Visuality and the Theatre in the Long Nineteenth Century

#19etheatrevisuality

Conference at the University of Warwick
27—29 June 2019

Organised as part of the AHRC project,
Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century,
Jim Davis, Kate Holmes, Kate Newey, Patricia Smyth
Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century

Funded by the AHRC, this collaborative research project examines theatre spectacle and spectatorship in the nineteenth century by considering it in relation to the emergence of a wider trans-medial popular visual culture in this period. Responding to audience demand, theatres used sophisticated, innovative technologies to create a range of spectacular effects, from convincing evocations of real places to visions of the fantastical and the supernatural. The project looks at theatrical spectacle in relation to a more general explosion of imagery in this period, which included not only ‘high’ art such as painting, but also new forms such as the illustrated press and optical entertainments like panoramas, dioramas, and magic lantern shows.

The range and popularity of these new forms attests to the centrality of visuality in this period. Indeed, scholars have argued that the nineteenth century witnessed a widespread transformation of conceptions of vision and subjectivity. The project draws on these debates to consider how far a popular, commercial form like spectacular theatre can be seen as a site of experimentation and as a crucible for an emergent mode of modern spectatorship.

This project brings together Jim Davis and Patricia Smyth from the University of Warwick and Kate Newey and Kate Holmes from the University of Exeter. Running from 2018-21, we will be organising conferences, exhibitions and public engagement activities, working with partners at the Bill Douglas Cinema Museum, University of Bristol Theatre Collection and Promenade Promotions.

Visit our website: https://theatreandvisualculture19.wordpress.com. To join the mailing list for news and events relating to this project, please contact P.M.Smyth@Warwick.ac.uk.
Programme

Thursday 27 June

10.00-11.00  Registration, tea and coffee

11.00-12.30  Welcome and Panel 1: Stage Effects, Illusion and Enchantment
Chair: Jim Davis

Christina Vollmert
‘The enchanted magic carpet’: Stage Curtains in late-Nineteenth-Century German Theatre

Hayley Bradley
The Scrutinising Eye and ‘how the trick was done’

Kate Astbury
Stage Magic and the French Gothic

12.30-1.30  Lunch

1.30-3.00  Panel 2: The Performing Self, the Streets and Popular Cultural Stereotypes in Early-Nineteenth-Century London
Chair: Kate Newey

David Vincent
Paul Pry between the Stage and the Streets

Mary Shannon
The Multiple Lives of Billy Waters: Street Performing and Popular Culture

Brian Maidment
Dusty Bob Dances off the Stage into the Victorian Popular Imagination

3.00-3.30  Tea and coffee break

3.30-5.00  Panel 3: Paper Stages: Peep Shows, Posters, and Toy Theatres
Chair: Kate Holmes

Shijia Yu
More than Just Looking: The Active Consumption of Theatrical Spectacles in the Nineteenth-Century English Paper Peepshow

Michael Diamond
The Maniac's Den and Other Scenes of Excitement: Bringing Late Melodrama to Life through a Study of its Posters

Louis James
Imaging Social Conflict on the Early Victorian Stage: the Case of Jerrold’s Black-Ey’d Susan (1829)

5.00-5.15  Tea and coffee break
Panel 4: Transformations in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Scenography
Chair: Patricia Smyth

Christopher Baugh
The Bigger Picture: Loutherbourg and Audience Transport

Raphaël Bortolotti
Nineteenth-Century Italian Stage Painting

6.30 Reception

Friday 28 June

8.15-9.00 Tea and coffee

9.00-11.00 Panel 5: Theatre and the Art World
Chair: Patricia Smyth

Caroline Radcliffe
‘Nearer and nearer, and fairer and fairish she came, in the glow of the morning light’; Aramadale and the Pre-Raphaelite Influence

Tessa Kilgarriff
Elite Institutions, Popular Tactics: Exhibiting Daniel Maclise’s Portrait of Macready as Werner

Veronica Isaac
From the ‘Temple of Artemis’ to the ‘Temple of Art’ – Aestheticism and The Cup (1881)

Diane Piccitto
Illuminated Theatre: Sight and Spectacle in Blake’s The Ghost of Abel

11.00 - 11.30 Tea and coffee break

11.30 - 1.00 Panel 6: Staging National Identities
Chair: Peter Yeandle

Hannah Scott
Angleterre Spectaculaire! England as Spectacle at the Belle Epoque

Barbara Bessac
The Representation of French Interiors on the Victorian British Stage: Visual and Material Reinterpretations and Decorative Transfers across the Channel

Penelope Cole
Scott’s Scotland on Stage: Visual Images of Scotland on the Nineteenth-Century British Stage

1.00-2.00 Lunch
Panel 7: *Afterlives, Anxieties and Expectations: Spectacle and Imagination*
Chair: Jim Davis

Sharon Weltman
*Sweeney Todd's: A Theatrical Bogeyman's Satirical Afterlife in Visual Culture*

Carol Hogan-Downey
*‘The Danger of Such a Picture’: Meta-sensation and the *Shaughraun* Wake*

Renata Kobetts Miller
*Imagined Spectacles and the Independent Theatre Society*

Michael Meeuwis
*The Bells: Visualising a Pre-Freudian Unconscious*

4.00-4.30 Tea and coffee break

Panel 8: *Deconstructing Pantomime and Fairy Tale*
Chair: Hayley Bradley

Jennifer Schacker
*Dressing the Part: Fairy Tales, Costuming, and Fancy Dress*

Janice Norwood
*Scale, Motion and Modernity: Deconstructing the Late-Victorian Pantomime*

Kitty Gurnos-Davies
*‘commonplace gossip’: Visualising Women's Labour in Spectacular Theatre of the Long Nineteenth Century*

7.30 Optional dinner at Arden

Saturday 29 June

9.00-9.30 Tea and coffee

Panel 9: *Panoramas and Tableaux Vivants*
Chair: Janice Norwood

John Plunkett
*Panoramas, Scene Painters and Provinces: A Regional Case Study*

Karen Harker
*Sights and Sounds of London: the Panorama on the Nineteenth-Century Shakespearean Stage*

Catherine Hindson
*Industrial Tableaux: Early Twentieth-Century Advertising, Performance and Embodiment at Cadbury's Bournville Site*
11.00-11.30  Tea and coffee break

11.30-12.30  Panel 10: The Spectacle of Antiquity
Chair: Sharon Weltman

Laura Monros-Gaspar
Putting on the Red Light: Ariadne from Dannecker to La Milo

Alessandra Grossi
Staging Victorian Burlesques: Antiquarianism, Satire and Spectacle in Planché’s Classical Extravaganzas

12.30-1.30  Lunch

1.30-3.00  Panel 11: Imperialism and Cultural Identity
Chair: Joanna Hofer-Robinson

Peter Yeandle
Staging Cetshwayo: the Multiple Performances of the Zulu King.

Nick Havergal
Cross-Media Performance and Cross-Community Adaptation in C. W. Poole’s No 1 Myriorama Tour, 1899-c.1904

Eilis Smyth
Rebranding Spectacle as Drama in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: America’s National Entertainment at the 1887 Golden Jubilee

3.00-3.30  Tea and coffee break

3.30-4.30  Panel 12: Representing Women
Chair: Kate Newey

Simon Grennan
Visualising, Performing and Producing a ‘Woman of Business’: Marie Duval’s Media Enterprise in 1870s and 1880s London

Viv Gardner
‘At the Peephole’: Photo Bits, Photo Realism and the Chorus Girl

Act Drop, William Telbin the elder, n.d, © V&A
Abstracts and Biographies

Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, Louisiana State University

_Sweeney Todd: A Theatrical Bogeyman’s Satirical Afterlife in Visual Culture_

In this paper, I argue that late nineteenth-century print cartoon appropriations of George Dibdin Pitt’s melodrama _Sweeney Todd_ (1847) transform cultural anxieties about seemingly impersonal issues—such as unemployment, the urban food chain, wars in far off places, and advancing barber chair technology—into representations of an intensely personal fear of male vulnerability. _Sweeney Todd_ visual allusions appear in many Victorian periodicals, not only in _Punch_ and _Fun_, but also in the _Saturday Review_ and even in the _Athenaeum_, targeting audiences from a variety of classes with differing interests. Focusing on seven images appearing from 1875 to 1893, I demonstrate that _Sweeney Todd_ helps to relocate disquiet regarding the massive systems of modern life into the intimate, masculine space of the barber shop, and onto the male body baring his throat for a shave and submitting passively to a haircut. Four images appear in the magazine _Judy_, two in _Funny Folks_, and one in _Punch_. The four in _Judy_ pertain to specific performances of _Sweeney Todd_, including caricatures of individual actors, while the two in _Funny Folks_ comment on topical issues with murkier ideological intent.

