

The Brady Collection and the Mediation of Eighteenth-Century Women's Performance in Theatrical Ephemera



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For Dawn and David, with love and remembrance

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Abstract

This thesis explores the mediation of eighteenth-century women's dramatic performance in contemporary print both within, and outside of, the theatre. Taking the performance ephemeron as its subject, and the theatrical archive as its setting, it interrogates the presence of eighteenth-century actresses' performances in specific forms of printing found in one collection. This is the Brady Collection, a large assemblage of theatrical ephemera dating from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, collected by Francis Bridgford Brady (1890-1981) and held at Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Using a series of case studies of individual print forms to reflect on the mediation of performance, this thesis analyses the interconnected relationship between theatrical celebrity, gender, and print in the period. It adopts an interdisciplinary and self-reflexive methodology to explore the different layers of mediation that pervade theatrical performance, printing, and the writing of theatre histories.

This work opens with an overview of the Brady Collection and its collector as crucial context for the following chapters that interrogate individual forms of theatrical ephemera. Chapter 1 argues that the theatrical playbill, and its typography, played a crucial role in constructing an actress's career. Chapter 2 considers how an actress's theatricality is translated into text by the printed epilogue. Chapter 3 turns to theatrical portraiture, arguing that portraits published by John Bell appear to mediate an imagined instance of performance read against an actress's repertoire. The fourth and final chapter, homing in closely on the Brady Collection, uses a case study of a scrapbook of Sarah Siddons to explicate the mediatory power of the theatrical archive itself. Additional appendices provide limited lists of some of the Brady Collection's significant contents that are relevant to and can serve as a guide for, fellow researchers interested in eighteenth-century theatrical ephemera and its collection.

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A special mention also to Cristina Neagu and Alina Nachescu at Christ Church Library, whose excitement about the Brady Collection has kept me going through all the worry and doubt. My heartfelt thanks to all the staff at the library, old and new, who have always done their best to support me and my work, in any way that they could.

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To my friends, with whom I have shared the exuberant highs and exasperating lows of this endeavour; with whom I have both laughed and cried, I thank you.

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And finally, my love and thanks to Rhys, who has, perhaps against their better judgment, seen me through every stage of my academic journey, never once wavering.

Abbreviations

| | |
|------|---|
| BC | Brady Collection |
| CG | Covent Garden Theatre |
| DL | Drury Lane Theatre |
| ECCO | Eighteenth-Century Collections Online |
| ODNB | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography |
| OED | Oxford English Dictionary |
| STR | Society for Theatre Research |

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A Note on Quotations and Shelf Marks

Quotations from contemporary sources retain their original spelling and punctuation, including italicisation and capitalisation, except in the case of the long ‘s’. In cases where emphasis has been added, this is noted in the footnote.

Please note that shelfmarks given for material in the Brady Collection are college placeholders and will not necessarily correlate to permanent shelfmarks once the material is fully catalogued. Material from the Brady Collection is given as a separate list in the bibliography.

Prologue: The Brady Collection

The broad aim of this project is to reveal how eighteenth-century women's dramatic performance was disseminated in print both within, and outside of, the theatre. Taking the performance ephemeron as its subject, and the theatrical archive as its setting, it interrogates the presence of eighteenth-century actresses' performances in both specific forms of ephemeral printing and the gathered ephemera collection. The collection in question is the Brady Collection, a large archive of theatrical ephemera held at Christ Church Library, Oxford.

The collection, donated by Francis Bridgford Brady (1890-1981), contains theatrical material and ephemera from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, with a particular focus on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It contains a variety of ephemeral forms and theatrical documents: from playbills and other programmes, portrait prints, and loose printed plays, to music books, tinsel prints, and tickets. The collection also houses a selection of bound plays and other bibliographic material, mostly theatrical in subject. The Brady Collection contains much material not dedicated to actresses, but its unique variety and scope of material offer new insights into the actress's position at the intersection of print, celebrity, and the theatre in the eighteenth century.

As such, the Brady Collection is an archive of ephemera relating to an ephemeral subject. Theatrical and performance archives, by their very nature, document that which is fleeting. Peggy Phelan offers an ontological approach to performance defined by this transience: performance 'becomes itself through disappearance'.¹ For many, performance is 'always at the vanishing point', leaving behind an archive of paper traces for a theatre that is no longer

¹ Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 146.

reachable.² This project is, in part, a narrative of those these traces: what is missing, and what remains, within the paper archive of eighteenth-century women's performance.

This project is also a narrative of the theatrical archive itself. Much as with performance, scholars favour talking of the archive as something lost, something to be discovered, often to the chagrin of archivists and library professionals well-informed about their holdings. The language of discovery and illumination regarding archival research often obfuscates the work already done by these professionals and even the collectors of the material itself. Ironically, in our 'rediscovering' of the archive, we also vanish it to the margins. Although much theatre history relies on large privately collected archives, the collectors of these archives are often relegated to a passing mention.

When I started this project, I often referred to the Brady Collection as uncatalogued. And in many ways, perhaps, that is still an accurate description. There exists no formal list or finding aid, it is not digitised, and most of its items lack even a shelfmark. I understood the collection as something sunk to the depths of the library's basement. I thought it had sat, virtually untouched, since it had arrived at Christ Church in the 1970s. What has emerged, however, is not a story of an archive waiting to be discovered for the first time, but rather the story of a collection that — because of a lack of documentation, erratic funding, flooding, staff turnover, and most recently, a global pandemic — has been unfortunately overlooked.

Although the Brady Collection can be considered an archive of 'lost' performance, and for this thesis, of eighteenth-century women's performance, it is also one of lost labour. Not only of the actresses themselves, but also of the librarians and archivists who have cared for it, the researchers who have worked with it, and most importantly, the collector who accumulated it, Francis Bridgford Brady. Following in the footsteps of recent work done by Eve Smith on

² Herbert Blau, *Take Up the Bodies: Theater at the Vanishing Point* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982), p. 28.

collections of theatrical ephemera, I aim to ‘free the theatre collector from the footnote’, by offering this introduction to Brady, his collection, and its history, as context for the following chapters on eighteenth-century women’s performance, as found within the various forms of ephemera he collected.³

Meeting Brady and his collection

It was on Thursday, 10 October 2019 that I saw the Brady Collection for the first time. At that point, the collection occupied two basements of Christ Church’s Peck Quad.

Accompanied by my three supervisors and the college’s librarian, I descended the stairs to a shadowy subterranean room, sunlight barely visible through its singular barred window.

Although I had previously been made aware of the collection’s size, I was intimidated by its scope and unwieldy aspect upon seeing it in reality. The original advertisement for my thesis project suggested that, along with cataloguing the collection, the successful applicant might attempt to recreate a few eighteenth-century theatre performances using the collection’s vast array of printed theatrical ephemera. Looking upon the collection *in situ*, observing its uncatalogued boxes and portfolios and their equally undescribed contents, it became quickly apparent that such a task would be next to impossible.

The collection was donated to Christ Church in 1977 by Francis Bridgford Brady, known by many as Frank, a former student of the college. Before the start of this thesis, very little was known about Brady and his collection. Although the library uncovered correspondence and other miscellaneous documentation regarding the collection and its donation later, much of

³ Eve Smith, ‘Public Passions, Private Archives: Approaches to the Private Collector and Collection of Theatrical Ephemera in the Context of the Public Theatre Archive’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2016), p. 10. Some of the following work has already appeared in Katie Noble, ‘The Story of the F. B. Brady Collection’, *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 12.2-3 (2020-2021), 8-12 <<https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/story-f-b-brady-collection-ccln-vol-122-3-2020-2021>> [accessed 21 February 2023].

my initial research was completed without the benefit of such sources.⁴ I looked first at the contents of the collection itself for insight into its collector.

In 1982, Peter Baldwin – the actor most famous for his role as Derek Wilton in *Coronation Street* – wrote an article for *Animations*, the magazine of the London Puppet Centre, about Brady's collection. For Baldwin, it constituted a priceless resource from which '[w]e now have the good fortune to be able to study the results of his life-long passion for the theatre and the toy theatre.' In his article, he explains how

One of the interesting aspects of a collection of this kind is the peripheral information to be gathered from scribbled notes on envelopes, in books and on scraps of paper interleaved between prints. From them, we can learn a great deal about the collector.⁵

My experience with the Brady collection aligns with this assertion. A great deal of my early knowledge of Brady was extrapolated from the finding of a single photograph within the leaves of one of his books, a programme for a Charterhouse School reunion event. Despite being hidden away, this photograph reveals a great deal about Brady's early life and the influences behind his collecting (Fig. 1).

⁴ They would likely have been eventually located but these documents were sought and found by way of my enquiries and searching within the basement where the collection was kept. Letters relating to the collection were located with the much-appreciated aid of Jacky Bratton and Gilli-Bush Bailey.

⁵ Peter Baldwin, 'The F. B. Brady Collection', *Animations*, August/September 1982, p. 11.



Figure 1: Photograph of Brady's childhood home in Samshui. Oxford, Christ Church Library, Brady Collection. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

The photograph found in Brady's stacks, most likely a gelatine POP print, shows a partial view of a family home in China.⁶ The image is labelled as showing a drawing room and two bedrooms; the right bedroom is marked as belonging to 'Frankie'. First and foremost, this photograph stands as an artefact of Brady's father's collecting habits. Herbert Brady was a prolific collector in his own right and amassed a significant collection of early Chinese and Western photography, most of which is now held at the Getty Research Institute in California.⁷ The photograph also hints toward Frank's privileged childhood as the son of a colonial administrator, an experience that would later influence his collecting and interests.

Francis Bridgford Brady was born at the British Legation in Beijing, China on 21 September 1890, the son of Herbert Francis Brady (1854-1924), an employee of the Consular Service, and Susan Georgina (Gina) Marshall Hole (1868-1964).⁸ Both Herbert and Gina were

⁶ My thanks to Alexandra Nachescu for assisting me in deciphering the photograph and its origins.

⁷ Jeffrey W. Cody and Frances Terpak, 'Through a Foreign Glass: The Art and Science of Photography in Late Qing China', in *Brush & Shutter: Early Photography in China*, ed. by Jeffrey W. Cody and Frances Terpak (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), pp. 33-68 (p. 53).

⁸ *North China Herald*, 3 October 1890, p. 412.

prominent members of the British community of Legation staff in China. The wider Brady-Hole family similarly worked in colonial administration; Gina's brother Hugh Marshall Hole (1865-1941), Frank's uncle, served as Cecil Rhodes's secretary.⁹

The family moved around China regularly for Herbert's work. In 1897 the family moved from Guangzhou (then Canton) to Sanshui District (then Samshui), as Herbert had been tasked with opening a new consulate there. As seen in the photograph, here the family resided in the disused Fulu Hu Temple, overlooking the Kuigang Pagoda. In 1898 they moved to a purpose-built home in Hokow, but by the end of the year, they had moved on account of the new consulate failing. Ten years later in 1908, Herbert retired and returned to England, likely following in the footsteps of Frank who had been sent for his schooling at Charterhouse School, before coming to Christ Church in 1909 as Holford Exhibitioner.¹⁰



Figure 2: 'Frank, Herbert and Gina Brady', c. 1896, Historical Photographs of China, University of Bristol, <<https://hpcbristol.net/visual/Hi-s144>> [accessed 21 February 2023].
Image © Hillier Collection.

⁹ Andrew Hillier, *My Dearest Martha: The Life and Letters of Eliza Hillier* (Hong Kong: City Hong Kong University Press, 2021), p. xxii. My thanks to Andrew Hillier for discussing his very interesting family history with me over Zoom.

¹⁰ Robert Neild, *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840-1943* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), pp. 192-193.

Not much is known about Frank's time at Oxford. He read *Literae Humaniores*, also known as undergraduate classics.¹¹ Despite his evinced interest in theatre, it does not seem that he was involved with the Oxford University Dramatic Society (OUDS). He was, however, interested in the print legacy of student theatre and its connections to his college. For example, his collection of playbills includes a programme for an 1880s OUDS production of *Alcestis* at the New Theatre starring the then-student actor Arthur Bouchier, a fellow member of the House.¹²



Figure 3: Francis Bridgford Brady, July 1914. Oxford, Christ Church Library, Brady Collection. Image author's own.

Like many others, Brady was drafted for the Great War. He initially served in the Army Service Corps before being recruited into intelligence in 1918.¹³ He was likely chosen

¹¹ Oxford matriculation register ref. UR 2/1/68.

¹² Oxford, Christ Church Library, Brady Collection, 'Playbills'. References to materials in the Brady Collection are hereafter referred to in footnotes as 'BC'. 'The House' is an appellation for Christ Church, deriving from its Latin name *Aedes Christi*, meaning the house of Christ.

¹³ Brady's military record places him in the 10th Royal Fusiliers – a known administrative unit for intelligence officers. See H. C. O'Neill, *The Royal Fusiliers in the Great War* (London: Heinemann, 1922), p. 10. His service number was S/385720 while with the ASC, and GS/96141 after his transfer to the Intelligence Corp.

because of his childhood in China and his knowledge of both French and German.¹⁴ After the war, Frank spent his adult life working as a solicitor in London and was a partner at Stephenson Harwood & Tatham.¹⁵ According to Frank's descriptions, this was the period in which he amassed his impressive collection. In part, his privileged life and education up until this point are what enabled his collecting. Although ephemera is popular with collectors, at least in part, due to its relative cheapness, accruing a historical collection of this size would have required significant disposable income.¹⁶ Born into a well-off colonial family, Frank was well-placed to fund its accumulation and maintenance.

Frank also had theatrical connections. He had built himself a reputation within the world of theatre printing and its history, again evident from the miscellaneous scraps found in his collection and amongst his books. His collection of toy theatre sheets was made possible by his close correspondence with several publishers and merchants, namely the Pollock family of the Pollock's Toy Museum and H.J. Webb, the last of the Webb publishing family, famous for their toy theatre sheets. Brady's collection ostensibly contains the last print that H.J. Webb ever painted, according to his own commentary.¹⁷ Toy theatre or 'juvenile drama' was one of Frank's specific collecting passions. One of the few photographs of Brady within the collection (Fig. 4) shows him perusing the window of Benjamin Pollock's Toy Shop on Hoxton Street, a well-known seller of toy theatre sheets, and a location Brady likely visited often throughout his life.

¹⁴ Brady's book collection includes many French and German volumes, suggesting a knowledge of the languages. The Oxford University Roll of Service confirms that during 1918 and 1919 he spent time on operations in both Germany and France. See *Oxford University Roll of Service*, ed. by E. S. Craig and W. M. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), p. 340, Internet Archive ebook.

¹⁵ Andrew Hillier, email to author, 28 December 2021.

¹⁶ Maurice Rickards, *This is Ephemera: Collecting Printing Throwaways* (London: David & Charles, 1977), p. 25.

¹⁷ Baldwin, p. 11.



Figure 4: Photograph of Frank Brady looking through the window of B. Pollock's Print Shop on Hoxton Street, London. BC. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

Brady was also known within theatrical scholarship. In 1947, Frank was asked by Sybil Rosenfeld, as an expert in juvenile drama, to write a review for the first volume of the then-budding *Theatre Notebook*.¹⁸ The typed manuscript for this review can be found within the library's holdings, as well as his many membership cards for the Society for Theatre Research (STR). In 1952 Frank joined the STR and he remained a loyal member until he died in 1981.¹⁹ Through the STR, Brady is likely to have rubbed shoulders with many significant figures in both theatre collecting and research, such as Gabrielle Enthoven, Allardyce Nicoll, George Speaight, and Montague Summers. Following his death, Brady and his collection

¹⁸ F. B. Brady, 'Juvenile Drama Publishers', *Theatre Notebook*, 1.6 (1947), 98-99.

¹⁹ My thanks to the STR committee, namely Geoff Davidson, for confirming the dates of Brady's membership.

featured in a note for the *Theatre Notebook* written by Speaight, which drew readers' attention to the recent donation of his collection to Christ Church in 1978.²⁰

Arrival at Christ Church

Although existing descriptions of Brady's collection vary in detail, all are consistent in their account of its magnitude and significance. Suffice it to say, Brady was aware of this himself when he first contacted the library about donating it. His letter addressed to the college librarian, dated 24 November 1977, reads:

My excuse for writing to you is that I am a Member of the House (Michaelmas 1909) and my object is to enquire whether the House would care to accept one of my collections.

From the 'twenties until the 'sixties, when the material disappeared under the counter or soared above my means, I have acquired my leisure in searching for and collecting engraved portraits of actors, scenes from plays, theatrical histories and memoirs, and printed plays – in fact theatrical materials generally. They date mainly from the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. This has resulted in a large miscellaneous collection of which the most outstanding and easily separable part consists of perhaps a couple of thousand sheets of the "Juvenile Drama" and "Penny Plain" portraits, and the time has long since come when I must face parting with them. Would the House care to have these?

I am ashamed to offer such a trifling token of my affection & gratitude to the House and it seems impertinent to mention it to the custodian of many and such magnificent art treasures as are in your care. But it is an out of the way subject and the prints have now become rather fashionable and sought after; there are not many collectors and doubt whether there are any important collections outside public hands. Certainly it would be impossible now to form such a collection.

The subject is of limited appeal and perhaps beneath the dignity of the House, but the prints (of the best period) are gay and spirited and, when studied, throw considerable light on the English stage during the Regency and early Victorian periods. You might be glad to have them for that purpose, and I should be glad to have them in safe hands.²¹

His initial suggested donation is of the juvenile drama sheets and theatrical portraits although the college came to receive many other materials. He notes the lack of 'important collections outside public hands', comparing his theatrical collection to the likes of others donated to

²⁰ George Speaight, 'Brady Collection', *Theatre Notebook*, 36.3 (1982), 125.

²¹ BC, 'Letters', F. B. Brady to John Mason, 24 November 1977.

various institutions throughout the twentieth century. Gabrielle Enthoven's massive collection of playbills, engravings, and other items had been donated to the V&A in 1924. The John Johnson Collection of theatrical ephemera, also housed within an Oxford library, had been bequeathed to the University by its collector John Johnson — former Printer to the University of Oxford — on the occasion of his death in 1956.²² Both of these collections had originated as private collections of theatrical materials, later made public.²³ The Library was quick to acknowledge the size and value of Brady's collection. An internal memo circulated to Christ Church's Library Committee outlines its significant scope and its potential for both teaching and research. The memo notes that the collection 'would probably occupy about 30 feet of shelving; the printed books (many of which would be useful for undergraduate study) up to 200 feet.'²⁴

The college librarian at the time, John Mason, contacted Brady on 2 December 1977 to express interest in the collection. On 7 December Frank replied, delighted by the outcome, and invited Mason to visit him and the collection at his home in Hatch End. This visit happened sometime in January 1978; a letter dated 6 January from Mason to Frank expresses gratitude for the hospitality of Frank and his wife Agnes, whom he had married in 1965 well into his seventh decade. Mason then noted that pending acceptance by the Library Committee, he would be in touch to discuss the logistics of the collection's transfer to Oxford.²⁵

On 12 January 1978, Christ Church Library formally accepted Frank's gift: 'The Brady Collection, as it would be called, would be a valued possession of the House, and a notable addition to the resources of libraries in Oxford.' In their acceptance, the library noted that, in

²² Bodleian Libraries, *John Johnson and the History of the Collection* (2023) <<https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/node/2222371/>> [accessed 13 February 2023].

²³ For more on the movement of private theatrical collections into public hands, see Smith.

²⁴ BC, 'Misc. Library'.

²⁵ BC, 'Letters', John Mason to F. B. Brady, 6 January 1978.

alignment with Frank's wishes, they intended to keep 'the heart of the collection (portraits of actors, representations of scenes and theatres, printed copies of early plays, play bills etc. – in effect, all materials up to about 1850)' together and available for study. They stated however that it would be likely that the books would be separated. They intended to keep all the theatrical volumes from after 1850 but wanted to send some to Oxford's English Faculty Library, for the benefit of undergraduates. They also mentioned their wish to put some of the items on exhibition.²⁶ On 15 January 1978, Frank hastily replied. He said that it would 'afford [him] the greatest pleasure & self-satisfaction to have [his] name attached to the collection'.²⁷ Frank, a solicitor himself, saw no need for legal ratification and so, over the next few months, the collection was transported from Hatch End to Oxford.

After some time for processing and organisation, the first exhibition of the Brady Collection happened in July of 1978. On 4 July, the college arranged for Frank and Agnes to be driven up to Oxford from Hatch End to attend it. A special lunch was put on in the college's Keene Room, in Brady's honour.²⁸ Further exhibitions followed in 1979 and 1981.²⁹

Brady continued to correspond with Mason and occasionally sent him his copies of the STR's annual publication, which the library would then add to his collection.³⁰ In 1980, Mason informed Brady that a David Powell would be working on cataloguing and arranging some of the collection for around 12 months. Brady was thrilled at the prospect:

your letter of the 13th ... gave me great pleasure... Firstly that you feel my collection justifies full-time examination & secondly that you have been able to find such an enthusiastic scholar to undertake the job... I hope he may have in one year even a fiftieth part of the pleasure that the accumulation of the collection gave me in fifty... It makes me proud to think that I should now have a librarian of my own!³¹

²⁶ BC, 'Letters', Christ Church Library to F. B. Brady, 12 January 1978.

²⁷ BC, 'Letters', F. B. Brady to John Mason, 15 January 1978.

²⁸ BC, 'Letters', F. B. Brady to John Mason, 5 July 1978.

²⁹ Seen from exhibition cards held in BC 'Misc. Library'.

³⁰ See, for example, BC, 'Letters', F. B. Brady to John Mason, 16 February 1980.

³¹ BC, 'Letters', Frank Brady to John Mason, 18 May 1980.

In June 1981, Mason reported that Powell was nearly finished with cataloguing Brady's books, but that '[h]e says that he can imagine himself working on the other material for ten years or so!'³² Powell, like myself, was purportedly overwhelmed by the scale of the task ahead of him. Powell's work allowed for a card catalogue to be devised for Brady's books and this remains one of the only limited finding aids available for the collection.³³

In the same letter, Mason expressed regret over hearing that Brady had experienced an 'accident'. With such things adding to his already poor health, Frank eventually passed away on 21 December 1981.³⁴ The library wrote to Agnes to express their 'deepest sympathy' for her loss, noting Frank as 'one of the most notable benefactors of Christ Church' with a 'remarkable devotion to the history of the theatre on which he had formed such a fine collection.'³⁵ Agnes passed away the following year.



Figure 5: Francis Bridgford Brady (1978). Oxford, Christ Church Library, Brady Collection.
Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

³² BC, 'Letters', John Mason to Frank Brady, 27 June 1981.

³³ Some of these books are listed in the Oxford library catalogue (SOLO) but most must be searched for via this physical card catalogue in the library.

³⁴ BC, 'Letters', Joan Hogan to John Mason, [n.d.].

³⁵ BC, 'Letters', John Mason to Agnes Brady, 26 January 1982.

For a short time, the library remained in contact with the couple's niece Joan Hogan, and their discussions concerned the additional donation of some remaining items, including some further portfolios of Chinese and Japanese material, and Brady's typewriter (although it does not seem the typewriter ever arrived).³⁶ They kept her up to date on their progress in processing and cataloguing the collection.³⁷ However, despite Joan's compliment to the library's handling of Frank's collection following a visit – 'so clearly catalogued and displayed' – the reality is that the collection remains, to this day, mostly uncatalogued and without sufficient finding aids.³⁸ The library continues to seek funding to support such a task.

³⁶ BC, 'Letters', John Mason to Joan Hogan, 16 June 1982.

³⁷ BC, 'Letters', John Mason to Joan Hogan, 13 September 1982.

³⁸ BC, 'Letters', Joan Hogan to John Mason, 11 July 1983.

Scope and organisation

Brady's collection of theatrical ephemera, as it currently stands, is large in size and equally wide in scope. It includes everything from playtexts and playbills to theatrical portraits, tinsel prints, music books, printed prologues and epilogues, and tickets (and much more). There exists no complete list of the collection and it would be impossible to list the entirety of its contents here. What does exist is Brady's own 'Rough Key' which he presented to Mason on his first visit to Hatch End. This key originated as a typed list of the contents of the collection's portfolios and albums, as presented to the library. Each page lists the notable contents, and in some cases, complete listings of the portfolio's contents. It seems that the library then amended this key, adding pages about the specific locations of the portfolios within library storage and whether each had a handlist.³⁹ Unfortunately, many of these handlists are lost or no longer have any value for the researcher as the collection has been moved and rehoused several times since its arrival (once due to flooding). The document does however give us further insight into the varied themes of Brady's collecting. Alongside the expected theatrical material, we also find pages for portfolios titled 'Dress and Manners of the Chinese', 'Protean Views', and 'Mr. Brady's Selections' including, supposedly, Latin erotic verse.

Organisation

These portfolios contained most of Brady's collection and were generally organised by form or genre of ephemera. For example, playbills were (and remain) kept together in a named folder, and larger prints and portraits were kept in a selection of different folders.⁴⁰ Smaller theatrical prints and portraits were organised into albums or scrapbooks. Some of the

³⁹ BC, MS 'A rough [key]'. A transcript of this document is given as Appendix A.

⁴⁰ A recent overview of these is given in Alessandra Grossi, 'Portraits of Actors in the Brady Collection', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 13.1-3 (2021-2022), 21-24 <<https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/portraits-actors-brady-collection>> [accessed 1 February 2023].

scrapbooks dedicated to specific players also included biographical information borrowed from book volumes, removed, and pasted alongside the theatrical prints. Although the scrapbooks remain as they were, many of Brady's portfolios have unfortunately been taken apart due to either damage or storage concerns and much of its miscellaneous material is now kept in boxes.

Toy theatre or juvenile drama

Although it is not a focus of my project, it is worth noting one of the collection's most valuable assets: Brady's assemblage of toy theatre sets (as exhibited by the library in 2017).⁴¹ This appears to have been one of his main areas of interest and is the subject for which Brady's collection is most well-known and most valued. Baldwin's article, which focuses specifically on this aspect of the collection, notes it includes '250 Juvenile Drama plays representing most of the leading publishers from West to Pollock and Webb.' Many of these are listed in Brady's 'Key to the Collection', given as Appendix A. Brady was deeply entrenched in the contemporary juvenile drama community of collectors, researchers, and fans. As Baldwin points out, Brady's copy of Speaight's *Juvenile Drama* — the volume he reviewed for the *Theatre Notebook* — is inscribed by Desmond Seaton-Reid, the originating collector of the University of Toronto's Juvenile Drama Collection: 'a memento of [their] mutual interest and love of the toy theatre...'⁴² Brady was meticulous regarding his complete collection of these toy theatre sets, keeping a record of parts he was missing in a small pocket organiser.⁴³

⁴¹ Christ Church, *The Miniature Stage – 19th Century English Toy Theatre* (n. d.) <<https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/miniature-stage-19th-century-english-toy-theatre>> [accessed 8 February 2023].

⁴² Baldwin, p. 11.

⁴³ BC, MS 1.

Non-Western material

Brady appears to have been indiscriminate in his gathering of a wide variety of theatrical materials. However, like many collectors, he favoured items with which he shared some personal connection. His collection therefore contains many items of Chinese origin, reflective of his childhood spent there. He has several tickets and materials related to performances in China (and particularly Shanghai) in the twentieth century, perhaps productions he or his family had attended. His collection also contains several seventeenth-century Japanese woodblock prints of kabuki theatre and other subjects, suggesting a continued interest in non-Western theatre throughout his life.⁴⁴ Some of these unique and priceless examples remain with the collection, although many were moved to the Ashmolean Museum shortly after they arrived in Oxford. These are also listed in Appendix A.

A crafted assemblage

The idiosyncrasies of Brady's collecting appear, not only in the way that it is organised but also in its presentation. The collection contains many instances of craft, in both the creative organisation and elaborate decoration of its materials. For example, each of Brady's scrapbooks features a pasted print on the cover alongside a hand-drawn title, often in coloured ink (Fig. 6).

⁴⁴ See Pia Jolliffe, 'Japanese Woodblock Prints, Utagawa Kunisada and the Brady Collection', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 12.2-3 (2020-21), 15-18 <<https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/japanese-woodblock-prints-and-brady-collection-ccln-vol-122-3-2020-2021>> [accessed 1 February 2023], and Pia Jolliffe and Kiyoko Hanaoka, 'Two Examples of Catalogued Japanese Prints in the Brady Collection', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 12.2-3 (2020-21), 18-19 <<https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/two-examples-catalogued-japanese-prints-brady-collection-ccln-vol-122-3-2020>> [accessed 1 February 2023].

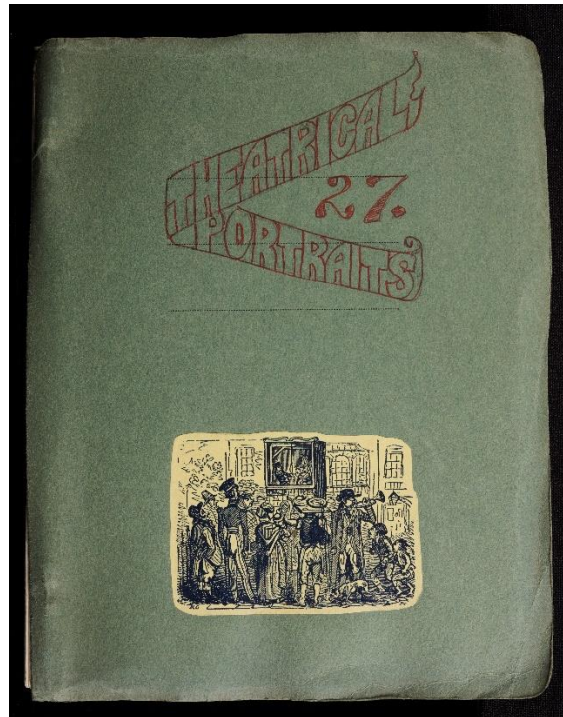


Figure 6: An example of Brady's decorated scrapbooks. BC, T. P. 27. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

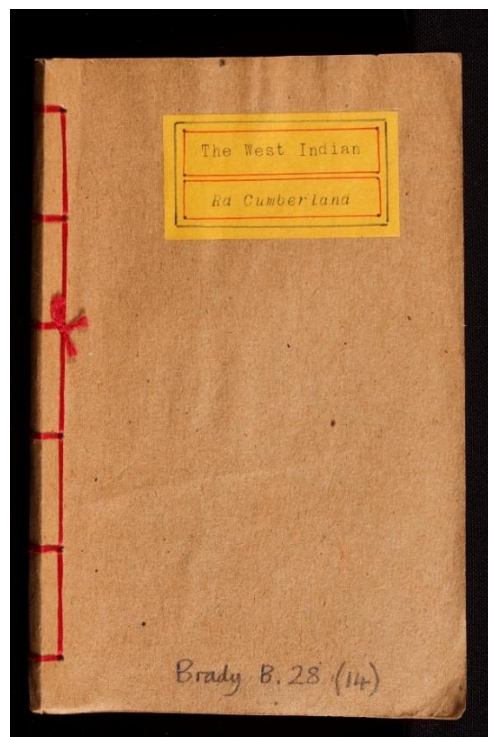


Figure 7: An example of Brady's hand-bound playtexts. BC, B. 28 (14). Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

Additionally, we can consider Brady's collection of playtexts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of these playtexts Brady may have purchased unbound, as some would have been sold in their own time, and others have been removed from bound editions. Brady has then bound these playtexts himself using brown parcel paper. Often the paper is plain, but sometimes it is marbled, or printed in some way. Each playtext is given a typed title plate on its cover and each is bound using a coloured length of thread (Fig. 7). Evident from this curious presentation is the individual care and attention Brady gave to each item within his collection. It suggests a consideration of their proper preservation and sustainability. It also suggests something of the purpose of Brady's collection, as not only a source for research and history but also of entertainment and joy for the collector.

Making sense of the collection

This introductory section has spent little time hypothesising *why* Brady engaged in the practice of collection. Many psychological, sociological, and anthropological studies have attempted to answer such theoretical questions about collecting which lie beyond the purview of this thesis.⁴⁵ However, the nature of the theatrical collection itself can serve as one means of understanding Brady's potential motivations. Eve Smith's recent thesis stands as the most significant work on theatrical collecting to date and offers a useful framework for thinking about Brady's collection and his collecting practice. Smith argues that

the collector... is a figure that occupies a space upon the threshold of the past and present. Surrounded by the stuff of theatre history, the collector possesses the objects and documents from which the stories of the theatrical past can be created for, and in, the present. The theatrical object memorialises theatre and the collector's interactions with these objects reaffirm the object's history as a performative event.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See, for example, Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. by Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994); Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. by James Benedict (London: Verso, 1996); Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 2001).

⁴⁶ Smith, pp. 39-40.

Here, Smith positions the collector and the theatrical collection as inhabiting a liminal space between the past and the present. The collected objects document the theatrical past but, equally, act to create and perform this theatrical past within the present. Smith labels the collection of theatrical memorabilia as having a ‘double ephemerality’, that is, it is an ephemeral archive (of paper and fugitive print) of an ephemeral event (performance).⁴⁷

The idea of creating the theatrical past in the present speaks to the sensory experience of the collection. Theatrical ephemera, as I will show in the following chapters, both explicitly and implicitly references the sights and sounds of the theatre. Similarly, as generally loose-leaf material, ephemeral collections ask to be touched and handled by their collector. As George Speaight put it, interacting with your collection ‘really carries you back into the past, with the feel of the paper, the smell of the ink... the sense of losing oneself in the atmosphere of another age.’⁴⁸ Collecting, then, allows one access to the sensory past.

Brady’s donation of his collection was, at least partly, practical. Advancing in their years, he and his wife intended to move from their semi-detached house in Hatch End to a smaller bungalow in Leigh-on-Sea that would be easier to maintain. Of course, this meant that it would also not have the space to hold his beloved collection. However, it was also true that he was losing the ability to engage with his collection in the way Speaight describes.

