1	3
Stalls:	6,032	-	-	Tax:	593	7	3
Dress Circle:	3,591	18	-	Insurance:	6	6	-
Upper Circle:	2,439	-	-	House Staff:	748	13	8
Amphitheatre:	866	2	6	House Expenses:	588	8	1
Pit:	2,522	8	-	Sundries:	809	7	4
Gallery:	566	19	-	Printing:	302	8	9
Saloons:	125	-	-	Advertising:	1,270	15	8
Sale of Books:	146	1	-	Bill Posting:	252	13	11
Miscellaneous:	149	2	-	Stage Salaries:	6,769	2	2
				Supers:	341	15	6
				Stage Staff:	721	18	8
				Stage Expenses:	1,297	1	11
				Gas:	295	4	4
				Limelight:	214	4	6
				Authors' Fees:	1	4	-
				Orchestra:	850	14	2
				On House:	539	3	-
				Law and Audit:	168	3	5
				Cost of Books:	67	15	9
				Production:	4,475	6	10

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	510	19	10
<u>Twelfth Night</u> (NP)	3,964	7	-

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	31	performances
<u>Twelfth Night</u> (NP)	39	"
<u>The Bells</u>	2	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	2	"
<u>Richelieu</u>	[?]	

1885, SEVENTH SEASON (3 months)

Receipts: £21,042/13/ 8
Expenditure: £22,419/17/10
Loss: £1,377/ 4/ 2

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	1,532	17	6	Rent:	1,228	12	6
Stalls:	7,818	10	-	Tax:	628	2	6
Dress Circle:	4,235	8	-	Insurance:	294	-	-
Upper Circle:	2,978	16	-	House Staff:	706	7	8
Amphitheatre:	1,035	10	-	House Expenses:	646	13	8
Pit:	2,920	6	-	Sundries:	606	3	2
Gallery:	670	3	-	Printing:	397	17	4
Saloons:	128	6	8	Advertising:	1,222	5	8
Sale of Books:	18	9	-	Bill Posting:	247	-	-
Miscellaneous:	20	-	-	Stage Salaries:	6,769	2	2
				Supers:	36	8	-
				Stage Staff:	654	19	4
				Stage Expenses:	1,754	-	1
				Gas:	302	8	7
				Limelight:	275	8	6
				Authors' Fees:	Nil		
				Orchestra:	859	14	6
				On House:	1,180	2	7
				Law and Audit:	114	-	-
				Cost of Books:	210	-	-
				Production:	4,286	11	7

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Olivia</u> (NP)	2,812/	3/	5
<u>Louis XI</u>	69/	3/	8
<u>Faust</u>	850/18/	11	
<u>Hamlet</u>	88/19/	5	
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	40/-	/-	
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	70/	8/	8
<u>Twelfth Night</u>	27/	2/	6
<u>King Arthur</u>	200/-	/-	
<u>Stock</u>	127/15/-		

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Hamlet</u>	6 performances	
<u>Louis XI</u>	5	"
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	5	"
<u>The Bells</u>	6	"
<u>Olivia</u> (NP)	56	"
<u>The Balance of Comfort</u> (NP?)	61	"

1885-86, EIGHTH SEASON (11 months)

Receipts: £88,117/11/ 5
 Expenditure: £76,101/ 5/ 3
 Profit: £12,016/ 6/ 2

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	4,614	14	-	Rent:	4,870	12	9
Stalls:	35,961	8	-	Tax:	1,588	18	4
Dress Circle:	17,400	17	6	Insurance:	488	13	-
Upper Circle:	11,233	4	-	House Staff:	2,477	1	-
Amphitheatre:	4,660	15	-	House Expenses:	3,756	2	8
Pit:	11,269	4	-	Sundries:	927	14	5
Gallery:	3,062	-	-	Printing:	1,281	14	8
Saloons:	910	-	-	Advertising:	2,956	14	6
Sale of Books: Nil				Bill Posting:	944	3	1
Miscellaneous:	110	11	6	Stage Salaries:	21,269	8	-
				Supers:	860	15	4
				Stage Staff:	2,287	15	-
				Stage Expenses:	6,102	7	8
				Gas:	1,300	18	8
				Limelight:	1,467	1	3
				Authors' Fees:	Nil		
				Orchestra:	3,422	9	4
				On House:	8,733	9	10
				Law and Audit:	268	14	-
				Cost of Books:	116	6	1
				Production:	11,083	5	8

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Olivia</u>		8/	6/ -
<u>Faust</u> (NP)	11,074/19/	8	

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Olivia</u>	135	performances
<u>Louis XI</u>	6	"
<u>Faust</u>	187	"

1886-87, NINTH SEASON (10 months)

Receipts: £75,375/14/-
 Expenditure: £63,757/19/ 3
 Profit: £11,617/14/ 9

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	2,693	15	-	Rent:	4,446	8	4
Stalls:	23,444	8	-	Tax:	1,597	17	6
Dress Circle:	17,139	17	6	Insurance:	494	1	4
Upper Circle:	11,411	-	-	House Staff:	2,399	17	10
Amphitheatre:	4,652	4	-	House Expenses:	5,134	6	10
Pit:	12,430	3	-	Sundries:	572	2	9
Gallery:	3,168	3	-	Printing:	1,235	8	6
Saloons:	850	-	-	Advertising:	3,502	17	9
Sale of Books:	65	13	7	Bill Posting:	802	19	-
Miscellaneous:	146	9	10	Stage Salaries:	18,613	18	9
				Supers:	1,032	16	2
				Stage Staff:	2,235	10	-
				Stage Expenses:	6,616	11	7
				Gas:	1,318	2	5
				Limelight:	1,390	12	-
				Authors' Fees:	Nil		
				Orchestra:	3,233	17	8
				On House:	1,617	18	5
				Law and Audit:	455	2	9
				Cost of Books:	251	16	11
				Production:	4,970	6	5

