Abstract

George Colman the Elder and the Late Eighteenth-Century Theatre Audience

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The thesis places Colman in his historical setting and establishes a causal relationship between his managerial policies and theatre economics. Examining the years of his management of Covent Garden (1767 - 1774), the thesis posits that Colman made artistic choices in deference to the economic domination of the audience. The economic analysis of Covent Garden's finances is based upon the data available in the Covent Garden Account Books held by the British Museum.

The first chapter presents Colman's audience's view of itself and demonstrates that the audience often defined its role in the theatre in economic terms, fully understanding the power that its financial strength gave it over artistic matters. The house's view of the audience, also economic, is outlined in Chapter Two and is supported by the data in Chapter II -- Part 2. Chapter Three is an analysis of nightly repertory at Covent Garden and links repertory choices to economic factors. The data supporting the conclusion that repertory was inextricably linked to profit maximization are found in Chapter Three -- Parts 2.1 and 2.2. The fourth chapter turns to three of Colman's adaptations, Philaster, King Lear, and Epicoene, using them as examples to show that pragmatic theatre exigencies not only affected repertory on the overall level of scheduling but also on the individual level of playwriting. The final chapter summarizes the repertory and financial evidence presented earlier and concludes that Colman skillfully manipulated the often conflicting demands of financial success and artistic integrity in the eighteenth-century theatre.

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Chapter One: The Audience's View of Itself

> The stage I chuse - a subject fair and free;
> 'Tis yours - 'tis mine - 'tis public property:
> All public exhibitions open lie,
> To praise, or censure, of the public eye.[1]

> As the Theatres are intended for the amusement and diversion of the public, there is no sort of doubt, but that every body has a right of delivering their sentiments, in regard to whatever is performed there, in the most public manner...[2]

Throughout the eighteenth century, the stage, with all its intrigues, personalities, and follies, remained a constant object of public scrutiny. It would seem that no aspect of the theatre was too insignificant to merit published notice and thus would not be of interest to at least some of the public. Justification (when justification was even thought necessary) for the constant appraisal of the theatre was simply based on the definition of the theatre as a public institution, dependent upon the theatre-going public and therefore open to criticism by it. The abundance of theatrical material written by the Town for the Town naturally tells us as much about the theatrical audience as it does about the theatre. Such insights come from direct statements about the audience or rise from assumptions

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[1] As quoted from Churchill in The Theatres, A Poetic Dissection, (London: John Bell, 1772) by Sir Nicholas Nipclose [David Garrick]. The attribution of this piece to Garrick would seem to be faulty. Written at a period of cooperation and amicability between Garrick and Colman, it contains vituperative criticism of Colman's management.

[2] A Letter to David Garrick, Esq; Occasioned by the Intended Representation of the Minor at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, (London: Field, Flexney, Hurd, 1760), p. 3.

implied by the stance of the author in his examination of the theatre.

Much attention, in fact, was devoted directly to the audience itself, an attempt to define in an empirical age every element of the examined object. The audience was, however, in constant flux and, of course, could not be measured or defined by any objective means. Compounded into this lack of objectivity is the fact that most observers were themselves members of the audience. Such limitations, however, did not impede the appearance of numerous publications on the theatre, all almost uniformly drenched in the confidence and assurance of the above quotations. With an often distressing amount of imprecision, common reports were based upon statements such as: "The house was very full."[3] and, "The house was crouded to a degree dangerous to respiration."[4] It is with just such reports, however, that we shall try to arrive at a construction of how the theatrical audience viewed itself during the time of Garrick's and Colman's managements of the two London patent theatres.

Written work on the theatres appeared in many places and in many forms. By the very end of the eighteenth century, and certainly by the beginning of the nineteenth,[5] there was an established convention of theatrical columns in

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[3] The Prompter, a Theatrical Paper (London: R. Shaw), No. III, October 27, 1789, p. 16.

[4] The Prompter, No. XII, November 16, 1989, p. 71.

[5] Charles Harold Gray's Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795 (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931) traces the development of theatrical criticism in newspapers and periodicals from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

newspapers and periodicals. After a brief flurry of theatrical criticism in the 1720s with The Theatre and The Spectator, newspapers and periodicals did not concern themselves to such a degree with the stage. In the period of our interest (1760s through 1770s), there were a few newspapers concerned only with theatrical subjects: The Theatrical Review, St. James's Chronicle, Covent Garden Chronicle, Theatrical Magazine, The Prompter, The Theatrical Examiner, and The Theatrical Monitor.[6] Most of these enjoyed only short runs and were, as most periodicals of the time, the product of a single author and thus reflected only an individual's views. Theatrical columns in non-theatrical papers began to appear with more regularity as the century progressed. These were not critical reviews in modern terms but usually an account of a play's plot, occasional remarks about who was in the audience, and any notable occurrences during the performance. In fact, they were often prompted by an outbreak or riot at one of the theatres. Additional reliable information after 1763 is to be found in The Public Advertiser which enjoyed the monopoly of advertising the official bill for each evening's performance.[7] In general, however, theatrical reporting in newspaper columns was scant and notoriously corrupt, often just the fabrication or "puff" of a manager or author.[8]

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[6]For further theatrical newspapers and periodicals of the eighteenth century, see British Literary Magazines edited by Alvin Sullivan (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983).

[7]The Public Advertiser paid each theatre £100 yearly for this privilege.

[8]No one, not even Garrick whose reputation would seem to have been unshakeably secure, was above puffing

Another, perhaps more honest although no more abundant, source of commentary on the theatres is in contemporary diaries. While no diarist of this period matches Pepys' volume or regularity in theatre attendance, a current of personal theatrical observation can be found later in the diaries of Sylas Neville.[9] Neville, a physician, attended both Drury Lane and Covent Garden during the second half of the eighteenth century and was a good, disinterested observer of the theatre's activity. The fictionalized diary, such as Evelina's in epistolary form in Evelina, also gives rare glimpses of the theatrical scene.[10]

By far the greatest collection of material written about the theatres by the audience is contained in pamphlets usually published anonymously. These were often provoked by a single incident and betray their author's strong bias. It is usually clear what has prompted the author to write (he often includes an explanation of his motivation in a preface) and this prepares the careful reader for the prejudices inherent in the author's starting assumptions. In fact, personal bias is so clear in some pamphlets that it is

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although managers denied any participation in this art. In a letter to Colman in 1765 Garrick wrote: "I think you must leave me out as I have, or begin the paragraph about me; 'Our little Stage Heroe looks better than he did &c' - if you think it right to speak of me as you please...so that I am not suspected to write it..." (Posthumous Letters from Various Celebrated Men Addressed to Francis Colman, and George Colman, the Elder, (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1820), p. 271).

[9]Not listed in William Matthews, British Diaries (California: Univ. of California Press, 1950).

[10]Fanny Burney, Evelina (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968) pp 16, 29, 36-39, 78-85, 105.

possible to determine whether the author was a member of the theatrical community or not, and even, if given enough detail, to specify his exact identity. Often these pamphlets were responses to others and many were part of long pamphlet wars between equally violent and verbal factions.[11] Most, however, maintain the veneer of objectivity by asserting their disinterested concern for the theatre, usually an ostensible desire to contribute to the well-being of the theatrical institution or, alternatively, the theatrical audience.

Pamphlets were often written by those directly involved in the theatrical community. Many managers found it necessary to justify their actions or to raise support for their policies by writing anonymously in support of themselves. When it was a matter of direct appeal to the public, managers would solicit public support under their own names. Colman, for example, wrote three pamphlets[12] in explanation of his actions during the Kings of Brentford[13] dispute and was answered in as many by his fellow managers. Managers were not the only members of the theatrical community who used pamphlets to express their views and to solicit

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[11]The most celebrated of these was the controversy begun by Jeremy Collier's A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage and answered and defended throughout the century.

[12]George Colman, A Very Plain State of the Case, Some Particulars of the Life of the Late George Colman, A True State of the Differences.

[13]The Kings of Brentford were the quartet of Colman, Powell, Harris, and Rutherford who became co-managers of Covent Garden in 1767. The name is derived from an allusion in The Rehearsal.

support. Two well-known actors' pleas found their way into print: the younger Cibber's and Macklin's. But the most common pamphlet authors were playwrights who, usually in retaliation for the rejection of their play by one of the managers, turned upon the stage a steady stream of withering criticism. An inversion of the rejected author was the playwright seeking a manager's protection or attention by writing in extravagant praise of his managership. Colman will here again serve as an example. He first was introduced to the theatrical world after he wrote A Letter of Abuse to D---d G-----k in 1757, a satiric piece on the problems of the stage.[14]

Members of the theatrical community, although privy to more information, are often not the best witnesses for the surroundings, particularly the audience, of the every-day theatre. As with the diarist, the best observers of the stage were ordinary spectators who wrote about the theatre simply because, as an anonymous author wrote in 1753: "I love the Stage."[15] Ordinary spectators were forced into a modicum of ojectivity about the theatre simply because they were unattached to the inner workings of the patent houses. Although most of these self-appointed critics were English, some were foreigners who, with an even greater advantage of cultural distance, often provide the most detailed descriptions of the English audience.

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[14]Garrick liked the piece tremendously and encouraged, as well as staged, Colman's first dramatic farce, Polly Honeycombe.

[15]The Present State of the Stage in Great-Britain and Ireland, (London: Paul Vailant, M. Cooper, 1753), p. 54.

In addition to newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and diaries there were full-length critical essays on the theatre. Usually undertaken as scholarly projects, and therefore tracing modern theatrical elements back to Greek and Roman times or attempting a view of the theatre within an entire literary context, they are annoyingly lacking in precision. They are full of reference to the debilitating effect of the audience upon the dramatic output of the age since it was commonly held to be the cause of the degeneracy of English drama in the eighteenth century. But most reference to the audience in these longer critical essays is in terms of an individual element within an overall theoretical view of the theatre.

Although there is no lack of written material about the eighteenth-century theatre,[16] much of it must be approached with caution. For our purpose of trying to define the eighteenth-century audience as it saw itself, heavy reliance will be placed upon those accounts written with a minimum of obvious bias and a maximum of factual evidence. We will be served best by the ordinary spectator serving as historical chronicler.

The audience in the ever-expanding theatres of the eighteenth century was physically divided into the following sections: pit, boxes, galleries, and until 1763, the stage.[17]

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[16]Not to be ignored are the visual representations of the theatre, notably the theatrical engravings done by Hogarth and his followers Zoffany and de Wilde. Hogarth's prints focused on the audience and, in spite of their caricatural elements, are fascinating descriptions of the Town.

[17]For a full discussion of the physical construction, design, and layout of eighteenth-century

These physical divisions were largely valid along class and social lines as well. Although the audience was far from the homogeneous one of the Restoration, there were commonly held assumptions about the composition of each section of the house. These may be safely accepted on the evidence of many witnesses and on the basis of the economic structure of the house (the latter will be discussed more fully subsequently). It is important to stress that the theatrical audience of the late eighteenth century is in no way to be taken as a reflection of English, or particularly London, society as a whole. The theatrical audience was only a small fraction of the general population:

> 1.7 percent of the people, or only 17 persons in every 1,000 attended these theatres during the period of Garrick's management.[18]

Moreover, curtain time (about 6 pm) excluded most artisans and laborers, as well as some wealthier merchants and traders from the mainpiece.

The pit was filled with benches upon which places could not be reserved and could accomodate a varying number of people. Before its enlargement in 1782, the pit at Covent Garden held 367 people. By tradition, the pit contained the beau monde: wits, critics, and young men and women of fashion. The boxes, situated behind the pit and above, could hold 729 spectators, usually the nobility and the wealthiest merchants. Each box was large and could hold up

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theatres, see Richard Southern's The Georgian Playhouse, (London: Pleiades Books, 1949).

[18]Harry W. Pedicord, The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick, (New York: King's Crown Press, 1954), p. 17.

to twenty people. The two patent houses also had royal boxes. The "green boxes", those located nearest to the stage on either side, and certainly chosen for their visibility, became the resting, and often trading, places of prostitutes. Yet higher was the first gallery (700 persons) which held those artisans and tradespeople who could afford to attend the theatre. Above these, the second gallery, or the heavens, was peopled by footmen who attended their masters to the playhouse and were admitted free. The upper gallery could hold 384 people. Until Garrick succeeded in driving off spectators from the stage in the early 1760s, it was often the favorite place for men of fashion to sit, talk with the actors, disturb the performance as they pleased, and be seen.[19]

Of all the sections of the house, the pit was the most difficult to categorize and define. Contemporary commentators see it as the central location of activity (after, although oftentimes alongside of, the stage):

> The pit is the grand court of criticism; and in the center of it is collected that awful body, distinguished by the title of The Town. Hence are issued the irrevocable decrees; and here final sentence is pronounced on plays and players.[20]

Judicial terminology is often used when describing the power of the pit. Another author, although acknowledging

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[19]This was not particular to the spectators on the stage. It was a common adage that many went to the theatre as much to be seen as to see.

[20]The Connoisseur, November 20, 1759. Colman wrote this as a student at Oxford and enthusiastic play-goer but before he was involved in the theatre himself.

the centrality of the pit, sees a decrease in its vitality in 1751:

> ...the pit, which indeed seems to have been strangely neglected of late; and tho' it still continues to be the scene of action during the first night of a new play, it comes even then far short of its pristine vigour.[21]

Often noticed for being the site of raucous behavior (Boswell once entertained the entire theatre by lowing like a cow from the pit), one commentator saw an improvement in pit behavior in 1789:

> ...I am not sorry to have this opportunity to observe, that the company there [the pit] have lately been more than usually genteel. If their behavior continue to answer their appearance, the pit will become not an inelegant lounge; to those particularly who wish to examine the performance more minutely, as the two or three first rows are by far the best seats in the theatres.[22]

This is an unusual reference to the suitability of particular areas of the house for watching performances; usually where one sat in the house was dictated solely by social convention. In the mammoth theatres of the end of the eighteenth century, it was difficult to see and hear the performance from many parts of the house. The fact that in 1789 interest is being paid to using the pit for serious play-watching is an indication that the more rigid social conventions which bound people to certain areas of the house were being loosened in favor of a pragmatic solution to a desire to see the performance.

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[21] A Guide to the Stage: or, Select Instructions and Precedents from the Best Authorities towards Forming a Polite Audience, (London: D. Job and R. Baldwin, 1751), p. 10.

[22] The Prompter, a Theatrical Paper, No. V, October 31, 1789, p. 27.

The boxes were much more homogeneous in composition than the pit and can be said to be composed of only two distinct groups: the wealthy and noble, and prostitutes. Many commentators do not mention the latter perhaps in an attempt to deny their existence in the theatres, let alone alongside the upper stratum of society. Depending on the author's moral view of the presence of prostitutes in the theatres, reports on their activity and number vary widely:

> Covent Garden, last evening,...exhibited a scene in the front boxes, shameful and disgraceful to any other nation in the world, but England, where Foreigners say, les tapageurs constitute the greatest part of the company at the theatres.[23]

The "tapageurs" were evident in the green boxes more than thirty years earlier. An anonymous observer in 1751 wryly noted:

> I am going to introduce the ladies into the theatre, whom I beg leave to usher with all possible delicacy into the side-boxes; unless perhaps they take a fancy to pass away the time en deshabille in a green-box.[24]

Frequent complaints were made about the disturbance that the prostitutes' trafficking produced and the distraction from the play that they caused. The most repeated protests to their presence in the theatres, however, were based on moral grounds. Since the audience was as closely watched as the dramatic performance, prostitutes were a dangerous example to the remaining, presumably young and virtuous, spectators:

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[23] The Prompter, No V, October 31, 1789, p. 30.

[24] A Guide to the Stage, p. 10.

> A mixture of various characters in the places of inferior price, cannot be easily avoided; nor is the mischief half so great: for they sit undistinguished in the gallery, who attract every eye in the front of the boxes.[25]

Note that this anonymous author does not advocate the extreme measure of completely excluding prostitutes from the theatre (something that stricter moralists frequently urged[26]), but that they merely be kept out of sight.

Most of the boxes were peopled by eminently respectable nobles and wealthy merchants. These were not the flashy and flamboyant types who commandeered the pit, but a more sedate, conservative crowd. By far the largest single segment of the house it was, if not the artistic and critical leader of the audience like the pit, the economic and demographic stronghold of the audience. In 1751, the boxes were said to "have been ceded by custom immemorial to the citizens, and their allies..."[27] and their composition did not change much during the following fifty years.

Boxes, in spite of their genteel occupants, were not quiet cloisters entirely suited for play-watching. By the end of the century, they were simply geographically too far from the stage to see or hear well. But often attention

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[25] Observations on the Importance and Use of Theatres; their Present Regulation, and Possible Improvements, (London: M. Cooper, J. Jackson, 1759), p. 17.

[26] Most moralists saw the presence of prostitutes in the houses as evidence of widespread corruption, degeneracy, and decadence in the theatre. For them, the elimination of prostitutes from the audience was only one element in a scourge that could only effectively be completed by shutting down the theatres.

[27] A Guide to the Stage, p. 10.

was not directed towards the stage but to neighboring boxes or not at all:

> With little or no interest in performers or performances they pass their time in distracting conversation, in visiting from box to box, even on at least a few occasions in sleep.[28]

Finally, in that part of the house commonly known as the heavens and presided over by the gods, was the gallery. The gods did not enjoy a favorable reputation in the literate theatre-going public. The gallery was composed of artisans and laborers and above it was the footman's gallery.[29] Often rowdy, the footmen dictated and imposed their wishes on the rest of the house:

> The upper-gallery, which is occupied by the low part of the audience, will oftentimes govern the whole house, and the players are under a necessity to accomodate themselves to their whim, and to humour them.[30]

The galleries were the most homogeneous section of the house and reacted in predictable ways, responding to the theatrical entertainment in what was considered an un-intellectual manner. Donald Mullin suggests that this lack of sensibility of which the gallery was accused, was not so much a

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[28]Leo A. Hughes, The Drama's Patrons: A Study of the Eighteenth-Century London Audience, (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press 1971), p. 68.

[29]One need only read accounts of the riots in reaction to the proposal of charging admission to the footman's gallery to realize the unified threat that the footmen posed.

[30]Friedrich August Wendeborn, A View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century, (London: G. G. J. and J. Robbinson, 1791), vol. 2, p. 248.

difference or deficiency in taste but the result of another perspective:[31]

> ...it must have been difficult to wax sentimental over a doll-like actor far below, bellowing in order to be heard above the sobs in the pit.[32]

Whatever the cause, the gallery often diverged in opinion from the rest of the house and was able, with the advantage of its strategic position and no fear of physically arguing its cause, to control the course of the evening's performance.

A short word is perhaps necessary about the audience in the summer theatres and at the opera house. Because the fashionable crowd left London for the summer, it was generally accepted that the summer theatres catered to less sophisticated patrons. The summer theatres, among which Haymarket was the most well-established and prosperous, had lower admission prices, another indication that their audience was the equivalent, at least financially, of the

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[31]The question of theatre size and how it affected audience participation and reaction to the theatrical event, including the influence upon acting style, was hotly disputed in the late eighteenth century as the theatres were expanding. One of the best expressions of the condition in the theatres caused by such expansion is Colman the Younger's song in New Hay in the Old Market, (London: W. Woodfall, 1795) p. 31:

> Or if, tardily, the sound
> Travels all the house around,
> 'Twixt the action and words there's a breach:
> And it seems as if Macbeth,
> Half a minute after death,
> On his back, made his last dying speech...

[32]George Winchester Stone, ed., The Stage and the Page: London's "Whole Show" in the Eighteenth-Century Theatre, (California: Calif. Univ. Press, 1981), p. 79.

lesser-paying members of the winter theatre public. The opera audience was composed of the higher-paying members of the patent theatre houses, with few or no representatives from the gallery. In 1728, James Ralph provided the following comparison between the audiences at the different theatres:

> The inhabitants of the boxes at the Play-House, make up Pit and Box at the Opera. The Pit at the Play-House is the first Gallery in the Opera. The first Gallery and middle Part of the upper Gallery in the Play-House, have no Representatives in the Opera; there are but few of that Country who care to part with a Crown for a Song. As for the Gentry at each End of the Upper Gallery in the Play-House, they enjoy that entire Region to themselves at the Opera...[33]

In spite of the division: physical, social, and economic, that split the audience, there was a democratic equality that seemed to govern the whole. Only in extreme cases was it argued that whose who paid more for their seats had a greater right to damn or praise the play and players. On the whole, the audience saw itself as a single unit, the Town, composed of smaller segments, box, pit, and gallery, and overall ruler of the house. The idea that the audience was the dominating partner in the stage/audience relationship is central if we are to understand to what extent the audience controlled the workings of the theatre. Audience reaction was clear, direct, and immediate and demanded instant recognition and response. Plays were driven off the stage on their first performance and players were frequently prevented from speaking their lines.

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[33]James Ralph, The Touch-Stone, (London, 1728), p. 138.

The audience was keenly aware of its power in the theatres and saw its dominance as the natural result of its economic support. It was an age where patronage was no longer in the hands of individuals and the court but rather in the possession of an ever-changing, if small, group of people who were willing to pay the price of a single ticket of admission. On the most mercenary level, the theatre was seen as yet another commodity in a society rapidly becoming a consumer economy.[34] With the purchase of a single ticket, the holder expected to exercise his right to any type of behavior in the playhouse. In addition, he bought the privilege of calling himself a critic and of criticising plays and actors, both on theoretical and practical grounds, in print and verbally. The public's rule was based on its economic clout:

> From time immemorial the regulation of of [sic] the stage has been thought the just and right prerogative of the public, by the most rational and equitable title. --- The existence and support it derives from them; and as it is the sole business of the managers and and [sic] performers to please and divert the auditors, they must be the only arbiters in every case of theatrical contest, and public regulation.[35]

It was also commonly acknowledged that the economic support that the audience gave to its favorite entertainment

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[34] In an article entitled, "The Commercialization of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England" (Reading: Univ. of Reading, 1973), J. H. Plumb proposes that the growth of a leisured class, notably wealthy women, marked the opening of a new market for leisure goods.

[35] A Dialogue in the Green-room upon a Disturbance in the Pit, (London: George Burnett, 1763), p. i.

and, through benefits, to its favorite performers, could be excessive and reverse the servility the public expected. Public dominance was always reasserted, however, in the end:

> Though we have been greatly to blame in paying the attendents of the stage so beneficially, as to make them ape much superior stations; yet a British audience has never yet been so supine and irresolute, as to let any performer, however eminent, insult them with impunity: We have always brought an offender of this cast to a just sense of his duty, before we permitted him to re-appear.[36]

Although it is unclear what beyond insolence and disrespect was an insult from a player, there is no doubt the offender was effectively prevented from appearing on stage again.[37] And no matter how popular the player, or how powerful the manager, the assumption was that the audience ultimately reigned:

> I look upon Mr. Garrick (tho' he has accumulated a large fortune from public benevolence) not as a man of fortune, but as a player; therefore in the cast of parts, he is to be used as such, and be made to understand that he is subject to the inquiry, as well as rebuke of the public.[38]

It is interesting to note here the hierarchy of the man of fortune (whether his money be derived from land or commerce)

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[36] A Dialogue in the Green-Room, p. vi.

[37] A well-documented case of an actor being driven from the stage is that of George Macklin, a once popular actor, who was heckled off the stage and not permitted to act again. Unable, and undesirous, of doing other work, he took his case to court and, through pamphlets, to the public. A 1775 court ruling was brought in his favor.

[38] The Theatrical Monitor; or Green-Room Laid Open, No. VII, December 5, 1767, p. 5.

over the actor, even if the latter is as wealthy as the former. The fact that Garrick's wealth comes from the largessse of the audience makes him beholden to his public.

Not only actors, but managers as well, were considered the public's servants. Even though managers were, in fact, owners of businesses themselves, they were seen as employees of the public. As such, they were rigorously told how to run their houses. One anonymous author in 1759 subtitled his pamphlet of criticism : A Letter to David Garrick, Esq. on Opening the Theatre: In which, with great Freedom, he is told how he ought to behave.[39] Often the advice given to managers was vague, impractical, or impossible to execute, but it was always delivered in a tone that showed that the author believed he was entitled to offer it and that the managers were obliged to listen. A good example of the broad criticism and guidelines that were offered to managers can be found in the following 1753 passage:

> There are many Perfections requisite in a good Manager: He should have a strong Judgment to enable him to distinguish Merit from Pretension; Propriety in Taste, and Elegance in Decoration; a Spirit to encourage Merit, and to scruple no Expense in ornamenting his Exhibitions, and pleasing his Audience; Impartiality to dispose his Performers in their proper Spheres; and Resolution to adhere to the Rules of his Government, without any Particular Indulgence; to punish the Neglectful, reward the Industrious, and reject the impertinent Supplication of those, whose Vanity would lead them to a

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[39] A Letter to David Garrick on the Opening of the Theatre, (London: I. Pottinger, 1759).

Cast of Parts, for which Nature has never formed them.[40]

The central goal here laid out for the manager was to please his audience; and the result, for the manager able to follow this litany of requirements would be that: "both houses [would be] open every night to an overflowing audience."[41] Thus the reward for a manager who listened to his public, whether expressing its own opinions immediately in the theatre or in print, was increased attendance and, more importantly, revenue. The audience, therefore, not only based its right to criticise the theatre on its economic support but extended that right to manipulate what happened in the playhouses, most notably with regard to repertory, by affecting revenue.

It could perhaps be argued that the audience's perception of the managers and players as public servants descended from the time when the theatre was dependent on the court. Nominally, the actors at the two patent houses were the King's players and Drury Lane and Covent Garden were Theatre-Royals.[42] The houses continued throughout the century to alter their repertory in response to Royal command and closed, sometimes for as long as six weeks, when a member

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[40] The Present State of the Stage in Great-Britain and Ireland, pp 15 - 16.

[41] The Prompter, No. V, October 31, 1789, p. 25.

[42] The two patents for the Theatre-Royals in London were granted in 1660 by Charles II to Thomas Killigrew and William D'Avenant. After the Licensing Act of 1737, the patented theatres became the only houses in London legally permitted to perform drama.

of the Royal family died.[43] But there can really be no doubt that during the eighteenth century it was the general theatre-going public, and not the court, that ruled the playhouses. And the audience dominated the relationship with the stage through sheer economic power and control. That the audience saw itself in control is not only evident in the assurance with which it offered criticism, but in the way that it behaved in the theatres.

Since everyone had an equal right to criticize the performance, there was no need to wait for a formal critical view, such as in a newspaper or periodical review, to appear before determining a play's merit. The fastest, and surest way of displaying one's opinion was in the theatres as the offending or praiseworthy event was unfolding. The audience's right to disrupt the performance was accepted by all; even when the privilege was abused by some to the detriment of the rest:

> It only remains to observe, that though it may be a doubt how far the age is become more degenerate, yet clear it is, that tumults, confusion, and disorders, have latterly increased in our public places of entertainment, especially the two theatres, to the great shame and disgrace of a civilized people. This has so materially interrupted the performance, that it is now impossible to hear distinctly in the front boxes, in any situation.[44]

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[43] In 1760-61, the theatres were closed for three weeks (nineteen acting days) upon the death of George II.

[44] The Prompter, No. II, October 24, 1789, p.3.

It would be misleading to assert that audience reaction was uniformly condemning; the public was as demonstrative when pleased as when displeased:

> The encouragement we give to every part of the Drama, is far beyond any thing it receives in any other spot in Europe...[45]

Of course the public's generosity was usually represented as being excessive and due, perhaps, more to an inherent leniency in a British audience than to any merit of the theatrical performance; whereas riots and other manifestations of displeasure were regarded as just.

The public voice, even if ironically, urged the audience to uninhibited displays of displeasure:

> If you desire to know when you are to shew your dislike, my answer is, when any thing displeases you, or in fine when you will...[46]

But such behavior did not meet with universal approval and many commentators deplored the noise and commotion that disturbed the houses. In general, the most disruptive elements seemed to have been the galleries and the front boxes[47] -- with occasional outbursts by the young rakes in

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[45] A Dialogue in the Green-Room, p. iv.

[46] A Guide to the Stage, p. 15.

[47] The public's tolerance for disruptive behavior seems to have been proportionately related to the perpetrators' social standing. This can be seen in the following comment from The Prompter (No. III, Oct. 27, 1789), where the author is forced to reluctantly conclude that the gods have in general been better behaved than their "betters" in the boxes:

> Very much to our surprise there was little or no noise in the back part of the front boxes where it so generally prevails, that there is a doubt, whether the gods are not by far the best behaved of those two parts of the house.

the pit[48] -- and those who disapprove d of their commotion seem to have been either serious spectators in the pit or sedate members of the boxes. Of course, as Thomas Campbell wrote in his diary of 1775,[49] every section of the house could unite against the actors. The following entry, although long, merits full quotation as it is the most complete record of a theatre riot that I have come across:

> After the representation of this play, a scene ensued which strongly marked the English character. It was the tenth night of the play, and it seems that custom hath decided that, after the ninth night, the prologue and epilogue should be discontinued. Neither was announced in the bills: however when the players came on, the prologue was called for, and Mr. Palmer, a very handsome mouthing blockhead, answered the call. When the overture for the farce began to be played, the epilogue was called for, the music ceased for it could not be heard -- a long interval ensued -- the players came on: they stood their ground for a long time, but were hissed at length off. Mr. Vernon attempted to speak, but he would not be heard: still the cry was -- off -- off -- the epilogue, &c, After a long pause, the bell rang for the musick -- this set the house in an uproar -- the women however, who were singers, came on, in hopes of disarming these savage

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[48] Elizabeth Wynne records an incident of uprising in the pit in her diary (The Wynne Diaries, (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1935-40), pp 171-172):

> ...The Beaux in the pit clapped for some time that the entertainment might continue, but upon nobody making their appearance they jumped upon the stage tore down the curtain and scenes, broke every instrument, threw chairs at the chandeliers, in fine the whole house in a few minutes was left in total darkness... Kemble was collared and obliged to make an appology [sic]... We left the Monsieurs busily employed in tearing up benches and only four Lustres escaped their fury.

[49] Thomas Campbell, Diary of a Visit to England in 1775 (Sydney: Waugh and Cox, 1854).

> beasts; but they were a second time pelted off: then Weston, a mighty favorite of the town, came on: he was pelted off with oranges; however he stuck to the stage, as if he vegetated to the spot; and only looked at the gallery ... a thousand ... humourous tricks he played, yet all to no purpose, John Bull roared on, and poor Weston could not prevail. The Players came again and again: Vernon, after a third effort, was allowed to tell the pit, that Mrs. Yates was sent for, and begged leave that the farce might go on, till she came; but this was denied: the house grew more and more clamorous, calling for Garrick or Mrs. Yates: at length Mr. Yates comes on, and tho' he declared in the most solemn manner, that his wife was gone sick to bed, yet this would not tame the savages of the gallery. The players were twice hissed off after this, till a promise of Mrs. Yates' appearance on Monday somewhat abated their madness. But what to me seems most expressive of Angloism was the conduct of some in the pit beside me: some were more moderate, and asked others, why they made such a noise: one before asked another behind, how he dared make such a noise, and told him after some altercation, that he deserved to be turned out of the pit: this produced no other effect, but to make my friend behind me more vociferous.[50]

In either case, there is a clear tone of moral and social superiority in the stance taken towards rowdyism:

> The same detestable drunken gang that haunt the lobby at half price[51] were there on Saturday evening. An ill bred set, more like riotous pick pockets, than gay young men of fashion, disturbed the performance so far, that the Audience

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[50]Thomas Campbell, Diary of a Visit, pp 21 - 22.

[51]Half-price admission, granted after the third act of the mainpiece had begun, was standard practice throughout the eighteenth century. It allowed entrance to those who could not make curtain time (6 pm) because of business obligations or an inability to pay full price, and those who had no serious interest in the play. A considerable number

> were obliged to signify their universal disapprobation, by insisting upon their being turned out.[52]

The reduction to half-price admission apparently regularly marked the influx of a less serious theatre-going public: "The half-price mobility[53] filled the house, as usual, with noise, nonsense, and indecencies of every kind."[54] But disturbances were not confined to the "half-price mobility" and could occur at any time, for a wide variety of reasons, in any part of the house.

Violence could be directed against the stage or other members of the audience. Riots were often caused by last-minute changes in the repertory necessitated by the illness of a particular actor. Sylas Neville, in 1771, records an incident at Covent-Garden theatre where the gods protested a repertory change vehemently but he does not, unfortunately, record the outcome of the contest:

> About 7 o 'clock we went into the Pit at C.G. Theatre to see Hamlet. The entertainment was to have been 'Midas',[55] but Shuter having sprained his ankle, the Managers changed it to 'Thomas & Sally'[56]

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attended the play-houses only when half-price was taken and at least one pamphlet, The Dramatic Time-Piece: or Perpetual Monitor. Being a Calculation of the length of Time Every Act takes in the Performing; in All the Acting Plays at the Theatres-Royal...As Also the Time of Night when Half-Price will be taken..., was geared for this market.

[52] The Prompter, No. VI, No. 2, 1789, p. 32.

[53] The word "mob" is a contraction of mobile vulgus and during the eighteenth century it was sometimes lengthened to "mobility" in contrast to "nobility".

[54] The Prompter, No. VII, Nov. 4, 1789, p. 38.

[55] Midas, by Kane O'Hara, 1764.

[56] Thomas and Sally, by Isaac Bickerstaffe, 1760.

> & distributed hand-bills assigning the reason, which satisfied the Pit, but the Gods would not receive anything but Midas. There was a great noise -- different actors were sent to make an apology, but they would not hear of any of them. After waiting half an hour Wiggin & I left the house,..[57] so how the dispute ended I do not know.

The gods frequently asserted their power (they were strategically placed in order to do so) and demanded repertory changes. If vocal persuasion was not sufficient, there were physical ways of making clear their desires:

> Before it began and between the acts the Gods, having called for the music to play Roast Beef,[58] would not suffer the play to begin till their request was complied with. They pelted Davies and Hull who appeared first with orange skins, crying "Off! Off!"[59]

The audience often forced actors and managers into the humiliation of coming onto the stage to apologize either for personal transgressions or on behalf of the house.[60] Often styled by the audience as making the house account for itself, these public apologies and deferential pleas to know the Town's desire, were clearly examples of the audience exercising its self-appointed right of domination. The

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[57] Basil Cozens-Hardy, ed., The Diary of Sylas Neville, (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1950), p. 121.

[58] The evening's entertainment was arranged as follows: orchestral music, mainpiece, musical interlude (or short entertainment), afterpiece (usually a farce or pantomime).

[59] Cozens-Hardy, p. 10.

[60] See Hughes, pp 73 - 74.

management, in order to preserve the house from destruction[61] and not to alienate its patrons, uniformly adopted conciliatory tones when faced with a rebellious house. New plays were subject to impromptu audience reviews with the house always conceding to public opinion:

> After the play a contest arose whether it should be performed again or not. Some were for it, and others against it. Mr. Smith came fowards several times and endeavored to speak, but the tumult was too great for him to be heard. However, after a stop of near half an hour, silence was called, and he informed the audience, "That he was commanded by the Managers to assure them that another play shou'd be provided against the next evening.
>
> This declaration apppeased the audience, who had already begun to testify their displeasure by slinging half-pence and apples at the chandeliers, whereby one was broke.[62]

It was not only by such direct ways that the audience influenced repertory; and active dissent was no more influential than passive boredom or inattention.

Riots were understandable when in response to specific circumstances. There seems to have been, however, an almost unbroken stream of disturbances throughout the house during most performances. By the end of the century, minor riots barely warranted passing mention in newspapers and little or no explanation was given for their causes: "There

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[61] In 1755, for example, the riots in response to The Chinese Festival were so violent that, "infinite damage was done to the theatre, and Garrick's house nearly escaped being demolished." (Genest, The English Stage, vol. IV, p. 443).

[62] Town and Country Magazine, vol. 3, 1772, p. 120.

were four different riots in different parts of the front boxes, omitting the noisy set in the lobby."[63] Or, when explanation was given, it often sounds trivial and not wholly worthy of such commotion: "There was an uproar in the pitt in the very middle of one of the most interesting parts of the play. It was occasioned by a man, who would not take his hat off, when desired by the people behind him...".[64] But it would be incorrect to judge eighteenth-century audience behavior by twentieth-century standards. The audience was aware that outbreaks of the types described above were, even if annoying, mild compared to incidents earlier in the century.[65] As noted earlier, the audience also felt that purchasing a ticket entitled one to any behavior in the theatre and that this right belonged to everyone.[66]

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[63] The Prompter, No. V. Oct. 31, 1789, p. 30.

[64] The Prompter, No. III, Oct. 27, 1789, p.16.

[65] Deaths, fatal accidents, and at least one duel took place in the theatres during the first half of the eighteenth century.

[66] Richardson's Lovelace, although of a riotous disposition, felt that each audience member was entitled, by the purchase of a ticket, to an uninterrupted performance:

> For the like reason, I have never given noisy or tumultuous instances of dislike to a new play, if I thought it ever so indifferent: for, I concluded first, that everyone was entitled to see quietly what he paid for: and, next, as the theatre (the epitome of the world) consisted of pit, boxes, and gallery, it was hard, I thought, if there could be such a performance exhibited as would not please somebody in that mixed multitude: and, if it did, those somebodies had as much right to enjoy their own judgements undisturbedly, as I had to enjoy mine.
>
> This was my way of showing my disapprobation; I never went again. And as a man is at his option whether he will go to a play, or not, he has not

Repeatedly we find plaints that most of the audience did not follow the stage action. While inattention did not physically impede the progress of the play, it was nevertheless equally detrimental to the intellectual development of drama. This happened, it was argued by many a disgruntled critic, by discouraging new playwrights and plays and by forcing managers to resort to spectacular show and music in order to grab attention. In general, the expectations of the audience were rather low with regard to intellectual stimulation and most spectators went to the theatres merely for pleasure. There was little pretense of going to the theatre for any other reason and a foreigner easily saw that, "Most of those who frequent the theatre, go there for the sake of pleasure and entertainment."[67] Sir Richard Steele drew attention to the generally frivolous mood in which people went to the theatre in an early issue of The Theatre: "The Humour in which People go to Plays is generally that of Leisure, and Indolence...".[68] The idle, casual attitude with which most of the audience approached drama led to strange developments. Because few in the audience actually took the trouble to form independent opinions based on critical observations, the crowd could be led by the opinion of a few. This produced, of course, fads which were followed with no regard to the

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the same excuse for expressing his dislike clamorously, as if he were compelled to see it. Samuel Richardson, Clarissa (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985), pp 1145 - 46.

[67] Wendeborn, vol. 2, p. 250.

[68] Richard Steele, The Theatre, No. II, June 2, 1720, p. 2.

basis on which they were founded. It also can explain how puffs could be effective even when obviously exaggerated or even untrue. David Garrick's popularity, although no one would deny that his acting powers were indeed remarkable, was said to be unquestioned and because general opinion considered him a great actor, his abilities in individual parts were not analysed.[69] The same was seen to occur with genres of drama where approval was given not so much in response to deserving merit but to whatever roused the indolent town out of its habitual lethargy:

> If we consider this general Humour of Dissipation in which People go to Plays -- we shall no longer wonder we hear of frequent loud Applauses, most lavishly and indiscriminately bestow'd; -- if they are amused they care not how, -- and seldom stay to ask their Judgments the Question, -- Whether the greatest Absurdities have not met with the greatest encouragment [sic]?[70]

Even in the following ironic "prescription" of how one's time should be spent when the play is dull, we can extract the truth that such behavior was occurring:

> But what is to be done, when nothing worth our attention passes on the stage? If gallantry, mode, dress, scandal, the grotesque figure of some, and absurd behavior of others, with a thousand other occasional subjects for wit and mirth, cannot furnish sufficient entertainment, I am at a loss what to prescribe.[71]

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[69] See, for example, John Brown, An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1757), pp 48-49.

[70] Theophilus Cibber, Dissertations on Theatrical Subjects, (London: Griffiths, 1756), p. 22.

[71] A Guide to the Stage, p. 13.

The purpose of a theatrical evening was entertainment and it was not furnished by intellectual pleasure but by mindless gossip, chatter, and laughter. And one can easily extrapolate that the amusement derived from these petty social pursuits was the same that was desired from drama. Whether serious, classical drama could satisfy this need for entertainment and amusement is doubtful. The generosity of Wendeborn towards the British audience he was describing could not even disguise the generally low level of attention and understanding. By the end of the century, it is so firmly and naturally accepted that it is discussed in the blandest of tones and with the ease of familiarity and inevitability:

> It is, indeed, very visible in the theatres in London, that the eyes and thoughts of the generality of the spectators wander much about; that they begin to yawn, and forget the play.[72]

The audience's dissipation in the theatres was incompatible with its self-assigned role of censor-general. While its eyes and thoughts wandered much about, the public was thought to be particularly vulnerable to the insidious charms and evils of the theatre. By paying little attention to the stage it was endangering its own moral welfare. The theatre was considered a public institution with didactic and moral responsibility to the community and the audience had to ensure that it fulfilled this responsibility. A lax and frivolous public, however, was ill suited for such a task.

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[72] Wendeborn, A View of England, vol. 2, p. 252.

There was a general consensus that the purpose of the theatre was to instruct and reform the town.[73] Tragedy by its fable and example, and comedy by the humorous representation of faults, could both be used to improve their auditors. In 1763, an anonymous author clearly defined the theatre's role:

> The stage is, or ought to be, a public school of morality, conducted upon a chaste and virtuous plan, from whence all obscene and indecent performances ought to be banished.[74]

In 1763 the administrative machinery for banishing indecent performances from the stage had been in place and operating for more than twenty five years[75] but there were still many complaints that vigilance was not strict enough and that the stage was not free of impropriety. Of course, one of the dominant characteristics of the sentimental drama which was to become a hallmark of this age, was a cloying morality; but contemporary commentators thought instruction would arise inevitably from a true rendition of nature rather than being artificially evoked from the already arch-artificiality of the contrivances of sentimentalism and non-dramatic entertainment:

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[73] From earliest times, the business of the stage
Has been at once to please and mend the age:
From the "Prologue to Sir Walter Raleigh" in, The Essence of Theatrical Wit: Being a Select Collection of the Best and most admired Prologues and Epilogues That have been delivered from the Stage (London: P. Wicks, 1768), p. 10.

[74] A Dialogue in the Green-room, p. i.

[75] In 1737 the Licensing Act was passed and established the Lord Chamberlain as absolute censor of all new plays to be acted at the two patented London theatres.

> More nat'ral Uses to the Stage belong,
> Than Tumblers, Monsters, Pantomime and Song;
> For other Purpose was that Spot design'd --
> To purge the Passions, and reform the Mind,
> To give to Nature all the Force of Art,
> And, while it charms the Ear, to mend the Heart.[76]

Nature instructs mankind, and the stage, by presenting a duplicate of nature, should instruct equally well while saving the audience from actually experiencing the hardships of every-day life:

> -- Example is the strongest Manner of enforcing Precept; and a Stage Representation (rightly conducted) the best Picture of Nature. -- In this humanising and instructing Academy, the young Man may learn the Manners of the World, without running through the Perils of it.[77]

But the nature to be depicted was not a sordid reality foreign to even the poorest of the polite spectators; it was an idyllic and pleasing nature which by its very goodness could not fail to instruct:

> As instruction will naturally flow from pleasing pictures of life and manners; it should therefore be the plan of authors, to delineate such, with the greatest accuracy, and that, of managers to represent them with the greatest propriety and most amiable figures.[78]

All critics agreed that the stage was a powerful

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[76] The Theatrical Review; or Annals of the Drama, (London, 1763), p. 7.

[77] Theophilus Cibber, Dissertations on Theatrical Subjects, p. 2

[78] The Theatrical Monitor, No. VII, Dec. 5, 1767, p. 2.

tool with great ability to manipulate thought and emotion.[79] Often compared with the pulpit, its importance in the moral formation, especially of youths, of the populace was acknowledged by most. Because the stage was the most pleasurable way of imparting not-so-pleasurable moral lessons, it was also the most powerful:

> No Diversion ever was devised which is so Truly calculated to instruct while it entertains.[80]

And this was held to be true even when drama was compared to other literary genres:

> ...we may venture to affirm, that one Stage-Play, well acted, will have more Power over the politest Audience, in the Articles of Pleasure and Reformation, than all the Epick Poems that were ever wrote.[81]

The redemptive possibilities of this power were exaggerated by the supporters of the stage who claimed that the stage was the only true house of instruction left to the public. Authors and managers argued strongly that the theatre should and did use its persuasive power for the moral edification of its audience:

> The excellent morals scattered through our plays, and the advantages they have from action and music, have made our

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[79] The stage is sure the noblest school for youth,
T'instill the principles of worth and truth;
Example stronger far than precept acts,
And words less move us than the force of facts:
From the "Prologue to Sir Walter Raleigh" in The Essence of Theatrical Wit, p. 10

[80] The Present State of the Stage in Great-Britain, pp 11-12.

[81] James Ralph, The Touch-Stone, p. 43.

> play-houses almost the only schools of virtue.[82]

Writers, with little modesty, claimed the role of society's moral guardian and raised what was simply an exigency of their prudish audience to a moral obligation demanded of an almost deistic institution:

> He who writes for the Theatre is the Champion of Virtue, against the Hydra-headed Monster Vice; to deviate from this laudable Point, is to be unworthy of the Muse's Protection, to prostitute the Purposes of the Institution.[83]

Opponents of this view argued that, "One Play-House ruins more Souls than fifty Churches are able to save"[84] and that a faithful christian should not frequent the theatres. Anti-theatrical pamphlets appeared throughout the century and the basis of their attacks was usually that theatres were breeding grounds of immorality.[85]

Both sides of this argument could be presented at much greater length. Whether the stage fulfilled its moral obligations to society was hotly disputed and is not to be resolved here. For our purpose, it is enough to acknowledge that it was universally accepted that the stage had a moral

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[82] A Letter to David Garrick, on his Conduct as Principal Manager and Actor at Drury-Lane, (London: S. Bladon, 1772), p. 36.

[83] The Present State of the Stage in Great-Britain, p. 4.

[84] The Conduct of the Stage, (London: Eman. Matthews, 1721), title page.

[85] See Jonas Barish, The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice, (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1981), for a full discussion of anti-theatrical trends from Aristotle to the present day.

responsibility to its audience and that it was considered the most powerful didactic tool available.[86] The public nature of the theatre made its regulation a public concern and the audience wanted the almost irreconcilable properties of moral propriety and entertainment simultaneously in the theatre. It realized, however, that such a combination was unlikely to occur without some outside supervision and state regulation was sometimes seen as the answer:

> On the virtues, and manners of a people, depends the prosperity of a state: these will be influenced by the theatres; the concern is therefore of a public nature; and the government only can prudently be entrusted with the care of them.[87]

Government regulation of the theatre had become law in 1737 with the passing of the Licensing Act but the Lord Chamberlain was more concerned with censoring politically seditious drama than immoral texts.[88] In effect, the morality of the stage was governed in the same manner that all aspects of the stage were: by the audience expressing its wishes and opinions either in the theatres or in print.

The British public considered itself particularly vulnerable to the charms of the theatre. And it was not only the fictitious stage action that was morally harmful, it was

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[86] See James Lynch, Box, Pit, and Gallery: Stage and Society in Johnson's London, (Berkely: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1953), p. 266 for the importance of nuptial security to be depicted in plays and the material consequences of debauchery.

[87] Observations on the Importance and Use of the Theatre; their Present Regulation, and Possible Improvements, (London: M. Cooper, J. Jackson, 1759), pp 8-9.

[88] See L. W. Conolly's The Censorship of English Drama 1737-1824 (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1976), for a complete discussion of the Licensing Act and its implications. See also John Loftis, The Politics of Drama (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1963).

the association of the fictitious with the real: a combination of the stage and the audience:

> The theatre shews before the young and unwary, prostitutes in real life; just as it gives villains in the fictitious character; it sets the gay outside full to the thoughtless view of those who are most likely to be influenced by the sight; but it does not, nor can shew them, what is concealed...[89]

In addition, not only was there a confusion of stage and audience, there was a danger of the spectator not maintaining narrative distance and therefore applying morals derived from fictitious situations to real experience:

> ...I was sitting one night in the pit, by a man of decent appearance, who, upon looking at the dance in the Oxonian,[90] spoke out, "d---n my eyes if I ever say W---s dance so well in my life. -- One may from hence infer that the scene had the effect upon him, so as really to think they were women of pleasure, brought there from the Garden, as their characters represented them.[91]

The British audience was susceptible to the illusion of the theatre and therefore could easily be influenced by its precepts and herein lay the danger. Why the British were particularly open to manipulation by the stage was explained by John Dennis in scientific terms with an almost biological basis:

> Now the English being more splenatick than other people, and consequently more thoughtful and more reflecting, and therefore more scrupulous in allowing

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[89] Observations on the Importance and Use of the Theatres, pp 16-17.

[90] The Oxonian in Town, an afterpiece by George Colman the Elder, 1767.

[91] The Theatrical Monitor, No. VII, Dec. 5, 1767, p. 6.

> their passions, and consequently things seldom hapning [sic] in life to move their passions so agreeably to their reasons, as to entertain and please them; and there being no true and sincere pleasure unless these passions are thus mov'd, nor any happiness without pleasure, it follows, that the English to be happy, have more need than other people of something that will raise their passions in such a manner, as shall be agreeable to their reasons, and that by consequence they have more need of the Drama.[92]

The issue of morality in the theatres is indicative of the audience's overall role in the eighteenth-century theatre. At the root of the whole issue was the idea that the stage had an obligation to its frequenters and that they had a right to demand what they would of the stage. This unwritten contract between the audience and theatre extended to acting, where technique was debated interminably and where alternate interpretations of favorite roles were rarely countenanced, to repertory, where the audience was prepared to hiss off what it did not enjoy, and to scenery and effects. Morality was simply another aspect of the theatre that the audience controlled as part of its almost dictatorial hold. Wendeborn raises the question of whether the audience was indeed demanding what it actually wanted:

> The English stage has been blamed... for being exceedingly licentious; but it has been, in this respect, much reformed; though there occur frequently such expressions and double entendres as may put modesty to the blush, which however, seem not to be disliked by the majority even of female spectators...[93]

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[92]John Dennis, The Usefulness of the Stage, to the Happiness of Mankind, to Government, and to Religion, (London: Rich. Parker, 1698), p. 13.

[93]Wendeborn, A View of England, vol. 2, p. 255.

But self-knowledge was not the issue for it would be argued that regardless how capricious or unreasonable the audience's demands, the theatre was obliged to satisfy them.

Unfortunately, along with the possession of power and the willingness to use it did not come a sense of responsibility to use it judiciously. Riot, because it was the easiest and most efficacious, was the standard method of expressing displeasure or dissent. Critics argued that the managers were not open to suggestions from the public and would only react when faced with the destruction of their houses or bodily harm to their actors. Although they sometimes questioned the method used to achieve their demands, there was never any question that what the audience demanded should be presented.