Brady kept up a sporadic correspondence with Peter Baldwin, the actor who would write the *Animations* article in 1982. Following his death, Baldwin sent Christ Church a copy of what appears to be one of Brady’s last letters. The letter, almost illegible in Brady’s handwriting, was accompanied by a note from his niece Joan Hogan who had cared for him and his wife in their later years. The note read: ‘Unfortunately they are both in bad health, he is 91 years old

⁴⁷ Smith, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁸ George Speaight, *Collecting Theatre Memorabilia* (Ashbourne: MPC, 1988), p. 97.

and is blind and deaf, hence the tragic writing of his accompanying letter to you. But Frank would insist on a personal thank you.⁴⁹ Up until this point, many of the letters signed by Brady appear to have been in his wife's hand.⁵⁰ Then, aware of his closeness to death, Brady wrote a note to his dear friend in words laboured by age and ill health:

Dear Mr Baldwin... your letters... gave me the only pleasure I am capable of feeling... In the [illegible] J. D. such persons I feel justified in... disclosing whose expectation of life is as bad as my own.⁵¹

After Frank's death, John Mason wrote to the Dean of Christ Church to inform him. He says:

He was 91, and started his collection when through early deafness he could no longer indulge his love of the theatre by going to plays; years later, when his sight began to go, he decided to offer the collection to us.⁵²

Mason speculated that Brady's collection had been motivated by his failing sensory capacity.

At this point, Mason had known Brady for several years and so may have discussed such things with him personally.

For Brady, performance was indeed 'at the vanishing point'.⁵³ In a time before audio-described productions, he was unable to attend the theatre and so turned to collecting historical theatrical ephemera as a way of connecting with the experience of performance. As he asks in his review for the *Theatre Notebook*:

What would the historian not give for the opportunity of actually seeing, to take a couple of examples at random, the reformed dresses and settings adopted by Madame Vestris in her revolutionary production of *Olympic Revels*, or the flamboyant Rob Roy presented by young Macready before he became an eminent tragedian?⁵⁴

⁴⁹ BC, 'Letters', Joan Hogan to Peter Baldwin, [n.d.].

⁵⁰ The hand in the letters appears somewhat different to the handwritten comments within the collection. Further, some letters include Brady's signature in a different hand and ink to the main body.

⁵¹ BC, 'Letters', Frank Brady to Peter Baldwin, 17 November 1981.

⁵² BC, 'Letters', John Mason to Eric Heaton, 2 February 1982.

⁵³ Blau, p. 28.

⁵⁴ Brady, 'Juvenile Drama Publishers', p. 98.

One imagines that Brady's 'examples at random' are, in fact, an expression of his collecting desires. Despite never explicitly admitting to being 'a victim of the "obsession"', his article continually reflects upon the lot of the theatrical collector:

For all that, the faithful hundred will continue to leave no portfolio unturned and no scrap-book unexplored, borne up by the hope that, if they even find one such sheet, the odds are against them having it already and perhaps even in favour of its proving to be a unique specimen.⁵⁵

Although Brady here speaks of the private collector, his image of the 'faithful hundred' who 'leave no portfolio unturned and no scrap-book unexplored' remarkably encapsulates the experience of the theatre historian.

The mediated experience of the archival collection is two-fold – it invokes both the sensory experience of the object's original use or history and its history as a collected object. As I handle the playbills within Brady's collection, I am aware of both the mediated experience of the eighteenth-century theatre and the conditions of Brady's collecting. Herein lies the crux of this thesis: the fundamental connection between theatre collector and theatre researcher, and the importance of acknowledging that connection as critical to the writing of theatre history.

When I started this project, I was particularly interested in whether the Brady Collection might uncover new information regarding women's performance in the eighteenth century. Brady's completionist collecting style seemed to be particularly sympathetic to representations of theatrical women, his collection expressive of what Willow White identifies as his 'unique interest in female playwrights'.⁵⁶ However, although his review for the *Theatre Notebook* suggests some interest in the individual performer, I have found little

⁵⁵ Brady, 'Juvenile Drama Publishers', p. 99.

⁵⁶ Willow White, 'Play-Texts in the Brady Collection', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 12.2-3 (2020-2021), 13-15 <<https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/play-texts-brady-collection-ccln-vol-122-3-2020-2021>> [accessed 23 July 2023].

evidence to suggest that Brady was especially invested in representations of women. The prevalence of the actress in his collection is more likely the result of her importance and novelty in print during the period of his fascination. Nevertheless, the significant amount, and variety, of ephemeral material regarding actresses in the collection provides a particularly fruitful opportunity for a study of mediation across various print genres and within the performance archive itself.

Introduction: Ephemeral Acts

This thesis uses the Brady Collection to consider the mediation of women's performance in eighteenth-century theatrical print, seeking to trace the dissemination of actresses' performances in ephemeral forms beyond the walls of the London theatres. In the prologue, I established the Brady Collection's origins as crucial context for understanding how the form and structure of the theatrical archive can mediate these performances. Now, I move to focus on the collection's ephemeral contents, and the particular interest such items hold for the contemporary theatre historian. Turning away from the printed playtext, too often treated as the only or the primary form of evidence, this project analyses forms of print categorised as ephemera: printed scraps, loose-leaf sheets, and fugitive publications. These 'throw-away' items were crucial to the development of the commercial theatre. Playbills advertised upcoming performances; tickets allowed entry to theatre buildings; portrait prints acted as mementos for adoring fans; and a growing periodical culture reported on and reviewed the day's performances.

Women had a unique role to play in the theatre's developing commercial enterprise. By the mid-eighteenth-century theatregoers were buying tickets, not only to see plays but to catch a glimpse of their favourite stage actresses. The performances of these women, mediated by the booming market for ephemeral print, became essential for the theatre's success. The following chapters turn their attention to three specific ephemeral print forms found within the Brady Collection — playbills, printed epilogues in periodicals, and printed portraits — and how they mediate women's theatrical performances.

Although this project undoubtedly contributes to an improved understanding of the position and cultural significance of the eighteenth-century actress in particular, its primary implications are taken from its distinctive self-reflexive methodology. In addition to the close

consideration of mediation at the level of print, this project acknowledges the additional mediation felt within the theatrical archive itself. Consequently, it reveals the intricate layers of mediation that pervade theatrical performance, printing, and the writing of theatre histories.

Any study of ephemera is intrinsically interdisciplinary and intermedial. As historian Adam Fox notes, these materials ‘demand a range of disciplinary competencies — linguistic and literary, musical and visual, bibliographical and historical — in order to recover and appraise [their] past significance and present value.’¹ As a result, this thesis draws from several converging disciplines and approaches: performance studies, theatre history and historiography, literary/historical/art-historical approaches to eighteenth-century theatre, print and book history, studies of celebrity and the media, and finally, approaches to doing archival research. In the following sections, I explain the key terms that have informed and shaped this study: mediation, performance, and ephemera. I then conclude with a summary of the thesis’s structure and individual chapters.

The actress and mediation

Over the past thirty years of theatre history, there has been a renewed focus on the figure of the actress, from her ‘rise’ in the Restoration period, to her ubiquity today.² New feminist methodologies have brought to light previously unconsidered matrilineal networks of knowledge, skill, and care which work to undermine dominant narratives of theatrical

¹ Adam Fox, ‘Approaches to Ephemera: Scottish Broadside, 1679-1746’, in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), pp. 117-142 (p. 119).

² See, for example: Sandra Richards, *The Rise of the English Actress* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993); Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); *Women, Theatre, and Performance: New Histories, New Historiographies*, ed. by Maggie B. Gale and Vivien Gardner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); *The Cambridge Companion to the Actress*, ed. by Maggie B. Gale and John Stokes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

inheritance.³ In a remedy to pervasive narratives of the actress-as-whore, scholars have sought to reposition the actress as an ‘emergent professional,’ social activist, and working mother.⁴ Studies of actresses and performance in the eighteenth century, especially those by Felicity Nussbaum, Laura Engel, and Helen E. M. Brooks, have been particularly influential in their framing of the actress as an agential subject with control over her career and public persona.⁵ Intermedial treatments of the actress’s depiction in fiction, art, and wider visual culture have evinced the wide dissemination of images of the actress and her performances throughout the period.⁶ Alongside these more general treatments, there have also been several book-length studies dedicated to individual actresses that tell us much about the working

³ Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Sophie Duncan, *Shakespeare’s Women and the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁴ See, for example: Kristina Straub, *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Kirsten Pulley, *Actresses and Whores: On Stage and in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Deborah C. Payne, ‘Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Rethorizing the Restoration Actress’, in *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*, ed. by J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah Payne Fisk (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 13-38; Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991); Helen Brooks, ‘Negotiating marriage and professional autonomy in the careers of eighteenth-century actresses’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 35.2 (2011), 39-75; Naomi Paxton, *Stage Rights: The Actresses’ Franchise League, Activism and Politics 1908-58* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); *Stage Mothers: Women, Work, and the Theater, 1660-1830*, ed. by Laura Engel and Elaine McGirr (Cranbury: Bucknell University Press, 2014); Chelsea M. Phillips, *Carrying All Before Her: Celebrity Pregnancy and the London Stage, 1689-1800* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2022).

⁵ Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Laura Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity: Eighteenth-Century British Actresses and Strategies for Image Making* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011); Helen E. M. Brooks, *Actresses, Gender, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage: Playing Women* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). See also Laura J. Rosenthal, ‘Entertaining Women: The Actress in Eighteenth-Century Theatre and Culture’, in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830* ed. by Daniel O’Quinn and Jane Moody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 159-174.

⁶ For the actress and popular culture, see *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Tiffany Potter (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Rosenthal. For the novel, see Ros Ballaster, *Fictions of Presence: Theatre and Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020); Emily Hodgson Anderson, *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction: Novels and the Theater, Haywood to Austen* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Laura Engel, *Austen, Actresses, and Accessories: Much Ado About Muffs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). For art, see *Notorious Muse: The Actress in British Art and Culture 1776-1812*, ed. by Robyn Asleson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) and *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists*, ed. by Robyn Asleson (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999); Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations: Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre 1768-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

lives of such women, including studies of Kitty Clive, Charlotte Charke, and Mary Robinson.⁷

It is worth pausing here to explain why I choose to use the term ‘actress’ in this study (as opposed to ‘actor’ or ‘female actor’). As Gilli Bush-Bailey says, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the actress had a ‘unique professional status’ differentiated from that of the actor.⁸ Susan Bassnett explains it thus, that ‘the actress came into being, the creature distinguished as much by her gender as by her skills as a performer’.⁹ My use of the term acknowledges the inescapable delineation of gender suggested by Bassnett’s construction but also recognises that the term has little, if anything, to do with a performer’s identity or gender expression and as much to do with the (gendered) role that actresses were seen to fulfil on the stage and in society.

Some studies of the eighteenth-century actress, as an act of recovery, have focused on the various ways in which actresses can be seen to express similar agency over their careers and public image. These ‘techniques of sincerity’ (Brooks), ‘controlled flirtations’ (Perry), or ‘self-fashioning strategies’ (Engel) are appealing in that they reinstate the subjecthood and power of the actress within cisheteropatriarchy.¹⁰ However, it is important not to wishfully overstate the degree of real control actresses possessed over their presence in print.¹¹ As

⁷ Berta Joncus, *Kitty Clive, or The Fair Songster* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019); *Introducing Charlotte Charke: Actress, Author, Enigma*, ed. by Phillip E. Baruth (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Paula Byrne, *Perdita: The Literary, Theatrical, Scandalous Life of Mary Robinson* (New York: Random House, 2006).

⁸ Gilli Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds: Actresses and Playwrights on the Late Stuart Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 13.

⁹ Susan Bassnett, ‘Struggling with the Past: Women’s Theatre in Search of a History’, *New Theatre Quarterly*, 5.18 (1989), 107-112 (p. 111). It is difficult to avoid invoking Butlerian theories of gender and performance which classify gender as ‘no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceede [sp]’ but ‘rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time—an identity instituted through a *stylized repetition of acts*’ (original emphasis). See Judith Butler, ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory’, *Theatre Journal*, 40.4 (1988), 519-531 (p. 519).

¹⁰ Brooks, *Playing Women*, p. 14; Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity*, p. 21; Perry, p. 194.

¹¹ Engel does go on to note that this ‘self-fashioning’ could only go so far; that actresses’ ‘personas were fashioned in many ways already for them by the tastes, desires, and activities of eighteenth-century audiences’ (*Fashioning Celebrity*, p. 3).

Anna Senkiw's 2019 thesis shows, an actress's persona and public image were similarly 'fashioned' by the contemporary media. As she concludes, it is critical to consider any apparent agency in light of the 'mediascape' in which an actress's name, image, and performances circulated.¹² This mediascape included various forms of theatre-related print; Senkiw chooses to focus on the periodical newspaper as a 'site of publicity' for the celebrity of actresses.¹³ My thesis applies similar considerations of celebrity and mediation to other forms of ephemeral print like playbills, printed epilogues, and portrait prints. These ephemeral forms acted as a vehicle for actresses' celebrity and potentially exemplify the interrelation of the theatre and the media in the eighteenth century.

Before outlining the wider framework of mediation I adopt in this thesis, it is necessary to outline my approach to celebrity. Theatrical celebrity flourished during this period, and actresses are a common focus of monographs and edited collections dedicated to eighteenth-century celebrity culture.¹⁴ However, the multi-faceted nature of celebrity is subject to much debate. Chris Rojek, for example, defines celebrity as the 'attribution of glamorous or notorious status to an individual within the public sphere', with the caveat that there must be some differentiation between celebrity, renown, and notoriety.¹⁵ Both Rojek and David Giles define the occurrence of celebrity as a twentieth-century phenomenon.¹⁶ Nevertheless, a

¹² Anna Senkiw, 'Made in the Media: Actresses, Celebrity, and the Periodical Press in the Late Eighteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2019), p. 299.

¹³ Senkiw, p. 18.

¹⁴ See, for instance Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity*; Heather McPherson and Tom Mole's chapters for *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture 1750-1850*, ed. by Tom Mole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Felicity Nussbaum and Shearer West's chapters for *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000*, ed. by Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Claire Brock, *The Feminization of Fame 1750-1830* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Laura Engel, 'Stage Beauties: Actresses and Celebrity Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Literature Compass*, 13.12 (2016), 749-761.

¹⁵ Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Press, 2001), p. 10.

¹⁶ David Giles, *Illusions of Immortality: A Psychology of Fame and Celebrity* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000). Chris Rojek does, however, make his claim against reasonable doubt. He acknowledges that his three 'pre-conditions' for celebrity were met by the end of the eighteenth century (Rojek, p. 9).

surfeit of recent studies have located its emergence much earlier in the eighteenth century.¹⁷

As Emrys Jones and Victoria Joule state, '[e]ven before the word was fully coined, eighteenth-century Britain understood celebrity as much as we do today.'¹⁸ In some respects, we perhaps still do not fully understand it.

Notions of celebrity often seem indefinable and hard to grasp. Its ambiguous attractiveness is the subject of Joseph Roach's *It* (2007), which turns its attention to the 'strange magnetism' that emits from individuals we may call celebrities.¹⁹ Indeed, certain actresses of the eighteenth century have been studied, in part, because of their proximity to whatever 'it' is. The related theories of 'public intimacy' (Roach) and the 'interiority effect' (Nussbaum) have sought to explain how the relationship between an actress and her audiences can be seen to be built on illusory foundations of intimacy and interior knowledge.²⁰ Through performance and print, a manufactured sense of closeness between the actress and the audience contributed to her construction as a celebrity figure.

The late eighteenth-century actress Sarah Siddons is often held up as a model of these phenomena, demonstrated by the existence of what is often called 'Siddonsmania'.²¹ Indeed, her strong presence over the following chapters is a testament to her prevailing power, her possession of Roach's 'it'. However, many of the actresses featured in my case studies operated without the benefit of 'it'. Nevertheless, they found themselves at the mercy of a

¹⁷ See, for example: *Intimacy and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Literary Culture: Public Interiors*, ed. by Emrys D. Jones and Victoria Joule (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Antoine Lilti, *The Invention of Celebrity: 1750-1850*, trans. by Lynn Jeffress (Malden, MA: Polity, 2017); Stella Tilyard, 'Celebrity in 18th-Century London', *History Today* 55 (6 June 2005), 20-27; *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture*, ed. by Mole; *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain*, ed. by Luckhurst and Moody.

¹⁸ Emrys D. Jones and Victoria Joule, 'Introduction', in *Intimacy and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Literary Culture: Public Interiors*, ed. by Emrys D. Jones and Victoria Joule, pp. 1-12 (pp. 2-3).

¹⁹ Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), p. 4.

²⁰ Roach, p. 3; Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, pp. 20-21.

²¹ Both Roach and Nussbaum use Siddons as a case study for their theories of 'public intimacy' and the 'interiority effect'. See also Senkiw, p. 119.

theatrical celebrity culture which inflected their representation and reception on stage and in the forms of media which circulated the theatre.

Celebrity is, then, more than something attributed to special individuals. As Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody observe, much work has been ‘concerned with fame (the nature of the exceptional life) rather than with celebrity (a concept which focuses attention on the interplay between individuals and institutions, markets and media).’²² As Jones and Joule put it, it is ‘not only about how many people know of you but about what drives that knowing’.²³

Celebrity is, then, perhaps better understood as a status gained as a direct result of this interplay.²⁴ Crucial to my project is Leslie Ritchie’s definition of celebrity as ‘an iterative form of public recognition that is the product of repeated media exposure across multiple media platforms’.²⁵ Through an interdisciplinary analysis of ephemeral print, I aim to identify the hidden conventions of this ‘repeated media exposure’. These ephemeral forms acted as a vehicle for actresses’ celebrity and mediated their performances to a growing audience both within, and beyond the theatre itself.

In the introduction to their special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* titled ‘Georgian Theatre in an Information Age: Media, Performance, Sociability’, Daniel O’Quinn and Gillian Russell outline the issue’s intentions to ‘orient future research on the complex intermedial relations endemic to theatrical culture’ and ‘counteract the nascent tendency to separate sociability from its mediation and to isolate media archaeology from social relations.’²⁶ As they assert, the ‘theatre was a multi-layered performance event, occurring on

²² Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody, ‘Introduction: The Singularity of Theatrical Celebrity’, in *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000*, ed. by Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody, pp. 1-14 (p. 1).

²³ Jones and Joule, p. 2.

²⁴ This is indeed how David Giles defines it: as ‘essentially a media production’ (pp. 3-4).

²⁵ Leslie Ritchie, *David Garrick and the Mediation of Celebrity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 10.

²⁶ Daniel O’Quinn and Gillian Russell, ‘Introduction’, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 27.3-4 (2015), 337-340 (p. 337).

stage and in the auditorium, but also... these performances were mediated throughout the print public sphere.’ The theatre and the print media were ‘bound up with one another throughout this period’ and often each would borrow conventions or traits from the other; plays would use playbills as stage properties and printed plays looked to imitate the theatricality of performed plays as far as was possible.²⁷ With this in mind, this thesis turns to a framework of mediation for its analysis of actresses’ performances in print. Such a framework allows access to not only *what* performances were printed, but also how the conventions of the print genre at hand influenced how these performances were disseminated and engaged with by audiences within, what Christopher B. Balme terms, the ‘theatrical public sphere’.²⁸

Mediation is a term intertwined with the related concept of mediatisation and their differing definitions have been subject to much debate.²⁹ My understanding of mediation here is much indebted to Clifford Siskin and William Warner’s highly influential edited collection *This is Enlightenment* (2010). In their introduction ‘An Invitation in the Form of an Argument,’ Siskin and Warner open with their main contention: that ‘Enlightenment is an event in the history of mediation.’³⁰ John Guillory’s preceding chapter provides the philosophical history of the term and explains its use. As he states, ‘mediation is a term closely allied to notions of transmission or dissemination but invoking the material forms of these processes, especially

²⁷ O’Quinn and Russell, p. 338.

²⁸ Christopher B. Balme, *The Theatrical Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 22.

²⁹ A helpful overview of these debates is given in David Morgan, ‘Mediation or Mediatisation: The History of the Media in the Study of Religion’, *Culture and Religion*, 12.2 (2011), 137-152. Morgan favours a wide view of mediation in which mediatisation is subsidiary as a ‘blunt account of historical change’ (p. 150). Claudi Georgi similarly gives an overview of this debate regarding theatre and performance, which tends to define mediatisation as the use of digital technology in recording or performance. She settles on ‘mediatisation’ to refer to ‘an experience of the world based on mechanical, technological or electronic (analogue as well as digital media’ and ‘mediation’ as the ‘essentially imperceptible and inevitable aspect of our general experience of the world’. See Claudi Georgi, *Liveness on Stage: Intermedial Challenges in Contemporary British Theatre and Performance* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), p. 20.

³⁰ Clifford Siskin and William Warner, ‘This is Enlightenment: An Invitation in the Form of an Argument’, in *This is Enlightenment* ed. by Clifford Siskin and William Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 1-36 (p. 1).

print.³¹ Guillory's formation offers mediation as an alternative to representation which can 'capture' the 'hidden complexity' of processes of representation.³²

Christina Lupton's approach to mediation privileges what she calls the 'consciousness of mediation' in eighteenth-century texts, that is, their signposting towards their mediation through both material form and discursive content.³³ For Lupton, mediation is not only a scholarly descriptor for Enlightenment — Siskin and Warner's 'event' — but also 'a phenomenon... apparent to the writers and readers caught up in its development.'³⁴ Her formation of mediation crucially involves the moments following a text's creation; its circulation and use by readers, collectors, and researchers. I agree with her assertion that mediation 'extends to the complicated and multifaceted present and future of the text as object.'³⁵ My method combines considerations of technological convention, content, and the text 'as object' in its analysis of the mediation of performance in print and the collected archive.

It is worth briefly addressing here the arguments made by Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin in their much-cited work on remediation.³⁶ To distil their argument, remediation is not exclusive to digital media; all mediation is better understood as remediation. I agree with their assessment behind this assertion: that no media is new because all media remains dependent on its predecessors.³⁷ However, for this project, which investigates the interrelated mediation of women's performance on stage as well as in print, it seems appropriate to keep to 'mediation' as an all-encompassing term. To summarise, I conceive of mediation as the

³¹ John Guillory, 'Enlightening Mediation', in *This is Enlightenment*, ed. by Clifford Siskin and William Warner, pp. 37-63 (p. 37).

³² Guillory, p. 7.

³³ Christina Lupton, *Knowing Books: The Consciousness of Mediation in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

³⁴ Lupton, p. 10.

³⁵ Lupton, p. 5.

³⁶ Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

³⁷ Bolter and Grusin, p. 47.

process (or processes) by which information and experience are transferred via a medium, implicating both content and material form. Although my conception of mediation remains nonexclusive to print — both performance and the archive mediates — I acknowledge that the movement from performance to ephemeral print raises its own unique considerations.

Defining ephemera and the ephemeral

This project takes theatrical ephemera as its subject of enquiry, itself a sub-category of the category of ‘ephemera’ which has defied consistent definition by scholars, archivists, librarians, and collectors alike. Nonetheless, several recent studies of eighteenth-century culture have contributed to the emergence of a new field of ephemera studies.³⁸ This project is explicitly indebted to the varied work of Gillian Russell which has paved the way in demonstrating how to think and write about such seemingly disparate materials, reiterating their importance for the study of eighteenth-century theatre and culture.³⁹

‘Ephemera’ can refer to an enormous range of documents: pamphlets, tickets, playbills, receipts, packaging, advertisements, and much more. Maurice Rickards, the twentieth-century ephemera collector, defines ephemera as ‘transient everyday items of paper’ that ‘are manufactured specifically to use and throw away’. Rickards’s definition draws attention to the ephemeron’s fleeting existence by invoking the term’s etymological (and entomological) origins: ‘They flourish for a moment and are done. As with the mayfly... which lives but for

³⁸ See, for example, *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013); Tim Somers, *Ephemeral Print Culture in Early Modern England: Sociability, Politics, and Collecting* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021); *Practices of Ephemera in Early Modern England*, ed. by Callan Davies, Hannah Lilley, and Catherine Richardson (London: Routledge, 2023).

³⁹ See, for instance, *The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century: Print, Sociability, and the Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); ‘Sarah Sophia Bank’s Private Theatricals: Ephemera, Sociability, and the Archiving of Fashionable Life’, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 27.3 (2015), 535-555; ‘Ephemeraphilia: A Queer History’, *Angelaki: Journal of Theoretical Humanities*, 23.1 (2018), 174-186; ‘“Announcing each day the performances”: Playbills, Ephemerality, and Romantic Period Media/Theater History’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 54.2 (2015), 241-268; *The Playbill and its People: Australia’s Earliest Printed Document* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2011); *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

a day, theirs is a brief and modest glory.’⁴⁰ Derived from Greek and medieval Latin, the term ephemera relates to a genus of insects which only live for one day.⁴¹ Remarkably, one must look to the *OED*’s draft additions of 1993 (and under ‘ephemeron, *n.*’) to find any mention of its more common usage as referring to printed matter, disparagingly described as ‘of no lasting value except to collectors’.⁴²

The demarcation of printed ephemera as a category emerged in the mid-twentieth century. Collectors of printed memorabilia had been operating for decades, but in the 1960s and 70s, there emerged an organised effort to promote the collection and study of printed ephemera as a legitimate and scholarly interest. John Lewis’s *Printed Ephemera* (1962), widely considered a foundational text for the field of ephemera studies, integrates the study of ephemera into the wider purview of printing history.⁴³ The private collections, practices, and work of ephemera collectors like Rickards and Brady — within the field of knowledge that Gillian Russell has termed ‘ephemerology’ — have been crucial to the development of the emerging field of ephemera studies.⁴⁴

In 1967, the ephemera collection of John de Monins Johnson (1882-1956), known colloquially as his ‘Sanctuary of Printing’, was transferred from Oxford University Press to the Bodleian. Johnson’s collection of ‘common printed things’, now named the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, is one of the world’s biggest and most significant collections of such materials.⁴⁵ Johnson sets the parameters of his collecting as

everything which would ordinarily go into the waste paper basket after use,
everything printed which is not actually a book. Another way of describing it is to say

⁴⁰ Rickards, *This is Ephemera*, p. 7.

⁴¹ ‘ephemera, *n.2*’, in *OED*, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/63197> [accessed 2 March 2023].

⁴² ‘ephemeron, *n.*’, in *OED*, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/63212> [accessed 2 March 2023].

⁴³ John Lewis, *Printed Ephemera: The Changing Uses of Type and Letterforms in English and American Printing* (Ipswich: W. S. Cowell, 1962).

⁴⁴ Russell, *The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century*, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Bodleian Libraries, *John Johnson and the History of the Collection* (2023) <<https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/node/2222371/>> [accessed 13 February 2023].

that we gather everything which a museum or library would not ordinarily accept if it were offered as a gift...⁴⁶

Eight years later in 1975, Maurice Rickards founded the Ephemera Society (UK), a society of academics, museums, archives, dealers, and collectors with a shared interest in printed ephemera.⁴⁷ Rickards published various reference works for these ‘minor transient documents of everyday life’.⁴⁸ But, what exactly counts as ephemera continues to be the subject of debate.

As Murphy and O’Driscoll note in the introduction to their edited collection *Studies in Ephemera* (2013), the wide variety of forms which can be categorised as ephemera ‘suggests that the category is defined by the low value placed on each piece rather than by any coherent categorisation.’⁴⁹ However, they immediately question a categorisation of ephemera according to a redundancy of sentimental or monetary value and the wider collection acknowledges the discursive roots of such assumptions.⁵⁰ For example, Paula McDowell’s chapter shows how the category of ‘ephemera’ can be seen to develop alongside, and in opposition to, the category of ‘literature’. She argues that ephemera ‘is not so much a logical or viable practical category as the residue of prior classifications’ which have gone on to influence debates regarding ephemera, its research, and its conservation.⁵¹ Murphy and O’Driscoll contend that, as a result, ‘ephemeral objects share... a marginal position with

⁴⁶ Cited in *The John Johnson Collection: Catalogue of an Exhibition* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1971), p. 11.

⁴⁷ The Ephemera Society, *About the Ephemera Society* (2023) <<http://www.ephemera-society.org.uk/about.html>> [accessed 9 March 2023].

⁴⁸ Maurice Rickards, *Collecting Printed Ephemera* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988), p. 7. See also his posthumous *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator and Historian* (London: British Library, 2000).

⁴⁹ Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll, ‘Introduction: “Fugitive Pieces” and “Gaudy Books”’: Textual, Historical, and Visual Interpretations of Ephemera in the Long Eighteenth Century’, in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll, pp. 1-30 (p. 3).

⁵⁰ See also Sandro Jung, ‘Literary Ephemera: Understanding the Media of Literacy and Culture Formation’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 44.2 (2020), 1-16.

⁵¹ Paula McDowell, ‘Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of “Ephemera” and “Literature” in Eighteenth-Century British Writing’, in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll, pp. 31-54 (pp. 31-32).

respect to the kinds of works on which literary studies and art history have ordinarily concentrated'.⁵² R. C. Alston's article 'The Eighteenth-Century Non-Book: Observations on Printed Ephemera' (1981) heralded 'the beginning of a bibliographical voyage of discovery' for ephemera studies.⁵³ In the article Alston outlines, what he sees as, the potential for ephemera research facilitated by the development of the ESTC (English Short Title Catalogue). But, despite the 'comprehensive inclusion' of the project, many ephemeral forms were excluded from the ESTC, including playbills. Their exclusion was a practical choice — Alston estimates that including them would have added almost 50,000 items to the database — but it is this practical difficulty associated with ephemeral print forms that has long disqualified them from scholarly examination matching that given to the codex book.⁵⁴

For many librarians and archivists, the definition of ephemera is a mostly practical one. Ephemera is 'anything that is paper but not a book'.⁵⁵ Unlike the solid, stable, literary codex book, ephemera is non-literary, cheap, unstable, 'throw away', and 'difficult'.⁵⁶ Ephemera is difficult because 'it continues to resist conventional treatment in acquisition, arrangement and storage and it may not justify full cataloguing'.⁵⁷ Ephemera, unlike the book, has a 'hard time standing up'.⁵⁸ However, I share Gillian Russell's reservations that we do not define ephemera as simply in opposition to the codex book.⁵⁹ Defining ephemera against the codex book risks a false attribution of stability to both categories. Russell cites Jacques Derrida who states that these categories are 'always unstable' as "'fine paper" in all its forms can become

⁵² Murphy and O'Driscoll, 'Introduction', p. 5.

⁵³ R. C. Alston, 'The Eighteenth-Century Non-Book: Observations on Printed Ephemera', in *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: fünftes Wolfenbütteler Symposium vom 1. Bis 3. November 1977*, ed. by Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), pp. 343-360 (p. 344).

⁵⁴ Alston, p. 345.

⁵⁵ Liz Yamada, 'What Should I Do with Ephemera? Looking After Ephemera in a Library', *Art Libraries Journal*, 31.4 (2006), 14-20 (p. 14).

⁵⁶ Alan Clinton, *Printed Ephemera: Collection Organisation and Access* (London: Clive Bingley, 1981), p. 13.

⁵⁷ Clinton, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Timothy G. Young, 'Evidence: Toward a Library Definition of Ephemera', *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage*, 4.1 (2003), 11-26 (p. 16).

⁵⁹ Russell, *The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century*, p. 13.

something thrown out'.⁶⁰ This rings true for my experience with Brady's collection, which contains both scraps which used to be books, and books made of scraps. The categorial fluidity of his material calls into question any definition of ephemera which is diametrically opposed to the codex book.

Timothy G. Young determines that the category of ephemera remains problematic because it 'is intended to describe substantives but, instead, functions as an abstract.'⁶¹ However, as noted in a recent 'state of the discipline' article for *Book History*, 'recent scholarship suggests that ephemera is moving towards a more logical historiography, one that agrees on the elusiveness of the category'.⁶² Indeed, scholars have moved to accept, and even embrace, ephemera's 'fuzzy edges'.⁶³ Gillian Russell invokes Alan Clinton's idea of ephemera as 'located somewhere on a continuum between printing and bound volumes at one end and small scraps of manuscript at the other'.⁶⁴ The idea of ephemera as material located on a spectrum (rather than in a category of its own) allows for a consideration of various ephemeral printed objects, used in a variety of ways, both in and out of Brady's homemade books. Brady's theatrical portraits, for example, have made their way from book frontispiece, to extracted plate, to scrapbook page. Rather than being defined by its antithetical relationship to the book, printed ephemera is augmented by movement in and out of its leaves.

Similarly, embracing the messiness of ephemera leaves space for the productive conflation of the substantive and the abstract. As Russell says, 'ephemerality not only concerns the

⁶⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Paper Machine*, trans. by Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), p. 43.

⁶¹ Young, p. 24.

⁶² Anne Garner, 'State of the Discipline: Throwaway History: Towards a Historiography of Ephemera', *Book History*, 24.1 (2021), 244-263 (p. 259).

⁶³ Martin Andrews, 'The Importance of Ephemera', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 434-450 (p. 435).

⁶⁴ Clinton, pp. 15-16; Russell, *The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century*, p. 12.

durability of the documentary trace itself but also the event to which the ephemeral document refers, enables, or makes visible'.⁶⁵ In my project, ephemera remains a partially practical categorisation. Christ Church Library refers to Brady's collection as 'theatrical ephemera'. However, within this project, ephemera, and the ephemeral, are used both as categories of printed material and as an analogy for the performative moment to which that printed material refers.

The value of such an approach can be seen in critical and queer approaches to ephemera and performance. Jose Esteban Muñoz, for example, insists on the material nature of ephemera as 'all things that remain after a performance, a kind of evidence that has transpired but certainly not the thing itself'. The 'traces, glimmers, residues, and specks' of ephemera are 'a mode of proofing and producing arguments often worked by minoritarian culture and criticism makers.'⁶⁶ Ephemera can be revelatory (and revolutionary) precisely because of its potential to reveal histories overlooked by official documentation.⁶⁷ Ephemera is queer because it stands in opposition to institutional categorisation, traditional academic inquiry, and its stable definition. As Russell warns, '[t]he academic study of the ephemeral therefore needs to be conscious of its status as a "queer act" and the ephemerality of its own practices, voice, and presence in the archive, and indeed of the archive's impermanence.'⁶⁸ It seems that for the elusive scrap, paying attention to the story of the archive becomes ever more important. With this in mind, my project turns to various approaches to performance, some of which are themselves ephemeral, as I think about forms of printing and the theatrical archive.