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Faust</u>	2,253/	9/	10
<u>Henry VIII</u>	58/-	/-	
<u>Richard II*</u>	50/-	/-	
<u>King Arthur</u>	450/-	/-	
<u>Werner (NP)</u>	1,184/	12/	3
<u>Stock</u>	724/	4/	4
<u>[The Amber Heart]</u>	250/-	/-	

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Faust</u>	208	performances
<u>The Bells</u>	16	"
<u>Jingle</u>	[?]	
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	14	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	11	"
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	9	"
<u>Olivia</u>	5	"
<u>Werner (NP)</u>	1	"
<u>The Amber Heart (NP)</u>	1	"

1888, TENTH SEASON (3 months)

Receipts: £16,583/ 3/ 8

Expenditure: £18,718/ 9/-

Loss: £2,135/ 5/ 4

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	657	16	6	Rent:	1,187	10	-
Stalls:	5,567	12	6	Tax:	764	17	6
Dress Circle:	3,887	6	6	Insurance:	267	1	6
Upper Circle:	2,520	16	-	House Staff:	227	5	-
Amphitheatre:	829	7	6	House Expenses:	1,111	7	-
Pit:	2,333	14	-	Sundries:	290	1	3
Gallery:	657	8	-	Printing:	333	16	2
Saloons:	240	-	-	Advertising:	1,048	13	9
Sale of Books:	Nil			Bill Posting:	194	8	-
Miscellaneous:	215	19	-	Stage Salaries:	6,163	12	1
				Supers:	121	-	2
				Stage Staff:	597	-	-
				Stage Expenses:	1,779	18	3
				Gas:	272	12	1
				Limelight:	305	4	-
				Authors' Fees:	Nil		
				Orchestra:	911	16	8
				On House:	524	19	10
				Law and Audit:	219	7	9
				Cost of Books:	Nil		
				Production:	1,997	9	9

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Faust</u>	633/	5/	10
<u>Robert Macaire</u> (NP)	216/14/	3	
<u>The Amber Heart</u>	363/17/	6	
<u>Don Quixote</u>	600/-	/-	
<u>Olivia</u>	50/-	/-	
<u>Louis XI</u>	23/-	/-	
<u>Macbeth</u>	66/	4/	2
<u>Wardrobe</u>	44/	8/-	

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Faust</u>	35 performances
<u>Robert Macaire</u> (NP)	37 "
<u>The Amber Heart</u>	[?]

1888-89, ELEVENTH SEASON (7 months)

Receipts: £50,492/11/ 6
 Expenditure: £45,021/ 7/10
 Profit: £5,471/ 3/ 8

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	2,147	15	6	Rent:	2,542	10	-
Stalls:	20,973	15	-	Tax:	977	18	-
Dress Circle:	10,520	11	6	Insurance:	404	7	3
Upper Circle:	6,562	12	-	House Staff:	1,444	15	-
Amphitheatre:	2,518	2	6	House Expenses:	2,998	12	11
Pit:	5,278	6	-	Sundries:	406	18	1
Gallery:	[?]			Printing:	402	9	8
Saloons:	503	6	8	Advertising:	2,073	10	3
Sale of Books:	484	12	11	Bill Posting:	350	19	6
Miscellaneous:	95	13	-	Stage Salaries:	12,835	8	2
				Supers:	897	13	6
				Stage Staff:	1,470	-	-
				Stage Expenses:	3,114	4	9
				Gas:	707	7	2
				Limelight:	892	10	-
				Authors' Fees:	755	-	-
				Orchestra:	2,555	1	-
				On House:	2,398	16	4
				Law and Audit:	90	2	8
				Cost of Books:	352	-	-
				Production:	7,271	3	1

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	f	s	d
<u>Macbeth</u> (NP)	6,600/19/	1	
<u>The Jester King</u>	25/-	/-	
<u>Louis XI</u>	200/-	/-	
<u>The Dead Heart</u>	445/	4/-	

PLAYS PERFORMED

Macbeth 151 performances

1889-90, TWELFTH SEASON (8 months)

Receipts: £53,794/ 8/ 2

Expenditure: £49,699/ 5/11

Profit: £4,095/ 2/ 3

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	1,953	11	-	Rent:	3,652	10	-
Stalls:	17,874	3	-	Tax:	922	9	3
Dress Circle:	12,026	11	6	Insurance:	501	6	7
Upper Circle:	8,592	16	-	House Staff:	1,688	10	-
Amphitheatre:	3,079	5	-	House Expenses:	2,948	-	7
Pit:	7,609	7	-	Sundries:	479	19	3
Gallery:	2,181	10	-	Printing:	660	19	5
Saloons:	679	13	4	Advertising:	2,757	9	4
Sale of Books:	7	5	2	Bill Posting:	1,067	6	6
Miscellaneous:	78	13	-	Stage Salaries:	14,773	9	6
Benefit:	439	-	-	Supers:	1,538	4	-
				Stage Staff:	1,715	-	-
				Stage Expenses:	4,288	12	-
				Gas:	826	4	5
				Limelight:	698	5	-
				Authors' Fees:	Nil		
				Orchestra:	2,713	10	10
				On House:	1,543	7	-
				Law and Audit:	97	10	8
				Cost of Books:	195	5	9
				Production:	6,631	5	10