Such assurance in its right to control the theatre was based in the audience's view that its monetary support vested it with artistic control. We have seen that the audience willingly appropriated the power afforded by the economic lever it possessed and defined the theatre, even though an art, as a public commodity and itself as its unfettered purchaser. I propose that the basic structure of the audience/stage relationship was economic and that both sides understood that monetary control equated theatrical power. Thus the audience and the house behaved in accordance with the financial dynamics at work in the eighteenth-century theatre: the audience dictated its wishes supported by the power of its money, and the house acquiesced to its patrons desires because it was tempted by the lure of revenue. The next chapter will discuss the house's view of the audience

and of this economic understanding of the audience/stage relationship.

Chapter Two: The House's View of the Audience

The house was no less interested in the audience than we have seen the audience to have been in itself. It was natural that, in a profession almost as much business as art, steady attention should be devoted to the patrons. Not only could they be a source of creative imagination (as is perhaps most clearly exemplified by the restoration period[1]), but they were, in a very concrete sense, the foundation upon which the theatre existed. For unlike all other types of literature, drama, at least as theatrical representation, is virtually defined by the presence of an audience. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the house examined the audience as a literary subject, social cross-section, and economic equation.

Before studying the house's perception of the audience, however, it will be first necessary to define the house itself. The house will here be understood to be composed of all those who participated in the actual business of the stage: playwrights, managers, and actors. It will not include those who fall under the same categories but who were not actively involved in the stage (for example, unstaged dramatists or unemployed actors). Unemployed or unsuccessful members of the theatrical profession have been excluded from this definition in order to minimize the

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[1] It is needless to reiterate here the importance that the audience held as dramatic source during the period 1660-1700. Ample evidence can be obtained from the examples of Rochester, Sedley, Etherege, Sir Robert Howard, and Roger Boyle.

range of authorial prejudices. The frustrated playwright who has not experienced the exigencies of the audience will not have the completeness of knowledge that successful members of the house possessed.

Managers, by definition, were involved in the business of the stage and, in this age of author-managers,[2] most addressed or examined the audience in their writings. As playwrights, they used mainpieces, as Sheridan did in The Critic;[3] afterpieces, as Colman did in The Manager in Distress[4] and New Brooms!;[5] and innumerable prologues and epilogues to comment upon their theatrical cosmos.[6] These pieces held the precarious position of being both subject and medium and of playing to an audience which they were often ridiculing. Managers, when not writing for the stage, often wrote about the theatre in pamphlets or other prose works. It must be added, however, that the motivation for such works was rarely a disinterested study of the theatre; one need only think of the numerous newspaper puffs to be reminded

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[2]In fact, there were virtually no acting managers in the latter part of the eighteenth century who were not authors as well. Of course, the theatres had "silent" financial partners but were run by actor/author managers such as David Garrick and Sheridan at Drury Lane, George Colman at Covent Garden, Samuel Foote and the elder and younger Colmans at the Haymarket.

[3]Richard Sheridan, The Critic, (London: T. Beckett, 1781).

[4]George Colman, The Manager in Distress, (London: T. Beckett, 1780).

[5]George Colman, New Brooms!, (London: T. Beckett, 1776).

[6]This tradition of self-analytical drama began with Buckingham's The Rehearsal (1671) which enjoyed continued popularity and was updated and performed throughout the eighteenth century.

that much managerial prose was simply free advertising. Usually, the manager's intention was to persuade his readers to adopt a certain action (or passivity in the case of riots) or opinion and he therefore took pains to compliment his audience.[7] It would be impossible to divorce a playwright/manager's motivation from his texts, and all information garnered from them must be viewed in light of his usually obvious prejudices. Finally, actors and actresses are included in our definition of the house because they too were privy to the inner machinations of the theatre. They will only rarely contribute to this study because with few notable exceptions (Macklin and Mrs Inchbald, for example) most actors did not speak in their own voice and were solely the interpreters of playwrights' and managers' statements about the theatre.

The house's voice, rising as it did from a heterogeneous theatrical community, is difficult to define. It was rarely presented honestly because it was chiefly a utilitarian tool to achieve a desired effect. Since a playwright could not examine or address the audience without being aware that his public and his subject were one and the same and that they would want to reconcile the stage representation with their own opinion, he was obliged to submerge his own perspective if it differed radically from the audience's or if it could not be made palatable through irony or comedy.

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[7] Managers largely resorted to pamphlet writing or newspaper articles in order to resolve repertory disputes (as Colman did to diffuse the outcry over The Oxonian in Town), prevent rioting, or to urge the value of certain drama (see Colman's introduction to the collected works of Massinger (1761)).

The most common forms that playwrights used throughout the eighteenth century to address and study the audience were the prologue and epilogue.[8] Often written merely as a managerial duty,[9] their purpose was usually to entertain the audience and to attempt to improve the reception of the mainpiece. Prologues complimented the audience and epilogues apologized for the play and thanked the public for its support. The prologue's role was described in 1768 as:

> For prologue's are but ghost's of wit;
> Which mean to shew their art and skill,
> And scratch you to their author's will.[10]

And the prologue's function was most commonly fulfilled by compliments and explicit delineation of the house/audience relationship:

> So we too, conscious of our homely fare,
> Trust to your smiles to snatch us from despair,
> Fall on with hearty stomachs to regale,
> Let not nice taste, but appetite, prevail;
> While we, plain landlords, a kind welcome give,
> Bless'd if we please you, whom to please we live![11]

The house knew that it was unworthy of the audience's approbation, or so the common argument went, and dared perform only by trusting to appetite rather than taste, or

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[8]For a full discussion of prologues of the eighteenth century, see Mary E. Knapp, Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1961).

[9]Garrick built an authorial reputation solely upon the tremendous number of prologues that he wrote and the distinctive style he developed for them.

[10]The Essence of Theatrical Wit, p. 2.

[11]Colman, "Prologue" (October, 1774), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 204.

desire rather than intellectual appreciation.

Even in the polite, formula-ridden prose of the age, prologues are notably obsequious. Playwrights and managers never hesitated to relegate themselves to the humblest of roles, giving all decision-making power to the audience, and voluntarily accepting to obey all its dictates. It is not unusual to find prologues whose message of slavish devotion is as blunt as is the following:

> Say but the word, I'll pull this Drama down,
> And build it up again, to please the town.[12]

Authors usually had an actor speak directly to the audience in prologues and epilogues and, as in the quotation above where not only is the audience directly addressed and therefore animated and reminded of its potential for active participation, most prologues stress the immediate influence that audience opinion will have on the stage. There is also by implication a fair amount of authorial self-pity as authors plead for understanding and acceptance from a capricious and all-powerful public:

> O you! to whom Poets must surrender!
> Beauties, Wits, of the Masculine and Feminine Gender!
> Ye Plurals, a singular Art who can teach,
> And make Actors and Authors learn All Parts of Speech,
> For once lay by the Rod, and your Flogging decline![13]

The audience's influence, therefore, was not an abstract force that guided the theatre in general; it was the cause

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[12] Colman, "Prologue to the Two Connoisseurs" (September, 1784), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 259.

[13] Colman, "Prologue to the Positive Man (March, 1782), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, pp 231-232.

for specific reforms and recognizable changes.

Authors found the audience's extensive, and one could say oppresive, power stifling. The continual reiteration of the audience's supremacy and the house's inferiority was not only repetition but intensification and it served not only to perpetuate but to solidify this house/audience relationship. Audiences, as they continued to be flattered and empowered in scores of prologues each season, readily appropriated the power which authors, in fact, assigned them.[14] It is no surprise, therefore, to find authors complaining about the severity of their lot and the virtual impossibility of pleasing every section of the audience simultaneously:

> Severe their Task, who in this critic Age
> With fresh materials furnish out the Stage!
> ...
> To please at once the gall'ry, box, and pit;
> Requires at least, no common Share of Wit.
> Such jarring Judgement who can reconcile,
> Since Fops will frown, where humble Traders smile?[15]

In 1770, Colman tried to isolate one segment of the audience and to address his appeal directly to it. By using the image of a mirror, he reasoned that the women would be unable to condemn his play without condemning themselves:

> Ladies, to you alone our Author sues:
> 'Tis yours alone to cherish, or condemn his Muse.
> The Theatre's a Mirror, and each Play
> Should be a very Looking-Glass, they say:
> His Looking-Glass reflects no moles or pimples,

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[14] We have seen in the preceding chapter that audiences indeed not only appropriated any power open to them, but actively, often violently, exercised it and were acutely conscious of their privilege to do so.

[15] Samuel Foote, The Author, (London: R. Francklin, 1757), p. A4r.

> But shews you full of graces, smiles, and dimples.
> If you approve yourselves, resolve to spare,
> And, Criticks! then attack him, if ye dare![16]

It is important to note that audience approbation was assumed to guarantee critical acclaim, therefore bringing all branches of the dramatic literary world under audience control.

It is a sign of positive resistance that authors continued to plead for sympathy from their public; and it indicates that there continued differences between the aims of the public and those of the house. Such differences, were they resolved through compromise or adaptation, would foster dramatic, acting, and scenic evolution. Authors, if we are to take the evidence of their claims, however, resisted far too little and succumbed completely to audience taste. Doing so prevented any dynamic evolution of the theatre and ensured that the creative direction of the theatre was held not by the authors, managers, and actors, but by the public. Authors were eventually so passive that they were indistinct from their public:

> Authors too cautious to direct your choice,
> Mere empty echoes of the publick voice,
> With less Poetick Fire than Critick Phlegm,
> Praise as you praise, and blame what you condemn.[17]

Authors portrayed themselves as merely the mouthpieces of the

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[16] Colman, "Epilogue to Timanthes" (February, 1770), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 187.

[17] Colman, "Occasional Prologue" (1768), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 180.

audience, writing sentiments it wished to feel, mouthing words it wished to hear, and providing scenes it wished to see.

Of course, much of the grovelling that authors and managers performed for their audiences was the protocol of the form of prologues and epilogues. It would be impossible to assess the house's private stance, if indeed it was different from its public one, towards its patrons since the majority of the evidence left to us was meant for consumption by that audience. What can be deduced, however, is that the audience was powerful and wilful enough that such posturing was considered necessary by the house. We have seen previously[18] that the audience did not hesitate to exercise its control of the theatre by actively voicing discontent during performances. It was just such participation that the house wished to avoid and from which it wished to dissuade the public. In order to gain this end, the house addressed the audience with a mixture of compliment, assurances of its ascendance in the house/audience relationship, pleas for mercy, and acknowledgements of past benevolence; in general, a combination of wishful suggestion and hopeful exhortation.

Although the house recognized the distinct sections of the audience: box, pit, and gallery, it considered the audience as an organic whole rather than a series of grouped segments. To illustrate this, authors used the recurring metaphors of governmental and judicial organization. Colman's epilogue to Clementina makes the following analogy:

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[18] See above pages 20 - 25.

Thus in the Theatre, as well as State,
Three ranks must join to make us bless'd and great.
Kings, Lords, and Commons, o'er the nation sit;
Pit, Box, and Gallery, rule the realms of wit.[19]

It would be misleading to pursue the analogy too far by closely equating Kings and Pit, Lords and Box, and Commons and Gallery. This passage does illustrate, however, the idea that the theatrical microcosm was parallel to a larger societal structure and implies that the composition of the audience was that of society at large.[20] In 1774, Garrick made a similar comparison between state and theatre:

With more than pow'r of parliament you sit,
Despotic representatives of wit!
For in a moment, and without much pother,
You can dissolve this piece, and call another!
As 'tis no treason, let us frankly see,
In what they differ, and in what agree,
The said supreme assembly of the nation,
With this our great Dramatic Convocation!
Business in both oft meets with interruption:
In both, we trust, no brib'ry or corruption;
Both proud of freedom, have a turn to riot,
And the best Speaker cannot keep you quiet:

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[19]Colman, "Epilogue to Clementina", in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 192.

[20]Colman, perhaps due to his own legal training, was frequently attracted to judicial terminology when describing the audience:

And you [to the audience] who sit in many an aweful Row
Enthron'd above [galleries] or on the Benches below; [Boxes.]
Good men and true of our Dramatick Pannel, [Pit.]
Let not your mercy leave its ancient channel!

("Prologue to The Young Quaker" (August, 1783), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 245) and:

How vain, alas, his Hopes! his Fears how vain!
'Tis You must hear, and hearing judge the strain.
Your equal Justice sinks or lifts his name,
Your Frown's a Sentence, your Applause is Fame.

("Prologue to Two to One" (June, 1785), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 252).

> Nay, there as here he knows not how to steer him --
> When order, order's drown'd in hear him, hear him!
> We have, unlike to them, one constant rule,
> We open doors, and choose our gall'ries full:
> For a full house both send abroad their summons;
> With us together sit the Lords and Commons.[21]

Garrick stresses the egalitarian nature of the theatre (most of his audience were not Lords) but nonetheless admits that there are class distinctions within the house, clear reference to the galleries seating the poorer classes. He also freely admits the power of the public, its unruliness, and with irony, its freedom from corruption. Finally, Garrick and Colman in these passages institutionalize the power and composition of the audience, formalizing the social distinctions within the public and the control it had of the theatre.

The house not only addressed the public as a parliamentary or judicial body, it also understood the public to be an economic force. Just as the audience believed that the purchase of a ticket entitled it to any behavior and thus reduced the theatrical relationship to a monetary one, the house also acknowledged the financial nature of the ties between the house and the public. The theatre was compared to a business, dependent upon its audience in the same way a shop was dependent upon its customers:

> And what's our stage? -- a shop -- I'll
> tell you why: --
> You are the customers, the tradesmen we;
> And well for us, you pay before you see;
> We give no trust, a ready money trade;
> Should you stop payment, we are bankrupts made.
> To feast your minds, and sooth each worldly care,

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[21] John Burgoyne, The Maid of the Oaks, (London: T. Beckett, 1774), pp a1r - a1v.

> We'll largely traffic in dramatic ware;
> Then swells our shop, a warehouse to your eyes,
> And we from small Retailers, Merchants rise![22]

Managers were quick to recognize and admit that a loss of patronage would affect the theatre in concrete, measurable (in monetary terms) losses and not simply on an intangible artistic level:

> If you upon our humble labour smile,
> In happy hour to Shakespear rose this Pile.
> But, if you frown, our splendid Scenes decay,
> And all our baseless fabrick melts away.
> Our cloud-capt tow'rs, our gorgeous palaces,
> Our mounts, our woods, our rivers, and our seas,
> Our solemn temples, and each solemn robe[23]
> That stuffs this wooden O, this little globe,
> Shall fade! and like the insubstantial wind,
> Or dreams, leave not a rack behind.
> Smile then, and for your clemency be prais'd,
> And, oh! support the Building you have rais'd!
> On that foundation must we rest alone,
> Your patronage our Prop, our Corner-Stone.[24]

It is clear that audience patronage was seen to manifest itself as goods: props, scenes, costumes, and largest of all, the theatre building itself.

Admission prices were another element of the financial relationship between house and audience. Audiences paid to see specific performances (hence the common reaction of rioting when the bill was altered) and

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[22] The Essence of Theatrical Wit, p. 24.

[23] This is an interesting list of the standard props and scenes in the possession of an eighteenth-century theatre. For a full discussion of house effects, see Sybil Rosenthal, Georgian Scene Painters and Scene Painting (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981) and also the chapter on Georgian Scenes in her A Short History of Scene Design in Great Britain (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973).

[24] Colman, "Occasional Prologue" (October, 1775), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 208. This passage is also a clear parody of Prospero's speech in The Tempest, IV.i, ll 151 - 156. (The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1962)).

managers attached specific monetary value, ostensibly based on production cost, to each performance. Interestingly enough, the price that the audience was willing to pay to see a performance was interpreted by authors and managers to be indicative not only of financial leverage and market value but of taste:

> Welcome, ye Generous, Polite, and Fair,
> ...
> To the Old Theatre on Richmond Hill;
> Where to those guests, whose raste [sic] not over-nice is,
> We serve up common fare -- at common prices.[25]

In this passage it is argued that less sophisticated drama was sold at lower prices. On the other hand, it was often noted that the less sophisticated forms of entertainment such as pantomime and burlesque would fetch higher ticket prices than the highest forms of dramatic art:

> Coadjutant ... So, so. They want to have Shakespear's revived pieces with alterations, at half-price... I suppose they would not grudge giving full price to see Harlequin Sorcerer,[26] Orpheus and Eurydice[27-28].

Alterations did indeed increase the value (in terms of box office draw) of much Shakespearean drama but even with the "improvements" of alteration, a piece's market value did not necessarily correspond to its literary merit.

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[25]Colman, "Occasional Prologue" (June, 1767), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 176.

[26]Lewis Theobald, Harlequin Sorcerer, first performed during the 1724-25 season.

[27]Lewis Theobald, Orpheus and Eurydice, first performed during the 1739-40 season.

[28]A Dialogue in the Green-room upon a Disturbance in the Pit, p. 9.

The effects on repertory of this economic vision of the theatre will be discussed fully in the subsequent chapter. What is important to note here is that the house, as did the audience, perceived the structure of the theatre to be financial. This was based fundamentally on the concept that the theatre was a business and that all its participants corresponded to equivalents in the business world:

> To fancied heights howe'er mock monarchs soar,
> A Manager's a Trader -- nothing more.
> You (whom they court) their customers -- and then
> We players -- poor devils! -- are the journeymen.[29]

The house, as any other business enterprise, courted the favor of its public. It did so by arranging repertory to suit popular taste and by continual repetition of its dependence upon, and appreciation of, the audience. The rewards for obeying audience taste and applying for its approval were considerable and, for all concerned, they translated directly into monetary terms. For an author, whose financial security depended upon audience approval, acceptance was measured by the length of his play's run. The standard arrangement throughout the century was that an author was paid the profit of the third, sixth, and ninth performance nights -- thus providing a financial measurement of popularity.[30] For

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[29] Colman, "Occasional Prologue" (May, 1777), in Prose on Several Occasions, vol III, p. 217.

[30] The rewards of this system could be quite lucrative for a successful playwright:

> Not content with this, I had a strong inclination to shine in the Drama, I often pleased myself with computing -- "three benefit nights -- let me see -- six hundred pounds at least -- an hundred more for the copy -- besides a perpetual freedom of the House." -- These were temptations not to be resisted.

The Connoisseur, No. VI, March 7, 1754, p. 35.

managers, audience approval meant increased revenue from fuller houses and the safety of property (house and stage effects). It is understandable, therefore, that such attention was paid to complimenting and placating the audience with flattering prologues and epilogues. Success, however, was not left to the unreliable method of compliment and flattery but was undertaken much more systematically.

Unlike the audience, the house had quantifiable measurements by which to assess attendance. Whereas the audience was limited to visual appraisals of attendance, management had recourse to records of ticket sales (which were kept assiduously) and could thus precisely calculate the popularity of each play in the repertory in terms of income. The composition of the house in terms of revenue was as follows: 729 box seats at five shillings each, 367 seats in the pit at three shillings each, 700 seats in the first gallery at two shillings, and 384 seats in the upper gallery at one shilling. At the regular price for tickets, a full house of 2,180 would have brought in 6,530 shillings or £326.10s. If all the sections of the house were full, each would represent of the total potential income: boxes 56%,[31] pit 17%, first gallery 21%, and upper gallery 6%. Unfortunately, precise figures for the distribution of ticket sales for ordinary performance nights are not available. Only for benefit nights are the actual figures for house attendance distribution available and these can

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[30]Rounded off to the nearest whole number.

not be taken as indicative either of a play's popularity or attendance trends in general.[32] Thus it is impossible to determine to what degree these potential figures were fulfilled.

Although it is tempting to reconstruct distribution data from information that is available, there are several points which warn us not to do so. First, there is no night's revenue which even closely approaches the potential house maximum of £326.10s (see Chapter Two -- Part 2). Second, we must not assume that distribution figures decreased evenly proportionately to receipts (i.e. that for a performance bringing in £163.5s, each section of the house was half filled to capacity). Third, Thomas Ballard, Drury Lane treasurer from 1761 to 1762, found that during the 1760 - 1761 season, the boxes, in spite of the fact that they held 56% of total income potential, returned only 25% of the season's receipts.[33] It is clear, therefore, that we cannot reconstruct distribution data from overall receipts.

Although significance cannot be attached to the ticket distribution figures for benefit nights, it can be safely stated that ticket prices determined the distribution of social classes within the theatre. Quite simply, those

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[32]Benefit night receipts, for which the beneficiary usually sold the majority of tickets, were a variable combination of the actor's popularity, the ardor with which tickets were sold, the season, and the play. Benefit night statistics, therefore, must be approached with the utmost of caution.

[33]George Winchester Stone, Jr., "Introduction" to Part Four of The London Stage 1660 - 1800, (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1960 - 68), p. li.

who could afford the more expensive seats sat in them and did so as a symbol of social dominance:

> The typical distribution of the eighteenth century theatre audience exactly paralleled the box office tariffs, as they in turn implied the rigid social distinctions of that day: the beau monde in front and side boxes; wealthy tradesmen in the pit and first gallery; and "the mob" in the upper gallery.[34]

Contemporary accounts, as we have seen in Chapter One, verify this statement although they attribute to tradition a far greater role in determining seating arrangement. Because of the absence of ticket sales distribution figures, however, we cannot attach any broader significance to Pedicord's assertion. It is impossible, for instance, to link repertory popularity to specific sections of the house and thus to specific social classes.

The house studied the economics of the audience extremely closely. The existing Covent Garden Account Books[35] show that business was not merely a metaphor for the workings of the theatre. The six volumes of the Account Books used for this study (the volume for 1770 - 1771 is missing) contain the financial information relevant to every performance night. The detail with which these books were maintained is witness to the attention which was paid to financial matters. The

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[34]Pedicord, The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick, p. 20.

[35]In the possession of the British Museum, Egerton Manuscript Numbers: 2,273 - 2,278 (1767-68 through 1773-74, 1770-71 exclusive).

Account Books, however, are not complete; they, for instance, do not record ticket distribution for ordinary performance nights, and they refer to supplemental Ledgers and Journals which are now lost. The Account Books provide a nightly list of the plays performed,[36] usually marking cancellations although this varied among scribes. Associated with each performance night was the enumeration of unusual expenses accrued such as special costumes or the hire of unusual instruments for the orchestra. Also included were notations of particular costs such as extra lighting, supplemental props, heating or heating machines, and special stage effects. Ordinary overhead costs were calculated into a fixed sum called the house charge.

We can assume that Ballard's system for calculating the house charge at Drury Lane was similar to that in use at Covent Garden and can then arrive at a working model for Covent Garden. Ballard's house charge was based on a projected 180 nights of acting and included a proper rate for paying off during the first 150 nights "(1) all taxes, (2) ground rent, (3) interest to investors, (4) payments to the orchestra, (5) and all foreseeable charges for light, heat, guards, dressers, scenemen, barbers, properties and advertising."[37] During Colman's management the basic house

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[36]The Account Books list both the mainpiece and afterpiece for each performance night. For 1770 - 1771, where no Account Book exists, I have used the London Stage for repertory information but have no record of receipts for this season.

[37]Stone, "Introduction" to Part Four of The London Stage, p. 1.

charge was £64.10s. This figure must have included, in addition to the above expenses, a basic estimation of actors' salaries. A closer figure for the minimum cost of keeping the theatre open is probably £35, the charge for oratorio nights and also the lowest house charge figure (see Chapter Two -- Part 2).[38] Presumably, the house provided nothing more than standard physical amenities on oratorio nights. If this were the case, then acting costs were estimated at a little under thirty pounds for a standard cast.

The Accounts Books divide income into several sources: house husbandry (saving candle drippings, selling used costumes), advertising, rent, actors' penalties, and primarily, receipts. Usually, the receipts from tickets sold at the theatre equal the total receipts for the performance. On benefit nights, however, total receipts were a combination of tickets sold at the theatre and tickets sold by the beneficiary. For the purposes of this study, the term "gross receipts" will be the sum taken in at the theatre, excluding any revenue from other ticket sales.[39] The reasons for excluding revenue from tickets sold by beneficiaries will be outlined below. All income figures used in this analysis will be based upon this definition of gross receipts.

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[38]Oratorios were traditionally scheduled at Covent Garden Theatre every Wednesday and Friday night during Lent. The theatres were closed during Passion week.

[39]The usual arrangement on benefit nights was the following equation: the house cost was covered by the beneficiary who received 50% of the revenue from tickets he sold. All other revenue went to the house.

The Account Books also include a record of the distribution of tickets sold for each benefit night. These figures were important because the beneficiary received some percentage of the income from tickets he sold. Table 1 below shows ticket sales in the three sections of the house for benefit nights during Colman's management, 1767 - 1774.

Table 1 indicates no correllation between the type of mainpiece and seat distribution. In fact, seat distribution on benefit nights seems to have been only significantly linked to personality. Beneficiaries sold tickets to their friends and in a rough, but fairly consistent, parallel, their position within the theatrical hierarchy predicts the distribution of tickets they sold. Lesser-paid actors seemed to have had friends with lower incomes who could only afford to sit in the less-expensive regions of the house. As the less-important actors and house servants had their benefits towards the end of the season, we see the number of tickets for gallery seats rise. It is interesting to note that actors who managed to sell large numbers of box seats (at five shillings apiece) rarely bothered to sell significant numbers of gallery tickets.[40] Likewise, large numbers of gallery tickets are often accompanied by large sales of seats in the pit but not by significant numbers in the boxes.

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[40]We note that on three nights: 12.05.69, 27.05.73, and 19.05.74, more tickets were sold for the boxes than there were seats. This was probably a method of extra compensation for a favorite actor whereby one would buy tickets for mythical seats, half the ticket price of which would eventually go to the actor.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF TICKET SALES ON BENEFIT NIGHTS

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	TITLE	BOX	PIT	GAL-LERY
	1767 - 1768			
12.12.67	THE ORPHAN	356	202	
18.12.67	THE WONDER	254	191	72
07.03.68	KING LEAR	437		
15.03.68	THE BUSY BODY	233		
17.03.68	MEDEA	686		
19.03.68	CYMBELINE	516	224	125
21.03.68	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	340	128	
24.03.68	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	293	251	
26.03.68	JANE SHORE	406	75	
06.04.68	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	205		29
08.04.68	THE MAID OF THE MILL	166	114	20
09.04.68	CYMBELINE	316	217	54
11.04.68	KING RICHARD III	92	58	
12.04.68	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	471	198	128
13.04.68	ALL FOR LOVE	115	129	179
15.04.68	THE BUSY BODY	53	120	
18.04.68	CYMBELINE	274	401	140
19.04.68	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	363	396	90
20.04.68	CORIOLANUS	197	137	89
22.04.68	THE STRATAGEM	205	391	225
23.04.68	JANE SHORE	183	297	197
25.04.68	HAMLET	261	39	
26.04.68	THE DISTREST MOTHER	82	140	79
27.04.68	THE MAID OF THE MILL	124	355	287
29.04.68	THE VIRGIN UNMASK'D	101	124	115
29.04.68	ROMEO AND JULIET	101	124	115
30.04.68	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	154	143	171
02.05.68	GEORGE BARNWELL	100	200	354
03.05.68	THE JEALOUS WIFE	119	628	582
04.05.68	MAHOMET	131	692	544
06.05.68	THE WONDER	68	432	348
07.05.68	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	171	330	229
09.05.68	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	225	274	106
10.05.68	ZARA	261	620	353
11.05.68	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	93	205	63
12.05.68	THE BUSY BODY	22	297	295
24.05.68	THE MAID OF THE MILL	60	102	94
25.05.68	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	127	344	344

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	TITLE	BOX	PIT	GAL-LERY
26.05.68	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	168	370	181
30.05.68	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	450	272	138
01.06.68	THE WONDER	407	351	168
02.06.68	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	695	322	64
	1768 - 1769			
06.12.68	CYRUS	121		
13.12.68	CYRUS	89		
19.12.68	CYRUS	38		
20.12.68	KING LEAR	64	11	
21.12.68	CYRUS	232	273	165
16.02.69	HAMLET	420		
11.03.69	CYMBELINE	263		
13.03.69	ORESTES	722		
14.03.69	THE ROMAN FATHER	486	183	95
16.03.69	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	309	124	
18.03.69	ARTAXERXES	300	98	40
28.03.69	THE ALBION QUEENS	330	227	
29.03.69	MEDEA	589	26	
31.03.69	HAMLET	130	89	
03.04.69	MACBETH	83	130	
04.04.69	THE JEALOUS WIFE	252	186	
05.04.69	JANE SHORE	123	63	
06.04.69	CYRUS	383	234	122
07.04.69	THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS	136	159	177
08.04.69	THE WONDER	58	158	149
11.04.69	THE ROMAN FATHER	48	118	
12.04.69	KING LEAR	347	310	140
13.04.69	THE MAID OF THE MILL	282	306	177
14.04.69	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	422	443	121
15.04.69	ROMEO AND JULIET	379		
17.04.69	OROONOKO	416	59	9
18.04.69	LOVE MAKES A MAN	35	101	58
19.04.69	THE ALBION QUEENS	151	128	130
21.04.69	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	206	323	123
22.04.69	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	174	134	151
24.04.69	OROONOKO	127	273	256
25.04.69	CYMBELINE	168	205	184
26.04.69	THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	118	80	78
27.04.69	THE BUSY BODY	172	102	46
28.04.69	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	87	360	233
29.04.69	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	170	197	142
01.05.69	KING LEAR	186	258	128
02.05.69	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	264	305	49
03.05.69	KING LEAR	119	601	494
04.05.69	THE FAIR PENITENT	12	17	
05.05.69	JANE SHORE	107	449	372
06.05.69	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	89	259	358
08.05.69	CYMBELINE	72	373	331
09.05.69	ROMEO AND JULIET	145	278	278
10.05.69	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	157	728	326

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	TITLE	BOX	PIT	GAL-LERY
11.05.69	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	147	357	204
12.05.69	THE REHEARSAL	143	464	342
15.05.69	THE ROMAN FATHER	477	293	126
16.05.69	CYMBELINE	485	386	180
17.05.69	GEORGE BARNWELL	230	564	632
18.05.69	KING RICHARD III	811	268	46
	1769 - 1770			
20.12.69	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	402	203	112
22.12.69	THE STRATAGEM	377	150	
20.03.70	THE RELAPSE	190		
22.03.70	EARL OF WARWICK	713		
24.03.70	THE RIVAL QUEENS	413	162	139
26.03.70	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	200	239	
27.03.70	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	351	56	
29.03.70	THE ROMAN FATHER	221	56	
31.03.70	ISABELLA	316	228	
02.04.70	CYRUS	199	119	
03.04.70	THE MAID OF THE MILL	434	232	150
05.04.70	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	584		
07.04.70	ARTAXERXES	387	22	
17.04.70	THE RIVAL QUEENS	329	226	68
18.04.70	CYMBELINE	21	79	
19.04.70	EARL OF WARWICK	344	281	165
20.04.70	THE WONDER	102	183	211
21.04.70	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	199	139	64
23.04.70	MACBETH	39	88	37
24.04.70	THE EARL OF ESSEX	33	84	78
25.04.70	SIR COURTLY NICE	364	419	146
26.04.70	THE JEALOUS WIFE	233	280	209
27.04.70	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	62	149	122
28.04.70	ROMEO AND JULIET	200	170	169
30.04.70	CATO	151	340	274
01.05.70	TOM JONES	120	152	99
02.05.70	THE MAID OF THE MILL	93	85	66
03.05.70	TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA	226	331	132
04.05.70	ARTAXERXES	259	127	67
05.05.70	ISABELLA	112	284	182
07.05.70	OROONOKO	222	312	142
08.05.70	THEODOSIUS	215	38	
09.05.70	THE JOVIAL CREW	314	393	49
10.05.70	GEORGE BARNWELL	122	314	389
11.05.70	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	88	359	226
12.05.70	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	214	483	252
14.05.70	KING RICHARD III	224	583	558
15.05.70	THE ORPHAN	172	687	320
16.05.70	KING HENRY V	183	299	305
17.05.70	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	241	386	264
21.05.70	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	472	252	109
22.05.70	HAMLET	168	529	347
23.05.70	THE BUSY BODY	420	348	273

PERFORMANCE DATE	TITLE	BOX	PIT	GALLERY
24.05.70	THE BROTHERS	89	158	79
25.05.70	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	277	371	378
26.05.70	THE STRATAGEM	791	301	73
	1771 - 1772			
20.12.71	OROONOKO	511	115	72
21.12.71	OTHELLO	172	161	122
21.03.72	XIMENA	716		
23.03.72	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	225		
24.03.72	THE SIEGE OF DAMASCUS	427	205	106
28.03.72	THE BUSY BODY	203	225	
30.03.72	ISABELLA	367	72	
31.03.72	TWELFTH NIGHT	211	32	
04.04.72	THE WAY OF THE WORLD	250	190	172
06.04.72	MACBETH	308	274	155
07.04.72	THE RIVAL QUEENS	121	55	
09.04.72	TIMANTHES	241	200	99
11.04.72	CYMBELINE	244	11	
21.04.72	MACBETH	205	164	158
22.04.72	THE REFUSAL	172		
23.04.72	ARTAXERXES	357	234	127
24.04.72	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	172	186	191
25.04.72	THE WONDER	127	154	35
27.04.72	THE SIEGE OF DAMASCUS	136	134	114
28.04.72	MACBETH	390	399	67
29.04.72	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	77	110	63
30.04.72	THE RIVAL QUEENS	157	52	
01.05.72	JANE SHORE	90	125	55
02.05.72	ROMEO AND JULIET	93	208	125
04.05.72	THE WINTER'S TALE	118	154	114
05.05.72	TWELFTH NIGHT	116	113	68
06.05.72	THE MISER	449	475	62
07.05.72	ISRAEL IN BABYLON	76	80	
08.05.72	ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	206	414	363
09.05.72	CYMBELINE	76	287	349
11.05.72	CATO	86	209	161
12.05.72	KING RICHARD III	69	318	208
13.05.72	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	153	365	336
14.05.72	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	159	287	211
15.05.72	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	108	426	297
16.05.72	THE BROTHERS	458	453	325
18.05.72	CYRUS	423	243	70
19.05.72	THE RIVAL QUEENS	152	282	225
20.05.72	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	106	598	281
21.05.72	KING LEAR	225	338	359
22.05.72	OROONOKO	276	371	257
25.05.72	CATO	106	409	538
26.05.72	THE STRATAGEM	436	446	309
27.05.72	THE BUSY BODY	730	363	133

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	TITLE	BOX	PIT	GAL-LERY
	1772 - 1773			
22.12.72	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	421	69	37
20.03.73	AMPHITRYON	178		
22.03.73	MACBETH	270	132	34
23.03.73	KING HENRY VIII	307	136	
27.03.73	ARTAXERXES	474		
29.03.73	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	151	50	
30.03.73	THE RIVAL QUEENS	239	284	152
03.04.73	TIMANTHES	135	3	
13.04.73	THE MAID OF THE MILL	370	154	110
14.04.73	ARTAXERXES	91	26	
16.04.73	THE ALBION QUEENS	194	298	106
17.04.73	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	524		
19.04.73	EARL OF WARWICK	640	85	
20.04.73	MACBETH	266	147	98
21.04.73	THE RIVAL QUEENS	116	149	146
23.04.73	THE FUNERAL	423	410	36
24.04.73	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	229	329	217
26.04.73	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	284	269	206
28.04.73	ALL FOR LOVE	52	48	
30.04.73	ARTAXERXES	98	272	133
01.05.73	HENRY II	165	171	84
03.05.73	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	56	108	41
04.05.73	JULIUS CAESAR	76	56	
06.05.73	LOVE FOR LOVE	427	494	86
07.05.73	LADY JANE GREY	227	417	346
08.05.73	KING LEAR	100	263	156
10.05.73	MACBETH	367	279	133
11.05.73	THE RIVAL QUEENS	176	331	155
12.05.73	THE MAID OF THE MILL	122	206	221
13.05.73	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	72	389	531
14.05.73	JANE SHORE	101	243	239
17.05.73	ROMEO AND JULIET	414	311	60
18.05.73	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	195	430	393
20.05.73	KING RICHARD III	141	571	325
24.05.73	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	101	337	569
25.05.73	THE INCONSTANT	490	458	249
26.05.73	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	353	379	317
27.05.73	THE STRATAGEM	811	294	89
	1773 - 1774			
18.12.73	THE INCONSTANT	293	171	128
23.12.73	THE JEALOUS WIFE	242	309	
07.01.74	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	232	49	22
12.03.74	THE WINTER'S TALE	228		
14.03.74	HEROD AND MARIAMNE	380	68	48
15.03.74	KING HENRY IV PT.1	185	145	
19.03.74	ARTAXERXES	279		
21.03.74	KING HENRY VIII	228	276	117
22.03.74	DON SEBASTIAN	153		
26.03.74	THE RIVAL QUEENS	135	22	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	TITLE	BOX	PIT	GAL-LERY
05.04.74	LOVE FOR LOVE	289	135	90
06.04.74	JANE SHORE	105	113	
07.04.74	THE PRINCE OF AGRA	186	146	242
08.04.74	KING HENRY IV PT.1	287	194	106
09.04.74	ARTAXERXES	127	138	139
11.04.74	CYRUS	201	344	282
12.04.74	THE SOUTH BRITON	232	177	91
13.04.74	MACBETH	202	76	
15.04.74	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	156	155	169
16.04.74	THE BUSY BODY	146	154	109
18.04.74	THE RIVAL QUEENS	61	43	28
19.04.74	THE SPANISH FRIAR	394	412	220
20.04.74	HENRY II	151	134	109
21.04.74	THE REVENGE	59	108	
22.04.74	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	172	359	157
23.04.74	THE FUNERAL	388	300	148
25.04.74	KING HENRY VIII	83	98	34
26.04.74	THE MAID OF THE MILL	486	401	61
28.04.74	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	220	459	334
29.04.74	MACBETH	57	93	92
30.04.74	KING HENRY IV PT.1	131	347	294
02.05.74	THE RIVAL QUEENS	120	258	159
03.05.74	HAMLET	122	343	216
04.05.74	THE BUSY BODY	208	181	162
06.05.74	LOVE FOR LOVE	160	456	312
07.05.74	KING HENRY IV PT.1	177	685	430
09.05.74	JANE SHORE	467	293	80
10.05.74	KING RICHARD III	128	325	260
11.05.74	LADY JANE GREY	256	555	411
12.05.74	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	216	76	22
13.05.74	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	312	274	220
14.05.74	THE MAID OF THE MILL	136	625	473
16.05.74	DON SEBASTIAN	107	379	596
17.05.74	THE WEST INDIAN	456	414	280
18.05.74	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	448	528	363
19.05.74	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	751	273	69
20.05.74	THE STRATAGEM	254	343	360
24.05.74	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	122	665	618

At the end of the fiscal year (the theatrical season) the books were closed with a summation of costs and revenue. For the seven seasons under our consideration, the books closed at:

TABLE 2

Year	Income	Expenses
1767-68	£31,226.19s.3.5d	£30,899.3s.5d
1768-69	£30,749.16s.2.5d	£24,035.8s.3d
1769-70	£30,892.10s.3.5d	£25,461.18s.10d
1770-71	NA	NA
1771-72	£28,806.13s.10d	£25,172.15s.9d
1772-73	£30,740.15s.4.5d	£26,006.12s.2d
1773-74	£27,904.4.5d	£24,347.19s.5d

As far as can be determined, when the books closed, the profit was distributed among the owners and each season started afresh. G. W. Stone notes that every season began with a small initial operating fund:

> ... each season commenced with a very small operating fund, of the order of £250 or £300, made up, as evidenced by the Covent Garden Account Books, from belated receipts from the previous season.[41]

But funds were not systematically set aside for such an operating fund.

The Account Books data that are the focus of this analysis are attendance figures as measured by box office receipts. In order to avoid difficulties due to the conversion into decimal sums, all have been rounded to the nearest pound. All calculations have been performed using gross receipts as have been previously defined. Chapter

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[41]George. W. Stone, Jr., The London Stage, part 4, vol 1, p. xlvii.

Two -- Part 2 lists the repertory and gross receipts for each performance night as shown in the Account Books and is the evidence upon which this study is based. There are no receipts figures for the season 1770-71 and those dates have been excluded from any mathematical computations in order to avoid distortion.

In this analysis, gross receipts figures will be used primarily to determine averages. Averages have been calculated for the overall period of 1767 - 1774, individual years, individual months, by specific days of the week, and by dramatic type. All possible combinations of these elements have also been considered. Although the use of averages is, I believe, the most distortion-free method by which to analyze the data from Colman's years as manager of Covent Garden, there are certain limitations which should be noted. First, benefit nights, because their gross receipt figures exclude the house charge sum and all receipts from tickets sold by beneficiaries, lower all averages into which they are calculated. It is safe to say that all very low figures in the months following March in every season are benefit nights. Second, the two oratorio performances each week during Lent (with fixed house charge of £35 as total receipt) and the performance-free Passion week will lower the averages into which they are calculated. Third, the months of September and July have so few performances (often only one or two), that the averages for those months cannot be judged independently.

It is not advisable to narrow the parameters of analysis beyond the monthly level. As the range of view is

restricted, the more distorted become the results. This can be seen in the analysis of particular performance nights. If we were to examine the receipts, for example, of the two following performance nights of the same mainpiece, without placing them within a larger context, we would be led to inaccurate conclusions:

Bill	Receipt	Date
The Merchant of Venice Love a-la-Mode	£240	24.10.71
The Merchant of Venice Amelia	£ 47	24.05.73

Here, the difference in receipts is not an indication of disparity of the popularity of the afterpieces, but the fact that the May 1773 performance was a benefit night for which 101 box seats, 337 pit seats, and 569 gallery seats were sold by the benficiaries and for which the receipts were not tallied into the gross receipts. Likewise, command performances always returned receipts in excess of £200[42] and, when isolated, seem to indicate an unusual popularity for a particular play when they are, in fact, only indicative of the strength of the presence of a royal family member to draw spectators to the theatre. Nights of disturbance in the theatre exaggerated box office receipts also. Crowds would either be drawn to damn a play in order to destroy the house or disrupt the performance, or choose to boycott the play altogether. Receipts from either case would not necessarily be indicative of the play's popularity or longevity.

For the above reasons, the smallest unit of

[42] See A Guide to the Stage, p. 8.

measurement in this analysis will be a single month, or a minimum of approximately twenty to twenty-five performances. Other units of measurement used are: 1) years (the theatrical season), 2) months, which are calendar months within any theatrical season, 3) the day of the week,[43] which is calculated no lower than on the yearly level, and 4) dramatic types,[44] which are always combined with a temporal parameter. The abbreviations here used for dramatic type and their assignment to specific plays were developed by Allardyce Nicoll[45] and later used by Harry Pedicord.[46] The purpose of this study is not to redetermine the genre of specific plays but to relate them to house receipts; for this reason, the cateloguing work of Nicoll and Pedicord will be incorporated into, and not questioned by, our study.

The overall average gross receipt for the seven years of Colman's management (excluding, of course, the 1770 - 71 season) was £146.23. It is interesting to note that over the seven-year period, there was little fluctuation from this average in individual seasonal averages:

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[43]Days of the week upon which performances were held are uniformly abbreviated as: M = Monday, T = Tuesday, W = Wednesday, TH = Thursday, F = Friday, SA = Saturday.

[44]Dramatic types here used are abbreviated as follows: BO = Ballad Opera, BURL = Burlesque, C = Comedy, CM = Comic Masque, CO = Comic Opera, DO = Dramatic Ode, DP = Dramatic Poem, ENT = Entertainment, F = Farce, H = History, HT = History-Tragedy, INT = Interlude, M = Masque, O = Opera, ODE = Ode, OF = Operatic Farce, ORA = Oratorio, P = Pantomime, and T = Tragedy, TC = Tragi-comedy.

[45]Allardyce Nicoll, History of English Drama, 1660 - 1900, Fourth Ed., 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1955).

[46]Harry W. Pedicord, The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick.

TABLE 3

Year	Season Average	Deviation From Overall Average
1767-68	£147.83	1.60
1768-69	£146.52	0.29
1769-70	£146.51	0.28
1770-71	NA	NA
1771-72	£143.15	-3.08
1772-73	£149.86	3.63
1773-74	£143.17	-3.06

The largest single deviation came in 1772 - 73. Whereas the first three years show litle deviation from the average, the last three show a more significant swing. The greatest deviation, however, represents only 2.4% of the overall average. Considering, also, that the number of performance nights in each performance year was:

TABLE 4

Year	Number of Performances
1767-68	201
1768-69	204
1769-70	191
1770-71	200
1771-72	191
1772-73	196
1773-74	185

we are led to conclude that house attendance, at least in terms of income, did not vary much during this period.

Turning our attention to the gross receipts averages for specific days of the week, we find that certain fairly consistent patterns emerge. There were clearly days of the week which were traditionally more popular to attend the theatre. Leo Hughes links the variation in nightly attendance to the performances of opera:

> Tuesdays and Saturdays were "opera nights" during much of the eighteenth century (earlier it was Wednesdays and Saturdays, as we learn from the non-musical Swift...). On these nights the upper classes, who did and do provide the bulk of the operatic audience, were poorly represented at the playhouse.[47]

An examination of the actual house receipts, however, shows that Hughes is probably mistaken to ascribe such a direct causal link between opera and playhouse attendance. The graph below shows the fluctuations above and below the yearly average merely in terms of positive or negative deviation. Table 5 gives the precise averages for the days of the week of each season.

In general, Tuesdays and Saturdays, unlike Hughes' assertion, stayed well above the yearly averages. Wednesdays and Fridays stayed consistently under average probably because of the oratorios which were habitually scheduled those nights during the lenten season. If Leo Hughes' assertion that the upper classes were poorly represented in the theatres on Tuesdays and Saturdays is, however, indeed true, then we are forced to conclude that their absence did little to affect revenue. In other words, we conclude that either the bulk of revenue on those nights was made up of spectators in the lower-priced seats who came in larger numbers on those particular performance nights, or that the upper classes contributed a generally insignificant portion of income and that their absence was therefore little remarked. The latter would imply that Ballard's estimation of potential and actual income from the boxes during the 1760 - 61 season was accurate for the period.

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[47] Leo A. Hughes, The Drama's Patrons, p. 156.

GRAPH 1

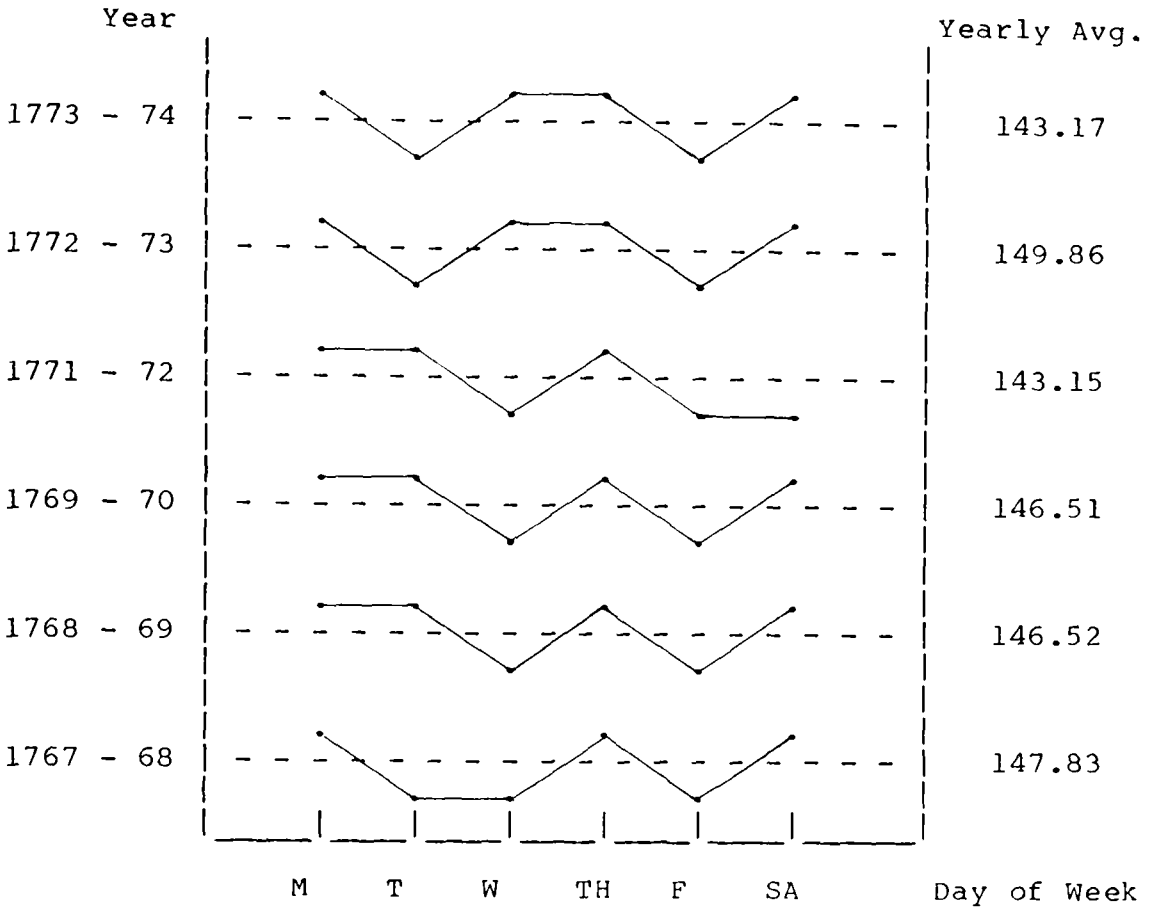

TABLE 5

Yr	Avg	M	T	W	TH	F	SA
67-68	147.83	173.00	147.09	139.91	158.24	110.66	159.62
68-69	146.52	170.44	151.74	121.44	160.94	112.94	161.97
69-70	146.51	169.17	147.81	131.61	162.45	116.40	152.29
71-72	143.15	168.66	147.50	128.75	163.67	114.65	135.87
72-73	149.86	174.17	142.00	151.88	157.41	118.94	152.83
73-74	143.17	148.38	131.91	152.97	146.52	123.74	153.87

Monthly averages display the same regularity of variation that daily averages show. Monthly averages behave almost universally as bell curves (see graph 3) when graphed and it is clear that the theatrical season was most profitable during the months of October through February. It is important to remember that the annual round of benefits

began in March and that they largely contribute to the declining averages beginning in March. Hughes also notes the progression of monthly receipts but attributes it to social migration:

> If the proportion of classes varied for different days of the week, it varied at least as much in different parts of the season. Both ends were poor times to draw the affluent and genteel, the leisure class in the fullest sense of the word, for they simply were not in town.[48]

We can neither substantiate nor refute this claim because, as has been previously stated, there exist no house distribution records. A study of the distribution records for benefit nights (Table 1 above), however, shows that large numbers of box seats were being sold even as the season closed which would tend to undercut Hughes' claim. The graph below shows the overall trend of monthly receipts and their deviation from the yearly mean; Table 6 gives precise data about monthly income. Graph 3 shows the monthly receipt curve for a sample year: 1768 - 69.

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[48] Leo Hughes, The Drama's Patrons, p. 157.