Approaches to performance, print, and the archive

⁶⁵ Russell, *The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century*, p. 21.

⁶⁶ Jose Esteban Muñoz, 'Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts', *Women & Performance*, 8.2 (1996), 5-16 (p. 10).

⁶⁷ Muñoz, p. 9. See also Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

⁶⁸ Russell, 'Ephemeraphilia', p. 182.

Printed ephemera seems as endemic to performance as ephemerality itself. This ontology of performance as constantly disappearing has been the common refrain in performance studies for many decades.⁶⁹ As Peggy Phelan asserts in her book *Unmarked* (2003), performance ‘becomes itself’ through its ephemerality:

Performance’s only life is in the present. Performance cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations: once it does so, it becomes something other than performance. Performance... becomes itself through disappearance.⁷⁰

For Phelan, performance cannot be accessed beyond the point of its original existence. It cannot be mediated because that which is mediated becomes something other than performance itself.

So, what does performance become through printing? That has been the focus of scholars in the fields of both theatre history and book history who have considered the relationship between performance and print. Approaches to the ‘whole show’ of the eighteenth-century stage have encouraged an expansion of the purview to include more than just the mainpiece. Included in this expansion has been a renewed interest in theatre-associated print: prompt books, songbooks, advertisements, and prologues and epilogues, as well as published plays.⁷¹ This focus on forms of print has led to further consideration of the apparent tension between the stage and the page.

⁶⁹ Paul Clarke and Julian Warren, ‘Ephemera: Between Archival Objects and Events’, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 30.1 (2009), 45-66 (p. 47).

⁷⁰ Phelan, p. 146

⁷¹ See *The Stage and the Page: London’s “Whole Show” in the Eighteenth-Century Theatre*, ed. by George Winchester Stone Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) and *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers, and Afterpieces: The Rest of the Eighteenth-Century London Stage*, ed. by Daniel James Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagle (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007).

Tiffany Stern's work on 'theatrical documents' has been useful in its assertion that this 'stage/page tension... is early modern in origin.'⁷² Various studies have further explored this dichotomy of stage and page within the early modern context, with special attention paid to how technological innovations in printing revealed possibilities for performance, or rather a sense of theatricality, to be reproduced in print.⁷³ For this study, I am particularly interested in the role that typography has to play in the mediation of performance in text. However, I also consider pictorial forms of print (such as the printed portrait), acknowledging the relationship between text, performance, and image in printed ephemera. Julie Stone Peters's *Theatre of the Book* (2003) stands as a particularly effective model for thinking about the interconnectedness of the theatre and the printed text in the eighteenth century.⁷⁴ Despite the specificity of its name, her book takes a wide view of theatrical printing, looking also at playbills, printed portraits, engravings of theatrical architecture and other ephemera 'as objects with complex conceptual genealogies and equally complex roles in the unfolding of theatrical culture.'⁷⁵

As such, Peters's work contributes to the ongoing expansion of the history of the book to include printing which lay beyond the codex, its form, use, and reception — that which D. F.

⁷² Tiffany Stern, 'Introduction', in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Tiffany Stern (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2020), pp. 1-13 (p. 2). See also Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁷³ See, for example: *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Tiffany Stern; Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England*; and Claire M. L. Bourne, *Typographies of Performance in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). The more general relationship between orality and print has been investigated by Paula McDowell in *The Invention of the Oral: Print Commerce and Fugitive Voices in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁷⁴ Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). See also Valerie Fairbrass, "'What printers ink does each week for the theatres": Printing for the Theatre in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Publishing History*, 67 (2010), 39-63 and Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The Publication of Plays in London 1660-1800: Playwrights, Publishers and the Market* (London: The British Library, 2015).

⁷⁵ Peters, p. 2.

McKenzie has called ‘a sociology of texts’.⁷⁶ The place of ephemera within this changing field is defended by Michael Harris in his chapter for the *Oxford Companion to the Book* (2010) in which he firmly asserts that ‘the separation of books from the printed archive and the privileging of the codex... seem increasingly untenable’.⁷⁷ Indeed, a consideration of theatrical printing, by its very nature, invokes questions regarding the relationship between performance and the archive.

In her article ‘Performance Remains’ (2001), directly responding to Phelan’s conception of performance as disappearance, Rebecca Schneider asks:

If we consider performance as a process of disappearance, of an ephemerality read as vanishment (versus material remains), are we limiting ourselves to an understanding of performance predetermined by our cultural habituation to the logic of the archive?

The ‘logic of the archive’ to which she refers designates performance, in similar terms to those used by Phelan, as ‘that which does not remain.’⁷⁸ Through a discussion of performance historiography, ritual, and historical re-enactment, she instead encourages scholars to imagine how the archive can be seen to ‘depend upon performance’. For Schneider, performance creates remains which then act to frame that vanishing event *as performance*.⁷⁹

The archive is often defined as both a physical space (a library, a museum) and an abstract site of knowledge and information. These concepts can, of course, overlap; Christ Church Library, for example, is both a physical location and a symbol of abstracted academic knowledge. The archive — commonly imagined as the written, or printed record — can also be expanded to include many other types of knowledge creation and transfer, including performance. The interaction between embodied performance, understood as repertoire, and the archive, is similarly the focus of Diana Taylor’s *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003).

⁷⁶ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁷⁷ Michael Harris, ‘Printed Ephemera’, in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez, S. J. Woudhuysen, and M. R. Woudhuysen, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), I, pp. 120-128 (p. 128).

⁷⁸ Rebecca Schneider, ‘Performance Remains’, *Performance Research*, 6.2 (2001), 100-108 (p. 100).

⁷⁹ Schneider, p. 101, my own emphasis.

Her book tactfully expounds the role of performance in culture; its ability to transmit knowledge and memory and its role in the formation of identity. Taylor's focus is primarily on the repertoire — that which 'enacts embodied memory' — but she similarly acknowledges that 'the archive and the repertoire exist in a constant state of interaction'.⁸⁰ However, as Taylor warns, '[t]here are several myths attending the archive.' She continues, 'One is that it is unmediated, that objects located there might mean something outside the framing of the archival impetus itself.'⁸¹ Taylor, along with others, reiterates the significance of the role of archives in the writing of history and the creation of power.⁸²

Elin Diamond notes of performance archives:

The archive sits in its silent vault, but when you and I take hold of it, it becomes a performance site, a materialization of an implied narrative already spatialized and arranged. Like performance, the archive is a site of transformation, its "material substrate" transformed by touch and interpretation into knowledge. Like performance, the archive solicits and interacts with a reader/spectator who, drawn by texts, objects, or perhaps something unlooked for, is seduced into desirous identification with writers, figures, and events.⁸³

Here, Diamond draws our attention to both our own mediating effect on the derivation of history from the archive, and the 'implied narrative' that sits 'already spatialized' before the researcher sits down at their desk. The archive — or in this case, the collection — frames the performance past and mediates its interpretation in the present. The material within this study is a direct result of Brady's collecting choices. The categorisation and organisation of his collection, in addition to the curatorial choices made by the library following its donation, 'act on performance, they intervene in the event and alter its unfolding'.⁸⁴ In this thesis, 'Brady Collection' (capitalised) is used to specifically refer to the collection's current state

⁸⁰ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 20-21.

⁸¹ Taylor, p. 19.

⁸² See also Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, 'Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 1-19.

⁸³ Elin Diamond, 'Performance in the Archives', *Theatre History Studies*, 28 (2008), 20-26 (p. 22).

⁸⁴ Clarke and Warren, p. 48.

within Christ Church Library, which may or may not differ from Brady's original collecting practice. The phrase in lowercase, 'Brady's collection', is used to give priority to Brady's decisions and categorisation.

Throughout this project, I have allowed the content and organisation of Brady's collection to direct and drive my research. The print genres discussed in each chapter were, in some respects, chosen for me by Brady himself. They pertain to the richest areas of his collecting and cover the period of which he was most fond; the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century. Samples of each genre were narrowed down through collaboration with Brady's organisational method. For example, the printed epilogues from the *Lady's Magazine* discussed in Chapter 4, taken from a large selection of almost 800 paratexts, were chosen because the *Lady's Magazine* was the only publication that Brady chose to label. The playbills discussed in Chapter 2 were chosen because they represent the majority of Brady's small selection of bills. At times I have been guided by Brady's notation and typed comments. Arlette Farge may say that I have given in to the 'allure' of the archive.⁸⁵ Each choice I have made during this research has been fundamentally affected by the mediation present within the collection itself. However, as a study of mediation, this thesis is inherently critical of how the collection attempts to shape histories.

I have also been influenced by previous attempts towards a self-reflexive frame to theatre and performance. Within eighteenth-century studies, Laura Engel's *Women, Performance and the Material of Memory* (2018) includes the archive in its narrative of theatrical memory-making. Engel, 'operating as an archival tourist', proposes 'a methodology that views archival materials through the lens of performance, keeping in mind the language of props, staging,

⁸⁵ See Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archive*, trans. by Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

embodied presence, and desire,' in other words, imagining 'the archive in 3-D'.⁸⁶ Engel places the researcher in the position of a tourist, whose presence in the archive has a felt impact on the interpretation of historical performance materials. She argues that figuring the researcher as a tourist 'allows for a self-conscious mediation between ourselves and the materials we study'.⁸⁷ Here, Engel is explicitly aware of the relationship between the researcher and the archive and employs that relationship as a key aspect of her study. My research into Brady's collection has involved a level of embodiment. As the collection is uncatalogued and without finding aids, much of my investigation has relied on my physical presence and body within the archive; pulling books and boxes off shelves with little to no knowledge of what was inside. I experienced the collection as a tourist exploring Brady's life as a researcher, rather than as a researcher searching for a particular shelfmark. Although this brought with it several logistical difficulties — later exacerbated by COVID-19 lockdowns — it also gave me a unique opportunity to view the collection unhindered by metadata and keyword searches.

I have likewise been motivated by previous work within theatre history and historiography which has sought to explore new methodological possibilities for studying historical performance and its documents. Of note is Jacky Bratton's *New Readings in Theatre History* which opens with a fierce defence of New Historicist, cultural, and otherwise interpretive approaches to theatre history. However, she saw the publication of the book in 1993 as addressing the continuing lack of 'historiographically challenging and exciting' suggestions of what such approaches could achieve.⁸⁸ Each chapter of *New Readings* stands as a model for what could be possible. Two approaches set out within the third chapter have been

⁸⁶ Laura Engel, *Women, Performance and the Material of Memory: The Archival Tourist, 1780-1915* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 12.

⁸⁷ Engel, *Women, Performance and the Material of Memory*, p. 4.

⁸⁸ Bratton, p. 4.

particularly useful: Bratton's concept of 'intertheatricality' and the suggestion of a renewed attention paid to playbills, the latter of which will be discussed further in the first chapter.

Intertheatricality is, at its core, 'an awareness of the elements and interactions that make up the whole web of mutual understanding between potential audiences and their players':

An intertheatrical reading goes beyond the written. It seeks to articulate the mesh of connections between all kinds of theatre texts, and between texts and their users. It posits that all entertainments, including the dramas, that are performed within a single theatrical tradition are more or less interdependent. They are uttered in a language, shared by successive generations, which includes not only speech and the systems of the stage – scenery, costume, lighting and so forth – but also genres, conventions and, very importantly, memory. The fabric of that memory, shared by audience and players, is made up of dances, spectacles, plays and songs, experienced as particular performances – a different selection, of course, for each individual – woven upon knowledge of the performers' other current and previous roles, and their personae on and off the stage.⁸⁹

In many ways this project continues to favour 'the written', but it remains sensitive to the idea that theatre took place (and continues to take place) beyond the constructed binary of the stage and the page; that the 'mesh of connections' of which Bratton speaks was formed because of performance's ability to permeate the wider media and culture that surrounded the eighteenth-century stage. I suggest that these connections become increasingly visible when we consider the printing of performance beyond the playtext but in no way suggest this to be the limit of such an approach.

Chapter structure and summary

Chapters of this thesis are generally structured by print genre. The first three chapters are each dedicated to a form of ephemeral print: playbills, printed epilogues, and portraits. The concluding fourth chapter turns back to the archive to consider how the organisation of the Brady Collection itself mediates the researcher's view of the theatrical past. This structure allows for the sufficient consideration of generic and material form alongside context, by pairing specific case studies with some broad inferences about a particular form's

⁸⁹ Bratton, pp. 37-38.

conventions and impulses. Although familiar names appear throughout each chapter, I also wanted to avoid a structure that would privilege the individual narrative (and potential exceptionality) of certain actresses over the power and influence of the print forms themselves.

This structure has also been greatly influenced by the material circumstances of the collection and the conditions of research within which this thesis was written. Structuring the thesis chapters by genre, and then further by printer or publisher, seemed one obvious method of approaching the overwhelming quantity of uncatalogued source material within Brady's collection. Further, most of the initial planning and research for this thesis was carried out during, and in the immediate aftermath of, the COVID-19 lockdowns and consequent library closures. As I spent much of my research time working from photographs I had requested, it was unfeasible to attempt this project without some degree of narrowing down. In most cases, I was guided by what seemed to be Brady's interests and notations. However, despite this selection of specific printers or theatres for case studies in each chapter, there is an attempt throughout to make comment and draw some conclusions regarding the forms more generally, as substantiated by archival data.

The first chapter begins by looking at that which has been called a 'central point of articulation between theatres and their public spheres,' the eighteenth-century theatrical playbill.⁹⁰ As such this chapter contributes to the active and growing scholarly interest in the historical playbill as the subject of interpretive analysis. It argues for the playbill as an overlooked resource that played a significant role in the construction of an actress's career, as exemplified through a case study that considers a run of playbills from the period of Sarah

⁹⁰ Christopher Balme, 'Playbills and the Theatrical Public Sphere', in *Representing the Past: Essays in Performance Historiography*, ed. by Charlotte M. Canning and Thomas Postlewait (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010), pp. 37-62 (p. 39).

Siddons's return to the stage alongside Eliza O'Neill. I argue that playbills played a defining role in the construction of O'Neill as a successor to Siddons. Combining both close and distant reading, this chapter exemplifies how playbills might be used beyond simply as a repository of information regarding who and what was on the stage and when. The chapter concludes with a short consideration of the printed playbill as a prop for performance.

The typographic factors raised in the first chapter are explored further in the second chapter, which turns its attention to a particular point of contact between actresses' performances and print: the printed epilogue. Specifically, it considers the printing of these epilogues in periodical magazines, as an alternative to existing approaches which tend to focus on the printed playtext. Epilogues, as a specific kind of performance, mediated the space between actress-as-herself and actress-as-character. This chapter considers how these mediating performances were translated into print through an analysis of their typography, outlining the methods through which printed epilogues mark the theatricality and physicality of actresses' performances. This chapter also reflects on how the miscellaneous form of the magazine might have affected the reading of these epilogues, by considering the associations forged by other content printed alongside them.

Supplementing the preceding discussions regarding the mediation of performance in text, the third chapter considers the visual mediation of actresses' performances in theatrical portrait prints published by John Bell as part of his *Shakespeare* and *British Theatre* series. It is argued that Bell 'sponsored the largest accumulation of engraved full-length portraits of performers... in theatrical history' and that these prints exemplify the 'absolute centrality of actresses' in the late eighteenth century.'⁹¹ Produced primarily as play illustrations, Bell's

⁹¹ Kalman A. Burnim and Phillip H. Highfill Jr., *John Bell, Patron of British Theatrical Portraiture: A Catalog of the Theatrical Portraits of His Editions of Bell's Shakespeare and Bell's British Theatre* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), p. 20; Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, pp. 256-266.

prints also circulated as loose-leaf prints for collection and home decoration. Ultimately, I argue that, rather than referring to a specific past performance, these prints mediate an imagined instance of performance — real or otherwise — that is read against an actress's personal circumstances, performance repertoire, and dramatic likeness. Bell is an interesting case study for a consideration of mediation as many of his prints feature actresses in roles that they did not perform. This chapter therefore begins to consider how the printed remains of performance appear to contribute to the creation of repertoire and lines of performances for actresses.

Such matters remain central to the concluding fourth chapter, which looks at the mediation of the archive and the theatrical collection itself. Through reflection on the preceding work and specific analysis of two of Brady's scrapbooks, this chapter outlines the importance of an awareness of mediation for the writing of theatre and performance histories. Returning to the collector himself, as outlined in the prologue, I begin by pointing to how the Brady Collection is mediated by Brady's personal circumstances and proximity to power. I then consider two of Brady's theatrical scrapbooks: one dedicated to Sarah Siddons, and the other relating to the wider Kemble family. I conclude that, within the Brady Collection, eighteenth-century performances by women are mediated by Brady's archival performance of collecting and curation. In varying ways, playbills, printed epilogues, and portrait prints, all aim to recreate an actress's performance in print. These performances are transformed by the formal features of their printed genre. Equally, however, they are transformed by their movement into the collected archive.

This thesis also includes three appendices: a typed version of Brady's 'Key to the Collection'; a list of the eighteenth-century playbills in the Brady Collection; and a list of the eighteenth-century prologues and epilogues in the Brady Collection which have been taken from periodicals. These appendices have been included as they constitute the crucial prerequisite

work that was required to conduct research within an uncatalogued collection. They have also been offered as basic finding aids for other researchers who may be interested in working with the Brady Collection and its contents. An important aim of this thesis is to, not only reveal the intricacies of mediation in eighteenth-century theatrical ephemera but also make the Brady Collection — a rich and unique source for theatre history — more accessible to the wider scholarly community.

1. ‘Capital Distinctions’: The Mediating Power of the Playbill

In a 1789 biography of the actress Ann Catley by one Miss E. Ambross, we are introduced to Catley’s sister Mary, known as Poll, who started work as an actress following a potentially fatal case of venereal disease in the 1760s:

Poll, however, recovered, and having a tolerable voice, and a name which would make an attracting figure in a country play bill, got an engagement in a strolling company, from which Fame has neglected to report the incidents of her life.¹

Previously, Mary had done some minor acting alongside Ann in Dublin. Ann had ostensibly brought Mary to Ireland with her to babysit her two children, but they had performed together in May 1766, with Mary taking the role of Bellair in *Miss in Her Teens* (1747), credited as ‘Miss Catley’s Sister’.² Despite possessing a face ‘ravaged’ by pox, the biographer Miss Ambross suggests that Poll might be successful in her career on account of her attractive name.³ Not only could she benefit from her sister’s popularity, but taking the name of ‘Poll’ aligned her with the sexualised character of Polly Peachum from Gay’s satiric production *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728), a role in which by then her sister was already finding acclaim.⁴

Although it is unclear how successful Mary was as a performer, this anecdote hints at the importance of playbills for the mediation of performance, especially for actresses. How an actress appeared in the bills could make or break her career. The use of ‘Miss’ or ‘Mrs’ on the playbill symbolised more than just marital status. ‘Miss’ emphasised a child-like innocence fitting for any ingenue whereas ‘Mrs’, used often by unmarried actresses, provided protection from the critical investigation of her private character, ‘a shield that protected the

¹ Miss Ambross, *The Life and Memoirs of the Late Miss Ann Catley* (London: 1789), p. 40, ECCO.

² *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1820: A Calendar of Performances*, ed. by John C. Greene, 6 vols. (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2011), II, p. 1046.

³ Ambross, p. 33.

⁴ Ambross, p. 37. For the sexualisation of the role of Polly Peachum, see Cheryl Wanko, *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2003), pp. 58-60.

wearer from all *frivolous* suitors'.⁵ Contrived stage names were also common. Dorothy Jordan, for instance, styled herself as Mrs Jordan despite being neither married nor a Jordan.⁶ Sarah Harlowe reportedly chose her name — a potential reference to Samuel Richardson's novel *Clarissa* (1748) — because it would 'read agreeably' on the bill.⁷ For actresses, the playbill becomes a document of reputation; both a physical symbol of their celebrity and a safeguard against the negative connotations of stage performance. In other cases, such as with Mary Catley, it was one method through which to bolster their recognition and attractiveness through intertextual and intertheatrical association with fictional characters, certain dramatic roles, and even other actresses.

These examples also point to the power of playbills as, in some cases, the first medium through which performances were experienced. The playbill was, in many ways, the performer's first contact with their audience. It was, as Christopher Balme suggests, a 'central point of articulation between theatres and their public spheres.'⁸ However, not only did playbills provide information to potential theatregoers passing them on the street, but they similarly set expectations regarding the theatrical event and framed audiences' interactions with the performers on stage, before, during, and after the performance itself. In such a way, playbills played a key role in how actresses' performances were 'read' and understood beyond the walls of the theatre. Despite this, they continue to be vastly underexploited by scholars of eighteenth-century theatrical culture.

In this chapter, I explore further the role of the playbill in the mediation of eighteenth-century women's performance. After a general discussion of the playbill form and its value for

⁵ James Boaden, *The Life of Mrs. Jordan*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), I, p. 30.

⁶ Ann Pope and Mrs Powell took a similar route by styling themselves as Mrs Spencer and Mrs Farmer prior to their marriages. See Boaden, *The Life of Mrs. Jordan*, I, pp. 29-30.

⁷ Joseph Haslewood, *The Secret History of the Green Room: Containing Authentic and Entertaining Memoirs of the Actors and Actresses in the Three Theatres Royal*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for J. Owen, 1795), II, p. 262, ECCO.

⁸ Balme, 'Playbills and the Theatrical Public Sphere', p. 39.

researchers, I turn to a case study of several playbills taken from the Brady Collection which cover the period of Irish actress Eliza O'Neill's rise at Covent Garden and Sarah Siddons's subsequent return to the stage following her apparent retirement in 1812. Exemplifying the value of playbills for interpretative analysis, I show how the playbills figure O'Neill as Siddons's successor through their typography, content, and use of printed convention.

I contend that the theatrical playbill is a much-overlooked form which plays a significant role in the construction of an actress's career. As both a repository of information and a site and subject of ludic gesture, the playbill relies on an informed reading by its audiences, aware of the complex intertheatrical connections between players, parts, and plays, made physical by the printing of words on the bill. Ultimately, I argue that, by the late eighteenth century, playbills became critical for the construction of an actress's career and public 'personnage' — that which Jessica Goodman defines as a kind of alternative public self, signified by the names of actors and actresses, 'put on stage as characters in their own right'.⁹ In a sense, playbills functioned as a kind of second stage on which their careers and personal lives could be shaped, debated, and sold to willing spectators.

Resituating the playbill

Playbills have long been mined for theatrical information. Projects such as *The London Stage* realised the playbill's potential for the recovery of crucial raw data regarding who and what was on the stage and when.¹⁰ Although they cannot be relied on as absolute fact, they are one of the few widely available sources for this kind of information due to their proliferation and popularity as a collectible object. However, according to Jacky Bratton, the playbill also

⁹ Jessica Goodman, 'Personne to Personnage: Names, Fame, and Identity Games in Eighteenth-Century Theatre', *Romance Studies*, 31.3-4 (2013), 212-223 (p. 218).

¹⁰ *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment: Compiled from Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Period*, ed. by William van Lennep and others, 11 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960-1968).

offers ‘evidence for... the most difficult and evanescent aspects of theatre history – the expectations and disposition of the audience, their personal experience of theatre.’ In her 2003 monograph she argues that, although there was a growing scholarly interest regarding playbills, they remain an underexploited and mostly ‘unimaginatively used’ source.¹¹ Since then, Christopher Balme has called for a reappraisal of playbills as a source which requires further investigation ‘from a theoretical as well as an empirical perspective.’ In his work, Balme theorises the relationship between the playbill and the ‘theatrical public’, understanding the playbill’s role as both facilitating and mediating communication between the theatre as institution and this public, both potential and actual. Balme posits two potential reasons for the lack of work on playbills: firstly, the misapprehension that information found on playbills can be considered as simple factual data unworthy of deep analysis, and secondly, the preoccupation of theatre history with the performative event. As he says, playbills do not offer access to the event, but rather to its, relatively unglamorous, preceding advertisement.¹²

Yet, there is much to be gained from deep analysis of the theatrical playbill. Gillian Russell has expounded on the importance of the theatrical playbill for Romantic print culture and as a record of cultural life in early colonised Australia.¹³ By the eighteenth century, she says, the playbill had begun to be recognised as ‘capable of mediating the fleetingness of social experience’ and so became a popular object of collection as a ‘mode of history making’.¹⁴ In a 1907 article for *The Connoisseur*, W. J. Lawrence says that the appeal of playbills is not only in their textual information but also in what they could memorialise. As he suggests, ‘it may be of course, that the original cherisher of the bill was urged to its treasuring by the fact

¹¹ Bratton, p. 39.

¹² Balme, ‘Playbills and the Theatrical Public Sphere’, p. 37.

¹³ See Russell, *The Playbill and its People*.

¹⁴ Russell, “‘Announcing each day the performances’”, p. 263.

it chronicled the appearance of a charming young actress.’¹⁵ Indeed, the case study to which I will soon turn is one such example of this. This history of what Russell terms ‘ephemerology’ is critical context for Brady’s collecting of playbills.¹⁶ The Brady Collection features over 150 individual playbills spanning the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, kept within one singular portfolio. Many of these are for Covent Garden, although there are also examples from Drury Lane, the Haymarket, and some provincial bills.¹⁷ Brady, like many other twentieth-century collectors of ephemera, had a sense of the value of collecting such documents.

For theatre historians, distant reading of playbills ‘at scale’ can offer insights into trends in repertory and advertising practices.¹⁸ Projects such as the British Library’s effort to crowdsource transcriptions for 100,000 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bills have aimed towards providing extensive datasets for this kind of enquiry.¹⁹ The examples found within the Brady Collection are not so extensive, but they nonetheless provide evidence through which we can chart the making of careers. In particular, the Brady Collection includes a short run of bills charting the rise of one actress’s career, that of Eliza O’Neill at Covent Garden in the 1810s. It is hard to confirm whether these bills were all collected by Brady himself; there is evidence to suggest that the library has both added and removed playbills from the collection since its donation. Nevertheless, their current categorisation has affected how I have approached the material. Encountering the bills together, as an incomplete run, has encouraged an awareness of the changes in convention over time. It has similarly aided an

¹⁵ W. J. Lawrence, ‘Old Playbills’, *The Connoisseur*, 18 (1907), 220-224 (p. 222).

¹⁶ Russell, *The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century*, p. 148.

¹⁷ A list of examples from the long eighteenth century (up to 1820) is given in Appendix B.

¹⁸ Mark Vareschi and Mattie Burkert, ‘Archives, Numbers, Meaning: The Eighteenth-Century Playbill at Scale’, *Theatre Journal*, 68 (2016), 597-613.

¹⁹ Mia Ridge, Alex Mendes, and Christian Algar, ‘Introducing... Playbills in the Spotlight’, *British Library Digital Scholarship Blog* <<https://blogs.bl.uk/digital-scholarship/2017/09/introducing-playbills-in-the-spotlight.html>> [accessed 14 April 2023].

approach sensitive to intertheatrical connections made uniquely visible, as Bratton argues, by the form of the theatrical playbill. As she says, ‘every element on it is a signifier which, like all signifiers, has a meaning only as part of a system of relationships.’²⁰ Balme similarly draws attention to playbills’ inherent ‘internal textuality, interreferentiality and communication structures’.²¹ This chapter aims to respond to such calls to resituate the theatrical playbill as a source for theoretical and qualitative historical study by analysing the gendered dynamics of its formal conventions, content, and intertheatrical references.

It is useful at this point to clearly define the playbill as a form. Somewhat different from a modern theatrical programme, a playbill is generally understood as a single-sheet advert listing a coming night’s performances at a particular theatre or by a travelling group. David Robert Gowen notes playbills and programmes as differing but intimately connected forms, both being ‘published texts,’ classifiable according to their individual form and function.²² From archival studies, Louis A. Rachow defines the playbill as ‘usually a single sheet giving all or a substantial portion of this information [regarding a performance] but printed in advance as a form of advertising’.²³ The playbill was ubiquitous in the eighteenth century and was commonly found pinned to walls and posts or spread across tables in coffee houses. Despite its differentiation from the modern programme of today’s theatre, playbills were used similarly to how we might use a programme; it was not only an advertising poster but a guide to the stage that could be referred to by audiences during the performance.

²⁰ Bratton, pp. 39-40.

²¹ Balme, ‘Playbills and the Theatrical Public Sphere’, p. 48. Indeed, the unique semiotics and pragmatics of theatrical advertising has previously received minor scholarly attention. See Mariana Net, ‘Semiotics and Interfictionality in a Postmodern Age: The Case of the Playbill’, *Semiotica*, 97.3-4 (1993), 315-323 and James Harbeck, ‘A Case Study in the Pragmatics of American Theatrical Programs’, *Semiotica*, 118.3-4 (1998), 215-238.

²² David Robert Gowen, ‘Studies in the History and Function of the British Theatre Playbill and Programme 1564-1914’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1998), p. 2.

²³ Louis A. Rachow, ‘Care and Preservation of Theatre Library Materials’, *Special Libraries*, 63.1 (1972), 25-30 (p. 29).

My focus for this chapter is on the eighteenth-century playbill, but as Tiffany Stern argues, the ubiquity of the theatrical playbill dates back centuries earlier.²⁴ They were found in a variety of formats, but the two most prevalent were the handbill (meant to be portable and carried in-hand) and the great bill (a larger poster bill meant for walls, typically forty-eight centimetres high by thirty-five centimetres wide). The Brady Collection contains mainly great bills, produced in large daily numbers by each of the London theatres. It has been suggested that by the end of the 1700s, Drury Lane was printing almost 200 great bills every day, made possible by technological developments in cheap printing.²⁵ These bills were typically prepared by the prompter and delivered to the printer the night before a performance.²⁶ Smaller handbills could be purchased by the audience on the way into the theatre from ‘orange-girls’ selling fruit, bills, and on occasion, ‘Books of Performance’ or songbooks.²⁷ By the nineteenth century, they were also being printed in theatrical periodicals offering a bill with a printed review on the other side. In 1830, Leigh Hunt announced that one such periodical, the *Tatler*, would start publishing complete playbills and selling them outside of the theatres.²⁸

²⁴ Tiffany Stern, “‘On each Wall and Corner Poast’”: Playbills, Title-pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 36.1 (2006), 57-89. See also Eleanore Boswell, ‘A Playbill of 1687’, *The Library*, 4.11 (1931), 499-502.

²⁵ *London Stage*, I, xx.

²⁶ *London Stage*, I, cxxxix. For more on the preparation and printing of playbills in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Fairbrass, “‘What printers ink does each week for the theatres’”; Laurence Senelick, ‘Signs of the Times: Outdoor Theatrical Advertising in the Nineteenth Century’, *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 45.2 (2008), 173-211; Catherine Hall, *Fun Without Vulgarity: Victorian and Edwardian Popular Entertainment Posters* (London: Stationery Office, 1996).

²⁷ Valerie Fairbrass, “‘Books of the Songs to be Had at the Theatre’”: Some Notes on Fruit Women and Their Contribution to Theatre Finances’, *Theatre Notebook*, 66.2 (2012), 66-84 (p. 66).

²⁸ Leigh Hunt, ‘The Playbills’, *Tatler*, 17 Sept 1830, pp. 45a-45b.