Sharon Aronofsky Weltman (Davis Alumni Professor, LSU, enwelt@lsu.edu) is Co-Editor of _Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film_. She publishes widely on Victorian literature and culture. Author of _Performing the Victorian: John Ruskin and Identity in Theater, Science, and Education_ (2007) and _Ruskin’s Mythic Queen: Gender Subversion in Victorian Culture_ (Outstanding Academic Book, _Choice_ magazine, 1999), her most recent book, _Victorians on Broadway: Literature, Adaptation, and the Modern American Musical_, is to be published by University of Virginia Press. Her new essay “Melodrama, Purimspiel, and Jewish Emancipation” in _Victorian Literature and Culture_ 47.2 (2019) examines the first Anglo-Jewish woman playwright, Elizabeth Polack.

Kate Astbury, University of Warwick

_Stage Magic and the French Gothic_

In the early 1790s a German-inspired trend for noble bandits and indigenous anticlericalism flooded the French stage with plays abounding in forests, caves, prisons, and dungeons. During the Directory (1795-99), the English gothic novel had a golden age in France and this led to a new vogue for the supernatural on stage. This paper will explore how staging and stage effects for the otherworldly develop as _machinistes_ expand their range of special effects. It will focus in particular on two plays by Cuvelier de Trie, _C’est le diable_, November 1797, seen by some contemporaries as the first melodrama, and _Fredegilde; ou, Le démon familier; drame à grand spectacle_ from November 1798 and on the career of _machiniste_ Jean-François Carré whose experimentation with stage effects for _C’est le diable_ while a prisoner of war in Britain enabled him to rise to the heady heights of being named in the printed play texts of _opéra-féerie_ such as _La clochette ou Le diable page_ (1817) on his return to France. The paper will therefore explore the visual effects of the supernatural and the relationship between supernatural on the page and on stage whilst highlighting some of the stage spectacle innovations brought in by Carré.
Kate Astbury is Professor of French Studies at the University of Warwick. She has recently finished an AHRC-funded project on French Theatre of the Napoleonic Era which received follow-on funding to stage two Napoleonic melodramas, one at the Georgian Theatre Royal, Richmond and the other at Portchester Castle. She has published on melodrama, in particular the link between music and text, and on the gothic in France. Her most recent monograph, Narrative Responses to the Trauma of the French Revolution (2012) looked at the aesthetic development of the novel during the Revolutionary decade. She is currently preparing a monograph on Theatre during Napoleon’s 100 Days.

Christopher Baugh, University of Leeds

The Bigger Picture: Loutherbourg and Audience Transport

Olivier Lefeuvre’s biography and catalogue raisonné of Loutherbourg devoted a mere 12 of the 400 or so pages to the artist’s work for the theatre. This is not a criticism of Lefeuvre’s brilliant work – indeed his account covers the theatre work very well. But it is an important indication of the sheer size and range of Loutherbourg’s contribution to the visual culture of the last half of the eighteenth century. In this paper I want to consider Loutherbourg within a wider understanding of perception and visuality. I want to suggest that his scenographic ambitions lay beneath an arc of quite seismic transformation within visual perception. This was an arc that transitioned from the objective, camera obscura observation of the early years of the century in which the spectator assumed an intense awareness of individuality, and of itself as a group. This arc of change led towards the subjective transport and enthralling of the spectator exemplified by para-theatrical ‘shows’ and stage spectacle of nineteenth-century theatre, where an audience was invited to ‘lose’ its individuality through acts of public spectatorship. Scenic realisation served as an act of sublimation, offering experience of an ordered and finished world. Loutherbourg provided a distinct agenda for scenography and architecture for the next hundred years, but his ambitions for the audience have a distinct resonance within twenty-first-century performance practice.

Christopher Baugh is Emeritus Professor of Performance and Technology at the University of Leeds. He has worked extensively on the history of scenography writing numerous journal articles and chapters on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scenography including his book Garrick and Loutherbourg (1990). He has translated J-P Moynet’s 1874 L’envos du théâtre (2016). Writing on more recent scenography includes ‘Brecht and Stage Design: the Bühnenbildner and the Bühnenbauer’ (1994 & 2006), and the 2nd edition (2013) of Theatre, Performance and Technology: The Development and Transformation of Scenography. In 1975 he was a founding member of the Society of British Stage Designers.

Barbara Bessac, Université Paris Nanterre and University of Warwick

The Representation of French Interiors on the Victorian British stage: Visual and Material Reinterpretations and Decorative Transfers across the Channel.

The influence of French literature on British theatrical productions of the second half of the nineteenth century has been a focus for Victorian theatre studies since Stephen Stanton’s work in the 1950s. However, the visual aspect of this influence is only rarely discussed; when it is, it tends to be with reference to the issue of gestural performance. For instance, scholars refer to Henry Irving’s observation after a visit of the Comédie-Française in London that ‘the pictures they produced went straight to the heart and needed no language for those of us who could not master French’. Yet Irving’s comments could also be understood as acknowledgment of the art of staging. In the frame of constant artistic
exchanges between the two countries, this paper considers how stage directors and artists interpreted the contemporary French visual environment through stage decor.

For some plays, like those of Emile Augier or Victorien Sardou, the existing Parisian stage sets could have been copied or reinterpreted for the British audience. By contrast, other plays inspired by other French literary forms, like Alexandre Dumas’ novels, were fully-fledged British visual creations. How did British scene painters represent French interiors? What were their references? How did French theatre import decorative forms in England? Through the visuality and the materiality of various British plays created either ex nihilo or imported from France, the study aims to analyse the cultural transfer of decorative forms between Paris and London.

**Barbara Bessac** is currently preparing a doctoral thesis in the History of Art under the supervision of Prof. Rémi Labrusse, Aurélie Petiot (Université Paris Nanterre, France) and Prof. Jim Davis (University of Warwick, UK). She studies the circulation of decorative arts between British and French theatrical stages between 1851 and 1900. Her MA dissertations focused on the arts and crafts of Victorien Sardou’s *Gismonda* (1894), and on decorative arts and the Victorian stage (1871-1899). More broadly, these works tend to show the connections between design reforms, performing arts and entertainment in the second half of the nineteenth century.

**Raphaël Bortolotti, University of Bern**

**Nineteenth-Century Italian Stage Painting**

The beginning of the nineteenth century is a moment of decisive aesthetic changes for Italian and European scenography. Stage design moved from architectural constructions typical of the eighteenth century, marked by the Bibiena dynasty, to more painterly solutions like the ‘scena-quadrro’. For instance, the illusion of depth was produced more by a specific use of colour and chiaroscuro effects - the so-called prospettiva aerea - than by using geometrical structures. The scenographer became a painter and the stage a painting.

Scholars have already defined the technical elements of these aesthetic changes through the study of treatises or indirect artifacts, such as sketches or engravings. Nevertheless, the recent discovery of original scenic material (wings, curtains, set pieces, backdrops, machinery, …) from the beginning of the nineteenth century in the theater of Feltre (IT) offers a unique opportunity to study these elements directly from the material itself in its own original context. This paper proposes a new approach to the study of historical scenography by observing these technical and aesthetic changes directly from rare original scenic elements of that period in order to see how this scenic material reflects the scientific research.