GRAPH 2

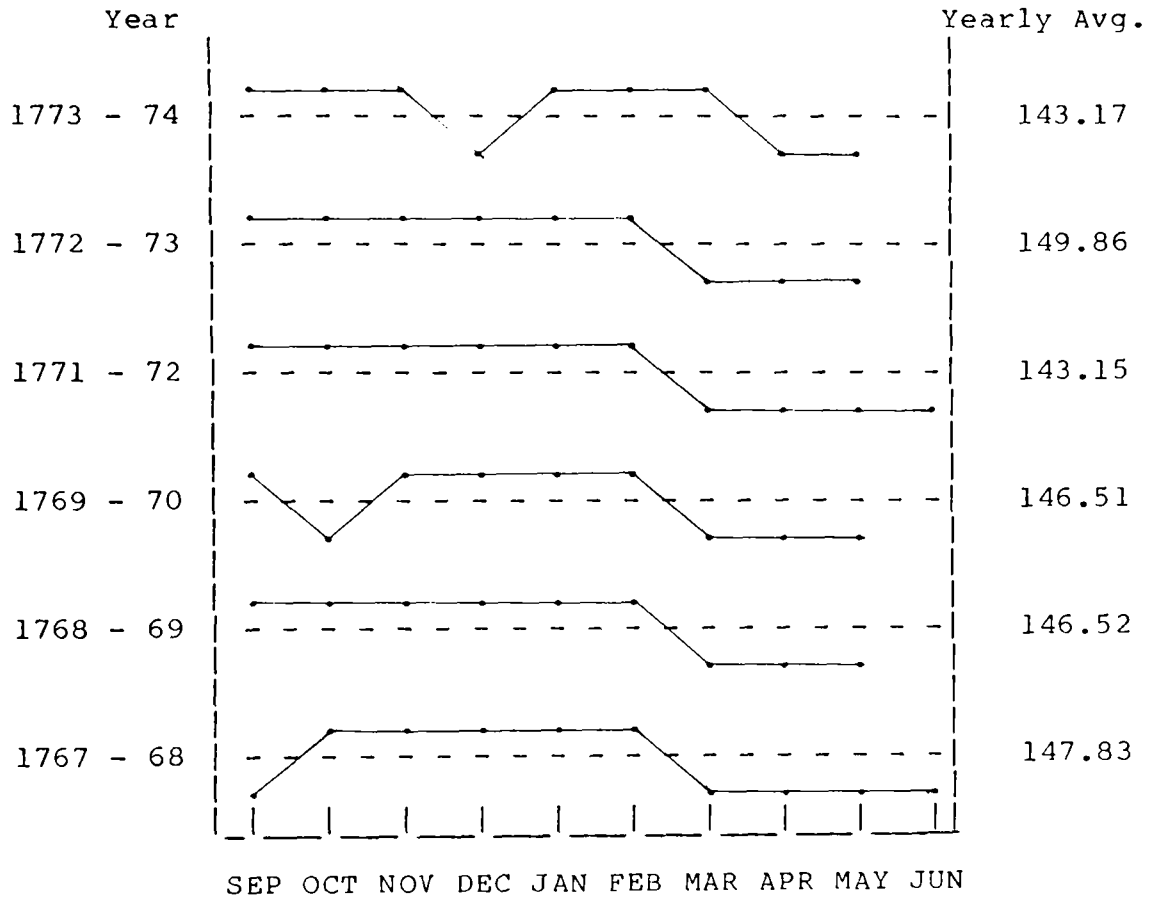
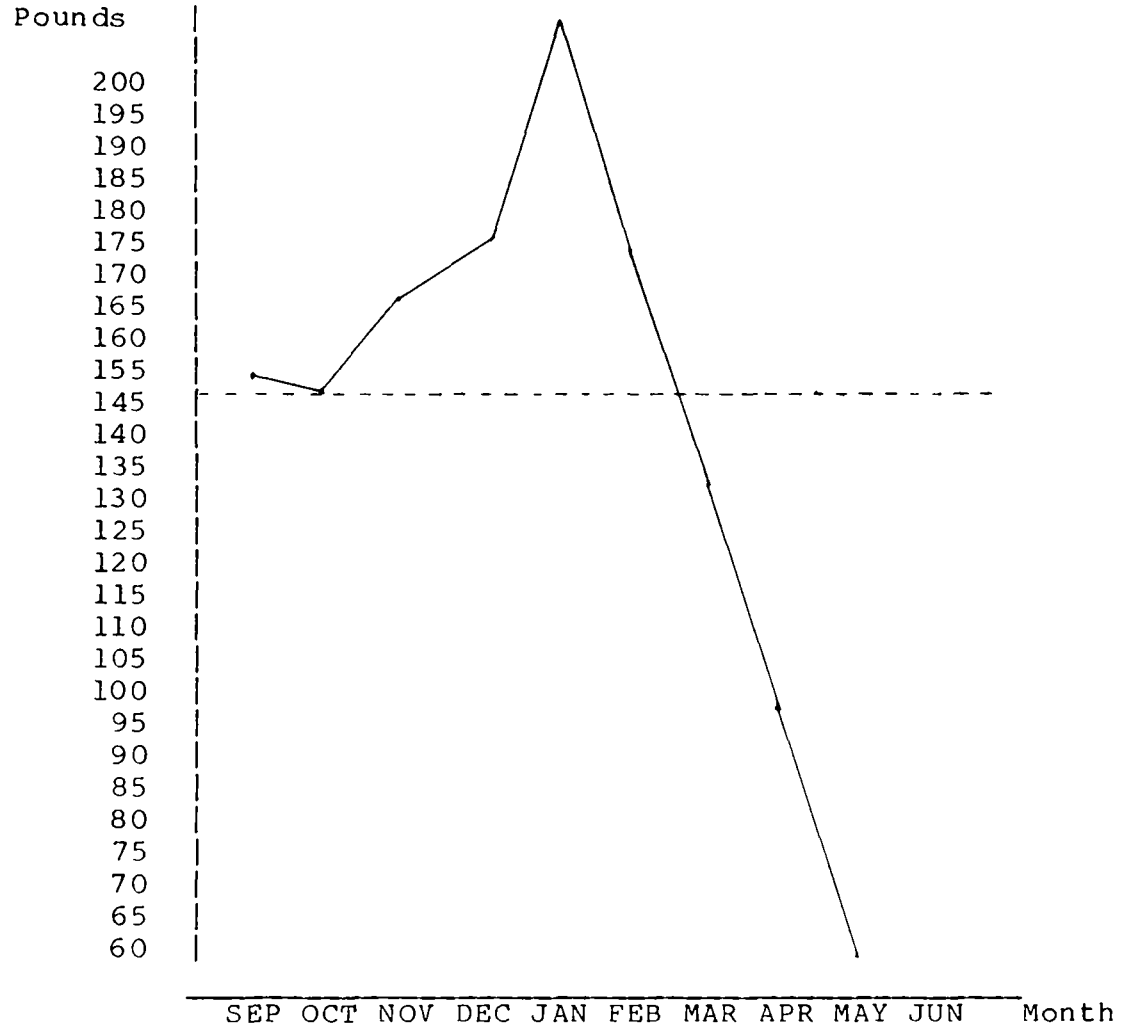


TABLE 6

Year	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun
67-68	123.75	163.92	192.48	168.39	192.68	184.00	122.13	110.21	58.42	49.50
68-69	153.82	148.08	164.77	173.04	209.52	169.83	132.14	96.88	58.33	
69-70	168.86	145.46	172.85	160.08	188.12	197.65	131.19	93.32	63.71	
71-72	179.00	177.86	179.12	158.63	160.65	168.65	138.04	109.15	57.88	85.00
72-73	202.00	164.73	163.88	166.00	173.88	169.26	133.81	138.70	77.71	
73-74	186.00	152.16	155.56	136.88	195.72	151.25	164.73	110.25	66.95	

GRAPH 3
Sample Year: 1768 - 1769



It is important to stress that the seven years of Colman's management of Covent Garden were financially very stable. The annual closing figures show that most years returned a healthy profit. Even the season 1767 - 68 shows a profit (minimal as it is) in spite of the litigation in which Colman was involved with his partners[49] and the ensuing

[49]Colman ran into trouble almost immediately with his partners. Harris and Rutherford, neither of whom had the least knowledge of theatre business, meddled with artistic affairs by insisting that their mistresses receive special favors and leading parts for which they were not qualified. Colman resisted and Powell sided with him. The dispute escalated to the point where Colman was locked out of the

disruption of the performance schedule. These patterns would indicate that the size of the audience, as measured by total income, was fairly constant. Managers, therefore, could rely upon a healthy trade if they pleased their customers and we shall see in the subsequent chapters how they manipulated repertory in order to achieve this end.

We have seen that the house confirmed the audience's perception that it controlled the theatre. The continual requests for approval and applause evidence, at the very least, a formulaic submission to the dominance of the audience. At the most, they are symptomatic of a theatrical model in which the audience was unquestioned ruler. The house's outward stance towards the audience, as expressed through prologues, epilogues, and plays, portrayed an image of ever-obliging timidity. The justification for this otherwise inexplicable self-debasement is to be found in economic exigencies. The search for continued financial solvency required that the house flatter and placate the audience, in the same way that customer satisfaction was necessary to the welfare of any other business.

While aggrandizing the role of the audience, however, the house was seeking methods of quantifying and manipulating it. The care and detail with which the Account Books were kept display a desire to master the financial factors defining the audience and operating in the theare.

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theatre for three weeks. Given the circumstances, it is remarkable, and a tribute to Colman's management, that the theatre made any profit at all during 1767 - 1768. For a full discussion of the conflict between Colman and his partners, see Eugene R. Page's George Colman the Elder, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1935).

The economic profile of the audience that has here been outlined shows an audience that was economically regular and constant, lending itself to becoming the foundation for an economic reading of theatrical dynamics. Colman's managerial organization, having access to the same data, clearly was able to arrive at the same economic analysis of the audience which we have done: one of a constant audience with predictable attendance patterns. The purpose of such analysis was greater economic efficiency and financial success; the means to achieve them were a studied assessment of audience and repertory. Our next undertaking will be to analise the financial forces affecting repertory.

CHAPTER TWO -- PART 2

NIGHTLY REPERTORY AT COVENT GARDEN, 1767 - 1774

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		1767 - 1768		
14.09.67	M	THE REHEARSAL	C	191
		MOCK DOCTOR	BO	
15.09.67	T	THE REHEARSAL	C	69
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
16.09.67	W	VENICE PRESERV'D	T	108
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
17.09.67	TH	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	111
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
18.09.67	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	117
		THE CITIZEN	F	
19.09.67	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	89
		PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA	P	
21.09.67	M	THE MOURNING BRIDE	T	181
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
22.09.67	T	KING HENRY V	H	189
		CORONATION	ENT	
23.09.67	W	KING JOHN	HT	91
		CORONATION	ENT	
24.09.67	TH	KING HENRY V	H	77
		CORONATION	ENT	
25.09.67	F	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	110
		PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA	P	
26.09.67	SA	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	152
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
05.10.67	M	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	146
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
06.10.67	T	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	228
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
07.10.67	W	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	108
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
08.10.67	TH	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	103
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
09.10.67	F	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	75
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
10.10.67	SA	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	227
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
12.10.67	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	190
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
13.10.67	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	139

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
14.10.67	W	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	234
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
15.10.67	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	131
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
16.10.67	F	JANE SHORE	T	190
		LETHE	F	
17.10.67	SA	JANE SHORE	T	190
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
19.10.67	M	THE ORPHAN	T	170
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
20.10.67	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	167
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
21.10.67	W	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	225
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
22.10.67	TH	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	173
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
23.10.67	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	164
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
24.10.67	SA	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	124
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
26.10.67	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	178
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
27.10.67	T	THE BUSY BODY	C	137
		MIDAS	BURL	
28.10.67	W	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	205
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
29.10.67	TH	THE DISTREST MOTHER	T	163
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
30.10.67	F	COMUS	CM	98
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
31.10.67	SA	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	169
		MIDAS	BURL	
04.11.67	W	TAMERLANE	T	252
		LYCIDAS	INT	
05.11.67	TH	TAMERLANE	T	184
		MIDAS	BURL	
06.11.67	F	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	145
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
07.11.67	SA	KING RICHARD III	HT	192
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
09.11.67	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	238
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
10.11.67	T	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	213
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
11.11.67	W	JANE SHORE	T	171
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
12.11.67	TH	THE DISTREST MOTHER	T	191
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
13.11.67	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	209
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
14.11.67	SA	VENICE PRESERV'D	T	161

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
16.11.67	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	201
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
17.11.67	T	THE STRATAGEM	C	156
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
18.11.67	W	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	242
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
19.11.67	TH	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	175
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
20.11.67	F	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	120
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
21.11.67	SA	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	237
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
23.11.67	M	PHILASTER	T	230
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
24.11.67	T	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	149
		MIDAS	BURL	
25.11.67	W	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	215
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
26.11.67	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	182
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
27.11.67	F	THE WONDER	C	163
		MIDAS	BURL	
28.11.67	SA	JANE SHORE	T	230
		THE IRISH FINE LADY	F	
30.11.67	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	171
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
01.12.67	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	226
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
02.12.67	W	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	199
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
03.12.67	TH	THE WONDER	C	158
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
04.12.67	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	156
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
05.12.67	SA	OTHELLO	T	205
		MIDAS	BURL	
07.12.67	M	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	177
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
08.12.67	T	MAHOMET	T	127
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
09.12.67	W	PHILASTER	T	165
		MIDAS	BURL	
10.12.67	TH	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	213
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
11.12.67	F	THE BUSY BODY	C	136
		MIDAS	BURL	
12.12.67	SA	THE ORPHAN	T	133
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
14.12.67	M	THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C	126
17.12.67	TH	THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C	142
		THE APPRENTICE	F	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
18.12.67	F	THE WONDER	C	135
		THE CITIZEN	F	
19.12.67	SA	THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C	211
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
21.12.67	M	THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C	137
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
22.12.67	T	KING JOHN	HT	98
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
23.12.67	W	THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C	138
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
26.12.67	SA	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	189
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
28.12.67	M	CYMBELINE	T	247
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
29.12.67	T	KING RICHARD III	HT	171
		CORONATION	ENT	
30.12.67	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	190
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
31.12.67	TH	CYMBELINE	T	194
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
01.01.68	F	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	163
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
02.01.68	SA	PHILASTER	T	123
		MIDAS	BURL	
04.01.68	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	176
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
05.01.68	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	105
		THE CITIZEN	F	
06.01.68	W	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	199
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
07.01.68	TH	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	193
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
08.01.68	F	CYMBELINE	T	227
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
09.01.68	SA	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	215
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
11.01.68	M	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	160
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
12.01.68	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	185
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
13.01.68	W	THE BUSY BODY	C	207
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
14.01.68	TH	THE WONDER	C	229
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
15.01.68	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	168
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
16.01.68	SA	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	188
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
18.01.68	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	194
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
19.01.68	T	THE WONDER	C	168
		MIDAS	BURL	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
20.01.68	W	MACBETH	T	245
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
21.01.68	TH	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	205
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
22.01.68	F	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	215
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
23.01.68	SA	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	212
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
25.01.68	M	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	235
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
26.01.68	T	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	143
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
27.01.68	W	MACBETH	T	235
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
28.01.68	TH	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	200
		MIDAS	BURL	
29.01.68	F	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	227
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
01.02.68	M	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	233
		THE CONTRIVANCES	F	
02.02.68	T	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	210
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
03.02.68	W	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	204
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
04.02.68	TH	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	236
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
05.02.68	F	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	161
		MISS IN HER TEENS	F	
06.02.68	SA	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	175
		THE CITIZEN	F	
08.02.68	M	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	229
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
09.02.68	T	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	166
		MIDAS	BURL	
10.02.68	W	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	125
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
11.02.68	TH	PHILASTER	T	230
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
12.02.68	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	179
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
13.02.68	SA	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	211
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
15.02.68	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	215
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
16.02.68	T	MACBETH	T	225
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
18.02.68	TH	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	211
		MIDAS	BURL	
19.02.68	F	SAMSON	ORA	35
20.02.68	SA	KING LEAR	T	238
22.02.68	M	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	231
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
23.02.68	T	THE BUSY BODY	C	184
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
24.02.68	W	ALEXANDER'S FEAST WITH CORONATION	ODE	35
25.02.68	TH	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	234
		THE MILLER OF MANSFIELD	F	
26.02.68	F	ESTHER	ORA	35
27.02.68	SA	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	215
		THE OLD MAID	C	
29.02.68	M	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	199
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
01.03.68	T	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	220
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
02.03.68	W	JOSEPH	ORA	35
03.03.68	TH	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	222
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
04.03.68	F	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	35
05.03.68	SA	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	202
		THE CITIZEN	F	
07.03.68	M	KING LEAR	T	170
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
08.03.68	T	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	185
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
09.03.68	W	SAMSON	ORA	35
10.03.68	TH	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	189
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
11.03.68	F	ACIS AND GALATEA	O	35
12.03.68	SA	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	178
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
14.03.68	M	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	218
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
15.03.68	T	THE BUSY BODY	C	168
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
16.03.68	W	ALEXANDER BALUS	ORA	35
17.03.68	TH	MEDEA	T	112
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
18.03.68	F	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	35
19.03.68	SA	CYMBELINE	T	93
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
21.03.68	M	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	149
		MIDAS	BURL	
22.03.68	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	141
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
23.03.68	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
24.03.68	TH	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	127
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
25.03.68	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
26.03.68	SA	JANE SHORE	T	155
		EDGAR AND EMMELINE	ENT	
04.04.68	M	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	201
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
05.04.68	T	MACBETH	T	145
		THE CITIZEN	F	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
06.04.68	W	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	156
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
07.04.68	TH	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	137
		MIDAS	BURL	
08.04.68	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	127
		EDGAR AND EMMELINE	ENT	
09.04.68	SA	CYMBELINE	T	116
		THE CITIZEN	F	
11.04.68	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	129
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
12.04.68	T	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	75
		AMELIA	?	
13.04.68	W	ALL FOR LOVE	T	74
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	
14.04.68	TH	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	142
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
15.04.68	F	THE BUSY BODY	C	80
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
16.04.68	SA	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	92
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
18.04.68	M	CYMBELINE	T	101
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
19.04.68	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	86
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
20.04.68	W	CORIOLANUS	T	86
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
21.04.68	TH	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	79
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
22.04.68	F	THE STRATAGEM	C	77
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
23.04.68	SA	JANE SHORE	T	82
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
25.04.68	M	HAMLET	T	170
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
26.04.68	T	THE DISTREST MOTHER	T	104
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
27.04.68	W	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	90
		A DUKE AND NO DUKE	F	
28.04.68	TH	KING LEAR	T	109
		AMELIA	?	
29.04.68	F	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	72
		THE VIRGIN UNMASK'D	BO	
30.04.68	SA	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	115
		LETHE	F	
02.05.68	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	124
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
03.05.68	F	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	59
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
04.05.68	SA	MAHOMET	T	57
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	
05.05.68	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	221
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
06.05.68	F	THE WONDER	C	37
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
07.05.68	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	100
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
09.05.68	M	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	57
		AMELIA	?	
10.05.68	T	ZARA	T	42
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
11.05.68	W	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	38
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
12.05.68	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	41
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
13.05.68	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
23.05.68	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	51
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
24.05.68	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	47
		THE CITIZEN	F	
25.05.68	W	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	36
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
26.05.68	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	41
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
27.05.68	F	THE INCONSTANT	C	28
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
28.05.68	SA	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	35
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
30.05.68	M	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	57
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
31.05.68	T	KING RICHARD III	HT	39
		A DUKE AND NO DUKE	F	
01.06.68	W	THE WONDER	C	32
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
02.06.68	TH	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	25
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
03.06.68	F	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	25
04.06.68	SA	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	116
		MIDAS	BURL	

1768 - 1769

19.09.68	M	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	210
		THE OLD MAID	C	
20.09.68	T	CYMBELINE	T	244
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
21.09.68	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	101
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
22.09.68	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	239
		CORONATION	ENT	
23.09.68	F	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	109
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
24.09.68	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	127
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
26.09.68	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	133
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
27.09.68	T	THE MISER	C	75
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
28.09.68	W	JANE SHORE	T	156
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
29.09.68	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	167
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
30.09.68	F	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	131
		MIDAS	BURL	
01.10.68	SA	JANE SHORE	T	158
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
03.10.68	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	129
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
04.10.68	T	THE VIRGIN UNMASK'D	BO	116
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
05.10.68	W	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	152
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
06.10.68	TH	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	103
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
07.10.68	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	74
		THE CITIZEN	F	
08.10.68	SA	THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR	C	127
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
10.10.68	M	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	121
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
11.10.68	T	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	174
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
12.10.68	W	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	143
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
13.10.68	TH	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	209
		THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR	C	
14.10.68	F	THE STRATAGEM	C	86
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
15.10.68	SA	THE WONDER	C	125
		MIDAS	BURL	
17.10.68	M	MACBETH	T	196
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
18.10.68	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	134
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
19.10.68	W	KING RICHARD III	HT	176
		CORONATION	ENT	
20.10.68	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	131
		ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	
21.10.68	F	CYMBELINE	T	115
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
22.10.68	SA	ARTAXERXES	O	213
		THE MILLER OF MANSFIELD	F	
24.10.68	M	MAHOMET	T	186
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
25.10.68	T	ARTAXERXES	O	186
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
26.10.68	W	THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	T	165
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
27.10.68	TH	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	121
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
28.10.68	F	ARTAXERXES	O	149
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
29.10.68	SA	THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	T	185
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
31.10.68	M	MAHOMET	T	176
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
01.11.68	T	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	130
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
02.11.68	W	THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	T	141
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
03.11.68	TH	ARTAXERXES	O	163
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
04.11.68	F	KING HENRY V	H	158
		CORONATION	ENT	
05.11.68	SA	KING RICHARD III	HT	116
		MIDAS	BURL	
07.11.68	M	ARTAXERXES	O	200
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
08.11.68	T	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	140
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
09.11.68	W	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	175
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
10.11.68	TH	MACBETH	T	191
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
11.11.68	F	ARTAXERXES	O	161
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
12.11.68	SA	JANE SHORE	T	179
		MIDAS	BURL	
14.11.68	M	THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	T	138
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
15.11.68	T	ARTAXERXES	O	142
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
16.11.68	W	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	165
		MIDAS	BURL	
17.11.68	TH	KING LEAR	T	199
		THE CITIZEN	F	
18.11.68	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	181
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
19.11.68	SA	ZARA	T	159
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
21.11.68	M	CYMBELINE	T	146
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
22.11.68	T	KING HENRY V	H	159
		CORONATION	ENT	
23.11.68	W	ARTAXERXES	O	127
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
24.11.68	TH	VENICE PRESERV'D	T	166
		MIDAS	BURL	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
25.11.68	F	THE BUSY BODY	C	151
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
26.11.68	SA	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	228
		DAMON AND PHILLIDA	BO	
28.11.68	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	221
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	
29.11.68	T	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	166
		THE CITIZEN	F	
30.11.68	W	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	182
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
01.12.68	TH	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	187
		MIDAS	BURL	
02.12.68	F	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	126
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
03.12.68	SA	CYRUS	T	229
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	
05.12.68	M	CYRUS	T	201
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	
06.12.68	T	CYRUS	T	172
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
07.12.68	W	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	174
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
08.12.68	TH	CYRUS	T	181
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
09.12.68	F	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	138
		MIDAS	BURL	
10.12.68	SA	CYRUS	T	203
		THE CITIZEN	F	
12.12.68	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	169
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
13.12.68	T	CYRUS	T	159
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
14.12.68	W	THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR	C	76
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
15.12.68	TH	CYRUS	T	128
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
16.12.68	F	LOVE MAKES A MAN	C	133
		MIDAS	BURL	
17.12.68	SA	CYRUS	T	187
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
19.12.68	M	CYRUS	T	179
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
20.12.68	T	KING LEAR	T	167
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
21.12.68	W	CYRUS	T	179
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
22.12.68	TH	THE INCONSTANT	C	107
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
23.12.68	F	MACBETH	T	199
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
26.12.68	M	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	235
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
27.12.68	T	THE MISER	C	217
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
28.12.68	W	LOVE MAKES A MAN	C	210
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
29.12.68	TH	THE WONDER	C	201
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
30.12.68	F	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	173
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
31.12.68	SA	VENICE PRESERV'D	T	169
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
02.01.69	M	HAMLET	T	218
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
03.01.69	T	CYRUS	T	230
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
04.01.69	W	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	186
05.01.69	TH	THE MISER	C	224
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
06.01.69	F	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	198
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
07.01.69	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	208
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
09.01.69	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	206
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
10.01.69	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	176
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
11.01.69	W	KING LEAR	T	228
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
12.01.69	TH	THE STRATAGEM	C	239
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
13.01.69	F	CYRUS	T	229
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
14.01.69	SA	TOM JONES	CO	247
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	
16.01.69	M	TOM JONES	CO	251
		THE MILLER OF MANSFIELD	F	
17.01.69	T	TOM JONES	CO	206
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
18.01.69	W	TOM JONES	CO	205
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
19.01.69	TH	TOM JONES	CO	239
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
20.01.69	F	TOM JONES	CO	192
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
21.01.69	SA	KING LEAR	T	241
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
23.01.69	M	TOM JONES	CO	211
		THE MILLER OF MANSFIELD	F	
24.01.69	T	THE MISER	C	142
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
25.01.69	W	THE INCONSTANT	C	178
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
26.01.69	TH	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	198

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
27.01.69	F	JANE SHORE	T	196
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
28.01.69	SA	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	145
		APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	
31.01.69	T	CYRUS	T	245
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
01.02.69	W	TOM JONES	CO	201
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
02.02.69	TH	TOM JONES	CO	151
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
03.02.69	F	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	232
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
04.02.69	SA	THE WONDER	C	188
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
06.02.69	M	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	171
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
07.02.69	T	CYRUS	T	245
		MIDAS	BURL	
09.02.69	TH	TOM JONES	CO	241
10.02.69	F	GIDEON	ORA	35
11.02.69	SA	CYRUS	T	219
		MIDAS	BURL	
13.02.69	M	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	235
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
14.02.69	T	TOM JONES	CO	189
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
15.02.69	W	GIDEON	ORA	35
16.02.69	TH	HAMLET	T	178
		MIDAS	BURL	
17.02.69	F	ACIS AND GALATEA	O	35
18.02.69	SA	THE SISTER	C	234
		DAMON AND PHILLIDA	BO	
20.02.69	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	225
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
21.02.69	T	ZARA	T	198
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
22.02.69	W	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	35
23.02.69	TH	CYRUS	T	230
		MIDAS	BURL	
24.02.69	F	JOSHUA	ORA	35
25.02.69	SA	THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C	207
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
27.02.69	M	HAMLET	T	221
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
28.02.69	T	TOM JONES	CO	166
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
01.03.69	W	SAMSON	ORA	35
02.03.69	TH	CYRUS	T	229
		MIDAS	BURL	
03.03.69	F	ISRAEL IN EGYPT	ORA	35
04.03.69	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	208

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
06.03.69	M	MACBETH	T	231
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
07.03.69	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	224
08.03.69	W	SAMSON	ORA	35
09.03.69	TH	CYRUS	T	216
		MIDAS	BURL	
10.03.69	F	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	35
11.03.69	SA	CYMBELINE	T	155
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
13.03.69	M	ORESTES	DO	104
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
14.03.69	T	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	111
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
15.03.69	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
16.03.69	TH	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	171
		THE CITIZEN	F	
17.03.69	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
18.03.69	SA	ARTAXERXES	O	152
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
27.03.69	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	231
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
28.03.69	T	THE ALBION QUEENS	T	152
		THE WALKING STATUE	F	
29.03.69	W	MEDEA	T	118
		THE KNIGHTS	C	
30.03.69	TH	THE WONDER	C	131
		MIDAS	BURL	
31.03.69	F	HAMLET	T	132
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
01.04.69	SA	THE REFUSAL	C	142
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
03.04.69	M	MACBETH	T	151
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
04.04.69	T	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	91
		THE GUARDIAN	F	
05.04.69	W	JANE SHORE	T	153
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
06.04.69	TH	CYRUS	T	190
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
07.04.69	F	THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS	C	68
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
08.04.69	SA	THE WONDER	C	98
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
10.04.69	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	121
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
11.04.69	T	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	135
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
12.04.69	W	KING LEAR	T	97
		LETHE	F	
13.04.69	TH	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	60
		THE KNIGHTS	C	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
14.04.69	F	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	69
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
15.04.69	SA	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	127
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
17.04.69	M	OROONOKO	T	119
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
18.04.69	T	LOVE MAKES A MAN	C	100
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
19.04.69	W	THE ALBION QUEENS	T	73
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
20.04.69	TH	THE STRATAGEM	C	114
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
21.04.69	F	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	70
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
22.04.69	SA	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	62
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
24.04.69	M	OROONOKO	T	86
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
25.04.69	T	CYMBELINE	T	90
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
26.04.69	W	THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	T	53
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
27.04.69	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	58
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
28.04.69	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	40
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
29.04.69	SA	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	55
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
01.05.69	M	KING LEAR	T	88
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
02.05.69	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	66
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
03.05.69	W	KING LEAR	T	41
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
04.05.69	TH	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	60
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
05.05.69	F	JANE SHORE	T	39
		MISS IN HER TEENS	F	
06.05.69	SA	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	39
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
08.05.69	M	CYMBELINE	T	51
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
09.05.69	T	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	55
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
10.05.69	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	39
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
11.05.69	TH	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	89
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
12.05.69	F	THE REHEARSAL	C	33
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
15.05.69	M	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	72
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
16.05.69	T	CYMBELINE	T	56
		THE CITIZEN	F	
17.05.69	W	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	33
		MISS IN HER TEENS	F	
18.05.69	TH	KING RICHARD III	HT	54
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
19.05.69	F	THE MISER	C	48
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
20.05.69	SA	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	51
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
22.05.69	M	CYRUS	T	163
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
23.05.69	T	MACBETH	T	53
		MIDAS	BURL	
24.05.69	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	27
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
25.05.69	TH	CYRUS	T	68
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
		1769 - 1770		
18.09.69	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	178
		THE MILLER OF MANSFIELD	F	
20.09.69	W	THE BUSY BODY	C	165
		MIDAS	BURL	
22.09.69	F	KING HENRY V	H	227
		CORONATION	ENT	
25.09.69	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	204
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
27.09.69	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	167
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
29.09.69	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	165
		THE CITIZEN	F	
30.09.69	SA	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	76
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
02.10.69	M	THE MISER	C	148
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
03.10.69	T	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	84
		MIDAS	BURL	
04.10.69	W	KING RICHARD III	HT	163
		CORONATION	ENT	
05.10.69	TH	THE INCONSTANT	C	66
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
06.10.69	F	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	82
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
07.10.69	SA	DAMON AND PHILLIDA	BO	225
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
09.10.69	M	DAMON AND PHILLIDA	BO	210
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
10.10.69	T	THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	173
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
11.10.69	W	THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	192

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
12.10.69	TH	MOCK DOCTOR	BO	155
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
13.10.69	F	THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	134
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
14.10.69	SA	THE CONTRIVANCES	F	123
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
16.10.69	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	107
		THE CITIZEN	F	
17.10.69	T	LOVE MAKES A MAN	C	82
		MIDAS	BURL	
18.10.69	W	THE ORPHAN	T	170
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
19.10.69	TH	THE CITIZEN	F	226
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
20.10.69	F	THE ORPHAN	T	89
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
21.10.69	SA	THE UPHOLSTERER	F	135
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
23.10.69	M	THE ORPHAN	T	164
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
24.10.69	T	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	107
		MIDAS	BURL	
25.10.69	W	THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	195
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
26.10.69	TH	JANE SHORE	T	213
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
27.10.69	F	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	91
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
28.10.69	SA	KING RICHARD III	HT	128
		CORONATION	ENT	
30.10.69	M	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	149
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
31.10.69	T	THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	171
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
01.11.69	W	CYRUS	T	117
		THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	
02.11.69	TH	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	179
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
03.11.69	F	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	70
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
04.11.69	SA	TAMERLANE	T	240
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
06.11.69	M	TAMERLANE	T	226
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
07.11.69	T	THE BUSY BODY	C	175
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
08.11.69	W	THE ORPHAN	T	195
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
09.11.69	TH	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	195
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
10.11.69	F	JANE SHORE	T	215

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
11.11.69	SA	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	220
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
13.11.69	M	THE ORPHAN	T	186
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
14.11.69	T	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	169
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
15.11.69	W	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	167
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
16.11.69	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	214
		THE WALKING STATUE	F	
17.11.69	F	THE COUNTRY LASSES	C	148
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
18.11.69	SA	CYRUS	T	178
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
20.11.69	M	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	182
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
21.11.69	T	THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	135
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
22.11.69	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	126
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
23.11.69	TH	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	227
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
24.11.69	F	ARTAXERXES	O	148
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
25.11.69	SA	JANE SHORE	T	128
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
27.11.69	M	HAMLET	T	166
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
28.11.69	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	156
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
29.11.69	W	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	158
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
30.11.69	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	174
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
01.12.69	F	THE TWIN RIVALS	C	140
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
02.12.69	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	216
		THE CONTRIVANCES	F	
04.12.69	M	THE BROTHERS	C	170
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
05.12.69	T	THE BROTHERS	C	173
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
06.12.69	W	THE BROTHERS	C	143
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
07.12.69	TH	THE BROTHERS	C	189
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
08.12.69	F	THE BROTHERS	C	128
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
09.12.69	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	197
		MIDAS	BURL	
11.12.69	M	THE BROTHERS	C	171

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
12.12.69	T	THE BROTHERS	C	157
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
13.12.69	W	THE BROTHERS	C	158
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
14.12.69	TH	THE BROTHERS	C	208
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
15.12.69	F	AMINTAS	O	138
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
16.12.69	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	146
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
18.12.69	M	THE BROTHERS	C	185
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
19.12.69	T	MACBETH	T	188
		MIDAS	BURL	
20.12.69	W	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	86
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
21.12.69	TH	AMINTAS	O	133
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
22.12.69	F	THE STRATAGEM	C	96
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
23.12.69	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	120
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
26.12.69	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	232
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
27.12.69	W	THE MISER	C	146
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
28.12.69	TH	KING RICHARD III	HT	161
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
29.12.69	F	KING HENRY IV PT.1	T	149
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
30.12.69	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	172
		THE WALKING STATUE	F	
01.01.70	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	181
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
02.01.70	T	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	198
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
03.01.70	W	MACBETH	T	211
		MIDAS	BURL	
04.01.70	TH	THE TWIN RIVALS	C	179
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
05.01.70	F	THE ORPHAN	T	215
		THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	
06.01.70	SA	THE REFUSAL	C	98
		THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	
08.01.70	M	HAMLET	T	176
		THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	
09.01.70	T	THE BROTHERS	C	175
		THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	
10.01.70	W	CYRUS	T	203
		THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	
11.01.70	TH	MACBETH	T	166

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	
12.01.70	F	JANE SHORE	T	148
		THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	
13.01.70	SA	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	214
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
15.01.70	M	TAMERLANE	T	193
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
16.01.70	T	THE BROTHERS	C	194
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
17.01.70	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	218
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
18.01.70	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	152
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
19.01.70	F	CYMBELINE	T	250
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
20.01.70	SA	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	169
		MIDAS	BURL	
22.01.70	M	CYMBELINE	T	197
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
23.01.70	T	THE BUSY BODY	C	117
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
24.01.70	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	189
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
25.01.70	TH	THE BROTHERS	C	185
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
26.01.70	F	KING RICHARD III	HT	124
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
27.01.70	SA	THE REFUSAL	C	250
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
29.01.70	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	246
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
31.01.70	W	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	243
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
01.02.70	TH	THE ORPHAN	T	242
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
02.02.70	F	THE TWIN RIVALS	C	214
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
03.02.70	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	231
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
05.02.70	M	HAMLET	T	212
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
06.02.70	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	211
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
07.02.70	W	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	150
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
08.02.70	TH	THE STRATAGEM	C	220
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
09.02.70	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	179
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
10.02.70	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	194
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
12.02.70	M	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	226

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
13.02.70	T	CYRUS	T	230
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
14.02.70	W	MACBETH	T	188
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
15.02.70	TH	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	189
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
16.02.70	F	TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA	T	185
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
17.02.70	SA	JANE SHORE	T	130
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
19.02.70	M	TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA	T	190
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
20.02.70	T	THE BROTHERS	C	158
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
21.02.70	W	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	230
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
22.02.70	TH	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	151
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
23.02.70	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	174
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
24.02.70	SA	TIMANTHES	T	227
		DAMON AND PHILLIDA	BO	
26.02.70	M	TIMANTHES	T	197
		THE CITIZEN	F	
27.02.70	T	TIMANTHES	T	218
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
01.03.70	TH	TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA	T	239
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
02.03.70	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
03.03.70	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	197
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
05.03.70	M	TIMANTHES	T	231
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
06.03.70	T	TIMANTHES	T	162
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
07.03.70	W	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	35
08.03.70	TH	TIMANTHES	T	250
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
09.03.70	F	TIMANTHES	T	35
10.03.70	SA	TIMANTHES	T	225
		MIDAS	BURL	
12.03.70	M	TIMANTHES	T	177
		MIDAS	BURL	
13.03.70	T	TIMANTHES	T	174
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
14.03.70	W	SAMSON	ORA	35
15.03.70	TH	TIMANTHES	T	213
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
16.03.70	F	THE PASSION	ORA	35
17.03.70	SA	TIMANTHES	T	202
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
19.03.70	M	TIMANTHES	T	203
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
20.03.70	T	THE RELAPSE	C	157
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
21.03.70	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
22.03.70	TH	EARL OF WARWICK	T	106
		EDGAR AND EMMELINE	ENT	
23.03.70	F	THE RESURRECTION	ORA	35
24.03.70	SA	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	136
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
26.03.70	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	174
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
27.03.70	T	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	111
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
28.03.70	W	ISRAEL IN BABYLON	ORA	35
29.03.70	TH	THE ROMAN FATHER	T	151
30.03.70	F	THE RESURRECTION	ORA	35
31.03.70	SA	ISABELLA	T	119
		THE FARMER OUTWITTED	F	
02.04.70	M	CYRUS	T	102
		THE CITIZEN	F	
03.04.70	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	87
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
04.04.70	W	THE DEATH OF ABEL	ORA	35
05.04.70	TH	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	144
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
06.04.70	F	THE RESURRECTION	ORA	35
07.04.70	SA	ARTAXERXES	O	153
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
16.04.70	M	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	157
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
17.04.70	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	114
		THE CITIZEN	F	
18.04.70	W	CYMBELINE	T	56
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
19.04.70	TH	EARL OF WARWICK	T	91
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
20.04.70	F	THE WONDER	C	84
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
21.04.70	SA	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	97
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
23.04.70	M	MACBETH	T	103
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
24.04.70	T	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	132
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
25.04.70	W	SIR COURTLY NICE	C	73
26.04.70	TH	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	49
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
27.04.70	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	60
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
28.04.70	SA	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	94
		THE GUARDIAN	F	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
30.04.70	M	CATO	T	107
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
01.05.70	T	TOM JONES	CO	113
		THE CHEATS OF SCAPIN	F	
02.05.70	W	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	81
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
03.05.70	TH	TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA	T	122
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
04.05.70	F	ARTAXERXES	O	129
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
05.05.70	SA	ISABELLA	T	55
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
07.05.70	M	OROONOKO	T	105
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
08.05.70	T	THEODOSIUS	C	99
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
09.05.70	W	THE JOVIAL CREW	C	62
		A DUKE AND NO DUKE	F	
10.05.70	TH	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	49
		MISS IN HER TEENS	F	
11.05.70	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	41
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
12.05.70	SA	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	27
		MISS IN HER TEENS	F	
14.05.70	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	78
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
15.05.70	T	THE ORPHAN	T	34
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
16.05.70	W	KING HENRY V	H	23
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
17.05.70	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	71
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
18.05.70	F	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	13
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
19.05.70	SA	THE TWIN RIVALS	C	32
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
21.05.70	M	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	64
22.05.70	T	HAMLET	T	44
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
23.05.70	W	THE BUSY BODY	C	27
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
24.05.70	TH	THE BROTHERS	C	52
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
25.05.70	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	28
		THE CITIZEN	F	
26.05.70	SA	THE STRATAGEM	C	24
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
28.05.70	M	TIMANTHES	T	156
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
24.09.70	M	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
26.09.70	W	KING RICHARD III	HT	
		MIDAS	BURL	
28.09.70	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	
		THE GUARDIAN	F	
01.10.70	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
02.10.70	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		MOCK DOCTOR	BO	
03.10.70	W	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
04.10.70	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
05.10.70	F	TIMANTHES	T	
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
06.10.70	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
08.10.70	M	MACBETH	T	
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
09.10.70	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
10.10.70	W	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	
		MIDAS	BURL	
11.10.70	TH	THE TWIN RIVALS	C	
		MIDAS	BURL	
12.10.70	F	EARL OF WARWICK	T	
		A DUKE AND NO DUKE	F	
13.10.70	SA	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		MIDAS	BURL	
15.10.70	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
16.10.70	T	CYMBELINE	T	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
17.10.70	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
18.10.70	TH	THE ORPHAN	T	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
19.10.70	F	THE BROTHERS	C	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
20.10.70	SA	TIMANTHES	T	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
22.10.70	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
23.10.70	T	VENICE PRESERV'D	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
24.10.70	W	THE BROTHERS	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
25.10.70	TH	KING HENRY V	H	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
26.10.70	F	KING RICHARD III	HT	
		THE PADLOCK	F	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
27.10.70	SA	THE STRATAGEM	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
29.10.70	M	KING LEAR	T	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
30.10.70	T	VENICE PRESERV'D	T	
		MIDAS	BURL	
31.10.70	W	THE BROTHERS	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
01.11.70	TH	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
02.11.70	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		LETHE	F	
03.11.70	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
05.11.70	M	TAMERLANE	T	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
06.11.70	T	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
07.11.70	W	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
08.11.70	TH	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
09.11.70	F	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
10.11.70	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
12.11.70	M	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
13.11.70	T	BARBAROSSA	T	
		MIDAS	BURL	
14.11.70	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE OLD MAID	C	
15.11.70	TH	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
16.11.70	F	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
17.11.70	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
19.11.70	M	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
20.11.70	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
21.11.70	W	CYMBELINE	T	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
22.11.70	TH	THE ORPHAN	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
23.11.70	F	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
24.11.70	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
26.11.70	M	KING HENRY V	H	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
27:11.70	T	TIMANTHES	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
28.11.70	W	THE BROTHERS	C	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
29.11.70	TH	JANE SHORE	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
30.11.70	F	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
01.12.70	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
03.12.70	M	HAMLET	T	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
04.12.70	T	CYRUS	T	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
05.12.70	W	THE BROTHERS	C	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
06.12.70	TH	CYRUS	T	
		A DUKE AND NO DUKE	F	
07.12.70	F	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		MIDAS	BURL	
08.12.70	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	
10.12.70	M	JANE SHORE	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
11.12.70	T	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
12.12.70	W	CYRUS	T	
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
13.12.70	TH	THE JOVIAL CREW	C	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
14.12.70	F	MACBETH	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
15.12.70	SA	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		MIDAS	BURL	
17.12.70	M	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
18.12.70	T	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
19.12.70	W	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
20.12.70	TH	CYRUS	T	
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
21.12.70	F	THE MISER	C	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
22.12.70	SA	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
26.12.70	W	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
27.12.70	TH	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
28.12.70	F	KING HENRY V	H	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
29.12.70	SA	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
31.12.70	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
01.01.71	T	THE JOVIAL CREW	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
02.01.71	W	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
03.01.71	TH	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
04.01.71	F	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
05.01.71	SA	VENICE PRESERV'D	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
07.01.71	M	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
08.01.71	W	JANE SHORE	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
09.01.71	TH	THE BROTHERS	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
10.01.71	TH	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
11.01.71	F	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
12.01.71	SA	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
14.01.71	M	KING LEAR	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
15.01.71	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
16.01.71	W	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
17.01.71	TH	THE MISER	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
18.01.71	F	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
19.01.71	SA	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
21.01.71	M	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
22.01.71	T	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
23.01.71	W	CYMBELINE	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
24.01.71	TH	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
25.01.71	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
26.01.71	SA	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
28.01.71	M	OTHELLO	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
29.01.71	T	THE STRATAGEM	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
31.01.71	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
01.02.71	F	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
02.02.71	SA	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
04.02.71	M	THE STRATAGEM	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
05.02.71	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
06.02.71	W	THE BROTHERS	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
07.02.71	TH	BARBAROSSA	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
08.02.71	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
09.02.71	SA	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
11.02.71	M	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
12.02.71	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
14.02.71	TH	CYRUS	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
15.02.71	F	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	
16.02.71	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
18.02.71	M	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
19.02.71	T	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
20.02.71	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	
21.02.71	TH	THE JOVIAL CREW	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
22.02.71	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	
23.02.71	SA	CLEMENTINA	T	
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
25.02.71	M	CLEMENTINA	T	
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
26.02.71	T	CLEMENTINA	T	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
27.02.71	W	THE CURE OF SAUL	ORA	
28.02.71	TH	CLEMENTINA	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
01.03.71	F	SAMSON	ORA	
02.03.71	SA	CLEMENTINA	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
04.03.71	M	CLEMENTINA	T	
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
05.03.71	T	CLEMENTINA	T	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
06.03.71	W	THE DEATH OF ABEL	ORA	
07.03.71	TH	CLEMENTINA	T	
		MIDAS	BURL	
08.03.71	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	
09.03.71	SA	CLEMENTINA	T	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
11.03.71	M	THE JOVIAL CREW	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
12.03.71	T	MEDEA	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
13.03.71	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	
14.03.71	TH	TIMANTHES	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
15.03.71	F	THE RESURRECTION	ORA	
16.03.71	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
18.03.71	M	LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
19.03.71	T	CYRUS	T	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
20.03.71	W	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	
21.03.71	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
22.03.71	F	THE RESURRECTION	ORA	
23.03.71	SA	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
01.04.71	M	THE STRATAGEM	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	EN	
02.04.71	T	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
03.04.71	W	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
04.04.71	TH	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
05.04.71	F	AS YOU LIKE IT	CO	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
06.04.71	SA	ARTAXERXES	O	
		THE CITIZEN	F	
08.04.71	M	TIMANTHES	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
09.04.71	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
10.04.71	W	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
11.04.71	TH	KING HENRY V	H	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
12.04.71	F	TOM JONES	CO	
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
13.04.71	SA	JANE SHORE	T	
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
15.04.71	M	MACBETH	T	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
16.04.71	T	CYMBELINE	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
17.04.71	W	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
18.04.71	TH	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
19.04.71	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
20.04.71	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
22.04.71	M	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
23.04.71	T	OROONOKO	T	
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
24.04.71	W	THE WINTER'S TALE	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
25.04.71	TH	JANE SHORE	T	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
26.04.71	F	CYMBELINE	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
27.04.71	SA	THE MODERN WIFE	C	
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
29.04.71	M	HAMLET	T	
		THE MERRY COUNTERFEIT	F	
30.04.71	T	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
01.05.71	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
02.05.71	TH	CYRUS	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
03.05.71	F	THE BUSY BODY	C	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
04.05.71	SA	KING RICHARD III	HT	
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
06.05.71	M	MAHOMET	T	
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
07.05.71	T	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
08.05.71	W	THE BROTHERS	C	
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
09.05.71	TH	OROONOKO	T	
		MIDAS	BURL	
10.05.71	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
11.05.71	SA	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
13.05.71	M	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
14.05.71	T	BARBAROSSA	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
15.05.71	W	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
16.05.71	TH	THE STRATAGEM	C	
		MIDAS	BURL	
17.05.71	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE GUARDIAN	F	
20.05.71	M	MACBETH	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
21.05.71	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
22.05.71	W	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
23.05.71	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	
		THE AUTHOR	C	
24.05.71	F	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	
		THE PADLOCK	F	
25.05.71	SA	THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
27.05.71	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
28.05.71	T	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
30.05.71	TH	TIMANTHES	T	
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
06.06.71	TH	CATCHES AND GLEES	ORA	
		1771 - 1772		
23.09.71	M	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	186
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
25.09.71	W	HAMLET	T	207
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
27.09.71	F	THE STRATAGEM	C	132
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
30.09.71	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	191
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
02.10.71	W	OROONOKO	T	122
		MIDAS	BURL	
04.10.71	F	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	134
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
07.10.71	M	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	212
		MIDAS	BURL	
09.10.71	W	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	192
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
11.10.71	F	BARBAROSSA	T	185
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
14.10.71	M	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	205
		MIDAS	BURL	
15.10.71	T	KING RICHARD III	HT	194
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
16.10.71	W	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	224
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
17.10.71	TH	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	108

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
18.10.71	F	CYRUS	T	140
		THE AUTHOR	C	
19.10.71	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	139
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
21.10.71	M	OROONOKO	T	164
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
22.10.71	T	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	245
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
23.10.71	W	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	102
		MIDAS	BURL	
24.10.71	TH	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	240
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
25.10.71	F	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	147
		MIDAS	BURL	
26.10.71	SA	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	209
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
28.10.71	M	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	174
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
29.10.71	T	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	195
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
30.10.71	W	THE MISER	C	200
		THE KNIGHTS	C	
31.10.71	TH	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	204
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
01.11.71	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	97
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
02.11.71	SA	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	102
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
04.11.71	M	TAMERLANE	T	180
		THE AUTHOR	C	
05.11.71	T	JANE SHORE	T	147
		THE PADLOCK	F	
06.11.71	W	TAMERLANE	T	98
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
07.11.71	TH	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	168
		THE PADLOCK	F	
08.11.71	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	127
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
09.11.71	SA	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	130
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
11.11.71	M	TIMANTHES	T	199
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
12.11.71	T	THE MISER	C	221
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
13.11.71	W	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	231
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
14.11.71	TH	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	233
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
15.11.71	F	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	210
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
16.11.71	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	230

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
18.11.71	M	THE STRATAGEM	C	229
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
19.11.71	T	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	187
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
20.11.71	W	BARBAROSSA	T	200
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
21.11.71	TH	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	172
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
22.11.71	F	THE BROTHERS	C	167
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
23.11.71	SA	CYRUS	T	201
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
25.11.71	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	220
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
26.11.71	T	THE FOX	C	191
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
27.11.71	W	THE FOX	C	208
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
28.11.71	TH	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	175
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
29.11.71	F	THE FOX	C	147
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
30.11.71	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	187
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
02.12.71	M	THE FOX	C	163
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
03.12.71	T	JANE SHORE	T	179
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
04.12.71	W	LOVE MAKES A MAN	C	185
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
05.12.71	TH	BARBAROSSA	T	143
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
06.12.71	F	THE INCONSTANT	C	143
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
07.12.71	SA	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	176
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
09.12.71	M	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	149
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
10.12.71	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	146
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
11.12.71	W	ZOBEIDE	T	221
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
12.12.71	TH	ZOBEIDE	T	152
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
13.12.71	F	ZOBEIDE	T	149
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
14.12.71	SA	ZOBEIDE	T	197
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
16.12.71	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	149
		THE PADLOCK	F	
17.12.71	T	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	139