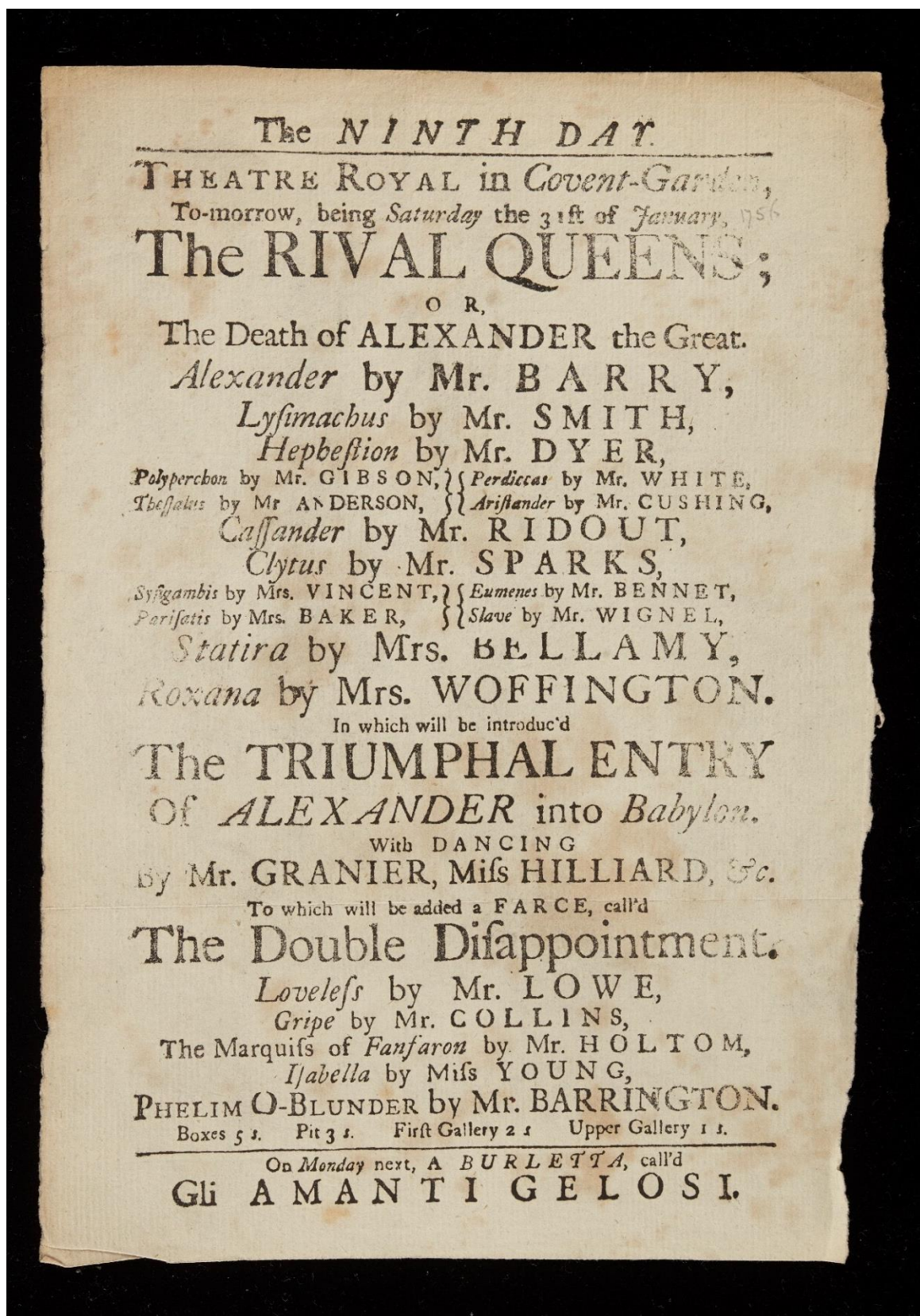


Figure 8: CG playbill for 31 January 1756 advertising a performance of Nathaniel Lee's *The Rival Queens* (1677), followed by Moses Mendez's farce *The Double Disappointment* (1746). In his 'Key to the Collection,' Brady speculates whether this example is a facsimile. BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN,
 This present SATURDAY, March 2, 1799,
 Will be presented (39th time) a New Comedy in 5 acts, called
LOVER'S VOWS,
 The PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS BY
 Mr. POPE.
 Mr. MUNDEN,
 Mr. H. JOHNSTON,
 Mr. KNIGHT, Mr. MURRAY
 Mr DAVENPORT, Mr THOMPSON, Mr REES, Mr Curties,
 Mrs JOHNSON, Mrs DAVENPORT,
 And Mrs. H. JOHNSTON.
 The Epilogue to be spoken by Mr. MUNDEN.
 After which [for the first time this season] the Grand Ballet Pantomime, taken from OSSIAN,
 composed by Mr. BYRN, called
OSCAR AND MALVINA;
 Or, the HALL OF FINGAL.
With entire new Dresses and Decorations, and the Scenery new painted.
 The Ballet under the Direction of Mr. FARLEY.
 The Overture by Mr. REEVE—with an accompaniment on the Union Pipes and Harp
 by Mess. MURPHY and WEIPPERT.
THE HALL OF FINGAL.
 Oscar (the Descendant of Fingal) Mr. BOLOGNA, Jun.
 Fingal, Mr. BOLOGNA,
Domestics, Mess. Blurton, Platt, Wilde, Dyke, Jackson, Powers, L. Bologna, T. Cranfield, &c.
Mesdames Watts, Follett, Bologna, Burnet, Cox, Bologna, Crow, Dibdin, &c.
Bards, Mess. Hill, Linton, Street, Thomas, Smith, Little, Mesdames Waters, Mitchell,
 Whearly, Castelle, Jiff, Gray, Leserve, Walcup,
 And Malvina (Daughter to Toscar) Mrs. H. JOHNSTON,
 (Being her First Appearance in that Character.)
A VIEW OF A CATARACT,
 With the DESCENT of the IRISH from the MOUNTAINS of BEN LOMOND.
 Carrol (the Irish Chieftain) Mr. H. JOHNSTON,
 (Being his First Appearance in that Character)
 Draco (his Captain) Mr. SIMPSON, Standard Bearers, Mess. Lee, Abbot, &c.
 And Morven (his Lieutenant) Mr. FARLEY.
VOCAL CHARACTERS,
 Scotch Lad, Mrs. CHAPMAN,
 Scotch Pedlar, with Song "I am a jolly gay Pedlar," Mr. TOWNSEND, Farmer, Mr. GRAY,
 And Scotch Lassie by Mrs. ATKINS,
 Trio "Come every jovial Fellow," by Mrs. Chapman, Mr. Gray, and Mrs. Atkins.
 Duetto "O ever in my Bosom live," by Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Atkins.
 View of the Sea and Rock from which Oscar escapes, by leaping from a Precipice into the arms of his
 Soldiers—a View of a Bridge, with the Camp of Carrol. The Death of Carrol by the Hand of
 Malvina, with his Fall into the Sea, and
The Burning of the Camp of Carrol.

On Monday, 18th time, the new Comedy of the VOTARY OF WEALTH, with the revived Grand
 Ballet of OSCAR & MALVINA. On Tuesday, for the Benefit of Mrs. H. JOHNSTON, the
 Comic Opera of INKLE and YARICO, with OSCAR & MALVINA.
 In consequence of the uncommon great Demand for Places for the new Pantomime of the MAGIC
 OAK, Ladies and Gentlemen are requested to observe it will be performed on Thursday next, after
 the new Opera of RAMAH DROOG, & on the following Monday for the only nights before Easter.
 A new Comedy in Three acts, is in preparation—and a new Comic Opera in Two acts.

Figure 9: CG playbill for 2 March 1799. Advertises the 39th performance of Elizabeth Inchbald's popular *Lover's Vows* (1798) followed by the ballet pantomime *Oscar and Malvina* 'for the first time this season'. BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

As a document, the eighteenth-century playbill is easily recognisable from its typographic style and included information. Unlike the sparse adverts of the previous centuries, playbills were by the late 1780s providing a vast array of performance information. A range of essential elements remained consistent throughout the century. In two typical examples from Covent Garden, we can observe information regarding when and where the performance is to take place, the titles of the performed pieces, the lead actors and actresses involved, and information about where tickets can be purchased (Fig. 8 and 9). Bills may then include additional information such as the authors or genres of the pieces, indication of whether the performance was for anyone's specific benefit, information about interludes such as singing and dancing and information regarding the novelty of the performance.

The two above examples, separated by almost fifty years, similarly show how the design of playbills changed throughout the century. Bills became increasingly crowded, and by the mid-nineteenth century, they often employed clashing typefaces and coloured ink to attract viewers' attention. Red ink, as used on a Covent Garden bill for 5 December 1831 was more expensive but it was also considered more attractive for passers-by, and therefore potentially more lucrative (Fig. 10). As the epilogue for Peter Motteux's pastoral opera *The Temple of Love* (1706) articulates, 'What tho' the Singing or the Face affright, / Worse Syrens get their Twenty Pounds a Night. / Put out Red-letter'd Bills, and raise your Price, / You'll lure a select Audience in a trice.'²⁹

²⁹ Peter Anthony Motteux, 'Epilogue', in *The Temple of Love: A Pastoral Opera* (London: Tonson, 1706), ECCO.

Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.
This present **MONDAY**, December 5, 1831, will be acted the Tragic Play of
P I Z A R R O.

PERUVIANS.
Ataliba, Mr. EGERTON,
Rolla, - - - Mr. YOUNG,
(The Last night of his appearing in that character.)
Fernando, Miss MARSHALL, Orozembo, Mr. BARTLEY, Hualpa, Mr. F. MATTHEWS,
Topac, Miss P. HORTON, Husech, Mr. TURNOUR,
Orano, Mr. MEARS, Capal, Mr BRADY, Hario, Mr F. SUTTON, Rima, Mr. COLLET,
Cora, Miss TAYLOR.
Priests, Virgins, Matrons, in

THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN.
High Priest, Mr. MORLEY,
Mr. DURUSET, Mr. HODGES, Mr. G. PENSON, Mr. REYNOLDSON, Mr G STANSBURY, Mr. WILSON
Miss CAWSE, Miss H. CAWSE, Miss HARRINGTON, Miss HORTON, Mrs. KEELEY, Mrs E. ROMER,
Mess. Beale, Benedict, Barclay, Birt, Butler, Caulfield, May, Miller, Shegog, S. & C. Tett, Williams, Willing
Messd. Appleton, Brown, Daly, Goodson, Goodwin, G. Goodwin, Goward, C. Harrington, Perry, Tuckwell.
SPANIARDS.
Pizarro, Mr. G. BENNETT, Alonzo, Mr. J. MASON,
Las Casas, Mr. EVANS. Almagro, Mr. BAKER, Davila, Mr. HENRY,
Gonzalo, Mr. PAYNE, Valverde, Mr HOLL, Gomez, Mr IRWIN, Pedro Mr. HEATH, Sentinel, Mr. DIDDEAR
Elvira, Mrs. LOVE L L.
Previous to the Play, **BISHOP's Overture to CORTEZ.**
After which will be revived a Melo-Drama, called

The Blind Boy.
Stanislaus, Mr. EVANS,
Edmund *(the Blind Boy)* Miss E. TREE,
(Her first appearance in that character)
Rodolph, Mr. DIDDEAR, Oberto, Mr. BARTLEY,
Starow, Mr. HENRY, Kalig, Mr FARLEY,
Molino, Mr. MEADOWS, High Priest, Mr. J. Cooper, Guard Mr MEARS
Elvina, Miss LEE.


MISS SHIRREFF
(Pupil of Mr. T. WELSH.
who made her 2d appearance on any stage in the character of Mandane,
on Saturday last, was again received by an overflowing
audience with the most rapturous applause; and in
consequence of the distinguished success of the Opera of
ARTAXERXES,
It will be repeated
To-morrow, Thursday, Friday and Saturday next.
Artabanus by Mr. BRAHAM.

Mr. YOUNG
will act only Three Nights before Christmas:
To-night, he will perform Rolla
And (in consequence of the numerous applications at the Box-Office,) he will
repeat the character of ZANGA on Wednesday next.
Being positively the Last Time of his appearing in those characters.
FRA DIAVOLO: or THE INN OF TERRACINA
will be repeated in a few days.

The IRISH AMBASSADOR
will be repeated every Evening until further notice.

Tomorrow, (3d time) the OPERA of **ARTAXERXES.**
Artabanus, Mr. BRAHAM, Mandane, Miss SHIRREFF.
After which will be produced a **NEW FARCE**, *(with Music)* called
COUNTRY QUARTERS.
The MUSIC composed by Mr. BARNETT.
The characters by Mr. BARTLEY, Mr. ABBOTT, Mr. WRENCH,
Miss TAYLOR, Miss STORWASSER, Miss POOLE.
With (15th time) **THE IRISH AMBASSADOR.**
On Wednesday, (By Particular Desire) Dr. Young's Tragedy of **THE REVENGE.**
Zanga, Mr. YOUNG,
Don Alonzo, Mr. WARDE, Don Carlos, Mr. J. MASON, Leonora, Miss TAYLOR.
With (16th time) **THE IRISH AMBASSADOR.**
On Thursday, Friday and Saturday, the Opera of
ARTAXERXES.
Artaxerxes, Miss H. CAWSE, Artabanus, Mr. BRAHAM, Arbaces, Mr. WILSON,
Mandane, Miss SHIRREFF.
To which will be added, **THE IRISH AMBASSADOR.**
The production of the NEW TRAGEDY called
Catharine of Cleves
is unavoidably delayed until Mr. C. KEMBLE is enabled to resume his professional duties.
The Public will be pleased to take Notice, that Play-Bills issued

Figure 10: CG playbill for 5 December 1831. Advertises a performance of Sheridan's tragedy *Pizarro* (1799) altered from Kotzebue, followed by James Kenney's melodrama *The Blind Boy* (1808). The section in red ink appears to be stamped and added after the original printing. BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.



THEATRE ROYAL, LIES-SEE-'EM.

The **A**libiacal, **B**utcherboyical, **C**abalistical, **D**iabolical, **E**nthusiastical, **F**antastical, **G**ossippical, **H**ypoecritical, **I**diocratical, **J**ournalistical, **K**navistical, **L**ackadaisical, **M**imical, **N**onsensical, **O**ratorical, **P**anegyriccal, **Q**uiz-zical, **R**hetorical, **S**arcastical, **T**opographical, and all the rest of the *cals* who were shut out because they came
after T

Grand Christmas Pantomime
ENTITLED HARLEQUIN

LADY TICHBORNE AND HER FALSE HAIR,

By the Author of the immensely Successful Drama, (which has run for over a twelvemonth) of
"BALLANTINE AND ORTON, or ROGER versus THE DODGER."

**SCENE 1.—HIGH STREET, WAPPING.
Butcher's Shop on a Saturday Night.**
Sung by the Claimant—"The cot where I was born."
Artist's Name not known, but probably a *joint* production reduced to *scale*.

Scene 2. The Realms of Imagination
Sung by the Claimant—"I dreamt that I dwelt in Tichborne Hall."
The Sprite Begle, a sort of black Puck, discovered tickling the ears of Roger the Butcher,—
Roger's Dream.—The Shipwreck.
Rising of the Surf—Great Come-ocean—Roger converted into a Heavy Swell—A Sinking Ship hauled out by Spoons—Roger washed on shore—The disastrous effects of the Attorney General's soft soap!

GRAND
TRANSFORMATION SCENE.
Wonderful and Rapid Changes!
The Realms of Bliss into the Abode of Darkness !!!
A Baronet into a Butcher—A Brougham into a Police Van—The Westminster Hotel into Newgate—The Old Mill into a Windmill—The Butcher cutting up the wheel.

Principal Incidents in the Harlequinade.

SCENE 1.—A PAWNBROKER'S SHOP.
Appearance of three noted Spouters: Onslow, Whalley and the Claimant.

SCENE 2.—A POLICE COURT.
A Hunt in the Strand for Roger—Discovered by Rimmel's Scent—The false hair of Lady Tichborne fastened on by a Policeman—Baigent in a fog, the cause of it seen only by the scene shifters—Guildford Onslow, the Stamped Orator and new Solicitor General—Professor Anderson on the Art of Palmistry—Begle, another *negro man* *de* *air*—A very *cross* examination—A wrangle about a quadrangle—The *will* but not the way—The Claimant and his French *role* which proves to be more than he can swallow, so he craftily resolves to forget it—The Claimant doubling the characters of Orton and Tichborne in a sort of *double shuffle*—The tale of a Shirt or top mounting of one, with a "T" marked thereon, and another letter which signifies the dustman is wanted nearly obliterated: supposed to be Roger's mark—Song: "Adieu, my native land, adieu"—The whole to conclude with the ROGUE'S MARCH.

The Carabineer Band of Lyres specially engaged for the occasion.
Dresses & Appointments by *May* or possibly Sooner.
Foote—Guildford Onslow, Whalley, who don't know the Wally of peace and quietness, and Tichborne Bondholders.
Pantaloons—Baigent and Bulpitt. Harlequins—Rouse and Holmes.
Columbine—Miss Branc with her (1) out.

Price One Penny—
May be had at 262, Strand, and at the Office of St. Crispin, 7, Holywell Street.

Figure 11: Satirical playbill print for the 'Theatre Royal Lies-See-'Em'. BC, 'Playbills'.
Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

An intertheatrical approach to playbills that combines both the theoretical and empirical, as Bratton and Balme advocate, observes the interactions and associations forged by these conventions. For example, the listing of Mrs H. Johnston and Mr H. Johnston on the playbill for 2 March 1799 (Fig. 9) highlights the prevalence of married couples within theatrical companies. Detailed descriptions of sets and scenes connote changes in acting styles and the late century's preoccupation with spectacle. Similarly, a comment at the bottom of the bill regarding the 'uncommon great Demand for Places for the new Pantomime' underlines the changing tastes and inclinations of theatrical audiences at the end of the eighteenth century.³⁰

Audiences knew what to expect when they read a playbill so their format could be exploited in satires imitating the document's conventions. These satiric playbills commonly targeted political subjects.³¹ In a nineteenth-century example found in the Brady Collection, a satirical bill for the Theatre Royal 'Lies-See-'Em' references the Tichborne case, a legal case which captivated the public in the 1860s and 1870s in which a man claimed to be the missing heir to the Tichborne baronetcy.³² Drawing attention to the case's sensational and dramatic nature, it also pokes fun at the playbill's crowded layout, hyperbolic language, and tendency to over-sell its wares (Fig. 11). The bill does not list the names of any performers, highlighting the playbill's marketing tactics which tend to favour puff over useful information. Such satires highlight the printed playbill's potential for ideological means.

As a form of advertising and mediation, the playbill has much to offer us regarding the communication between a theatre and its audiences. Further, as a materialised symbol of

³⁰ As Bratton notes, the increasing density of information on playbills, especially from the 1830s, has previously been used as evidence for drama's decline (p. 41).

³¹ See James Gregory, 'Parody Playbills: The Politics of the Playbill in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *The Electronic British Library Journal*, (2018) <<https://www.bl.uk/eblj/2018articles/article6.html>> [accessed 5 December 2020].

³² For more on the Tichborne case, see Rohan McWilliam, *The Tichborne Claimant: A Victorian Sensation* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007).

intertheatricality, it can expand our understanding of the network of connections and associations which underpinned the eighteenth-century theatre. Significantly, despite its common use as a source of information regarding performance after the fact, playbills ‘remain by definition before the event.’³³ Playbills introduced and set expectations for performance, and it was often on playbills that performers were first introduced to their audiences through the printing of their names. The theatrical playbill had the power to shape a career before an actress even stepped on the stage. In the case of Eliza O’Neill, the Covent Garden playbills can be seen to reflect how she was figured as the challenging successor to Sarah Siddons’s tragic crown.

The rival queens of the Covent Garden bills

In 1816, J. Sidebotham published a satirical print by Charles Williams entitled *Theatrical Jealousy-or-The Rival Queens of Covent Garden* (Fig. 12). Borrowing its title from Nathaniel Lee’s Restoration-era tragedy *The Rival Queens* (1677) the print shows two opposing actresses, Sarah Siddons, and Eliza O’Neill, battling for the attention on stage. Their dialogue, although not from Lee’s original play, appears to be taken from Thomas Dibdin’s more contemporary adaptation *Alexander the Great; or, The Rival Queens* (1815).³⁴ The adjoined caption reads: ‘the late extraordinary Re-appearance of Mrs. Siddons after saying “Farewell”—and taking formal leave of the stage some years ago—’.

Williams’s print satirises the apparent rivalry between Siddons and the Irish ingenue Eliza O’Neill, who debuted in 1814 and had taken over several of her famous roles. As Felicity Nussbaum notes, Lee’s play, in which Alexander the Great’s two wives compete for his affections, can be seen to ‘[animate] the metaphor of women’s theatrical rivalries and alluded

³³ Balme, ‘Playbills and the Theatrical Public Sphere’, p. 38.

³⁴ James Armstrong, *Romantic Actors, Romantic Dramas: British Tragedy on the Regency Stage* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), p. 181. See also Armstrong, ‘Succeeding the Siddons: Eliza O’Neill and the Triumph of the Romantic Style’, *Theatre Notebook*, 71.3 (2017), 171-189.

to the pejorative meaning of *queen*.³⁵ In this case, the two actresses appear battling for the affection of the Covent Garden audiences. It reads: ‘O’N—I and S—d—ns! they are names / That must forever Jar! / When they Encounter, Thunder must ensue!’ Speech coming from offstage foregrounds Siddons’s apparent jealousy towards O’Neill: ‘all Envy! Spite and Envy by the Gods!’ Siddons’s arms are raised forward as if ready to attack and O’Neill’s arm is raised, triumphant.



Figure 12: Charles Williams, *Theatrical Jealousy-or-The Rival Queens of Covent Garden*, 1816, etching on paper, 24.8 x 34.7 cm
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1931-0509-216 [accessed 9 June 2023]. Image © The Trustees of the British Museum.

That year, Sarah Siddons had made a surprising return to the London stage following her earlier retirement. Siddons’s ‘Farewell Night’ had been advertised throughout her final

³⁵ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, p. 68, original emphasis.

season in 1811-1812, in which she performed fifty-seven times and in fourteen different roles. For that season her performances were continually sold out with the playbills stating a *nota bene* that '[n]o orders can be admitted'. James Boaden describes how the playbills warned of Siddons's impending departure, their statements of her performances for the '*last time*' seeming to presage the withdrawal of the roles altogether.³⁶ The general feeling was one of melancholy. Many felt that Siddons's retirement would mean that many of her roles would never be played to that standard again. After attending one of her final performances in April 1812, Henry Crabb Robinson noted in his diary that 'If [Siddons] persist in not playing Mrs Beverley again, that character will, I am confident, never be played with anything like equal attractions.'³⁷ Although she continued to perform sporadically, on 29 June 1812, she officially retired from the London stages. Her final performance as Lady Macbeth ended by audience demand at her famed sleepwalking scene, after which she attended the stage dressed all white for her final address. Joseph Farington's oft-cited diary entry for this performance describes how after her eight-minute farewell, she was led from the stage by an attendant and that '[h]er appearance was that of a person distressed & sunk in spirits'.³⁸

Throughout 1816 to 1819, Siddons appeared in several performances at Covent Garden, mainly for her family's benefits and by Royal request.³⁹ Despite the apparent popularity of her off-stage dramatic readings, her staged return was met with disappointment. William Hazlitt questioned her return, asking 'Has she not had enough of glory?... Is she to continue

³⁶ James Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons: Interspersed with Anecdotes of Authors and Actors*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), II, p. 378.

³⁷ Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence*, ed. by Thomas Sadler, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), I, p. 380.

³⁸ Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington: Volume XI January 1811-June 1812*, ed. by Kathryn Cave (Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 4150-4151.

³⁹ It is suggested that Siddons performed around twenty times in London and Edinburgh between 1813 and 1819. She also occasionally performed dramatic and poetic readings. See Brander Matthews, 'Sarah Siddons', in *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States*, ed. by Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton (New York: Cassell & Co., 1886), pp. 23-64 (p. 31)

on the stage to the very last, till all her grace and all her grandeur gone, shall leave behind them only a melancholy blank?’⁴⁰ Emily Hodgson Anderson argues that these performances ‘wore away audience memories of her greatness and fostered critiques of performance’s commemorative powers.’⁴¹ We see this reflected in William’s print, in which Siddons’s bright and ill-fitting dress appears contrasted with O’Neill’s refined neutral gown. Siddons’s caricatured features — juxtaposed with the regular features of the ‘fair Insolent’ O’Neill — point to the swirling anxieties regarding her age and purportedly declining looks and abilities. Following his attendance at one of Siddons’s returning performances, Hazlitt remarked of ageing performers: ‘They not only die like other people, but like other people they cease to be young, and are no longer themselves, even while living.’⁴² For Hazlitt, Siddons’s return was an affront to her memory. In her return, she was a different person, a different performer. Specifically, her return to her role as Lady Macbeth in 1816 risked the effacement of her legend altogether. As Hodgson Anderson puts it, ‘Siddons’s aging had led to performances that increasingly strained audience credulity’.⁴³ Siddons’s return coincided with, and was further injured by, the rise of Eliza O’Neill, the young Irish actress who had taken on her line of business.

Eliza O’Neill (1791-1872) was born in Drogheda, the daughter of the manager of a small strolling company. She made her acting debut at the age of twelve, for that company, as the Duke of York in a production of *Richard III*. After making a name for herself on the stages of Dublin and Belfast, she was employed at Covent Garden and ‘had begun to mount the throne so lately abdicated by the Queen of Tragedy herself.’⁴⁴ Of course, O’Neill was not the first

⁴⁰ William Hazlitt, ‘Mrs Siddons’, *The Examiner*, 16 June 1816.

⁴¹ Emily Hodgson Anderson, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), p. 140.

⁴² Hazlitt.

⁴³ Hodgson Anderson, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, p. 150.

⁴⁴ Laurence Hutton, ‘Eliza O’Neill’, in *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States*, ed. by Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton, pp. 285-296 (p. 287-289).

actress set as a potential replacement for Siddons.⁴⁵ Many new actresses coming up in the decades following her retirement would have faced (not always favourable) comparisons to the ‘discrowned Queen of Tragedy’.⁴⁶ But, according to Joseph Donohue and James Armstrong, she was the most widely accepted.⁴⁷ As evidence for this claim, Armstrong points to a particular playbill for the Shakespeare bicentennial on 23 April 1816, in which O’Neill performed as the tragic muse in a revival of Garrick’s *The Jubilee* (1769). In the bill, O’Neill is credited as the tragic muse, a moniker heavily associated with Siddons, alongside ‘Mrs Gibbs’ as her comic counterpart. In his analysis, Armstrong notes how the typography of this playbill — with O’Neill’s name shown in large letters across the bottom — firmly connotes her successful takeover of Siddons’s throne.⁴⁸

Here, Armstrong hints towards the power of the playbill for mediating actresses’ performances and contributing to the success of their careers. In this section, I explore how O’Neill’s succession was figured by the documents which announced O’Neill’s performances to exemplify the mediating power of the playbill as a precursor to performance. Fortunately, the Brady collection houses several Covent Garden playbills from the period of O’Neill’s London stage career. I posit that O’Neill’s portrayal as the ‘new Siddons’ was made possible through the conscious positioning of both actresses’ careers in playbills. By reading the playbill as an object of intertheatricality, we can uncover the extensive associations made between the two actresses, specifically regarding their roles and repertoire.

In Williams’s print, the costume of both actresses and the pose of O’Neill appears reminiscent of Euphrasia, the heroine of Murphy’s *Grecian Daughter* (1772) and a role

⁴⁵ Others include fellow Irish actress Sarah Smith and a ‘Miss Douglas’. See Armstrong, ‘Succeeding the Siddons’, pp. 174-176.

⁴⁶ Thomas Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2 vols. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1834), II, p. 80.

⁴⁷ Joseph Donohue, *Dramatic Character on the Romantic Stage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 166.

⁴⁸ Armstrong, ‘Succeeding the Siddons’, p. 182.

which typified Siddons's tragic repertoire and status as 'role-icon'.⁴⁹ Jean I. Marsden has even gone so far as to suggest that 'the tragedy queen that Siddons enacted so successfully during the 1780s was specifically that of the Grecian Daughter.'⁵⁰ O'Neill's biographer, Charles Inigo Jones, despite finding some merit in O'Neill's representation of Euphrasia, considered the role to be not best suited to her sensibilities:

The excess of filial affection, however, is here of the most elevated nature, and requires a command of the greatest physical powers, such as the constitution and disposition of Miss O'Neill is not adequately fitted to accomplish.⁵¹

He claimed that Euphrasia was a role of 'masculine energies', cast in a 'Spartan mould', perhaps better suited to Siddons.⁵² However, in Williams's satirical print, O'Neill is seen to be the most striking performer, as a spectator cries from the audience: 'Ireland forever!' 1816, the year of the print's publication was a significant year for Anglo-Irish relations. In the 'Year Without a Summer' the crops had failed due to abnormally low temperatures and there was widespread famine in both England and Ireland. This print hints towards an element of national competition on the stage, spurred on by a struggle for resources. Felicity Nussbaum concludes that 'Irish actresses in character offered ways to embody the tensions between cities, ethnicities and sexes, and sometimes to resolve them'.⁵³ This tension is intensified by the fact that Arthur Murphy, writer of *The Grecian Daughter*, was also Irish and so in this print, it is the Irish actress who is seen to be making a fool of the English Siddons, better suited to be the Irishman's Euphrasia.

⁴⁹ Roach, *It*, pp. 39-40.

⁵⁰ Jean I. Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling: Affect, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 97.

⁵¹ Charles Inigo Jones, *Memoirs of Miss O'Neill* (London: D. Cox, 1816), p. 53.

⁵² Jones, *Memoirs of Miss O'Neill*, p. 54.

⁵³ Felicity Nussbaum, 'Straddling: London-Irish Actresses in Performance', in *Ireland, Enlightenment and the English Stage, 1740-1820*, ed. by David O'Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 31-56 (p. 31).

By the time Williams's print was published, rows between actresses over roles had become an established genre of representation.⁵⁴ The 'Polly row' of the 1730s, for instance, saw the dispute between Kitty Clive and Drury Lane's management over the role of Polly in *The Beggar's Opera* turned into a public scandal by way of extensive newspaper coverage.⁵⁵ As Felicity Nussbaum explains, these constructed rivalries could be exploited for the benefit of the actress, who had something to gain from increased media attention and public intrigue.⁵⁶ In the case of Siddons and O'Neill, Russ McDonald speculates that Siddons's return in 1816, at the height of O'Neill's career, was ignited by feelings of jealousy for her younger successor.⁵⁷ But, as Brianna Robertson-Kirkland rightly points out, despite the feelings of jealousy expounded by Williams's illustration, such media-constructed rivalries were not always antagonistic on the part of the actresses. The prima donnas Gertrude Mara and Elizabeth Billington, she argues, enjoyed a rivalry based on mutual professional respect.⁵⁸ We know little of Siddons and O'Neill's relationship, although it is reported that Siddons felt positively towards O'Neill, having 'the highest opinion of [her] talents'.⁵⁹ There is likely a better explanation for Siddons's return in 1816 than jealousy. Boaden points out that many of Siddons's returning performances were motivated by what he calls, her 'kindness'.⁶⁰ She acted in May for her brother Charles's benefit and her return in June was the result of a

⁵⁴ This was not the first time Siddons had been depicted in such a manner. In another example, Siddons is shown battling with an actress, again for the role of Euphrasia. It is likely intended to be Mary Ann Yates who, during the 1782-1783 season, was performing the role at Drury Lane at the same time as Siddons's own performances at Covent Garden. See *The Rival Queens of Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres, at a gymnastic rehearsal!*, 1782, etching on paper, British Museum, London <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0808-4548> [accessed 12 April 2023].

⁵⁵ Berta Joncus, "'In Wit Superior, as in Fighting": Kitty Clive and the Conquest of a Rival Queen', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 74.1 (2011), 23-42 (pp. 23-24).

⁵⁶ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, pp. 11-14.

⁵⁷ Russ McDonald, *Look to the Lady: Sarah Siddons, Ellen Terry, and Judi Dench on the Shakespearean Stage* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005), p. 48.

⁵⁸ Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, 'Rivalry, Camaraderie and the Prima Donnas: Elizabeth Billington and Gertrude Mara', in *Exploring the Lives of Women 1558-1837*, ed. by Louise Duckling and others (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2018), pp. 109-119 (pp. 109-110).

⁵⁹ William Oxberry, *Dramatic Biography and Histrionic Anecdotes*, 6 vols. (London: G. Virtue, 1825-1827), I, p. 201.

⁶⁰ Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, II, p. 381.

request from Princess Charlotte who, being unwell, wished to see her perform. Rather than an attempt to snatch back the crown, Siddons's return to the stage seems to be better explained by a sense of personal duty.

O'Neill, on the other hand, had much to gain from Siddons's return, which had reignited the long-standing comparisons between the two actresses. However, despite these comparisons, their acting styles were quite different. James Armstrong posits that 'as [O'Neill's] acting gained favour over the poised, classical manner of Siddons, she came to represent the new style,' embodying several 'aesthetic principles that can be associated with Romanticism'.⁶¹ Many considered O'Neill to be more feminine to Siddons, and better suited to younger maiden roles. In his *Reminiscences* (1875), Macready recalls of O'Neill that:

Crowds were nightly disappointed in finding room in the theatre to witness her enchanting personations. Juliet, Belvidera, Mrs. Beverley, Mrs. Haller, were again realities upon the scene, attested with enthusiasm by the tears and applauding shouts of admiring thousands. The noble pathos of Siddons' transcendent genius no longer served as the grand commentary and living exponent of Shakespeare's text, but in the native elegance, the feminine sweetness, the unaffected earnestness and gushing passion of Miss O'Neill the stage had received a worthy successor to her.⁶²

Despite acknowledging O'Neill as Siddons's 'worthy successor', Macready is sure to emphasise her unique style, contrasting her 'native elegance' with Siddons's 'noble pathos'. Although O'Neill took up several of Siddons's familiar roles, she was also noted for regularly playing Juliet. Siddons was not known for Juliet – she took the role a few times outside of the capital but did not perform it in London until she was thirty-four years of age, at which point she would have already been considered old for the part.⁶³ It seems that what set O'Neill apart was her ability to play both ingenue roles like Juliet and sympathetic wives like Mrs

⁶¹ James Armstrong, 'Succeeding the Siddons', p. 180.

⁶² William Charles Macready, *Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from his Diary and Letters*, ed. by Frederick Pollock, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co, 1875), I, p. 86.

⁶³ In his memoirs of Siddons, Boaden laments the fact that Garrick had not placed her in that role for her debut, as was common. See Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, II, p. 281.

Haller and Mrs Beverley, the latter of which Siddons was still regularly performing in her late forties. Conversely, O'Neill was less suited to the representation of 'maternal affection' often called for in roles such as Volumnia in *Coriolanus* and Lady Randolph in *Douglas*, two roles she took on that were seen by critics as 'decided failures'.⁶⁴ O'Neill's acting style was thought to be more natural than that of Siddons, possessing an ability to really *feel* and retain the emotions that she represented.

From the beginning, the playbills figured O'Neill as a worthy replacement. On 6 October 1814, she debuted as Juliet following a successful start in Dublin and Belfast. John Philip Kemble, Siddons's brother, had visited Dublin in 1812 and sent a letter to Covent Garden's manager Mr Harris describing the actress's Siddonian potential:

There is a very pretty Irish girl here, with a small touch of brogue on her tongue: she has much quiet talent, and some genius. With a little expense, and some trouble, we might make her 'an object' for John Bull's admiration in the juvenile tragedy. They call her, ('tis in verse, for they are all poets—all Tom Moores here!) 'The Dove,' in contradistinction to her rival, a Miss Walstein, whom they designate as 'The Eagle.' I recommend the 'Dove' to you, as more likely to please John Bull, than the Irish Eagle—who in fact is merely a 'Siddons' diluted, and would only be tolerated when Siddons is forgotten.⁶⁵

The playbill for her debut as Shakespeare's Juliet capitalised on the modest success she had already found in Ireland. On the bill, she is credited as 'Juliet by Miss O'NEILL, (Of the *Theatre-Royal, Dublin*) being her first appearance in London'.⁶⁶ It is unclear the extent to which O'Neill's Irish identity may have impacted her reception on the London stage. There had been, of course, several highly popular Irish actresses on the stage before O'Neill, most notably Kitty Clive and Peg Woffington, known primarily for comic roles in which 'performative Irishness' could be an asset.⁶⁷ However, the crediting of her full name and the

⁶⁴ Oxberry, I, p. 200.