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>The Dead Heart</u> (NP)	6,055/	9/	11
[<u>Kerry</u>]*	32/-	/-	
[<u>The Poor Stroller</u>]*	10/-	/-	
<u>Mahomet</u> *	8/10/-		
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	25/-	/-	
<u>The Bells</u>	57/13/	10	
<u>Louis XI</u>	99/19/	2	
<u>Olivia</u>	123/	3/	10
<u>Ravenswood</u>	215/19/	1	

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>The Dead Heart</u>	183	performances
<u>The Bells</u>	13	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	6	"
<u>Olivia</u>	5	"

1890-91, THIRTEENTH SEASON (11 months)

Receipts: £70,687/18/-
 Expenditure: £66,570/14/10
 Profit: £4,100/ 3/ 2

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	2,233	17	6	Rent:	4,559	3	4
Stalls:	24,235	1	-	Tax:	1,399	17	-
Dress Circle:	16,475	11	-	Insurance:	562	17	6
Upper Circle:	11,066	12	-	House Staff:	2,262	-	-
Amphitheatre:	3,719	14	-	House Expenses:	4,286	1	3
Pit:	9,885	16	-	Sundries:	578	1	6
Gallery:	2,564	2	-	Printing:	971	13	11
Saloons:	3	6	8	Advertising:	4,600	-	4
Sale of Books:	4	5	-	Bill Posting:	721	3	3
Miscellaneous:	215	-	6	Stage Salaries:	22,626	15	10
Benefit:	620	10	-	Supers:	1,163	5	9
				Stage Staff:	2,341	10	-
				Stage Expenses:	4,290	19	7
				Gas:	1,232	3	6
				Limelight:	914	16	6
				Authors' Fees:	90	7	-
				Orchestra:	3,782	4	10
				On House:	1,539	13	2
				Law and Audit:	141	8	3
				Cost of Books:	583	8	10
				Production:	8,353	13	6

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Ravenswood (NP)</u>	4,122/	3/	3
<u>Olivia</u>	597/	1/	5
<u>Charles I</u>	728/	2/	5
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	1,131/	1/	1
<u>The Dead Heart</u>	11/	7/	6
<u>Louis XI</u>	3/	2/	6
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	196/15/		2
<u>[The Hunted [?]]*</u>	31/10/-		
<u>The Bells</u>	18/11/-		
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	1,103/-	/	4
<u>King Arthur</u>	150/-	/	-
<u>Henry VIII</u>	133/	1/10	
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	27/17/-		
<u>Jekyll and Hyde*</u>	100/-	/	-

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Ravenswood (NP)</u>	102 performances	
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	53	"
<u>The Bells</u>	11	"
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	12	"
<u>Charles I</u>	20	"
<u>Olivia</u>	16	"
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	57	"
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	41	"

1892, FOURTEENTH SEASON (7 months)

Receipts: £58,639/10/-
 Expenditure: £63,214/16/ 2
 Loss: £4,575/ 6/ 2

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	1,840/	2/	4	Rent:	3,535/	13/	8
Stalls:	21,893/	18/-		Tax:	1,236/	4/-	
Dress Circle:	13,309/	1/	6	Insurance:	426/	3/	4
Upper Circle:	8,011/	10/-		House Staff:	1,563/	5/-	
Amphitheatre:	2,855/	16/-		House Expenses:	3,771/	4/	2
Pit:	7,809/	5/	6	Sundries:	505/	17/	11
Gallery:	2,308/	17/-		Printing:	775/	14/	9
Saloons:	600/-	/-		Advertising:	2,348/	19/	8
Sale of Books:	565/	19/	9	Bill Posting:	864/	5/	9
Miscellaneous:	177/	15/	3	Stage Salaries:	18,356/	8/	10
				Supers:	2,221/	4/	10
				Stage Staff:	1,521/	17/	8
				Stage Expenses:	3,884/	3/	4
				Gas:	1,019/	17/	7
				Limelight:	678/	15/-	
				Authors' Fees:	Nil		
				Orchestra:	2,762/	7/	10
				On House:	3,126/-	/	1
				Law and Audit:	143/	13/-	
				Cost of Books:	127/	14/-	
				Production:	14,344/	15/	9

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Charles I</u>	440	16	10
<u>Henry VIII (NP)</u>	11,879	1	10
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	131	15	9
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	400	6	4
<u>Olivia</u>	33	7	5
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	68	2	-
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	32	7	4
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	72	5	6
<u>Macbeth</u>	25	11	6
<u>Guilty*</u>	432	15	-
<u>Ravenswood</u>	37	12	6
<u>[A Regular Fix]*</u>	9	16	-
<u>King Lear</u>	337	5	1
<u>King Arthur</u>	200	-	-
<u>Richelieu</u>	126	2	8
<u>The Story of Waterloo</u>	100	-	-
Wardrobe	9	10	-

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Henry VIII (NP)</u>	172	performances
<u>Richelieu</u>	6	"
<u>The Forresters</u>	1	"
Benefit	1	"

1892-93, FIFTEENTH SEASON (12 months)