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
18.12.71	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	136
		LETHE	F	
19.12.71	TH	LOVE MAKES A MAN	C	116
		MIDAS	BURL	
20.12.71	F	OROONOKO	T	100
		THE PADLOCK	F	
21.12.71	SA	OTHELLO	T	106
		THE AUTHOR	C	
23.12.71	M	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	210
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
26.12.71	TH	THE MISER	C	166
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
27.12.71	F	THE BROTHERS	C	153
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
28.12.71	SA	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	152
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
30.12.71	M	KING LEAR	T	200
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
31.12.71	T	THE FOX	C	177
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
01.01.72	W	CYMBELINE	T	144
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
02.01.72	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	176
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
03.01.72	F	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	152
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
04.01.72	SA	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	164
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
06.01.72	M	THE FOX	C	120
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
07.01.72	T	THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	164
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
08.01.72	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	242
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
09.01.72	TH	OROONOKO	T	187
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
10.01.72	F	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	154
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
11.01.72	SA	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	137
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
13.01.72	M	ZOBEIDE	T	232
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
14.01.72	T	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	146
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
15.01.72	W	LOVE'S LAST SHIFT	C	110
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
16.01.72	TH	ZOBEIDE	T	167
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
17.01.72	F	LOVE'S LAST SHIFT	C	173
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
18.01.72	SA	ZOBEIDE	T	104

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
20.01.72	M	THE STRATAGEM	C	184
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
21.01.72	T	ZOBEIDE	T	127
		THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	
22.01.72	W	LOVE'S LAST SHIFT	C	144
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
23.01.72	TH	BARBAROSSA	T	130
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
24.01.72	F	ZOBEIDE	T	130
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
25.01.72	SA	OTHELLO	T	199
		AN HOUR BEFORE MARRIAGE	F	
27.01.72	M	MACBETH	T	210
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
28.01.72	T	THE FOX	C	117
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
29.01.72	W	CYRUS	T	162
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
31.01.72	F	THE BUSY BODY	C	202
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
01.02.72	SA	MAHOMET	T	149
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
03.02.72	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	205
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
04.02.72	T	JANE SHORE	T	192
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
05.02.72	W	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	180
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
06.02.72	TH	ZOBEIDE	T	162
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
07.02.72	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	140
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
17.02.72	M	MAHOMET	T	176
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
18.02.72	T	THE FOX	C	124
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
19.02.72	W	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	142
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
20.02.72	TH	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	175
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
21.02.72	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	162
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
22.02.72	SA	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	150
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
24.02.72	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	237
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
25.02.72	T	THE INCONSTANT	C	165
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
26.02.72	W	THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	176
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
27.02.72	TH	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	148

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
28.02.72	F	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	184
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
29.02.72	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	158
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
02.03.72	M	MACBETH	T	222
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
03.03.72	T	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	171
05.03.72	TH	KING RICHARD III	HT	219
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
06.03.72	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
07.03.72	SA	JANE SHORE	T	190
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
09.03.72	M	A WIFE IN THE RIGHT	C	243
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
10.03.72	T	ZOBEIDE	T	154
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
11.03.72	W	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	35
12.03.72	TH	THE STRATAGEM	C	224
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
13.03.72	F	SAMSON	ORA	35
14.03.72	SA	CYRUS	T	190
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
16.03.72	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	201
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
17.03.72	T	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	116
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
18.03.72	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
19.03.72	TH	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	149
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
20.03.72	F	THE RESURRECTION	ORA	35
21.03.72	SA	XIMENA	T	106
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
23.03.72	M	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	204
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
24.03.72	T	THE SEIGE OF DAMASCUS	T	119
		THE CITIZEN	F	
25.03.72	W	ABIMELECH	ORA	35
26.03.72	TH	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	231
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
27.03.72	F	CONCERTO SPIRITUALE	ORA	35
28.03.72	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	168
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
30.03.72	M	ISABELLA	T	146
		THE CHOICE	C	
31.03.72	T	TWELFTH NIGHT	C	153
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
01.04.72	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
02.04.72	TH	ISABELLA	T	206
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
03.04.72	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
04.04.72	SA	THE WAY OF THE WORLD	C	89

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE PADLOCK	F	
06.04.72	M	MACBETH	T	120
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
07.04.72	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	183
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
08.04.72	W	CONCERTO SPIRITUALE	ORA	35
09.04.72	TH	TIMANTHES	T	148
		THE CITIZEN	F	
10.04.72	F	CONCERTO SPIRITUALE	ORA	35
11.04.72	SA	CYMBELINE	T	150
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
20.04.72	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	117
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
21.04.72	T	MACBETH	T	142
		CHRONONOTORTHOLOGOS	BURL	
22.04.72	W	THE REFUSAL	C	83
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
23.04.72	TH	ARTAXERXES	O	226
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
24.04.72	F	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	117
		THE PADLOCK	F	
25.04.72	SA	THE WONDER	C	62
		THE AUTHOR	C	
27.04.72	M	THE SIEGE OF DAMASCUS	T	105
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
28.04.72	T	MACBETH	T	83
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
29.04.72	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	82
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
30.04.72	TH	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	130
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
01.05.72	F	JANE SHORE	T	87
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
02.05.72	SA	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	85
		THE SPANISH LADY	INT	
04.05.72	M	THE WINTER'S TALE	C	65
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
05.05.72	T	TWELFTH NIGHT	C	86
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
06.05.72	W	THE MISER	C	44
		THE PADLOCK	F	
07.05.72	TH	ISRAEL IN BABYLON	ORA	86
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
08.05.72	F	ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	C	65
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
09.05.72	SA	CYMBELINE	T	58
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
11.05.72	M	CATO	T	81
		THE CHEATS OF SCAPIN	F	
12.05.72	T	KING RICHARD III	HT	69
		HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	
13.05.72	W	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	34

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
14.05.72	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	83
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
15.05.72	F	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	44
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
16.05.72	SA	THE BROTHERS	C	37
		THE PADLOCK	F	
18.05.72	M	CYRUS	T	71
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
19.05.72	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	64
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
20.05.72	W	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	49
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
21.05.72	TH	KING LEAR	T	61
		THE PADLOCK	F	
22.05.72	F	OROONOKO	T	35
		THE CITIZEN	F	
23.05.72	SA	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	19
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
25.05.72	M	CATO	T	48
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
26.05.72	T	THE STRATAGEM	C	38
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
27.05.72	W	THE BUSY BODY	C	27
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
28.05.72	TH	ISABELLA	T	125
		THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	
29.05.72	F	THE MISER	C	12
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
30.05.72	SA	BARBAROSSA	T	32
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
01.06.72	M	MACBETH	T	85
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
		1772 - 1773		
21.09.72	M	THE MISER	C	199
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
23.09.72	W	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	150
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
25.09.72	F	THE BUSY BODY	C	200
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
28.09.72	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	226
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
30.09.72	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	235
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
01.10.72	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	232
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
05.10.72	M	JANE SHORE	T	233
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
07.10.72	W	JANE SHORE	T	209
		THE PADLOCK	F	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
09.10.72	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	219
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
12.10.72	M	JANE SHORE	T	224
		THE CITIZEN	F	
13.10.72	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	166
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
14.10.72	W	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	132
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
15.10.72	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	145
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
16.10.72	F	THE STRATAGEM	C	128
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
17.10.72	SA	JANE SHORE	T	181
		COMUS	M	
19.10.72	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	165
		COMUS	M	
20.10.72	T	THE BUSY BODY	C	180
		COMUS	M	
21.10.72	W	THE MISER	C	137
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
22.10.72	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	129
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
23.10.72	F	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	134
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
24.10.72	SA	JANE SHORE	T	117
		COMUS	M	
26.10.72	M	HAMLET	T	150
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
27.10.72	T	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	163
		COMUS	M	
28.10.72	W	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	223
		COMUS	M	
29.10.72	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	110
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
30.10.72	F	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	98
		COMUS	M	
31.10.72	SA	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	149
		COMUS	M	
02.11.72	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	164
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
03.11.72	T	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	152
		COMUS	M	
04.11.72	W	TAMERLANE	T	181
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
05.11.72	TH	THE ALBION QUEENS	T	104
		RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	
06.11.72	F	KING HENRY VIII	H	224
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
07.11.72	SA	KING HENRY VIII	H	206
		THE PADLOCK	F	
09.11.72	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	135
		THE COMMISSARY	C	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
10.11.72	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	163
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
11.11.72	W	KING HENRY VIII	H	216
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
12.11.72	TH	THE INCONSTANT	C	107
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
13.11.72	F	KING HENRY VIII	H	140
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
14.11.72	SA	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	113
		COMUS	M	
16.11.72	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	183
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
17.11.72	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	120
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
18.11.72	W	KING HENRY VIII	H	235
		THE PADLOCK	F	
19.11.72	TH	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	165
		COMUS	M	
20.11.72	F	KING HENRY VIII	H	136
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
21.11.72	SA	ELFRIDA	DP	202
		MOCK DOCTOR	BO	
23.11.72	M	ELFRIDA	DP	162
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
24.11.72	T	ELFRIDA	DP	169
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
25.11.72	W	ELFRIDA	DP	175
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
26.11.72	TH	ELFRIDA	DP	149
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
27.11.72	F	ELFRIDA	DP	150
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
28.11.72	SA	ELFRIDA	DP	160
		THE CITIZEN	F	
30.11.72	M	ELFRIDA	DP	186
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
01.12.72	T	ELFRIDA	DP	152
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
02.12.72	W	ELFRIDA	DP	234
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
03.12.72	TH	ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	C	134
		COMUS	M	
04.12.72	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	114
		THE ROYAL CHACE	P	
05.12.72	SA	ELFRIDA	DP	212
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
07.12.72	M	ELFRIDA	DP	206
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
08.12.72	T	ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	C	154
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
09.12.72	W	ELFRIDA	DP	211
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
10.12.72	TH	ELFRIDA	DP	169
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
11.12.72	F	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	128
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
12.12.72	SA	ELFRIDA	DP	133
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
14.12.72	M	JANE SHORE	T	175
		A TRIP TO SCOTLAND	F	
15.12.72	T	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	131
		COMUS	M	
16.12.72	W	ELFRIDA	DP	196
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
17.12.72	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	115
		COMUS	M	
18.12.72	F	ELFRIDA	DP	222
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
19.12.72	SA	THE STRATAGEM	C	122
		THE PADLOCK	F	
21.12.72	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	218
		THE CITIZEN	F	
22.12.72	T	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	89
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
23.12.72	W	JANE SHORE	T	151
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
26.12.72	SA	THE MISER	C	228
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
28.12.72	M	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	203
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
29.12.72	T	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	157
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
30.12.72	W	KING RICHARD III	HT	177
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
31.12.72	TH	ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	C	119
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
01.01.73	F	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	173
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
02.01.73	SA	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	120
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
04.01.73	M	HAMLET	T	180
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
05.01.73	T	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	136
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
06.01.73	W	KING HENRY V	H	126
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
07.01.73	TH	THE FOX	C	142
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
08.01.73	F	JANE SHORE	T	172
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
09.01.73	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	187
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
11.01.73	M	ELFRIDA	DP	255
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
12.01.73	T	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	166
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
13.01.73	W	ELFRIDA	DP	213
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
14.01.73	TH	LOVE'S LAST SHIFT	C	166
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
15.01.73	F	ELFRIDA	DP	185
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
16.01.73	SA	CYMBELINE	T	184
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
18.01.73	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	181
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
19.01.73	T	ELFRIDA	DP	203
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
20.01.73	W	THE FOX	C	122
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
21.01.73	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	215
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
22.01.73	F	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	156
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
23.01.73	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	197
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
25.01.73	M	KING LEAR	T	189
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
26.01.73	T	ELFRIDA	DP	179
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
27.01.73	W	ELFRIDA	DP	180
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
28.01.73	TH	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	151
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
29.01.73	F	ELFRIDA	DP	169
		THE CITIZEN	F	
01.02.73	M	HAMLET	T	219
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
02.02.73	T	ELFRIDA	DP	183
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
03.02.73	W	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	166
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
04.02.73	TH	ELFRIDA	DP	172
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
05.02.73	F	JANE SHORE	T	146
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
06.02.73	SA	THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	230
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
08.02.73	M	THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	206
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
09.02.73	T	THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	112
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
10.02.73	W	KING HENRY VIII	H	190
		COMUS	M	
11.02.73	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	119
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
12.02.73	F	CYMBELINE	T	160
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
13.02.73	SA	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	162
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
15.02.73	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	174
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
16.02.73	T	ELFRIDA	DP	159
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
17.02.73	W	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	218
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
18.02.73	TH	THE STRATAGEM	C	112
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
19.02.73	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	229
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
20.02.73	SA	JANE SHORE	T	170
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
22.02.73	M	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	202
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
23.02.73	T	ALZUMA	T	207
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
25.02.73	TH	ELFRIDA	DP	163
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
26.02.73	F	JUDITH	ORA	35
27.02.73	SA	THE STRATAGEM	C	159
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
01.03.73	M	ALZUMA	T	210
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
02.03.73	T	ALZUMA	T	164
		THE CITIZEN	F	
03.03.73	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
04.03.73	TH	ALZUMA	T	195
		COMUS	M	
05.03.73	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
06.03.73	SA	ALZUMA	T	197
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
08.03.73	M	ALZUMA	T	159
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
09.03.73	T	ALZUMA	T	176
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
10.03.73	W	SAMSON	ORA	35
11.03.73	TH	ALZUMA	T	178
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
12.03.73	F	JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	35
13.03.73	SA	ALZUMA	T	151
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
15.03.73	M	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	235
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
16.03.73	T	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	221
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
17.03.73	W	SAMSON	ORA	35
18.03.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	248
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
19.03.73	F	A PASTICIO	?	35
20.03.73	SA	AMPHITRYON	C	191
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
22.03.73	M	MACBETH	T	159
		THE PADLOCK	F	
23.03.73	T	KING HENRY VIII	H	124
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
24.03.73	W	A PASTICIO	?	35
25.03.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	222
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
26.03.73	F	THE DEATH OF ABEL	ORA	35
27.03.73	SA	ARTAXERXES	O	153
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
29.03.73	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	192
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
30.03.73	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	123
		THE PADLOCK	F	
31.03.73	W	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
01.04.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	244
		THE PADLOCK	F	
02.04.73	F	THE MESSIAH	ORA	35
03.04.73	SA	TIMANTHES	T	135
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
12.04.73	M	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	236
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
13.04.73	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	120
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
14.04.73	W	ARTAXERXES	O	149
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
15.04.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	230
		COMUS	M	
16.04.73	F	THE ALBION QUEENS	T	109
		A TRIP TO SCOTLAND	F	
17.04.73	SA	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	152
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
19.04.73	M	EARL OF WARWICK	T	150
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
20.04.73	T	MACBETH	T	100
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
21.04.73	W	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	146
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
22.04.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	224
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
23.04.73	F	THE FUNERAL	C	65
		THE CONTRIVANCES	F	
24.04.73	SA	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	102
		THE PADLOCK	F	
26.04.73	M	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	96
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
27.04.73	T	KING HENRY IV, PT 2	H	106
		THE MAN OF QUALITY	F	
28.04.73	W	ALL FOR LOVE	T	78

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		THE PADLOCK	F	
29.04.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	212
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
30.04.73	F	ARTAXERXES	O	85
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
01.05.73	SA	HENRY II	T	115
		THE CITIZEN	F	
03.05.73	M	THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	80
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
04.05.73	T	JULIUS CAESAR	HT	97
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
05.05.73	W	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	220
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
06.05.73	TH	LOVE FOR LOVE	C	80
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
07.05.73	F	LADY JANE GREY	T	84
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
08.05.73	SA	KING LEAR	T	73
		THE GRUMBLER	F	
10.05.73	M	MACBETH	T	71
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
11.05.73	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	90
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
12.05.73	W	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	96
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
13.05.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	201
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
14.05.73	F	JANE SHORE	T	50
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
15.05.73	SA	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	63
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
17.05.73	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	78
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
18.05.73	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	41
		THE PADLOCK	F	
20.05.73	TH	KING RICHARD III	HT	58
		THE CITIZEN	F	
21.05.73	F	THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS	C	20
22.05.73	SA	THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS	C	21
24.05.73	M	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	47
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
25.05.73	T	THE INCONSTANT	C	41
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
26.05.73	W	THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	71
		DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	?	
27.05.73	TH	THE STRATAGEM	C	27
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
28.05.73	F	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	19
		THE CONTRIVANCES	F	
31.05.73	M	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	122
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
		1773 - 1774		
20.09.73	M	THE BUSY BODY	C	184
		THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	
22.09.73	W	KING HENRY VIII	H	191
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
24.09.73	F	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	172
		MIDAS	BURL	
27.09.73	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	176
		MIDAS	BURL	
29.09.73	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	207
		THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	
01.10.73	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	152
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
04.10.73	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	207
		MIDAS	BURL	
05.10.73	T	KING RICHARD III	HT	207
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
06.10.73	W	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	93
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
07.10.73	TH	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	101
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
08.10.73	F	KING HENRY VIII	H	81
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
09.10.73	SA	THE HYPOCRITE	C	113
		MIDAS	BURL	
11.10.73	M	JANE SHORE	T	141
		HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	
12.10.73	T	THE HYPOCRITE	C	88
		MIDAS	BURL	
13.10.73	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	220
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
14.10.73	TH	THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	183
		LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	
15.10.73	F	THE WEST INDIAN	C	137
		MIDAS	BURL	
16.10.73	SA	THE WEST INDIAN	C	180
		COMUS	M	
18.10.73	M	HAMLET	T	147
		MIDAS	BURL	
19.10.73	T	THE WEST INDIAN	C	147
		COMUS	M	
20.10.73	W	THE WEST INDIAN	C	225
		COMUS	M	
21.10.73	TH	ELFRIDA	DP	110
		MAN AND WIFE	F	
22.10.73	F	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	124
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
23.10.73	SA	MACBETH	T	200
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
25.10.73	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	141
		MIDAS	BURL	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
26.10.73	T	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	153
		COMUS	M	
27.10.73	W	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	184
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
28.10.73	TH	JANE SHORE	T	181
		THE FAIR	?	
29.10.73	F	THE WEST INDIAN	C	136
		THE FAIR	?	
30.10.73	SA	MACBETH	T	153
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
01.11.73	M	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	190
		THE FAIR	?	
02.11.73	T	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	130
		THE FAIR	?	
03.11.73	W	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	126
		THE FAIR	?	
04.11.73	TH	TAMERLANE	T	160
		COMUS	M	
05.11.73	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	122
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
06.11.73	SA	MACBETH	T	238
		THE PADLOCK	F	
08.11.73	M	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	176
		MIDAS	BURL	
09.11.73	T	KING HENRY VIII	H	146
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
10.11.73	W	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	221
		THE MUSICAL LADY	F	
11.11.73	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	97
		COMUS	M	
12.11.73	F	THE BUSY BODY	C	160
		THE PADLOCK	F	
13.11.73	SA	MACBETH	T	202
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
15.11.73	M	CYMBELINE	T	125
		MIDAS	BURL	
16.11.73	T	ELFRIDA	DP	114
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
17.11.73	W	CYMBELINE	T	186
		COMUS	M	
19.11.73	F	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	134
		MIDAS	BURL	
20.11.73	SA	THE DUELLIST	C	221
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
22.11.73	M	HAMLET	T	124
		MIDAS	BURL	
23.11.73	T	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	103
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
24.11.73	W	THE BUSY BODY	C	214
		THE PADLOCK	F	
25.11.73	TH	CYMBELINE	T	122
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
26.11.73	F	THE WEST INDIAN	C	114
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
27.11.73	SA	OTHELLO	T	188
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
29.11.73	M	OTHELLO	T	137
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
30.11.73	T	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	139
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
01.12.73	W	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	105
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
02.12.73	TH	RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	106
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
03.12.73	F	THE MISER	C	137
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
04.12.73	SA	ALL FOR LOVE	T	132
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
06.12.73	M	CYMBELINE	T	140
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
07.12.73	T	THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	103
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
08.12.73	W	ELFRIDA	DP	209
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
09.12.73	TH	KING RICHARD III	HT	149
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
10.12.73	F	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	118
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
11.12.73	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	116
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
13.12.73	M	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	106
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
14.12.73	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	134
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
15.12.73	W	CYMBELINE	T	152
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
16.12.73	TH	THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	150
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
17.12.73	F	A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	144
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
18.12.73	SA	THE INCONSTANT	C	105
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
20.12.73	M	KING RICHARD III	HT	162
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
21.12.73	T	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	163
		MIDAS	BURL	
22.12.73	W	KING HENRY VIII	H	131
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
23.12.73	TH	THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	86
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
27.12.73	M	GEORGE BARNWELL	T	185
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	
28.12.73	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	169
		HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
29.12.73	W	ALL FOR LOVE	T	138
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
30.12.73	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	152
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
31.12.73	F	THE MISER	C	130
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
01.01.74	SA	KING RICHARD III	HT	134
		THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	
03.01.74	M	JANE SHORE	T	238
		THE SYLPHS	P	
04.01.74	T	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	174
		THE SYLPHS	P	
05.01.74	W	THE STRATAGEM	C	243
		THE SYLPHS	P	
06.01.74	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	168
		THE SYLPHS	P	
07.01.74	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	201
		THE PADLOCK	F	
08.01.74	SA	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	237
		THE SYLPHS	P	
10.01.74	M	JANE SHORE	T	209
		THE SYLPHS	P	
11.01.74	T	THE WEST INDIAN	C	184
		THE SYLPHS	P	
12.01.74	W	HENRY II	T	189
		THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	
13.01.74	TH	THE BUSY BODY	C	230
		THE SYLPHS	P	
14.01.74	F	HENRY II	T	136
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
15.01.74	SA	SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	221
		THE SYLPHS	P	
17.01.74	M	HENRY II	T	208
		THE SYLPHS	P	
18.01.74	T	THE INCONSTANT	C	173
		THE SYLPHS	P	
19.01.74	W	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	217
		THE SYLPHS	P	
20.01.74	TH	HENRY II	T	217
		THE SYLPHS	P	
21.01.74	F	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	175
		THE SYLPHS	P	
22.01.74	SA	HENRY II	T	192
		THE SYLPHS	P	
24.01.74	M	HENRY II	T	207
		MIDAS	BURL	
25.01.74	T	THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	161
		THE SYLPHS	P	
26.01.74	W	KING RICHARD III	HT	175
		THE SYLPHS	P	
27.01.74	TH	HENRY II	T	179
		THE SYLPHS	P	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
28.01.74	F	HENRY II	T	167
		THE SYLPHS	P	
29.01.74	SA	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	258
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
01.02.74	T	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	185
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
02.02.74	W	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	160
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
03.02.74	TH	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	160
		MIDAS	BURL	
04.02.74	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	106
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
05.02.74	SA	CYMBELINE	T	138
		THE SYLPHS	P	
07.02.74	M	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	159
		THE SYLPHS	P	
08.02.74	T	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	202
		THE SYLPHS	P	
09.02.74	W	ROMEO AND JULIET	T	167
		THE SYLPHS	P	
10.02.74	W	THE MISER	C	107
		THE SYLPHS	P	
11.02.74	F	TIMANTHES	T	118
		THE SYLPHS	P	
12.02.74	SA	THE STRATAGEM	C	120
		THE SYLPHS	P	
14.02.74	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	186
		THE SYLPHS	P	
15.02.74	T	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	158
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
17.02.74	TH	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	161
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
19.02.74	SA	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	123
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
21.02.74	M	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	130
		MIDAS	BURL	
22.02.74	T	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	102
		THE PORTRAIT	BURL	
24.02.74	TH	HENRY II	T	213
		THE SYLPHS	P	
26.02.74	SA	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	192
		MIDAS	BURL	
28.02.74	M	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	138
		THE SYLPHS	P	
01.03.74	T	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	176
		ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	
03.03.74	TH	HENRY II	T	220
		THE SYLPHS	P	
05.03.74	SA	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	143
		THE SYLPHS	P	
07.03.74	M	HENRY II	T	173
		THE SYLPHS	P	

PERFORMANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
08.03.74	T	HENRY II	T	144
		THE SYLPHS	P	
10.03.74	TH	THE FAIR PENITENT	T	152
		MIDAS	BURL	
12.03.74	SA	THE WINTER'S TALE	C	203
		THE SYLPHS	P	
14.03.74	M	HEROD AND MARIAMNE	T	128
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
15.03.74	T	KING HENRY IV PT.1	T	199
		MIDAS	BURL	
17.03.74	TH	HENRY II	T	193
		THE SYLPHS	P	
19.03.74	SA	ARTAXERXES	O	161
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	
21.03.74	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	117
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
22.03.74	T	DON SEBASTIAN	TC	106
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
24.03.74	TH	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	174
		MIDAS	BURL	
26.03.74	SA	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	182
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
04.04.74	M	HENRY II	T	173
		THE SYLPHS	P	
05.04.74	T	LOVE FOR LOVE	C	115
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
06.04.74	W	JANE SHORE	T	102
		THE CITIZEN	F	
07.04.74	TH	THE PRINCE OF AGRA	BURL	109
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
08.04.74	F	KING HENRY IV PT.1	T	133
		THE PADLOCK	F	
09.04.74	SA	ARTAXERXES	O	137
		THE AUTHOR	C	
11.04.74	M	CYRUS	T	119
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
12.04.74	T	THE SOUTH BRITON	C	100
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
13.04.74	W	MACBETH	T	127
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
14.04.74	TH	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	111
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
15.04.74	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	115
		THE AUTHOR	C	
16.04.74	SA	THE BUSY BODY	C	108
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
18.04.74	M	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	131
		CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	
19.04.74	T	THE SPANISH FRIAR	TC	71
		THE APPRENTICE	F	
20.04.74	W	HENRY II	T	116
		THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	

PERFOR-MANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
21 04.74	TH	THE REVENGE	T	122
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
22.04.74	F	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	88
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
23.04.74	SA	THE FUNERAL	C	83
		THE CITIZEN	F	
25.04.74	M	KING HENRY VIII	H	78
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
26.04.74	T	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	84
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
27.04.74	W	THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	169
		THE CITIZEN	F	
28.04.74	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	100
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
29.04.74	F	MACBETH	T	82
		THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	
30.04.74	SA	KING HENRY IV PT.1	T	73
		THE PADLOCK	F	
02.05.74	M	THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	100
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
03.05.74	T	HAMLET	T	76
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
04.05.74	W	THE BUSY BODY	C	86
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
05.05.74	TH	HENRY II	T	107
		MIDAS	BURL	
06.05.74	F	LOVE FOR LOVE	C	79
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
07.05.74	SA	KING HENRY IV PT.1	T	40
		THE PADLOCK	F	
09.05.74	M	JANE SHORE	T	59
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
10.05.74	T	KING RICHARD III	HT	44
		CROSS PURPOSES	F	
11.05.74	W	LADY JANE GREY	T	47
		THE CITIZEN	F	
12.05.74	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	173
		COMUS	M	
13.05.74	F	LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	42
		THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	
14.05.74	SA	THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	23
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
16.05.74	M	DON SEBASTIAN	TC	28
		THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	
17.05.74	T	THE WEST INDIAN	C	45
		THE UPHOLSTERER	F	
18.05.74	W	THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	35
		THE PADLOCK	F	
19.05.74	TH	SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	32
		THE CHAPLET	ENT	
20.05.74	F	THE STRATAGEM	C	38
		THE PADLOCK	F	

PERFORMANCE DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TITLE	TYPE	GROSS REC'T
23.05.74	M	HENRY II	T	123
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
24.05.74	T	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	58
		MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	
25.05.74	W	THE REVENGE	T	47
		THE COMMISSARY	C	
26.05.74	TH	THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	124
		MIDAS		

M = MONDAY
T = TUESDAY
W = WEDNESDAY
TH = THURSDAY
F = FRIDAY
SA = SATURDAY

BO = BALLAD OPERA
BURL = BURLESQUE
C = COMEDY
CM = COMIC MASQUE
CO = COMIC OPERA
DO = DRAMATIC ODE
DP = DRAMATIC POEM
ENT = ENTERTAINMENT
F = FARCE
H = HISTORY
HT = HISTORY-TRAGEDY
INT = INTERLUDE
M = MASQUE
O = OPERA
ODE = ODE
OF = OPERATIC FARCE
ORA = ORATORIO
P = PANTOMIME
T = TRAGEDY
TC = TRAGI-COMEDY

Chapter Three: An Analysis of Repertory

Repertory was the ware of the theatre and, although surrounded by the trappings of scenery and enhanced by popular actors, it was ultimately the product for which the audience paid admission. As the theatre's essential commodity, repertory was also the means by which the audience/house balance was kept in workable alignment. In the repertory system in operation at the two London patent theatres, adjustments could be made on a nightly basis to the audience/house relationship through repertory choices or even, in the case of severe audience displeasure, during a performance itself. During the eighteenth century, the repertory system was extremely versatile, incorporating large numbers of plays over an annual average of two hundred performance nights: the season 1767 - 68, for example, had 201 performance nights during which 87 different plays, afterpieces, operas, and oratorios were presented.[1] It is therefore clear that the very diversity of the scheduling system included an ability to respond instantly to even minor changes in theatrical dynamics.[2] And this ability to adapt

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[1] Throughout this study, discrepancies will be noticed between the figures presented here and those contained in The London Stage, Part Four, edited by George Winchester Stone, Jr. In The London Stage, oratorio performances are not included in calculations of performance night figures. The figures in this study are based on the Covent Garden Account Books.

[2] In 1767 - 68, 57 different pieces were played over 201 performance nights; 1768 - 69, 84 were played over 204 nights; in 1769 - 1770, 94 over 191; in 1770 - 71, 83 over 200, in 1771 - 72, 90 over 191; in 1772 - 73, 80 over 196; and in 1773 - 74, 80 over 185.

repertory quickly was essential to the theatre's survival.

As is evidenced by the sheer number of different pieces which were shown in any given season and the seeming ease with which plays were substituted for each other,[3] repertory was seen as a flexible, mutable commodity. Managers did not hesitate to edit new plays or alter old ones[4] and, as comically shown in Sheridan's The Critic,[5] even players were allowed the liberty to make changes in the text. The frequency and casualness with which texts were modified was based on the assumption of the mutability of texts. William Whitehead's prologue to The School for Lovers illustrates exactly how unprivileged an author's text was taken to be. In the passage quoted on the left, we see Whitehead's prologue as it was intended to be spoken and on the right, how Garrick actually spoke it in performance after alteration. These passages not only state the management's willingness to transgress all dramatic "rules" in order to please the public but are themselves evidence of that type of willingness:

Your giant wits, like those of old, may climb
Olympus high, and step o'er space and time:
May stride with seven leagu'd boots, from shore to shore,
And, nobly by transgressing, charm you more.

Your giant wits, like those of old, may climb
Olympus high, and step o'er space and time:
May stride, with seven-leagu'd boots, from shore to shore,
And, nobly by transgressing, charm ye more.

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[3]During the 1769-70 season, for example, the advertised performance bill was altered on: Oct. 16, Oct. 28, Nov. 28, Nov. 14, Dec. 28, Jan. 23, Jan. 26, Jan. 29, Feb. 7, March 1, March 3, and May 17.

[4]Colman altered or adapted the following plays during his management: The English Merchant (1767), The Portrait (1770), The Fairy Prince (1771), Comus (1773), and Achilles in Petticoats (1773).

[5]Richard B. Sheridan, The Critic, pp 77 - 78.

Alas! our Author dares not laugh at schools,
Plain sense confines his humbler Muse to rules
Form'd on the classic scale his structures rise,
He shifts no scenes to dazzle and surprise.[6]

Alas! our Author dares not laugh at schools —
Plain sense confines his humbler Muse rules:
He shifts no scenes — But here I stop'd him short —
Not change you scenes? said I, — I'm sorry for't:
My constant friends above, around, below,
Have English tastes, and love both change and show:
Without such aids, even Shakespear would be flat —
Our crouded pantomimes are proofs of that.
What eager transport stares from every eye,
When pullies rattle, and our Genii fly!
When tin cascades like falling waters gleam:
Or through the canvas — bursts the real stream:[7]
While thirsty Islington laments in vain
Half her New-River roll'd into Drury-Lane.
Lord, Sir, said I, for gallery, boxes, pit,
I'll back my Harlequin against your wit —
Yet still the Author, anxious for his play,
Shook his wise head — What will the critics say?
As usual, Sir — abuse you all you can! —
And what the ladies — He's a charming man!
A charming piece! — One scarce knows what it means;
But that's no matter — Where there's such sweet scenes!
Still he persists — and let him — entre nous —
I know your tastes, and will indulge 'em too.
Change you shall have; so set your hearts at ease:
Write as he will, we'll act it as you please.[8]

Garrick stresses the difference between the play as literary text bound by formal critical rules and theories and the play as theatrical event,[9] enhanced by tin cascades, rattling pullies, flying Genii, and change and show.[10] The assumption

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[6]William Whitehead, School for Lovers (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1762), p. A3r.

[7]This passage gives an indication of how some of the spectacular stage effects that were become increasingly popular were produced.

[8]Whitehead, School for Lovers, pp A3v - A4r.

[9]The separation of drama as text and drama as act was not particular to Garrick. F. W. Bateson noted of Sheridan that he "was capable of drawing a distinction between the acting and the reading versions of his plays." F. W. Bateson, "Notes on the Text of Two Sheridan Plays" in Review of English Studies, vol. vxi (1940), p. 317.

[10]The Licensing Act of 1737, while placing all new plays that were to be acted under the censorship of the Lord Chamberlain, did not extend to the printed texts of plays. Thus much that was excised from the acting versions of plays, was often restored by the author upon the play's publication. Puff, in The Critic, for example, cries:

that plays could be altered into other forms such as pantomimes and entertainment is also shown by the reference to Shakespearean plots being used as pantomimes. There was, therefore, little sense that texts were permanent or inviolable works, and much to suggest that they were considered flexible goods.

Because plays were seen to be flexible commodities, scheduling changes were made to repertory from night to night and individual plays were altered from one performance to the next. Authors responded to audience reaction and pressure by immediately rewriting offending passages, altering their plays until they had satisfied most reasonable objections. In fact, audience response to a play was expected and considered part of the editorial process. In 1775, Sheridan wrote in the Preface to the first edition of The Rivals:

> For my own Part, I see no reason why the Author of a Play should not regard a First Night's Audience, as a candid and judicious friend attending, in behalf of the Public, at his last Rehearsal.[11]

And, indeed, Sheridan made many alterations to The Rivals based on audience reaction to its first performance.[12]

> PUFF. The pruning knife -- zounds the axe! why, here has been such lopping and topping, I shan't have the bare trunk of my play left presently. -- Very well, Sir -- the performance must do as they please, but upon my soul, I'll print every word.

after witnessing the cuts that have been made to his play. Sheridan, The Critic, p. 78.

[11]Richard B. Sheridan, The Rivals (London: John Wilkie, 1775), p. ix.

[12]Full discussions of Sheridan's plays are to be found in The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, edited by Cecil Price (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973).

Audience demands for revision or alteration were not, however, met with uniform acquiescence. On November 7, 1767, Colman produced his farce The Oxonian in Town. In it, he describes the adventures of two Oxford students, Knowell and Careless; the latter of whom is almost tricked out of his money by three Irish scoundrels. Irish spectators felt that the play slandered the Irish nation as a whole. Their resentment grew so high that there was danger of a riot in the theatre on November 11. Colman chose to respond to the criticism of his play not by removing or altering the passages in question, but by publishing extracts of the play in the Public Advertiser on November 12 in order to show the play's positive comments about the Irish people in general. The Oxonian in Town was then played, without complaint, for the remainder of the season. Management, in this case Colman, heeded audience opinion whenever it was expressed and, although we have seen in the case of The Oxonian in Town that revision was not a necessary response to audience pressure, some response in terms of repertory was always required to placate a displeased house.

Another manifestation of the flexibility of repertory was the ease and speed with which new plays could be written and produced in response to current events: both theatrical and secular. The inbred audience of the eighteenth century, aware of current theatrical scandals, rumors, and projects, welcomed plays about the theatre and all its intrigues.[13] References to theatrical disputes were

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[13]For a full discussion of the audience's interest

frequently written into prologues and farces[14] and the inclusion of such topics fostered a sense of community between the audience and the house.

Theatrical topics were popular subjects for plays and many profitable performances were built around plays about the theatre. A striking example of an event in the theatrical world coming to the stage is Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee at Stratford during the September of 1769.[15] Conceived on the grandest scale, the actual three-day event was marred by rain and the insufficient provisions of the town for lodging and food. Within a month of the Jubiliee, Colman had mounted at Covent Garden an afterpiece called Man and Wife; or The Shakespeare Jubilee,[16] a standard love intrigue set in Stratford during the Jubilee. In the play, Colman was able to ridicule all the shortcomings of the Jubilee: to lament the shortage of housing, the poor quality of the food, and the overcharging for goods; and to capitalize on the interest provoked by Garrick's Jubilee by including a large procession of Shakespearean characters in

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in the affairs of the theatre and the plays written to satisfy this interest, see Dane Farnsworth Smith and M. L. Lawhon, Plays About the Theatre in England, 1737-1800 (Lewisburg: Bucknell Univ. Press, 1979).

[14]Among Colman's works alone we find references to theatrical events of the time in: The Manager in Distress, The Oxonian in Town, The Election of the Managers, An Occasional Prelude, Man and Wife, and New Brooms!.

[15]See George W. Stone, Jr. and George M. Karhl, David Garrick, A Critical Biography (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1979), pp 577-85.

[16]George Colman, Man and Wife; or the Shakespeare Jubilee (London: T. Beckett, 1770).

the middle of his farce.[17] The success of Man and Wife was only shortened by Garrick producing at Drury Lane his own playlet based on the Jubilee. It ran for 90 nights in its first season and recouped the financial setbacks sustained from the Stratford event. Hence, what Garrick had originally planned as an outdoor theatrical event at Stratford, incorporating dance, music, and the Jubilee participants, itself became material for the patent houses during the winter.

Managers also drew from current political and social events for quick ideas for new entertainments. In the 1771 - 72 season,[18] Colman and Garrick both drew inspiration for pageants based on the ceremony of the Garter which they had witnessed the preceding summer. Garrick managed to produce his masque, The Institution of the Garter; or Arthur's Round Table Restored,[19] slightly before Colman was able to mount The Fairy Prince;[20] and the financial incentive to reach the stage first spurred both on to early production dates:

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[17]The procession included among others: Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, King John, Richard III, Harry the Eighth, Anne Bullen, Prospero, Miranda and Ferdinand, Trinculo , Hecate, Oberon and Titania, Othello and Desdemona, Hamlet, Ophelia, Lear, Cordelia, Jachimo, Posthumous and Imogen, Macbeth, Friar Lawrence, Touchstone, Lancelot, Malvolio, Florizel, Perdita, Antonio, and Bassanio.

[18]See George W. Stone, Jr. and George M. Kahrl, David Garrick, pp 239-240.

[19]David Garrick, The Institution of the Garter; or Arthur's Round Table Restored (London: T. Becket,1771).

[20]George Colman, The Fairy Prince, with Installation of the Knights of the Garter (London: T. Beckett, 1771).

> The following February Earl Gower was installed as a Knight of the Garter with regal ceremony, and in July the Prince of Wales was inducted. Garrick saw in these ceremonies the stuff for another dip into the British past....
>
> The excitement of working up this pageant lay in Garrick's knowledge that Colman at Covent Garden (prompted by the same summer ceremonies of the Garter) was preparing a similar production, called The Fairy Prince, with Installation of the Knights of the Garter. Garrick presented his show on 28 October, and Colman his on 11 November. They ran for two weeks together offering Londoners a choice of splendid pageantry.[21]

After the Licensing Act of 1737, references to contemporary topics in plays were limited to politically neutral subjects (hence the continuing popularity of theatre as a dramatic subject) and spectacles based on the pageantry and glories of England's historical past, such as the ceremonies of the Garter, became increasingly popular. Of course, it could not be argued that the historical and often mythical bases for many of the pantomimes and spectacles of the later eighteenth century were free of political innuendo and content, even Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee set Shakespeare's greatness within a Franco-British dichotomy, but overtly political drama was certainly censored.[22] The important point to stress is that contemporary events were incorporated into the theatrical repertory and on very short notice; an elaborate production such as Man and Wife was taken from conception to realization in a single month.

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[21] G. W. Stone, Jr and G. M. Kahrl, David Garrick, p. 239.

[22] For a comprehensive discussion of censorship of the theatre during the eighteenth century, see Leonard W. Conolly, The Censorship of English Drama, 1737-1824 (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1976).

Although there was a great deal of flexibility inherent in the repertory system of the eighteenth century, managers usually maintained a rather fixed and predictable repertory schedule. By the period of Colman's management, the format for any given night's entertainment was outlined by Town and Country Magazine as:

> The entertainment of the English theatre consists of a prelude of music, a play, whether tragedy or comedy, with music and dancing between the acts, and is concluded with a petite piece, either a farce or a pantomime....[23]

And, unlike during the first quarter of the century, afterpieces were standard elements of the repertory each evening.[24]

Not only was the format of the nightly entertainment standardized by the 1760s, at least one modern critic states that the content seemed to have become routine as well:

> So infrequently was there any significant change in the repertory from season to season, at least until about 1760, that each season seems to have been planned on the example of the preceding.[25]

We shall see below exactly how far this statement can be borne out by actual performance data. Here, it is important for us to note that at least a semblance of regularity was evident in the overall scheme of repertory scheduling. The most common explanation given for the stasis of eighteenth-century repertory, both by modern stage historians and

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[23] Town and Country Magazine, vol. 4 (1772), p. 172.

[24] Afterpieces were first introduced to London audiences during the 1720s.

[25] James J. Lynch, Box, Pit, and Gallery, p. 14.

contemporary critics, is the reliance that managers placed on stock pieces in order to guarantee financial security.

Stock plays were the foundation of an eighteenth-century manager's repertory; they were plays that carried no financial risk and their popularity could be predicted based on previous performances. From a financial standpoint, new plays required a tremendous outlay which stock plays did not. In addition to the cost of new scenery and costumes,[26] managers had to pay a licensing fee to the Lord Chamberlain[27] for each new play and pay for the performance rights to the new play or, more commonly, give the author the profit from the third, sixth, and ninth performances. On the other hand, stock plays required no great expenditure and their success was fairly guaranteed. An anonymous author wrote in 1779:

> With respect to new pieces, it is not, as it must be already perceived, for the interest of the managers to bring on any; and whilst the present act [Licensing Act] continues in force , unless that superior control is exerted, which by prescription is inherent with the frequenters of the theatre, as the creators, guardians, and protectors of its rights, they will continue to exercise their capricious power of rejecting all that are offered, to the utter extinction of the national dramatic taste.[28]

Unless the audience asserted its control of the theatre, and here again we find the assumption that the rightful position

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[26] See Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery: Its Origin and Development in the British Theatre (London: Faber, 1952).

[27] The Licensing fee, unrequired by law but made standard by custom, was £2.

[28] The Playhouse Pocket-Companion, or Theatrical Vade-mecum (London: Richardson, 1779), p. 41.

of the audience was domination although its "rights" are somewhat vaguely defined in this passage, there would be wholesale degeneration of taste. What is perplexing is the idea that the managers' financial interest could be divorced from popular audience, "the frequenters of the theatre", taste. One would assume that management's commercial success would be directly linked to satisfying public demand. For this author, however, there was no connection between the two and financial considerations took precedence over artistic concerns. The financial aspect of stock plays was also noted by J. Ralph who clearly stated that there were simply no disadvantages to the house in performing tested plays:

> There is no draw-back on the Profit of the Night in old Plays: and any Access of Reputation to a dead Author, carries no impertinent Claims and invidious Distinctions along with it.[29]

Both financial drains and managerial disputes were eliminated with the elimination of new drama. But Ralph's commentary does not consider the artistic implications of an innovation-free theatre.

In 1772, Town and Country Magazine confirmed that the bulk of late eighteenth-century repertory consisted of stock plays from the established English dramatic canon but it implied that those pieces were the audience's preferred theatrical fare rather than the pragmatic choice of frugal managers:

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[29] J. Ralph, Case of Authors by profession or trade (London: R. Griffiths, 1758), p. 25.

> With respect to dramatic pieces, the English people seem to be satisfied with the stock bequeathed to them by the authors of the last century, whom they admire with a kind of infatuated veneration.[30]

Whatever the cause of the predominance of stock plays in the repertories of the winter houses, there is little dispute that there was not much variation in the scheduling of plays during this period. In addition, the situation does not seem to have been confined to the two patent theatres but to have been duplicated by the summer companies:

> A typical Haymarket schedule at this time included a number of new pieces, especially in comic opera and farce, yet its chief reliance was on standard drama similar to that presented in the winter theatres.[31]

If it is accepted that this stasis was indeed the repertory policy from the 1760s to the 1780s, then playgoers were offered not necessarily a very limited repertory, for the number of plays performed in any given season was large, but were offered a fairly predictable one.

Stock plays were strong conveyors of moral lessons and their continual production and widespread popularity made them particularly insidious tools of instruction. It was thought that the moral laxity of the past, particularly of the Restoration, was being made acceptable to a more strict contemporary audience by the continual representations of vice:

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[30] Town and Country Magazine, vol. 4 (1772), p. 172.

[31] Eugene R. Page, George Colman the Elder, p. 268.

> Herein, again the managers are beyond dispute to blame; they have in the choice of stock plays, made it too much their designs to familiarize the audience to the impression of malignant and diabolical tempers, such as pride, perfidy, pleasure, lewdness, delusion, and treachery; these are the contagious evils of Congreve's, Witcherly's [sic], and other plays...[32]

For those who saw the stage as an immoral platform, managers became the panderers of vice and depravity and stock plays were seen to be some of their most effective instruments.

It is obvious that mere repetition of plays from one season to the next would not have kept the theatres full; the small and constant audience simply would have disappeared from boredom. Yet although the same plays were performed year after year, they were not static experiences and they continued to draw profitable houses. Actors, acting, scenery, music, and even the composition of the audience changed for each performance and altered the theatrical experience and audiences returned to the theatres often simply for the variation. It was an age of acting[33] and audiences delighted in comparing different actors in the same

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[32] The Theatrical Monitor, Saturday, November 14, 1767, p. 1.

[33] Many eighteenth-century pamphlets were devoted to the subjects of acting and actors. Among them are: Theatrical Biography: or, Memoirs of the Principal Performers of the Three Theatres Royal, The Theatrical Examiner, The Playhouse Pocket-Companion, and the Theatrical Review.

roles[34] in order to study differences in interpretation and style; and each performance offered another basis of comparison. Spectators would also flock to the theatres when some novelty had been added to a favorite stock play. Managers, therefore, could attract an audience by offering a combination of proven plays and novelty: the one as a guarantee, the other as entertainment. George W. Stone noted the combination of the old and new in the presentation of stock plays:

> We must remember...that these proven pieces always carried in their presentation something new -- in ensemble, in shifting nuance, in an addition or an excision.[35]

Without the addition of novelty for each performance, audiences would not have been drawn repeatedly to the theatres.

The public's taste for novelty, whether it was pantomime, pageantry, dancing, or spectacle was seemingly insatiable and often causally linked to what was frequently

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[34]Stone writes in his introduction to part four of The London Stage, "during the competitive production of Romeo and Juliet in 1750, spectators preferring Barry's seductive scenes in the first three acts at Covent Garden nipped over to see Garrick's more tragic presentation of the star-crossed lovers in the last two acts at Drury Lane." p. xxx.

[35]George W. Stone, Jr., "The Making of the Repertory" in The London Theatre World, 1660-1800, Ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1980), p. 208.

called an unhaltable degeneration of taste.[36] As with the scheduling of stock plays, it is unclear whether the incorporation of novelty into the repertory was due to public demand or managerial profit taking. On the one hand, it was argued that managers were the peddlars of novelty in the forms of show and entertainment:

> ...on the Stage, Exhibition stands in the Place of Composition: the Managers,[37] whether Player[38] or Harlequin, must be the sole Pivot on which the whole Machine is both to move and rest...[39]

In addition, Oliver Goldsmith set up a dichotomy between the managers, who favored frill instead of substance, and the educated spectators who supported regularity in form and style:

> The managers, and all who espouse their side, are for decoration and ornament; the critics, and all who have studied French decorum, are for regularity and declaration.[40]

On the other hand, the desire, and therefore the

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[36]Many contemporary critics agreed with the following portrayal of the theatrical scene:

> That our Modern Poets are very bad in the Drammatick Way -- is allowed: That the Generality of our Players are ten times worse -- is not deny'd: And that the majority of all Audiences know not whether a play is good or bad -- must be granted.

James Ralph, The Touch-Stone, p. 48.

[37]Probably a reference to David Garrick, manager and principal actor at Drury Lane when Ralph was writing.

[38]Reference to John Rich, manager at Covent Garden and the most famous harlequin of the English stage.

[39]Ralph, Case of Authors, p. 25.

[40]Oliver Goldsmith, Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1759), p. 160.

explanation of its existence, for novelty was often placed with the audience. A modern critic, James Lynch, ascribed an important role in the determining of repertory simply to the public's inclination for novelty:

> In spite of the seriousness with which the eighteenth-century audience was generally inclined to regard its theater, it is apparent that often such superficial matters as the interest in the new and the desire for variety and change were the sole factors in determining repertory.[41]

Managers themselves saw the large role that novelty played in overall repertory as a response to popular taste. Colman presents the image of an untiring theatrical community bent on satisfying the public's thirst for the new and novel, even though novelty is nonexistent and usually masquerading in the form of modified old plays:

> OF real Novelty, we're told, there's none,
> We know there's nothing new beneath the Sun.
> Yet still, untir'd, a Phantom we pursue,
> Still expectation gapes for something new!
> To whet your appetite, and pique your taste,
> Each Bard serves some old dish in new Puff-Paste;[42]

This may sound to the suspicious ear much like a justification of the many adaptations that Colman wrote or produced. Although Colman attributed a perpetual taste for novelty to the public, he also writes that authors stimulated the public's fascination with novelty and he thus constructs a system whereby house and audience each contribute to the growing popularity of novelty.

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[41] James Lynch, Box, Pit, and Gallery, p. 246.

[42] Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 3, p. 239.

In 1751, an anonymous author instructed, albeit ironically, the theatre-going public that novelty alone should draw every member to the theatre:

> In a word, we must crowd to that house, which provides us any thing that has the air of novelty.[43]

Irony aside, it is clear that crowds were lured to the theatre simply by the attraction of some new entertainment.

Novelty's importance in repertory, therefore, grew in proportion to its ability to draw an audience.[44] The author of A Guide to the Stage lists some of the possible novelties that could attract an audience. All eventually became staple elements of the eighteenth-century repertory:

> Is there an occasional prologue to be spoken? Have we imported a new dance from the French Opera? Let the play be what it will, we must not let slip such opportunities, nor question the elegance of an entertainment, which the manager has judged proper.[45]

It is clear that the author of A Guide to the Stage held managers responsible for the prevalence of novelty in the form of prologues, operas, and dances and that he considered them inferior to plays as forms of entertainment.