⁶⁵ Cited in Margaret Wilson, *Our Actresses: Or, Glances at Stage Favourites, Past and Present*, 2 vols. (London: 1844), I, p. 63.

⁶⁶ Cited in Donohue, *Dramatic Character on the Romantic Stage*, p. 166. This playbill is not in the Brady Collection.

⁶⁷ Nussbaum, 'Straddling', p. 38.

note of her connections to the patent theatre in Dublin mark O'Neill's printed debut with legitimacy and create a sense of anticipation regarding her appearance in London. The expectation of her success is further suggested by the lengths to which Harris was willing to go to secure her contract. In his biography of O'Neill, Charles Inigo Jones reports that Harris gave her, on top of her wages, £300 worth of jewels and her own carriage.⁶⁸

Actresses' memoirs further explicate the importance of playbills for a young actress's career. Talking of her debut as Juliet at Drury Lane, Mary Robinson reports that it is 'impossible to describe the various emotions of hope and fear that possessed my mind when the important day was announced in the play-bills.'⁶⁹ In her memoir, Charlotte Charke writes of the experience of seeing the playbill for the first time following her casting in 1730 as Mademoiselle in Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife*:

I must beg Leave to give the Reader an Idea of that Extacy of Heart I felt, on seeing the Character I was to appear in the Bills; though my Joy was somewhat dash'd, when I came to see it inserted, *By a young Gentlewoman, who had never appear'd on any Stage before*. This melancholly Disappointment, drew me into an unavoidable Expence in Coach-hire, to inform all my Acquaintance, that I was the Person to be set down in Mrs. *Thurmond's* Benefit-Bills : Though my Father's prudent Concern intended it to be a Secret, 'till he had Proof of my Abilities.⁷⁰

Charke is disappointed upon the realisation that she has been credited without her full name. Like many debut actresses, she is credited as an unnamed '*Gentlewoman, who had never appear'd on any Stage before*'. A common convention of playbills was to credit debut players without a name so as to protect their reputation (and that of the theatre) from any negative associations following an unfavourable performance. Julia H. Fawcett has explored this in relation to Charke's anxieties about fame, reasoning that '[f]or the young actress, the passage implies her legitimacy as a professional and as a wage-earner depends on her

⁶⁸ Jones, *Memoirs of Miss O'Neill*, p. 99.

⁶⁹ *Perdita: The Memoirs of Mary Robinson*, ed. by M. J. Levy (London: Owen, 1994), p. 87.

⁷⁰ Charlotte Charke, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke*, ed. by Robert Rehder (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999), p. 30, original emphasis.

legibility as a name on the Drury Lane playbills.’⁷¹ Though she understands her father’s decision to credit her in such a way, Charke cannot help but be drawn into ‘melancholly Disappointment’ upon seeing her name left out of the listed players. Under this anonymous moniker, Charke’s performance becomes unrecognisable; the invisibility of her name on the playbill leads to the invisibility of her performance on stage as her own. In contrast, O’Neill, credited in full, is legible from the very beginning of her career in London.

By her second appearance, Charke receives the acknowledgement that she so desires, this time listed on the playbill by name. She joyfully recalls the moment she saw her ‘Name was in Capitals’.⁷² She is delighted at the sight of her character in the bills; that is, both the character she is to personate and her name in printed characters. She plays with this double meaning throughout her memoirs. Expressing her fear at playing a major role, she declares that she ‘expected to make an odd Figure in the Bills of Mortality----DIED ONE, OF CAPITAL CHARACTERS’.⁷³ Here, her play on ‘character’ likens the playbill to the bill of mortality that may announce her dying of fright. Having one’s name on the bills brings with it an aspect of danger. Any failed performance, which may lead to the death of one’s career, may remain in print. She also recognises that ‘the playbill, like the bill of mortality, also “levels” the person, counting him or her as one of a number who have occupied the same place’.⁷⁴ By the nature of the repertory theatre, an actor or actress is always at risk of being replaced, their performance only the most recent in a long line of past and future personations.

⁷¹ Julia H. Fawcett, *Spectacular Disappearances: Celebrity and Privacy, 1696-1801* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), p. 84.

⁷² Charke, p. 30.

⁷³ Charke, p. 32.

⁷⁴ Ballaster, *Fictions of Presence*, p. 129.

Later, Charke comments on the further significance of the capitalisation of names on playbills. She admits that ‘Mr. *Bodely*, the Printer, can testify I have often left fresh Orders while he has been at Church, either for Alteration of Parts, or of Capital Distinctions in the Bills, without which very indifferent Actors would not otherwise go on.’⁷⁵ The phrase ‘Capital Distinctions’ denotes importance, significance, and principality, communicated through typography.⁷⁶ Here, Charke recognises that to have your name printed in capitals is to be marked as prominent and important. Likewise, to have capital is to have financial implications of value. Participating in the growing network of new forms of paper credit such as the banknote and the reference, the playbill lends value to the performers that it promotes. As noted by the author of *A Letter to David Garrick, Esq; on Opening the Theatre* (1769),

The bill may be looked upon as a sort of scale of theatrical merit, and the public has thus a criterion to judge the abilities of performers. The importance of the part, and the size of the letters in which the names are printed, are sufficient to put the talents of a performer out of all dispute.⁷⁷

To have ‘Capital Distinctions’, as Charke notes, is to be a performer imbued with value by the theatres and their spectators.⁷⁸ And, like new paper money, the value signified by the names on a playbill (and the works themselves) fluctuated in line with changes in repertory and public opinion. A third alternative reading of ‘capital’ brings into view not only the primacy given to names at the top of the playbill but also the significance of the capital theatre for the building of a career, that is, the theatres of the country’s *capital* city, at which Eliza O’Neill found her fame.

⁷⁵ Charke, p. 127.

⁷⁶ The *OED* lists both definitions as in use throughout the eighteenth century. See ‘capital, adj. and n.2’, in *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/27450>> [accessed 17 August 2020].

⁷⁷ *A Letter to David Garrick, Esq; on Opening the Theatre. In Which, with Great Freedom, He Is Told How He Ought to Behave* (London: 1769), p. 22, ECCO.

⁷⁸ Various scholars have explored the relationship between literature and finance in the wake of the move to a system of paper credit. See Deidre Shauna Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Markets, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and Catherine Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

The first bill from Brady's collection to mention O'Neill is for Thursday, 9 February 1815, advertising a mainpiece production of Benjamin Thomson's translation of Kotzebue's *The Stranger* (1811), alongside Isaac Pocock's farce of *Hit or Miss!* (1810). In the dramatis personae, O'Neill is listed in the principal role of Mrs Haller, a character closely associated with Siddons (Fig. 13). The organisation of this dramatis personae has much to say regarding O'Neill's relative popularity. Although actors are listed before actresses, as was common for the period, names are generally given ordered by principality of role or by way of performers' reputations.⁷⁹ O'Neill's position as the first of the actresses gives us some sense of her reputation within Covent Garden's company, reflecting both the principality of Mrs Haller as a role within the play, but also the attracting power attributed to certain performers' names. Not only is her name given its own line, but a second line on the bill notes it to be her second performance in the role. This additional detail is one example of how playbills can imply the tastes and disposition of the audience, as well as performers. Within the context of a theatre at the behest of its paying visitors, the promise of a second performance implies the existence of a reasonably successful and well-received first performance.

⁷⁹ Joseph Donohue, 'Introduction: The Theatre from 1660 to 1800', in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre: Volume 2, 1660-1895* ed. by Joseph Donohue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 3-52 (p. 10).

Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.
 This present THURSDAY, February 9 1815.
 Will be acted the Play of

The STRANGER

The Stranger by Mr. YOUNG,
 Count Winterfen Mr HAMERTON, Count's son Master Wilton
 Baron Steinfort by Mr. BARRYMORE,
 Tobias by Mr MURRAY, Francis by Mr. FARLEY,
 Solomon by Mr. EMERY, Peter by Mr. LISTON,
 George by Mr. Heath, Henry by Mr Sarjant,
 The Stranger's Children by Master C. Parfloe and Miss Shotter

Mrs. Haller by Miss O'NEILL,
(Being her 2d appearance in that character)
 Countess Winterfen Mrs EGERTON, Annette Mrs LISTON
 Claudine by Miss CAREW, Charlotte by Mrs GIBBS,
 Susan by Mrs. DAVIES, Hannah by Mrs COATES.

After which, the farce of

HIT or MISS!

Adam Sterling by Mr. BLANCHARD,
 Janus Jumble by Mr. HAMERTON,
 Dick Cypher by Mr. MATHEWS,
 Jerry Blossom by Mr. EMERY,
 O'Rourke O'Daify by Mr. TAYLOR
 Quill by Mr. Atkins, John by Mr. Heath, Servant by Mr Norris
 Mrs Augusta Carolina Honeymouth by Mrs. DAVENPORT
 Clara Sterling by Miss CAREW.
 Dolly O'Daify by Mrs LISTON.

A Private Box may be had nightly, on application to Mr. Brandon at the Box-office.
 The Doors will be opened at HALF past FIVE, and the Play begin precisely at HALF past SIX.
 Boxes 7s. Second Price 3s 6d.—Pit 3s 6d. Second Price 2s.
 Lower Gallery 2s. Second Price 1s.—Upper Gallery 1s. Second Price 6d.
 E. Macintosh, Printer, 4, B.-w.-Street, London. VIVANT & SONS, LONDON.

Miss O'NEILL'S
 Personation of *Mrs. Haller* in the Play of *The Stranger*, excited the strongest and
 most affecting interest—the audience expressed, in acclamations, their rapturous
 delight—
 She will repeat that character on Saturday next.
 On Tuesday, ISABELLA.
 On Thursday the 16th, BELVIDERA.
 On Tuesday the 21st, MRS. BEVERLEY.
 * * * No Orders can be admitted.

*The New Musical Entertainment of BROTHER
 and SISTER continuing to be performed with
 undiminished success, will be played every Evening*
 The new popular Pantomime cannot be acted again until Monday next

Tomorrow, the First Act of The CREATION, with *Two Grand Miscellaneous Acts*.
 On Saturday, the STRANGER. The Stranger, Mr. YOUNG, Mrs. Haller, Miss O'NEILL.
 On Monday will be repeated the three Pieces of BROTHER and SISTER—LOVE, LAW &
 PHYSICK—and the New Pantomime of HARLEQUIN WHITTINGTON.
 On Tuesday (14th time) ISABELLA. Biron, Mr. YOUNG, Isabella, Miss O'NEILL.

Figure 13: CG playbill for 9 February 1815. Advertises a performance based on Benjamin Thomson's translation of August von Kotzebue's *The Stranger* (1811) followed by Isaac Pocock's farce *Hit or Miss!* (1810). BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

This playbill includes a short review of her preceding performance as Mrs Haller, which ‘excited the strongest and most affecting interest — the audience expressed, in acclamations, their rapturous delight’. Audiences are encouraged back to the theatre by the promise of O’Neill’s ‘rapturous’ impact, framing her performance as an exclusive experience not to be missed. As with many of these playbills, ‘[no] orders can be admitted’, suggesting that her performances were highly popular and usually sold out. This section is repeated in many of the successive bills. By the following week, it is listing her performances further in advance, with the playbill for 13 February listing her performances up until the 28 February. This suggests that the theatre manager could reasonably expect O’Neill to be attractive to spectators enough that her name would remain a lure at least for the following fortnight.

Although O’Neill had, at this point, only been performing in London for four months, her resounding popularity is evident from the fact that almost a fifth of this playbill is dedicated to her and her performances. Following the *dramatis personae*, the eye is drawn to a section listing her upcoming roles and when she is to perform them. In her dedicated section, her name appears on its own line in bold capital type, secondary only to the titles of performed plays. As Balme notes, ‘[t]he deliberate and, initially at least, ostentatious identification of actors and actresses marks a crucial reorganization of the relationship between theatres and the public sphere.’⁸⁰ The large section of the bill dedicated to O’Neill explicates how theatres of this period relied on the draw of popular performers and the attraction of their names in print. In such a way, her name was used to imbue the performances as a commercial product with value.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Balme, ‘Playbills and the Theatrical Public Sphere’, p. 50.

⁸¹ Focusing on written names in printed works, David A. Brewer highlights how names could be ‘put to use: as a shorthand for the value (or lack thereof) of a given text’. Crucially, for Brewer this creation of value rests on a conception of the author as a constructed persona, ‘not persons in the conventional sense of the term, but rather... other sorts of beings... types, personifications, objects...’ See Brewer, ‘The Tactility of Authorial Names’, *The Eighteenth Century*, 54.2 (2013), 195-213 (p. 196).

The typography of the section, bold and eye-catching, is made to stand out to potential theatregoers passing the bill on a wall or post. By the early nineteenth century, the blank wall had been replaced by a plethora of competing visual stimuli in the form of posters and bills, as famously depicted in John Orlando Parry's *A London Street Scene* (1835). Name recognition was one way to catch the attention of passers-by. In a preface addressed to David Garrick, George Colman the Elder reports that the printer T. Davies was 'too well acquainted with the Efficacy of [Garrick's] Name at the Top of a Play-Bill to omit an Opportunity of prefixing it to a new Publication'. Colman describes Garrick's name as 'Charm to draw in Purchasers, like the Head of *Shakespeare* on his Sign.'⁸² Through this metaphor, Colman reinforces not only the similarities in name power but also the parallels drawn between Garrick and Shakespeare which run through much of his public image-making. Like Shakespeare's head on the printer's sign, the name of Garrick becomes a reference to more than just a person but rather a set of associations signified by the typography of his name in print. 'Garrick' is not a man but a certain kind of acting, a certain kind of art, which then attracts a certain kind of customer.

Boaden similarly acknowledges the commercial power of Siddons's name when he speculates in his *Memoirs* that J. P. Kemble had encouraged her to take her part of Queen Elizabeth in *Richard the Third*, not on account of her suitability for the role, but rather because of 'the strength which her name would give to the play-bill'.⁸³ Conversely, the attractiveness of O'Neill's name on the Covent Garden bills likely derived from the continuous comparisons made between her and Siddons in contemporary reviews and periodicals.⁸⁴ The use of her name and the invocation of her personage, characterised by her

⁸² George Colman the Elder, *Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatick Writers; Intended as a Preface to the Works of Massinger. Addressed to David Garrick, Esq;* (London: 1761), p. 3, ECCO.

⁸³ Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, II, p. 296.

⁸⁴ Jacqueline Mulhallen gives an overview of critical responses to O'Neill's acting in 'Eliza O'Neil and the Art of Acting', in *Exploring the Lives of Women 1558-1837* ed. by Louise Duckling and others (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2018), pp. 120-132.

ingenuity and associations with Siddons, infused the playbill with both symbolic and, for the theatre itself, commercial value. As Charke's memoir suggests, capital letters were recognisable by readers as connotations of merit and theatrical skill. This expected convention could be exploited by playhouses wishing to strengthen the appeal of new performers and may have been a useful tact in O'Neill's early career.⁸⁵

Covent Garden playbills within the Brady Collection reiterate the associations between O'Neill and the roles previously attributed to Siddons's line of business. It was common for an actress to become associated with a particular character type, and often past performances of similar types were used to sell her performances in new roles congruent to her line.⁸⁶

Audiences were drawn by the promise of these roles, their 'specialized repertoires, self-referential and hence reassuringly predictable'.⁸⁷ Playbills could exploit this predictability to draw crowds. As noted in the *British Magazine and Review*, 'if Mrs. Siddons's name appeared in the bills for *Belvidera*, *Jane Shore*, or any other capital character in tragedy, the house was as much crowded [sp] on a Thursday night as on any other in the week'.⁸⁸ For this run of playbills, O'Neill is repeating a small variety of characters: *Isabella*, *Mrs Haller*, *Mrs Beverley*, *Belvidera*, and *Juliet*. Many readers of the playbill would have recognised these roles as previously associated with Siddons. The listing of those roles may have sparked memories of Siddons's past performances which would then colour their experiences of O'Neill.

⁸⁵ In an anonymous pamphlet titled *A Defence of Mr. Garrick (1759?)*, the author berates the practice of bringing new performers 'into Reputation' by printing 'their Names in large Letters in the Play-Bills.' This practice, he states, 'seems no less ridiculous, than if you would go about to persuade People, that the Manager had the Power of making Men and Women of the Children employed in *Queen Mab*, by mounting them upon Stilts' See *A Defence of Mr. Garrick, in Answer to the Letter-writer*. (London: 1759?), p. 22, ECCO.

⁸⁶ Playing roles outside of this type would be stepping 'out of line'.

⁸⁷ Francesca Saggini, *The Gothic Novel and the Stage: Romantic Appropriations* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), p. 25.

⁸⁸ *The British Magazine and Review*, November 1782, p. 330.

This ‘ghosting’ of Siddons’s past performances may well have been premeditated.⁸⁹ In his biography of O’Neill, Jones suggests that she may have taken on the role of Mrs Haller — as seen in the bill for 9 February 1815 — specifically because of its prominence within Siddons’s repertoire.⁹⁰ Siddons was the first to play Mrs Haller and it has been suggested that Kotzebue’s adulteress had been ‘softened’ specifically for her personation.⁹¹ O’Neill, as one of the first actresses to inherit the role, would be inviting comparison to Siddons’s originating performance. These comparisons appear to have worked in O’Neill’s favour. Jones reports that it was as Mrs Haller that ‘Critics gave a full and unqualified admission of Miss O’Neill’s merits, and laid aside the rather too invidious comparisons constantly kept up between her and Mrs. Siddons’.⁹² For Jones, association with Siddons’s roles similarly leaves room for differentiation. O’Neill’s Mrs Haller seems to have been quite different to that of Siddons. Regular commentator and theatre-goer John Waldie saw *The Stranger* around twenty times, including several of Siddons’s Edinburgh performances in 1799.⁹³ In 1815 he reports on O’Neill’s unique interpretation of Mrs Haller, describing it as ‘lovely & striking – all depressed quiet, softness, & elegance’.⁹⁴ Through her innovation in roles associated with Siddons, O’Neill is distinguished as an accomplished performer in her own right.

The listing of these roles together on these bills encourages their equalisation and association, reinforcing a sense of O’Neill’s growing repertoire. Even on days when she is not

⁸⁹ Marvin Carlson uses the term ‘ghosting’ to describe the theatrical effect of the memory of past performances by that actor, or performances by another performer in the same role: ‘The recycled body of an actor, already a complex bearer of semiotic messages, will almost inevitably in a new role evoke the ghosts or ghosts of previous roles if they have made any impression whatever on the audience, a phenomenon that often colors and indeed may dominate the reception process’. See Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 8.

⁹⁰ Jones, *Memoirs of Miss O’Neill*, p. 43.

⁹¹ Armstrong, ‘Succeeding the Siddons’, p. 172.

⁹² Jones, *Memoirs of Miss O’Neill*, p. 50.

⁹³ *The Journal of John Waldie Theatre Commentaries, 1799-1830*, ed. by Frederick Burwick ([Los Angeles]: [UCLA Library], 2008), in *UCLA: Library Special Collections* <https://escholarship.org/uc/uclalib_dsc_waldie> [accessed 9 June 2023]. For Siddons’s performances, see 19 January 1799 (IV, 6), 28 January 1799 (IV, 8), 24 June 1799 (IV, 50).

⁹⁴ *Journal of John Waldie*, 1 June 1815 (XXXII, 78).

performing, we are given O'Neill's upcoming list, again reiterating to audiences the throughline between the careers of Siddons and O'Neill. O'Neill is not performing on the playbill for a 27 February 1815 production of *Artraxerxes*, *The Sleep Walker*, and *Harlequin Whittington*, but almost one quarter of the playbill's available space continues to be dedicated to her upcoming roles.⁹⁵

The playbill for 3 May 1815 brings attention to O'Neill's debut performance as another of Siddons's celebrated roles and the subject of Williams's satiric print, Euphrasia in Murphy's *The Grecian Daughter* (1772). O'Neill is noted as reviving the role specifically for her benefit which took place on 29 April 1815 (Fig. 14). Euphrasia was a role closely associated with Siddons and it epitomises one of her most common role types: the mature virtuous woman at risk of gendered violence. It also exemplified well her classical style, and so was regularly chosen for the actress's portraits.⁹⁶ O'Neill was perhaps disadvantaged by the role's statuesque associations. Jones reports that Euphrasia required 'a command of the greatest physical powers, such as the constitution and disposition of Miss O'Neill is not adequately fitted to accomplish'.⁹⁷ Despite this, the playbill suggests O'Neill's performance to have been generally well-received, describing it as 'fully equal to any of her former efforts'. Following her benefit on 29 April, she repeated her performance twice in the following week, and four more times in that season.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ BC, 'Playbills'.

⁹⁶ Robyn Asleson, "'She Was Tragedy Personified": Crafting the Siddons Legend in Art and Life' in *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists* ed. by Robyn Asleson (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), pp. 41-96 (pp. 62-63). '

⁹⁷ Jones, *Memoirs of Miss O'Neill*, p. 53.

⁹⁸ Aggregate information from Brady's bills and the *London Stage* suggests these performances were 29 April 1815, 2 May 1815, 6 May 1815, 23 May 1815, 5 June 1815, and 19 June 1815.

Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.
This present WEDNESDAY, May 3, 1815, (4th time) Milton's revived Masque of

COMUS.

The Scenery, Machinery, Danoes, Dresses, and all other Decorations are entirely New.
The original Musick by HANDEL and ARNE.
With additions by BISHOP. The OVERTURE by CHERUBINI.

The SCENERY painted by Mess. Phillips, Whitmore, Pugh, Grice, Hollogan, Hodges, and their assistants.
The Machinery by Mr. SAUL. The Machinery by Mr. BRADWELL. The Dresses by Mr. Flower & Miss Egan.

Comus by Mr. CONWAY,
Spirit, Mr. DURUSET, Elder Brother, Mr. ABBOTT, Younger Brother, Miss FOOTE
Bacchantes,
Mr. INCLEDON, Mr. SINCLAIR, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. BROADHURST,
Mr. CINNEY, Mr. SLADER, Mr. TREBY, Mr. KING, Mr. NORRIS,
Mess. J. Brown, Everard, Lee, Linton, Montague, L. Terry, Tert, S. Tert, C. Tert, Watton, Williams
Lady, Mrs. FAUCIT,
First Bacchante, and Pastoral Nymph, Miss STEPHENS,
Second Bacchante, & Fuphrosine, Miss MATTHEWS, 3d Bacchante, & Sabrina, Mrs BISHOP
Fourth Bacchante, Mrs LISTON, Fifth Bacchante, Mrs. STERLING,
Other Bacchantes and Wood Nymphs,
Messames Boyce, Carew, Chip, Coates, Corri, Davies, Davis, Find ay, Grimaldi, Herbert, Hibbert, Iff
Lever, Norman, Ryall, West, Whitmore.

BACCHANALIAN DANCE—Mrs. PARKER.
Dance of Naiades and Nereides.
Mess. SOISSONS, Miss LUPPINO,
Mess Brown, Grant, Heath, Loui., Platt, Sarjant, Sutton, White
Messames Bradwell, Bologna, Boyce, Heath, Louis, Ryall, St. inden, Watts.
Books of the Masque, as it is represented, may be had at the Theatre, price 10d.
After which, the farce of

MRS. WIGGINS.

Old Wiggins, Mr. MATHEWS,
To which will be added (2d time) a New Grand Melo-Dramatic Romance, called

ZEMBUCA;

Or, The Net-Maker and His Wife.
Zembuca (the Sultan) by Mr. FARLEY, Selim (the Aga) by Mr. ABBOTT
Korac (the Slave and Confidant of Zembuca) by Mr. TERRY,
Mirza (the Net-maker) by Mr. EMERY, Buffardo by Mr. LISTON,
Almazaide (betrothed to Selim) by Miss S. BOOTH,
Ebra (the Net-maker's Wife) by Mrs GIBBS, Katcheca (a slave) Miss CAREW.

INCIDENTAL BALLET,
By Monsieur SOISSONS, Mrs. PARKER, Miss LUPPINO,
Printed by E. Macleith, 2, Bow-street. Vivant, Rev & Regina.

Miss O'NEILL's performance of EUPHRASIA was fully equal to any of her former efforts—She will repeat that character
On Saturday.
Tomorrow, she will perform Mrs. HALLER.
On Monday, BELVIDERA.

Mr. KEMBLE
WILL PERFORM
Tomorrow, The STRANGER.
On Monday, PIERRE.
On Tuesday, PENRUDDOCK.

* * * No Orders can be admitted.

From the extraordinary success attending the revival of COMUS, it will be repeated every Evening, Tomorrow and Saturday excepted.

Tomorrow, (for the 14th time) the Play of The STRANGER.
The Stranger by Mr KEMBLE, Mrs. Haller by Miss O'NEILL.
With the last New Opera of JOHN OF PARIS.
On Friday, the Masque of COMUS—with BOMBASTES FURIOSO—and ZEMBUCA.
On Saturday, 3d time, the Tragedy of the GRECIAN DAUGHTER. Euphrasia, Miss O'NEILL
Evander by Mr. YOUNG, Dionysius, Mr. CONWAY,
To which will be added, The SLEEP WALKER
On Monday (21st time) the Tragedy of VENICE PRESERVED. Belvidera Miss O'NEILL.
Jaffier by Mr. CONWAY, Pierre by Mr. KEMBLE.
On Tuesday, the Comedy of The WHEEL of FORTUNE. Penruddock, Mr. KEMBLE.
With the Masque of COMUS.

Figure 14: CG playbill for 3 May 1815. Advertises a performance of John Milton's masque *Comus* (1634), followed by John Till Allingham's farce *Mrs. Wiggins* (1803) and Isaac Pocock's melodrama *Zembuca; Or, the Net-Maker and His Wife* (1815). BC, 'Playbills'.
Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

Not only does this playbill invoke Siddons's past performances as Euphrasia but also O'Neill's past performances in other successful characters. By offering assurance that her Euphrasia was 'full equal to any of her former efforts', the playbill asks readers, and especially those who have seen her perform previously, to offer her the benefit of the doubt and place their trust in her good reputation. This method is repeated on many of the other playbills. For example, on the playbill for 16 June 1815, we are given two weeks' notice for O'Neill's first performance as Jane Shore. On 30 June (the day after O'Neill's debut in the role) the playbill reports back that she

Performed the Character of JANE SHORE last night for the first time---Her reception (by a most brilliant audience) was enthusiastick—Having but FOUR NIGHTS more to act this season, she will repeat that Character three of them; and by most Especial Desire, will act the part of BELVIDERA once more.⁹⁹

As well as looking to future performances, playbills perform the 'triple duty' of likewise exhibiting the past and present.¹⁰⁰ This bill employs the common tactic of coaxing the 'brilliant audience' back to the theatre with flattery. This flattery also works to allow readers to imagine the audience's emotional response to O'Neill's past performances. Even if they did not attend themselves, readers are stimulated to mimic this response and so feel compelled to experience it again. The following day this section is repeated word for word, with the addition that tonight's performance of *Jane Shore* is to be O'Neill's '2d appearance in that character'.¹⁰¹ With O'Neill's last performance for the season imminent, readers are encouraged to see her performance while they still can.

⁹⁹ Covent Garden playbill for 16 June 1815, BC, 'Playbills'.

¹⁰⁰ Gowen, p. 98.

¹⁰¹ Covent Garden playbill for 17 June 1815, BC, 'Playbills'.

Mr. MATHEWS's NIGHT.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN,
This present TUESDAY, June 4, 1816, (compressed into two acts) The

Beggar's Opera.

*The Characters to be dressed as on the first representation in 1727, and taken from
Hogarth's celebrated Picture.*

The Part of MACHEATH, (for that night only) by Mr. MATHEWS,
Who will attempt the Voice and Manner of a celebrated Performer of that Character)
Peachum by Mr. BELLAMY, Lockit by Mr. EMERY,
Mat o'the Mint, Mr. TAYLOR, Filch by Mr. SIMMONS,
Polly by Miss STEPHENS.
Mrs Peachum by Mrs DAVENPORT, Lucy by Mrs LISTON
Comick Song 'A Peep at the Forty Thieves,' by Mr. EMERY.
After which, a Musical Farce called A

Chip of the Old Block.

(As acted last season at the Haymarket Theatre, upwards of Twenty Nights, with the greatest applause.)
Sir Arthur Single, Mr. BELLAMY, Captain Single, Mr. DURUSET,
Andrew Forester Mr Treby, Farmer Lowland Mr Chapman, Robert Lowland Mr Tokely
Chip, Mr. MATHEWS, with the Songs of
"BARTHOLOMEW FAIR,"
And the Celebrated
"NIGHTINGALE CLUB,"
Lady Evergreen, Mrs. DAVENPORT, Emma, Miss MATTHEWS,
Rose, Mrs. GIBBS, Dame Lowland, Mrs. EMERY.
To conclude with a Pastoral Dance by Mr. Noble and Miss Luppino.
After which (by Permission of the Proprietors of Drury-Lane Theatre) the Farce of

THE PRIZE;
Or, 2, 5, 3, 8.
Lenitive by Mr. MATHEWS, with the Song of
"The ROYAL VISITERS,"
Label by Mr. LISTON,
Heartwell (with Songs) by Mr. DURUSET,
Caddy by Mr. BELLAMY, Juba by Master WILLIAMS, John Mr Sarjai t
Caroline by Mrs. C. KEMBLE,
Mrs Caddy by Mrs Whitmore.

E. MACLEISH, Printer, 2, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden. Vivant Rex et Regina.

Miss O'NEILL
WILL PERFORM
On Thursday, Mrs. OAKLEY.
And soon will appear for the first time in
ELVIRA in the Play of PIZARRO,
which will be performed on that night with the whole Strength of the Company,
and entirely new Scenes and Embellishments

Mr. KEMBLE
will perform on Saturday, MACBETH,—and on Monday, HAMLET.
On Saturday will be presented Shakspeare's Tragedy of MACBETH.
Lady Macbeth (BY THE EXPRESS DESIRE of the
PRINCESS CHARLOTTE and the PRINCESS AXE COBOURG)
By Mrs. SIDONS.

Tomorrow, for the Benefit of Mr. CONWAY, the Opera of The EXILE—
with Mrs WIGGINS,—and the Farce of KATHARINE and PETRUCHIO
On Thursday, the Comedy of The JEALOUS WIFE.
Mrs. Oakley (for the 9th time) by Miss O'NEILL.
On Friday, for the Benefit of Mr. JONES, the Opera of The LORD of the MANOR—-with
TOM THUMB the GREAT—-and (first time) a new Festive Entertainment called
VENETIAN VAGARIES; or Pageantry on Land and Water.
On Saturday, the Tragedy of MACBETH.
On Monday, Shakspeare's Tragedy of
HAMLET, PRINCE OF DENMARK.
Hamlet by Mr. KEMBLE,
(Being the Last Time of his appearing in that character.)
Ophelia by Miss STEPHENS. With the melo-Drama of the FORTY THIEVES.

Figure 15: CG playbill for 4 June 1816. Advertises a performance of an abridged version of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, followed by Edward Knight's musical farce *Chip of the Old Block* (1815) and Stephen Storace's *The Prize; Or, 2, 5, 3, 8* (1793). BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

These playbills clearly show the impact of audience demand on an actress's career. This demand, and more specifically Royal demand, was the catalyst for Siddons's return to the London stage in 1816. On the playbill for Mr Mathews's night on 4 June 1816, she is given her own section of the document. It declares that Siddons has been called back to the stage by the 'EXPRESS DESIRE' of Princess Charlotte and advertises her upcoming performance in *Macbeth* that Saturday, 8 June. Now, O'Neill and Siddons can be seen not only battling for space on the stage but also space on the bill (Fig. 15).

The playbill's use of bold type hints towards what may have been most likely to draw audiences for each actress. In Siddons's section, emphasis is given to the fact that the performance is by Princess Charlotte's request, therefore legitimising it as worthy of consideration.¹⁰² This draws attention to the theatre's associations with fashionable sociability. Not only was it a chance to see Siddons perform, but a chance to blend with the upper echelons of society.¹⁰³ The focus of O'Neill's section is her upcoming performance as Elvira in *Pizarro* (1799), another of Siddons's roles. No date is given for this promised personation, but audiences are instead whetted by the fact she will 'soon appear for the first time', exemplary of the commercial value of novelty for the late eighteenth-century stage.

In these playbills, we continually see the careful balancing of novelty and popularity in the listing of O'Neill's roles. Her performance of Elvira is made exclusive and seductive through the withholding of a set date. The playbill for 6 June finally gives a date for the performance

¹⁰² This playbill also includes the text 'Vivat rex et Regina' following the play listings, denoting that the performance has legitimacy and royal sanction. See Stern, "On each Wall and Corner Poast", p. 68.

¹⁰³ Interestingly, the bill for Siddons's performance in *Macbeth* on 8th June 1816 (not in the Brady Collection) chooses to emphasise this Royal connection over the presence of the actress. Despite the continued presence of O'Neill's listing of upcoming roles, Siddons's name is missing from the bolded type and appears hidden within the dramatis personae. See Oxford, John Johnson Collection, London Playbills Covent Garden vol. 1815-1816 (205). It is the same for the repeated performance on 22 June 1816, for which the playbill instead emphasises O'Neill's performance of Elvira 'with every possible success' and warns the public of her two remaining performances of the season. See Oxford, John Johnson Collection, London Playbills Covent Garden vol. 1815-1816 (217).

as ten days later, on 17 June. This means that O'Neill's never-seen-before Elvira was advertised almost two weeks in advance, holding audiences in a state of anticipation for her debut. Not only was O'Neill's performance tempting by way of its newness, but the playbill promised renewed production value in 'entirely new Scenes and Embellishments'.¹⁰⁴ In other cases, playbills capitalise on the popularity of certain roles or role-types, sometimes as a welcomed departure from expectation. An earlier playbill for 25 March 1816, for example, states that resulting from a performance of Lady Teazle which '*Again enraptured an audience overflowing from all parts of the Theatre*', she would repeat the role 'every Tuesday & Saturday during Lent.'¹⁰⁵ Lady Teazle of Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* (1777) was one of O'Neill's few regular comic roles. Although she possessed the ability to play such parts, she primarily played tragic roles shaped by the loss of Siddons.