**Raphaël Bortolotti**’s work specialises in the original scenic material from the beginning of the nineteenth century in the historical theatre of Feltre, a small town north of Venice. After a Master’s degree in History of Art (University Lausanne) and another one in baroque singing (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis), Raphaël Bortolotti decided to prepare a Ph.D. at the University of Bern (HKB) on stage painting in Italy in the first half of the nineteenth century. Supervised by Maria Ida Biggi (Fondazione Cini) and Andreas Beyer (Universität Basel), he will start his Ph.D. during the following academic year.
Hayley Jayne Bradley, Sheffield Hallam University

The Scrutinising Eye and ‘how the trick was done’

From seeing carpenters in the wings to strips of canvas in the flies, audiences up to the 1860s saw ‘a great deal too much of what was going on “behind”’ the scenes in Charles Dickens’ opinion and consequently much of the ‘pleasure and interest in the play’ was sacrificed. In order to ‘render the illusion of the stage more complete’ Dickens proposed advancements in theatre design and stage machinery, which would replace ‘old necessities’ with new contrivances enabling the public to see only the effects and not the means (and mechanics) of realising them. From here on stage machinery sought to keep pace with the world outside the theatre – utilising and innovating advancements in technology to replicate real-world spectacles of land, air and sea. ‘Optics, mechanics, sound and electricity [were] all … pressed into service by the fin de siècle prestidigitateur’ as they applied ‘scientific principles’ to give the utmost realism to the sensation scene.

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

Penelope Cole, University of Colorado

Scott’s Scotland on Stage: Visual Images of Scotland on the Nineteenth-Century British Stage

Over 4,500 productions of theatrical adaptations of the works of Sir Walter Scott graced the stages of Great Britain in the nineteenth century. Theatre managers in Scotland and London found fertile ground in the novels and poems of Scott as they sought to create new spectacles for their audiences as Scott’s writing is deeply rooted not only in the cultural landscape of Scotland, but also in the geographical and historical landscapes of his native land.

Many of these landscapes were painted for theatres in Scotland and London by some of the principle Scottish visual artists of the time, including Alexander Nasmyth and David Roberts. Alexander Nasmyth provided stage settings for a production of The Heart of Midlothian for the Edinburgh Theatre Royal c.1820. Sketches of six scenes of this production are held by the National Galleries of Scotland. Focusing on this production of The Heart of Midlothian, I am seeking to unpack the impact of the visual representations of Scotland on nineteenth-century British stages, on the construction of a uniquely Scottish national identity for Scots and a re-imagined idea of Scotland for those in other parts of Britain.

Penelope Cole earned her PhD from the University of Colorado, Boulder where she taught for many years. Her dissertation focused on Scottish women playwrights, including Joanna Baillie, Ena Lamont Stewart, and Liz Lochhead, examining their contribution to the discourse on Scottish national identity. She has presented papers at numerous national and international conferences and published articles and book reviews in the Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies, Theatre Survey, Theatre Research International, and the Journal of Dramatic
**Theory and Criticism.** She is currently co-editor of a special collection on site-based theatre to be published in *Theatre History Studies* in 2019.

**Michael Diamond, Independent Scholar**  
*The Maniac’s Den and Other Scenes of Excitement: Bringing Late Melodrama to Life Through A Study of Its Posters*

The melodramas which toured the British Isles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attracted huge audiences, and are thus fascinating as social history. The talk will examine the role of the posters, which were an integral part of the production process, in bringing about this phenomenon. By a comparison with the author’s original text, and particularly the stage directions, it will show how, in many cases, the posters depicted with remarkable accuracy what could be seen on stage. The examples used are from a private collection and have not been shown in public before. But why was it thought necessary to be so accurate? And how did reaction to the posters on the hoardings relate to the experience inside the theatre? The posters raise many questions which indicate their importance to the study of late melodrama.

**Michael Diamond** worked for BBC World Service for thirty years. After retirement, he has written *Victorian Sensation* about the sensational press in Victorian Britain and *Lesser Breeds* about racial attitudes in popular literature 1890-1940, as well articles about Victorian popular culture. In particular, he uses as research material his collection of ephemera from the world of Victorian entertainment.

**Clare Foster, University of Cambridge**  
*Recognition Capital*

This paper underscores the need to free ourselves from the influence of nineteenth-century theatre historiographies developed after modern drama and the emergence of our modern disciplines. Their focus on the object on stage, rather than audiences’ capacities to recognise, it argues, needs to be actively revised. The paper uses nineteenth-century public engagements with classical imagery, made suddenly newly publicly available through technologies of reproduction, *tableaux vivants*, and public museums, galleries and exhibitions, to propose a theatrical concept of culture that was about collective capacities to recognise. Building on work done by scholars on burlesques of Shakespeare and Greek drama, and comparing this to changes in attitudes and access to classical sculpture and painting, and above all the emergence of a concern with authenticity, it argues that what is being performed in all these works is less visual art objects, than knowledge – and specifically, the question of who has it, and who does not. Mixed levels of knowledge performed the increasingly mixed nature of British society in a time of intense social change. The paper proposes the mid-nineteenth-century – before text-based ideas of theatre took on their retroactively influential form – as an era of ‘recognition capital’ – interestingly, not unlike the intermedial cultural milieu of urban ancient Rome from whose newly publicly-available examples it was in part inspired: what Classicist Shelley Hales has called the ‘convergence culture’ on display in the Great Exhibition of 1851. These ideas reposition how we might consider the social and political affordances of intermediality itself in this period.

**Clare Foster** is a British Academy Post-Doctoral Fellow at The Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH) at the University of Cambridge. This paper shares ideas from her forthcoming monograph.
Viv Gardner, University of Manchester
‘At the Peephole’: Photo Bits, Photo Realism and the Chorus Girl.

January 1906, Photo Bits. Two ballet girls are pictured standing behind the curtain looking through the peephole at the audience.

Tottie (to Lou): Don’t run away, dear, that nice fellow who stared at us in the train this afternoon has just gone into the front row of the stalls.
Lou (with an expressive gesture): Oh he’s no use. I trod on his foot twice and all he did was say “Beg Pardon”.

Photo Bits, Britain’s first mass distribution softcore pornography magazine, was published between July 1898 and December 1914. From its inception, it featured multiple images of chorus girls; some were West End performers, but the majority were of little-known or anonymous women, who may not have been performers at all. As well as offering the expected views of scantily clad chorus girls, the images suggest a new form of exchange between chorus girl and (male) spectator, through the mass magazine image. Many of the pictures are narratised images of the backstage life of the chorus girl, ‘at rest’, drinking, talking about men, practising their high kicks etc. The assumed consumer, is also the spectator, ‘that nice man … in the front row of the stalls’; but the chorus girl is also the voyeur, and predator.

This paper will examine Photo Bits’s representation of chorus girl and spectator in the context of the developments in photographic and printing technologies, in particular, photo realism and tabloid photo-journalism, which revolutionised the mass print media at the end of the nineteenth century, and the interdependence of the print media and theatre in the period 1890-1914.

Viv Gardner is Professor Emerita at the University of Manchester. She is a theatre and performance historian, specialising in gender, sexuality – in all its forms – and representation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Recent work has included chapters on the ‘womanisation’ of WW1 audiences, gender and spectatorship in musical comedy, and women performers’ defence of body image in the popular press and other media at the fin de siècle. She has also co-edited (with Diane Atkinson) the autobiography of Kitty Marion, actor and activist, for MUP (2019). Her present project is a cultural and historically-framed biography of the 5th Marquis of Anglesey, I pose therefore I am: performance and performativity in the several lives of the 5th Marquis of Anglesey.

Simon Grennan, University of Chester
Visualising, Performing and Producing a ‘Woman of Business’: Marie Duval’s Media Enterprise in 1870s and 1880s London

This paper will consider ways in which a range of visualisations of ‘women of business’ were informed by debates about the gendered body and sexuality, spectacle and spectatorship, domesticity, leisure and work, in the journals and literature of the later nineteenth century. It will examine aspects of the life and work of London cartoonist and stage performer Marie Duval (1847–1890) as both exemplary of and, in some aspects in contradiction to these visualisations. It will highlight the ways in which Duval visualised, performed and produced herself and others as ‘women of business’, including strategies of pseudonymous renaming and styling, visual ventriloquism and creating professional guises by manipulating gendered behaviour.
Utilising both Duval’s drawings and her historic place in the remediation culture of serialised papers, the novel and popular theatre productions in the 1870s and 1880s, the paper will extrapolate and examine shared characteristics in the fictional women newspaper journalists Henrietta Stackpole (in James’ The Portrait of a Lady, 1881) and Elsie Bengough (in Onions’ The Beckoning Fair One, 1911). Considering the impact of class on nineteenth-century gendering of professional work, first in Patmore’s iteration of the ‘separate spheres’ of agency of men and women in The Angel in the House (1854, derived from de Toqueville’s 1840 Democracy in America), and then in Sarah Grand’s antithetical The New Aspect of the Woman Question (1894), the paper will outline the transformation of women’s work through visualisations of new types of professional occupations. The paper will argue for more diverse conceptions of the lives of urban professional women in the later nineteenth century, touching on recent critiques of masculine constructions of ‘journalistic’ observation and public commentary in Baudelaire (1857) and Benjamin (1914), by Wolff (2000), Kyriaki and Zakreski (2013), Epstein Nord (1995) and Van Remoortel (2015).