By the end of the century, dances, operas, and prologues would hardly have been considered novelties; demand for original entertainment had led to the development of a variety of dramatic forms:

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[43] A Guide to the Stage, p. 8.

[44] WHatever's new, to Taste adds Soul and Fire,
And kindles Appetite, and whets Desire;
Variety gives Pleasure to the Feast,
The Stomach sickens at a known Repast.
Henry Dell, Original Prologues, Epilogues, and Other Theatrical Pieces (London: H. Dell et al, 1766), p. 31.

[45] A Guide to the Stage, p. 8.

> ...the supply of dramatic novelties used as afterpieces came to include animal and other circus acts, comic and ballad operas and musical farces, burlettas, melodramas, pastorals, preludes, 'sketches', scenic spectacles, and every other conceivable species of theatrical exhibition.[46]

We find by looking at the classification of repertory (see Chapter Three -- Part 2.1), that the cross-breeding of plays led to the creation of hybrid genres such as the operatic farce, the burlesque, the pastoral ode, and the tragi-comedy.[47] Novelty, therefore, was not only a response to popular appetite for entertainment, it was the catalyst for new forms of dramatic experimentation.

Colman writes that the adaptations made in the name of novelty were not limited to the literature of the stage, but extended to the physical house itself. Changes in the decoration of the house parallel modifications made to repertory:

> The self-same note our Cuckow dwells on here![48]
> For We, like Them, our Penny Trumpets sound,
> And Novelty's the word the whole year round.
> What tho' our house be threescore years of age,
> Let us new-vamp the Box, new-lay the Stage,
> Long paragraphs shall paint with proud parade
> The gilded front and airy balustrade;

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[46]Richard Bevis, ed., Eighteenth-Century Drama: Afterpieces (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. xii.

[47]Colman and Thornton were not impressed by such innovations. In The Connoisseur they write, "... a Tragi-Comedy, where the pathetic and the ludicrous are so intimately connected, and the whole piece is so merry and so sad, that the audience is at a loss whether they shall laugh or cry." The Connoisseur, no. 23, July 4, 1754.

[48]Covent Garden as opposed to the rival Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane, underlining the continual competition between the two houses.

While on each post, the flaming bill displays
Our Old New Theatre, and New-Old Plays.[49]

It is interesting to note that novelty is entirely cosmetic: the substance of the theatre, both house structure and plays, is only superficially altered in order to appear new.

The explanation for the ubiquity of novelty and the annual quest for new entertainment lies, of course, in the revenue which they would attract. Opinions differ, however, over the precise role of novelty in terms of financial draw. In 1784, Colman wrote in his prologue to Two Connoisseurs that novelty was used as a pragmatic means of snaring audience:

Our Manager, long since, a Connoisseur,[50]
To gain full houses throws out many a Lure.
By novelty all rivalship to smother,[51]

Colman's assessment of the function of novelty is reiterated by modern theatre historians,[52] particularly G. W. Stone and Bevis. The former attempts to link novelty in repertory directly to financial dynamics:

The economic indicators suggest,
therefore, that changes in repertory were

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[49]George Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 3, pp 239 - 240.

[50]A double reference to the mainpiece, Two Connoisseurs, and to Colman's, "Our Manager", collaboration with Bonnel Thornton as the authors of The Connoisseur (1755 - 1756) during their years at Oxford.

[51]George Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 3, p. 258.

[52]Earlier in the century, Colley Cibber noted that variety was essential to keep audiences flowing into the theatre:

...the Appetite of the Publick, like that of a fine Gentleman could only be kept warm, by Variety.

An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber (London: John Watts, 1740), p. 133.

> made to keep audiences flowing into the theatres.[53]

Stone's economic indicators, however, cannot demonstrate that change, novelty, and show were the primary repertory factors which affected the theatres' financial balance. He is forced to acknowledge the importance of stock plays as an economic factor and concludes:

> ...that repertories of established theatres exhibit a large degree of conservatism and a smaller one of innovation. The root of both lies, of course, in the basic economics of the theatre. Theatre is, and certainly in the eighteenth century was, a business.[54]

It is essential that emphasis not be placed on either the old or the new in eighteenth-century repertories: stock plays or novelties. A balanced and profitable repertory included both and the combination of proven box office appeal and innovation was designed to produce maximum financial yield.

The financial consideration cannot be divorced from any discussion of repertory. But a simple division of repertory in terms of stock plays and novelty is not sufficient to explain the economic structure of a theatre which we have seen repeatedly described as a business. Repertory was, indeed, the central commodity in the theatrical marketplace and obeyed the laws of supply and demand as any other product:

> And however gravely we may assert, that Profit ought always to be inseparable from the Delight of the Theatre; nay admitting that the Pleasure would be heighten'd by the uniting them; yet,

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[53] G. W. Stone, Jr., "The Making of the Repertory", p. 186.

[54] G. W. Stone, Jr., "The Making of the Repertory", p. 181.

> while Instruction is so little the Concern of the Auditor, how can we hope that so choice a Commodity will come to a Market where there is so seldom a Demand for it?[55]

And these laws were far more complex than the dichotomy of stock plays and novelty would suggest.

Repertory was not simply divided into new and old; it was as frequently classified into drama and spectacle, literature and show. Often the old plays, or stock plays, were symbolic of the best in dramatic literature as represented by Elizabethan playwrights and the new, as representative of the worst of purely visual entertainment.[56] Artistic considerations, whether based on a dichotomy of stock plays and novelty, or drama and show, were secondary to the undeniable financial pressure of pleasing an audience:

> But if an empty house, the actor's curse,
> Shows us our Lears and Hamlets lose their force,
> Unwilling we must change the nobler scene,
> And, in our turn, present your Harlequin;
> Quit poets, and set carpenters to work,
> Shew gawdy Scenes, or mount the vaulting Turk.[57]

The pressure on actors and managers to produce a financially profitable season, whether it was at the expense of an artistically successful one, was noted by Joseph Donohue in his study of the late eighteenth-century theatre:

> The economics involved in running a theatre, then as now, are so relentless that attracting and accomodating an

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[55] Colley Cibber, An Apology, p. 68.

[56] The first canon of Modern Criticism (and indeed) it has been a favourite topick ever since the Flood) is the degeneracy of the present age. This is the grand aera of Dulness: Genius, they cry, is extinct. Shakespeare, Jonson, and Fletcher; Wycherly, Congreve, and Vanbrugh, are no more! George Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 1, p. 206.

[57] James Lynch, Box, Pit, and Gallery, p. 233.

> audience could easily end up taking precedence over other ostensibly more significant artistic concerns.[58]

Thus repertory was a function of box office receipts and would be adapted to suit popular taste as measured by financial success.

The financial pressures that determined repertory were obvious as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century when Colley Cibber wrote:

> Though the Master of our Theatre had no Conception himself of Theatrical Merit, either in Authors, or Actors; yet his Judgment was govern'd by a saving rule in both: He look'd into his Receipts for the Value of a Play, and from Common Fame he judg'd of his Actors.[59]

The idea that management took its cues from the audience's reaction in terms of the amount it was willing to spend on tickets has been maintained by two modern critics. Both state that managers' repertory choices were directly influenced by the financial power of the audience:

> It may reasonably be maintained that the manager of the mid-eighteenth century, in spite of his extensive powers, was of less influence upon the repertory than was the audience, from which the shrewd manager found it profitable to take his cue.[60]

> In the commercial theatre of the eighteenth century, writers wrote and managers presented what the audience wanted to see.[61]

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[58] Joseph Donohue, "The London Theatre at the End of the Eighteenth Century" in The London Theatre World, 1660 - 1800, p. 233

[59] Colley Cibber, An Apology, p. 152.

[60] James Lynch, Box, Pit, and Gallery, p. 131.

[61] G. W. Stone, "The Making of the Repertory", pp 208 - 209.

Managers, in fact, did respond to audience pressure, as measured in financial terms, by altering repertory and scheduling plays that could guarantee a certain level of financial success.

We have seen that repertory was considered a mutable commodity, sufficiently malleable to be moulded to contemporary taste on very short notice and modified in order to satisfy audience taste and increase box office revenue. It has been argued that the primary organizational structure of eighteenth-century repertories was a combination of old and new forms of entertainment, that a mixture of proven box office success and novelty was the standard solution to scheduling problems. Repertory, however, must be examined more closely than merely in terms of old and new; a much more illuminating method of examining repertory would be by division into genres. This thesis proposes to study repertory and its relationship to box office receipts by classifying repertory into the genres first assigned to plays by Allardyce Nicoll.[62]

Theatre critics and historians from the eighteenth century to the present have spoken in general terms of the genres which together constituted the complete repertory. Not until recently, however, have statistical studies based on performance records actually been undertaken. Such studies have been spawned at least partly by the publication and wide availability of The London Stage and have confined themselves to statistical calculation of performance

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[62] See Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama 1750 - 1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927).

occurrences. Before the publication of The London Stage, studies of repertory were based on largely subjective assessments of scheduling. Although the availability of The London Stage has made repertory studies statistically reliable, it has not encouraged interpretative analysis, something that, ironically, was undertaken more frequently before statistical accuracy was readily available.

General statements about repertory were made as early as the eighteenth century and many generalizations first aired then were largely carried over intact into the twentieth. The basic division of mainpieces into comedy and tragedy comprised the most common method of comparing the popularity of genres. It was commonly concluded that comedy was the more popular of the two genres, much to the detriment of serious (not necessarily tragic) drama. Wendeborn noted that comedy was staged more often than tragedy because of the managers' financial motivation to suit audience taste:

> ...but the latter [comedy] appearing far oftener on the stage than the former [tragedy], shews plainly, that the public are more fond of the comic than the tragic, and that, therefore, the managers, for the sake of profit, entertain the audience oftenest with that of which they are sure that it will fill the house most.[63]

Unfortunately, Wendeborn does not, or cannot, substantiate this statement with repertory statistics. As recently as 1980, G. W. Stone repeated the same point by generalizing that the second half of the eighteenth century was dominated by comedy:

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[63]G. F. A. Wendeborn, A View of England, vol. 2, p. 249.

> Though sometimes called a sentimental period the age as a whole was overwhelmingly a laughing one.[64]

Stone, who would seem to be overthrowing a long-accepted truism about sentimentalism, is merely reiterating a vision of the eighteenth-century theatre that had been widely held two hundred years before. Stone is supported by Pedicord who, in an argument which posits that re-vamped comedies may have been enjoyed even more than new ones, writes:

> One thing is certain: these audiences went to the theater for amusement. They delighted in comedy rather than tragedy. The only sentimental pieces they tolerated were those that were at the same time soundly constructed, amusing, and stageworthy.[65]

Surely sound construction, amusement, and stageworthiness were qualities which the audience demanded of all entertainment and not, as Pedicord implies, unusual traits that sentimental plays alone could not satisfy.

Although Pedicord and Stone deny the prominence of sentimentalism during this period, others, such as Sherbo,[66] Nicoll,[67] and Hughes, stress the importance that sentimental

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[64] G. W. Stone, Jr., "The Making of the Repertory", p. 195. See also Robert D. Hume "Goldsmith and Sheridan and the Supposed Revolution of 'Laughing' and 'Sentimental' Comedy" in Studies in Change and Revolution, ed. Paul J. Korshin (Menston: Scolar Press, 1972), pp 237-76.

[65] H. W. Pedicord, "The Changing Audience" in The London Theatre World, 1660 - 1800, ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illionois Univ. Press, 1980), p. 251.

[66] See Arthur Sherbo, English Sentimental Drama (Michigan: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1957)

[67] See Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama.

comedy came to play in repertory. Hughes, in fact, states that by the end of the century, bourgeois tragedy and sentimental comedy had come to dominate theatrical repertory:

> The new forms were of course bourgeois tragedy and -- to use a long familiar though possibly self-contradictory term -- sentimental comedy, forms which by the end of the century had taken over a good share of the theatrical repertory.[68]

But the form which received the most attention, both by eighteenth-century critics and modern-day ones, was pantomime. Perhaps because of its tremendous popularity, its flamboyant and often extravagant scenery, its predominance in the repertory of John Rich, or its seeming lack of any literary or dramatic worth, pantomime became the center of much controversy and discussion. Most contemporary critics held the view that theirs was a stage which had lost its former glories. Pantomime and opera were the favorite scapegoats for the decline in taste:

> Shakespear, Rowe, Johnson, now are quite undone,
> These are they [sic] Triumphs, thy Exploits, O LUN![69]

As pantomime's popularity grew, so did its place in the repertory and its contribution to overall profit. In order to continue the appeal that pantomime held, managers allotted more of their resources to increasing its attractions: scenery became more elaborate as artists such as de Loutherbourg were hired to design sets, special effects became more spectacular as more workmen were assigned to create them. Francis Gentleman noted that the reallocation

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[68] Leo A. Hughes, The Drama's Patrons, p. 120.

[69] See also Pope's Dunciad, book III, 253 ff.

of resources in the theatrical company towards producing better pantomimes was inevitable as long as pantomimes were great financial draws. It can be assumed that managers developed all genres according to their potential box office success. The only argument more powerful than pantomime's financial success would be a presumably destructive public outcry from the audience:

> ...and if we add that carpenters are the chief actors for bringing money, we shall not exaggerate much, but this will ever be the case till public spirit throws just and necessary contempt upon such frippery exhibitions as nature and reason mutually blush at; nor will such impositions be easily suppressed till avarice is alarmed and frighted in her sordid den behind the curtain, by the tremendous and irresistable voice of public calmour.[70]

Such a public clamour certainly did not take place during Colman's management and pantomime continued to hold its prominent position in repertory.

Although pantomimes continued to be popular throughout this period, and they constituted approximately 20% of the afterpieces that were performed, only seven pantomimes were actually used during Colman's management: Harlequin Dr. Faustus (68 performances), Harlequin Sorcerer (48), Harlequin's Jubilee (37), Perseus and Andromeda (2), The Royal Chace (73), The Sylphs (36), and The Fair (5). It is clear that there was not a great deal of variety in pantomimes but rather that the audience was presented with a standard fare for which, it would seem, it had no satiation

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[70]Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor; Or, Critical Companion (London: J. Bell, 1770), vol. 2, p. 456.

point. The repeated use of a few pieces was not, according to James Lynch, peculiar to pantomime:

> The frequency with which a single farce or pantomime might be performed resulted naturally in the limitation of the number that could be acted during a season. As a result there were fewer new afterpieces staged than were full-length plays...[71]

We find by looking at all the pieces played from 1767 to 1774 that there were 81 afterpieces staged and 142 mainpieces, corroborating Lynch by the fact that the number of mainpieces nearly doubled the number of afterpieces. Given the number of repeat performances that the most popular pieces were allowed and the fact that 223 pieces were played on 3681 performance nights, it is evident that there was not much variation in the titles that were played either as mainpieces or afterpieces.

In spite of the obvious routine in the scheduling of afterpieces, Richard Bevis claims that dramatic innovation during the eighteenth century was largely to be found in afterpieces:

> Though most people looked down on the afterpiece as an inferior form, it did not suffer from the stagnancy that beset regular comedy and tragedy for most of the century.[72]

The wealth of commentary on pantomime does imply that the form was at the very least vibrant and we can measure in some way its success in terms of the bitter comments against

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[71] James Lynch, Box, Pit, and Gallery; pp 15 - 16.

[72] Richard Bevis, Eighteenth-Century Drama, p. xiv.

it. But it is impossible to state that afterpieces were more popular than "stagnant" mainpieces. Although it is true that some spectators came to the theatre after the half-price tickets went on sale, it is equally true that significant numbers of serious mainpieces were played and well attended:

> Besides the dozens of short pieces, pantomimes, harlequinades, and other miscellaneous entertainments, the following plays all appeared ... forty-six full-length plays, including fourteen different Shakespearean productions. Surely there was at least a little more than pantomime and frippery.[73]

Modern critics tend to view the eighteenth-century theatre repertory in terms of mutually exclusive dichotomies: comedy and tragedy, afterpiece and mainpiece, entertainment and serious drama; "Pantomimes were much more popular than dramas, comedies than tragedies."[74] But, as we saw earlier with the basic divisions of novelty and stock plays, such a dualistic view is too simplistic. Eighteenth-century critics, in spite of each's individual complaints about apportionment within the repertory, saw their theatre as a combination of styles and genres culled from theatrical literature around the world:

> Our Theatre may be regarded as partaking of the shew and decoration of the Italian opera, with the propriety and declamation of French performance.[75]

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[73] Eugene R. Page, George Colman the Elder, pp 197 - 198.

[74] E. R. Wood, ed., Plays by David Garrick and George Colman the Elder (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), p. 6.

[75] Oliver Goldsmith, Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning, p. 160.

And this balance of genres was as much an indication of the broad spectrum of classes and social backgrounds that made up the audience as of the plurality of British theatrical tradition.

More objectively based studies of the actual composition of the repertory are rare and often as vague as the generalizations of the subjective reports of former years. Whereas subjective reports, especially by eye witnesses, lack any statistical foundation, Stone's and Pedicord's statistical reports don't use their numerical accuracy to arrive at overall analyses of repertory. In "The Making of the Repertory", Stone compares the number of performances of plays that were acted fifty or more times during the Augustan and High Georgian periods. He finds that during the Garrick High-Georgian period (1747 - 76), the plays that were staged more than fifty times break down as follows:

100 or More Performances		50 to 99 Performances		Totals	
33 comedies	4,834	41 comedies	2,974	74	7,808
13 pantomimes	2,322	6 pantomimes	454	19	2,776
12 tragedies	1,967	11 tragedies	801	23	2,768
10 musicals	1,648	3 musicals	240	13	1,888
4 farces	569	1 farce	71	5	640
3 entertain's	380	8 entertain's	514	11	894
1 oratorio	108	2 oratorios	149	3	257
Totals 76	11,828	72	5,203	148	17,031[76]

The equivalent data (adjusted to twenty performances in order to be proportionately correct) for Covent Garden during the more limited period, 1767 - 74 are:

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[76] G. W. Stone, "The Making of the Repertory", p. 199.

TABLE 7

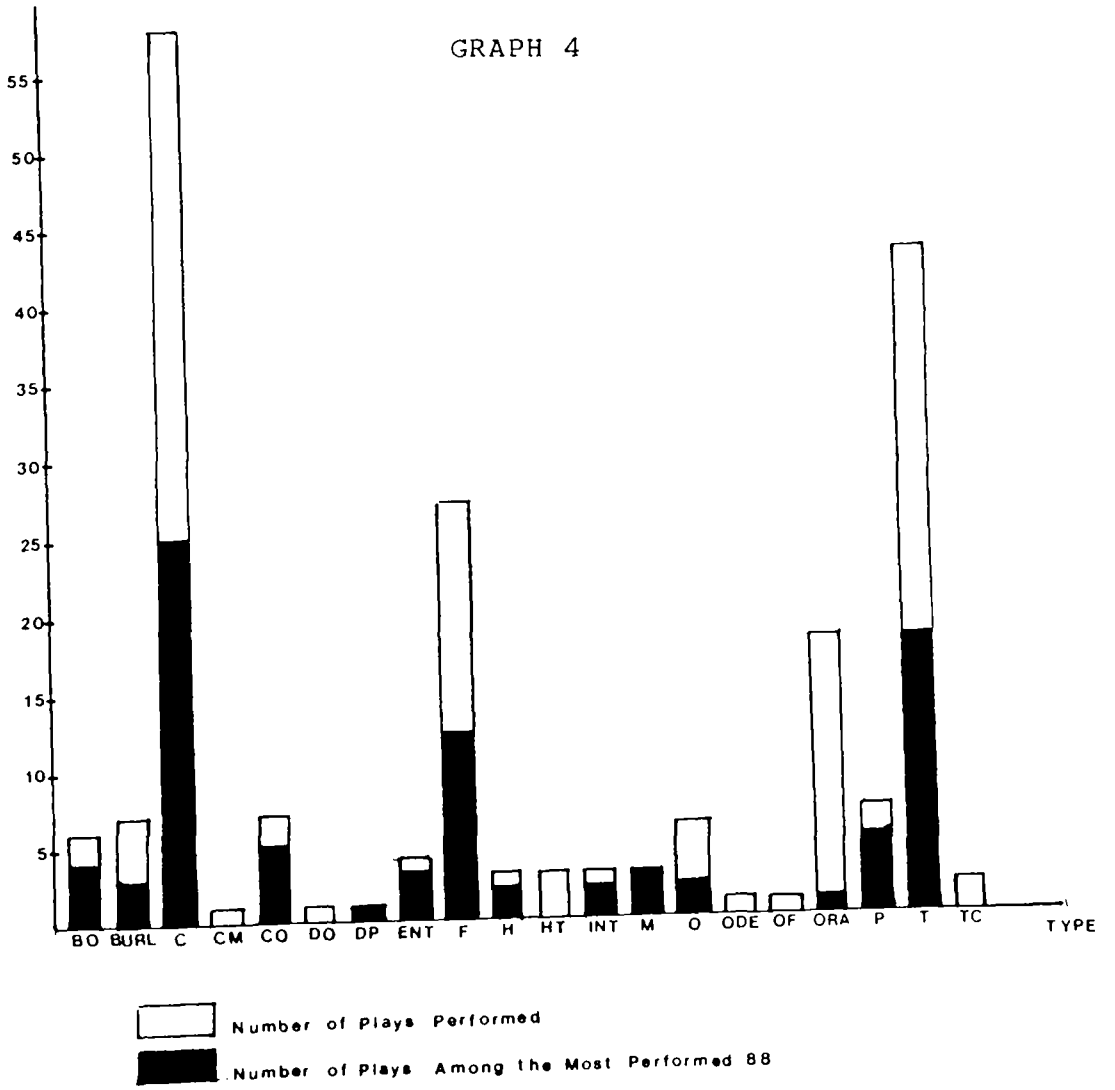
20 or More Performances		10 to 19 Performances		Totals	
3 ballad operas	99	1 ballad opera	17	4	116
2 burlesques	103	1 burlesque	35	3	138
10 comedies	276	15 comedies	212	25	488
2 comic operas	116	3 comic operas	24	5	140
1 dramatic poem	31			1	31
1 entertainment	102	2 entertainments	21	3	123
8 farces	308	4 farces	52	12	360
1 history	20	1 history	11	2	31
1 hist'y-tragedy	35			1	35
1 interlude	45	1 interlude	14	2	59
3 masques	82			3	82
1 opera	29	1 opera	19	2	48
		1 operatic farce	15	1	15
		1 oratorio	18	1	18
5 pantomimes	257			5	257
7 tragedies	230	11 tragedies	158	18	388
46	1,733	42	596	88	2,329

It is interesting to note that the eighty-eight most popular plays (as measured by performance repetitions), although they represented 87% of the total repertory performances, were only 39.5% of the total number of plays performed. If we look at the forty-six plays which were staged more than twenty times (or 20.6% of the total number of plays), we find that they made up 64.6% of all performances. It is clear, therefore, that there was indeed a pool of stock plays which constituted a large proportion of the total repertory and that the largest number of plays were performed but infrequently.

How does the range of genres represented in the eighty-eight most performed plays compare with that of overall repertory? All but two of the twenty classifications are represented in the top eighty-eight and, when compared with the overall number of plays in each we find that, on the whole, similar proportions of each are represented among the

most popular plays. From the traditional genres: comedy, farce, and tragedy, the percentage making it to the top eighty-eight is remarkably similar: 43%, 44%, and 42%; leading us to surmise that any given play, no matter of which type, had a fairly predictable chance of succeeding. Among the lesser genres, we find that the percentage making it to the top eighty-eight is generally higher (except for oratorios which were limited to the lenten season and therefore not likely to be played more than ten times between 1767 - 74) and can probably be accounted for by the fact that the few pieces in each of these genres were block-busters and played over and over again.

GRAPH 4



Pedicord's statistical account of repertory and taste, contained in The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick, is even less comprehensive than Stone's "The Making of the Repertory". Pedicord's analysis is limited to the statistical information he includes in an appendix. His design is to examine the repertory of Drury Lane during Garrick's management (1742 - 1776) and:

> ...to include the original date of composition, the number of seasons the play remained in repertory, the greatest number of performances in a single season and the date of that "best" season, the total number of performances given during Garrick's management, and the number of performances (if any) in which the Manager's own acting could be expected to have been the drawing power at the box office.[77]

It is unclear how Pedicord expected to prove the latter without including box office receipts. In fact, it is dubious that any analysis of repertory attempting to arrive at a determination of popularity and taste can be made without box office receipts but neither Pedicord nor Stone include them. Pedicord's statistical information for Drury Lane, although superceded by The London Stage, is helpful as a compilation and as a basis of comparison with the data for Covent Garden presented here.

It is not enough to finish our analysis of repertory at the level Stone and Pedicord considered sufficient: a breakdown of the most performed plays. If we turn our attention to the overall composition of repertory we

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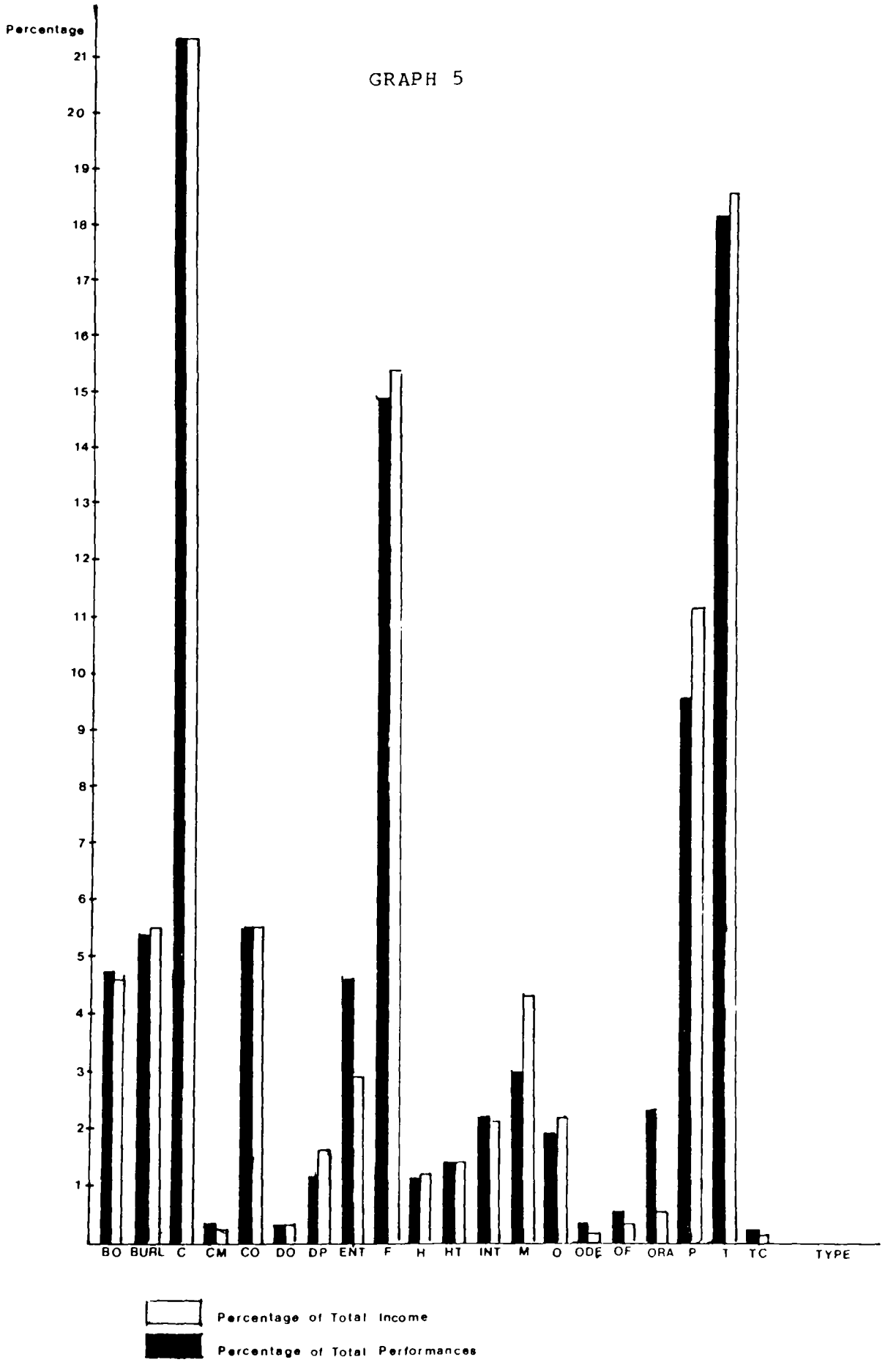
[77] H. W. Pedicord, The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick, p. 135.

GRAPH 5


Percentage
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
BO BURL C CM CO DO DP ENT F H HT INT M O ODE OF ORA P T TC TYPE
Percentage of Total Income
Percentage of Total Performances

will get a more accurate picture of the range of entertainment offered to eighteenth-century audiences. The preceding graph shows the percentage of actual performance time that each genre occupied during Colman's management. We see from Graph 5 that Colman was running a theatre with a varied repertory incorporating many genres and that Eugene Page's assessment of Colman's scheduling policies is largely correct:

> It was Colman's intention to bring Covent Garden more directly into competition with Drury Lane by building up the company and by concentrating his attention upon the production of a greater variety of standard drama.[78]

In spite of the range of dramatic genres, over half (54.6%) of the plays performed were of the three basic dramatic forms: comedy, farce, and tragedy. Thus the age must have consisted of more than frippery and show in spite of the many complaints to the contrary. It was, however, a predominantly laughing age where 36.3% of the repertory fell into the cat gories of comedy and farce and an additional 25.9% into the combined categories of ballad opera, burlesque, comic masque, comic opera, operatic farce, and pantomime.

How did the audience respond to Colman's scheduling? Here again, it is important that we look at the entire seven-year period before turning to individual years. From Graph 5 above, we find that the amount of time a particular type of play occupied in the repertory corresponded almost exactly to the amount of income it

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[78]Eugene R. Page, George Colman the Elder, p. 150.

generated. In other words, if revenue is a measurement of audience taste -- as surely it must be in the theatrical business, then audience response varied very little to the scheduling of particular genres. This would imply that the audience had a fixed demand for dramatic entertainment no matter what the actual composition of the repertory. The only genres which show any significant indication of pulling more or less than their weight in terms of revenue are farce, which earned .5% more than it played; masque, which earned 1.3% more than it was staged; pantomime, which earned 1.8% more; and oratorio, which earned 1.8% less because the house charge was fixed at £35 for oratorio nights. The vast majority of repertory, however, brought in exactly as much income as it was proportionately scheduled.

When we turn to individual years (see Table 8), we find that there was slightly more variation between the percentage of repertory time and percentage of income each genre occupied.

TABLE 8

Year	Type	% Rep.	% Inc.	Diff.	Year	Type	% Rep.	% Inc.	Diff.
67-68	BO	2.5	2.0	-.5	67-68	HT	1.8	1.5	-.3
68-69		3	2.6	-.4	68-69		1	.9	-.1
69-70		13.5	14.6	.9	69-70		1.2	1.1	-.1
71-72		3.2	2.9	-.3	71-72		1.6	1.9	.3
72-73		2.1	2.3	.2	72-73		1.3	1.2	-.1
73-74		2.9	3.0	.1	73-74		1.8	2.0	.2
67-68	BURL	5.1	5.7	.6	67-68	INT	2	1.7	-.3
68-69		4.8	5.3	.5	68-69		2.7	2.1	-.6
69-70		5.8	6	.2	69-70		6.1	5.8	-.3
71-72		1.8	1.9	.1	71-72		.8	.8	0.0
72-73		2.9	3.5	.6	72-73		.5	.6	.1
73-74		11.3	10.7	-.6	73-74		1.3	1.4	.1

Year	Type	% Rep.	% Inc.	Diff.
67-68	C	21.6	21.4	-.2
68-69		18.2	16.7	-1.5
69-70		19.8	19	-.8
71-72		26	27.6	1.0
72-73		21.8	21.8	0.0
73-74		22.9	22.3	-.6
67-68	CM	.2	.1	-.1
68-69		--	--	--
69-70		--	--	--
71-72		--	--	--
72-73		--	--	--
73-74		--	--	--
67-68	CO	9	9.4	.4
68-69		6.5	8.0	1.5
69-70		5.6	5.5	-.1
71-72		1.8	1.3	-.5
72-73		3.4	3.6	.2
73-74		5.9	5.9	0.0
67-68	DO	--	--	--
68-69		.2	.1	-.1
69-70		--	--	--
71-72		--	--	--
72-73		--	--	--
73-74		--	--	--
67-68	DP	--	--	--
68-69		--	--	--
69-70		--	--	--
71-72		--	--	--
72-73		7.3	9	1.7
73-74		.8	.8	0.0
67-68	ENT	2	1.9	-.1
68-69		1.2	1.5	.3
69-70		2	1.8	-.2
71-72		8.9	9.5	.6
72-73		1.3	1.2	-.1
73-74		2.4	1.8	-.6
67-68	F	19.8	22	2.2
68-69		14.9	14	-.9
69-70		14.2	13.3	-.9
71-72		14.8	13.3	-1.5
72-73		18.4	19.0	.6
73-74		11	10.3	-.7
67-68	H	.5	.4	-.1
68-69		.5	.5	0.0
69-70		.5	.4	-.1
71-72		--	--	--
72-73		3.9	4.5	.6
73-74		1.8	1.7	-.1

Year	Type	% Rep.	% Inc.	Diff.
67-68	M	--	--	--
68-69		5.3	7.2	1.9
69-70		--	--	--
71-72		9.7	11.9	2.2
72-73		4.4	4.7	.3
73-74		2.1	2.5	.4
67-68	O	5.6	6	.4
68-69		4.5	4.4	-.1
69-70		1.2	1.1	-.1
71-72		.2	.4	.2
72-73		.7	.6	-.1
73-74		.5	.5	0.0
67-68	ODE	.2	.05	-.15
68-69		--	--	--
69-70		--	--	--
71-72		--	--	--
72-73		--	--	--
73-74		--	--	--
67-68	OF	--	--	--
68-69		--	--	--
69-70		--	--	--
71-72		.8	.5	-.3
72-73		1	.8	-.2
73-74		.8	.7	-.1
67-68	ORA	2.3	.5	-1.8
68-69		2.5	.5	-2.0
69-70		2.5	.5	-2.0
71-72		3.2	.8	-2.4
72-73		2.3	.5	-1.8
73-74		--	--	--
67-68	P	10.5	9.7	-.8
68-69		11.4	11.2	-.2
69-70		9.4	11	1.6
71-72		5.4	5.8	.4
72-73		12.6	13.8	1.2
73-74		13.2	15.8	2.6
67-68	T	15.4	16.8	1.4
68-69		22.5	24.1	1.6
69-70		17.6	19.2	1.2
71-72		20.8	20.7	-.1
72-73		12.1	11.9	-.2
73-74		18.3	19.5	1.2
67-68	TC	--	--	--
68-69		--	--	--
69-70		--	--	--
71-72		--	--	--
72-73		--	--	--
73-74		.8	.3	-.5

When we examine individual titles rather than the popularity of genres, we find that certain of the lesser genres were almost entirely supported by the success of a few pieces. Of the four pieces falling under the classification of Entertainment, for example, one played less than ten times, two played between ten and nineteen times, and the final, Mother Shipton, was the most popular piece during the period with 102 performances. Likewise, Elfrida, the only play falling under the Dramatic Poem catagory, played thirty-one times and achieved one third more income in terms of percentage of overall revenue than amount of repertory time it was played. The success of an individual play, however, should not be construed to indicate the general popularity of a genre. We must, therefore, approach with caution the genres comprising only a few plays as these will be unpredictably dependent upon the performance of a very few titles.

The titles of the plays that were performed more than twenty times are listed below in Table 9 where we note that the ten most popular plays were afterpieces -- showing a phenomenal acceptance of the afterpiece since its introduction in the first quarter of the century. Jane Shore with forty-four performances was the most popular mainpiece, well behind the 102 performance record of Mother Shipton. Most of the popular mainpieces managed to be staged only twenty to forty times. Such moderation in the scheduling of even accepted and proven popular mainpieces demonstrates the managers' hesitation to outstrip audience demand and patience. A steady rotation of stock plays seems to have been the optimum scheduling arrangement. In addition, there

is representation from most of the dramatic categories among the most-performed plays so there was a wide-based balance of literary genres being staged regularly. A complete list of plays and their performance occurrences is to be found in Chapter 3 - Part 2.2.

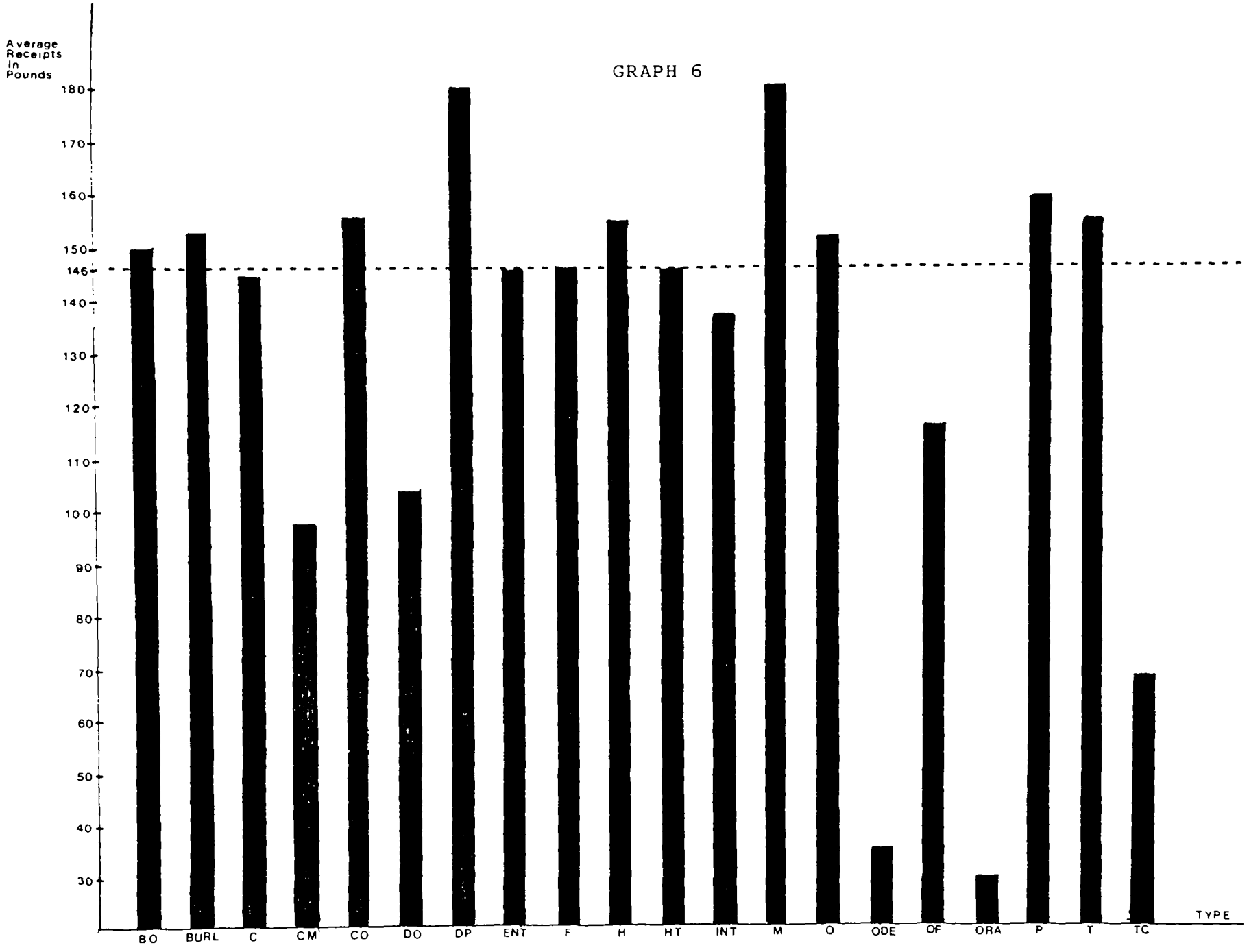
TABLE 9

Number of Perform's	Title	Type
102	Mother Shipton	ENT
82	Midas	BURL
78	Love in a Village	CO
73	The Royal Chace	P
63	Harlequin Dr. Faustus	P
55	The Padlock	F
51	The Rape of Proserpine	BO
49	The Upholsterer	F
48	Harlequin Sorcerer	P
48	The Beggar's Opera	BO
45	Thomas and Sally	INT
44	Jane Shore	T
39	The Apprentice	F
39	Cyrus	T
39	Man and Wife	F
38	The Maid of the Mill	CO
38	The Oxonian in Town	F
37	Harlequin's Jubilee	P
37	The Busy Body	C
36	The Sylphs	P
36	The Citizen	F
36	The Fairy Prince	M
35	Richard III	HT
34	Macbeth	T
34	The Brothers	C
32	Cymbeline	T
31	Elfrida	DP
31	Romeo and Juliet	T
31	The Englishman in Paris	C
29	Love a-la-Mode	F
29	Orpheus and Eurydice	O
28	The Commissary	C
26	The Provok'd Husband	C
26	The Merchant of Venice	C
26	George Barnwell	T
26	Comus	CM
26	The Stratagem	C
25	Every Man in His Humour	C
24	Timanthes	T
23	Cross Purposes	F
23	She Stoops to Conquer	C
21	Apollo and Daphne	M
21	The Golden Pippen	BURL
20	Henry VIII	H
20	The Miser	C

From the fact that the ten most popular plays were afterpieces, we would expect to find those genres to be the most successful in terms of average income earnings. We find, however, that afterpieces did not consistently earn more than the average nightly revenue (£146.23). Although the two types of plays with the highest average income (Dramatic Poem and Masque) were afterpieces, others such as the Comic Masque, the Dramatic Ode, and Interlude all drew less than the average income (see graph 6). Again, the statistical success of the genres including fewer plays was dependent upon a small number of pieces and therefore these genres' financial success or failure should be read more as an indication of the popularity of individual titles than of the type as a whole. Those genres comprising larger numbers of plays provide a much fairer assessment of audience taste. They also indicate, by their proximity to the mean nightly income, that most genres brought in, on average, between £137 and £159 nightly.

Yearly averages for the different genres were not nearly as stable as overall averages would suggest. And genres that averaged above the nightly mean over the entire seven-year period did not necessarily earn above the mean on a yearly basis. In addition, there is no obvious progression of increased earning from one year to the next which indicates that management was unable to systematically increase earnings by efficiently tailoring repertory. What is clear, however, is that Colman was able relatively to stabilize earnings over the period so that revenue potential from each genre was fairly consistent. Table 10 shows the

GRAPH 6


Average Receipts In Pounds
180
170
160
150
146
140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
BO
BURL
C
CM
CO
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H
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OF
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TYPE

TABLE 10

Type		67-68	68-69	69-70	71-72	72-73	73-74
	Avg	147.83	146.52	146.51	143.15	149.86	143.17
BO		[118.20]	[130.58]	162.96	[131.50]	164.13	144.91
BURL		169.05	164.11	155.70	149.43	181.36	[133.14]
C		149.25	[136.65]	[143.29]	152.84	151.11	[137.14]
CM		[98.00]					
CO		158.40	182.65	148.73	[107.71]	158.69	[141.95]
DO			[104.00]				
DP						183.89	144.33
ENT		[143.13]	178.00	[138.63]	156.18	[142.60]	[105.11]
F		167.17	[140.20]	[140.00]	[131.60]	[142.60]	[131.66]
H		[133.00]	158.50	[125.00]		172.93	[132.86]
HT		[127.29]	[144.25]	[130.80]	176.00	[144.60]	154.00
INT		[128.63]	[115.82]	[142.38]	147.33	192.50	146.80
M			203.00		180.19	158.88	165.13
O		160.91	[145.72]	[140.20]	226.00	[129.00]	149.00
ODE		[35.00]					
OF					[94.33]	[123.75]	[126.33]
ORA		[35.00]	[35.00]	[35.00]	[39.25]	[35.00]	
P		[139.54]	146.58	176.32	159.25	163.83	169.41
T		164.28	159.63	163.72	145.82	[147.00]	150.29
TC							[68.33]

average nightly receipts for each genre during the individual seasons. It also shows whether the genre's average nightly receipts were above or below the yearly mean.

As far as can be readily observed, there seems to be no consistent progression of earnings increase. Although the yearly mean reaches its peak in the penultimate year of Colman's management, suggesting the development of a financially lucrative scheduling policy, it drops significantly in his final year. Likewise, on the generic level, there is no clear pattern of sustained revenue increase. There are years during which a particular genre's earnings will drop or rise precipitously, but there are no coherent movements of this kind.

What, therefore, can we glean from the evidence of the Account Books? At the end of chapter two, we concluded

that the audience was a stable and predictable financial factor in the theatrical business. Because audience behavior in financial terms was predictable through each season, managers were able to base repertory decisions on a reliable foundation. On the whole, Colman managed to do so with remarkable success. From the fact that the percentage of income each genre contributed to overall revenue was nearly always equal to the percentage of time that it occupied in overall repertory, we see that Colman optimised the earnings potential of the plays in his repertory. Although it is possible that a constant audience demand was the cause of the equi-proportional revenue/repertory time figures, it is far more probable that shrewd management was its true cause. After all, audience demand for entertainment was certainly not described as inelastic by contemporary observers who emphasized the audience's volatile nature when faced with repertory it didn't like.

On the yearly level, however, we can draw no conclusions about the aptitude of Colman's repertory decisions. No genre succeeded in earning consistently above or below the yearly average -- an indication that the influence of individual titles was considerable at this level. In spite of this, variations from the yearly mean are not usually considerable, again pointing to a policy of conservative repertory scheduling.

The stability of the average income and the balance of income percentages and repertory time does not indicate that all genres were equally popular. Certain genres could sustain more exposure before reaching a point of diminishing

returns. Comedy profitably occupied 21.4% of repertory time without reaching the audience's satiation point. Tragedy was slightly underscheduled at 18.3% of repertory as was pantomime at 9.6%. It is clear that the audience's tolerance for comedy and comic forms exceeded its interest in tragedy: 62.2% of the age's repertory was comic whereas only 19.8% was tragic. And Colman's choice to schedule plays in these proportions was rational because they succeeded in drawing in proportionate amounts of revenue.

Colman's rationality as a manager is reflected in the repertory choices that he made; choices which not only made Covent Garden a profitable business venture for the managers, but which exactly suited the audience's taste for certain types of entertainment. Whether he suited his own creative writing to the same rational assessment of taste and audience expectation, will be seen in the following chapter with an examination of his adaptations.