Receipts: £75,372/14/ 9
 Expenditure: £79,267/14/ 1
 Loss: £3,894/19/ 4

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£ s d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£ s d
Boxes:	2,059/ 8/-	Rent:	5,943/ 7/ 4
Stalls:	25,899/ 6/-	Tax:	1,468/11/ 5
Dress Circle:	17,239/19/-	Insurance:	460/15/ 3
Upper Circle:	11,544/- /-	House Staff:	2,417/ 1/ 8
Amphitheatre:	4,117/17/ 6	House Expenses:	6,229/12/ 2
Pit:	10,197/15/-	Sundries:	685/16/-
Gallery:	3,261/ 5/-	Printing:	1,088/ 6/ 9
Saloons:	890/- /-	Advertising:	5,093/ 1/ 8
Sale of Books:	873/12/ 7	Bill Posting:	1,133/ 9/-
Miscellaneous:	247/13/-	Stage Salaries:	21,618/ 6/ 6
		Supers:	1,576/14/ 6
		Stage Staff:	2,583/ 6/-
		Stage Expenses:	4,149/ 7/ 1
		Gas:	1,926/16/ 4
		Limelight:	976/14/-
		Authors' Fees:	1,165/10/-
		Orchestra:	3,458/13/ 4
		On House:	2,486/ 8/11
		Law and Audit:	94/15/ 9
		Cost of Books:	1,043/ 6/ 8
		Production:	13,667/13/ 9

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>The Bells</u>	103/	3/	6
<u>Henry VIII</u>	2,986/	5/	2
<u>King Lear</u> (NP)	3,636/15/		1
<u>King Arthur</u>	329/-		/-
<u>Beckett</u> (NP)	4,723/11/		2
<u>Richelieu</u>	27/	9/	6
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	6/12/		8
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	497/11/		9
<u>Dante</u>	50/-		/-
<u>Olivia</u>	198/	9/	9
<u>Charles I</u>	215/	8/	7
<u>Eugene Aram</u>	100/-		/-
<u>Louis XI</u>	208/18/		9
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	141/	2/	4
<u>Faust</u>	11/18/-		
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	328/14/		7
<u>The Story of Waterloo</u>	3/12/		6
[<u>Scarcolo</u>]*	100/-		/-

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Henry VII</u>	33 performances	
<u>The Bells</u>	13	"
<u>King Lear</u> (NP)	76	"
<u>Beckett</u> (NP)	112	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	3	"
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	7	"
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	9	"
<u>Olivia</u>	4	"
<u>Charles I</u>	3	"
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	4	"
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	1	"

1894, SIXTEENTH SEASON (4 months)

Receipts: £25,246/ 2/ 7
 Expenditure: £28,026/10/ 2
 Loss: £3,780/ 7/ 7

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	441	16	6	Rent:	1,587	-	-
Stalls:	6,341	9	6	Tax:	813	8	-
Dress Circle:	6,043	11	-	Insurance:	395	19	6
Upper Circle:	4,123	4	-	House Staff:	796	-	-
Amphitheatre:	1,485	5	-	House Expenses:	2,266	-	11
Pit:	4,755	2	6	Sundries:	241	6	5
Gallery:	1,603	17	-	Printing:	467	9	1
Saloons:	300	-	-	Advertising:	1,489	7	8
Sale of Books:	59	17	4	Bill Posting:	529	9	1
Miscellaneous:	20	-	-	Stage Salaries:	7,658	7	4
Benefit:	247	9	6	Supers:	252	7	2
				Stage Staff:	854	-	-
				Stage Expenses:	1,854	6	6
				Gas:	530	2	9
				Limelight:	359	19	6
				Authors' Fees:	115	10	-
				Orchestra:	1,137	12	4
				On House:	1,936	1	8
				Law and Audit:	107	9	-
				Cost of Books:	159	9	-
				Production:	4,081	4	9

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Faust</u>	1,463/	9/	3
<u>Henry VIII</u>	17/17/	6	
<u>The Amber Heart</u>	12/-	/-	
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	20/	2/	7
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	20/12/-		
<u>Godefrost and Yolande*</u>	108/	4/-	
<u>Beckett</u>	125/	6/	3
<u>King Arthur</u>	226/18/	9	
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	56/19/11		
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u>	927/17/-		
<u>Jekyll and Hyde*</u>	103/	6/	1
<u>Don Quixote</u>	526/10/	6	
<u>The Bells</u>	3/10/-		
<u>Charles I</u>	250/-	/-	
Stock	228/10/	1	

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Faust</u>	76	performances
<u>Beckett</u>	11	"
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	1	"
Benefit	1	"

1894-95, SEVENTEENTH SEASON (7½ months)

Receipts: £50,504/ 4/ 1
 Expenditure: £50,652/ 9/ 2
 Loss: £148/ 5/ 1

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	1,386	10	6	Rent:	4,176	15	-
Stalls:	17,938	4	-	Tax:	1,028	16	-
Dress Circle:	11,422	12	-	Insurance:	417	3	-
Upper Circle:	7,350	8	-	House Staff:	1,568	-	-
Amphitheatre:	2,672	5	-	House Expenses:	694	3	3
Pit:	6,019	12	6	Sundries:	676	3	3
Gallery:	2,355	18	-	Printing:	825	5	2
Saloons:	770	-	-	Advertising:	3,660	15	6
Sale of Books:	229	12	9	Bill Posting:	787	18	6
Miscellaneous:	1,013	7	10	Stage Salaries:	14,123	7	2
				Supers:	751	2	-
				Stage Staff:	1,742	1	4
				Stage Expenses:	2,981	3	-
				Gas:	1,057	18	-
				Limelight:	614	1	-
				Authors' Fees:	577	16	-
				Orchestra:	2,548	1	-
				On House:	1,586	5	7
				Law and Audit:	221	9	2
				Cost of Books:	Nil		
				Production:	7,659	8	1