The bill for Mr Mathews's night on 4 June 1816 (Fig. 15) is an especially good example of the ways that playbills could capitalise on the nostalgia or feelings of loss associated with certain performances. The mainpiece is to be an abridged version of *The Beggar's Opera*, appealing to the nostalgia of past productions. The characters are to be dressed as from Hogarth's famous painting, and we are promised that Mr Mathews is going to alter his voice and mannerisms to embody 'a celebrated Performer of that Character'.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the promise of Siddons later in the week encourages thoughts of her retirement performance in that role and all the strong feelings that accompanied it. This is then set against the tempting promise of O'Neill's Elvira, itself ghosted by Siddons's performances in that part. Audiences would have likely been aware of Siddons's ownership of Elvira in *Pizarro* at Drury Lane from

¹⁰⁴ As Kathryn R. Barush says, '[t]he period from 1737 to 1840 ushered in a revolution in British scenography' inspired by technological innovation and Romantic aesthetics. See 'Painting the Scene', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832*, ed. by Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 264-285 (p. 264).

¹⁰⁵ CG playbill for 25 March 1816, BC, 'Playbills', original emphasis.

¹⁰⁶ Here the playbill is probably referring to Tom Walker, the original and much celebrated owner of the part for its premiere at Drury Lane in January 1728.

1799. For some, O'Neill's Elvira would be ghosted by the memory of Siddons's previous personation. However, on this bill, it also appears in association with Siddons's spectral repeat of her 'final' performance as Lady Macbeth, a reminder of Siddons's bygone youth. Her 'after-experiments', Hazlitt argues, 'only serve to fritter away and tamper with the sacredness of the early recollection.'¹⁰⁷ As Hodgson Anderson notes, 'the role that had come to epitomize Siddons's achievements best accentuated this decline.'¹⁰⁸ On the playbills this textual juxtaposition, in which the retired Siddons stands alongside her youthful successor, brings into focus the impotency of her return; a grim reminder of the unavoidable mortality of stage performers, and the inevitability of their replacement.

The bill for 18 June reports back on the success of O'Neill's Elvira, stating that her performance occurred '*with every possible success—and the Play of PIZARRO having been honoured thro'out with the loudest peals of applause, it will be repeated on Monday.*'

Notably, there is no mention of Rolla here, who had been played primarily by Mr Young following Siddons's retirement. Siddons herself is also absent.¹⁰⁹ She appears again on a bill for 21 June, which advertises an additional performance of *Macbeth* – again by request of Princess Charlotte – due to take place the following night. On the playbills for 26 June and 28 June, however, she is no longer given her own section of the bill, and advertisements of her performances are relegated to the footing text, in favour of heavy descriptions for the scenes and spectacles of mainpiece performances.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Hazlitt.

¹⁰⁸ Hodgson Anderson, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁹ CG playbill for 18 June 1816, BC, 'Playbills', original emphasis. The original owner of the bill seems to have added a note as to record their own remembrances of the performance on 18 June, a production of *Inkle and Yarico* and *Timour the Tartar*, recording: 'Boxes tolerable at full Price and quite filled at ½ [half price.] Pit and [word omitted] overflowing at first Price'.

¹¹⁰ CG playbill for 26 June and 28 June 1816, BC, 'Playbills'.



Figure 16: Covent Garden playbill for 16 November 1816. BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

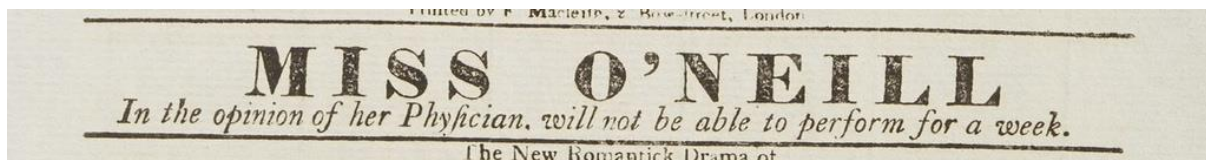


Figure 17: Covent Garden playbill for 7 February 1817. BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

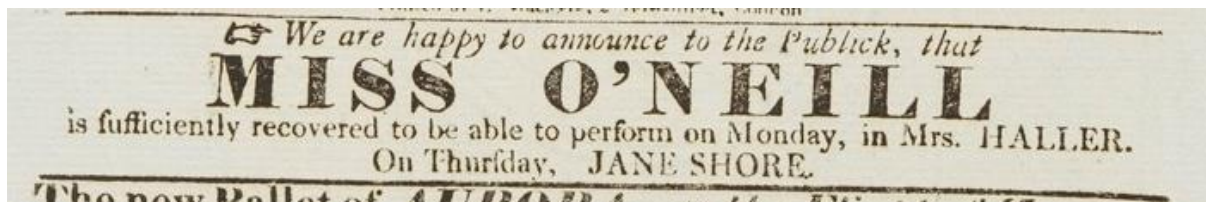


Figure 18: Covent Garden playbill for 22 February 1817. BC, 'Playbills'. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

By the end of 1816, the roles being performed by O'Neill seem less and less important. On the playbill for 16 November 1816, it is her name which is most emphasised, with her upcoming role added underneath in very small text. The notice that she 'will perform' is comparatively almost illegible (Fig. 16).¹¹¹ Even when in the following February there is notice given of O'Neill falling ill and then returning a few weeks later, precedence is given to her name over in adjoining information (Fig. 17 and Fig. 18). The inclusion of this note speaks to how audiences felt entitled to knowledge of the health and private lives of performers, especially actresses. Actresses' personal lives were regularly speculated about in periodicals, poetry, and pamphlets. However, the inclusion of such information in playbills points to how it was now being officially exploited by the theatrical institution.¹¹² The full

¹¹¹ Of course, we must remain mindful that viewing playbills digitally obscures their true scale.

¹¹² Balme, 'Playbills and the Theatrical Public Sphere', p. 57.

capitalisation of O'Neill's name (as opposed to the former capitalisation of the surname only) and the use of a manicule to draw attention to the theatre's happy announcement to their 'Publick' (Fig. 18), further suggests that readers may have been scanning the playbill for certain names or information.¹¹³ Although, as Laurence Senelick reminds us, playbills were designed primarily to be read, the use of these techniques suggests a non-linear mode of reading in which readers jumped around the bill, rather than reading it from top to bottom.¹¹⁴ Siddons gives her true final performance as Lady Randolph in John Home's *Douglas* (1756) at Covent Garden on 9 June 1819 for Charles Kemble's benefit. O'Neill had taken that part the previous year, opposite Kemble as Douglas, but it had been 'unsuited alike to her juvenile appearance and her style of acting.'¹¹⁵ Macready recalls the trepidation he felt for her performance in the wake of her revival earlier revival of *Lady Macbeth*. Although there had been 'a gleam of the "original brightness"' in her Lady Randolph, all was lost following her caution to Norval at the end of the second act:

this was the last flicker of the dying flame; no flash enlightened the succeeding scenes. Her powers were no longer equal to those bursts of passion in which, with unrivalled skill, she had formerly swayed at will the feelings of her audience.¹¹⁶

Siddons did not return to the stage again. She died in 1831 at the age of seventy-five.

Siddons's final performance was, in fact, only one month before O'Neill's own retirement. In July 1819, O'Neill was announced as Mrs Haller, for supposedly 'her last performance before Christmas.' This was, as it turns out, her last ever performance on the stage. By that Christmas, she was married to William Wrixon-Becher M.P., who eventually inherited a

¹¹³ Manicules were regularly used in forms of advertising, including playbills. As William H. Sherman states, 'The primary functions served by the manicule are designed, on the one hand, to clarify the organization of the text and, on the other, to help individual readers find their way around that structure and put their hands on passages of particular interest'. See William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 41.

¹¹⁴ Senelick, p. 176.

¹¹⁵ Macready, p. 121.

¹¹⁶ Macready, pp. 129-130.

baronetcy in 1831. Macready describes her hasty withdrawal thusly: ‘Like the star of Hipparchus, she had suddenly shone out to the surprise and wonder of all beholders, and, after a brief display of her glory, as suddenly and silently had vanished from their sight.’¹¹⁷

She died in 1872, at the age of eighty-one.

As to be expected, playbills bearing the name of Siddons are a coveted collector’s item. As desirable objects, they have allowed for the collection and memorialisation of actresses within collections of ephemera like Brady’s. For Charles Lamb, the playbill can conjure an experience possibly even superior to the performance itself. He recalls picking up a playbill from the ground and being motivated to recall past performances on the London stage. He declares there to be ‘something very touching in these old remembrances’, his nostalgic yarn gesturing towards the tactility of the playbill as a paper object and physical representation of theatrical knowledge and performance history.¹¹⁸

My analysis here has been deeply shaped by the sample of bills included within the Brady Collection. Despite the framing of 1816 as the year of Siddons’s return, Brady’s bills instead put the rise of Eliza O’Neill front and centre. Specifically, the collection does not contain any bills from the nights of Siddons’s special performances. The result is that we get a picture of Siddons’s return to Covent Garden specifically through the lens of its surrounding performances and its indirect advertisement. It is hard not to read her shape in the bills as one of decline. Even on the bills for her returns as *Lady Macbeth for Princess Charlotte* on 8 and 22 June 1816, not included within the Brady Collection, her name is absent from the top of the bill and hidden in the lines of the *dramatis personae*.¹¹⁹ Unlike O’Neill, whose name appears consistently even on days when she is not performing — including that of the

¹¹⁷ Macready, p. 180.

¹¹⁸ Charles Lamb, *Elia: Essays Which Have Appeared Under That Signature*, 2 vols (London: 1823), II, p. 302.

¹¹⁹ See Oxford, Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection, London Playbills Covent Garden vol. 1815-1816 (205) and (217).

Macbeth performances — Siddons's name seems here a reticent ghost of her prior glory. Only as Lady Randolph did her name return to its former status; its italic fat face type a striking epitaph for her final departure.¹²⁰

Without a doubt, playbills were the most important form of advertisement for theatres and the primary vehicle for the dissemination and mediation of information about theatrical performances. And, as Gillian Russell suggests, the bill-seller 'often a woman, was the first point of contact with the theater, informing the audience of what they were about to see and contributing to the sense of anticipation and excitement that defined the occasion.'¹²¹

Therefore playbills can be considered not only to be vehicles of mediation but themselves subject to mediation: by the uniquely theatrical labour of the bill-seller. Orange-girls and other bill sellers would be required to engage in both physical and auditory performance — calling, chanting, and moving the body — to sell bills and other wares. This image of the orange-girl's 'performance' as salesperson centres a mediating relationship that goes far beyond the printed words on a playbill. As David Gowen argues, playbills, 'typically liaising between the extant written text... and the ephemeral performance... exemplify their mediating qualities most obviously during the actual enactment of the drama'.¹²² It appears that the mediating power of the playbill acts in a physical realm just as it does a textual one, through its presence within the theatre and its use by audiences, and even on stage by the actresses themselves. One way in which actresses used the playbill on stage was as a prop in performance.

¹²⁰ See Oxford, John Johnson Collection, London Playbills Covent Garden vol. 1818-1819 (194).

¹²¹ Russell, "'Announcing each day the performances'", p. 243.

¹²² Gowen, pp. 241-242.

The playbill as prop

As we have seen, playbills were crucial for the visibility of actresses on the walls outside the theatre, but they also played a vital role in aiding the audience's understanding of what they were seeing within the theatre space. Playbills provided the audience with information regarding who and what was on the stage, and second to their function as advertisements was their crucial function for aiding the interpretation of what was being viewed. If you were seated far from the stage and subject to the theatre's poor lighting, you might struggle to identify players on the stage without the help of a playbill. In some cases, playbills would list the specific scenes being performed, aiding audiences in identifying locations and temporalities within the drama. However, one aspect of the playbill's mediating role within the theatre has remained unconsidered: the playbill's existence as a prop in the performance of prologues and epilogues. As stage property, the playbill as an object contributed directly to the making of theatre and continued to mediate the performances of actresses on the boards of the physical stage.

In prologues performed by men, the playbill is employed as a vehicle through which the actor can ally himself with the audience as a fellow spectator and offer pre-emptive commentary on the night's show. For example, in the prologue to John Dent's two-act farce *The Candidate* (1782), Mr Palmer enters the Haymarket stage 'Reading the Play-Bill of the Day'. He exclaims:

The Candidate! Why, that's the general aim,
All Candidates for Int'rest Love, or Fame;
Throughout this life, where'er the prospect's laid,
The word itself of Candidates is made.¹²³

Using the last of the listing of the play in his bill as a jumping-off point, Palmer launches into a social and political commentary. Shown to be reading the bill of the day (and possibly even

¹²³ John Dent, 'Prologue', *The Candidate* (London: 1782), ECCO.

the actual bill for that performance), Mr Palmer becomes a fellow spectator in the audience free to pass comment on the significances and ironies of the night's programme. As a prop, the playbill facilitates the performer of the prologue, in a role or as themselves, to comment on the coming performance, allying them with the audience as just another spectator through the creation of a meta-theatrical dimension in which fiction blends with reality.

Like many stage properties, the use of a playbill situates the performance within a specific time and place through what Honzl terms 'scenic metonymy'.¹²⁴ The playbill as prop works to signify and stand in for a wider theatrical setting. Through the targeted use of a singular prop or props, scenic metonymy encourages the imagining of an alternative setting without the need for elaborate stage design. A bucket and spade signify a beach, or a small stack of books signifies a library. In this case, the audience does not need to *imagine* a theatre — they are in one — but the playbill as prop works to separate this real theatre from an imagined one in which they have exclusive access to the players on stage. As a stage property employed in the masculine-coded paratext of the prologue, the playbill becomes, not only a metonymic signifier of the stage but also a talismanic symbol of the informed and critical theatregoer.

The positioning of the actor as just another spectator allows for an alliance between the player and the audience, which in turn facilitates the prologue performer's informed criticism of the coming performance.

In actresses' epilogues, working again as scenic metonymy, the playbill as prop situates the performance in an imagined theatrical space in which the audience gains exclusive access to the actress's 'real' life. In Kitty Clive's epilogue to Arthur Murphy's satire on spouting clubs,

¹²⁴ Jindrich Honzl, 'Dynamics of the Sign in the Theater', in *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, ed. by Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik, trans. by I. R. Titunik (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1976), pp. 74-93 (p. 77). For more on the function and effect of stage props, see Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010) and Eleanor Margolies, *Props* (London: Palgrave, 2016).

The Apprentice (1756), an afterpiece for Thomas Southerne's *Oroonoko* (1699), she enters the stage 'reading the Play-Bill' and announces:

A Very pretty bill—as I'm alive!
The part of—Nobody—by Mrs. Clive,
A paltry, scribbling fool—to leave me out;
He'll say, perhaps—he thought I could not *spout*.¹²⁵

With the help of the playbill, the audience is transported to a behind-the-scenes theatrical location in which Clive, as herself, is lamenting her apparent exclusion from the performance. The prop playbill, signifying a behind-the-scenes location for real events, asks the audience to suspend their disbelief that this epilogue is in fact, 'written' by Clive; a live reaction to her seeing the playbill for the first time.

In the line, 'The part of—Nobody—by Mrs. Clive,' we can observe a mirroring of the playbill form's textual convention. Seen printed, as it may have been in magazines of the time, the spacing and capitalisation encourage the line to be read as if Clive is on the playbill in the character of 'Nobody', a simultaneously named and unnamed referent. She is similarly bringing attention to the fact that her name may have been listed on the bill but with no part. Often actresses, known for their abilities in performing epilogues, would be employed to give the piece without performing in any of the main productions. Clive suggests that she may not have been asked to perform on account of her not being able to 'spout'; a reference to the eighteenth-century pastime of men meeting in public houses to perform short pieces from plays, and the subject of *The Apprentice*. The irony here is that by standing on stage and giving an epilogue, Clive is performing the exact form of oratory that spouters — their spouter's companions filled with epilogues — wished to emulate.¹²⁶ Clive then claims that

¹²⁵ Arthur Murphy, 'Epilogue', *The Apprentice* (London: 1756), ECCO.

¹²⁶ Epilogues are commonly found in spouting miscellanies such as *The New Spouter's Companion* (1790). For more on spouting clubs and their use of epilogues see Leslie Ritchie, 'The Spouters' Revenge: Apprentice Actors and the Imitation of London's Theatrical Celebrities', *The Eighteenth Century*, 53.1 (2012), 41-71 and Ellen B. Brewster, 'Reading Aloud?: Elocution Manuals and Reading Practices (1750-1800)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2020).

she may have been left out of the performance because she had written a farce, her afterpiece *The Rehearsal* (1750). With the playbill standing in for an imagined theatrical setting, the audience is given access to the green room and insight into an imagined feud between Clive and Arthur Murphy.

In another epilogue, that of Elizabeth Griffith's 1766 comedy *The Double Mistake*, Mary Wilford (later Bulkley) is seen to 'forget' her lines upon seeing her name printed on the bills. Like that expressed by Charlotte Charke in her memoirs, Bulkley is shown to experience such anxiety at seeing her name on the playbill that she completely forgets the words of the epilogue that she is supposed to perform. In the character of Lady Louisa, Bulkley laments that:

But I'm so hurried, put in such a fright,
I Had an Epilogue to speak tonight,
Deuce take me!—if I hadn't forgot it quite.
To see my name in first night's playbill printed,
A character quite new, in time quite stinted;
An Epilogue besides, to get by heart,
'Tis most unmerciful, too long a part—¹²⁷

Although the playbill is no longer physically visible as a prop in stage direction, its imagined existence through reference still works as to complicate the personas of Bulkley and her character of Lady Louisa. Although the distinction is clear in the printed edition — we are told Bulkley is in the character of Lady Louisa — this would not have been so clear on stage. She would have likely performed the epilogue in her costume, but it could be read from either the point of view of Mary Bulkley as actress, or Lady Louisa. The name being seen in the 'first night's playbill printed', of course, could be either 'Miss. Wilford' or 'Lady Louisa'. The 'character quite new' is more likely to be a reference to the performer's motives and emotions, their internal character, rather than the relatively modern usage as interchangeable

¹²⁷ Elizabeth Griffiths, 'Epilogue', *The Double Mistake. A Comedy. As it is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden.* (London: 1766), ECCO.

with ‘role’. Therefore, this character, ‘in time quite stinted’ can be read as a reference both to Lady Louisa as a new and yet-to-be-developed role, and to Mary Wilford as still a relatively new actress. Various scholars argue this mixing of role and actress to be a common convention in eighteenth-century epilogues.¹²⁸ With the addition of a playbill employed as a stage property, this becomes further accentuated by the ludic manipulation of typographic and thematic conventions of the playbill’s form.

Conclusions

Playbills were not produced with posterity in mind. Only with their collection have they gained status as a repository of the past. Unfortunately, too often they are viewed as simply a vehicle of information regarding piece and player. In this chapter, I have demonstrated some of the ways that we can liberate the playbill from this simplistic use. Playbills have much to offer us regarding the actress’s relationship to the theatre and how specific actresses’ careers were constructed and mediated. They likewise open lines of enquiry regarding how actresses (and actors) are committed to cultural memory. As I argue, playbills played a considerable role in the lasting construction of Eliza O’Neill as the true successor to Sarah Siddons. As a form of advertising, they were crucial to the survival of an actress within the commercial world of the eighteenth-century stage. As Tiffany Stern states, ‘a play, first met as an advertisement, would have been viewed not in the theater, but in the context of the aggressive, non-moral world of the post, with its promotional strategies and its quality of dubious subjects.’¹²⁹ By invoking the past performances of both O’Neill and her predecessor, the Covent Garden managers were able to entice their publics to their theatre for many sold-out productions.

¹²⁸ See Diana Solomon, *Prologues and Epilogues of Restoration Theater: Gender and Comedy, Performance and Print* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013); Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*; Brooks, *Playing Women*.

¹²⁹ Stern, ““On each Wall and Corner Poast””, p. 78.

Here playbills of the eighteenth century appear exemplary of a complex intertheatricality, critical to the construction of an actress's career and the development of her line of business. As both Charles Lamb and Brady himself point out, they should be considered as physical representations of the dramatic act. This becomes even more pertinent when we consider their occasional use as a stage property. As a prop for actresses' epilogues, the playbill becomes a metonymic signifier of the permeable boundary between character and performer. This is, of course, a boundary exploited by the form of the dramatic epilogue itself. The following chapter will further explore the form and function of the eighteenth-century actress's epilogue. Building upon the discussions of typography and textual form raised in this thesis so far, it will analyse how actresses' performances are mediated by the printing of these epilogues in periodical magazines and specifically, how the theatricality of the performed epilogue is translated into printed type.

2. Punctuating Performance in Epilogues in Periodical Magazines

On 3 April 1793, Elizabeth Farren spoke the epilogue to Edward Morris's new play *False Colours*. The piece was popular and was reprised for all but two of the play's nine performances at the Haymarket.¹ Farren took the role of Constance in the play as well as speaking the epilogue.² It opens:

Faces are books, where men may read strange matters;
Of the mind's movements ev'ry feature smatters;
As thoughts arise, though the mute tongue conceal them,
Our eyes, cheeks, chins, and noses, all reveal them—
Your thoughts of this our Play, then, to discover.
I'll read good folks, your countenances
Please to hold up your heads—so—keep your places——
Really, a fine well-printed set of faces!³

The piece employs the extended metaphor of faces as books to light-heartedly comment on the 'readability' of the audience and establish that their opinions of the play can always be seen in their expression. The piece leans upon implied typographic meaning. Later in the epilogue, Farren describes a theatre critic as a 'black-letter'd face', a 'chubby duodecimo', marking his identification with both the 'cheap' print of the middling class and a 'typographic nostalgia' for literary drama.⁴ Here, the typographic and material aspects of print stand in for both human corporeality and internal meaning. Similarly, when this epilogue was printed in the *Lady's Magazine* in May 1793, the printing itself was made to stand in for Farren's physical performance on the stage of the Haymarket. As a result, the epilogue points towards

¹ Thematic epilogues like this one, which did not comment on current events, were often repeated. The epilogue was omitted for two performances on 1 May and 2 May, for which Farren was replaced with Miss Heard. See *London Stage*, III, p. 1543.

² The first print edition is dedicated to Farren 'AS A *F*AINT TRIBUTE, TO HER EXQUISITE PERFORMANCE OF *C*ONSTANCE'. See Edward Morris, *False Colours, a Comedy, in Five Acts* (London: T. Cadell, 1793), ECCO.

³ *The Lady's Magazine*, vol. 24 (May 1793), pp. 269-270, BC, P + E 4 DIS-FAS (61).

⁴ By the end of the eighteenth-century black letter was rarely used but it retained an association with antiquarian play-reading. See Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 99-126 (p. 120).

the value of such a metaphor, but also the constraints of print in accurately rendering embodied experience, more specifically, embodied theatrical performance.

Readers of the epilogue would have had their experience of Farren's performance heavily mediated by the format and typography of the periodical itself. To evoke Farren's performance for readers, the printed epilogue uses typographic features to stand in for facets of the actress's vocal and bodily affect which are not otherwise readable in text. In the above section's penultimate line, dashes are used to encode Farren's modelling of lifting the head ('hold up your heads—so—') and her extended pause of looking at the audience's action ('keep your places——') before praising them for their efforts: 'Really, a fine well-printed set of faces!' Here dashes equally mediate both the temporality and spatiality of Farren's performance; they attempt to mark both her bodily action and the pace of her voice. In the first chapter, I outlined the importance of typography and techniques of printing for the mediation of actresses' performances before they occurred. I now turn to examples of typography after performance and consider the mediation of actresses' performances in printed epilogues.

Specifically, I will be looking at several epilogues printed in the *Lady's Magazine*, which ran from 1770 to 1818.⁵ I turn now to the *Lady's Magazine* for two reasons: first, it is one method of narrowing down the Brady Collection's massive selection of 824 paratexts, and second, it seems to have been an important source for Brady's collecting of eighteenth-century prologues and epilogues. Out of approximately 353 prologues and epilogues extracted from periodicals (on 642 pages), at least 146 are from the *Lady's Magazine*.⁶ Of those 146 paratexts, fifty-four are labelled as performed by actresses. Apart from three special

⁵ The *Lady's Magazine* continued to be published until 1832. I have chosen to focus exclusively on the first series due to the number of relevant resources available and to keep this chapter within the same temporal bounds as others.

⁶ 45 of the prologues/epilogues taken from the periodicals in the Brady Collection currently have unconfirmed sources. See Appendix C for a full list.

addresses, all are epilogues. Unlike the prologue, which was usually performed by an actor, the epilogue was usually performed by an actress. Such pieces saw the actress critiquing politics, commenting on dramatic style and genre, and flattering audiences to return the next night. Epilogues are pertinent for a study of performance and mediation as they often exist as a midpoint between an actress in role, and out of role. They are, in other words, the mediating point between performer and character.

Eighteenth-century prologues and epilogues, such as those published within the *Lady's Magazine*, have received renewed attention since the publication of Autrey Nell Wiley's *Rare Prologues and Epilogues, 1642-1700* (1970) and Pierre Danchin's multi-volume *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century: A Complete Edition* (1990).⁷ The availability of such resources has encouraged the wider consideration of the performed prologue/epilogue and how they 'occupy important rhetorical space' working 'in combination with the play with which they are attached in order to complete meaningful aesthetic and ideological work amongst the theater patrons.'⁸ However, less attention has been paid specifically to their life in print. Scholars who do mention the printing of prologues and epilogues often do so inconsequentially or concern themselves with their printing in playtexts only. For example, Diana Solomon acknowledges prologues and epilogues as 'epitexts' and notes that they were published in various formats both before, and after, performance but remains primarily interested in performed epilogues and their printing in playtexts.⁹ Sonia

⁷ Autrey Nell Wiley, *Rare Prologues and Epilogues, 1642-1700* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970); *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century: A Complete Edition*, ed. by Pierre Danchin, 6 vols. (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1990). See also Mary Etta Knapp, *Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

⁸ Daniel J. Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagle, 'Introduction', in *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers, and Afterpieces*, ed. by Ennis and Slagle, pp. 13-32 (p. 21). This includes the four chapters within Ennis and Slagle's collection dealing with prologues and epilogues that cover several conventions of the performance of such pieces: the communication between playwright and audience (McCallum); their generic distinctions (as seen through the practice of attaching a comic epilogue to a tragedy, discussed by Solomon); their dramaturgical value (Sawyer); and their relationship to the gender of their performer (Fowler).

⁹ Solomon, pp. 6-7. Here Solomon borrows the verbiage of Gérard Genette in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Massai and Heidi Craig claim to ‘for the first time’ consider ‘how differently these documents functioned on the stage on the page’ but again, their work deals exclusively with playtexts.¹⁰ Although Cynthia Wall makes the distinction that the move ‘from the stage to the page, as [the prologue and/or epilogue] is published, is a move between worlds of interpretation and experience’, as of yet, there has no sustained study of the reprinting of such pieces in periodical magazines.¹¹ This chapter aims to fill this lacuna, by contextualising the printing of actresses’ epilogues within a wider landscape of theatrical printing and, specifically, the periodical’s relationship to eighteenth-century theatre.

It is crucial to understand these printed epilogues within the context of the magazine’s ‘theatrical imperative’ and preoccupation with celebrity.¹² As Jennie Batchelor argues in her recent study of the *Lady’s Magazine*, the contexts of the publication must be read as ‘part of the dynamic and interactive multi-media ecology of the magazine’.¹³ Periodicals like the *Lady’s Magazine*, ‘one of the longest-lived periodicals of the eighteenth century, and the era’s most successful women’s magazine by a considerable margin’, were crucial to the commercial success of the eighteenth-century theatre.¹⁴ They circulated advertisements and bills for upcoming performances; published puff pieces about theatres, playwrights, and performers; and encouraged repeated custom through the publishing of reviews, theatrical criticism, and memoirs, or ‘portraits’, of famous actors and actresses. Within the ‘ecology’ of the eighteenth-century magazine, a form highly concerned with the intricacies and

¹⁰ Sonia Massai and Heidi Craig, ‘Rethinking Prologues and Epilogues on Page and Stage’, in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents*, ed. by Stern, pp. 91-110.

¹¹ Cynthia Wall, ‘Poems on the Stage’, in *The Oxford Handbook of British Poetry, 1660-1800*, ed. by Jack Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 23-39 (p. 23).

¹² Judith Pascoe uses ‘theatrical imperative’ to refer to the way that the theatrical concerns of eighteenth-century newspapers can be seen to infect the other content within its pages. See Pascoe, *Romantic Theatricality: Gender, Poetry, Spectatorship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 163.

¹³ Jennie Batchelor, *The Lady’s Magazine (1770-1832) and the Making of Literary History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), p. 84.

¹⁴ Batchelor, *The Lady’s Magazine*, p. 2.

movements of celebrity, fashion, and taste, such theatrical paratexts retained their inherent connections to theatricality and staged performance.

The organisation of the prologues and epilogues within the Brady Collection appear to obstruct this wider view of the *Lady's Magazine's* interconnected content. All the prologues and epilogues within the collection have been ripped out of their issues and pasted on individual backing paper. Although some have been labelled as being from the *Lady's Magazine*, most are not labelled at all. In many cases, the source has not been immediately apparent, and I have had to confirm it through consultation with the *Lady's Magazine Index* or other methods.¹⁵ This organisation encourages an alternative approach: one which highlights individual typographic and textual features. This is the approach I pursue in this chapter. It also highlights Brady's apparent disregard for the periodical's material form. In removing these epilogues from their magazine bindings, he prioritises their individual performance value over their existence as reading material within a miscellaneous publication.

Recent work within the field of eighteenth-century studies reveals the importance of punctuation variation and other typographic features to the period's literary culture.¹⁶ Further, various scholars have considered the printing of drama, and specifically how performance is translated into text.¹⁷ Claire M. L. Bourne's *Typographies of Performance* (2020) illuminates

¹⁵ Sources for prologues and epilogues were confirmed using the *Lady's Magazine Index* or using Google Books to search for titles and page numbers. See Jennie Batchelor, Koenraad Claes and Jenny DiPlacidi, *The Lady's Magazine Index* (2022) <<https://data.kent.ac.uk/140/>> [accessed 24 April 2023].

¹⁶ Some recent examples include Daniel Diez Couch, 'Printing Emma Corbett: Revolutionary Violence and the Prosthetics of Typography', *The Eighteenth Century*, 59.4 (2018), 449-469; Helen Williams, *Laurence Sterne and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021); and Richard Wendorf, *Printing History and Cultural Change: Fashioning the Modern English Text in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

¹⁷ See, for instance, D. F. McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve', in *Buch und Buchhandel im Europa im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), pp. 81-125; Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of Text in Early Modern England', *Text*, 11 (1998), 91-154; and Bourne, *Typographies of Performance*.

how typographical features of printed plays — such as dashes, stage directions, and type sorts — can be seen to ‘[make] the non-verbal dynamics that animated plays on stage legible in print’ through the effort of printers who were ‘finding typographic corollaries for extra-lexical, meaning-making aspects of performance’.¹⁸ As with most studies of this kind, Bourne’s focus is on the early-modern codex playbook. Few have considered the printing of performance in other venues, such as in the periodical magazine.¹⁹

I contend that printed epilogues in the *Lady’s Magazine* employ many of the same techniques. Analysis of their typographic features reveals how actresses’ performances, and in particular their theatrical features — their character performance, vocal changes, pauses, and comedic style — are translated into print. However, the format of the magazine brings with it a consideration of the publication’s wider theatrical imperative and concern for celebrity. Unlike the printed playtext, these epilogues are not only printed for the purpose of recording performance. They can also be considered tacit artefacts of theatrical celebrity and a key method through which actresses’ performances were mediated to the public. Before moving on to some case studies of some printed epilogues in the *Lady’s Magazine*, I contextualise their printing by outlining the close relationship between the theatre and periodical culture in the period, paying particular attention to the publication’s ties to theatrical celebrity.

The *Lady’s Magazine* (1770-1818) and printing for the theatre

The *Lady’s Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* first appeared in 1770 and quickly became one of the most influential periodical publications of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, by far, the most successful publication for women. Its relative

¹⁸ Bourne, *Typographies of Performance*, p. 3. See also ‘Typography After Performance’, in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents*, ed. by Stern, pp. 193-215.

¹⁹ Jennifer Batt acknowledges the inclusion of prologues and epilogues as poetry in magazines, but she does not consider the impact this had on their interpretation as performance. See Jennifer Batt, ‘Poems in Magazines’, in *The Oxford Handbook of British Poetry*, ed. by Lynch, pp. 55-71.

success and proliferation compared to other magazines is clear from the fact it is, by an equally considerable margin, the most well-represented publication within Brady's extensive selection of printed prologues and epilogues. The *Lady's Magazine* printed a wide range of materials within its pages, everything from national news and political happenings to theatre reviews, literary excerpts, fashion plates, and embroidery patterns.²⁰ As was common for periodicals of the eighteenth century, its content was a cobbled-together mix of reprinted material from other publications and original material provided by both its publishers and its readers.²¹ Recent feminist recovery work, especially that undertaken by Jennie Batchelor, has successfully resituated the title as an important moment in the development of the magazine as a format of publication.²²

Periodicals and magazines are regularly turned to by scholars for insight into contemporary discourse and the changes in taste and public opinion and have been the subject of several landmark studies in recent years. Most scholars would agree that periodical culture 'belongs to the eighteenth century'.²³ The reading and writing of eighteenth-century periodicals and

²⁰ For more discussion of the *Lady's Magazine's* varied content see Batchelor, 'Modes, Media and Miscellaneity: The Contents of the Lady's Magazine', in *The Lady's Magazine*, pp. 80-123.