CHAPTER THREE -- PART 2.1

LIST OF PLAYS WITH TYPE

PLAY TITLE	TYPE
A BOLD STROKE FOR A HUSBAND	C
A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C
A DUKE AND NO DUKE	F
A PASTICIO	O
A TRIP TO SCOTLAND	F
A WIFE IN THE RIGHT	C
ABIMELECH	ORA
ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO
ACIS AND GALATEA	O
ALEXANDER BALUS	ORA
ALEXANDER'S FEAST WITH CORONATION	ODE
ALL FOR LOVE	T
ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	C
ALZUMA	T
AMELIA	O
AMINTAS	O
AMPHITRYON	C
AN HOUR BEFORE MARRIAGE	F
APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M
ARTAXERXES	O
AS YOU LIKE IT	CO
BARBAROSSA	T
CATCHES AND GLEES	ORA
CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F
CATO	T
CHRONONOTORTHOLOGOS	BURL
CLEMENTINA	T
COMUS	CM
COMUS	M
CONCERTO SPIRITUALE	ORA
CORIOLANUS	T
CORONATION	ENT
CROSS PURPOSES	F
CYMBELINE	T
CYRUS	T
DAMON AND PHILLIDA	BO
DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	CO
DON SEBASTIAN	TC

PLAY TITLE	TYPE
EARL OF WARWICK	T
EDGAR AND EMMELINE	ENT
ELFRIDA	DP
ESTHER	ORA
EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C
FLORA	BO
GEORGE BARNWELL	T
GIDEON	ORA
HAMLET	T
HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P
HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P
HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P
HENRY II	T
HEROD AND MARIAMNE	T
HOB IN A WELL	BO
ISABELLA	T
ISRAEL IN BABYLON	ORA
ISRAEL IN EGYPT	ORA
JANE SHORE	T
JOSEPH	ORA
JOSHUA	ORA
JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA
JUDITH	ORA
JULIUS CAESAR	HT
KING HENRY IV PT.1	T
KING HENRY IV, PT 2	H
KING HENRY V	H
KING HENRY VIII	H
KING JOHN	HT
KING LEAR	T
KING RICHARD III	HT
LADY JANE GREY	T
LETHE	F
LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO
LOVE A-LA-MODE	F
LOVE FOR LOVE	C
LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO
LOVE MAKES A HUSBAND	C
LOVE MAKES A MAN	C
LOVE'S LAST SHIFT	C
LYCIDAS	INT
MACBETH	T
MAHOMET	T
MAN AND WIFE	F
MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C
MEDEA	T
MEROD AND MARIANNE	T
MIDAS	BURL
MISS IN HER TEENS	F
MOCK DOCTOR	BO
MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT
ORESTES	DO
OROONOKO	T
ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O
OTHELLO	T

PLAY TITLE	TYPE
PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA	P
PHILASTER	T
POLLY HONEYCOMBE	F
ROMEO AND JULIET	T
RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C
SAMSON	ORA
SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C
SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C
SIR COURTLY NICE	C
TAMERLANE	T
TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA	T
THE ALBION QUEENS	T
THE APPRENTICE	F
THE AUTHOR	C
THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO
THE BROTHERS	C
THE BUSY BODY	C
THE CHAPLET	ENT
THE CHEATS OF SCAPIN	F
THE CHOICE	C
THE CITIZEN	F
THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C
THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C
THE COMMISSARY	C
THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS	C
THE CONTRIVANCES	F
THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	T
THE COUNTRY LASSES	C
THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF
THE COUNTRY WIFE	C
THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL
THE CURE OF SAUL	ORA
THE DEATH OF ABEL	ORA
THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F
THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO
THE DISTREST MOTHER	T
THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL
THE DUELLIST	C
THE EARL OF ESSEX	T
THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C
THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C
THE ENGLISHMAN RETURNED FROM PARIS	F
THE FAIR	P
THE FAIR PENITENT	T
THE FAIRY PRINCE	M
THE FARMER OUTWITTED	F
THE FOX	C
THE FUNERAL	C
THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL
THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C
THE GRUMBLER	F
THE GUARDIAN	F
THE HYPOCRITE	C
THE INCONSTANT	C
THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F

PLAY TITLE	TYPE
THE IRISH FINE LADY	F
THE JEALOUS WIFE	C
THE JOVIAL CREW	C
THE KNIGHTS	C
THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO
THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C
THE MAN OF QUALITY	F
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C
THE MERRY COUNTERFEIT	F
THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR	C
THE MESSIAH	ORA
THE MILLER OF MANSFIELD	F
THE MISER	C
THE MODERN WIFE	C
THE MOURNING BRIDE	T
THE MUSICAL LADY	F
THE OLD MAID	C
THE ORPHAN	T
THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F
THE PADLOCK	F
THE PASSION	ORA
THE PORTRAIT	BURL
THE PRINCE OF AGRA	BURL
THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C
THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO
THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C
THE REFUSAL	C
THE REHEARSAL	C
THE RELAPSE	C
THE RESURRECTION	ORA
THE REVENGE	T
THE RIVAL QUEENS	T
THE ROMAN FATHER	T
THE ROYAL CHACE	P
THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C
THE SEIGE OF DAMASCUS	T
THE SISTER	C
THE SOUTH BRITON	C
THE SPANISH FRIAR	TC
THE SPANISH LADY	INT
THE STRATAGEM	C
THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C
THE SYLPHS	P
THE TWIN RIVALS	C
THE UNHAPPY FAVORITE	T
THE UPHOLSTERER	F
THE VIRGIN UNMASK'D	BO
THE VIRGIN UNMASK'D	BO
THE WALKING STATUE	F
THE WAY OF THE WORLD	C
THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C
THE WEST INDIAN	C
THE WINTER'S TALE	C
THE WONDER	C
THEODOSIUS	C

PLAY TITLE	TYPE
THOMAS AND SALLY	INT
TIMANTHES	T
TOM JONES	CO
TRUE BLUE	INT
TWELFTH NIGHT	C
VENICE PRESERV'D	T
XIMENA	T
ZARA	T
ZOBEIDE	T

BO = BALLAD OPERA
BURL = BURLESQUE
C = COMEDY
CM = COMIC MASQUE
CO = COMIC OPERA
DO = DRAMATIC ODE
DP = DRAMATIC POEM
ENT = ENTERTAINMENT
F = FARCE
H = HISTORY
HT = HISTORY-TRAGEDY
INT = INTERLUDE
M = MASQUE
O = OPERA
ODE = ODE
OF = OPERATIC FARCE
ORA = ORATORIO
P = PANTOMIME
T = TRAGEDY
TC = TRAGI-COMEDY

CHAPTER THREE -- PART 2.2

PLAYS BY NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORM ANCES
A BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE	C	26.12.67	
		21.01.68	
		07.04.68	
		09.05.68	
		03.06.68	
		04.06.68	
		10.10.68	
		26.12.68	
		03.11.69	
		18.05.70	
		04.01.72	
		10.01.72	
		28.12.72	
		17.12.73	
			14
A DUKE AND NO DUKE	F	27.04.68	
		31.05.68	
		09.05.70	
		12.10.70	
		06.12.70	
			5
A PASTICIO	O	19.03.73	
		24.03.73	
			2
A TRIP TO SCOTLAND	F	14.12.72	
		16.04.73	
			2
A WIFE IN THE RIGHT	C	09.03.72	
			1
ABIMELECH	ORA	25.03.72	
			1
ACHILLES IN PETTICOATS	CO	16.12.73	
		17.12.73	
		20.12.73	
		22.12.73	
		29.12.73	
		30.12.73	
		15.02.74	
		01.03.74	
			8
ACIS AND GALATEA	O	11.03.68	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		17.02.69	
			2
ALEXANDER BALUS	ORA	16.03.68	
			1
ALEXANDER'S FEAST WITH CORONATION	ODE	24.02.68	
			1
ALL FOR LOVE	T	13.04.68	
		28.04.73	
		04.12.73	
		29.12.73	
			4
ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	C	08.05.72	
		03.12.72	
		08.12.72	
		31.12.72	
			4
ALZUMA	T	23.02.73	
		01.03.73	
		02.03.73	
		04.03.73	
		06.03.73	
		08.03.73	
		09.03.73	
		11.03.73	
		13.03.73	
			9
AMELIA	O	12.04.68	
		28.04.68	
		09.05.68	
			3
AMINTAS	O	15.12.69	
		21.12.69	
			2
AMPHITRYON	C	20.03.73	
			1
AN HOUR BEFORE MARRIAGE	F	25.01.72	
			1
APOLLO AND DAPHNE	M	26.12.68	
		27.12.68	
		28.12.68	
		29.12.68	
		30.12.68	
		31.12.68	
		02.01.69	
		03.01.69	
		05.01.69	
		07.01.69	
		09.01.69	
		10.01.69	
		11.01.69	
		12.01.69	
		13.01.69	
		21.01.69	
		24.01.69	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		25.01.69	
		26.01.69	
		27.01.69	
		28.01.69	
			21
ARTAXERXES	O	22.10.68	
		25.10.68	
		28.10.68	
		03.11.68	
		07.11.68	
		11.11.68	
		15.11.68	
		23.11.68	
		18.03.69	
		24.11.69	
		07.04.70	
		04.05.70	
		06.04.71	
		23.04.72	
		27.03.73	
		14.04.73	
		30.04.73	
		19.03.74	
		09.04.74	
			19
AS YOU LIKE IT	CO	05.04.71	
			1
BARBAROSSA	T	01.11.70	
		03.11.70	
		06.11.70	
		10.11.70	
		13.11.70	
		17.11.70	
		24.11.70	
		01.12.70	
		18.12.70	
		07.02.71	
		04.04.71	
		20.04.71	
		14.05.71	
		11.10.71	
		20.11.71	
		05.12.71	
		23.01.72	
		29.02.72	
		30.05.72	
			19
CATCHES AND GLEES	ORA	06.06.71	
			1
CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO	F	12.03.68	
		24.03.68	
		03.11.68	
		13.03.69	
		26.04.69	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		02.05.69	
		22.05.70	
		12.04.71	
		04.10.71	
		17.12.71	
		01.05.72	
		13.05.72	
		16.11.73	
		27.11.73	
		18.04.74	
			15
CATO	T	30.04.70	
		11.05.72	
		25.05.72	
			3
CHRONONOTORTHOLOGOS	BURL	21.04.72	
			1
CLEMENTINA	T	23.02.71	
		25.02.71	
		26.02.71	
		28.02.71	
		02.03.71	
		04.03.71	
		05.03.71	
		07.03.71	
		09.03.71	
			9
COMUS	CM	30.10.67	
		17.10.72	
		19.10.72	
		20.10.72	
		24.10.72	
		27.10.72	
		28.10.72	
		30.10.72	
		31.10.72	
		03.11.72	
		14.11.72	
		19.11.72	
		03.12.72	
		15.12.72	
		17.12.72	
		10.02.73	
		04.03.73	
		15.04.73	
		16.10.73	
		19.10.73	
		20.10.73	
		26.10.73	
		04.11.73	
		11.11.73	
		17.11.73	
		12.05.74	
			26

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
CONCERTO SPIRITUALE	ORA	27.03.72	
		08.04.72	
		10.04.72	
			3
CORIOLANUS	T	20.04.68	
			1
CORONATION	ENT	22.09.67	
		23.09.67	
		24.09.67	
		29.12.67	
		22.09.68	
		19.10.68	
		04.11.68	
		22.11.68	
		22.09.69	
		04.10.69	
		28.10.69	
			11
CROSS PURPOSES	F	05.12.72	
		07.12.72	
		08.12.72	
		09.12.72	
		10.12.72	
		11.12.72	
		12.12.72	
		16.12.72	
		18.12.72	
		23.12.72	
		13.01.73	
		15.01.73	
		02.02.73	
		25.02.73	
		06.03.73	
		23.03.73	
		08.10.73	
		13.10.73	
		23.11.73	
		14.03.74	
		13.04.74	
		26.04.74	
		10.05.74	
			23
CYMBELINE	T	28.12.67	
		31.12.67	
		08.01.68	
		19.03.68	
		09.04.68	
		18.04.68	
		20.09.68	
		21.10.68	
		21.11.68	
		11.03.69	
		25.04.69	
		08.05.69	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		16.05.69	
		19.01.70	
		22.01.70	
		18.04.70	
		16.10.70	
		21.11.70	
		23.01.71	
		16.04.71	
		26.04.71	
		01.01.72	
		11.04.72	
		09.05.72	
		16.01.73	
		12.02.73	
		15.11.73	
		17.11.73	
		25.11.73	
		06.12.73	
		15.12.73	
		05.02.74	
			32
CYRUS	T	03.12.68	
		05.12.68	
		06.12.68	
		08.12.68	
		10.12.68	
		13.12.68	
		15.12.68	
		17.12.68	
		19.12.68	
		21.12.68	
		03.01.69	
		13.01.69	
		31.01.69	
		07.02.69	
		11.02.69	
		23.02.69	
		02.03.69	
		09.03.69	
		06.04.69	
		22.05.69	
		25.05.69	
		01.11.69	
		18.11.69	
		10.01.70	
		13.02.70	
		02.04.70	
		04.12.70	
		06.12.70	
		12.12.70	
		20.12.70	
		14.02.71	
		19.03.71	
		02.05.71	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		18.10.71	
		23.11.71	
		29.01.72	
		14.03.72	
		18.05.72	
		11.04.74	
			39
DAMON AND PHILLIDA	BO	26.11.68	
		18.02.69	
		07.10.69	
		09.10.69	
		24.02.70	
			5
DAPHNE AND AMINTOR	CO	04.11.72	
		12.11.72	
		13.11.72	
		16.11.72	
		20.11.72	
		18.01.73	
		16.03.73	
		25.03.73	
		29.04.73	
		26.05.73	
			10
DON SEBASTIAN	TC	22.03.74	
		16.05.74	
			2
EARL OF WARWICK	T	22.03.70	
		19.04.70	
		12.10.70	
		19.04.73	
			4
EDGAR AND EMMELINE	ENT	26.03.68	
		08.04.68	
		22.03.70	
			3
ELFRIDA	DP	21.11.72	
		23.11.72	
		24.11.72	
		25.11.72	
		26.11.72	
		27.11.72	
		28.11.72	
		30.11.72	
		01.12.72	
		02.12.72	
		05.12.72	
		07.12.72	
		09.12.72	
		10.12.72	
		12.12.72	
		16.12.72	
		18.12.72	
		11.01.73	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		13.01.73	
		15.01.73	
		19.01.73	
		26.01.73	
		27.01.73	
		29.01.73	
		02.02.73	
		04.02.73	
		16.02.73	
		25.02.73	
		21.10.73	
		16.11.73	
		08.12.73	
			31
ESTHER	ORA	26.02.68	
			1
EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR	C	17.09.67	
		24.11.67	
		26.01.68	
		18.02.68	
		16.04.68	
		21.09.68	
		01.11.68	
		09.12.68	
		29.04.69	
		10.05.69	
		24.05.69	
		27.09.69	
		22.11.69	
		20.01.70	
		07.11.71	
		14.11.71	
		18.12.71	
		08.01.72	
		20.02.72	
		19.03.72	
		14.10.72	
		15.12.72	
		13.02.73	
		23.11.73	
		21.01.74	
			25
GEORGE BARNWELL	T	26.10.67	
		09.11.67	
		18.01.68	
		02.05.68	
		23.05.68	
		09.11.68	
		09.01.69	
		10.04.69	
		17.05.69	
		25.09.69	
		09.11.69	
		29.01.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		10.05.70	
		01.10.70	
		22.10.70	
		09.11.70	
		26.12.70	
		18.04.71	
		27.05.71	
		30.09.71	
		09.11.71	
		03.01.72	
		20.04.72	
		28.05.73	
		27.09.73	
		27.12.73	
			26
GIDEON	ORA	10.02.69	
		15.02.69	
			2
HAMLET	T	25.04.68	
		02.01.69	
		16.02.69	
		27.02.69	
		31.03.69	
		27.11.69	
		08.01.70	
		05.02.70	
		22.05.70	
		03.12.70	
		29.04.71	
		25.09.71	
		26.10.72	
		04.01.73	
		01.02.73	
		18.10.73	
		22.11.73	
		03.05.74	
			18
HARLEQUIN DR. FAUSTUS	P	05.10.67	
		07.10.67	
		09.10.67	
		12.10.67	
		13.10.67	
		15.10.67	
		06.11.67	
		04.12.67	
		07.12.67	
		12.12.67	
		15.03.68	
		04.04.68	
		15.04.68	
		21.04.68	
		02.05.68	
		05.05.68	
		23.05.68	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		28.05.68	
		24.10.68	
		27.10.68	
		31.10.68	
		07.11.68	
		08.11.68	
		09.11.68	
		11.11.68	
		14.11.68	
		18.11.68	
		21.11.68	
		07.12.68	
		12.12.68	
		14.12.68	
		19.01.69	
		10.04.69	
		18.04.69	
		21.04.69	
		24.04.69	
		01.05.69	
		03.05.69	
		19.05.69	
		20.05.69	
		02.10.69	
		22.04.71	
		04.05.71	
		13.05.71	
		15.05.71	
		21.05.71	
		27.05.71	
		23.03.72	
		26.03.72	
		02.04.72	
		30.04.72	
		14.05.72	
		01.06.72	
		25.11.73	
		29.11.73	
		30.11.73	
		01.12.73	
		06.12.73	
		10.12.73	
		14.12.73	
		15.12.73	
		27.12.73	
		28.12.73	
			63
HARLEQUIN SORCERER	P	26.12.72	
		28.12.72	
		29.12.72	
		30.12.72	
		31.12.72	
		01.01.73	
		02.01.73	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		04.01.73	
		05.01.73	
		06.01.73	
		07.01.73	
		08.01.73	
		09.01.73	
		11.01.73	
		12.01.73	
		14.01.73	
		16.01.73	
		19.01.73	
		20.01.73	
		21.01.73	
		22.01.73	
		23.01.73	
		25.01.73	
		27.01.73	
		28.01.73	
		01.02.73	
		03.02.73	
		04.02.73	
		05.02.73	
		11.02.73	
		15.02.73	
		16.02.73	
		18.02.73	
		19.02.73	
		22.02.73	
		20.03.73	
		29.03.73	
		21.04.73	
		05.05.73	
		06.05.73	
		07.05.73	
		12.05.73	
		13.05.73	
		17.05.73	
		31.05.73	
		06.10.73	
		07.10.73	
		11.10.73	
			48
HARLEQUIN'S JUBILEE	P	27.01.70	
		29.01.70	
		31.01.70	
		01.02.70	
		02.02.70	
		03.02.70	
		05.02.70	
		06.02.70	
		07.02.70	
		08.02.70	
		09.02.70	
		10.02.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		12.02.70	
		13.02.70	
		14.02.70	
		15.02.70	
		16.02.70	
		17.02.70	
		19.02.70	
		20.02.70	
		21.02.70	
		22.02.70	
		23.02.70	
		01.03.70	
		03.03.70	
		20.03.70	
		24.04.70	
		03.05.70	
		17.05.70	
		24.05.70	
		28.05.70	
		01.10.70	
		03.10.70	
		04.10.70	
		06.10.70	
		08.10.70	
		12.05.72	
			37
HENRY II	T	01.05.73	
		12.01.74	
		14.01.74	
		17.01.74	
		20.01.74	
		22.01.74	
		24.01.74	
		27.01.74	
		28.01.74	
		24.02.74	
		03.03.74	
		07.03.74	
		08.03.74	
		17.03.74	
		04.04.74	
		20.04.74	
		05.05.74	
		23.05.74	
			18
HEROD AND MARIAMNE	T	14.03.74	
			1
ISABELLA	T	31.03.70	
		05.05.70	
		30.03.72	
		02.04.72	
		28.05.72	
			5
ISRAEL IN BABYLON	ORA	28.03.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		07.05.72	
			2
ISRAEL IN EGYPT	ORA	03.03.69	
			1
JANE SHORE	T	16.10.67	
		17.10.67	
		11.11.67	
		28.11.67	
		26.03.68	
		23.04.68	
		28.09.68	
		01.10.68	
		12.11.68	
		27.01.69	
		05.04.69	
		05.05.69	
		26.10.69	
		10.11.69	
		25.11.69	
		12.01.70	
		17.02.70	
		29.11.70	
		10.12.70	
		08.01.71	
		13.04.71	
		25.04.71	
		05.11.71	
		03.12.71	
		04.02.72	
		07.03.72	
		01.05.72	
		05.10.72	
		07.10.72	
		12.10.72	
		17.10.72	
		24.10.72	
		14.12.72	
		23.12.72	
		08.01.73	
		05.02.73	
		20.02.73	
		14.05.73	
		11.10.73	
		28.10.73	
		03.01.74	
		10.01.74	
		06.04.74	
		09.05.74	
			44
JOSEPH	ORA	02.03.68	
			1
JOSHUA	ORA	24.02.69	
			1
JUDAS MACCABEAUS	ORA	04.03.68	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		18.03.68	
		22.02.69	
		10.03.69	
		07.03.70	
		15.02.71	
		20.03.71	
		11.03.72	
		12.03.73	
			9
JUDITH	ORA	26.02.73	
			1
JULIUS CAESAR	HT	04.05.73	
			1
KING HENRY IV PT.1	T	29.12.69	
		15.03.74	
		08.04.74	
		30.04.74	
		07.05.74	
			5
KING HENRY IV, PT 2	H	27.04.73	
			1
KING HENRY V	H	22.09.67	
		24.09.67	
		04.11.68	
		22.11.68	
		22.09.69	
		16.05.70	
		25.10.70	
		26.11.70	
		28.12.70	
		11.04.71	
		06.01.73	
			11
KING HENRY VIII	H	06.11.72	
		07.11.72	
		09.11.72	
		11.11.72	
		13.11.72	
		16.11.72	
		18.11.72	
		20.11.72	
		21.12.72	
		18.01.73	
		10.02.73	
		15.02.73	
		23.03.73	
		22.09.73	
		08.10.73	
		09.11.73	
		22.12.73	
		14.02.74	
		21.03.74	
		25.04.74	
			20

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
KING JOHN	HT	23.09.67	
		22.12.67	
			2
KING LEAR	T	20.02.68	
		07.03.68	
		28.04.68	
		17.11.68	
		20.12.68	
		11.01.69	
		21.01.69	
		12.04.69	
		01.05.69	
		03.05.69	
		29.10.70	
		14.01.71	
		30.12.71	
		21.05.72	
		25.01.73	
		08.05.73	
			16
KING RICHARD III	HT	07.11.67	
		30.11.67	
		29.12.67	
		11.04.68	
		31.05.68	
		19.10.68	
		05.11.68	
		27.03.69	
		18.05.69	
		04.10.69	
		28.10.69	
		28.12.69	
		26.01.70	
		14.05.70	
		26.09.70	
		26.10.70	
		31.12.70	
		04.05.71	
		15.10.71	
		25.11.71	
		16.12.71	
		03.02.72	
		05.03.72	
		12.05.72	
		28.09.72	
		19.10.72	
		30.12.72	
		20.05.73	
		04.10.73	
		05.10.73	
		09.12.73	
		20.12.73	
		01.01.74	
		26.01.74	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		10.05.74	
			35
LADY JANE GREY	T	07.05.73	
		11.05.74	
			2
LETHE	F	16.10.67	
		30.04.68	
		12.04.69	
		02.11.70	
		18.12.71	
			5
LIONEL AND CLARISSA	CO	25.02.68	
		27.02.68	
		01.03.68	
		03.03.68	
		05.03.68	
		08.03.68	
		10.03.68	
		12.03.68	
		14.03.68	
		04.04.68	
		14.04.68	
		21.04.68	
		16.03.69	
		27.10.69	
		08.11.70	
		18.03.71	
			16
LOVE A-LA-MODE	F	21.09.67	
		26.09.67	
		06.10.67	
		10.10.67	
		14.10.67	
		21.10.67	
		28.10.67	
		21.11.67	
		10.12.67	
		01.01.68	
		22.01.68	
		25.01.68	
		29.02.68	
		06.04.68	
		20.04.68	
		01.04.69	
		05.04.70	
		03.04.71	
		27.04.71	
		06.05.71	
		22.10.71	
		24.10.71	
		26.10.71	
		29.10.71	
		31.10.71	
		22.04.72	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		17.04.73	
		05.10.73	
		14.10.73	
			29
LOVE FOR LOVE	C	06.05.73	
		05.04.74	
		06.05.74	
			3
LOVE IN A VILLAGE	CO	18.09.67	
		23.10.67	
		13.11.67	
		26.11.67	
		01.12.67	
		30.12.67	
		12.01.68	
		15.02.68	
		22.03.68	
		19.04.68	
		05.05.68	
		07.05.68	
		26.05.68	
		24.09.68	
		03.10.68	
		18.11.68	
		12.12.68	
		07.01.69	
		20.02.69	
		28.04.69	
		18.09.69	
		16.10.69	
		30.11.69	
		30.12.69	
		17.01.70	
		18.01.70	
		24.01.70	
		06.02.70	
		23.02.70	
		26.03.70	
		27.04.70	
		17.05.70	
		02.10.70	
		04.10.70	
		06.10.70	
		09.10.70	
		15.10.70	
		17.10.70	
		02.11.70	
		14.11.70	
		20.11.70	
		08.12.70	
		15.01.71	
		25.01.71	
		31.01.71	
		08.02.71	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		16.02.71	
		16.03.71	
		21.03.71	
		01.05.71	
		17.05.71	
		23.05.71	
		01.11.71	
		21.02.72	
		29.04.72	
		14.05.72	
		30.09.72	
		01.10.72	
		09.10.72	
		22.10.72	
		10.11.72	
		04.12.72	
		23.01.73	
		19.02.73	
		29.03.73	
		26.04.73	
		18.05.73	
		29.09.73	
		01.10.73	
		07.10.73	
		13.10.73	
		03.11.73	
		30.11.73	
		07.01.74	
		08.01.74	
		04.02.74	
		15.04.74	
		13.05.74	
			78
LOVE MAKES A MAN	C	16.12.68	
		28.12.68	
		18.04.69	
		17.10.69	
		04.12.71	
		19.12.71	
			6
LOVE'S LAST SHIFT	C	15.01.72	
		17.01.72	
		22.01.72	
		14.01.73	
			4
LYCIDAS	INT	04.11.67	
			1
MACBETH	T	20.01.68	
		27.01.68	
		16.02.68	
		05.04.68	
		17.10.68	
		10.11.68	
		23.12.68	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		06.03.69	
		03.04.69	
		23.05.69	
		19.12.69	
		03.01.70	
		11.01.70	
		14.02.70	
		23.04.70	
		08.10.70	
		14.12.70	
		15.04.71	
		20.05.71	
		27.01.72	
		02.03.72	
		06.04.72	
		21.04.72	
		28.04.72	
		01.06.72	
		22.03.73	
		20.04.73	
		10.05.73	
		23.10.73	
		30.10.73	
		06.11.73	
		13.11.73	
		13.04.74	
		29.04.74	
			34
MAHOMET	T	08.12.67	
		04.05.68	
		24.10.68	
		31.10.68	
		06.05.71	
		01.02.72	
		17.02.72	
			7
MAN AND WIFE	F	07.10.69	
		09.10.69	
		10.10.69	
		11.10.69	
		12.10.69	
		13.10.69	
		14.10.69	
		19.10.69	
		21.10.69	
		25.10.69	
		31.10.69	
		21.11.69	
		24.01.70	
		26.01.70	
		15.03.70	
		26.03.70	
		02.05.70	
		23.12.71	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		11.01.72	
		13.01.72	
		16.01.72	
		18.01.72	
		23.01.72	
		14.03.72	
		21.03.72	
		06.04.72	
		29.10.72	
		10.11.72	
		02.12.72	
		26.01.73	
		09.02.73	
		01.03.73	
		03.04.73	
		19.04.73	
		26.04.73	
		30.04.73	
		03.05.73	
		14.05.73	
		21.10.73	
			39
MEASURE FOR MEASURE	C	12.02.70	
		15.02.70	
		22.02.70	
		12.05.70	
		12.01.71	
		02.02.71	
		13.05.71	
		09.10.71	
		23.10.71	
		19.02.72	
			10
MEDEA	T	17.03.68	
		29.03.69	
		12.03.71	
			3
MIDAS	BURL	27.10.67	
		31.10.67	
		05.11.67	
		24.11.67	
		27.11.67	
		05.12.67	
		09.12.67	
		11.12.67	
		02.01.68	
		19.01.68	
		28.01.68	
		09.02.68	
		18.02.68	
		21.03.68	
		07.04.68	
		04.06.68	
		30.09.68	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		15.10.68	
		05.11.68	
		12.11.68	
		16.11.68	
		24.11.68	
		01.12.68	
		09.12.68	
		16.12.68	
		07.02.69	
		11.02.69	
		16.02.69	
		23.02.69	
		02.03.69	
		09.03.69	
		30.03.69	
		23.05.69	
		20.09.69	
		03.10.69	
		17.10.69	
		24.10.69	
		09.12.69	
		19.12.69	
		03.01.70	
		20.01.70	
		10.03.70	
		12.03.70	
		26.09.70	
		10.10.70	
		11.10.70	
		13.10.70	
		30.10.70	
		13.11.70	
		07.12.70	
		15.12.70	
		07.03.71	
		09.05.71	
		16.05.71	
		02.10.71	
		07.10.71	
		14.10.71	
		23.10.71	
		25.10.71	
		19.12.71	
		24.09.73	
		27.09.73	
		04.10.73	
		09.10.73	
		12.10.73	
		15.10.73	
		18.10.73	
		25.10.73	
		08.11.73	
		15.11.73	
		19.11.73	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		22.11.73	
		21.12.73	
		24.01.74	
		03.02.74	
		21.02.74	
		26.02.74	
		10.03.74	
		15.03.74	
		24.03.74	
		05.05.74	
		26.05.74	
			82
MISS IN HER TEENS	F	05.02.68	
		05.05.69	
		17.05.69	
		10.05.70	
		12.05.70	
			5
MOCK DOCTOR	BO	14.09.67	
		12.10.69	
		02.10.70	
		21.11.72	
			4
MOTHER SHIPTON	ENT	26.12.70	
		27.12.70	
		28.12.70	
		29.12.70	
		31.12.70	
		01.01.71	
		02.01.71	
		03.01.71	
		04.01.71	
		05.01.71	
		07.01.71	
		08.01.71	
		09.01.71	
		10.01.71	
		11.01.71	
		12.01.71	
		14.01.71	
		15.01.71	
		16.01.71	
		17.01.71	
		18.01.71	
		19.01.71	
		21.01.71	
		22.01.71	
		23.01.71	
		24.01.71	
		25.01.71	
		26.01.71	
		28.01.71	
		29.01.71	
		31.01.71	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		01.02.71	
		02.02.71	
		04.02.71	
		05.02.71	
		06.02.71	
		07.02.71	
		08.02.71	
		09.02.71	
		11.02.71	
		12.02.71	
		14.02.71	
		16.02.71	
		18.02.71	
		19.02.71	
		21.02.71	
		11.03.71	
		21.03.71	
		01.04.71	
		11.04.71	
		15.04.71	
		26.04.71	
		02.05.71	
		03.05.71	
		14.05.71	
		20.05.71	
		30.05.71	
		15.10.71	
		17.10.71	
		19.10.71	
		21.10.71	
		28.10.71	
		26.12.71	
		27.12.71	
		28.12.71	
		30.12.71	
		31.12.71	
		01.01.72	
		02.01.72	
		03.01.72	
		04.01.72	
		24.02.72	
		25.02.72	
		26.02.72	
		27.02.72	
		28.02.72	
		29.02.72	
		02.03.72	
		05.03.72	
		07.03.72	
		12.03.72	
		16.03.72	
		17.03.72	
		19.03.72	
		20.04.72	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		27.04.72	
		07.05.72	
		08.05.72	
		09.05.72	
		18.05.72	
		16.10.72	
		21.10.72	
		23.10.72	
		26.10.72	
		02.11.72	
		11.04.74	
		14.04.74	
		28.04.74	
		04.05.74	
		09.05.74	
		23.05.74	
		24.05.74	
			102
ORESTES	DO	13.03.69	
			1
OROONOKO	T	17.04.69	
		24.04.69	
		07.05.70	
		23.04.71	
		09.05.71	
		02.10.71	
		21.10.71	
		20.12.71	
		09.01.72	
		22.05.72	
			10
ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE	O	06.01.68	
		07.01.68	
		08.01.68	
		09.01.68	
		11.01.68	
		12.01.68	
		13.01.68	
		14.01.68	
		15.01.68	
		16.01.68	
		18.01.68	
		21.01.68	
		23.01.68	
		26.01.68	
		12.02.68	
		23.02.68	
		14.04.68	
		22.04.68	
		07.05.68	
		26.05.68	
		30.05.68	
		20.09.68	
		23.09.68	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		29.09.68	
		06.10.68	
		10.10.68	
		14.10.68	
		18.10.68	
		20.10.68	
			29
OTHELLO	T	05.12.67	
		28.01.71	
		21.12.71	
		25.01.72	
		27.11.73	
		29.11.73	
			6
PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA	P	19.09.67	
		25.09.67	
			2
PHILASTER	T	23.11.67	
		09.12.67	
		02.01.68	
		11.02.68	
			4
ROMEO AND JULIET	T	25.09.67	
		12.10.67	
		16.11.67	
		04.01.68	
		29.04.68	
		26.09.68	
		26.11.68	
		28.11.68	
		29.11.68	
		30.11.68	
		01.12.68	
		02.12.68	
		06.01.69	
		15.04.69	
		09.05.69	
		06.10.69	
		01.01.70	
		28.04.70	
		30.04.71	
		28.05.71	
		25.10.71	
		17.12.71	
		24.02.72	
		16.03.72	
		02.05.72	
		02.11.72	
		01.01.73	
		17.05.73	
		25.10.73	
		13.12.73	
		09.02.74	
			31

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE	C	24.10.69	
		02.11.69	
		20.12.69	
		23.10.72	
		27.10.72	
		28.10.72	
		31.10.72	
		03.11.72	
		05.11.72	
		19.11.72	
		02.01.73	
		06.10.73	
		02.12.73	
			13
SAMSON	ORA	19.02.68	
		09.03.68	
		01.03.69	
		08.03.69	
		14.03.70	
		01.03.71	
		13.03.72	
		10.03.73	
		17.03.73	
			9
SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER	C	15.03.73	
		16.03.73	
		18.03.73	
		25.03.73	
		01.04.73	
		12.04.73	
		15.04.73	
		22.04.73	
		29.04.73	
		05.05.73	
		13.05.73	
		31.05.73	
		22.10.73	
		26.10.73	
		02.11.73	
		10.11.73	
		19.11.73	
		10.12.73	
		30.12.73	
		19.01.74	
		08.02.74	
		28.04.74	
		19.05.74	
			23
SHE WOU'D AND SHE WOU'D NOT	C	11.05.68	
		23.09.68	
		11.10.68	
		04.01.69	
		03.10.69	
		07.02.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		22.02.72	
		03.03.72	
		22.12.72	
		05.01.73	
		15.01.74	
			11
SIR COURTLY NICE	C	25.04.70	
			1
TAMERLANE	T	04.11.67	
		05.11.67	
		04.11.69	
		06.11.69	
		15.01.70	
		05.11.70	
		04.11.71	
		06.11.71	
		04.11.72	
		04.11.73	
			10
TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA	T	16.02.70	
		19.02.70	
		01.03.70	
		03.05.70	
			4
THE ALBION QUEENS	T	28.03.69	
		19.04.69	
		05.11.72	
		16.04.73	
			4
THE APPRENTICE	F	08.10.67	
		17.12.67	
		22.12.67	
		08.02.68	
		03.03.68	
		22.03.68	
		19.04.68	
		04.10.68	
		17.10.68	
		28.10.68	
		29.10.68	
		15.12.68	
		27.02.69	
		14.03.69	
		28.04.69	
		25.05.69	
		18.01.70	
		19.03.70	
		27.04.70	
		11.11.71	
		14.12.71	
		29.01.72	
		10.03.72	
		07.04.72	
		23.04.72	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		20.05.72	
		30.05.72	
		25.09.72	
		28.09.72	
		05.10.72	
		26.11.72	
		08.02.73	
		08.03.73	
		12.04.73	
		15.05.73	
		09.11.73	
		21.03.74	
		12.04.74	
		19.04.74	
			39
THE AUTHOR	C	17.10.70	
		01.11.70	
		03.11.70	
		08.11.70	
		15.11.70	
		04.12.70	
		21.12.70	
		26.02.71	
		19.03.71	
		05.04.71	
		23.05.71	
		18.10.71	
		04.11.71	
		21.12.71	
		25.04.72	
		09.04.74	
		15.04.74	
			17
THE BEGGAR'S OPERA	BO	13.10.67	
		15.10.67	
		15.01.68	
		12.02.68	
		30.04.68	
		25.05.68	
		22.09.68	
		07.10.68	
		10.01.69	
		02.05.69	
		11.11.69	
		16.11.69	
		20.11.69	
		26.12.69	
		21.04.70	
		11.05.70	
		25.05.70	
		17.12.70	
		19.12.70	
		07.01.71	
		05.02.71	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		12.02.71	
		23.03.71	
		19.04.71	
		28.10.71	
		07.12.71	
		10.12.71	
		23.12.71	
		28.12.71	
		11.01.72	
		07.02.72	
		20.05.72	
		13.10.72	
		15.10.72	
		29.10.72	
		17.11.72	
		21.01.73	
		22.02.73	
		27.10.73	
		01.11.73	
		05.11.73	
		14.12.73	
		28.12.73	
		06.01.74	
		22.04.74	
		12.05.74	
		24.05.74	
		26.05.74	
			48
THE BROTHERS	C	02.12.69	
		04.12.69	
		05.12.69	
		06.12.69	
		07.12.69	
		08.12.69	
		09.12.69	
		11.12.69	
		12.12.69	
		13.12.69	
		14.12.69	
		16.12.69	
		18.12.69	
		23.12.69	
		09.01.70	
		16.01.70	
		25.01.70	
		03.02.70	
		10.02.70	
		20.02.70	
		03.03.70	
		24.05.70	
		19.10.70	
		24.10.70	
		31.10.70	
		28.11.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		05.12.70	
		09.01.71	
		06.02.71	
		08.05.71	
		19.10.71	
		22.11.71	
		27.12.71	
		16.05.72	
			34
THE BUSY BODY	C	19.09.67	
		27.10.67	
		11.12.67	
		13.01.68	
		23.02.68	
		15.03.68	
		15.04.68	
		12.05.68	
		29.09.68	
		20.10.68	
		25.11.68	
		04.03.69	
		27.04.69	
		20.09.69	
		07.11.69	
		23.01.70	
		23.05.70	
		03.05.71	
		16.11.71	
		30.11.71	
		02.01.72	
		31.01.72	
		28.03.72	
		27.05.72	
		25.09.72	
		20.10.72	
		17.12.72	
		09.01.73	
		11.02.73	
		20.09.73	
		11.11.73	
		12.11.73	
		24.11.73	
		11.12.73	
		13.01.74	
		16.04.74	
		04.05.74	
			37
THE CHAPLET	ENT	16.09.67	
		29.01.68	
		01.10.68	
		20.10.69	
		26.10.69	
		04.12.69	
		18.05.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		24.09.70	
		29.01.74	
		19.05.74	
			10
THE CHEATS OF SCAPIN	F	01.05.70	
		11.05.72	
			2
THE CHOICE	C	30.03.72	
			1
THE CITIZEN	F	18.09.67	
		18.12.67	
		05.01.68	
		06.02.68	
		05.03.68	
		05.04.68	
		09.04.68	
		24.05.68	
		07.10.68	
		17.11.68	
		29.11.68	
		10.12.68	
		16.03.69	
		16.05.69	
		29.09.69	
		16.10.69	
		19.10.69	
		26.02.70	
		02.04.70	
		17.04.70	
		25.05.70	
		06.04.71	
		24.03.72	
		09.04.72	
		22.05.72	
		12.10.72	
		28.11.72	
		21.12.72	
		29.01.73	
		02.03.73	
		01.05.73	
		20.05.73	
		06.04.74	
		23.04.74	
		27.04.74	
		11.05.74	
			36
THE CITY WIVES CONFEDERACY	C	26.09.67	
		09.10.67	
		06.01.68	
		02.06.68	
		16.11.68	
		20.05.69	
		16.11.70	
		25.05.71	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
			8
THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE	C	09.01.68	
		11.01.68	
		22.04.69	
		30.11.70	
		22.12.70	
		02.01.71	
		18.01.71	
		22.05.71	
		23.09.71	
		28.11.71	
		23.09.72	
		29.12.72	
		24.09.73	
		25.01.74	
			14
THE COMMISSARY	C	01.05.71	
		11.05.71	
		28.05.71	
		23.09.71	
		30.09.71	
		09.10.71	
		16.10.71	
		01.11.71	
		09.11.71	
		11.12.71	
		15.01.72	
		30.09.72	
		13.10.72	
		09.11.72	
		23.11.72	
		22.12.72	
		06.02.73	
		23.02.73	
		25.05.73	
		27.05.73	
		22.10.73	
		05.11.73	
		18.12.73	
		04.02.74	
		22.04.74	
		02.05.74	
		14.05.74	
		25.05.74	
			28
THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS	C	07.04.69	
		21.05.73	
		22.05.73	
			3
THE CONTRIVANCES	F	01.02.68	
		14.10.69	
		02.12.69	
		23.04.73	
		28.05.73	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY	T	26.10.68 29.10.68 02.11.68 14.11.68 26.04.69	5
THE COUNTRY LASSES	C	17.11.69	5
THE COUNTRY MAD-CAP	OF	12.12.70 20.12.70 22.12.70 25.02.71 04.03.71 31.03.72 05.05.72 15.05.72 14.10.72 11.11.72 20.04.73 24.05.73 26.03.74 05.04.74 29.04.74	1 15
THE COUNTRY WIFE	C	13.04.68 04.05.68 25.10.68 28.11.68 03.12.68 05.12.68 14.01.69 01.11.69	8
THE COURT OF ALEXANDER	BURL	05.01.70 06.01.70 08.01.70 09.01.70 10.01.70 11.01.70 12.01.70	7
THE CURE OF SAUL	ORA	27.02.71	1
THE DEATH OF ABEL	ORA	04.04.70 06.03.71 26.03.73	3
THE DEUCE IS IN HIM	F	20.04.71 23.04.71 10.05.71 02.11.71 27.05.72 21.09.72	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		06.11.72	
		17.11.72	
		25.11.72	
		13.04.73	
		08.12.73	
		12.01.74	
			12
THE DEVIL TO PAY	BO	15.09.67	
		23.04.68	
		11.10.68	
		08.04.69	
		25.04.69	
		06.05.69	
		12.05.69	
		30.09.69	
		06.12.69	
		15.05.70	
		30.04.71	
		27.09.71	
		06.11.71	
		12.12.71	
		29.05.72	
		27.03.73	
		20.09.73	
			17
THE DISTREST MOTHER	T	29.10.67	
		12.11.67	
		26.04.68	
			3
THE DRAGON OF WANTLY	BURL	22.10.67	
		18.11.67	
		03.12.67	
		11.02.68	
		25.11.68	
		02.12.68	
		25.09.69	
		05.10.69	
		13.10.69	
		31.10.69	
		22.01.70	
		16.05.70	
		07.04.74	
		16.04.74	
		21.04.74	
		03.05.74	
		06.05.74	
		16.05.74	
			18
THE DUELLIST	C	20.11.73	
			1
THE EARL OF ESSEX	T	24.04.70	
		10.10.70	
		12.11.70	
		07.10.71	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		17.10.71	
		13.11.71	
		08.11.73	
		16.12.73	
			8
THE ENGLISH MERCHANT	C	05.10.67	
		07.10.67	
		28.01.69	
		06.02.69	
		21.04.69	
		15.11.69	
		21.02.70	
		04.01.71	
		10.01.71	
		21.11.71	
		26.02.72	
			11
THE ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS	C	08.03.68	
		18.04.68	
		21.10.68	
		17.12.68	
		18.01.69	
		11.04.69	
		19.04.69	
		09.05.69	
		07.12.69	
		15.12.69	
		17.01.70	
		24.03.70	
		07.04.70	
		21.04.70	
		17.11.70	
		07.12.71	
		28.04.72	
		19.05.72	
		25.05.72	
		01.10.72	
		15.10.72	
		22.10.72	
		27.11.72	
		18.03.73	
		14.04.73	
		11.05.73	
		27.10.73	
		13.11.73	
		14.01.74	
		19.03.74	
		20.04.74	
			31
THE FAIR	P	28.10.73	
		29.10.73	
		01.11.73	
		02.11.73	
		03.11.73	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
THE FAIR PENITENT	T	22.10.67	5
		24.10.67	
		20.11.67	
		07.12.67	
		12.10.68	
		13.10.68	
		04.05.69	
		15.11.70	
		19.11.70	
		16.01.71	
		02.11.71	
		17.03.72	
		26.02.74	
		01.03.74	
		05.03.74	
		10.03.74	
THE FAIRY PRINCE	M	12.11.71	16
		13.11.71	
		14.11.71	
		15.11.71	
		16.11.71	
		18.11.71	
		19.11.71	
		20.11.71	
		21.11.71	
		22.11.71	
		23.11.71	
		25.11.71	
		26.11.71	
		27.11.71	
		28.11.71	
		29.11.71	
		30.11.71	
		02.12.71	
		03.12.71	
		04.12.71	
		05.12.71	
		06.12.71	
		09.12.71	
		06.01.72	
		07.01.72	
		08.01.72	
		09.01.72	
		10.01.72	
		14.01.72	
		17.01.72	
		20.01.72	
		22.01.72	
		27.01.72	
		28.01.72	
		22.02.72	
		28.05.72	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
THE FARMER OUTWITTED	F	31.03.70	36
THE FOX	C	26.11.71	1
		27.11.71	
		29.11.71	
		02.12.71	
		31.12.71	
		06.01.72	
		28.01.72	
		18.02.72	
		07.01.73	
		20.01.73	
THE FUNERAL	C	23.04.73	10
		23.04.74	
THE GOLDEN PIPPEN	BURL	06.02.73	2
		08.02.73	
		09.02.73	
		12.02.73	
		13.02.73	
		17.02.73	
		20.02.73	
		27.02.73	
		09.03.73	
		11.03.73	
		22.04.73	
		26.11.73	
		02.12.73	
		03.12.73	
		04.12.73	
		07.12.73	
		09.12.73	
		11.12.73	
		13.12.73	
		31.12.73	
		01.01.74	
THE GOOD NATUR'D MAN	C	29.01.68	21
		01.02.68	
		02.02.68	
		03.02.68	
		04.02.68	
		05.02.68	
		06.02.68	
		08.02.68	
		09.02.68	
		10.02.68	
		21.03.68	
		26.01.71	
		01.02.71	
		24.05.71	
		03.05.73	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
			15
THE GRUMBLER	F	08.05.73	
			1
THE GUARDIAN	F	04.04.69	
		28.04.70	
		28.09.70	
		17.05.71	
			4
THE HYPOCRITE	C	09.10.73	
		12.10.73	
			2
THE INCONSTANT	C	27.05.68	
		22.12.68	
		25.01.69	
		05.10.69	
		06.12.71	
		25.02.72	
		12.11.72	
		25.05.73	
		18.12.73	
		18.01.74	
			10
THE INTRIGUING CHAMBERMAID	F	10.03.68	
		19.12.68	
		01.02.69	
		11.10.69	
		09.10.70	
		22.05.71	
		11.10.71	
		09.03.72	
		29.04.72	
		23.05.72	
		29.09.73	
			11
THE IRISH FINE LADY	F	28.11.67	
			1
THE JEALOUS WIFE	C	31.10.67	
		16.01.68	
		28.01.68	
		03.05.68	
		04.04.69	
		26.04.70	
		09.02.71	
		19.02.71	
		17.04.71	
		14.10.71	
		16.10.71	
		15.11.71	
		27.02.72	
		28.01.73	
		03.02.73	
		23.12.73	
			16
THE JOVIAL CREW	C	09.05.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		13.12.70	
		01.01.71	
		21.02.71	
		11.03.71	
			5
THE KNIGHTS	C	29.03.69	
		13.04.69	
		30.10.71	
			3
THE MAID OF THE MILL	CO	08.10.67	
		20.10.67	
		19.11.67	
		04.12.67	
		05.01.68	
		23.01.68	
		08.04.68	
		27.04.68	
		13.05.68	
		24.05.68	
		19.09.68	
		18.10.68	
		07.12.68	
		26.01.69	
		07.03.69	
		13.04.69	
		29.09.69	
		30.10.69	
		28.11.69	
		13.01.70	
		09.02.70	
		03.04.70	
		16.04.70	
		02.05.70	
		28.09.70	
		27.12.70	
		21.01.71	
		18.02.71	
		10.04.71	
		10.05.71	
		08.11.71	
		28.02.72	
		23.05.72	
		13.04.73	
		12.05.73	
		07.02.74	
		26.04.74	
		14.05.74	
			38
THE MAN OF BUSINESS	C	29.01.74	
		01.02.74	
		02.02.74	
		03.02.74	
		15.02.74	
		17.02.74	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		19.02.74	
		21.02.74	
		22.02.74	
		28.02.74	
		24.03.74	
		14.04.74	
		27.04.74	
			13
THE MAN OF QUALITY	F	27.04.73	
			1
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	C	06.10.67	
		10.10.67	
		14.10.67	
		21.10.67	
		28.10.67	
		21.11.67	
		10.12.67	
		01.01.68	
		22.01.68	
		25.01.68	
		29.02.68	
		06.04.68	
		12.04.68	
		27.03.70	
		05.04.70	
		03.04.71	
		07.05.71	
		22.10.71	
		24.10.71	
		26.10.71	
		29.10.71	
		31.10.71	
		13.05.72	
		17.04.73	
		24.05.73	
		14.10.73	
			26
THE MERRY COUNTERFEIT	F	29.04.71	
			1
THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR	C	08.10.68	
		13.10.68	
		14.12.68	
			3
THE MESSIAH	ORA	23.03.68	
		25.03.68	
		15.03.69	
		17.03.69	
		02.03.70	
		21.03.70	
		20.02.71	
		22.02.71	
		08.03.71	
		13.03.71	
		06.03.72	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		18.03.72	
		01.04.72	
		03.04.72	
		03.03.73	
		05.03.73	
		31.03.73	
		02.04.73	
			18
THE MILLER OF MANSFIELD	F	25.02.68	
		22.10.68	
		16.01.69	
		23.01.69	
		18.09.69	
			5
THE MISER	C	27.09.68	
		27.12.68	
		05.01.69	
		24.01.69	
		19.05.69	
		02.10.69	
		27.12.69	
		21.12.70	
		17.01.71	
		30.10.71	
		12.11.71	
		26.12.71	
		06.05.72	
		29.05.72	
		21.09.72	
		21.10.72	
		26.12.72	
		03.12.73	
		31.12.73	
		10.02.74	
			20
THE MODERN WIFE	C	27.04.71	
			1
THE MOURNING BRIDE	T	21.09.67	
			1
THE MUSICAL LADY	F	08.12.67	
		02.02.68	
		17.03.68	
		25.04.68	
		06.05.68	
		13.05.68	
		21.12.68	
		17.01.69	
		20.01.69	
		20.12.69	
		06.03.70	
		10.05.73	
		22.09.73	
		10.11.73	
			14