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>King Arthur</u> (NP)	4,501/	2/	3
<u>Beckett</u>	165/18/	9	
<u>The Story of Waterloo</u> (NP)	5/	2/-	
<u>[? Scenario]*</u>	100/-	-/-	
<u>Charles I</u>	250/-	-/-	
<u>Don Quixote</u> (NP)	241/14/	7	
<u>Godefrost and Yolande*</u>	10/	5/10	
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u>	100/-	-/-	
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	5/	5/ 3	
<u>Conte de Noel</u>	232/-	/ 9	
Stock	2,047/18/	8	

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>King Arthur</u> (NP)	105	performances
<u>The Story of Waterloo</u> (NP)	27	"
<u>Don Quixote</u> (NP)	27	"
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	4	"
<u>The Bells</u>	10	"
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	6	"
<u>Faust</u>	3	"
<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u>	3	"
<u>Charles I</u>	1	"
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	3	"
<u>The Corsican Brothers</u>	6	"
<u>Journey's End</u>	3	"
<u>Macbeth</u>	3	"
<u>Beckett</u>	2	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	3	"
<u>Benefit</u>	1	"

1896-97, EIGHTEENTH SEASON (12 months)

Receipts: £66,137/15/-
 Expenditure: £76,065/19/10
 Loss: £9,928/ 4/10

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	2,063/-	-	-	Rent:	6,342/	3/	7
Stalls:	23,460/	3/-		Tax:	942/	4/	4
Dress Circle:	15,019/11/-			Insurance:	518/	2/-	
Upper Circle:	10,217/	6/-		House Staff:	2,542/16/	5	
Amphitheatre:	3,731/	7/	6	House Expenses:	5,735/13/	1	
Pit:	7,714/	7/	6	Sundries:	734/	5/	9
Gallery:	3,083/	3/-		Printing:	653/14/-		
Saloons:	836/13/	4		Advertising:	4,533/	8/	2
Sale of Books:	413/	9/10		Bill Posting:	1,361/	3/	4
Miscellaneous:	632/	7/11		Stage Salaries:	22,824/	3/-	
				Supers:	1,613/13/	3	
				Stage Staff:	2,732/12/-		
				Stage Expenses:	4,380/12/	2	
				Gas:	1,637/-	-	-
				Limelight:	689/10/	6	
				Authors' Fees:	1,191/	1/-	
				Orchestra:	3,170/11/	4	
				On House:	3,319/	5/	4
				Law and Audit:	367/	3/	5
				Cost of Books:	183/	4/-	
				Production:	10,592/19/	9	

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Cymbeline</u> (NP)	4,154	12	7
<u>George Washington</u>	51	13	-
<u>Richard III</u> (NP)	2,142	10	5
<u>King Arthur</u>	249	16	1
[<u>Father ?</u>]*	25	-	-
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u> (NP)	3,587	3	6
<u>Olivia</u>	55	5	-
<u>The Bells</u>	10	3	3
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	35	17	7
<u>The Medicine Man</u>	250	-	-
Stock	30	17	6

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Cymbeline</u> (NP)	88	performances
<u>Richard III</u> (NP)	35	"
<u>Olivia</u>	19	"
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u> (NP)	85	"
<u>The Bells</u>	16	"
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	3	"
<u>Dracula</u>	1	"
<u>Caste</u>	1	"
Benefits	2	"

1898, NINETEENTH SEASON (6 months)

Receipts: £38,514/17/ 4
 Expenditure: £41,769/18/11
 Loss: £3,255/ 1/ 7

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
Boxes:	655/	4/-		Rent:	3,613/16/	4	
Stalls:	8,801/	2/-		Tax:	716/18/	2	
Dress Circle:	7,357/-	/-		Insurance:	670/10/10		
Upper Circle:	5,978/	8/-		House Staff:	1,251/-	/-	
Amphitheatre:	2,214/	7/	6	House Expenses:	2,477/16/	1	
Pit:	4,838/	8/	9	Sundries:	749/	2/	3
Gallery:	1,913/-	/-		Printing:	253/	9/-	
Saloons:	550/-	/-		Advertising:	3,933/16/	2	
Sale of Books:	59/11/	8		Bill Posting:	1,105/	1/	7
Miscellaneous:	6,181/	8/	2	Stage Salaries:	12,886/	8/11	
				Supers:	571/14/	6	
				Stage Staff:	1,480/	3/-	
				Stage Expenses:	2,772/	6/	6
				Gas:	1,097/	9/	7
				Limelight:	464/	9/	6
				Authors' Fees:	600/	6/-	
				Orchestra:	2,018/16/	6	
				On House:	987/16/	3	
				Law and Audit:	196/	5/	4
				Cost of Books:	Nil		
				Production:	4,923/12/	6	