Simon Grennan is a scholar of visual narrative and graphic novelist. He is author of A Theory of Narrative Drawing (Palgrave Macmillan 2017) and Dispossession (one of The Guardian Books of the Year 2015), a graphic adaptation of a novel by Anthony Trollope (Jonathan Cape and Les Impressions Nouvelles 2015). He is coauthor, with Roger Sabin and Julian Waite, of Marie Duval (Myriad 2018) and The Marie Duval Archive (www.marieduval.org) and co-editor, with Laurence Grove, of Transforming Anthony Trollope: ‘Dispossession’, Victorianism and 19th century Word and Image (Leuven University Press 2015), among others. Since 1990, he has been half of international artists team Grennan & Sperandio, producer of over forty comics and books. Dr Grennan is Leading Research Fellow at the University of Chester and Principal Investigator for the two-year research project Marie Duval presents Ally Sloper: the female cartoonist and popular theatre in London 1869-85, funded by an AHRC Research Grant: Early Career (2014).

Alessandra Grossi, University of Warwick

Staging Victorian Burlesques: Antiquarianism, Satire and Spectacle in Planché’s Classical Extravaganzas

James Robinson Planché cultivated a lifelong interest in both scenery and costume: he advised Charles Kemble on the mounting of Shakespeare’s plays at Covent Garden, wrote extensively on historical costume and collaborated with Madame Vestris at both Covent Garden and the Lyceum as ‘Superintendent of the Decorative Department’. Planché’s commitment was directed towards historical accuracy: conventional scenery and costumes had to be replaced by scenery and costumes realistically consistent with the time in which the plays were set. Yet, when staging his classical burlesques, Planché’s approach was not thoroughly antiquarian, since he privileged costumes and scene paintings which vaguely recalled classical Greece and Rome, but were contaminated with contemporary fashions. Why did Planché neglect the principle of accuracy that he strictly observed for the mounting of other historical plays? The possible reasons, which I aim to explore, seem to be twofold: on the one hand, Planché could have used the visual element of performance as a vehicle of satire, directed towards contemporary theatrical attempts at adopting the conventions of Greek drama, which proved to be clumsy and inaccurate (The Golden Fleece provides an example to illustrate this point); on the other hand, despite lamenting its pervasiveness, Planché seems to have succumbed to the allure of spectacle (Theseus and Ariadne exemplifies his use of lavish tableaux and changes of scenery) so as to secure the audience’s appreciation.
**Alessandra Grossi** is a PhD student in Theatre Studies at the University of Warwick. Her research is centred on the reception of Medea’s myth in mid-Victorian burlesque, under the supervision of Prof. Jim Davis. She achieved an MA with honours in Euro-American Languages and Literatures at the University of Pisa (2017) with a thesis focused on James Robinson Planché’s *The Golden Fleece*, the first Victorian adaptation of Medea’s tragedy. She also has a BA with honours in Modern Languages and Literatures from the University of Pisa (2014). Her undergraduate dissertation explored the relationships between the female characters in Stendhal’s *La Chartreuse de Parme* and the painting of Da Vinci, Reni and Correggio.

**Kitty Gurnos-Davies, Merton College, University of Oxford**  
**‘commonplace gossip’: Visualising Women’s Labour in Spectacular Theatre of the Long Nineteenth Century**

Theatrical spectacle in the nineteenth century was the result of material labour. With a particular focus on women’s costume work, this paper explores how such labour is rendered visible in articles published in periodicals and newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century. Much of this journalism takes the putting on of pantomimes as its subject – responding to popular anticipation of the annual pantomime season and the material richness of the genre which required a large workforce to execute. Often written from a first-person perspective, their impressions of the unfamiliar topology of the wings and workrooms are fleeting and consequently privilege the visual. Drawing comparisons with performances of women’s textile labour as spectacle onstage in pantomime productions of *Sleeping Beauty*, I consider how the historical and cultural construction of vision – and, in this case, the reporting of it in written form – reveals an implicitly gendered evaluation of the backstage activities encountered by journalists. Taken together, the fictional and reported reality of women’s textile work in the context of pantomime illustrate hidden intersections of gender, work, and visuality in the spectacular theatre of the nineteenth century.

**Kitty Gurnos-Davies** is a doctoral candidate in English at Merton College, University of Oxford. She works on the interrelationships between women’s activities, objects, and the question of agency in the material culture of regional theatre. Her research is facilitated by an AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) designed to foster knowledge exchange between academia and external institutes. The project is partnered with The Theatre Chipping Norton and the Royal & Derngate in Northampton. Her research builds upon eight years of experience working in costume and wig departments. Kitty is a co-convenor of The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities (TORCH) Theatre and Performance Network.

**Karen Harker, Shakespeare Institute**  
**Sights and Sounds of London: the Panorama on the Nineteenth-Century Shakespearean Stage**

Charles Kean’s 1855 production of *Henry VIII* featured a moving panorama between acts four and five showcasing London as it appeared during the reign of Henry VIII. Based on Van Den Wynnerde’s 1543 drawing of the city, the panorama illustrated recognizable features of London along the river Thames, taking audiences on an imaginative journey from the Palace of Bridewell to Grey Friars, Greenwich where the final scene of the play showing the christening of Elizabeth commenced. As recognizable images of an antiquated
London rolled across the stage, the orchestra played music written especially for the scene by John Hatton, which was never published or recorded, and thus has not been heard since 1855. As such, most scholarship on this panorama is understandably isolated to what it offered visually, without consideration of the interplay between sound and sight. In this paper, I will share the sound of Kean’s panorama through my digital reconstruction of Hatton’s incidental music, ultimately arguing that the stately, historic view of London expressed in the panorama’s visual aesthetic gives way to a carnivalesque, playful view of London expressed in the accompanying music. This not only changes the meaning of the panorama within the context of the play, but importantly places the panorama in conversation with popular optical entertainments of the nineteenth century.

Karen Harker is a current PhD student at the Shakespeare Institute, where she also received her MA in 2015. Her current work surrounds reviving forgotten incidental music used in nineteenth-century performances of Shakespeare through digital transcription and reconstruction, with a specific interest in music that accompanied tableaux vivant. Her archival research has been funded by the Massachusetts Historical Society as a part of the New England Regional Fellowship Consortium, and she is also a Gale (Cengage Learning) Student Ambassador for the University of Birmingham.

Nick Havergal is an AHRC-funded PhD candidate based at the University of Bristol and University of Exeter, supported by the South West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership. His thesis focusses on practices of masculinity in leisure and popular performance between 1880 and 1914, drawing on the South West of England as a core case study. He is developing future projects on the interplay between sport and popular entertainment in Edwardian Britain, and on biographical approaches to turn-of-the-century touring infrastructures. He is also an active playwright, having been on attachment at Bristol Old Vic.
Catherine Hindson, University of Bristol

*Industrial Tableaux: Early Twentieth-Century Advertising, Performance and Embodiment at Cadbury’s Bournville Site*

During the early twentieth century Cadbury’s Bournville factory was the site of rich, diverse theatrical activity. The industrial performances that took place on the factory site brought together thinking and practices around recreation and education, service and labour. In this paper I consider examples of the numerous tableaux vivants created and staged by Bournville employees at a range of Cadbury events during the early decades of the twentieth century. Drawing on paintings, advertising campaigns and the local landscape these stage pictures embodied the Cadbury brand and the company ethos. Looking closely at images, written accounts and the specific context of each staging I argue that these tableaux vivants captured industrial culture, social thinking around education and recreation and popular entertainment of the moment.

Catherine Hindson is Reader in Theatre History at the University of Bristol. Her research interests are connected by her focus on performance on and off stage during the long nineteenth century. She is the author of many articles and chapters on theatre, celebrity, actresses, off-stage identity, cultural heritage and charity work and two books *Female Performance Practice on the Fin-de-Siècle Stages of London and Paris* (MUP, 2007) and *London’s West End Actresses and the Origins of Celebrity Charity, 1880-1920* (University of Iowa Press, 2016). This paper is the result of research for her third book, *Theatre in the Chocolate Factory: Performance at Cadbury’s Bournville, 1900-1935*.