²¹ For more on readers' contributions to *The Lady's Magazine*, see Koenraad Claes, "'Due encouragement': The Consecration of Female Authorship Through Reader Contributions and Extracts in the First Series of the Lady's Magazine (1770-1819)", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 50.2 (2017), 319-335, and Jennie Batchelor, 'Anon, Psued and "By a Lady": The Spectre of Anonymity in the *Lady's Magazine*', in *Women's Writing, 1660-1830: Feminisms and Futures*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Gillian Dow (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 69-86. Of course, it is important to note that not all contributors to the magazine were women and the magazine was read widely by men also.

²² See Jennie Batchelor, "[T]o cherish FEMALE ingenuity, and to conduce to FEMALE improvement": The Birth of the Woman's Magazine', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690s-1820s: The Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 377-392 (p. 379). See also other chapters in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain*, ed. by Batchelor and Powell; Jean E. Hunter, '*The Lady's Magazine* and the Study of Englishwomen in the Eighteenth Century', in *Newsletters to Newspapers: Eighteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. by Donavan H. Bond and W. Reynolds McLeod (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 1977), pp. 103-117; Alison Adburgham, *Women in Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines from the Restoration to the Accension of Victoria* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972); Ros Ballaster and others, *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991); Shawn Lisa Maurer, 'The Periodical', in *The History of British Women's Writing, vol. 4 1690-1750*, ed. by Ros Ballaster (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 156-172.

²³ Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, 'Introduction: Women and the Birth of Periodical Culture', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain*, ed. by Batchelor and Powell, pp. 1-21 (p. 2).

magazines have long been associated with the urban coffeehouse, but such publications were also read widely in both the provinces and abroad in British colonies.²⁴ As “‘storehouses’ of previously printed material,’ magazines were a crucial vehicle for the dissemination of information and culture.²⁵ Habermas famously declares the periodical, and essay periodicals like the *Tatler* and *Spectator* specifically, as essential to the development of a public sphere, originating in the eighteenth century, and reliant on a growing population of print readers.²⁶ Although in the years since Habermas has been widely challenged on the conclusiveness of this claim, Siskin and Warner no-less identify periodicals as a ‘cardinal’ moment in their history of mediation.²⁷ As Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell’s collection *Women’s Periodicals and Print Culture* (2018) shows, women were key to the development of periodical culture, and this was not limited to what we might call ‘women’s publications’ like the *Lady’s Magazine*.²⁸ Powell showed in an earlier book that, despite the nomenclature that tends to separate the *Spectator* from the *Female Spectator*, all periodicals ‘were frankly very interested in women as both subjects and readers’.²⁹ Near to the top of this list of subjects is the actress, who appeared regularly in a periodical press that harboured a close relationship to the eighteenth-century theatre.

Periodicals were very important to the theatre as an institution. The commercial theatres were heavily reliant on the newspapers and magazines that advertised upcoming performances

²⁴ Gillian Williamson, *British Masculinity in the “Gentleman’s Magazine,” 1731 to 1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 52-56.

²⁵ Siskin and Warner, ‘This is Enlightenment’, p. 15.

²⁶ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Berger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), pp. 42-43. It’s important to note that this claim has been widely refuted. For example, scholars such as Alexandra Halasz show how features attributed to the eighteenth century by Habermas are already developing earlier in the sixteenth century. See Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²⁷ Siskin and Warner, ‘This is Enlightenment’, p. 15.

²⁸ *Women’s Periodicals and Print Culture*, ed. by Batchelor and Powell.

²⁹ Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), p. 133.

through the reprinting of playbills and recorded past ones through a steady stream of reviews.

As Stuart Sherman puts it

you would not attend a performance without being mindful of the printed buzz that brought you there and of the press coverage that might ensue; you could not read the paper without at least subliminally absorbing reports of performances past and blazons of ones to come.³⁰

In a 1719 dedication to the tragedy *Ximena*, Colley Cibber acknowledged ‘How often have we known the most elegant Audiences drawn together at a Day’s Warning, by the Influence or Warrant of a single *Tatler*’.³¹ For most of the 1700s, the front pages of the daily newspapers were consumed by adverts for the theatre.³² As well as advertisements, periodicals also featured reviews. Publications like Richard Steele’s *Tatler* (1709-1711) and the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1731-1815) helped make theatrical reviewing and criticism a core element of the eighteenth-century periodical. The trust given to periodicals regarding their theatrical reports led to a whole slew of periodical titles solely devoted to the theatre from 1720. Such titles included the *Prompter, a Theatrical Paper* (London, 1734-1736), the *Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine* (London, 1772-1773), and the *Theatric Magazine; or, General Repository* (Dublin, 1805-1806).³³ This wide range of theatrical periodicals reached around 160 different newspapers, journals, and magazines between 1800 and 1830.³⁴ Critical to this relationship between the theatre and the press is the fact that some publications had financial ties to the stage.

³⁰ Stuart Sherman, ‘Garrick Among Media: The “Now Performer” Navigates the News’, *PMLA*, 126.4 (2011), 966-982 (p. 970).

³¹ Colley Cibber, ‘Dedication to “Ximena” 1719’, in *Joseph Addison and Richard Steele: the Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 129-132, ProQuest.

³² Jonathan Mulrooney, *Romanticism and Theatrical Experience: Kean, Hazlitt and Keats in the Age of Theatrical News* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 36.

³³ For a comprehensive overview see Carl Joseph Stratman, *Britain’s Theatrical Periodicals, 1720-1967: A Bibliography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1972).

³⁴ Marilyn Gaull, *English Romanticism: The Human Context* (London: Norton, 1988), p. 81.

It does not seem that the *Lady's Magazine* had such ties, but theatre managers were known to have investments in newspapers. It is suggested that David Garrick, for example, owned shares in up to four different publications.³⁵ Following the Half Price Riots of 1763, he also struck a special publicity deal with the *Public Advertiser*; in exchange for an annual fee, the paper received exclusive advance information about upcoming performances.³⁶ Such investment in periodicals could be financially lucrative, but it also offered the opportunity for the swaying of public opinion regarding players and their performances. *The World and Fashionable Advertiser*, founded in 1787 by John Bell and Edward Topham, was fully enmeshed within theatrical society. Contributors included Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Elizabeth Inchbald, and Topham, himself a notable writer of prologues and epilogues, was the lover of actress Mary Wells. Wells herself claimed to have a role in the creation and editorial of *The World* and the level to which she influenced its contents is the subject of contemporary graphic satires.³⁷ Although it is unclear to what extent she truly contributed, as Anna Senkiw notes, '[e]nthusiastic praise of Wells become one of the *World's* defining features.' The paper regularly included hyperbolic descriptions of her performances and emphasised her skill within her line of business.³⁸

The press allowed Garrick to promote the attributes of 'Brand Garrick', namely his dramatic skill and associations with Shakespeare.³⁹ Like Garrick, actresses like Catherine Clive and Charlotte Charke used their position as contributors to take advantage of the periodical press which 'constituted... the newest, most iterative, and most ubiquitous media platform of them

³⁵ Jane Moody, 'Stolen Identities: Character, Mimicry and the Invention of Samuel Foote', in *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain*, ed. by Luckhurst and Moody, pp. 65-89 (p. 72).

³⁶ Sherman, 'Garrick Among Media', p. 977.

³⁷ Senkiw, pp. 264-267.

³⁸ Senkiw, pp. 269-270.

³⁹ Ritchie, *David Garrick and the Mediation of Celebrity*, p. 88.

all.⁴⁰ Stuart Sherman uses the ‘prism’ to describe the ‘mediatic practice’ in which newspapers and periodicals could ‘refract’ the image of a performer, increasing their reach, influence and, most importantly, their earning potential.⁴¹ However, it is important to note that such financial investment or personal involvement could not always guarantee positive press. In one such case, Garrick complained to George Colman that he had been ‘insulted greatly’ by the publication of a false report in ‘a Paper, in which I have a property’.⁴²

Some commentators were, of course, critical of the periodical’s potential for influencing public opinion and taste. By the start of the nineteenth century, concern was growing about the commercialisation of theatrical criticism and the potential for such paid-for reviews to ‘[damage] common modes of theatrical experience’.⁴³ Reviews of performances were inconsistent and so many were seen as suspect.⁴⁴ Wrapped up in this concern, however, was the implicit acknowledgement that periodicals had the power to boost, or bury, the reputation of theatres, playwrights, and performers.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the periodical press was awash with gossip and reports on the personal lives and public scandals of individual players. As Jane Moody argues, ‘the newspaper... was emerging as a crucial site for the construction and destruction of reputations; theatres and newspapers also began to exploit their mutual interests in the

⁴⁰ Stuart Sherman, ‘The Periodical and the Prism: Two Ways of Working at Celebrity in the Careers of Catherine Clive, Eliza Haywood, and Charlotte Charke’, in *Making Stars: Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Nora Nachumi and Kristina Straub (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2022), pp. 17- 42 (p. 17).

⁴¹ Sherman, ‘The Periodical and the Prism’, in *Making Stars*, ed. by Nachumi and Straub, p. 18.

⁴² David Garrick, *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. by David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), III, pp. 1020.

⁴³ Mulrooney, p. 79.

⁴⁴ In *Theatre in the Age of Kean*, Joseph Donohue argues that ‘then, as now, a large proportion of theatrical journalism was at least undistinguished, and some was heavily biased (gratuitously, or for a price), supercilious, condescending, reactionary or just grossly ignorant.’ See Donohue, *Theatre in the Age of Kean* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), p. 145. Nicoletta Caputo agrees with Donohue, noting how ‘reviewers wildly vacillated in their criticisms, and authors, like actors, were damned and praised and damned again in successive issues by the same critics.’ See Nicoletta Caputo, ‘Theatrical Periodicals and the Ethics of Theatre in the Romantic Age’, *DQR Studies in Literature*, 55 (2015), 43-56 (p. 56).

production of publicity'.⁴⁵ Alongside newspapers, periodical magazines like the *Lady's Magazine* regularly printed material that capitalised on this growing concern for individual and collective celebrity.

It seems pertinent to pause here to offer a brief definition of what I mean by 'magazine'.

Although I use the terms 'periodical' and 'magazine' somewhat interchangeably throughout this chapter, they are, importantly, quite different. Unlike the prose format of the essay periodical, magazines can be identified through their miscellaneous nature and expectation of a non-linear mode of reading. As Jennie Batchelor outlines, 'Periodicals... are defined temporally, by frequency and regularity of publication. Magazines, by contrast, are defined formally... they are all defined principally by their miscellaneous character and the absence of any kind of unifying perspective'.⁴⁶ In the eighteenth century, Samuel Johnson defines the magazine as 'a storehouse... or repository of provisions', noting that 'Of late this word has signified a miscellaneous pamphlet'.⁴⁷ Johnson's definition highlights how magazines were 'storehouses' of disparate information which could be mined for whatever was required. Magazines, like the bound miscellany, were designed to be read haphazardly; instead of reading beginning to end, readers were encouraged to jump around its pages, giving time and attention to whatever happened to pique their interest.⁴⁸ In summary, a magazine is a kind of periodical, but not all periodicals are magazines.

Like many periodicals, the *Lady's Magazine* concerned itself with the nascent celebrity culture of the late eighteenth century. For actresses' prologues and epilogues, their common

⁴⁵ Moody, 'Stolen Identities', in *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain*, ed. by Luckhurst and Moody, p. 72.

⁴⁶ Batchelor, "[T]o cherish FEMALE ingenuity, and to conduce to FEMALE improvement", in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture*, ed. by Batchelor and Powell, p. 379.

⁴⁷ Samuel Johnson, 'magazine, n.s.', in *A Dictionary of the English Language* <https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/1755/magazine_ns> [accessed 14 January 2022].

⁴⁸ For more on the relationship between miscellanies and periodicals, see Carly Watson, *Miscellanies, Poetry, and Authorship, 1680-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), especially the chapter 'Miscellanies and Periodicals: Kindred Forms and the Circulation of Poetry', pp. 121-155.

printing in periodical magazines exemplifies their importance for a burgeoning celebrity culture that glorified the stage actress as a beacon of fashion and contemporaneity. Theatrical celebrity was ‘propped up’ by the periodical press. Responding in part to Habermas in her study of eighteenth-century actresses in newspapers, Anna Senkiw puts it thus: ‘Celebrity cannot be divorced from the press’s role in the development of the public sphere; it is not a *thing* but rather a structure – not a counter-culture but enmeshed within culture.’⁴⁹ Certainly, it is *still* enmeshed within culture, seen now in social media and glossy magazines which find their origins in the eighteenth-century periodical. Indeed, Leslie Ritchie defines celebrity as ‘an iterative form of public recognition that is the product of repeated media exposures across multiple media platforms.’⁵⁰ The periodical, the *Lady’s Magazine*, was one of these platforms. It both contributed to and engaged in the creation of, discourse about the nature of celebrity.

This definition, of course, differs from the term used in the magazine itself. The July 1794 issue of *The Lady’s Magazine* included an extract from Hester Piozzi’s *British Synonymy* (1794) titled ‘Fame, Renown, Reputation, Celebrity, Notoriety’: ‘These rational objects of turbulent desire, these words which have prompted so many actions good and bad, and not, though all delightful, exactly synonymous.’ The piece defines celebrity as ‘of weaker degree in strength, and narrower in extent’ to fame. Celebrity commands ‘the admiration of his own small circle’, whereas fame is for ‘names of more importance to future ages’ and renown for ‘science, heroism, or virtue’. Here, celebrity is defined as — in comparison to fame or renown — something short-term, and often bestowed for a particular act or within a particular community.⁵¹ The magazine harboured active discourse about the subject, printing

⁴⁹ Senkiw, p. 18, original emphasis.

⁵⁰ Ritchie, *David Garrick and the Mediation of Celebrity*, p. 10.

⁵¹ *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 25 (July 1794), p. 351.

several pieces which defended a contemporary love of fame as ‘productive of much more good than harm’ and, in words attributed to the playwright Frances Brooke, the ‘passion under the influence of which the greatest actions have been achieved’.⁵² We cannot consider a reprinting as representative of a magazine’s views, or even an endorsement, but it does provide the background against which epilogues were printed and insight into how such pieces contributed to the magazine’s theatrical imperative and its wider discourses surrounding fame and celebrity.

Actresses were a specific focus of the magazine as they seemed to fit well within its self-declared aim to ‘cherish *Female* ingenuity’.⁵³ Within the magazine, they were common subjects of both prose and poetry. Over the course of its publication, the *Lady’s Magazine* included several memoirs and written portraits of actresses which focused on their rise to fame, stage popularity, and often, their eventual departure. These were often extracted from contemporary accounts, memoirs, and other theatrical texts. These included a piece on Elizabeth Barry taken from Colley Cibber’s *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (1740), a piece on Kitty Clive taken from Thomas Davies’s *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* (1780), and even some reprinted letters from Mrs Bellamy to Tate Wilkinson which had recently been published in Wilkinson’s *Memoirs of His Own Life* (1790).⁵⁴

Certain actresses received the magazine’s special attention, such as Mary (Perdita) Robinson possibly most famous for her highly publicised affair with the young Prince George IV.

Following her theatre career, and bolstered by the scandalous affair, Mary Robinson gained

⁵² ‘The Love of Fame beneficial to Mankind. By Mr. J. M. Lacey.’, in *The Lady’s Magazine* 45 (April 1814), p. 174; ‘On the LOVE of FAME.’, in *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 15 (July 1784), p. 354. In a letter to the editor printed in June 1794, a contributor notes the varied potential of ‘Love of Fame Universal’ to lead to both ‘envy, malice, and avarice’ or ‘disinterested benevolence which involves in its own the welfare of others’. See *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 25 (June 1794), pp. 315-316.

⁵³ *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 12 (January 1781), iv, original emphasis.

⁵⁴ *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 7 (October 1776), p. 522; *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 11 (September 1780), p. 488; *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 21 (Supplement, 1790), p. 686.

recognition as ‘unquestionably one of the most famous women of the late eighteenth century’.⁵⁵ She was a familiar figure to the periodical press, listed by the *Telegraph* in 1797 as one of many ‘who pay to have themselves puffed in the Newspapers’.⁵⁶ The *Lady’s Magazine* published several poems dedicated to her in its pages, such as ‘To Mrs. Robinson, Impromptu’, printed in the September 1792 issue and signed ‘W. W. D’. The poem addressed itself to Robinson, ‘To *Her* whom *Nature* hails the *Queen of Song*’.⁵⁷ Another ode from the following year by a contributor with the pseudonym ‘Shandy’ opened with ‘Oft we see bewitching charms / Fill the soul with found alarms! / Here they center all in *one*, / With the beauteous *Robinson!*’⁵⁸ Actresses were, of course, a popular subject of poetry and often satirical works targeted the apparent falseness and licentiousness of stage women.⁵⁹ In contrast, many of the poems included in the *Lady’s Magazine* are favourable toward their subjects.⁶⁰ Such poems were likely submitted to the magazine, not to denigrate their public image, but rather to seek pleasure in communal praise, admiration, and reminiscence with other readers.⁶¹

Alongside such textual engagements with celebrity, periodicals offered image plates encouraging the ‘fashionable consumption’ of commercial products and the latest trends in

⁵⁵ Brock, p. 13. See also Tom Mole, ‘Mary Robinson’s Conflicted Celebrity’, in *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture 1750-1850*, ed. by Tom Mole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 186-206.

⁵⁶ Cited in Leigh Bonds, ‘The Power of the Puff: Mary Robinson’s Celebrity and the Success of *Walshingham*’, *CEA Critic*, 75.1 (2013), 44-50 (p. 44).

⁵⁷ *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 23 (Sept 1792), p. 494. This poem was later reprinted in ‘Tributary Lines Addressed to Mrs. Robinson’ in Mary Robinson, *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Robinson: Vol. 4* (1801) and attributed to the playwright John St. John.

⁵⁸ *Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 24 (Aug 1793), p. 439.

⁵⁹ Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p. 85.

⁶⁰ The magazine’s support for actresses can also be seen in its reprinting of Robinson’s own poetry. For example, ‘Cupid Sleeping’ was reprinted in the October 1791 issue, ‘Sonnet to a Rose’ was reprinted in the November 1793 issue and her moral extracts were reprinted in the February 1793 issue. Robinson’s poetry was also printed by the *Morning Post* during her employment there as poetry editor, at which time she ‘almost certainly wrote her own puffs’. See Pascoe, *Romantic Theatricality*, p. 1.

⁶¹ For more on the role of magazines in fan communities, see Anthony Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine: A History of Star Makers, Fabricators, and Gossip Mongers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010).

clothing, often as worn by actresses.⁶² In November 1770 the magazine published a report on ‘Genteel Undress *for the Ladies*’ illustrated by an ‘*elegant Engraving*’ of the actress Ann Catley in Thomas Orne’s ballad opera *Love in a Village* (1762). The report affirms the London stage to be ‘the standard of taste with respect to dress’ and after a brief description of Catley’s performance, thanks the theatre manager, for ‘obliging the public, by engaging a person, whom all admire, and many envy.’⁶³ Under the guise of a contemporary fashion report, albeit one referencing a performance from eight years previous, this piece legitimises Catley as a fashionable celebrity. As Laura Engel shows, periodicals like the *Lady’s Magazine* often included prints of famous ladies, mainly actresses and Royal women, as ‘celebrity pin-ups’ which ‘participated in the creation of ideas about women’s claim to fame, legitimacy, and visibility’.⁶⁴ Indeed, by the late eighteenth century, ‘the fashionable actress and lady of fashion are barely distinguishable from each other’.⁶⁵ Providing readers with the current fashions in both dress and drama, the *Lady’s Magazine* consolidated the theatre — and the actress — as a source of inspiration.

Actresses’ epilogues published within the magazine similarly represented the latest dramatic fashions. Epilogues were usually printed in the same month as the performance or in the months immediately following it. Rather than prioritising eminent playwrights, the magazine valued novelty and temporal relevance. Many paratexts are taken from farces, afterpieces, and lesser-known dramas such as Macready’s five-act *The Bank Note* (1795) and Holcroft’s

⁶² Jane Taylor, ‘“Important Trifles”: Jane Austen, the Fashion Magazine, and Inter-textual Consumer Experience’, *Retailing and Consumption*, 2.2 (2016), 113-128 (p. 120). For more on the fashion plates in periodicals, see Chloe Wigston Smith, ‘Fast Fashion: Style, Text, and Image in Late Eighteenth-Century Women’s Periodicals’, in *Women’s Periodicals and Print Culture*, ed. by Batchelor and Powell, pp. 440-457.

⁶³ *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 1 (November 1770), pp. 178-179.

⁶⁴ Laura Engel, ‘Magazine Miniatures: Portraits of Actresses, Princesses, and Queens in Late Eighteenth-Century Periodicals’, in *Women’s Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain*, ed. by Batchelor and Powell, pp. 458-473 (p. 458).

⁶⁵ Jessica Munns, ‘Celebrity Status: The Eighteenth-Century Actress as Fashion Icon’, in *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Tiffany Potter (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 70-91 (p. 82).

Love's Frailties (1786). Such minor pieces reflect the reality of the roles actresses were taking daily on the London stages.

For the magazine, a periodical form inherently bound up with temporality, importance and contemporaneity are almost indistinguishable. Celebrity was important to the magazine because it was/is current; celebrity 'espouses the rapid rhythm of current events'.⁶⁶ In the *Lady's Magazine*, then, theatrical celebrity is figured as not only a concern for individual star actresses but also a concern for the contemporaneity of the stage in general. Printed epilogues often featured women we would not now consider 'star' actresses. One such example is Harriet Litchfield (1777-1854), whose epilogue for Charles Dibdin's *Errors Excepted* appeared in the *Lady's Magazine* in 1808. Litchfield made her debut at Covent Garden in 1792 at the age of fifteen. In 1800 'she emerged from relative obscurity' following a performance as Lady Macbeth opposite Mr Cooke.⁶⁷ Despite having a reasonably successful career in tragedy, Litchfield is little-known compared to the likes of Elizabeth Farren. She was, however, a worthy subject for the magazine because, despite the lack of 'Litchfieldmania', she was contemporary, she was *current*.

It might also be the case that the magazine prioritised certain genres of epilogue which they saw fitting to their intended audience and wider aims. As Solomon outlines in her taxonomy of eighteenth-century epilogues, many were directly addressed to the ladies of the audience, as were some of the examples to be discussed later in this chapter. 'Female solidarity' epilogues appealed to women in the audience through shared experiences (often of men), and others implicitly, or explicitly, attempted to influence women's conduct.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Lilti, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Phillip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Longhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-93), IX, p. 328.

⁶⁸ Solomon, p. 105.

Having placed the printing of epilogues in the *Lady's Magazine* within the wider context of the theatre's relationship with the periodical press, I consider individual examples of actresses' epilogues reprinted in the magazine. Readers would have interacted with such printed epilogues as both dramatic texts for reading and as artefacts of theatrical celebrity. The following section focuses primarily on the formatting and typography of such epilogues, looking at how typographic features — such as dashes, brackets, and italic type — stand in for the aural and kinetic qualities of actresses' performances. Just as in the playbills, in which bold capital type signified a performer's career, in printed epilogues typography plays a key role in constructing theatrical meaning beyond the stage.

Isabella Mattocks's epilogue to *The Fortune's Fool* (1796)

Typography and the look of the page are of particular importance for dramatic texts. In the early-modern period, a grammar developed for printed plays that helped define a way of reading. As Bourne explains:

By the 1590s, the particular design characteristics of playbook *mise-en-page* evoked many of the extra-lexical, meaning-making effects of theatricality, most of which we assume to have been lost or erased or ignored in the process of repackaging playtexts made for one media environment (the theatre) to suit a different medium: the printed book.⁶⁹

Bourne's work unveils how early-modern playbooks employed typography and, what Bourne terms, 'extra-lexical business' to make legible in text those forms of theatricality thought bound to the stage. Textual shorthand for theatricality, such as the use of stage directions, dashes, and other forms of punctuation, was imperative for making print drama visible and legible, *as drama*. Of course, Bourne is here talking of playtexts, printed versions of entire plays. However, *mise-en-page* is just as implicated in the mediation of actresses' performances in periodicals, as we will see.

⁶⁹ Bourne, 'Typography *After* Performance', pp. 194-195.

The formatting of prologues and epilogues in the *Lady's Magazine* stays relatively constant throughout its publication. Like many other periodicals, the pieces were included in a section titled 'Poetical Essays' alongside other forms of more conventional poetry and formatted within two columns. It is not clear where the pieces came from. Some may have been copied from other periodicals, others may have been provided by the theatres themselves and copied from prompt books. Epilogues are usually given alongside a prologue (although not always) and both pieces are introduced by several details regarding the piece, and its performance.

Such information seems to have been important for the printing of theatrical paratexts in the *Lady's Magazine*. Of the 146 prologues and epilogues that I have confirmed are taken from the magazine in the Brady Collection, fifty-three per cent give the name of the writer, ninety-six per cent give the name of the performance, and eighty-six per cent give the name of the performer. The location of a performance is not often given, although theatre-savvy readers would be able to deduce a performance's location from the names of the performers, knowing to which theatre the actress was currently under contract. Similarly, they could match performances to their theatres if they regularly read reviews or playbills. For example, reading Elizabeth Farren's epilogue for Samuel Jackson Pratt's *The Fair Circassian* (an adaptation of Hawkesworth's 1761 novel *Almorán and Hamet*) published by the magazine in 1781, a reader in-the-know could infer that it was performed at Farren's then place of employment, Drury Lane, and so imagine it within that theatre's walls.⁷⁰ Likewise, printed epilogues and prologues do not usually give the exact date of a performance, although often that information is implied by the timing of the publication. Sometimes a date is given if the piece is particularly timely, such as in the case of an address given for a season's opening or a performer's retirement.

⁷⁰ According to the *Biographical Dictionary*, Elizabeth Farren was employed at DL at this time (V, p. 183).

The regular inclusion of the name of the performance and the name of the performer speaks to such details' relative importance for a reader's engagement with the text. Like the playtext's *dramatis personae*, the attribution of the performer's name can be considered as 'an indicator of the play's receptive horizons'.⁷¹ A note that a piece is, for example, 'Spoken by Mrs. Mattocks' seems like a straight-forward assertion of fact and context, but it does considerable heavy-lifting as textual apparatus which both prepares the reader for what they are about to read and suggests the parameters of their engagement with it. The verb phrase 'spoken by' brings attention to the actress's voice and proposes an auditory quality to the text that follows.⁷² Offered in the past tense, it also distinctly references a bygone event that the reader can only experience as past. And yet, typography is used to recreate that performance for the reader, in the present.

In epilogues and other dramatic texts, typographic features stand in for the aural and kinetic qualities of performance. To further explicate this, I will now turn to a case study, Isabella Mattocks's epilogue to Frederick Reynolds's comedy *The Fortune's Fool* (1796). Reynolds's play premiered at Covent Garden on 29 October 1796 and featured Mattocks in the role of Miss Union, a matchmaker. It was performed there regularly until 29 December of the same year. The epilogue was featured in the December 1796 issue of the *Lady's Magazine*, first up in the Poetical Essays section (Fig. 19 and 20).

⁷¹ Tamara Atkin, 'Character Lists', in *Stage Parts*, ed. by Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 123-136 (p. 129).

⁷² Of course, there is no way for us, as theatre historians, to recover and now how actresses of the time sounded. Judith Pascoe has written an entire book addressing this undeniable fact. As Pascoe deftly illustrates, even in the eighteenth-century, before the advent of the phonograph, writers and thinkers were grappling with the uncomfortable truth that voice could not be captured in print. See Judith Pascoe, *The Sarah Siddons Audio Files: Romanticism and the Lost Voice* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011).

EPILOGUE to FORTUNE'S FOOL

(565)

POETICAL ESSAYS.

EPILOGUE
TO THE NEW COMEDY OF
FORTUNE'S FOOL.

Written by M. P. ANDREWS, Esq. M. P.

Spoken by Mrs. MATTOCKS.

ONCE more I come your favouring
smiles to catch;
Myself I offer now;—say—is't a match?
No partial flame I feel for great or small:
I love you roundly, and I'll take you all.
Perhaps you'll think me bold to court
the men;
If so, I do but copy nine in ten—
Like high-drest misses, to attract the
beaux, [pose:
Each grace of art, and nature too, ex-
But as I only trust to mental charms,
And bare no elbows, ankle, neck, or arms;
My fondness I, without a blush, may
boast:— [molt.
You can but say that I'm barefac'd at
But, oh! true woman! fond of selfish
prattle, [battle:
I fight my own, and not our author's
He, trembling Dramatist of Notoriety,
To Speculation fears to add—Satiety.
Oft he has tried your patience hereto-
fore:
Shall he not try it now a little more?
Sweet Patience! long they exercise thy
powers,
In other houses full as much as ours.
See, anxious trepidation, how it flushes
The virgin member with his maiden
blushes!
Hetakes his seat, and, all his troubles past,
The long-expected moment comes at last.
He rises—twirls his hat—hem!—strokes
his chin,
Probes his cravat, and ventures to begin:
“Sir, I am sensible—(some titter near
him) him! hear him!”
I say, sir, I am sensible:—“Oh, hear
He, bolder grown, for praise mistaking
pother, [other.
Tea-pots one arm, and spouts it with the
Once more: “I'm very sensible indeed,
That (though we should want words) we
must proceed,

And (for the first time in my life) I
think—
That no great orator should ever shrink—
And, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I, for one,
Will speak out boldly, fir—and so—I've
done.”
Peace to his eloquence! to banish that,
Suppose we have a little female chat.
Vulgar miss Bull, and lady Scrag Lop-
side, [never idle.
Whene'er they meet—their tongues are
Miss Bull begins—
“Lauk! what a bonnet!—why, it looks
quite scurvy— [turvy.”
It's like a coal-skuttle turn'd topfy—
“It's like some heads then, miss, all
smoke and smother:
So one good turn, you see, deserves an-
other:
But your straight-forward taste who can
resist?” [twist;
“Some tastes, my lady, seem to have a
If women will forget that they grow
older, [the shoulder,
And wear, like children, straps across
Why not, like children, give them play-
ful smacks, [backs? ”
And lay the shoulder-straps across their
“Miss, you're severe—
“But here's my comfort—this I'll fondly
hug.”
“Your favourite work, ma'am?”—
“No! my favourite Pig.
[Shows a little dog:
That is his kennel— [Points to a small
basket effeminately ornamented.
Oh, the pretty creature!
How neat and elegant is every feature!
He drinks noyau, and dines upon boil'd
chicken; [yourite picking.
Though ragout sweetbreads is his fa-
Lest the hot sun should tan the little fel-
low, [brella;
When he walks out, I carry this um-
[Exhibits a sun-shade.
But when cold, frosty weather comes to
nip it,
He wears a little spencer and a tippet—
Come kiss me, love—oh! who could
think it dear
To pay five shillings for thee every year?”
Her

Figure 19: Epilogue to *The Fortune's Fool* (1796), taken from the *Lady's Magazine* (December 1796), p. 565; BC, P + E 5 FAT-ISA (12). Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

Her la'ship's kindness should be priz'd,
 which brings [things;
 Such useful lessons from such uselefs
 And folly never can be out of date,
 While puppies may grow up to help the
 state. [alarms,
 * And sure that state need never fear
 While glorious naval conquests crown
 her arms.

SONGS
 IN THE NEW OPERA,
 ABROAD AND AT HOME.

AIR—*Mr. Inledon.*

ONCE, all that could enchant the
 fight,
 Enraptur'd fancy drew,
 And deck'd each prospect of delight
 With tints of brightest hue.
 In fairy loveliness array'd,
 The beauteous object shone,
 While charm'd I gaz'd, hope sweetly said
 "These prospects are thine own."

But fancy, now, from forms of joy
 Averts her sick'ning sight;
 Her pencil horrors wild employ,
 And scenes of blackest night.
 The dismal prospects rise to view,
 Where dire ill's combine:—
 Despair exclaims, "Bid hope adieu:
 These prospects now are thine."

AIR—*Mr. Fawcett.*

WHEN to my pretty Poll I went,
 And I to travel fought her,
 "Ah, stay at home, dear Jack, (says she)
 I cannot cross the water."
 What could I do? Away I flew,
 A curriole I bought her:
 Six smoaking bays, all Hyde-park's gaze,
 From Tatterfall's I brought her.
 "Dear Jack, (says she) how kind you be,
 (She'd coax like Eve's own daughter,)
 With you will I both live and die,—
 Do all but cross the water."
 Then, splashing, dashing, through the
 town,
 She drove, the stare of all.
 The echo of her rattling wheels
 Was, "There goes pretty Poll!"
 "Oh, pretty, pretty Poll!"
 From ev'ry tongue the echo rung—
 "See, there goes pretty Poll!"

* The two last lines were added in com-
 pliment to sir G. K. Elphinstone's capture
 of the Dutch squadron at the Cape.

What a lad then was I!
 All to dress at me try:
 And my praise to withhold, none so
 curriish.
 With a girl so divine,
 Such dinners! such wine!
 What a damn'd clever dog was Jack
 Flourish?
 But an end to my cash,
 And my fame goes to smash;
 No friends my good qualities nourish;
 For they, once so kind,
 Now agree in one mind,—
 "What a damn'd stupid flat is Jack
 Flourish!"
 Thus left by friends, by bailiffs seiz'd,
 And this vile limbo near,
 Yet with one hope I still was pleas'd,
 That Poll my cage would cheer.
 To Poll I told where I must go,
 And not to leave me fought her;
 She, laughing, cried, "Dear Jack, you
 know,
 I cannot cross the water."

LAURA; A BALLAD.

By a young Lady of fifteen.