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

	£	s	d
<u>Peter The Great</u> (NP)	823/	4/-	
<u>Richard III</u>	330/	9/	9
<u>Cymbeline</u>	774/	4/	3
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u>	601/	6/	5
<u>The Medicine Man</u> (NP)	1,118/10/-		
<u>Cyrano de Bergerac</u> *	563/10/-		
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	178/10/-		
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	31/17/	2	
<u>The Bells</u>	79/	4/10	
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	128/	6/	2
<u>Louis XI</u>	265/	8/	2
Stock	30/	1/-	

PLAYS PERFORMED

<u>Peter The Great</u> (NP)	38	performances
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u>	14	"
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	48	"
<u>The Bells</u>	22	"
<u>The Story of Waterloo</u>	20	"
<u>The Medicine Man</u> (NP)	27	"
<u>The Lyons Mail</u>	9	"
<u>Nance Oldfield</u>	4	"
<u>Miss Betty</u>	1	"
<u>Louis XI</u>	5	"
Benefit	1	"

APPENDIX B

ACCOUNTS FOR THE INTERIM SEASONS

This appendix contains details of the accounts for the Interim seasons, similar to those of the main seasons (detailed in Appendix A). The accounts are followed by a list of the tenants, the duration of the tenancy and the average weekly rent paid by the tenant. These accounts are not as detailed as those for the main seasons, and a number of expenses are often grouped together.

Key

* - Denotes seasons with partial or no tenancies.

1879 FIRST INTERIM (7 weeks)

Receipts: £651/13/ 4

Expenditure: £969/14/ 3

Loss: £318/- /11

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	600/-	/-	
Saloon Rent:	51/13/	4	

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
House Staff & Expenses:	588/	5/	7
Stage Staff & Expenses:	371/	5/-	
Gas:	6/	6/-	
On House:	3/17/	8	

TENANT

Genevieve Ward 6 weeks @ £100

1880 SECOND INTERIM (7 weeks)*

Receipts: Nil
Expenditure: £879/16/ 4
Loss: £879/16/ 4

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	Nil		
Saloon Rent:	Nil		

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent, Tax &			
Insurance:	593/-	/10	
Bill Posting:		1/	5/ 6
Stage Expenses:	259/13/	4	
Gas:	25/16/	8	

TENANT

No tenancy

1881 THIRD INTERIM (22 weeks)*

Receipts: £ 910/- /-
Expenditure: £1,160/17/ 3
Loss: £ 250/17/ 3

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre rent:	910/-	/-	

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
General:	55/-	/	5
Production:			
<u>Hamlet:</u>	56/	3/-	
<u>The Belle's Stratagem:</u>	62/	2/	7
<u>Othello:</u>	105/19/	10	
<u>The Two Roses:</u>	374/13/	5	
<u>Romeo and Juliet:</u>	516/17/	7	

TENANT

[S Hayes] Opera 9 weeks @ £100

1883-84 FOURTH INTERIM (39 weeks)

Receipts: £4,402/ 3/-

Expenditure: £5,061/ 7/ 3

Loss: £ 659/ 4/ 3

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	4,350/-	/-	
Sundries:	52/	3/-	

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	4,050/-	/-	
Rent, Arches:	242/-	/-	
Tax:	745/15/	2	
Insurance:	413/	2/	6
Expenses:	401/	9/	7
Sundries:	109/-	/-	

TENANT

Mary Anderson 39 weeks @ £110

Note

Lawrence Barrett took a tenancy after Mary Anderson for the summer months of 1884, but there is no note of his rental in the accounts.

1884-85 FIFTH INTERIM (33 weeks)

Receipts: £5,707/- /-
Expenditure: £7,858/12/11
Loss: £2,151/12/11

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	5,675/-	/-	
Sundries:	32/-	/-	

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent, Tax,			
Insurance &			
House Expenses:	4,451/	1/	6
Advertising:	375/	5/	6
Salaries:	1,490/-	/-	
Production:	1,432/16/	8	
On House:	109/	9/	3

TENANT

Mary Anderson 33 weeks @ £170

1887-88 SIXTH INTERIM (38 weeks)*

Receipts: £7,226/13/ 4

Expenditure: £6,270/11/ 1

Profit: £ 956/ 2/ 3

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	400/-	-	-
	6,000/-	-	-
	200/-	-	-
Saloon Rent:	606/13/	4	
Sundries:	20/-	-	-

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	3,959/19/	6	
Tax, Insurance:	569/	9/	8
Advertising:	169/	8/	6
Salaries:	1,055/11/	6	
Sundries:	516/	1/11	

TENANTS

Sarah Bernhardt	2 weeks @ £200
Mary Anderson	30 weeks @ £200
Genevieve Ward	1 week @ £200

1889 SEVENTH INTERIM (8 weeks)*

Receipts: £1,086/13/ 4

Expenditure: £2,639/16/-

Loss: £1,552/ 2/ 8

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	1,000/-	-	-
Saloon Rent:	86/13/	4	

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	736/13/	4	
Insurance:	32/	5/	6
House Expenses:	94/-	-	
Advertising:	4/10/-		
Salaries:	644/15/-		
Sundries:	31/15/11		
Stage Salaries:	180/-	-	
Production			
<u>The Dead Heart:</u>	914/16/	3	

TENANT

Sarah Bernhardt 5 weeks @ £200

1890 EIGHTH INTERIM (13 weeks)

Receipts: £2,916/- /-
Expenditure: £3,795/13/10
Loss: £ 889/13/10

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	316	13	4
	320	-	-
	340	-	-
	1,540	-	-
	400	-	-