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
THE OLD MAID	C	27.02.68	
		19.09.68	
		14.11.70	
			3
THE ORPHAN	T	19.10.67	
		12.12.67	
		18.10.69	
		20.10.69	
		23.10.69	
		08.11.69	
		13.11.69	
		05.01.70	
		01.02.70	
		15.05.70	
		18.10.70	
		22.11.70	
			12
THE OXONIAN IN TOWN	F	07.11.67	
		09.11.67	
		10.11.67	
		11.11.67	
		12.11.67	
		13.11.67	
		14.11.67	
		16.11.67	
		17.11.67	
		23.11.67	
		25.11.67	
		26.11.67	
		30.11.67	
		19.12.67	
		23.12.67	
		28.12.67	
		20.01.68	
		27.01.68	
		13.02.68	
		07.03.68	
		28.09.68	
		05.10.68	
		26.10.68	
		15.11.68	
		23.11.68	
		30.11.68	
		20.12.68	
		06.01.69	
		11.03.69	
		31.03.69	
		17.04.69	
		15.05.69	
		18.10.69	
		21.11.69	
		03.04.70	
		19.04.70	
		11.05.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		21.01.72	
			38
THE PADLOCK	F	23.10.70	
		24.10.70	
		25.10.70	
		26.10.70	
		27.10.70	
		31.10.70	
		06.11.70	
		07.11.70	
		10.11.70	
		16.11.70	
		18.12.70	
		28.02.71	
		02.03.71	
		12.03.71	
		14.03.71	
		16.03.71	
		23.03.71	
		04.04.71	
		08.04.71	
		09.04.71	
		16.04.71	
		17.04.71	
		19.04.71	
		24.04.71	
		25.04.71	
		07.05.71	
		24.05.71	
		05.11.71	
		07.11.71	
		16.12.71	
		20.12.71	
		04.04.72	
		24.04.72	
		06.05.72	
		16.05.72	
		21.05.72	
		07.10.72	
		07.11.72	
		18.11.72	
		19.12.72	
		22.03.73	
		30.03.73	
		01.04.73	
		24.04.73	
		28.04.73	
		18.05.73	
		06.11.73	
		12.11.73	
		24.11.73	
		07.01.74	
		08.04.74	
		30.04.74	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		07.05.74	
		18.05.74	
		20.05.74	
			55
THE PASSION	ORA	16.03.70	
			1
THE PORTRAIT	BURL	22.11.70	
		23.11.70	
		24.11.70	
		26.11.70	
		27.11.70	
		29.11.70	
		30.11.70	
		01.12.70	
		05.12.70	
		10.12.70	
		14.12.70	
		05.03.71	
		09.03.71	
		18.03.71	
		17.02.74	
		19.02.74	
		22.02.74	
			17
THE PRINCE OF AGRA	BURL	07.04.74	
			1
THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND	C	10.11.67	
		30.05.68	
		30.09.68	
		13.02.69	
		14.04.69	
		11.05.69	
		29.11.69	
		02.01.70	
		31.01.70	
		13.10.70	
		07.12.70	
		11.12.70	
		15.12.70	
		03.01.71	
		11.01.71	
		22.01.71	
		11.02.71	
		02.04.71	
		15.05.71	
		04.10.71	
		14.01.72	
		14.11.72	
		24.04.73	
		01.12.73	
		04.01.74	
		18.05.74	
			26
THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE	BO	04.11.69	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		06.11.69	
		07.11.69	
		08.11.69	
		09.11.69	
		10.11.69	
		11.11.69	
		13.11.69	
		14.11.69	
		15.11.69	
		17.11.69	
		18.11.69	
		20.11.69	
		22.11.69	
		23.11.69	
		24.11.69	
		25.11.69	
		27.11.69	
		28.11.69	
		29.11.69	
		30.11.69	
		01.12.69	
		18.12.69	
		26.12.69	
		27.12.69	
		28.12.69	
		29.12.69	
		01.01.70	
		02.01.70	
		04.01.70	
		13.01.70	
		15.01.70	
		16.01.70	
		16.04.70	
		18.04.70	
		30.04.70	
		07.05.70	
		08.05.70	
		14.05.70	
		15.10.70	
		16.10.70	
		18.10.70	
		19.10.70	
		20.10.70	
		22.10.70	
		29.10.70	
		05.11.70	
		09.11.70	
		20.11.70	
		28.11.70	
		08.12.70	
			51
THE RECRUITING OFFICER	C	06.11.67	
		07.01.68	
		28.05.68	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		06.10.68	
		27.10.68	
		06.05.69	
		30.09.69	
		14.11.69	
		23.11.70	
		19.01.71	
		09.12.71	
		05.02.72	
		30.10.72	
		22.01.73	
		17.02.73	
		07.12.73	
			16
THE REFUSAL	C	01.04.69	
		06.01.70	
		27.01.70	
		22.04.72	
			4
THE REHEARSAL	C	14.09.67	
		15.09.67	
		12.05.69	
			3
THE RELAPSE	C	20.03.70	
			1
THE RESURRECTION	ORA	23.03.70	
		30.03.70	
		06.04.70	
		15.03.71	
		22.03.71	
		20.03.72	
			6
THE REVENGE	T	21.04.74	
		25.05.74	
			2
THE RIVAL QUEENS	T	24.03.70	
		17.04.70	
		09.04.71	
		22.04.71	
		11.05.71	
		21.05.71	
		07.04.72	
		30.04.72	
		19.05.72	
		30.03.73	
		21.04.73	
		11.05.73	
		15.05.73	
		21.12.73	
		26.03.74	
		18.04.74	
		02.05.74	
			17
THE ROMAN FATHER	T	18.11.67	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		25.11.67	
		02.12.67	
		13.02.68	
		22.02.68	
		05.10.68	
		03.02.69	
		14.03.69	
		11.04.69	
		15.05.69	
		29.03.70	
			11
THE ROYAL CHACE	P	17.10.67	
		19.10.67	
		20.10.67	
		23.10.67	
		24.10.67	
		26.10.67	
		29.10.67	
		30.10.67	
		19.11.67	
		01.12.67	
		26.12.67	
		30.12.67	
		04.01.68	
		15.02.68	
		22.02.68	
		14.03.68	
		11.04.68	
		03.05.68	
		12.05.68	
		27.05.68	
		01.06.68	
		24.09.68	
		26.09.68	
		03.10.68	
		08.10.68	
		31.01.69	
		03.02.69	
		04.02.69	
		06.02.69	
		13.02.69	
		14.02.69	
		20.02.69	
		21.02.69	
		25.02.69	
		28.02.69	
		04.03.69	
		27.03.69	
		06.04.69	
		20.04.69	
		29.04.69	
		04.05.69	
		11.05.69	
		22.05.69	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		24.05.69	
		23.10.69	
		27.10.69	
		30.10.69	
		03.11.69	
		21.12.69	
		12.11.70	
		19.11.70	
		21.11.70	
		03.12.70	
		13.12.70	
		17.12.70	
		19.12.70	
		18.04.71	
		31.01.72	
		01.02.72	
		03.02.72	
		04.02.72	
		05.02.72	
		06.02.72	
		07.02.72	
		17.02.72	
		18.02.72	
		19.02.72	
		20.02.72	
		21.02.72	
		28.03.72	
		30.11.72	
		01.12.72	
		04.12.72	
			73
THE ROYAL MERCHANT	C	14.12.67	
		17.12.67	
		19.12.67	
		21.12.67	
		23.12.67	
		25.02.69	
			6
THE SEIGE OF DAMASCUS	T	24.03.72	
		27.04.72	
			2
THE SISTER	C	18.02.69	
			1
THE SOUTH BRITON	C	12.04.74	
			1
THE SPANISH FRIAR	TC	19.04.74	
			1
THE SPANISH LADY	INT	11.12.69	
		12.12.69	
		13.12.69	
		14.12.69	
		16.12.69	
		23.12.69	
		25.01.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		27.02.70	
		05.03.70	
		17.03.70	
		26.04.70	
		26.05.70	
		11.04.72	
		02.05.72	
			14
THE STRATAGEM	C	17.11.67	
		22.04.68	
		14.10.68	
		12.01.69	
		20.04.69	
		22.12.69	
		08.02.70	
		26.05.70	
		27.10.70	
		29.01.71	
		04.02.71	
		01.04.71	
		16.05.71	
		27.09.71	
		18.11.71	
		20.01.72	
		12.03.72	
		26.05.72	
		16.10.72	
		19.12.72	
		18.02.73	
		27.02.73	
		27.05.73	
		05.01.74	
		12.02.74	
		20.05.74	
			26
THE SUSPICIOUS HUSBAND	C	23.03.72	
		26.03.72	
		24.04.72	
		15.05.72	
		11.12.72	
		12.01.73	
		26.05.73	
			7
THE SYLPHS	P	03.01.74	
		04.01.74	
		05.01.74	
		06.01.74	
		08.01.74	
		10.01.74	
		11.01.74	
		13.01.74	
		15.01.74	
		17.01.74	
		18.01.74	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		19.01.74	
		20.01.74	
		21.01.74	
		22.01.74	
		25.01.74	
		26.01.74	
		27.01.74	
		28.01.74	
		05.02.74	
		07.02.74	
		08.02.74	
		09.02.74	
		10.02.74	
		11.02.74	
		12.02.74	
		14.02.74	
		24.02.74	
		28.02.74	
		03.03.74	
		05.03.74	
		07.03.74	
		08.03.74	
		12.03.74	
		17.03.74	
		04.04.74	
			36
THE TWIN RIVALS	C	01.12.69	
		04.01.70	
		02.02.70	
		19.05.70	
		11.10.70	
			5
THE UPHOLSTERER	F	17.09.67	
		20.11.67	
		21.12.67	
		03.02.68	
		04.02.68	
		16.02.68	
		01.03.68	
		19.03.68	
		10.05.68	
		25.05.68	
		12.10.68	
		01.11.68	
		19.11.68	
		06.12.68	
		23.12.68	
		02.02.69	
		06.03.69	
		18.03.69	
		03.04.69	
		07.04.69	
		15.04.69	
		22.04.69	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORMANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORMANCES
		08.05.69	
		18.05.69	
		06.10.69	
		21.10.69	
		08.12.69	
		19.01.70	
		13.03.70	
		27.03.70	
		23.04.70	
		04.05.70	
		10.04.71	
		08.11.71	
		10.12.71	
		13.12.71	
		24.01.72	
		04.05.72	
		26.05.72	
		09.10.72	
		24.11.72	
		13.03.73	
		04.05.73	
		01.10.73	
		30.10.73	
		02.02.74	
		22.03.74	
		25.04.74	
		17.05.74	
			49
THE VIRGIN UNMASK'D	BO	29.04.68	
		04.10.68	
			2
THE WALKING STATUE	F	28.03.69	
		16.11.69	
		30.12.69	
			3
THE WAY OF THE WORLD	C	04.04.72	
			1
THE WAY TO KEEP HIM	C	24.03.68	
		08.11.68	
		30.12.68	
		23.11.69	
		21.05.70	
		24.09.70	
		03.10.70	
		07.11.70	
		29.12.70	
		24.01.71	
		19.11.71	
		07.01.72	
			12
THE WEST INDIAN	C	15.10.73	
		16.10.73	
		19.10.73	
		20.10.73	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		29.10.73	
		26.11.73	
		11.01.74	
		17.05.74	
			8
THE WINTER'S TALE	C	24.04.71	
		04.05.72	
		12.03.74	
			3
THE WONDER	C	27.11.67	
		03.12.67	
		18.12.67	
		14.01.68	
		19.01.68	
		06.05.68	
		01.06.68	
		15.10.68	
		29.12.68	
		04.02.69	
		30.03.69	
		08.04.69	
		20.04.70	
		25.04.72	
			14
THEODOSIUS	C	08.05.70	
			1
THOMAS AND SALLY	INT	02.12.67	
		31.12.67	
		10.02.68	
		16.04.68	
		26.04.68	
		11.05.68	
		02.06.68	
		21.09.68	
		27.09.68	
		02.11.68	
		10.11.68	
		08.12.68	
		13.12.68	
		22.12.68	
		05.04.69	
		14.04.69	
		27.04.69	
		10.05.69	
		27.09.69	
		10.10.69	
		25.10.69	
		02.11.69	
		05.12.69	
		22.12.69	
		23.01.70	
		08.03.70	
		20.04.70	
		05.05.70	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		19.05.70	
		23.05.70	
		05.10.70	
		11.12.70	
		23.02.71	
		02.04.71	
		13.04.71	
		08.05.71	
		25.05.71	
		25.09.71	
		23.09.72	
		15.03.73	
		23.10.73	
		20.11.73	
		23.12.73	
		01.02.74	
		13.05.74	
			45
TIMANTHES	T	24.02.70	
		26.02.70	
		27.02.70	
		05.03.70	
		06.03.70	
		08.03.70	
		09.03.70	
		10.03.70	
		12.03.70	
		13.03.70	
		15.03.70	
		17.03.70	
		19.03.70	
		28.05.70	
		05.10.70	
		20.10.70	
		27.11.70	
		14.03.71	
		08.04.71	
		30.05.71	
		11.11.71	
		09.04.72	
		03.04.73	
		11.02.74	
			24
TOM JONES	CO	14.01.69	
		16.01.69	
		17.01.69	
		18.01.69	
		19.01.69	
		20.01.69	
		23.01.69	
		01.02.69	
		02.02.69	
		09.02.69	
		14.02.69	

TITLE	TYPE	PERFORM-ANCE DATE	NUMBER PERFORM ANCES
		28.02.69	
		01.05.70	
		12.04.71	
			14
TWELFTH NIGHT	C	31.03.72	
		05.05.72	
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VENICE PRESERV'D	T	16.09.67	
		14.11.67	
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		31.12.68	
		23.10.70	
		30.10.70	
		05.01.71	
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XIMENA	T	21.03.72	
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ZARA	T	10.05.68	
		19.11.68	
		21.02.69	
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ZOBEIDE	T	11.12.71	
		12.12.71	
		13.12.71	
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		13.01.72	
		16.01.72	
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Chapter Four: Colman's Adaptations

> Boldly advent'ring forth with sails unfurl'd,
> To Greece and Rome, Spain, Italy and France,
> We trade for Play and Op'ra, Song and Dance.1

The eighteenth-century London theatre was filled with the dramatic works of other countries and eras. Adapted to suit contemporary tastes and trends, plays from "Greece and Rome, Spain, Italy and France" were considered a vast warehouse from which to pull dramatic treasures. But foreign and ancient sources were not the only suppliers of dramatic material to be adapted for the eighteenth-century stage. A significant portion of the repertory was composed of adaptations based on earlier British drama and, in fact, of this earlier drama which was staged during the eighteenth century, by far the greater part appeared in altered forms. Colman himself chose to turn to the Elizabethan playwrights when preparing his adaptations rather than to the more commonly pillaged foreign sources. Of the fifteen plays that he adapted or altered during his professional career, eleven were based on native sources and only four were taken from abroad.

Colman did not, however, turn to the Elizabethans simply for convenient dramatic fodder. He admired the works of the less well-known Elizabethan playwrights and he often wrote that he wanted to introduce his audience to the beauties of these older plays. He adapted them because he

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[1] George Colman, "Prologue on opening of New Theatre in Liverpool" in Prose on Several Occasions, vol 3, p. 197.

pragmatically recognized that his audience would reject them in their original forms. In modified forms, however, Colman believed that Elizabethan drama would please his contemporary audience:

> ...nor can we believe that there are not many of their long-neglected dramas that might not, with very inconsiderable variations, be accommodated to the taste of a modern audience.[2]

He aimed, therefore, to make these Elizabethan plays accessible to his audience, albeit in altered forms which had been concocted in order to suit its taste.

Most of Colman's adaptations were done during his years as manager of Covent Garden and we can safely assume that he undertook them as much to satisfy pragmatic considerations as to promote the popularity of Elizabethan drama. Adaptations were financially alluring. In general, they were a quick and effective way of catering to theatrical fads and, when based on plays which had enjoyed success in previous generations, were considered safe box-office risks.[3] Managers, such as Colman and Garrick, therefore, relied upon such adaptations to provide instant response to audience demands which could not be met with existing repertory. The rise in popularity of afterpieces, for example, saw a concomitant rise in Shakespearean works

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[2] Beaumont and Fletcher, The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, George Colman, ed., 3 vols (London: John Stockdale, 1811), p. xcvii.

[3] Garrick adapted the following British plays: Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet, Othello, Richard III, King Lear, Hamlet, Isabella (from Southerne), Every Man in His Humour, The Country Girl (from Wycherly), and The Chances, during his managerial career.

being altered into masques and pantomimes.[4]

T. R. Frame stresses the practical motivation behind many adaptations and he asserts that Colman's adaptations were solely the product of requirements of his role as theatrical manager and of the necessity of pleasing and attracting an audience:

> It will have been observed that in the main Colman's purpose in his alterations and adaptations was that of the theatrical manager, and not of the playwright. His intention in almost every case seems to have been to render the piece he had in hand acceptable to the audience which attended at Covent Garden and the Haymarket.[5]

There is some reason to question whether suiting audience taste was not a playwright's purpose as well as a manager's (especially in the benefit system of the eighteenth-century theatre) and I disagree with Frame's contention that Colman's adaptations were solely professional hack-work. As we shall see in detail when we turn to examine his individual adaptations, Colman's alterations were indeed prompted by the practical requirements of the stage but his choice of plays to adapt was unorthodox: he chose plays which had had no recent stage history and which were usually written by playwrights with whom his audience was unfamiliar. We are, therefore, more accurate in viewing Colman's adaptations as combinations of pragmatic considerations prompted by his role as manager and of aesthetic choices.

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[4] See George C. Branam, Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1956), p. vi.

[5] T. R. Frame, "The Contribution of George Colman the Elder to Eighteenth Century Comedy," diss., Manchester Univ., 1951, p. 98.

Frame's presumption, however, was certainly not new and, of course, applied not only to Colman. George Branam, when discussing eighteenth-century adaptations of Shakespeare, also underlined the practical nature of most adaptations:

> Many of the changes reflect concepts of good theater rather than of good drama. Box office, in the eighteenth century as well as the twentieth, often determined the fare.6

Box office receipts being, as we have emphasized, the house's strongest method of gauging audience taste, they became the principal motivation for alterations. Financial pressures not only determined repertory scheduling on the overall level, but also led to textual changes on the level of individual plays. This parallelism between overall and particular theatrical movements stemmed from the single search for financial success: those dramatic elements which drew the largest receipts were emphasized in the repertory. And if existing repertory could not improve income then it was altered in order to do so:

> Clearly the exigencies of getting and keeping an audience did more to bring about these alterations than a writer's literary code. A modern reader who would understand eighteenth-century literary values must distinguish between changes made to improve the box-office receipts and those that represent the writer's convictions of literary quality.7

Or, in a reduction to the very simplest statement of the

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6 George Branam, Eighteenth Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 136

7 George Branam, Eighteenth Century Adpatations of Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 174.

financial nature of alteration and repertory scheduling, Branam writes:

> What an audience would pay to see -- not what it ought to pay to see -- determined what was offered.[8]

Here again, Branam emphasizes that literary or theoretical standards were secondary to financial exigencies.

Adaptations were very attractive for cost-conscious managers.[9] There were no author's benefit nights for alterations (or, if there were, they usually benefited the manager),[10] there was no licensing fee to be paid, and costumes and scenery were usually supplied from house stock. Such cost-saving benefits certainly were fundamental to explaining the large number of adaptations in the repertory. Given this context of financial pressure and cost-saving, Colman's departure from the proven texts and methods of alteration is even more remarkable and may in some part be explained by the eighteenth-century's view of the role of adaptations and the work of the adapter.

Unlike modern critics such as Branam and Frame who emphasize the pragmatic roots of alterations, eighteenth-century critics remarked that adaptations were necessary on aesthetic grounds and they minimized the significance of financial pressures. In 1789, The Prompter explained that

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[8] George Branam, Eighteenth Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 155.

[9] For the importance that acting costs had on adaptations see Hazelton Spencer, Shakespeare Improved (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), p. 372 and George C. D. Odell, Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving, 2 vols (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), p. 338.

[10] Colman, for example, was paid £100 for his alteration of Lear in 1768.

adaptations were necessary in order to keep plays compatible with current modes:

> Different customs and manners characterise different ages. This renders alterations necessary.11

In fact, we find that much of Colman's adaptation work was simply modernizing outdated texts, updating or omitting obsolete references (see, for example, his alteration of Epicoene). Curiously enough, such modernization was not seen to be anything more than cosmetic, although it often considerably altered the play.

Alteration was not only seen to be necessary in order to modify manners and customs that had become outdated but also to reconcile closet and stage drama. A play's literary value was not judged by or solely linked to its stageworthiness and many plays were considered suitable exclusively for private perusal or for public performance. Colman remarked that some plays that were successful in the theatre could not be transported to the closet:

> There are many modern Compositions, seen with delight at the Theatre, which sicken on the taste in the perusal; and the honest Country Gentleman, who has not been present at the representation, wonders with what his London friends have been so highly entertained.12

Likewise, plays that were successful in the closet were not necessarily popular on the stage and adaptation was often the only way of getting these plays performed. Managers had difficulty reconciling the demands of stage and closet drama

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11 The Prompter, No. II, 26 Oct. 1789, p.7.

12 George Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol 2, p. 141.

and often found themselves simultaneously urging textual purity in the closet and churning out adaptations for the stage. Colman, for example, edited a "critical" edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays[13] (published in 1811) in which he consistently restored original versions of the texts and yet he produced alterations of Philaster and Bonduca "in order to accommodate [them] to the Modern Stage."[14] Likewise, he asserted the excellence of the Elizabethans in his introduction to an edition of Massinger's plays, "The Excellencies of our Old Writers are ... not confined to Time and Place, but always bear about them the Evidences of true Genius"[15], but he nonetheless adapted Bonduca, Epicoene, King Lear, The Winter's Tale, and Philaster.[16] Managers' editorial and adpatation work can be reconciled by looking at the economic exigencies of the theatre. Colman's admiration

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13 Beaumont and Fletcher, The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, George Colman, ed., (London: John Stockdale, 1811).

14 George Colman, Bonduca (London: T. Cadell, 1778), p. A4r. Certain plays, however, were considered to be exclusively suitable either for the stage or for the closet and in an extreme case articulated in The Prompter, Shakespeare's entire body of plays was consigned to the closet:

> Tho' we can never have enough of Shakespeare in the closet, yet it is very easy to cloy us with him on the stage.

The Prompter, No. III, 27 Oct. 1789, p. 14.

15 George Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 2, p. 141.

16 Garrick, in spite of his frequently and loudly-advertised veneration for Shakespeare, culminating in his Jubilee at Stratford in 1769, wrote and staged such adaptations as The Sheep-Shearing (from The Winter's Tale), King Lear, The Fairies (from A Midsummer Night's Dream), and Romeo and Juliet. Christian Deelman casts doubt on the disinterested nature of Garrick's devotion to Shakespeare in The Great Shakespeare Jubilee, (London: Michael Joseph, 1964).

of the original Elizabethan texts was not hypocritical,[17] it was simply secondary to his theatrical pragmatism.

In addition to modernizing old plays and reconciling stage and closet drama, eighteenth-century critics saw that alterations were necessary to suit plays to the moral, social, and literary standards of the day:

> Many of our Old Plays, though they abound with Beauties, and are raised much above the humble level of later Writers, are yet, on several accounts, unfit to be exhibited on the modern Stage; that the Fable, instead of being raised on probable incidents in real Life, is generally built on some foreign Novel, and attended with Romantick Circumstances; that the Conduct of these Extravagant Stories is frequently uncouth, and infinitely offensive to that Dramatick correctness prescribed by late Criticks...18

First among these was the urge to correct the uncouth "Conduct of these Extravagant Stories". Passages which did not conform to contemporary decorum were altered or simply excised, usually by the managers. Alterations based on satisfying a moral code were willingly made by the house in order to placate the audience and they became part of the censorship process: preceding the formal bureaucratic

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[17] Colman's sincere admiration for the works of Beaumont and Fletcher can be seen in the following passage from the introduction of his critical edition of their works:

> For our parts we have been incited to this undertaking from a real admiration of these poets, grounded, as we apprehend, on their genuine excellencies, and a thorough persuasion that the works of Beaumont and Fletcher may proudly claim a second place in the English drama, nearer to the first than the third, to those of Shakespeare...

Beaumont and Fletcher, The Dramatic Works, G. Colman, ed., vol. 1, p. cii.

[18] Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 2, p. 112.

censorship of the Lord Chamberlain:

> Managers, for example, altered texts a good deal and in so doing saved the censor a considerable amount of work.... A manager might alter or reject a play for various reasons... and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it frequently was, because the manager found it offensive or dangerous in some way or because he judged the Examiner or the audience would.20

The drive to emphasize the moral of the play often overshadowed other, more literary, considerations and reduced the plays to their clearest moral lesson:

> Until the rise of Shakespeare idolatry forbade the practice, the eighteenth-century adapter freely altered Shakespeare's characters to give the audience what he thought they wanted: a play in which the behavior of the characters did not cloud the moral line of the plot. The desire for moral clarity overcame the weaker interest in preserving the individuality of the characters.21

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19 Sometimes alterations were not made by the theatrical community in response to audience demands but by the censor and therefore the dramatic fare was altered in response to his particular moral or political strictures:

> When Richard the Third (as I alter'd it from Shakespear) came from his [the censor's] Hands, to the Stage, he expung'd the whole First Act, without sparing a Line of it.... In a word, we were forc'd, for some few Years, to let the Play take its Fate, with only four Acts divided into five....

Colley Cibber, An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, p. 160. Here, we must assume that Richard the Third came under the censor's jurisdiction because it was an alteration and would therefore have been considered as a new play.

20 Leonard Conolly, The Censorship of English Drama, p. 2.

21 George Branam, Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy, pp 133 - 134. One final note on the relationship between an age's moral stance and adaptation is to be found in Shakespeare Improved where Hazelton Spencer remarks that Restoration alterations were indeed concessions

Although the need to excise any remotely bawdy passages worked often to the detriment of the play in hand, eighteenth-century standards placed moral propriety as an essential task of the adapter. Colman himself unfailing strove to achieve it.

In the above passage, Colman also mentions that critics found that the structure of Elizabethan drama was "infinitely offensive to that Dramatick correctness". Adapters as early as Tate had felt the urge to string together "a Heap of Jewels, unstrung and unpolish'd"[22] and to improve the "Regularity and Probability of the Tale"[23] and their efforts were an indication of the sway that the dramatic unities, at least in critical theory, exercised in determining alteration. The importance of dramatic rules, and their assertion of reason over instinct or taste, was stated by the anonymous author of A Dialogue on Taste:

> It is good rules alone that can save a poet from such blunders, which taste is ever ready to lead him into.[24]

This conservative view held that rules and judgment were the

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to contemporary morality but to vastly different effect than eighteenth-century concessions:

> Being Restoration products, the adaptations show the license of the time.

Hazelton Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 373. It is clear, therefore, that the morality portrayed in adaptations was that of the audience it was aimed to please, which was not necessarily that of the original author or audience.

[22] Nahum Tate, King Lear, in Montague Summers, Shakespeare Adaptations, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1922), p. 177.

[23] Nahum Tate, King Lear, p. 177.

[24] "A Dialogue on Taste", The Investigator (London: n. p., 1762), p. 71.

only way of achieving a well-regulated drama and, if they were strictly followed, would promote the additional benefit of taste:

> The more we examine into facts, the more reason we shall have to be convinced, that taste ought never to be allowed to dictate in poetry; since, when ever taste happens to be good, it is only the consequence, not the cause of good writing. Judgment and rules, whose humble servant and follower taste ought to be, are alone fit to decide, whether he is right or wrong.25

Of course, it is common enough to find statements of the freer position that we associate with the end of the century:

> ...I am perswaded the profess'd Criticks of this Age have brought upon us, from Time to Time, those Showers of bad PLAYS, which have almost wash'd the Shadow of Dramatick Poetry from off the Earth. They adhere so strictly to the severest Letter of Criticism, and press so earnestly the Observation of their Rules alone, that all our young Writers think nothing else but Art requir'd, and that a Heaven-born Genius (which breaks through all their Cob-web Fetters) is useless in Parnassus.26

In practice, we find adapters abandoning the strictures of critical and literary theories: dramatic rules, whether praised or not, were inevitably secondary to practical, theatrical requirements. George Branam discusses the role of neoclassicism in eighteenth-century adaptations at length and, although he acknowledges the importance that rules and judgement held for many authors,[27] and concedes that a rigid

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25 "A Dialogue on Taste", p. 71.

26 James Ralph, The Touch-stone, p. 165.

27 See George Branam, Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 105.

sense of order which resulted in the simplification of character and the clarification of plot was the drive behind many adaptations,[28] he concludes, ultimately, that stage effectiveness had the most weight. Critical rules were adopted by adapters only as far as they would be accepted by the public; stage success was far more alluring than theoretical purity:

> Neoclassical theory seemed to have less weight than theatrical effectiveness in motivating changes...[29]

In the final analysis, what pleased the audience was staged, and adapters modified plays in order to increase audience satisfaction, not to satisfy critical demands:

> On the whole it seems that the phrase "neoclassic rule" is more deceptive than helpful in a discussion of eighteenth-century drama, because it implies a mechanical inflexibility that did not actually exist. The critics might discuss at length the problem of how many hours could allowably encompass the action of a play, and whether or not the spectator was capable of imagining the stage first one place and then another. Audiences, however, continued to enjoy pieces that by no means conformed to the rules.[30]

Colman, for instance, came down strongly in support of a pragmatic theory of adaptation: one which sought no guidance from any arbitrary system of rules. He remarked that critical rules did not guarantee stage success and that

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[28] See George Branam, Eighteenth-Century Adptations of Sahkespearean Tragedy, p. 66.

[29] George Branam, Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 10.

[30] George Branam, Eighteenth Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 66.

audiences would ignore literary irregularities once they had become accustomed to them:

> ...a Play need not be written on the severest plan, to please in the representation. The mind is soon familiarized to Irregularities, which do not sin against the Truth of Nature, but are merely violations of that strict Decorum of late so earnestly insisted on.[31]

Of course, in urging that rules not be relied upon in order to ensure a play's success, Colman was in accord with Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare.

Thus, although adaptations were often fostered by theories of moral strictness and dramatic rules, their execution was governed by audience preference; and commercial success was the standard which adapters strove to achieve. Commentators from the eighteenth century to the present have decried the failure of adaptations on aesthetic grounds[32] but we must assert their success in box office terms and in popularity. After all, as Montague Summers wrote of Tate's Lear:

> And a drama which lives in the theatre for one hundred and fifty years cannot be ignorantly dismissed with a shrug and a sneer.[33]

We should follow Summers' lead and reconsider the premise that separates an adaptation's popular success from its artistic worth.

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[31] George Colman, Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 2, pp 112 - 113.

[32] See Resignation or Majesty in the Dumps,(London: J. Bew, 1774), pp 5 - 6 and John Loftis, Sheridan and the Drama of Georgian England (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976), p. 80.

[33] Montague Summers, Shakespeare Adaptations, p. cvii.

The adaptations that follow were written by Colman, certainly with critical and aesthetic principles in mind, but with the omnipresent requirements of his theatre guiding his editing. The modifications that he made illustrate the requirements of his theatre, its literary assumptions, and its audience's taste. Moreover, his alterations show that his individual dramatic work was influenced by the same theatrical requirements that dictated his overall repertory scheduling. An examination of his adaptations of King Lear, Philaster, and Epicoene will show that Colman, although exercising an unusual creativity in his choice of plays to adapt, practised the same rationality in his method of adaptation as he did in his overall scheduling of plays in the repertory. His behavior in both was prompted by his business-like approach to managing Covent Garden and his adaptations were commercial undertakings, geared to satisfy his business' patrons.

Philaster

In 1763, Colman adapted Beaumont and Fletcher's Philaster while he was acting manager at Drury Lane during Garrick's absence.[1] Colman's Philaster was first performed on 8 October 1763 and played for eighteen nights during its first season, a strong beginning for a play that remained in repertory for eleven years. Part of Colman's purpose in reviving Philaster was to provide a significant vehicle for William Powell's London debut:

> Something, however, was necessary to be done;... nor can he [Colman] repent of the trouble he has taken [in adapting Philaster]... when he sees himself the instrument... of calling forth the extraordinary powers of so promising a genius for the stage as Mr. Powell.[2]

But Colman's primary intention in reviving Philaster was to restore "this excellent play [to] the modern stage"[3] and to introduce contemporary audiences to the beauties of the plays of the Elizabethan playwrights other than Shakespeare. The beauty of Philaster and its claim to revival, he wrote, lay in its truth to nature. But he acknowledged that Philaster could not be revived in its orginal form without alterations because:

> ... modes and customs, manners and languages, are subject to perpetual variation. Time insensibly renders writings obsolete and uncouth, and the gradual introduction of new words and

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[1] Garrick toured through Europe during 1763 leaving his brother, Colman, and Lacy to run Drury Lane.

[2] George Colman, Philaster, The Dramatick Works of George Colman, vol 3, p. B6r.

[3] George Colman, Philaster, p. B3r.

> idioms brings the older forms into disrepute and disuse.4

Specifically, Colman saw that the play, although of "uncommon merit", needed to have certain flaws removed:

> That the uncommon merit of such a play as Philaster might be universally acknowledged and received, it appeared necessary to clear it of ribaldry and obscenity, and to amend a gross indecency in the original constitution of the fable, which must have checked the success due to the rest of the piece, nay, indeed, was an insuperable obstacle to its representation.5

The gross indecency of the original was presumably Philaster's wounding of Arethusa and Bellario in the fourth act. "Ribaldry and obscenity" appeared throughout the original and engendered wide-spread revisions.

Colman, in spite of the removal of ribaldry, obscenity, and of the gross indecency in the fable, thought he kept his editorial work to a minimum, excising only what was offensive and adding only what was necessary to clarify the plot after his excisions:

> ... nothing has been added more than was absolutely necessary, to make it move easily on the new hinge, whereon it now turns: Nor has anything been omitted, except, what was supposed to have been likely to obscure its merit, or injure its success.6

And he states that the excision of every scene except that of III.i (Dion's falsification of facts relating to Arethusa and told to Philaster) was done without hesitation. His editorial restraint, however, permitted the excision of

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4 George Colman, Philaster, p. B2r - v.

5 George Colman, Philaster, p. B3v

6 George Colman, Philaster, p. B3v.

virtually all of Dion's, Thrasaline's, and Clerimont's asides, the wooing scene between Galatea, Megra, and Pharamond, Philaster's wounding of Arethusa and Bellario, Dion's revelation of Megra's story to Philaster (III.i), and many minor plot embellishments such as the woodmen's scene in the forest, the citizens' torture of Pharamond, and the courtezans' (led by Megra) scenes of sexual innuendo. In order for the plot to survive these expurgations, Colman has Megra, already Pharamond's mistress, sent from Spain by his mother to attend Arethusa; and in the wounding scene, Colman has the Countryman save Arethusa from being wounded by Philaster and then has him wound Bellario when trying to separate Bellario and Philaster while they are fighting. These changes are not, perhaps, what we would consider to be minor but it is important to note that Colman saw them as minimal and absolutely essential. Without them, he was convinced the play would not survive representation. Moreover, he felt that if he had erred in editorial judgement, it was in retaining too much of the original, not in impressing too much of his own work upon the play:

> There are, it must be confessed, many things still left in the play, which may be thought to lower the dignity of Tragedy, and which would not be admitted in a fable of modern construction: But where such things were in nature, and inoffensive, and served at the same time as so many links in the chain of circumstances that compose the action, it was thought better to subdue in some measure the intemperance of the scenes of low humour, than wholly to reject or omit them.[7]

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[7] George Colman, Philaster, pp B5v - B6r.

We must conclude, therefore, that Colman's alterations reflect the minimum response to audience expectation and taste and that they were made to satisfy the barest contemporary theatrical and critical standards. In many ways, Colman revived Philaster as an aesthetic choice, as part of his drive to "render the writing of our old authors familiar to the publick"[8] but his revisions were a managerial response to theatrical exigencies. As such, they illustrate the significant audience preferences of his day and the dramatic elements that were believed to satisfy them.

Colman classified Philaster as a tragedy and justified this claim with the following definition of the genre:

> If to move the passions of pity and terror are the two chief ends of Tragedy, there needs no apology for giving that title to the play of Philaster. If Lear, Hamlet, Othello, &c. &c. notwithstanding the casual introduction of comick circumstances in the natural course of the action, are tragedies; Philaster is so too.[9]

Colman does point out that Philaster at one time, as the Duke of Buckingham's alteration[10] of 1683, had been called a Tragi-comedy but that the current eighteenth-century definition of tragi-comedy ("a play ... in which two distinct actions, one serious and the other comick, are unnaturally woven together")[11] precluded Philaster. Modern critics[12] see

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[9] George Colman, Philaster, pp B5r - v.

[10] Buckingham's alteration, The Restoration, first appeared in 1683.

[11] George Colman, Philaster, p. B5r.

[12] Studies in the the development of tragicomedy include: F. H. Ristine, English Tragicomedy, (New York:

[8] George Colman, Philaster, p. B2v.

Philaster, however, as one of the earliest English tragi-comedies, claiming that it is always obvious that the ending will be happy no matter how desperate the situation seems to be in the first four acts.[13] If a happy ending to a potentially tragic plot is the determination upon which a play is classed as a tragicomedy, then Colman's version certainly qualifies as one. Colman's ending to Philaster is happy, as is Beaumont and Fletcher's: Arethusa is married to Philaster, Megra's duplicity is exposed, and the political stability of the state is recovered. Colman, however, judged the play on a different standard and he considered it a tragedy.[14]

Colman's revisions were aimed to bring the morality, manners, violence, and plot line of Philaster into closer alignment with the standards of the day. His alterations made to satisfy morality consisted largely of the excision of Megra's sexually explicit speeches. Dion's comments on Megra's reputation are also cut as are the sexual innuendos in Arethusa's declaration of love to Philaster. In I.i, for example, Colman cut the following description of Megra:

> Dion. Faith, I thinke she is one whom the State keepes for the Agents of our confederate Princes: She'll cog and lye with a whole Army, before the league shall breake; her name is common through

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Columbia Univ. Press, 1910), and M. T. Herrick, Tragicomedy (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1962).

[13] See the Introduction to Philaster by Andrew Gurr (London: Manchester Univ. Press, 1969), p. lxii.

[14] It is interesting to note that Lear, in spite of its eighteenth-century happy endings, was considered a tragedy, presumably upon the same basis of exciting the passions of pity and terror.

> the Kingdome, and the Trophies of her dishonour, advance'd beyond Hercules pillars. She loves to try the severall constitutions of mens bodyes; and indeede has destroyed the worth of her owne body, by making experiment upon it, for the good of the Commonwealth.
> Clerimont.15She's a profitable member.16

The sexual suggestions in this passage were judged too obscene and Colman's introduction of Megra into the plot, besides considerably changing Megra's role, is much more chaste:

> Thrasaline. They say too, moreover, that the lady Megra (sent hither by the queen of Spain, Pharamond's mother, to grace the train of Arethusa, and attend her to her new home, when espoused to the prince) carries herself somewhat too familiarly towards Pharamond; and it is whisper'd, that there is too close an intercourse between him and that lady.17

Gone is the necessity of the original seduction scene between Megra and Pharamond (II.ii); they are rumored to be illicitly involved before the play opens. Gone too, however, is any tension created in the original text by the audience witnessing the development of an alliance between Megra and Pharamond and the uncertainty it brings to the stability of the state and to the eventual success of Arethusa's and Philaster's love. In addition, although the plot line remains clear in Colman's interpretation of Megra's role, it eliminates an important relationship between the characters in the original. Since Megra is no longer the immoral local

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15 All speech headings have been expanded.

16 Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, vol. 2, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966), I.i, ll 47 - 55.

17 Colman, Philaster, pp 15 - 16.

courtezan, but an imported mistress from abroad (distancing by yet another level his audience from any tainted virtue), there is no longer any need to juxtapose her lasciviousness with the witty and clever moral uprighteousness of Galatea.

Megra's licentiousness is purged throughout the play: passages in which she talks explicitly about sexual pleasure are cut (I.i, II.ii, II.iv, V.v) and even her sexual double entendres and puns are eliminated. The following passage, in which Megra tries to blacken Arethusa's reputation, originally appeared as:

> Megra. Why this is he, must, when you are wed,
> Sit by your pillow, like young Apollo, with
> His hand and voyce binding your thoughts in sleepe:
> The Princesse does provide him for you and for
> her selfe.
> Pharamond. I finde no musique in these boyes.
> Megra. Nor I.
> They can doe little and that small they doe,
> They have not wit to hide.[18]

Colman deletes these lines entirely, weakening both the development of the rumors against Arethusa's virtue and of Megra's character.

Megra, however, is not the only female character who breaches the bounds of decorum. It is true that Megra embodies the single idea of carnal pleasure and that she is contrasted with her symbolic opposite, Galatea; but Arethusa, praised from the start for her virtue, also shows signs of not strictly pure impulses. At the conclusion to her declaration of love for Philaster, she urges:

> Arethusa. ... Let us leave and kiss,
> Lest some unwelcome guest should fall betwixt us,
> And we should part without it.[19]

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[18] Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, II.iv, ll 21-28.

[19] Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, I.ii, ll 104 - 106.

Arethusa's snatch of stolen pleasure and the physical side of her affection that it reveals become something quite different in Colman's hands:

> Arethusa. ... Let us leave and part,
> Lest some unwelcome guest should fall betwixt.[20]

It is a much more abrupt end to what also in his hands became a far less effective love scene. It is entirely possible that Colman cut Arethusa's displays of sensuality as much to preserve a clearer image of her (she becomes an almost iconographic image of virtue) as to improve the morality of the play. With reference to the adaptations of Shakespearean plays during the eighteenth century, G. Branam noted that adapters flattened characters by removing their idiosyncrasies:

> Even when plot requirements do not seem to dictate a flattening of characters, however, the eighteenth-century adapter tends to remove touches of real inward probing ... There is an astonishing isolation of characters, never an intimacy of mind or soul, never any revelation of inner mind, never any but the most polite communication... [21]

This flattening is exactly what Colman has attained by removing any of Arethusa's statements that conflict with her image of unsullied purity. The embodiment of abstract virtue cannot represent a human character.

Colman's treatment of Pharamond, like his of Arethusa, is a combination of alteration for the sake of morality and that for the sake of character consistency. In

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[20] George Colman, Philaster, p. 30.

[21] George Branam, Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 127.

the original play, Pharamond is boastful, vain, cowardly, lecherous, and overbearing. Colman needed to leave enough character weakness in Pharamond so that audience expectation would be satisfied when Arethusa broke her engagement to him and affianced herself to Philaster but he diluted as many of Pharamond's character excesses as possible. Pharamond's opening speech, for example, during which we discover his arrogance and pride, is reduced as follows (passages underlined were deleted by Colman):

> Pharamond. Kissing your white hand (mistrisse) I take leave,
> To thanke your royall father: And thus farre
> To be my owne free Trumpet. Understand
> Great King, and these your subjects, mine that must be,
> (For so deserving you have spoke me, sir,
> And so deserving I dare speake my selfe)
> To what a person, of what eminence,
> Ripe expectation, of what faculties,
> Manners and vertues, you would wed your Kingdomes;
> You in me have your wishes. O, this Countrey,
> (By more than all the gods) I hold it happy;
> Happy in their deare memories, that have bin
> Kings great and good; happy in yours, that is,
> And from you (as a Chronicle to keepe
> Your noble name from eating age) doe I,
> Open my selfe most happy. Gentlemen,
> Beleeve me in a word, a Princes word,
> There shall be nothing to make up a Kingdome
> Mighty, and flourishing, defenced, fear'd,
> Equall to be commanded and obeyed;
> But through the travells of my life I'le finde it,
> And tye it to this Countrey. By all the gods,
> My reigne shall be so easie to the subject,
> That every man shall be his Prince himselfe,
> And his owne law: yet I his Prince and law.
> And, deerest Lady, to your deerest selfe,
> (Deere, in the choyce of him, whose name and lustre
> Must make you more and mightier) let me say,
> You are the blessedst living; for, sweete Princesse,
> You shall enjoy a man of men, to be
> Your servant; you shall make him yours, for whom
> Great Queenes must die.22

Colman's Pharamond is a much diluted version of the arrogant

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22 Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, I.i, ll 119 - 150.

prince of Beaumont and Fletcher. After Colman's cuts, Pharamond's opening speech becomes that of a reasonable ruler; one who is intent on promoting both individual happiness and state stability. Gone is the egocentric statement that the state's happiness lies in the acquisition of Pharamond as its head; also gone is his self-congratulatory enumeration of his good qualities. A sense of his personal vanity remains, however, by Colman's retention of Pharamond's final line. Colman did not streamline Pharamond's character only by excision. He continued his work of elevating Pharmond's character later in Act Two. When Megra is spreading her rumors about Arethusa's virtue, Colman transfers Philaster's righteous response to Pharamond:

> Pharamond. Injurious Megra!
> Oh, add not shame to shame! to rob a lady
> Of her good name thus, is a heinous sin,
> Not to be pardon'd;[23]

The addition of a sense of justice to Pharamond's character tempers the extremity of passion that he shows in the original; it also eliminates the justice of the citizens' cruelty to Pharamond in Act Five and Colman accordingly excised the scene. Not only does Colman remove all evidence of Pharamond's lechery and self-aggrandizement, he endues him with virtues that he didn't possess in the original text. Pharamond, however, becomes no more effective a character. Having been stripped of his vices and only perfunctorily endowed with virtues, he becomes a neutral character; reacting to external events but projecting very little inner

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[23] George Colman, Philaster, II, p. 41.

force, an example of Branam's "astonishing isolation of characters."

Character excess, or the portrayal of exaggerated personality traits, was almost always altered to a more uniform placidity and decorum. Character excess such as Pharamond's lechery and pride, Philaster's madness, and the king's cruelty and anger are reduced or eliminated in Colman's adaptation. Philaster's madness and his fury in III.i at Dion's false disclosure of Arethusa's infidelity were removed because:

> ... Philaster's emotions appeared impossible to be exhibited with any conformity to truth or nature.24

One must pose the question, however, in addition to the issue of verisimilitude, of the instructional value of scenes in which characters behave with excess.

Since Colman viewed the stage as a didactic tool to teach the audience a model image of society, character excess was inappropriate and destructive. The king's cruelty in Acts I and IV, for instance, is not only an example of individual excess but of abuse of state power. When Philaster accuses the king of having usurped his (Philaster's) kingdom, the king replies:

> King. Away! I doe not like this:
> I'le make you tamer, or I'le dispossesse you
> Both of life and spirit: for this time
> I pardon your wild speech, without so much
> As your imprisonment.25

Colman alters this heavy sentence to:

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24 Colman, Philaster, p. B4r.

25 Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, I.i, ll 277 - 281.

King. Away, I do not like this:
For this time I do pardon your wild speech.26

Such rational behavior is continued later in Act IV when Arethusa loses herself in the woods. Beaumont and Fletcher's king reacts to the news with the following:

King. ...Sir, speake you; where is she?
Dion. Sir, I doe not know.
King. Speake that againe so boldly, and, by heaven,
It is thy last. You, fellowes, answer me;
...
I doe command you all, as you are subjects,
To shew her me: what, am I not your King?
If I, then am I not to be obeyed?
Dion. Yes, if you command things possible, and
honest.
King. Things possible and honest! Heare me, thou,--
Thou traytor, -- that dar'st confine thy King to
things
Possible and honest; shew her me,
Or let me perish, if I cover not
All Cicelie with blood.27

Colman eliminates this entire passage, changing the king's reaction from an inappropriate exercise of monarchal power to the concern of an affectionate father. Again, when in Act V, Arethusa announces her clandestine marriage to Philaster, the king reacts with unwarranted violence and Colman excises the passage:

King. ...Bloud shall put out your Torches, and
instead
Of gaudy flowers about your wanton necks,
An Axe shall hang, like a prodigeous Meteor,
Ready to crop your loves sweetes.28

Especially through the character of the king, Colman uses the stage as an instructive tool: presenting a picture of a rational and moderate monarchy where both court and citizens

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26 Colman, Philaster, I, p.23.

27 Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, IV.ii, ll 20 - 34.

28 Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, V.iii, ll 58 - 61.

effect change with propriety and consideration.

Colman's didactic strain was not limited to the portrayal of ideal state affairs. In the altered version, Arethusa is no longer allowed to express her happiness to die (V.i) nor to clandestinely marry herself to Philaster in Act Five; both considered socially destructive acts during the eighteenth century. Instead, when Pharamond asks her to secretly marry him, she responds with the following declaration of filial duty, entirely added by Colman:

> Arethusa. My father, Sir, is all in all to me;
> Nor can I give my fancy or my will
> More scope than he shall warrant. When he bids
> My eye look up to Pharamond for lord,
> I know my duty; but, till then, farewell.29

Instruction, therefore, was carried out on two levels: personal behavior as represented by Arethusa and the management of state as represented by the king, Philaster, and Pharamond.

Colman's toning down of any excessive display of idiosyncratic behavior can also be linked to his policy of eliminating violence from the stage. In the Preface to Philaster, Colman explains why he altered Act IV:

> The scenes in the fourth act, wherein Philaster, according to the original play, wounds Arethusa and Bellario, and from which the piece took its second title of Love Lies A-bleeding, have always been censured by the criticks. They breathe too much of that spirit of blood, and cruelty, and horror, of which the English Tragedy hath often been accused.30

Blood, cruelty, and horror attend much of Philaster and they

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29 George Colman, Philaster, I, pp 33 - 4.

30 George Colman, Philaster, p. B4r.

are all either eliminated (in the case of the king and the citizens (Act V), for example), transferred to minor characters (as to the Countryman in Act IV), or transferred off stage. If it was necessary that the action remain on stage and with the original characters, as in the Princess' bedroom scene when Philaster and Pharamond confront each other, Colman dimished the violence of the scene, by modifying individual speeches. Philaster's threatened violence is reduced from:

> Philaster. It is a place, to which, I must confesse,
> I owe a reverence: but wer't the Church,
> I, at the Altar, there's no place so safe,
> Where thou darst injure me, but I dare kill thee:
> And for your greatnesse, know sir, I can graspe
> You and your greatnesse thus, thus, into nothing:
> Give not a word, not a word backe: Farewell.31

to:

> Philaster. It is a place to which, I must confess,
> I owe a reverence: But were't the church,
> Ay, at the altar, there's no place so safe,
> Where thou dar'st injure me, but I dare punish thee:
> Farewell.32

Throughout the play, in addition to the consistent excision of violence, character excess, and ribaldry, characters are simplified to their minimum, allowing Colman to make each represent abstractions: Arethusa symbolises filial fidelity and pure virtue, Philaster humane government, Bellario devoted service and honest friendship. Each becomes symbolic of certain characteristics rather than remaining, as they were in Beaumont and Fletcher, representations of

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[31] Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster, I.ii, ll 181 - 187.

[32] George Colman, Philaster, I, p. 33.

complex individuals. Through his alterations of simplifying the plot and reducing characters to symbolic figures, Colman created a much more commercial theatrical product but in many ways a less powerful play.

Of course, as we have seen, Colman himself justified his alterations on the grounds that they were to make the play more suitable for the theatre and acceptable to a contemporary audience; he made no claims for his version's literary achievment. Colman undoubtedly suceeded on these narrow terms and he renounced credit for any larger accomplishment:

> It is impossible for the severest reader to have a meaner opinion of the editor's share in the work than he entertains of it himself.33

I believe that T. R. Frame's assertion that Colman's adaptation in no way harmed Philaster is too complacent:

> When one compares Colman's version of "Philaster" with the original, it cannot be said that it is in any ways inferior, or that he has done irreparable harm to the reputation of Beaumont and Fletcher.34

Colman himself would have rejected this praise for his work; he did not consider his version of Philaster as an alternative to Beaumont and Fletcher's play, he saw it merely as an acting version of the text. His later efforts to edit an authentic critical edition of Philaster indicate that he did not consider his 1763 version to be textually pure. Colman produced a simplified, non-violent, moral, and didactic

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33 George Colman, Philaster, p. B6r.

34 T. R. Frame, "The Contribution of George Colman the Elder to Eighteenth Century Comedy", p. 89

commercial product. The best that we can assert for his effort is what he himself said: that the merit of Philaster would shine through his changes:

> But the instrinsick merit of any work, though it may be obscured, must for ever remain; as antique coins, or old plate, though not current or fashionable, still have their value, according to their weight.35

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35 Colman, Philaster, p. B2v.

King Lear

Colman adapted King Lear in 1768, during the spring of his first year as manager of Covent Garden. The play's success was mixed: it was performed three times in the 1767 - 68 season and seven times during 1768 - 69. It was then performed infrequently through 1773. Colman's adaptation, although infrequently performed and unsuccessful in its effort to oust Tate's version from the stage, is an important landmark in the history of Lear during the eighteenth century. Tate's version had dominated the stage since 1681 and only Garrick's alteration of 1756[1] seriously challenged its supremacy. But Colman's version made important steps in restoring large sections of the original text and in eliminating Tate's additions, and Arthur Harris in "Garrick, Colman, and King Lear"[2] argues that Colman's Lear was, in fact, the most important eighteenth-century development in the stage history of Lear:

> Colman's work, therefore, emerges as perhaps the most important single contribution towards the restoration of the original text between the time of Tate and the early nineteenth century.3

Harris bases his argument on the question of whether Garrick's alteration preceded or followed Colman's and

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[1] Arthur Harris disputes the 1756 dating of Garrick's version of Lear which he places at 1770.

[2] Arthur John Harris, "Garrick, Colman, and King Lear: A Reconsideration," Shakespeare Quarterly 22 (1971), pp 57 - 66.

[3] Arthur Harris, "Garrick, Colman, and King Lear", p. 66.

concludes that Colman was the first of the two to undertake a significant alteration of Lear.[4] This dating sequence contradicts all previous scholarship which had uniformly affirmed the 1756 dating of the Garrick text. But the importance of Colman's text does not depend solely on its preceding Garrick's: even historians who support the previous Garrick-Colman dating sequence have attested to the importance of Colman's adaptation:

> Colman took credit to himself, and rightly, for the best version that had yet appeared in the eighteenth-century theatre.5

Colman's claim to creating the best eighteenth-century version of Lear is based upon his restoration of much of Shakespeare's text and his moderation in adding new material.

Colman left the first four acts of the play virtually intact (except for the omission of the Fool) but kept Tate's happy ending in the fifth act. His major innovation was the elimination of the Cordelia-Edgar love plot which Tate had created in order to string together the "heap of Jewels"[6] that was Lear. David Smith notes that Colman probably went right back to the original text of Lear when working on his alteration rather than working from earlier adaptations.[7] This would explain in great part the

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[4] The reader is referred to A. J. Harris for a full explanation upon which his later dating of Garrick's Lear is founded.

[5] David N. Smith, Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 23.

[6] Nahum Tate, Lear, p. 177.