Carol Hogan-Downey, Saint Louis University

*’The Danger of Such a Picture’: Meta-sensation and the Shaughraun Wake*

Featuring revolving tower walls, jail breaks, and leaps from dizzying heights, the 1875 London premiere of Dion Boucicault’s Irish *The Shaughraun* was packed with sensation material. Yet, reviews suggest that the most ‘dangerous’ of all these novelties featured little of what current scholarship typically associates with sensation. This piece boasted neither innovative technology nor daring stunts, and its plot was not particularly suspenseful. Rather, this scene—a burlesque of an Irish wake with hyperrealistic sets—was sensational for what the *Telegraph* called the ‘danger of such of a picture’. With its ‘amalgamation of whiskey and wailing, of debauchery and death’, the depiction was supposedly ‘very true and very lifelike’ but ultimately out of ‘harmon[y] with the footlights’. In short, the scene was offensive, and its *boldness* made it sensational.

My paper explores the transgressive aesthetics by which this scene, as the *Telegraph* notes, could ‘shock the sensitive imagination’. I argue that Boucicault achieved this affect by manipulating the machinery of form and politics. This meta-sensation scene critiqued the consumption of an exploitative sensational stage-Irishness by amplifying it to an alarming excess that simultaneously repulsed and enticed audiences, urging them to reckon with their own complicity in this debauched sensationalism.

Carol Hogan-Downey is a Ph.D. candidate studying nineteenth-century Irish and British literature at Saint Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri. Her research draws together the digital humanities, performance studies, with Irish and British theatre from the Victorian and early-modernist periods. Her dissertation, tentatively titled ‘Strangeness in the House: Waking Boucicault in the Irish Theatrical Event, 1893-1907’, locates and examines how the 1875 London premiere of Dion Boucicault’s *The Shaughraun* created an avant-garde
strain of stage-Irishness that subtly shaped the production and reception of plays by later elite Irish playwrights Oscar Wilde, W.B. Yeats, and J.M. Synge.

Veronica Isaac, University of Brighton and New York University London

*From the ‘Temple of Artemis’ to the ‘Temple of Art’ – Aestheticism and The Cup (1881)*

Hailed by critics as a ‘banquet of sensuous delicacies’ and a ‘triumph of scenic art’, Sir Henry Irving’s (1838-1905) 1881 production of *The Cup* established the Lyceum Theatre as a venue in which ‘Aestheticism in all its beauty [could] be seen.’ Staged when the Aesthetic movement was at its peak, the production was a true ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’, within which set, costume, sound, lighting and special effects, were united in a visual spectacle that ‘stirred the imaginations’ of audiences.

This paper will explore the social and cultural factors which influenced the design, direction and public reception of *The Cup*. It will look closely at the visual culture of the production, paying specific attention to the costumes of Irving’s leading lady, Ellen Terry (1847-1928). It will highlight the role architect and designer, E.W.Godwin (1833-1886), played in their design and also in advising Terry regarding the ‘archaeological’ accuracy of the attitudes she assumed during the performance.

Reflecting on the production’s immediate impact, and its legacy within the popular imagination, this paper will argue that Irving’s production of *The Cup*, particularly its climactic scene in the ‘Temple of Artemis’, played a pivotal part in securing the Lyceum Theatre’s reputation as a ‘Temple of Art.’

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

Louis James, University of Kent

*Imaging Social Conflict on the Early Victorian Stage: the case of Jerrold’s Black-Ey’d Susan (1829)*

Toy theatre sets provide valuable insights into the visual dimension of early nineteenth-century theatre, and Pollock’s printed set of *Black-Ey’d Susan* (1829), based on the original Surrey Theatre production, is a particularly rich example. Three opening scenic backdrops locate the drama realistically in place and time, moving from idyllic Kent countryside, through a view of Deal, to the bleak interior of Susan’s cottage. William, Susan’s husband, has been forced into the navy to find money for the rent: while he is still away, the landlord strips the living room of its sparse furniture for rent arrears, while in the next room Susan’s sick mother faces death in prison for debt.

William’s return with the fleet offers a reprieve. But for rescuing Susan from rape by his Captain, he is sentenced to death for striking a superior officer. The visual dimension is again used to reinforce the reality. The formalities of a naval trial are staged in chilling detail, and in a cruel refinement, preparations for William’s execution are shown taking place in full view of his wife and neighbours, with his grieving sea mates preparing to haul the rope that is to strangle him.
At this point, Jerrold turns to the popular belief that the dead rise from the water on hearing cannon fire, believing it to be Judgement Day. As gunfire announces William’s execution, the villain rises from the water with William’s concealed release from the navy in his pocket. William and Susan are reunited. Heaven has intervened. But Jerrold’s central indictment of inhuman rack-renting and cruel naval discipline remain. How did Black-Ey’d Susan become one of the most popular melodramas of the century?

The paper will re-enact scenes on a Polлок’s toy theatre alongside analysis of the play’s stage history in order to explore the ambivalence of the visual dimension in early melodrama.

**Louis James** is Emeritus Professor at the University of Kent, where he taught a course on Victorian melodrama. In 1976 he produced Black-Ey’d Susan at the Gulbenkian Theatre, Canterbury, taking it to the Hoxton Hall in the East End of London to test the effect of different audiences on theatrical experience. His publications on Victorian popular literature and drama include *Fiction for the Working Man 1830-1850* (1963) and *Print and the People 1819-1851* (1976), both published in new editions by Edwin Everett Root in 2017.

**Tessa Kilgarriff**, Watts Gallery

*Elite Institutions, Popular Tactics: Exhibiting Daniel Maclise’s Portrait of Macready as Werner*

In 1849, the literary critic John Forster commissioned a full-length portrait of the actor William Charles Macready as Werner in Byron’s play of the same name. Both the sitter and the artist, Daniel Maclise, were close to Forster, who intended the portrait as a commemorative object celebrating the Shakespearean actor’s retirement. In this paper, I take Maclise’s painting as a test case for examining the extent to which the deep connections between theatre and visual culture were rooted in popular culture. On the one hand, the portrait was produced through collaboration between three elite figures from the spheres of theatre, art and literature, and later exhibited at the Royal Academy. On the other, it was an expressly commercial object that followed Macready around the theatrical circuit on his farewell tour. Across England and Scotland the portrait was displayed in print shops to drum up subscriptions to cover the costs of the engraving. Using Maclise’s correspondence, Macready’s diaries and a close iconographical reading of the portrait, my aim in this paper is to consider how elite institutions drew on the frameworks of popular print consumption.

**Tessa Kilgarriff** is Assistant Curator at Watts Gallery – Artists’ Village in Compton, Surrey. In 2018, she received her PhD in History of Art from the University of Bristol. Her thesis, ‘Reproducing Celebrity: Painted, Printed and Photographic Theatrical Portraiture in London, c.1820 – 1870’, was completed in collaboration with the National Portrait Gallery. Her research has been supported by a visiting scholar award at the Yale Center for British Art, and fellowships at Harvard University’s Houghton Library and the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.

**Brian Maidment**, Liverpool John Moores University

*Dusty Bob Dances off the Stage into the Victorian Popular Imagination*

Dusty Bob, originally conceived as a fictional coal heaver in Pierce Egan’s celebrated illustrated novel *Life in London* (1821), became famous in the character of a dustman featured in the many stage adaptations of Egan’s book. In many of the dramatic versions of the book, there is a scene set in All Max in the East, a gin shop to be found at the
easternmost, and ‘lowest’, point reached by the urban adventurers whose journeys give shape to the novel. Dusty Bob, sometimes with his partner African Sal, launch into a crude but energetic dance at the behest of the visiting toffs. Their dance is wrapped round by a stream of punning dialogue, and, while to some extent beyond the reach of any kind of historical re-imagining, the scene became famous. Subsequently Dusty Bob (or at least the idea of Dusty Bob) quickly and enduringly became a reference point for a wide range of popular forms – caricatures, comic prints, and song in particular – which examined the carnivalesque pleasures and broader social implications to be found in the career of dirty and lowly urban figures. This paper centres on Bob the dancer as represented in popular culture between 1821 and 1850. It suggests how the animalistic energy of Dusty Bob challenged behavioural norms and ideas of civility in ways that both worried and enthralled contemporaries. The extent and endurance of the Dusty Bob idea can be gauged by his appearance as a ‘Polka Pest’ in the pages of Punch thirty years after his first appearance on the stage.