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	1,227	10	-
Tax:	634	14	1
Insurance:	47	5	-
House Staff:	298	17	-
House Expenses:	209	4	1
Sundries:	18	6	9
Stage Salaries:	280	-	-
Stage Staff:	312	10	-
Stage Expenses:	24	13	7
Production			
<u>Ravenswood:</u>	742	13	4

TENANT

Augustin Daly	12 weeks:	1 week @ £316/13/ 4
		1 week @ £320/- /-
		1 week @ £340/- /-
		7 weeks @ £220/- /-
		2 weeks @ £200/- /-

1891 NINTH INTERIM (20 weeks)*

Receipts: £3,223/ 6/ 8

Expenditure: £5,372/17/ 2

Loss: £2,149/10/ 6

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	3,000/-	/-	
Saloon Rent:	223/	6/	8

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	2,331/	4/	6
Tax:	324/	3/	10
House Staff:	354/	15/	10
Sundries:	98/	14/	9
House Expenses:	43/	17/	10
Advertising:	28/	12/	-
Stage Staff:	226/	10/	-
Production			
<u>Henry VIII:</u>	1,469/	19/	8

TENANT

Augustin Daly 15 weeks @ £200

1893-94 TENTH INTERIM (35 weeks)*

Receipts: £17,733/18/ 8

Expenditure: £20,403/- /11

Loss: £ 4,307/ 8/ 7

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	2,433/	6/	8
Saloon Rent:	420/-	/-	
Interest			
on Deposit:	20/-	/-	
Fees - <u>Kerry</u> :	10/10/-		
$\frac{1}{2}$ Pantomime:	14,667/	17/	6
$\frac{1}{2}$ Books:	102/	4/	6

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	4,787/	14/	3
Salaries:	836/	16/	7
House Expenses:	267/	4/	7
Sundries:	313/	4/	3
Advertising:	108/	13/	-
$\frac{1}{2}$ Pantomime			
Working:	9,397/	10/-	
Production			
$\frac{1}{2}$ Pantomime:	3,765/	8/	2
<u>Faust</u> :	846/	6/	10
On House:	29/	5/	9
$\frac{1}{2}$ Books	48/	16/	6

TENANT

Oscar Barrett 12 weeks @ £200

1894 ELEVENTH INTERIM (23 weeks)*

Receipts: £1,370/- /-
Expenditure: £5,409/19/ 2
Loss: £4,039/19/ 2

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	1,233/	6/	8
Saloon Rent:	136/13/	4	
Sundries:	85/18/	3	

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	3,099/	6/	6
House Expenses:	302/	2/	5
Salaries:	1,163/18/	1	
Sundries:	77/11/	9	
Advertising:	70/	6/-	
Production			
<u>King Arthur:</u>	622/	5/	7
<u>Madame Sans Gêne:</u>	20/-	/-	
On House:	14/	8/10	

TENANT

Lillian Russell 6 weeks @ £200

1895-96 TWELFTH INTERIM (1 year)

Receipts: £20,606/ 1/ 5
 Expenditure: £28,619/ 4/ 1
 Loss: £ 8,013/ 2/ 8

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	6,323/	6/	8
	900/-	-	-
Saloon Rent:	1,003/	6/	8
Sundries:	85/18/	3	
Pantomime			
½ London:	5,691/	1/10	
½ Edinburgh:	3,389/10/	7	
½ Birmingham:	2,493/11/	9	
½ <u>Cinderella</u> :	769/	5/	8

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent, Tax &			
Insurance:	7,474/	7/10	
House Expenses:	1,693/	1/	1
Sundries:	121/11/	2	
Salaries:	1,312/12/	1	
Production			
<u>King Arthur</u> :	2,645/14/	6	
<u>Cymbeline</u> :	300/	4/	1
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u>	346/12/10		
On House:	16/	9/	-
[?]	913/12/	2	
½ Books:	330/	9/11	
Pantomime			
½ London:	6,403/17/10		
½ Edinburgh:	2,692/	2/11	
½ Birmingham:	2,553/	1/	6
½ <u>Cinderella</u> :	1,646/16/	7	

TENANTS

Forbes Robertson 43 weeks @ £140

Oscar Barrett 9 weeks @ £100

1897 THIRTEENTH INTERIM (39 weeks)*

Receipts: £3,103/- / 1

Expenditure: £7,867/13/ 9

Loss: £4,764/13/ 8

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	3,033/	6/	8
Profit from			
<u>Mdm. Sans Gêne:</u>	45/13/	4	
Sundries:	24/-	/	1

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	2,399/15/	-	
Tax:	70/-	/	-
Insurance:	624/15/	3	
House & Stage:	738/16/	3	
Sundries:	89/	3/	9
Salaries:	557/	6/-	
Printing:	300/	7/-	
Advertising:	56/	8/	6
Gas:	63/	3/	6
Production:	2,518/	6/	2
On House:	346/15/	1	
Cost of Books:	102/16/	5	

TENANT

Forbes Robertson 15 weeks @ £200

ITEMISED PRODUCTION ACCOUNT FOR 1897

	£	s	d
<u>Olivia</u>	60/14/	6	
<u>Madame Sans Gêne</u>	387/15/	1	
<u>Cymbeline</u>	81/11/-		
<u>Richard III</u>	48/16/	8	
<u>Peter The Great</u>	1,106/	1/	9
<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	15/-	/-	
<u>Journey's End</u>	6/	5/-	
<u>George Washington</u>	206/12/	2	
<u>Robespierre</u>	605/10/-		