[7] See D. N. Smith, Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century, pp 23 - 24.

textual purity of Colman's version. It must be remembered, however, that he turned to Tate's version for his fifth act. All critics have credited Colman's Lear with a textual purity (although its purity is only relative to contemporary adaptations) that was unequalled by other eighteenth-century versions. In fact, it seems that Colman staged an authentic version of Lear, with the original ending, at some time before 1768:

> ... we have only to observe here, that Mr. Colman has made several very judicious alterations, at the same time, that we think his having restored the original distressed Catastrophe, is a circumstance not greatly in favour of humanity or delicacy of feeling, since it is now, rather too shocking to bear.8

There are no performance records for this unaltered Lear and the published version of Colman's adaptation has a happy ending. We are led, therefore, to conjecture along with G. C. D. Odell that perhaps the original ending was tried and abandoned,[9] eventually to be replaced by the semi-original text Colman published. Whether Colman staged an authentic version of Lear for a single night or not, it was his altered version of Lear which enjoyed a moderately successful run at Covent Garden in 1768.

Colman approached his adaptation with clear critical and editorial policies. As in his preface to Philaster, Colman set forth his editorial stance in his

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8 John Potter, Theatrical Review; or, New Companion to the Playhouse, 2 vols (London: S. Crowder, 1772), vol 1, pp 33 - 34.

9 See G. C. D. Odell, Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving, p. 381.

preface to Lear. Unlike with Philaster, a relatively neglected play during the eighteenth century, Colman had to contend with the many published opinions on the stage suitability and textual worth of Lear and he responded to them in his preface. Lear had an extensive stage history in the eighteenth century and there were, as a result, many opinions as to the best way to adapt and stage it. There was no question, however, that Lear could be staged without adaptation:

> The person who enters upon dramatic alteration, without being a slave to his original, should nearly as possible, confine himself to pruning luxuriances, correcting irregularity, rationalizing bombast, and elucidating obscurity; cautious of adding, unless where unavoidable gaps are made, and connection consequently wanting; it is most allowable that SHAKESPEARE'S KING LEAR very much wanted such assistance as we have mentioned.10

Johnson, an editor of Shakespeare, himself argued strongly in favor of altering Lear by retaining Tate's happy ending. Johnson took his authority from the audience's approval of the happy ending:

> ... I cannot easily be persuaded, that the observation of justice makes a play worse; or, that if other excellencies are equal, the audience will not always rise better pleased from the final triumph of persecuted virtue.
> In the present case the publick has decided. Cordelia, from the time of Tate, has always retired with victory and felicity.11

Johnson also suported his argument by recounting his personal

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10 Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor, p. 352.

11 Samuel Johnson, Johnson on Shakespeare, The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, Arthur Sherbo, ed. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968) vol VIII, p. 704.

horror at Cordelia's tragic fate. Johnson was not alone in his objection to Lear's tragic catastrophe. In fact, Tate's happy ending had become so entrenched in repertory as to be institutionalized by this period.

Tate's version was widely praised for changing the ending and sparing the feelings of his audience by bringing about a probable reconciliation:

> ... we must ... give TATE great praise
> for bringing about a happy catastrophe,
> by probable circumstances...12

The success with which Tate's alteration met became the foundation upon which future adapters based their decision to retain the happy ending. As usual, adapters and managers relied upon proven success when it was available and Tate's version had been drawing audiences for close to a century.

As we have seen above, Colman defied the proven success of Tate's version and staged a Lear with the original ending. It was considered too shocking and Colman himself settled on the happy ending for which Tate had been praised in order to please his audience. Colman disapproved of Tate's adaptation in general and said that "it was for the worse"[13] but, supported by Johnson's authority,[14] he followed the dictates of the audience and retained the poetic justice that Tate had introduced. Thus, he approached the play with the double, somewhat conflicting, motivation of restoring as

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[12] Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor, p. 366.

[13] George Colman, King Lear, The Dramatick Works of George Colman, vol. III, p. H4v.

[14] George Colman, King Lear, p. H4v.

much of Shakespeare as possible and of retaining Tate's ending:

> To reconcile the catastrophe of Tate to the story of Shakespeare, was the first grand object which I proposed to myself in this alteration...15

Retaining Tate's ending, however, did not include retaining the Edgar-Cordelia love plot which Colman denounced emphatically in the advertisement to his version of the play:

> Now this very expedient of a love betwixt Edgar and Cordelia, on which Tate felicitates himself, seemed to me to be one of the capital objections to his alteration: For even supposing that it rendered Cordelia's indifference to her father more probable (an indifference which Shakespeare has no where implied), it assigns a very poor motive for it; so that what Edgar gains on the side of romantick generosity, Cordelia loses on that of real virtue. The distress of the story is so far from being heightened by it; that it has diffused a languor and insipidity over all the scenes of the play from which Lear is absent...16

Colman was, if the performance record of his Lear is any indication, mistaken about the dispensability of the love plot. Not only was the absence of the scenes between Edgar and Cordelia resented by the audience, as Victor the prompter noted,[17] but critics lamented its loss as well.

Most critics agreed that it had indeed been Tate's "good Fortune to light upon one Expedient to rectifie what was wanting in the Regularity and Probability of the Tale ... as Love betwixt Edgar and Cordelia"[18]; the love intrigue

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15 George Colman, King Lear, p. H4v.

16 George Colman, King Lear, p. H3v.

17 See Benjamin Victor, The History of the Theatres of London, vol. 3, p. 120.

18 Nahum Tate, King Lear, p. 177.

unified the play's structure and gave rise to the didactically important poetic justice that is meted out in the final act. As Thomas Davies noted:

> The passion of Edgar and Cordelia is happily imagined; it strongly connects the main plot of the play and renders it more interesting to the spectators; without this, and the consequent happy catastrophe, the alteration of Lear would have been of little worth.19

Colman's elimination of the love between Cordelia and Edgar was not favorably received, although his adapation was, on the whole, respected:

> I heartily wish he had not taken such a dislike to the passion of Edgar for Cordelia; he would have rescued that love-plan, which I think a good one, from meaner hands, and given a new lustre to the play.20

Although critics agreed that Colman was mistaken in eliminating the love between Cordelia and Edgar, there was disagreement among them as to how Colman had erred in eliminating the love plot. Some, such as Francis Gentleman, claimed that Colman was exercising too much critical rigidity in removing the love plot and had destroyed the naturalness of the story:

> We can by no means agree with the last mentioned gentleman [Colman], that the love episode of Edgar and Cordelia is superfluous or unaffecting, we must rather contend in opposition to the frigidity of criticism, that natural and very pleasing sensations are raised by it, without any invasion upon the main distress of the piece...21

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19 Thomas Davies, Dramatic Micellanies[sic], 3 vols (London: Thomas Davies, 1784), p. 262.

20 Thomas Davies, Dramatic Micellanies, p. 261.

21 Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor, p. 368.

Others argued, also on critical grounds, that the love plot, having strengthened the structural unity of the play, should not have been removed. Thus they claimed that Colman had not used enough critical rigidity in his editorial excisions. It was thought that Colman weakened Lear by eliminating Tate's happy expedient:

> ... the rejecting the Episode of the loves of Edgar and Cordelia, so happily conceived by by [sic] Tate, has, beyond all doubt, greatly weakened the Piece, both in the perusal and representation.22

It is interesting that Potter advocates the alteration of Lear both as a dramatic piece and a theatrical one, pointing to the idea that adapting Lear was not simply a solution to theatrical problems but to literary ones as well. Francis Gentleman supports Potter's condemnation of Colman's decision to leave Cordelia and Edgar as Shakespeare intended them:

> Mr. COLMAN ... has shewed great modesty in avoiding additions, considerable merit in restoring so much of SHAKESPEARE, but has certainly weakened the piece, both for action and perusal, by rejecting so justifiable, pleasing, natural and relative an episode as the loves of Edgar and Cordelia...23

Although critics praised Colman's editorial restraint and critical judgement,[24] they usually found that these did not make for the best alteration of Lear and confirmed the pragmatic policy that what worked best on stage and most pleased the audience ought to be followed. As Francis Gentleman wrote, the love scenes had such a pleasing effect

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[22] John Potter, Theatrical Review, vol 1, p. 34.

[23] Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor, p. 368.

[24] Francis Gentleman wrote that Colman preserved far more of Shakespeare's language than had Tate:

on the audience that any omission of them was critical stubborness:

> The incident of Edgar's saving Cordelia from the Bastard's ruffians, is not only, as we think, defencible, but worthy of praise as a happy thought, and well calculated for action; as is the princess's cordial and becoming deportment to her exiled deliverer, when he makes himself known. This scene ever has, and ever will have, except upon unfeeling, stoical criticism, a very engaging effect; it enriches and recommends both the characters so much that we must pronounce Mr. COLMAN's objection to it, as the whimsical offspring of judgment too sqeamishly chaste...[25]

Critics, therefore, although urging the strength of their own views of Lear in the end recommended that adapters follow the dictates of the audience rather than the suggestions of critics, thus placing practical considerations over theoretical ones.

We have seen that Colman's approach to altering Philaster aimed to make the play stageworthy and his modifications of Lear were geared towards the same end. Although he wished to preserve as much of Shakespeare's text as possible and "to purge the tragedy of Lear of the alloy of Tate",[26] Colman omitted the Fool, Gloucester's fall from Dover Cliff, and considered eliminating the blinding of

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> ... in this, as well as many other scenes of the play, TATE has enervated the versification, by endeavouring to give it a smoother flow; wherefore COLMAN has shewn greater judgment and more modesty, by only retrenching, not altering the original.

The Dramatic Censor, p. 353.

[25] Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor, pp 361 - 362.

[26] George Colman, King Lear, p. H5r.

Gloucester. In all these cases, his decisions were based on his perception of what the audience would accept and of what would be effective theatrical material.

Colman explained his omission of Gloucester's leap from Dover cliff with the following argument:

> "The utter improbability of Gloucester's imagining, though blind, that he had leaped down Dover-Cliff," has been justly censured by Dr. Warton;27 and in the representation it is still more liable to objection than in print. I have therefore, without scruple, omitted it, preserving however, at the same time, that celebrated description of the cliff in the mouth of Edgar.28

He notes that Gloucester's leap is especially problematic as a staging feat and, in order to solve the problem of its representation, he arranged the scene as follows:

> Edgar. Give me your hand: You're now within a foot
> Of th' extreme verge: For all below the moon
> Would I not now leap foward.
> Gloucester. Let go my hand:
> Here, friend, 's another purse, in it a jewel
> Well worth a poor man's taking. May the gods
> Prosper it with thee! Go thou further off;
> Bid me farewell, and let me hear thee going.
> Edgar. Now fare you well, good Sir. [Seems to go.
> I trifle thus with his despair to cure it.
> Gloucester. Oh, you mighty gods!
> This world I do renounce; and in your sights
> Shake patiently my great affliction off:
> If I could bear it longer, and not fall
> To quarrel with your great opposeless wills,
> My snuff and latter part of nature should
> Burn itself out. If Edgar live, oh, bless him!
> Enter Lear, drest madly with flowers.
> Lear. No, they cannot touch me for coining;
> I am the king himself.
> Gloucester. Ha! who comes here?29

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27 Adventurer, No. 122. See also George Steevens, The General Evening Post, 20-23 February, 1773, who criticized the leap from Dover Cliff.

28 George Colman, King Lear, p. H5r.

29 George Colman, King Lear, pp 183 - 184.

This expedient allowed Colman to retain Gloucester's repentance for his attempted suicide,[30] a repentance which was important to emphasize in an age where suicide was an active social concern.[31] In addition, Gloucester's salvation by Lear, his weakened and demented sovereign, and not by an able and healthy Edgar, heightens the pathetic and highlights the juxtaposition of Gloucester's broken spirits and lost sight and Lear's broken mind. Colman contrives a situation where an insane Lear is capable of saving a sane but blinded Gloucester who in turn is able to guide Lear to some measure of enlightened rationality. It also allows Colman to underscore Gloucester's devotion to Lear: an assertion of state fidelity over personal happiness.

The second editorial problem Colman faced was Gloucester's blinding scene. Colman wanted to excise the scene but found that it was too closely connected to the plot:

> The putting out Gloucester's [sic] eyes is also so unpleasing a circumstance, that I would have altered it, if possible; but, upon examination, it appeared so closely interwoven with the fable, that I durst not venture to change it.[32]

He modified, however, the scene extensively, moving the

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[30] It is moved to later in the act to Colman, Lear, p. 197.

[31] Francis Gentleman wrote: "... it gives so fine a warning against the worst of crimes, suicide, and inculcates so useful, so moral a lesson of bearing up under temporal affliction, that we cannot entertain any doubt of the propriety in retaining it." The Dramatic Censor, p. 364.

[32] George Colman, King Lear, p. H5r.

action off stage and softening Regan's role. In fact, the action is taken from the principal characters and handed to servants, removing the physical brutality of the blinding from the main arena of the play:

> Gloucester. Because I would not see thy cruel nails
> Pluck out his poor old eyes, nor thy fierce sister
> Carve his anointed flesh; but I shall see
> The winged vengeance overtake such children.
> Cornwall. See't thou shalt never; slaves, perform
> your work;
> Out with those treacherous eyes; dispatch, I say!
> [Exeunt Gloc. and Serv.
> Gloucester. [without]He that will think to live
> 'till he be old
> Give me some help. -- Oh, cruel! oh! ye gods.33

Colman clearly thought that the blinding scene was too strong for his audience and, besides reducing the physical violence, he tempered Regan's unnatural -- both in terms of being a woman and a daughter -- cruelty. The horror of Gloucester's blinding, Regan's role in the proceding, and the audience's inability to accept such a scene on the stage was stated by Thomas Davies:

> ...nor can it be surprising, that the spectators should be at [sic] so horrible a sight as one man stamping upon the eyes of another, and at the same time encouraged to proceed in his barbarity by one of the softer sex! After all, Shakespeare might possibly contrive not to execute this horrible deed upon the stage, though it is so quoted in the book.34

Shakespeare's treatment of this scene was also questioned by Johnson. Unlike Davies, however, Johnson posits that Shakespeare would have had Gloucester blinded on stage and

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33 George Colman, King Lear, pp 169 - 170.

34 Thomas Davies, Dramatic Micellanies, pp 303 - 304.

that, in spite of the fact that a modern audience could not accept such a sight, an Elizabethan audience, presumably more barbaric, would have welcomed it:

> But I am not able to apologize with equal plausibility for the extrusion of Gloucester's eyes, which seems an act too horrid to be endured in dramatick exhibition, and such as must always compel the mind to relieve its distress by incredulity. Yet let it be remembered, that our authour well knew what would please the audience for which he wrote.35

By questioning Shakespeare's handling of Gloucester's blinding and putting it in terms of the expectations of his audience, Johnson and Davies, as does Colman in his preface, confirm that staging is the product of the age and must conform to contemporary audience standards. Colman, although he could not extricate Gloucester's blinding from the plot, did remove it, in acquiescence to his audience's delicacy, from the stage.

Throughout the play, Colman reduces the evidence of Gonerill's, Regan's and Edmund's unfilial hardness. In I.iii, for example, the following lines are cut from Gonerill's speeches:

> ... Now, by my life,
> Old fools are babes again, and must be us'd
> With checks as flatteries, when they are seen
> abus'd.36

and

> I would breed from hence occasions, and I shall,
> That I may speak:37

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35 Samuel Johnson, Johnson on Shakespeare, p. 703.

36 William Shakespeare, King Lear, The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, ed. Kenneth Muir, (London and New York: Methuen, 1972), I.iii, ll 19 - 21.

37 Shakespeare, King Lear, I.iii, ll 25 - 26.

Gonerill's premeditated cruelty is thus removed and her personal effect on Lear's distress is diminished. Likewise, Lear's curses upon his children are eliminated. In II.iv, after he meets with Regan's cruelty duplicating her sister's, Lear's curse on Gonerill is excised:

> Lear. You nimble lightnings, dart your blinding flames
> Into her scornful eyes! Infect her beauty,
> You fen-sucked fogs, drawn by the pow'rful sun,
> To fall and blister her![38]

The parent/child relationship was an idealized one in the sentimental drama popular during this period and it was much more commonly portrayed as, for example, that of Amelia and her father in The English Merchant, than the tormented and painful relationship of Lear with his daughters, or Gloucester with his sons. Colman diluted the violence of passions between children and parents and yet expected the plot to advance along the original premises of cruelty and hatred between the two. This dilution indeed weakened the play, especially since Colman provided nothing to replace the impetus created by the struggle between Lear and his daughters. It is clear from examining the way in which Colman changed parent/child relationships in many of his adaptations, however (the king and Arethusa in Philaster, Lear, Gonerill, and Regan, and Gloucester, Edgar and Edmund in Lear, and Bonduca and her two daughters in Bonduca), that breeches in these relationships, no matter how essential to the plot, were too harsh for the eighteenth-century sensibility and necessitated change.

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[38] Shakespeare, King Lear, II.iv, ll 166-169.

Along with softening the violence of the scenes between Lear, Gonerill, and Regan, Colman deliberately heightened the pathetic and sentimental elements of the scenes between Lear and Cordelia. In the fifth act, Colman combined Cordelia's reported actions and her discussion with the physician. The resulting scene drips with pathos and becomes a splendid sentimental vehicle for the leading actress, Mrs. Yates:

> Cordelia. Alack, 'tis he! why, he was met ev'n now
> As mad as the vex'd sea, singing aloud,
> Crowned with flowers, and all the weeds that grow
> In our sustaining corn. -- Their poor old father!
> Oh, sisters, sisters! shame of ladies! sisters!
> Ha, Regan, Gonerill! what! i' th' storm? i' th' night?
> Let pity ne'er believe it! oh, my heart!
> Physician. Take comfort, madam; there are means to cure him.
> Cordelia. No, 'tis too probable the furious storm
> Has pierc'd his tender body past all cure;
> And the bleak winds, cold rain, and sulph'rous light'ning,
> Unsettled his care-wearied mind for ever.
> Send forth a cent'ry, bring him to our eye;
> Try all the art of man, all med'cine's power,
> For the restoring his bereaved sense!
> He that helps him, take all!
> Physician. Be patient, madam:
> Our foster nurse of Nature is repose,
> The which he lacks: that to provoke in him
> Are many lenient simples, which have power
> To lose the eye of anguish.
> Cordelia. All blest secrets,
> All you unpublish'd virtues of the earth,
> Spring with my tears; be aidant and remediate
> In the good man's distress! seek, seek for him;
> Lest his ungovern'd rage dissolve his life.
> [Exeunt Attendants.
> If it be so, only one boon I beg;
> That you'd convey me to his breathless trunk,
> With my own hands to close a father's eyes,
> With show'r of tears to wash his clay-cold cheeks,
> Then o'er his limbs, with one heart-rending sigh,
> To breathe my spirit out, and die beside him.[39]

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[39] George Colman, King Lear, pp 180 - 181.

Colman here brought the action onto the stage in order to increase his audience's experience of Cordelia's distress. Whereas in scenes too potent for his spectators, reeking too much of "that spirit of blood, and cruelty, and horror"[40] which he condemned in his preface to Philaster, Colman moved the action off-stage in order to distance his audience, given the opportunity to carry his audience to "the enjoyment of tears",[41] he managed his text so that the action would be presented on stage. In this scene he was also able to demonstrate more forcibly the difference between Cordelia and her sisters.

The final editorial problem with which Colman grappled in his preface was the character of the Fool. Colman considered retaining the Fool, his would have been the only eighteenth-century Lear to include the role, but theatrical, rather than dramatic, considerations held him back:

> I had once some idea of retaining the character of the Fool ... yet, after the most serious consideration, I was convinced that such a scene "would sink into burlesque" in the representation, and would not be endured on the modern stage.[42]

It seems that the literary implications of omitting the Fool were largely not understood in the eighteenth century: Garrick omitted the Fool fearing that "the feelings of Lear would derive no advantage from the buffooneries of the parti-

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[40] George Colman, Philaster, p. B4r.

[41] Paul Parnell, "The Sentimental Mask," PMLA 78 (1963), p. 529.

[42] George Colman, King Lear, p. H5r.

coloured jester".[43] Unlike Garrick, Colman did admire Shakespeare's skill in the portrayal of the Fool and even acknowledged that the Fool would "heighten the pathetick"[44] of Lear's situation but he nonetheless omitted the character. Although the plot was little changed by removing the Fool, omitting the character placed many of Lear's speeches in isolation and left much of his musings out of context. The following scene from Act I illustrates how Colman combined speeches in order to cover for the absence of the Fool but also how he did nothing to compensate for the lack created by the Fool's absence:

> Lear. How now, daughter? What makes that frontlet
> on? you are too much late i' th' frown.
> Gonerill. Your insolent retinue, Sir,
> Do hourly carp and quarrel, breaking forth
> In rank and not-to-be-endured riots.
> I thought by making this well known unto you,
> T' have found a safe redress; but now grow fearful
> That you protest this course, and put it on
> By your allowance; if you should, the fault
> Would not 'scape censure, nor the redresses sleep.
> Lear. Are you our daughter?
> Gonerill. I would, you would make use of your good
> wisdom,
> Whereof I know you are fraught, and put away
> These dispositions, which of late transport you
> From what you rightly are.
> Lear. Does any here know me? this is not Lear:
> Does Lear walk thus? speak thus? where are his
> eyes?
> Either his notion weakens, his discernings
> Are lethargied -- Ha! waking? -- 'tis not so;
> Who is it that can tell me who I am?
> Your name, fair gentlewoman?[45]

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[43] D. N. Smith, Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century, p. 22.

[44] George Colman, King Lear, p. H5r.

[45] George Colman, King Lear, pp 129 - 130.

In this passage, the Fool's pointed commentary on Lear's true state is removed and Lear's self-questioning is left unanswered, to be supplied either by the actor or by the audience. Lawrence Green commented on the problems created by Tate's omission of the Fool, problems which Colman's version did nothing to resolve:

> With the omission of the Fool the metaphoric context for Lear's speeches was gone. Despite the probability and the plot machinations surrounding Lear's speeches, there was not enough energy to fill out his language. With the reduction of Lear's lines to speeches and the isolation of those speeches from their context, Lear's character also became isolated. The only way left around this was for the individual actor to create a metaphoric context outside of what gave rise to Lear's speeches and actions, since the play itself did not supply such an understanding. In short, Tate's version required the actor to create an internal reality for Lear apart from the play.46

Colman's decision to eliminate the Fool destroyed much of the play's inter-plot structure and threw more than Lear into isolation. But such considerations were ignored, as they were in the adaptation of Philaster, in favor of theatrical exigencies. After all, the eighteenth-century audience was much more likely to miss visual effects and emotional drama -- both of which Colman's Lear amply supplied -- than it was to lament the metaphorical loss occasioned by the omission of the Fool. And if, as Green asserts, it fell to the actor to supply a metaphorical context for his characters, such acting

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46 Lawrence D. Green, "'Where's My Fool?' -- Some Consequences of the Omission of the Fool in Tate's Lear," Studies in English Literature, 1500 - 1900, 12 (1972), p. 269.

pyrotechnics would have been welcomed in this age of great actors.

Colman's most significant departure from Shakespeare's text was in the final act where he retained less than two hundred lines of the original text and relied upon Tate's ending. As noted above, he drew support for his decision to retain Tate's happy ending from Johnson who, in turn, placed responsibility with the audience: "the publick has decided."[47] Colman's happy ending asserts the triumph of poetic justice: the bad are punished (Gonerill, Regan, Cornwall, and Edmund are killed by the development of their own plot machinations) and the virtuous are rewarded. For those characters who could not be classed unequivocally in the dichotomy of good and evil, such as Lear himself, punishment was meted out in proportion with their faults:

> That Lear, as a rash and rigid father deserves punishment is very obvious, this is sufficiently inflicted by his madness, therefore saving his life was undoubtedly just...48

Suitable punishment for Lear was thought to be madness: his crime having been poor judgement, it was considered appropriate that his punishment be the deprivation of reason. Colman affirms the system of divine retribution or poetic justice in Lear's last line: "That truth and virtue shall at

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[47] On the other hand, in 1711 Addison wrote: "King Lear is an admirable tragedy ... as Shakespeare wrote it; but as it is reformed according to the chimerical notion of poetical justice, in my humble opinion it has lost half its beauties." Spectator, No. 40. See also Hazelton Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 252.

[48] Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor, p. 367.

last succeed."[49] And, unlike Shakespeare, Colman introduces divine intervention into the determination of the outcome of the plot: "Then there are gods, and virtue is their care."[50] But his divine system operates outside and above the circle of human action, becoming a heavy-handed deus ex machina and leaving his fifth act unconnected with the preceding, primarily Shakespearean, four. Tate, although also affirming a divine order, had placed man as its agent. After Albany has intervened to save Cordelia and Lear from death and restored them to their former power and position, Kent confirms the news to an incredulous Lear with "The Prince, that like a God has Pow'r, has said it."[51] Colman, however, provided no connection between human action and consequence: justice was ultimately handed down by an external divinity whose presence was not felt until the last act when it was necessary that the audience have a happy solution.

The moral lesson that Colman wanted to impress upon his audience was the one that Johnson outlined in his commentary on Lear: "that villany is never at a stop, that crimes lead to crimes, and at last terminate in ruin."[52] Shakespeare had failed to make this point; he had permitted the virtuous to terminate in ruin as well as the villainous and his audience was left with no clear moral lesson, just a vision of a universe where everything inevitably decays.

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[49] George Colman, King Lear, p. 210.

[50] George Colman, King Lear, p. 208.

[51] Nahum Tate, King Lear, p. 251.

[52] Samuel Johnson, Johnson on Shakespeare, p. 704.

Such a conclusion was unthinkable to Colman; his first object in revising Lear had been to preserve Tate's catastrophe. Certainly a play which begins and ends by affirming that "nothing will come of nothing" was not the "consistent and rational ... entertainment"[53] Colman had in mind for his audience. If men of letters, such as Johnson and Gentlemen, had found the original ending too shocking to be endured, the 1760s audience could scarcely be expected to tolerate it on the stage. Colman's adaptation, therefore, strove to contrive an ending that would please his audience -- the practical exigency required of all his repertory decisions -- and to expose his audience to as much of Shakespeare's play as he thought it could countenance.

Colman's endeavor was a curious mixture of pragmatic revisions and theoretical ideals. He was forced to temper the violence, remove Edmund's criminal commerce with Gonerill and Regan ("the most disgusting part of the original"[54]), eliminate the Fool, and contrive a happy ending. In short, he made Lear a commercially viable production palatable to a large cross-section of his audience. Despite the concessions (drastic in our twentieth-century view) that Colman made, his adaptation did not succeed and was thought to have retained too much of the original text:

> ... we wish an able critic, Mr. GARRICK, for instance, would undertake a third

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[53] George Colman, King Lear, p. H4v.

[54] George Colman, King Lear, p. H4r.

> alteration upon medium principles, between the latitude of TATE, and the circumscription of COLMAN.55

Gentleman's comment states what Colman's revisions demonstrate: that adaptation had little to do with literary theories of textual purity and much to do with contemporary theatrical fashions and concerns. Colman had attempted to reconcile textual purity and theatrical practicality; the performance record of his Lear shows to what extent he had misjudged his audience's tolerance.

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55 Francis Gentleman, The Dramatic Censor, p. 368. See also E. R. Page, George Colman the Elder, p. 171.

Epicoene

Colman adapted Epicoene in 1776 for Garrick who staged it at Drury Lane.[1] In the Advertisement to the first edition, Colman took his most uncompromising editorial tone. He declared that the artistic obligation of his position, Theatre Director, was to compensate for all the "mummery which his situation obliges him to exhibit."[2] He proposed to do so by staging the plays of the old master playwrights although his performance of them was often in defiance of contemporary taste and critical opinion. Colman adopted an uncharacteristically belligerent tone in the Advertisement. He dismissed the validity of his contemporary critics' judgement and, by choosing to exhibit entertainment other than the pantomime most popular with his audience, he defied the audience's control over repertory and asserted his artistic power as manager. Colman directly contradicted the critics' opinions and disregarded their recommendations:

> ... but the Criticks of our day, unawed by authority, and trusting to the light of their own understanding, have discovered, that there is neither ingenuity nor contrivance in the Fable, nature in the Characters, nor wit nor humour in the Dialogue. The present Editor, however, cannot pay them so high a compliment, as to suppose it incumbent on him to defend the Author and his admirers, or to make any apology for having ... promoted the revival of Epicoene.[3]

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[1] Garrick had previously unsuccessfully attempted to revive Epicoene in 1752.

[2] George Colman, Epicoene (London: T. Becket, 1776), p. A1r.

[3] George Colman, Epicoene, p. A1r.

He instead relied upon the judgement of Jonson's contemporaries and that of "Writers of the most distinguished taste and genius" to support his praise of Epicoene.

In spite of Epicoene's merits, its revival was not possible without alterations. In a circular argument, Colman vindicated the alterations he undertook to please his audience by the success with which they met:

> The alterations he hazarded for this purpose having been generally approved, it is needless to point out or enforce their propriety ...4

Thus the audience's approval of his alterations justified his having made them and the audience became the final arbiter of literary success, equating theatrical success with dramatic worth.

Colman adopted a much less assured tone in the prologue to Epicoene; he had, after all, to woo his audience before each performance. The prologue intends to both establish comedy as the genre that accurately depicts nature and yet to acknowledge that the foibles it satirizes become outdated. The essential truth that comedy exposes transcends time but the situations that it uses to reveal this truth are often untransferably rooted in their own era:

> The comick wit, alas! whose eagle eyes
> Pierce Nature thro', and mock the time's disguise,
> Whose pencil living follies brings to view,
> Survives those follies, and his portraits too,
> Like star-gazers, deplores his luckless fate,
> For last year's Almanacks are out of date.5

To remove the temporality of Epicoene and to retain the essential truth of its satire were the goals of Colman's

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4 George Colman, Epicoene, p. A1r.

5 George Colman, Epicoene, p. A2r.

adaptation. He noted, however, that some of the topical allusions in Epicoene were applicable to contemporary London and would therefore not need to be removed or replaced:

> Drive not Tom Otter's Bulls and Bears away;
> Worse Bulls and Bears disgrace the present day.
> On fair Collegiates let no critick frown!
> A Ladies' Club still hold its rank in town.6

Colman leads us to believe that the humour levelled at Otter's bulls and bears and at the Collegiates would be left intact because of its contemporary relevance. We shall see, however, that the satirization of the Collegiates, in particular, engendered some of Colman's most sweeping revision, belieing his assertion that it was applicable to the contemporary world, or, perhaps more likely, that it would be countenanced by his audience unchanged.

Colman's confidence in his text and his certainty that, in spite of its age, it would please a modern audience, were perhaps misplaced. Epicoene was performed four times during its first season and was staged only once during the next eighteen years (April 1784). Thomas Davies' opinion of the play and of the impossibility of its ever being revived with success, accurately reflect Epicoene's stage fate. Davies' critical opinion of the play represents the type of criticism Colman decried in his Advertisement:

> After all the panegyric bestowed upon it, the play is of the number which needs much forgiveness ... The great licentiousness of its dialogue was no obstacle to its success when originally performed; nor in the reign of Charles II when revived. But, as the age advanced

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6 George Colman, Epicoene, p. A2r.

> in decency of manners, the less could the Silent Woman be tolerated ... The character of Morose, upon whose peevish and perverse humour the plot of the comedy depends, is that of a whimsical recluse, whose disposition can bear no sound but that which he utters himself. If this were the whole of his character, he would still be a good object for comic satire, but the melancholy of Morose degenerates into malice and cruelty ... besides the licentiousness of the manners, and quaintness of expression, in the Silent Woman, the frequent allusions to forgotten customs and characters render it impossible to be ever revived with any probability of success. To understand Jonson's comedies perfectly, we should have before us a satirical history of the age in which he lived ...7

Colman recognized that the licentiousness of manners, quaintness of expression, and allusions to forgotten customs and characters were the obstacles to Epicoene's success (they were the temporal trappings that obscured the play's ability to "pierce Nature thro'") and his revisions centered around eliminating or modifying them.

Much of Colman's editorial work was geared towards modernizing the play and aimed to remove the quaintness of expression and the allusions to forgotten customs and characters which had annoyed Davies. Allusions such as the prentices' Shrove-tuesday riot (I.i.158) and Dr. Forman (IV.i.149) are cut while obsolete words and phrases are updated. In Act Four, for example, Colman changed "porcpisce" (IV.iv.144) to "pig" and in Act Three he changed "giue the dor" (III.iii.28) to "give the slip." In

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7 Thomas Davies, Dramatic Micellanies, vol. 2, pp 101 - 3. See also the review in the Westminster Magazine, January 1776.

addition, Colman considered the many classical allusions in the play outdated and incomprehensible to his audience:

> But we now bring him forth with dread and doubt,
> And fear his learned socks are quite worn out.[8]

Colman, therefore, reduced the scenes in which the humor depended upon an understanding of the absurdity of the classical terms being exchanged. In Act Two, when Daw is introduced and being taunted by Dauphine and Clerimont, Colman cut the following lines:

> DAVPHINE. Why? whom do you account for authors, sir IOHN DAW?
> DAW. Syntagma Iuris ciuilis, Corpus Iuris ciuilis, Corpus Iuris canonici, the King of Spaines bible.
> CLERIMONT. Yes, and Syntagma.
> DAVPHINE. What was that Syntagma, sir
> DAW. A ciuill lawier, a Spaniard.
> DAVPHINE. Sure, Corpus was a Dutch-man.
> CLERIMONT. I, both the Corpusses, I knew 'hem: they were very corpulent authors.
> DAW. And, then there's VATABLVS, POMPONATIVS, SYMANCHA, the other are not to be receiu'd, within the thought of a scholler.[9]

Again, the inevitable by-products of excision for the purpose of modernization were a reduction of the humor and of the full delineation of the characters. When Daw is again called upon in Act Four to add his classical hodge-podge to the melange of voices, dialects and advice brought together to torture Morose and declare him insane, Colman virtually destroys the scene by excising Daw's contribution:

> EPICOENE. Gentlemen, for heauens sake counsell me. Ladies! Seruant, you haue read PLINY, and PARACELSVS: Ne're a word now to comfort a poore gentlewoman? Ay me! what fortune had I to marry a distracted man?

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[8] George Colman, Epicoene, p. A2r.

[9] Ben Jonson, Epicoene, II.iii, ll 79 - 92.

DAW. I'll tell you, mistris --
TRVEWIT. How rarely shee holds it vp!
MOROSE. What meane you, gentlemen?
EPICOENE. What will you tell me, seruant?
DAW. The disease in Greeke is called Mavia, in Latine, Insania, Furor, vel Ecstasis melancholica, that is, Egressio, when a man ex melancholico, euadit fanaticus.
MOROSE. Shall I haue a lecture read upon me aliue?
DAW. But he may be but Phreneticus, yet, mistris? and Phrenetis is only delirium, or so --[10]

Colman reduces Daw's lines to: "The disease in Greek is called Mavia, in Latin, Insania"[11] and although he preserves the incident, he dilutes its comic extremity. Thus, although most of Colman's modernization merely affected individual phrases and words, some effected plot and character development. These latter, however, were sacrificed in order to ease his audience's understanding of the dialogue.

Davies' major objection to Epicoene was its great licentiousness of dialogue and manners and Colman's primary undertaking as editor was to expurgate the text meticulously in deference to the delicacy of his audience. Colman excised even small phrases that had any bawdy suggestion. Phrases such as "my necessary turns" (IV.ii.47), "or any other member" (IV.iv.8), and "with what assurance and erection" (IV.vii, 73-4) were consistently cut. In addition to expurgating single phrases and individual speeches from all the characters, Colman curtailed the role of the Collegiates as a whole. Although Colman took care to point out that the foibles of a women's club were no less humorous, or

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[10] George Colman, Epicoene, IV.iv, ll 60 - 73.

[11] George Colman, Epicoene, p. 50.

pertinent, in his day than they had been in Jonson's, he reduced much of the Collegiates' freedom. The Collegiates are described as independent women who are:

> TRVEWIT. ... an order betweene courtiers, and country-madames, that liue from their husbands; and giue entertainement to all the Wits, and Braueries o' the time, as they call 'hem: crie downe, or vp, what they like, or dislike in a braine, or a fashion, with most masculine, or rather hermaphroditicall authoritie...12

and their masculine behavior and speech were sure to offend or to threaten most of Colman's audience. The Collegiates were too frank in their appraisal of men and approach to sex for Colman's public and scenes such as the following were completely removed, not merely reduced, in his version:

> HAVGHTY. Why not? why should women denie their fauours to men? Are they the poorer, or the worse?
> DAW. Is the Thames the lesse for the dyers water, mistris?
> LA-FOOLE. Or a torche, for lighting many torches?
> TRVEWIT. Well said, LA-FOOLE; what a new one he has got!
> CENTAVRE. They are emptie losses, women feare, in this kind.
> HAVGHTY. Besides. ladies should be mindfull of the approach of age, and let no time want his due vse. The best of our daies passe first.
> MAVIS. We are riuers, that cannot be call'd backe, madame: shee that now excludes her louers, may liue to lie a forsaken beldame, in a frozen bed.
> ...
> EPICOENE. ... And haue you those excellent receipts, madame, to keepe your selues from bearing of children?
> HAVGHTY. O yes, MOROSE. How should we maintayne our youth and beautie, else? Many births of a woman make her old, as many crops make the earth barren.13

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12 Ben Jonson, Epicoene, I.i, ll 75 - 80.

13 Ben Jonson, Epicoene, IV.iii, ll 32 - 61.

Not only was the moral code outlined in this passage unacceptable in the eighteenth century, the social implications of the Collegiates' debauchery were such that their behavior would have been considered destructive to the financial structure of society:

> ... later audiences, more heterogenuous and more representative of a wealth-minded middle class, recognized both the material consequences of such conduct [debauchery] and the stabilizing force of nuptial security.14

The Collegiates were unsuitable as didactic examples: they reversed both the moral and social standards of the day.

The Collegiates were not the only characters to suffer from the moral rectitude of the age. Colman expurgated the Collegiates' seduction of Dauphine (V.i), but also Morose's false confession of impotence (V.iv), and Daw's and LaFoole's declaration of having enjoyed Epicoene's favors (V.iv). The latter two incidents were cut even though they were critical to the final discovery of the plot. Colman, therefore, exercised his power as an unofficial censor in his capacity of manager, in accordance with the moral expectations of his day and, in the case of Epicoene, to the detriment of the play in hand.

The structure of Epicoene had been praised as early as Dryden[15] and Colman left it, on the whole, intact. He

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14 James Lynch, Box, Pit, and Gallery, p. 266.

15 John Dryden wrote:
To begin first with the length of the Action, it is far from exceeding the compass of a Natural day, that it takes not an Artificial one. 'Tis all included in the limits of three hours and an half, which is no more than is requir'd for the

pruned, however, whatever he could in order to speed up the action. To reduce the playing time, Colman pared many speeches that were incidental to the plot. Truewit's diatribe against marriage is severely curtailed (II.ii) as are the scenes where Clerimont and Dauphine taunt Daw (II.iii), Morose quizzes Epicoene when he first meets her (II.v), Mistress Otter rails against her husband (III.i), Mistress Otter recounts her dream (III.ii), Morose bickers with the parson (III.iv), and Morose and Truewit curse Cutbeard (III.v). Such excisions, and there were many more, accelerated the action but inevitably reduced much of the comedy. Colman, however, preferred to diminish Epicoene's original comedy than to risk losing the attention of his audience.

Colman also accelerated the action by reducing the characterization. Epicoene is built upon a collection of characters (epitomized by Morose) who are identified by their idiosyncratic behavior and speech. Much of their peculiarity is revealed in speeches which have no direct bearing on the plot; and by cutting these speeches, Colman reduced the cacophony of characters and the pervading sense of discordant society which Jonson had so well developed. In Act Five, for example, Lady Haughty tries to seduce Dauphine and, in the course of her attempt, we see her vanity, pride, and fowardness:

> presentment on the Stage. A beauty perhaps not much observ'd ...

Of Dramatick Poesie, an Essay (London: H. Herringman, 1668), p. 50.

> HAVGHTY. And, howsoeuer I may suffer in such a iudgement as yours, by admitting of equality of ranke, or societie, with CENTAVRE, or MAVIS --
> DAVPHINE. You doe not, madame, I perceiue they are your mere foiles.
> HAVGHTY. Then you are a friend to truth, sir. It makes mee loue you the more. It is not the outward, but the inward man that I affect. They are not apprehensiue of an eminent perfection, but loue flat, and dully.
> CENTAVRE. Where are you, my lady HAVGHTY?
> HAVGHTY. I come presently, CENTAVRE. My chamber, sir, my Page shall show you; and TRUSTY, my woman, shall be euer awake for you: you need not feare to communicate any thing with her, for shee is a FIDELIA. I pray you weare this iewell for my sake, sir DAVPHINE.16

Colman excised this speech, as he did many of the Collegiates', and reduced our understanding of and delight in Haughty and her confederates. Its removal did, however, accelerate the fifth act and the drive towards the denouement.

Oddly enough, in view of the fact that Colman left the structure of the play essentially intact, the only significant addition which he chose to make to the play was a structural one: he postponed the point at which Epicoene gives up her pretence of silence. In the original, Epicoene begins to talk and take charge immediately after the marriage ceremony has been performed (III.iv), thus inflicting Morose's punishment as soon as possible. In Colman's version, Epicoene does not speak until the end of Act Four, after Morose has had a chance to delude himself into thinking that he had married the ideal woman:

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16 Ben Jonson, Epicoene, Ben Jonson, C. D. Herford and Percy Simpson, eds. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), vol V, V.ii, ll 11 - 25.

> ... a lamb; no tempests shall henceforth disturb us, no sound annoy us, louder than thy still, small voice, my love, soft as the whispering of summer breezes, or sweet murmur of turtles. Wives are wild cats; but thou shalt be a tame domestic animal, with velvet feet entering my chamber, and with the soft purring of delight and affection, inviting the hand of thy husband to stroke thee.17

Colman believed that he made the ultimate unveiling of Epicoene more effective by postponing it and by allowing Morose to take refuge, for the space of an act, in an illusory comfort. Perhaps Colman also intended, by this postponement, to replace some of the suspense he had lost by eliminating many of the non-essential scenes. He had accelerated the action by pruning what he thought were dispensable scenes throughout the play but he slowed the main plot of Epicoene's revelation, perhaps as a counter-balance.

Colman's alterations made in the name of modernization, morality, and plot speed all affected Epicoene's fundamental premise of androgyny. At the heart of the play is the idea that nearly every character is in some way epicoene. Jonson's vision of skewed sexuality, mannish women and womanly men, was one of traditional role reversal and sexual inversion; but Colman destroyed this vision. It is possible that Colman did so because, as we have already noted, the social consequences of such a vision would have been unacceptable in the eighteenth century. But we must not ignore the fact that a significant portion of Colman's audience was women and that they presumably would not have

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17 George Colman, Epicoene, p. 41.

been flattered by Jonson's portrayal of their sex in Epicoene. Colman had much earlier commented on the importance of women in determining the success of a play and how that success depended somewhat on a pleasing picture of femininity:

> Ladies, to you alone our Author sues:
> 'Tis yours alone to cherish, or condemn his Muse.
> The Theatre's a Mirror, and each Play
> Should be a very Looking-Glass, they say;
> His Looking-Glass reflects no moles or pimples,
> But shews you full of graces, smiles, and dimples.18

Jonson had not bothered to present a flattering image of women and moles and pimples were the least of the blemishes that he had focused on:

> OTTER. A most vile face! and yet shee spends me fortie pound a yeere in mercury, and hogs-bones. All her teeth were made i' the Blacke-Friers: both her eye-browes i' the Strand, and her haire in Siluer-street. Euery part o' the towne ownes a piece of her.
> ...
> She takes her selfe asunder still when she goes to bed, into some twentie boxes; and about next day noone is put together againe, like a great Germane clocke...19

Jonson did not draw attention only to physical flaws; he also portrayed women as morally weak. Truewit's advice on how to woo women is a catalogue of their character weaknesses:

> TRVEWIT. A man should not doubt to ouercome any woman. Thinke he can vanquish 'hem, and he shall: for though they denie, their desire is to be tempted ... you must perseuer, and hold to your purpose. They would sollicite vs, but that they are afraid. Howsoeuer, they

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18 George Colman, "Epilogue to Timanthes", Prose on Several Occasions, vol. 3, p. 187.

19 Jonson, Epicoene, IV.ii, ll 91 - 99.

> wish in their hearts we should sollicite them.[20]

Other passages in which women are reviled were also cut (II.ii, I.i) by Colman. Clearly, the image of women that they presented would not have pleased an audience that wanted to be shown to be "full of graces, smiles, and dimples." Colman accordingly cut out all these passages and saved the vanity of a financially important segment of his public.

Thus, Colman's excisions were prompted by a combination of the need to modernize the text, to expurgate the morally offensive passages, to accelerate the plot, and to please his audience. His changes produced a brisker but less memorable play and, ironically, although his alterations were made in deference to contemporary taste and with the purely practical goals of solving staging problems and pleasing his audience, his version did not meet with popular approval. His effort, although admirably executed, was considered to have been misplaced:

> Mr Colman, after all the pains and skill he could bestow on this comedy, found that it was labour lost; there was no reviving the dead.[21]

And his revivalist effort failed: Epicoene was not staged again until the end of the nineteenth century.

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[20] Jonson, Epicoene, IV.i, ll 72 - 78.

[21] Thomas Davies, Dramatic Micellanies, vol. 2, p. 103.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Colman was a leading figure in the theatrical world of his day, writing critically acclaimed works such as The Clandestine Marriage and The Jealous Wife and running Covent Garden as a profitable and vibrant enterprise. But Colman has not received the scholarly attention to which his accomplishments either as a playwright or as a theatre manager entitle him. His dramatic writing has remained largely forgotten and his artistic decisions and policies as a manager are examined in detail for the first time here. The general inattention to Colman arises, perhaps, from this very duality of his achievment. His writing and his managerial activities have been considered to be so separate that they have never been studied in tandem; on the other hand, neither on its own has been thought to merit extended study. In general, Colman's creative and managerial work have been negatively related by stating that he never equalled the literary quality of his first plays once be became manager of Covent Garden. Thus it has seemed that Colman's literary aspirations were incompatible with his managerial goals or, at the very least, that they were set aside in the face of professional duties. To be sure, Colman's literary and artistic talents are most readily apparent in his written work, particularly his early collaborative writing with Garrick, but it has been the purpose of this thesis to show that they are also found intertwined with his business-like and calculated management of Covent Garden. Colman's importance to theatre historians, therefore, stems from his

able manipulation of artistic matters and managerial routine. He achieved a combination of the two which generally satisfied both critics and Covent Garden's treasurer.

Although the traces of his earlier artistic sensibility are visible even in his managerial writing, it cannot be argued that Colman's writing remained unchanged once he became a theatre manager. The drastic change in his economic situation when he became a part owner of Covent Garden in 1767 substantially effected his writing. Before 1767, Colman had written free from financial pressures: he had both his training as a lawyer and his expected inheritance from the Lord of Bath to rely upon for support. In 1767, however, Colman became both personally and professionally dependent upon the financial success of Covent Garden. He had abandoned his career as a lawyer, displeased and permanently alienated the Lord of Bath, spent all his savings, and mortgaged his mother's house in order to become a quarter-owner of Covent Garden. Not only did Colman's personal financial dependence on Covent Garden drive home its importance as a business venture, but, as we have seen, the prologues, epilogues, plays, and criticism of the time constantly described the theatre as an economic unit. Thus Colman was doubly aware of the economic nature of running a theatre: first, because of personal circumstances, and second, because of generally held perceptions of the theatre. It is natural that Colman's writing changed significantly as a result of its heightened economic significance in his new managerial capacity.

Colman managed Covent Garden during a period when the theatre was generally perceived as a business. This view

of the theatre was largely produced by the social context within which the theatres operated. The theatre was no longer the preserve of the court nor was it sheltered, as it had been during the Restoration, by the court's closed patronage. Instead, the theatre's support came from a much more heterogeneous audience, one which emphasized the financial nature of the theatre and which itself, more than ever before, was drawn from the business classes. The audience's inclination was to perceive the theatre in terms of contemporary social and financial institutions. It repeatedly described the theatre as a commercial business with itself in the role of patron and the house in that of the merchant. The house paralleled the audience's financial view of the theatre. The numerous prologues and epilogues written by managers explicitly used business as a metaphor for the theatre and also made the house/audience relationship analogous to that of the merchant and purchaser. The Account Books, with their detailed nightly financial data, demonstrate that the house did not only write about the theatre as a business but systematically ran it like one as well. The house and the audience, therefore, shared an understanding of the theatre as a business.

The house and audience also recognized that the economic structure of the theatre gave virtually unchecked power to the audience because it was the primary souce of income. Artistic control was an inevitable by-product of the audience's financial power and, as long as box office receipts were the largest source of revenue, the house pragmatically heeded the public's taste. It measured public

taste in terms of box office receipts and managerial decisions were based on the concrete monetary figures taken from the pit, boxes, and galleries. Intangible signs of audience taste, such as applause, were not trusted because they were often themselves commodities that had merely been bought or sold. The house, therefore, relied almost exclusively on receipts in order to gauge taste. As a result, artistic decisions of scheduling and repertory became dependent on an economic equation and the house often followed a financially safe policy rather than an artistically innovative one.

Within this strict financial context, Colman succeeded in maintaining Covent Garden's role as a literary, dramatic, and cultural institution. It is true that Colman was a conservative and rational manager and that, as we have seen, his scheduling policy was primarily geared to maximizing profits. The evidence from the Account Books shows that he dropped unprofitable plays from the repertory and that profitable pieces, no matter how lamentable in terms of dramatic quality, were given long runs. But it is also true that Colman took many scheduling risks, such as Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer, which were unnecessary if he simply intended to maximize profits. Colman tried to balance financial exigencies with his considerable literary appreciation. Perhaps the clearest illustration of Colman's efforts to combine aesthetic choice and pragmatism is his adaptation work. In his adaptation work we find Colman staging plays that he admired for their literary beauties but having to modify them in order to make them acceptable to his audience. He was not free to stage these plays in their

original forms because he was dependent upon their financial success. He was willing, therefore, and we may even say forced, to make what he considered smaller pragmatic concessions in order to achieve his larger goal of introducing his audience to these generally forgotten plays. In this way, he hoped to reconcile his literary conscience with his financial obligations. Whether his adaptations succeeded in this larger aim is a debatable point. Often, as with Epicoene, his concessions to supposed contemporary taste did not satisfy the audience and his adaptations had no commercial success. In addition, they rarely retained the beauties which he had admired in the original plays. Ultimately, however, we should not look to Colman's adaptations in terms of their aesthetic or financial success but as examples of Colman's efforts to find a workable reconciliation of the two.

Colman's main responsibility as manager of Covent Garden was to run a financially healthy enterprise and to behave in an economically rational and profitable fashion. We have seen that he steadily heeded this responsibility. But Colman was also sensitive to the literary ware which he was peddling and he incorporated his responsibility to the theatre's role as a literary forum with his financial responsibility. By the 1760s, the theatre had begun its evolution towards its twentieth-century show business incarnation. Colman was unable and unwilling to check this evolution and his artistic contribution was shaped by the growing importance of finances. His literary contribution, although dimmed by his financial pragmatism, deserved more

attention than it has received from theatre historians. They will find, I believe, that Colman, although a product of his economic environment, understood, manipulated, and shaped the late eighteenth-century theatre world.

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