Michael Meeuwis, University of Warwick

The Bells: Visualising a Pre-Freudian Unconscious

Associated with the actor Henry Irving, Leopold Lewis’ The Bells (1871) was one of the most widely resonant plays of the later nineteenth century—in large part because of its circulating iconography in mass culture. Images from the play leapt into contemporary consciousness—a mode of visual interruption that the play itself stages. The central character, the burgomaster Mathias, is haunted by his decades-earlier murder of a character called the Polish Jew, whose stolen wealth now stabilizes his town’s economy. This haunting appears in two forms: in a vision scene at the end of its first scene, which takes place in the town itself; and in the trial scene of the play’s conclusion, in which Mathias imagines himself prosecuted for the crime itself. Irving’s image in these scenes itself circulated widely in other media forms. My paper reflects on The Bells’ staging of the unconscious in the years before Sigmund Freud’s influential theorization of the concept. In particular, I show how the play stages the palimpsestic nature of memory presented by nineteenth-century neuroscience.

Alexander Bain’s The Emotions and the Will (1859) and George Henry Lewes’ Problems of Life and Mind (1879) both laid out a neurophysiological basis for memory’s function—renewing Humeian associationalism, but also setting it within mass contemporary experience. “I have never seen the Ganges, nor measured the earth’s diameter,” Bain writes, “but these enter into my world of experience, and regulate my conduct, with the same certainty as my direct experience.” Via Jonathan Crary’s writings on nineteenth-century visuality, I situate The Bells’ vision scenes as a reflection on the contemporary theatre industries’ norm-setting role within mass contemporary culture.

Michael Meeuwis is a performance historian of the British eighteenth through twenty-first centuries. His first manuscript discussed performance in Britain and its empire during the later Victorian and Edwardian periods. He is currently moving forward to discuss contemporary performance in London, and backwards to consider the epistemological history of performance and novels in the eighteenth century.
Renata Kobetts Miller, City College of New York

Imagined Spectacles and the Independent Theatre Society

J. T. Grein’s Independent Theatre Society, operating from 1891 to 1898, was established as a private subscription society in order to foster innovative drama, free from the demands of the commercial stage and, sometimes, evading the government censor. Producing plays for a single night meant that its productions were, of necessity, simply staged, and the Independent Theatre strove for what William Archer, in ‘The Stage and Literature’, called a ‘literary’ theater. Yet researching its productions reveals that the Independent Theatre’s work and reception were shaped, and sometimes misapprehended, through expectations of visuality. Michael Field’s correspondence, for example, details visions that they had for the staging of their drama A Question of Memory (1893). And although A. B. Walkley’s review of Florence Bell and Elizabeth Robins’s Alan’s Wife (1893) remonstrated about the tastelessness of its staging, the ‘mangled corpse’ and dead baby that it finds so offensive never appeared on stage but rather were imagined by Walkley. My presentation will examine the place of spectacle in the Independent Theatre Society. It will analyze how play texts and staging worked to evoke images that were not fully realized on stage.

Renata Kobetts Miller is Professor of English and Deputy Dean of Humanities and the Arts at the City College of New York. Her book The Victorian Actress in the Novel and on the Stage was published by Edinburgh University Press in November. She is also the author of a book on adaptations of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, and her work on Victorian fiction and theater has appeared in MLQ, BRANCH, and the Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies, among other places. This essay is part of a book-length project on the Independent Theatre Society as a progenitor of innovation in fin-de-siècle literature and culture.

Laura Monrós-Gaspar, Universitat de València

Putting on the Red Light: Ariadne from Dannecker to La Milo

In 1803 Johann Heinrich von Dannecker began to work on Ariadne on the Panther, one of the most famous German sculptures of the nineteenth century. Soon after its first exhibition in 1816, the sculpture was reproduced in small replicas of bronze, porcelain, marble and ivory and informed various artistic responses all over Europe. In London, the statue was also the source of inspiration for various stage spectacles, among them the tableaux vivants devised by Madam Warton at the Walhalla in Leicester Square. From Madame Warton to La Milo later in the century, women’s responses to Dannecker’s Ariadne filled London’s entertainment industry with voluptuous performers who challenged mainstream approaches to the Greek and Roman Classics. Without a plot and an eminently visual stance that aimed at reproducing the original display of the statue, the shows rivaled in spectacularity with innovations on lighting and staging. As I shall contend in this paper, the reception history of Ariadne on the Panther on the Victorian London stage makes a case for the active participation of women in the discourses on vision, which influenced the entertainment industry of the period and created a classical sediment which crossed class boundaries.

Laura Monrós-Gaspar is Associate Professor in the Department of English and German at the Universitat de València in Spain. She is also Research Associate at the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD) of the University of Oxford and Head of the Area of Theatre and Performing Arts at the UV. Her main research interests are on the reception of classical mythology in nineteenth-century literature in Great Britain.

**Janice Norwood, University of Hertfordshire**  
*Scale, Motion and Modernity: Deconstructing the Late-Victorian Pantomime*

Audiences of late-nineteenth-century pantomime experienced an exhilarating assault on the senses created by its elaborate spectacle and expressive musical orchestration, nowhere more evident than in the climactic transformation scenes: they were also witnessing an evolving theatrical culture. Focusing on the Christmas productions at London’s Britannia Theatre between 1896 and 1899, this paper presents a deconstruction of the constituent parts of the entertainment as a succession of moving visual images, paying particular attention to the significance of the costumes. I argue that these productions epitomised the transition from a Victorian to a modern aesthetic. They successfully blended familiar elements of the traditional pantomime, such as use of big heads, with new features, such as the flying ballet (an innovation that had been imported from the Continent via the Grigolatis ballet troupe in 1894 and subsequently employed by George Conquest at the Surrey Theatre). My argument draws on Donatella Barbieri’s reading of women’s aerial performance as embodying the female sublime and on Gillian Arrighi’s articulation of the circus as a site of modernity. I also interpret the pantomimes within the context of the increasingly economically depressed East End in which the theatre was situated.

**Janice Norwood** is Senior Lecturer in English Literature, Drama and Theatre Studies at the University of Hertfordshire. Her research focuses on nineteenth-century popular theatre and culture. She has written a forthcoming monograph on Victorian touring actresses (Manchester University Press) and has previously published on actress iconology, theatrical responses to the 1889 dock strike, Victorian pantomime, the drama of Wilkie Collins, the Britannia Theatre (Hoxton), the playwright Colin Hazlewood, and the actress and theatre manager Eliza Vestris. Janice is a co-editor of the journal *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*.

**Diane Piccitto, Mount Saint Vincent University**  
*Illuminated Theatre: Sight and Spectacle in Blake’s The Ghost of Abel*

Blake may seem out of place in discussions about the theatre, yet his Illuminated Books, as I have argued elsewhere, are especially performative, despite not being typically configured as dramas. *The Ghost of Abel* (1822), though not representative of his composite art form – given its brevity, its different aesthetic, and its avoidance of the mythical characters that inhabit his other works – functions as the culmination of his early aborted dramas and his Illuminated Books. It is also unusual because it is simultaneously a play, incorporating stage directions as well as dialogue markers, and an Illuminated Book, depicting various visual vignettes interspersed throughout the verbal scene, creating an energetic dynamism between image and word. Turning the page into a stage, Blake combines the graphic design and narrative content in this work to suggest that sight can act as a redemptive force. *The Ghost of Abel* begins with Adam and Eve facing a crisis of faith, which results from the initial spectacle of their son’s corpse. However, thanks to the interaction between their imaginative activity and sensory perception, especially vision, they overcome this crisis. Thus, *The Ghost of Abel* unveils the life-affirming efficacy of a Blakean model of theatrical spectacle and visuality.