1898-99 FOURTEENTH INTERIM (40 weeks)*

Receipts: £ 8,453/- / 7
 Expenditure: £16,822/ 6/ 5
 Loss: £ 8,639/ 5/10

RECEIPTS

	£	s	d
Theatre Rent:	377/	2/	10
	3,033/	6/	8
	1,500/-	/-	
	1,200/-	/-	
Sundries:	236/13/	4	
Interest			
On Deposit:	20/-	/-	
<u>Cyrano</u> Profits			
35% of 1st Week:	853/19/	5	
	23/	6/	8
35% of 2nd Week:	928/-	/-	
	23/	6/	8
35% of 3rd Week	240/	1/	4
	17/	3/	8

EXPENDITURE

	£	s	d
Rent:	4,042/	4/-	
Tax:	1,447/11/	1	
Insurance:	118/	1/	3
House Staff:	697/16/	8	
House Expenses:	350/	4/	4
Sundries:	75/	3/	8
Salaries:	2,047/	7/	9
Advertising:	62/	8/	6
Stage Expenses:	446/	3/	6
Production			
<u>Cymbeline:</u>	519/	7/	4
<u>Richard III</u>	579/	6/	8
<u>Madame Sans Gêne:</u>	404/17/	10	
<u>Peter The Great:</u>	2,506/10/	5	
<u>The Medicine Man:</u>	1,268/18/	8	
<u>Richard II:</u>	1,409/13/	10	
<u>Merchant of Venice:</u>	96/16/	1	
On House:	635/10/	5	

TENANTS

Coquelin	3 weeks @ £125
Forbes Robertson	15 weeks @ £200
Carl Rosa Co.	5 weeks @ £300
John Martin Harvey	6 weeks @ £200

APPENDIX C

RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE TOTALS FOR TOURS

PROVINCIAL TOURS

First Tour - September-December 1881

Receipts: £23,666/ 5/ 6

Expenditure: £17,121/ 8/ 9

Profit: £ 6,554/16/ 9

Second Tour - September-October 1883

Receipts: £ 7,558/15/ 2

Expenditure: £ 4,439/ 1/ 6

Profit: £ 3,119/13/ 8

Third Tour - September-October 1887

Receipts: £14,773/16/-

Expenditure: £15,193/ 3/ 8

Loss: £ 419/ 7/ 8

Fourth Tour - September-December 1888

Receipts: £16,440/ 3/ 4

Expenditure: £14,287/ 8/11

Profit: £ 2,152/14/ 5

Fifth Tour - September-December 1891

Receipts: £24,712/14/ 6

Expenditure: £18,478/14/ 3

Profit: £ 6,234/- / 3

Sixth Tour - September-December 1894

Receipts: £23,031/19/ 8

Expenditure: £20,459/12/ 7

Profit: £ 2,572/ 7/ 1

Seventh Tour - June-July 1896

Receipts: £ 2,768/ 9/ 3

Expenditure: £ 1,901/ 6/ 4

Profit: £ 867/ 2/11

Eighth Tour - September-December 1897

Receipts: £28,927/ 4/ 6

Expenditure: £21,831/ 5/ 7

Profit: £ 7,095/19/11

Ninth Tour - September-December 1898

Receipts: £21,707/17/ 3

Expenditure: £21,076/16/ 3

Profit: £ 631/ 1/-

Tenth Tour - September-October 1899

Receipts: £11,476/17/ 6

Expenditure: £ 8,705/ 7/ 7

Profit: £ 2,771/ 9/11

Total Profits from Provincial Tours

Total: £31,579/18/ 3

AMERICAN TOURS

First Tour - October 1883 - April 1884

Receipts: £47,131/16/ 8

Expenditure: £35,405/ 9/ 9

Profit: £11,726/ 6/11

Second Tour - October 1884 - April 1885

Receipts: £80,580/ 4/ 4

Expenditure: £65,794/ 7/ 8

Profit: £14,785/16/ 8

Third Tour - November 1887 - March 1888

Receipts: £71,939/13/ 4

Expenditure: £60,005/ 7/ 8

Profit: £11,934/ 5/ 8

Fourth Tour - September 1893 - March 1894

Receipts: £74,362/14/-

Expenditure: £50,418/ 6/-

Profit: £23,944/ 8/-

Fifth Tour - September 1895 - May 1896

The accounts for this tour are not totalled, nor is the percentage share or rent indicated. Personal calculations return the following figures:

Receipts: £73,787/- /-
Expenditure: £64,612/- /-
Profit: £ 9,175/- /-

Laurence Irving gives rather different figures in his biography:

Receipts: £75,735/- /-
Expenditure: £70,000/- /-
Profit: £ 5,735/- /-

Alan Hughes, in "Henry Irving's Finances", gives a profit figure only:

Profit: £ 6,627/- /-

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Irving as Mephistopheles, Faust 1885, drawing by Bernard Partridge.
2. Portrait of Henry Irving.
3. Irving as Dr Primrose, Olivia 1885.
4. Lorenz Platz, Faust 1885, originally printed in the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News.
5. Martha's Garden, Faust 1885, originally printed in the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News.
6. The Capulet Tomb, Romeo and Juliet, design by William Telbin.
7. Belmont, The Merchant of Venice, watercolour by Hawes Craven.

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