John Plunkett, University of Exeter

Panoramas, Scene Painters and Provinces: A Regional Case Study

This paper explores the deep convergence between the moving panorama and the theatre in the south-west of the UK between the 1820s and 1840s; it is based on an AHRC funded project mapping the exhibition of visual exhibitions and shows in a number of selected cities and towns, most substantially Exeter, Bristol and Plymouth. Our findings demonstrate a number of different types of interaction between popular visual culture and the stage. Firstly, they highlight the common use of provincial theatres as exhibition spaces for these touring shows; secondly, at a time when provincial theatre was struggling, they illustrated the competition and remediation that existed between formal theatre and the burgeoning circuit of visual exhibitions. For example, at the Theatre Royal, Bristol, in September 1826, coinciding with St James’s Bristol fair, there was a representation of the Eidophusikon. Thirdly, there is extensive evidence of individual artists moving between theatre, touring shows and other forms of scenic decoration, particularly civic transparencies.

Three case studies will be presented: Clarkson Stanfield, Samuel Cook and Moses Gompertz. Stanfield’s work for the London stage is well-known, but he also put on a British Diorama at Bristol Fair in 1822; February 1829 saw the in-house scene painter of Theatre Royal also produce copies of Stanfield’s renowned dioramic views that had been performed in the pantomime at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Gompertz became one of the most significant panorama exhibitors of the century, yet began his career through being commissioned for moving panoramas that were part of pantomimes at the Theatre Royal, Exeter, in the late 1830s. Samuel Cook (1806-59) was a scene painter, water colour artist and general decorator in Plymouth in the 1830s and 1840s; of a humble background, he produced peepshow views, transparencies for civic events, dioramas and scenery for the Theatre Royal, Plymouth, and his own panorama of Afghanistan in 1842; he was also a member of the New Society for Painters in Watercolours.

Provincial theatre offers a case study of the relationship between popular visual entertainments and the stage.

John Plunkett is Associate Professor in the Department of English at the University of Exeter; his books include *Queen Victoria – First Media Monarch* (OUP, 2003), *Victorian Print Media – A Reader*, ed. with Andrew King (OUP, 2005) and *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship 1820-1914*, co-ed. with Joe Kember and Jill Sullivan, as well as articles on panoramas, dioramas, stereoscopy and peepshows. His current project is a co-authored book with Joe Kember, *Picture Going: Visual Shows 1820-1914*, which is based on the results of large AHRC grant that detailed the exhibition networks and performance practices of the panoply of visual shows.
Caroline Radcliffe, University of Birmingham

‘Nearer and nearer, and fairer and fairish she came, in the glow of the morning light’; Aramadale and the Pre-Raphaelite Influence

In April, 1866 Collins wrote to his mother, ‘I must see if I can turn “Aramadale” in to a play, before the book is published in the middle of May, and before the theatrical thieves are beforehand with me.’ But Collins’s intention to dramatise the novel was not solely for the purposes of dramatic copyright: it is clear from his letters and his conscientiously re-worked versions of the script that he had every intention of staging it.

His choice for the role of Lydia Gwilt, the beautiful, duplicitous, ‘fallen woman’ of Collins’s novel, was Louisa Ruth Herbert, a Pre-Raphaelite muse and actress. In this paper, I will demonstrate how Collins’s close connections to the Pre-Raphaelite circle and Herbert’s appearance in George Robert’s drama, Lady Audley’s Secret, (1863) influenced Collins’s formation of the character of Miss Gwilt. Collins employed all of his skills as a trained artist in his representation of Gwilt and her duped husband, Osias Midwinter, depicting their troubled depths of character through a palette of reds and blacks, darkness, light and shadow. Ruth Herbert’s ability to present as a graceful and deeply emotional, intellectually powerful actress coupled with her scandalous reputation as a lower-class seductress and social climber can be strikingly paralleled with the overtly sexualised Lydia Gwilt with her joint trajectories of impersonation and ambition.

Caroline Radcliffe is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Birmingham. Caroline’s work includes publications on Victorian drama and nineteenth-century popular performance. She has edited and published two previously unpublished plays by Wilkie Collins, The Lighthouse and The Red Vial, and directed works by Collins and Dickens. She is currently writing a monograph on the dramas of Wilkie Collins. Caroline also works as a performer and can be seen in the video-installation, The Machinery.

Jennifer Schacker, University of Guelph

Dressing the Part: Fairy Tales, Costuming, and Fancy Dress

Many fairy tales demonstrate a tacit understanding of dress as a means by which social identities and social status are conveyed and negotiated, both for the viewer and the viewed. As a tale preoccupied with forms of dress and disguise, Charles Perrault’s ‘Cendrillon, ou la petite Pantoufle de verre’ (1697) lent itself brilliantly to the expanding and increasingly visual print media of Victorian England, as well as to pantomime and the social practice of ‘fancy dress’. This paper will look at figurations of Perrault’s eponymous heroine in nineteenth-century illustration, in pantomime, and in fancy dress manuals (those by Ardern Holt and those issued by the Butterick Pattern Company) to examine costuming practices, on and off stage, as forms of ‘embodied reception’.

The rich tradition of fairy-tale illustration connected to print versions of ‘Cinderella’ foregrounds states of dress and undress, disguise and uncloaking, but it is also interesting to consider how the reception of fairy tales in nineteenth-century Britain was imagined and experienced in terms of sartorial play. Costuming is a common plot element, part of the fabric of fairy tales and a key element in a tale like ‘Cinderella’, but it is worth grounding a consideration of fairy-tale materiality in an understanding of costuming as social practice, one that has been popular with both children and adults for centuries and one that frequently references the domain of the fairy tale. For the past two centuries, this has occurred either through specific forms of costume that signal specific fairy-tale characters
and types (and I will turn to examples of this in the presentation) or through the vision of fancy dress itself as a kind of magical transformation best understood with reference to fairy tales – Cinderella, in particular.

Jennifer Schacker is an associate professor in the School of English and Theatre Studies at the University of Guelph (Canada). She is the author of Staging Fairyland: Folklore, Children’s Entertainment, and Nineteenth-Century Pantomime (2018) and National Dreams: The Remaking of Fairy Tales in Nineteenth-Century England (2003), winner of the 2006 Mythopoeic Scholarship Award. With Christine A. Jones she is co-editor of Feathers, Paws, Fins, and Claws: Fairy-Tale Beasts (2015) and Marvelous Transformations: An Anthology of Fairy Tales and Contemporary Critical Perspectives (2012). Schacker’s research on Victorian pantomime and fairy-tale history was supported by a three-year research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Hannah Scott, University of Nottingham
Angleterre Spectaculaire! England as Spectacle at the Belle Epoque Music-Hall

In 1902, the curtain went up at the Théâtre Marigny to reveal a misty Thames with the Houses of Parliament silhouetted against a blurred dusky sky. Over the next two hours, the revue Miss! Miss! dazzled and entertained the Parisian audience with dancing policemen, singing Salvation Army girls, and black-face clowns in a series of ‘typical’ scenes from English life. French tourism to England may only have been a mere trickle in the Belle Epoque, but the tout Paris would flood gleefully to see spectacularized visions of England on the stages of France.

This paper will explore the place of England as a visual and musical spectacle in the turn-of-the-century French theatrical landscape. It will examine staging, costume, and the body of the French performer as it is trained to move and to speak in a vision Englishness, before analysing the reception of these spectacles by the Parisian press and public. Throughout, it will seek to enrich our understanding of how performance offered an oblique means of mediating cross-Channel political contretemps, and of how theatre contributed to the longstanding love-hate relationship between these cross-Channel cousins.

Hannah Scott is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Nottingham. Her research project explores representations of the British in the world of French popular music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century – from comic songs about the English, to English evangelical music in Paris, the reception of Scottish and Irish folk music, and French travel writing from the theatres of London. Her current research interests include the cultural history of popular music and dance and ways in which these fantasy worlds interact with the world beyond the stage.

Mary L. Shannon, University of Roehampton
The Multiple Lives of Billy Waters: Street Performing and Popular Culture

Billy Waters (c. 1780 – 1823), the ‘King of the Beggars’, was a London street-performer and a well-known figure in early-nineteenth-century popular culture, yet despite this he has received no sustained critical or cultural attention. Close attention to depictions of Waters offers the potential for developing a new model of 1820s and 1830s popular culture that shows in more detail how popular theatre connects with print and visual media. The use and reuse of Waters’ image allows us to see how Regency popular culture had a kind of communication network in which characters, scenes, and images were used and reused
across media: with Waters as a case study we can track the ways in which representations of theatricality as a mode of urban life spread across popular culture in a series of networked illustrations. Theatricality is revealed as a dangerous metaphor for urban life: if all the world’s a stage, then readers, audiences, and citizens are cushioned from the need to engage fully and seriously with urban problems. This offers us a deeper understanding not only of how this dangerous theatricality left Waters’ historical body disregarded and impoverished, but also of how tropes and stereotypes are used and re-used across vernacular culture.

Mary L. Shannon is a Senior Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Roehampton, London. Her first monograph Dickens, Reynolds and Mayhew on Wellington Street: the Print Culture of a Victorian Street (2015) won the 2016 Colby Prize and was shortlisted for the 2016 University English ECR Book Prize. She is currently working on a project about print and visual culture.

Eilís Smyth, King's College London

Rebranding Spectacle as Drama in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: America’s National Entertainment at the 1887 Golden Jubilee

In the summer of 1887 Buffalo Bill and a group of Native American performers from the Wild West joined Henry Irving and Ellen Terry on the stage of the Lyceum Theatre for a curtain call. The meeting of these players—hailing from different nations, races, and performative traditions—on a stage strongly associated with Shakespeare encapsulates an unexplored nexus between the Wild West Show, Shakespeare, and British imperialism. This paper will propose that America’s ‘National Entertainment’ utilised the English national poet by rebranding its explosive visual spectacle as drama for its first tour of Britain in 1887. By doing so it won the patronage of London’s foremost Shakespearean, Henry Irving, royal command performances from Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales, and widespread acclaim during the 1887 Jubilee celebrations of imperial power. The Wild West Show has gained little critical attention in histories of British theatre, a silence which this paper will seek to redress through its consideration of the negotiation between spectacle and drama which took place in the arena at Earls’ Court.

Eilís Smyth is completing a Sir Richard Trainor studentship at King’s College London. Her PhD is a collaborative project between KCL and the Royal Collection Trust, and focusses on the politics of royal command performances of Shakespeare in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She holds an MA in Shakespeare Studies from The Shakespeare Institute, and teaches on the Early Modern Literary Culture module at KCL.

David Vincent, Open University

Paul Pry Between the Stage and the Streets

Paul Pry was the hero of the most successful comedy on the London stage in the 1820s. Amidst the constant stream of new productions it captured the imagination of the theatre-going public nationally and internationally, becoming a global theatrical phenomenon within a couple of decades and regularly revived during the remainder of the century. Its impact both sustained and was in turn reinforced by a fiercely energetic consumer industry. Both the words of the play, particularly the deliberately created catch-phrase ‘I hope I don’t intrude’, and the fixed iconography of the Paul Pry pose, rapidly generated a wide range of artefacts in music, verse, prints, figurines and other three-dimensional objects that were sold and often performed on the streets of London and other urban centres. ‘Paul Pry’ was
transferred to other objects such as pet animals, race horses and stage coaches and by these means carried through the roads and into homes of different levels of society. As a case history, Paul Pry offers a particularly rich example of the inter-dependency of popular cultural forms in the late Georgian era, with particular emphasis on stage performance. It also raises the question of the relation between form and content. Pry was a comedy about a serious subject, the invasion of privacy by various forms of surveillance, and its success at this juncture reflected growing popular concern about the fate of personal information in an era of burgeoning mass communication.

David Vincent is Emeritus Professor of Social History at the Open University. His most recent books are I Hope I Don’t Intrude. Privacy and its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain (OUP, 2015) and Privacy. A Short History (Polity, 2016). He is currently completing a history of solitude since 1800.

Christina Vollmert, University of Cologne

'The enchanted magic carpet' - Stage Curtains in late Nineteenth-Century German Theatre

Curtains are an integral part of the theatrical experience and the symbol of theatre spaces. But despite its ‘blatant visibility’ the curtain has tended to ‘remain conceptually invisible’ (Kreuzer) in theatre historiography. Besides establishing the ‘theatrical frame’ (Goffman) of performance, the curtain is a fundamental part of the audience’s experience. Its visuality and perception is essential for marking the beginning of the performance, the transformation of actors into characters and the transition from reality to illusion. In my paper, I will theorize the aesthetic import of curtains, especially in the nineteenth century – in this era, a tendency for illusion and spectacle mainly characterized the tradition of painted stage curtains. They depict either illusionistically curtains, which mimic the fabric and appearance of actual curtains or illustrate allegorical and mythological scenes or landscapes.

The TWS (Theatre Archive Cologne) holds around 150 drafts and sketches of such stage curtains, which were mainly produced by German Theatre Ateliers. These workshops were independent of the theatres and produced theatrical backdrops, curtains and other scenic designs. The painted decorations could be ordered from an illustrated catalogue of stock settings. Since the designs had become standardized by the end of the nineteenth century, the curtains represent the visual conventions and aesthetic taste of this time. The curtain designs also reveal how they reflect and react to the political and cultural situation in the German Empire.

I will analyze several of these painted curtains made by Ateliers to investigate their practical, indexical and symbolic function as well as their importance for the audience in exploring the dichotomy between visuality and invisibility, illusion and reality, inside and outside, hidden and revealed.

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Peter Yeandle, University of Loughborough

*Staging Cetshwayo: the Multiple Performances of the Zulu King*

Cetshwayo KaMpande, the deposed ‘Zulu King’, visited London in 1882. He was well known to readers of the British press: he had presided over the defeat of the British at Isandhlwana in 1879 and was subsequently depicted in visual media and performance culture as the embodiment of the savage and barbaric African warrior. Cetshwayo’s carefully choreographed visit became a significant media event. Upon arrival in Britain, crowds - conditioned to expect the ferocious body of a tyrannical African king - were disappointed by the suit-wearing and mild-mannered Zulu. Crowds followed him all over and newspapers produced daily reports. Cetshwayo, many complained, neither looked nor behaved in accordance with their expectation of an authentic African warrior king. This paper examines responses to Cetshwayo from the perspective of art history and performance studies, making use of Catherine Anderson’s concept of ‘cultural cross dressing’. How was Cetshwayo depicted in print and on multiple Victorian stages in melodrama, pantomime and minstrel show? Moreover, how can we conceptualise the Victorians’ response to Cetshwayo in performative terms, especially given that his visit clearly adopted theatrical techniques of performer, performance, and audience?

Peter Yeandle is Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Loughborough. He has published on the politics of history teaching, hero culture, graphic advertising, pantomime, music-hall ballet, Victorian animal histories, and other Victorian popular entertainments. With Professor Kate Newey and Professor Jeffrey Richards, he is editor of *Politics, Performance and Popular Culture: theatre and society in nineteenth-century Britain* (MUP, 2016). Current research relates to role of popular theatre as broadcasting in the late-Victorian period.

Shijia Yu, Birkbeck Collge

*More than just Looking: The Active Consumption of Theatrical Spectacles in the Nineteenth-Century English Paper Peepshow*

Consisting of a front-face and cut-out panels connected by bellows, the paper peepshow is a nineteenth-century optical toy that usually showcases cityscape, landscape and spectacles. Influenced by the Martin Engelbrecht perspective theatre and the English toy theatre, the paper peepshow renders itself as a fitting medium to represent stage practices in a miniature form.

This paper argues that the paper peepshow enables an active and embodied viewing experience of realisations of theatrical spectacles, which also involved other sensual experience, such as the tactile. Taking *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre* as an example, I argue that the basic structure of the paper peepshow dictates that users need to actively manipulate the panels into the perspectival impression and utilise their imagination to cohere the peep-view into a scene that only exists in their own eyes. Moreover, in this particular work about a stage spectacle, a shutter is incorporated so that panels can be folded away to the side when necessary. This mechanism allows users to take control of the narrative of the theatrical spectacle as they manipulate the arrangement of peep-views, and thereby highlights the spectator’s active agency in their interaction with the stage in miniature form.
Shijia Yu is a second-year PhD candidate at Birkbeck College, working on the English paper peepshow (1825-1851). She examines this optical toy’s position in the visual culture and socio-economic context of nineteenth-century England, as well as the consumption of paper peepshows in relation to modes of vision and the relationship between the public and the private. She is the organiser of Birkbeck Arts Week 2018 paper peepshow workshop and panel discussion, and the cataloguer of the V&A Gestetner paper peepshow collection. Her publication on the Thames Tunnel and the paper peepshow is forthcoming with Amsterdam University Press in 2019.