TH' enliv'ning sun, bright orb of day,
 In splendour, o'er the plains
 Arose, and call'd to daily toil
 The village nymphs and swains;
 When Laura, youthful, rich, and fair,
 That morning bent her way
 To where a beauteous bow'r was rear'd,
 Bedeck'd with flowers gay.
 The honeysuckle, jasmine, rose,
 Scatter'd their odours round;
 Daisies, and yellow buttercups,
 Enamell'd all the ground.
 The glittering dew begemm'd the grass,
 And, as she pass'd along,
 The linner, blackbird, and the thrush,
 Welcom'd her with a song;
 The Zephyrs wafted rich perfumes,
 Stol'n from each herb and flow'r;
 The playful lambkins frolick'd round,
 When Laura reach'd the bow'r.
 Scarce was she seated ere she heard
 A plaintive voice complain;
 Crying, "Alas! what have I done
 To merit so much pain?
 "Yet how dare I, presumptuous wretch!
 (I though press'd with such a load
 Of dire misfortunes) how dare I
 Arraign the righteous God?"

Ju&

Figure 20: Top left, remaining lines of the epilogue to *The Fortune's Fool* (1796), taken from the *Lady's Magazine* (December 1796), p. 566; BC, P + E 5 FAT-ISA (12). Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

Immediately striking is the fact that the epilogue was printed without the prologue. In many cases, epilogues in the *Lady's Magazine* are printed following the associated prologue, offering the reader, in some way, a truncated experience of the play itself. As Abigail

Williams observes:

part of the appeal of the prologue or epilogue was the fact it encapsulated, in some sense, a whole play, yet at the same time was a set piece that referred to contemporary fashions and scandals, giving its readers a taste of what they might imagine to be the *beau monde*.⁷³

For readers, printed prologues and epilogues gave them access to a performance, and importantly, to an event. Here, the reader is given only the epilogue. Looking at other sources, it seems that Mattocks's epilogue far outshone the prologue. *The London Stage* informs us that the epilogue was, unusually, repeated twelve times throughout the play's run. Given epilogues were often only performed on a play's first night, this is significant evidence for both the popularity of the play itself and the popularity of Mattocks's performance. It is specifically noted that the epilogue was omitted on 15 November although there is not a reason given. It is again omitted on 17 November, but this is likely because Mrs Fawcett had performed in place of Mrs Mattocks. Just as actresses owned parts in plays, they tended to own epilogues. The epilogue, firmly associated with Mattocks, likely would not have been received so favourably had it been performed by Mrs Fawcett. The epilogue is not seen again following this change, apart from a one-off performance on 25 January 1797. It is specifically mentioned that the original epilogue is included on this date and so it can reasonably be assumed that Mrs Mattocks had also returned to her role as Miss Union.⁷⁴

⁷³ Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 183.

⁷⁴ *London Stage*, III, pp. 1910-1933.

The epilogue begins with Mattocks speaking as herself using first-person pronouns. She acknowledges that the audience would not have been surprised to see her performing the epilogue, and flatters them with a loving compliment:

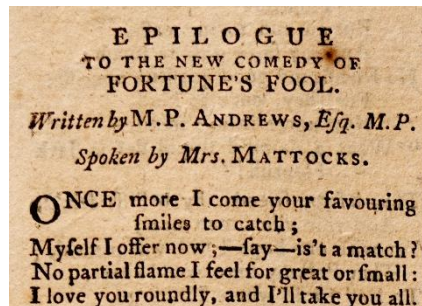


Figure 21: Detail of epilogue to *The Fortune's Fool*.

Indeed, Mattocks was particularly skilled in the performance of epilogues, another factor likely to have contributed to the piece's regular use throughout the play's run. Her offering of herself to the audience here — 'Myself I offer now' — speaks to the function of the epilogue in the eighteenth century. Whereas the prologue's goal was to introduce the piece, flatter the author, and comment on current affairs, the goal of the epilogue was to cajole the audience into returning to the playhouse for future performances. Often, references to the actress's epilogue have led to such sweeping generalisations that 'prologues and epilogues frequently proclaim the sexual availability of the woman who delivers them' and that Restoration actresses 'reinforced the idea of themselves as whores' through their speaking of epilogues.⁷⁵ However, as Deborah C. Payne shows, such generalisations do not accurately portray the material, whose most common archetype was the 'actress-as-suppliant' who appeals to audiences for their compassion and support.⁷⁶

Some epilogues were performed in character, and others would be performed by the actress, *propria persona*, acting as herself. However, in many cases, the dramatic persona being

⁷⁵ Laura J. Rosenthal, "'Counterfeit Scrubbado": Women Actors in the Restoration', *The Eighteenth Century*, 34.1 (1993), 3-22 (pp. 4-5); Howe, p. 98.

⁷⁶ Deborah C. Payne, 'Reified Object or Emergent Professional?', p. 27.

presented was a third amalgamation of character and the actress's personhood; 'a deliberate hybridization of her onstage role and offstage public persona'. Solomon calls this third persona 'betweenness'.⁷⁷ This concept is similar to Nussbaum's definition of the 'interiority effect', which she states as the mixing of 'the actress's putative personality with the assigned character's emotions and thoughts'. This effect is by no means exclusive to the performance of epilogues, or performances by women. Indeed, my sense of the difference between Solomon's and Nussbaum's approach is that Nussbaum's 'interiority effect' governs performance more generally, whereas Solomon's 'betweenness' is a specific feature of the eighteenth-century epilogue. The interiority effect is the 'illusion of interiority' given in performance; betweenness, on the other hand, is the result of the epilogue's crafting, which can also be seen in the text.⁷⁸

Both concepts are useful for thinking about printed epilogues in magazines as they address both the textual aspects of actresses' epilogues — what was written, the script they performed — and the consequence of such pieces. In a way, the purposeful slippage of performer and part in epilogues, their betweenness, acts on, and reacts to, the interiority effect upheld in performance. As Nussbaum says, celebrity attached itself to the 'apparent interiority' upheld in plays, and especially in epilogues.⁷⁹ The 'Myself' of Mattocks's epilogue, that she offers up to the audience, is not herself, but the idea of herself, a feigned interiority. It is this interiority that the magazine, then, extends to its readers.

⁷⁷ Solomon, p. 18.

⁷⁸ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, p. 20.

⁷⁹ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, p. 20.

This printing, then, mediates access to the interiority offered by Mattocks's epilogue. Although the epilogue makes little mention of Mattocks's personal life, it does draw heavily on the character comedy for which she was often praised. The topic of the epilogue is speech, both monologue and dialogue, as it moves between two vignettes: one of a nervous politician making his first speech in the House of Commons, and the second being a dialogue between two ladies of fashion. The opening of the epilogue continually relies on the audience seeing Mattocks 'as herself', performing, but not performing.

See, anxious trepidation, how it flushes
 The virgin member with his maiden-
 blushes!
 He takes his seat, and, all his troubles past,
 The long-expected moment comes at last.
 He rises—twirls his hat—hem!—strokes
 his chin,
 Probes his cravat, and ventures to begin :
 “ Sir, I am sensible—(some titter near
 him) him! hear him!”
 I say, sir, I am sensible:”—“ Oh, hear
 He, bolder grown, for praise mistaking
 pother, [other.
 Tea-pots one arm, and spouts it with the
 Once more: “ I’m very sensible indeed,
 That (though we should want words) we
 must proceed,

Figure 22: Detail of epilogue to *The Fortune's Fool*.

At the start of the first vignette, the audience is directed to observe the anxious politician (Fig. 22). The imperative ‘see’ instructs the audience, and in this case the reader, to imagine the described character in the moments before Mattocks takes the image on and speaks as the politician:

“Sir, I am sensible—(some titter near him)
 I say, sir, I am sensible;”—“Oh, hear him! Hear him!”

Here several typographic techniques are employed to portray, in text, the liveliness of Mattocks's performance and its non-lexical business. The lines, which she reportedly performed with ‘great spirit’, required the constant and quick change between two dramatic

personas: that of ‘herself’, and that of the politician.⁸⁰ On stage, such changes may have been indicated with a change in pitch, but on the page, such aural shifts require textual correlatives. Mattocks introduces the politician through an observing comment. Dashes between each description (‘He rises—twirls his hat—hem!—strokes his chin’) appear to mark the separation of each action, suggesting that Mattocks may have carried out each of them as she lists them off. The onomatopoeic ‘hem!’ stands in for an exaggerated throat clear which Mattocks performs seemingly in imitation of the politician.

The lines spoken as the politician are marked using quotation marks to separate the two dramatic voices. This punctuation, as it is now, was commonly used to distinguish verbal quotations.⁸¹ The additional use of these marks for “‘Oh, hear him!’” adds another dramatic voice into the mix, that of the politician’s waiting audience. Here the epilogue becomes more than simply a monologue, but a lively dramatic performance with its own cast of characters.

This technique is used repeatedly throughout the epilogue. In the second vignette, they are employed to differentiate between the voices of Miss Bull and Lady Scrag Lopside, some friends discussing the latest fashions in both clothing and dogs. Here we see the impact of the magazine’s two-column format as it begins to obstruct the epilogue’s rhythm and metric line. Many of the lines in this section are too long for the column and so are bracketed on the end of the previous line. However, this fix is inconsistent and other lines continue the following line with an indent. With the addition of quotation marks, the page becomes crowded. Likely this would have affected the reading flow of the epilogue, forcing readers to stop and pause at points unnatural to spoken performance and poetic rhythm.

⁸⁰ *The Universal Magazine* 98-99 (November 1796), p. 377.

⁸¹ John Smith, *The Printer’s Grammar* (London: 1755; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 89.

The frequent use of dashes throughout the piece can be seen as a kind of ‘graphic dynamism’ imitating the changing fluency, tempo, and tone of speech in Mattocks’s performance.⁸² Anne Toner designates the dash as belonging to a group of ‘ellipsis marks’ which, despite serving a variety of purposes, can be linked by ways they ‘make manifest literature’s lapses into silence.’⁸³ They were also used, in some cases, to censor particular words in epilogues, either names or offensive language not becoming to the *Lady’s Magazine’s* intended audience.⁸⁴ Indeed, Samuel Johnson would define the dash as ‘to note a pause, or omission’.⁸⁵ In Mattocks’s epilogue, as in many others, dashes are used to stand in for such speech variations (Fig. 23). In the politician’s voice, dashes initially show his speech pause due to interruption: “‘Sir, I am sensible—...’” Then, as he gains his confidence, they change to denote a careful, meticulous, choice of words:

“...And (for the first time in my life) I think--
That no great orator should ever shrink--
And, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I, for one,
Will speak out boldly, sir—and so—I’ve done.”

⁸² Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 165.

⁸³ Anne Toner, *Ellipsis in English Literature: Signs of Omission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 1.

⁸⁴ An example of this can be seen in the printing of Frances Abington’s epilogue to Miles Peter Andrews’s comedy *Dissipation* (1781): “Dancing’s a bore—and Love sad stuff at best is, / “D—n it, I hate all dancing but the Vestris.””. See *The Lady’s Magazine*, vol. 12 (April 1781), p. 214. The word is not censored in any printed edition of the play. Although ‘damn’ was losing potency as a swear word in the eighteenth century, this was matched by the rising belief that women should not swear. The censorship of such words is one way that the magazine sought to uphold its image as a respectable publication for the ladies. See Tony McEnery, *Swearing in English: Bad Language, Purity and Power from 1586 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 98-99.

⁸⁵ Samuel Johnson, ‘dash, n.s.’, in *A Dictionary of the English Language* <https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/1755/dash_ns> [accessed 17 January 2023].

And (for the first time in my life) I
think—
That no great orator should ever shrink—
And, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I, for one,
Will speak out boldly, fir—and fo—I've
done.”
Peace to his eloquence! to banish that,
Suppose we have a little female chat.
Vulgar miss Bull, and lady Scrag Lop-
fidle, [never idle.
Whene'er they meet—their tongues are
Miss Bull begins—
“Lauk! what a bonnet!—why, it looks
quite scurvy— [turvy.”

Figure 23: Detail of epilogue to *The Fortune's Fool*.

In the second vignette dashes are again used to show these variations in speech and/or pauses:

Miss Bull begins—

“Lauk! What a bonnet!—why, it looks quite scurvy—

It's like a coal-skuttle turn'd topsy-turvy.

The dash following ‘begins’ signals the dramatic pause before Mattocks, once again, changes persona. The following two dashes show the tempo of Miss Bull’s ramblings, as she criticises the hat choice of a passer-by. The dash following ‘bonnet’ also works to direct attention to the illusory passer-by, a form of ‘pointing’.

A few lines later a longer dash is used to show a ‘complex transitional pause’ at which the audience (reader) is left to anticipate the extent of Lady Scrag’s reaction to Miss Bull’s ranting (Fig. 24).⁸⁶ The use of such a long dash, James Harriman-Smith argues, ‘reveal[s] a place where the author’s writing will yield to the actor’s art.’⁸⁷ Here we see, marked on the page, the ‘art’ of Isabella Mattocks’s performance, creating space for professional interpretation of the moment. Perhaps expecting Lady Scrag to scold Miss Bull, she instead shows her pug to the audience: ““But here’s my comfort—this I’ll fondly hug.”” A shorter

⁸⁶ James Harrison-Smith, *Criticism, Performance, and the Passions in the Eighteenth Century: The Art of Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 66.

⁸⁷ Harrison-Smith, p. 31.

dash once again used following Miss Bull's question "Your favourite work, ma'am?"—' marks out an interruption as Lady Scrag responds: "No! my favourite Pug." In these examples, the dash seems representative of certain kinds of non-verbal performance crucial to characterisation, such as dramatic pauses and interruptions in speech.⁸⁸

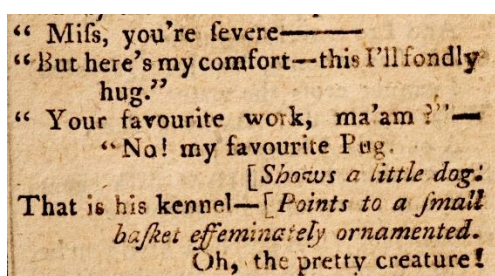


Figure 24: Detail of epilogue to *The Fortune's Fool*.

We then see one of the epilogue's many stage directions, at which Lady Scrag '*Shows a little dog. / That is his kennel—[Points to a small basket effeminately ornamented.*' Here the dash, working alongside the stage directions, stands in for Lady Scrag's (and the actress's) physical act of pointing. The stage direction, in italic type and bracketed, stands separated from the main text. However, it offers the reader important details about the visual experience of Mattocks's epilogue, including visible props (the basket), the specific design of those props ('*effeminately ornamented*'), and the movement of the actress's body ('*Points*').

Stage directions 'mark the places where theatrical meaning is created, recreated and negotiated.'⁸⁹ However, as Tiffany Stern warns, stage directions could be written for a variety of purposes and it is hard to know who a direction was intended for if you do not know where it came from — the manuscript or the prompt book, for example.⁹⁰ This epilogue is not

⁸⁸ Janine Barchas similarly shows how dashes in the work of Sarah Fielding 'echo the non-verbal word which the women of her novel increasingly come to inhabit'. See Barchas, 'Sarah Fielding's Dashing Style and Eighteenth-Century Print Culture', *ELH*, 63.3 (1996), 633-656 (p. 633).

⁸⁹ Miriam Handley, 'Theatrical Bubble and Squeak: The Stage Direction as Leftover in Eighteenth-Century Theatre', *Performance Research*, 22.8 (2017), 39-46 (p. 39).

⁹⁰ Tiffany Stern, 'Stage Directions', in *Book Parts*, ed. by Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 177-190 (pp. 184-185).

included in the play's manuscript submitted for licensing and it had not, at this point, been formally published.⁹¹ It is likely then that it was taken from the prompt book, as were many epilogues. In that case, the directions may have been for the prompters, to aid them in their 'prompting' of the on-stage performance.

There is evidence to suggest, however, that stage directions were specifically designed to aid the reader. Julie Stone Peters observes that, from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, there occurred a shift in the common tense of stage directions. In the eighteenth century, stage directions were much more likely to be written in the present tense, showing an aim to 'bring the performance to the reader—that attempt to make it vividly present in the instant.'⁹² Here, readers are invited to imagine the moment at which Lady Scrag '*Shows a little dog*'. A prompter would not need to know the physical characteristics of the dog's basket, but a reader may benefit from knowing it is '*ornamental*', both for their imagination, and for their impression of Lady Scrag as a woman of means, preoccupied with the possession, and judgement, of fashionable objects and animals.

Of course, there are many ways one can interpret a stage direction or a dash. That is, perhaps, their point. As Anne Toner says of dashes, 'Ellipsis indicates to varying degrees, the submission of the text to external definition'.⁹³ As shown above, it can show the submission of the drama to the actress's art. Then, reprinted in the magazine as a text for reading, the dash stands at the mercy of each reader and how they choose to interpret its mark. Crucially, the dash also signals the 'external definition' of the printer. Many of these dashes are missing from the Larpent manuscript of the epilogue. The first printed edition of the play adds many

⁹¹ California, Huntington Library, John Larpent Plays, LA1140, in *Eighteenth Century Drama* <https://www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/SearchDetails/HL_LA_mssLA1140> [accessed 17 January 2023].

⁹² Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book*, p. 62.

⁹³ Toner, p. 68.

dashes but at different points to the periodical. Looking at one example we might observe the mediatory effect of such a change.

For instance, in the Larpent manuscript, the second line reads as follows: ‘Myself I offer now, say, is’t a match?’ The printed play published in 1797 ‘As performed at the Theatre-Royal’ replaces a comma with a dash: ‘Myself I offer now—say, is’t a match?’ In the version printed in the *Lady’s Magazine*, another dash (and a semi-colon) is added: ‘Myself I offer now;—say—is’t a match?’ Any added dash elongates the dramatic line insofar that its tempo is shifted to a slower pace. The semi-colon only extends this further. Joseph Robertson’s *Essay on Punctuation* (1791) specifically informs readers that ‘a semicolon requires a longer pause than a comma.’⁹⁴ The result of such additions is that the printed dash creates space for reflection and reaction on the part of the audience (or the reader).

Such marks could have been added to the prompter’s text because of the live performance, a way of marking Mattocks’s approach to the piece. This would not, however, explain the differences between the supposed promptbook playtext and the version printed in the *Lady’s Magazine*. It is possible that the magazine’s printers made their own changes for any number of reasons; it is impossible to know. In this case, Anne Toner seems to be correct when she observes that a dash ‘in its essence yields to the performance of others’.⁹⁵ The unassuming line, at once, yields to the performance of the printer, the audience, and the actress.

In many cases, the dash stands in for Mattocks’s skill in dramatic transition. In another example, the joint epilogue she performed alongside Mr Ryder for *The German Hotel* (1770), she is required to manage, and swiftly move between, several different speaking personas. In the piece, she plays ‘an Actress’ alongside Mr Ryder as M’Carnock, a writer failing to pick a

⁹⁴ Joseph Robertson, *An Essay on Punctuation* (London: 1791), p. 77. ECCO. Robertson is harsher in his description of dashes, that which he says, are ‘frequently used by hasty and incoherent writers, in a very capricious and arbitrary manner’ (p. 129).

⁹⁵ Toner, p. 20.

would have also been guided by the format of the magazine itself, as seen in the following section. Turning to another case study of a printed epilogue I again consider how typography mediates performance, but also the mediatory effect of the *Lady's Magazine's* miscellaneous format and unique ways that it seeks to shape its reading.

Harriet Litchfield's epilogue to *Errors Excepted* (1807)

On 13 August 1807, Harriet Litchfield spoke the epilogue to Charles Dibdin's play *Errors Excepted* at the Haymarket. The piece, using the extended conceit of the theatre as a ship caught in a tempestuous storm, opens:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I've oft heard say,
An Author's like a Merchant, and his Play
The bark in which is lodg'd his precious store,
Freighted and destin'd for some distant shore.
Our Author's vessel's small, and light his cargo,
And what he dreads the most is your embargo,
Just now, behind the scenes, the poor man press'd me,
And said, all trembling, that if I address'd ye,
He would engage, however 'tempest tost,'
I smil'd of course, and told the flattering rogue,
I know not how to speak an Epilogue---⁹⁶

The production earned mixed reviews. Litchfield's epilogue was seemingly well-received and 'admirably delivered'. Dibdin's play, on the other hand, was not so lucky. 'This is the product of a very fertile field, but it is the *after grass*, which, like that of the present hay season, is allowed, in the *Hay market*, to be wretchedly bad', reported the *Monthly Mirror*.⁹⁷ Despite such a scathing review, the play reached its third night.⁹⁸ Following the performance,

⁹⁶ *The Lady's Magazine*, vol. 38 (August 1807), p. 441.

⁹⁷ *The Monthly Mirror*, vol. 2 (July 1807), p. 144, original emphasis.

⁹⁸ According to listings given in the *Monthly Mirror*, *Errors Excepted* was performed again on 14 August, 15 August, and then on 19 August. The periodical's 'Theatrical Chit Chat' section reports that 'Mrs. Powell, who had laboured during the whole of the Haymarket season with an excruciating cancer, was, after playing in *Errors excepted*, on the Friday, found dead in her bed on Saturday, the 15th August' (pp. 145-146). The play returned once more on 21 August but then seems to have been retired (p. 212).

Litchfield's epilogue was reprinted in the August issue of the *Lady's Magazine* (Fig. 26 and 27).

PROLOGUE & EPILOGUE to ERRORS EXCEPTED

[441]

POETICAL ESSAYS.

PROLOGUE

TO THE NEW COMEDY, CALLED
' ERRORS EXCEPTED.'*Written by Mr. Charles Dibdin, jun. and
spoken by Mr. Young.*

PERUSE the fairest page, and still you'll trace,
That error is the lot of human race;
E'en with the best, at Nature's last repose,
'Errors excepted,' the account must close.
No living man without some folly made is:
And tho' stern truth wont even spare the ladies,
'Yet to their lot should trifling errors fall,
'Look in their faces, you'll except them all!'
Wisdom herself may err as well as Wit,
Law's writ of error is not holy writ.
The Doctor too has faults, but, happy lot,
Physic's *faux pas*, when buried, are forgot!
In seeking Fortune's all-desir'd abode,
We meet cross paths of error on the road.
Placard'd invitations meet the eye
At every turn, with 'Now's your time to buy,
And the mysterious charm of B. C. Y.;
All to insure you, when the wheel goes round,
Of blanks excepted, ninety thousand pound.
Authors to critical exceptions bow;
And Critics candidly must allow,
That, while they lash the faults of scribbling elves,
'Twere well from error to clear themselves.
To you (to the Audience) whose approbation to obtain
Our bard has sought, and sometimes not in vain;
His cause he offers, as at Mercy's shrine,
'To err is human—to forgive, divine.'
Let Mercy's influence, then, your bosoms sway;
Except his errors, but accept his play.

EPILOGUE

TO THE SAME.

WRITTEN BY JOHN LITCHFIELD, ESQ.
SPOKEN BY MRS. LITCHFIELD.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
I'VE oft heard say,
An Author's like a Merchant, and his Play
The bark in which is lodg'd his precious store,
Freighted and destin'd for some distant shore.
Our Author's vessel's small, and light his cargo,
And what he dreads the most is your embargo.
Just now, behind the scenes, the poor man press'd me,
And said, all trembling, that if I address'd ye,
He would engage, however 'tempest tost,'
His agitated bark should not be 'lost';
I smil'd of course, and told the flattering rogue,
I knew not how to speak an Epilogue—
But here I am on deck, and thus before ye,
I'll try in Sailor's language to implore ye:
For, though I never stirr'd a foot from shore,
I've learnt some lessons from the *Commandore*.
So as a *Convoy*, though no man of war,
Let me look out, and see how matters are.
And first I'll try my soundings in the Pit;
Lurks there no rock on which our brig may split?
No quicksands, shoals, or flats, nor no lee-shore,
Where many a vessel has been wreck'd before?
In yonder quarter (*upper end of the Pit*) lo! a storm seems brewing
That threatens to involve us all in ruin;
A ship prepares for action—ah! beware,
An enemy has taken his station there—

Figure 26: Prologue and epilogue to *Errors Excepted* (1807), taken from *Lady's Magazine* (August 1807), p. 441; BC, P + E 4 DIS-FAS (41). Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

His name is Critic—'tis, I see him now,
I know him by the Gorgon at his prow;
A heavy sailer, but his fire is galling,
And no one ventures near without a mauling:
His head all snakes—no wonder that the shot
Sent from his cannon comes so hissing hot:
See how he lowers his jib—nay, do not frown,
Nor cut our rigging up—nor run us down.
(*To the Front Boxes*) That in the offing there
is call'd the Rover,
Who never fights but when he's half-seas
over;
And is well known on our dramatic ocean
By his rough sailing and unsteady motion.
He has but just left port, for well I wot
His upper works are damag'd by grape-shot.
Two other signs he has, howe'er he got 'em,
A head well brazen'd, and a copper bottom
(*pointing to the beels*).
(*To the Gallery*) But you, my honest friends,
stow'd in the shrouds,
Who speak in thunder from your birth, the
clouds;
You, like true sailors, never hardly press
When you behold a vessel in distress,
For well you know, who rule the subject
wave,
When it is time to punish, when to save—
Eager the haughty open foe to bend,
As to chastise a neutral hollow friend:
If our ship's crazy, take her into tow,
Safely she'll sail under your weather bow;
For should she prove, alas! a cast-away,
Our bard's third night will be a banyan day.
(*To the Side Boxes*)—Ladies, between decks,
if your favouring gales
You lend to fill the Poet's trembling sails,
His summer voyage won't turn out a dream;
'His boat sails freely both with wind and
stream.'
Early the Critic sea she's wafted o'er,
And gains triumphantly the wish'd-for shore.
I'll to the Author, and dispel his fear,
And say, his goods have found a market
here;
I'll say, too, for I think I guess aright,
Here you will rendezvous to-morrow night.

THE SUICIDE.

WHEN Twilight drew her mantle o'er,
And Day clos'd up his golden door,
My musing, solemn way I took
Where craggy rocks a stream o'erlook;
The dismal Owl, with hollow voice,
Proclaim'd that darkness was her choice;
The Fox, with prowling fearful mien,
Now pac'd the dewy, silent, green,
With hopes in sleep to catch his foes;
How like a murdering wretch he goes!
In peace the peasant takes his rest;
With visions fair may he be blest!
Contentment fans his rosy face,
On her attends each blooming grace:
He sleeps, the man by Heaven chose
To picture health and sweet repose.—

How different is the rest of him
Whose mind is fraught with deadly sin!
He rises from his restless bed,
His soul convuls'd with secret dread;
Wild fancy forms unnumber'd woes,
To end this life the maniac goes.
The moon had gain'd a little height,
And threw around her silver light,
When, lo! I saw, it made me shrink,
This wretch was at the horrid brink.
Forward I rush'd and seiz'd his arm,
And forc'd him back, secure from harm.
Amaz'd, I cried, 'O insect man!
How wav'ring is thy every plan;
Thinkst thou the fury of an hour
Can all thy ills of life devour?
How much mistaken is thy pride,
That does in that false hope confide,
Since God has form'd our dying day;
Reflect on that, and go thy way.'
With that I left grim misery's child;
His eye-balls flash'd, he scornful smil'd.
'Contemptuous reas'ner,' loud he cried,
And tore a picture from his side:
'Behold you this! O emblem dear,
Of sainted angels we revere!
My love by death to heav'n has fled,
Her body number'd with the dead.
Think after this that I'll exist!
His tears flow'd fast—the shade he kiss'd.
'Come, clasp me fast, now welcome Death—'
The king of terrors caught the breath,
For, lo! he sprang the dreadful steep,
In heav'n to love—or hell to weep.
Confus'd and fix'd each trembling limb,
My soul pour'd only thoughts on him.
He's gone—he's dead! a heartfelt sigh
O'ercame my soul, and tears each eye.
So when amid the Ganges' roar,
The mighty eagle in his soar
Views the young bird with piercing eye,
And, pouncing, dooms the thing to die,
The sailor hears its tender cries,
And pity darkens both his eyes.
With sorrow'd heart my senses trac'd,
Nature by this foul deed defac'd.
I sigh'd a pray'r, to save his soul;
For pray'r o'er Mercy has controul.—
Homewards I took my thoughtful way,
My memory here will often stray:
Sweet hope shall hover with her wings,
And mercy bring from King of kings.

I. S. P.

ODE

ON THE SURRENDER OF DANTZIC.

FAIR, heav'nly maid, immortal Poetry,
Romantic child of thought, I sing to thee;
And, mounting on thy golden wings,
I strike my humble-sounding lyre;
And, kindling with ethereal fire,
Aloft my spirit springs.
And soaring to Parnassus' blooming plains,
I hail thee, daughter of inspiring strains!

Figure 27: Epilogue to *Errors Excepted* (1807), taken from *Lady's Magazine* (August 1807), p. 442; BC, P + E 4 DIS-FAS (41). Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

The epilogue reads as an energetic and physical enactment of an attempt to navigate the open sea and the hazards afforded by separate sections of the audience. In bidding to gain the audience's favour, Litchfield resolves to try her 'soundings in the Pit... Where many a vessel has been wreck'd before'. She then notices an enemy ship in the upper end of the pit: 'His name is Critic—'tis, I see him now / I know him by the Gorgon at his prow'. The enemy, 'Critic', can be read both as a reference to potentially damning criticism, especially given the *Monthly Mirror's* looming review, and also, taking note of its capitalisation in the printed text, a reference to Sheridan's *The Critic* (1779) which followed *Errors Excepted* as the afterpiece for some of its performances. Sheridan's *The Critic* is itself, of course, critical of manufactured public opinion in a periodical press that could be swayed by monetary means.⁹⁹ It is also a play which engages in *naumachia* – the piece ends with a spectacular sea fight taken from the character Puff's play about the Spanish Armada. This epilogue is, therefore, a good example of how some epilogues can be read as in conversation with other pieces which make up the night's entertainment.

In an oft-used motif of epilogues, the actress then makes her way around the theatre, addressing each of the sections in turn — pit, front boxes, gallery, side boxes — while narrating the hazards at sea before coming safely to port. The epilogue ends with a final hopeful address to the audience: 'I'll to the Author, and dispel his fear, / And say his goods have found a market here'. Ultimately, the dramatic effect of this epilogue is wrapped up in both the spatiality of the theatre and the physicality of the actress's body which directs the audience's attention throughout.

⁹⁹ When meeting Sneer and flattering him with praise, Puff explains his profession: 'I am, Sir, a Practitioner in Panegyric, or to speak more plainly—a Professor of the Art of Puffing, at your service—or any body's else's.' See Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Critic* (London: 1781), p. 32, ECCO.

Litchfield's epilogue was printed on the first page of the magazine's 'Poetical Essays' section immediately following the prologue to the same performance (Fig. 26). Unlike Mattocks's epilogue that was printed alone, here, Litchfield's performance is presented as one constituent part of a whole. The prologue and epilogue together stand for Dibdin's play, effectively collapsing the 'whole show' into the sum of two ephemeral parts. The reader is encouraged, by proximity, to read the epilogue after the prologue. They are almost forced to consider the epilogue alongside the prologue through its titling as 'to the same'. If the reader had not observed the prologue, they would not know to which play the epilogue belonged.

Throughout Litchfield's epilogue, deliberately ambiguous language encourages the association of the actress and the character of the sailor as the epilogue moves between its two settings. The captain, 'Our Author', she says, 'behind the scenes', asks her to perform an epilogue. Her declaration 'I know not how to speak an Epilogue', shrouded in irony, bears the weight of the epilogue's dramatic effect; she most definitely does know how to speak an epilogue. Here the piece relies on the audience's double perception of both Litchfield as herself, the actress, and Litchfield as a sailor ignorant of the theatre. Such effects remain in print through textual correlatives which translate performance onto the page. In Litchfield's epilogue, as printed in the *Lady's Magazine*, a dash following the line 'I know not how to speak an Epilogue' suggests a pause, a shift in Litchfield's bodily affect, effectively punctuating, literally and metaphorically, the betweenness of her performance.

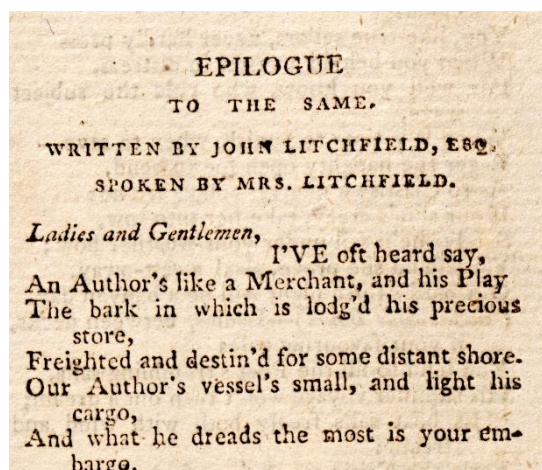


Figure 28: Detail of epilogue to *Errors Excepted*.

Typographical shifts in the epilogue appear to mirror the shifting of Litchfield's voice in performance. For example, the piece opens with '*Ladies and Gentleman*' in italic type before switching back to roman (Fig. 28). Rather than presenting the line as reported speech, as some other examples do, it is the use of italics which seems to signal the change in Litchfield's persona – from a grand actress's welcome to a lowly sailor. Although there does not seem to be any part written in dialect, it could be that the repeated use of 'ye', although quite common in drama, is used in excess here to signify a change in voice from talented orator to what Litchfield terms 'Sailor language'. As in stage directions, italic type was often used to signify separation from the main body of the text. In John Smith's *Printer's Grammar* (1755), we are informed that 'the chief and almost only use for which Italic was originally designed, was to distinguish such parts of a book which may be said to not belong to the Body thereof'.¹⁰⁰ This would include such things as prefaces, errata, and explanatory notes. It does appear here to separate the first line from the rest of the epilogue. The phrase is also distinctly separated on the page by way of an indent, accentuating a dramatic shift in the tone and tempo of the performance. Here the italics work to identify a difference in dramatic

¹⁰⁰ John Smith, *Printer's Grammar*, p. 12.

voice, a separation in both the body of the text and the dramatic bodies of Litchfield's switching personas.

As with Mattocks's epilogue, this printing makes significant use of dashes. Generally, dashes are employed in dramatic texts as a stand-in for the movement and sound of the body. As

Claire M. L. Bourne notes,

in the first decade of the seventeenth century, dashes began appearing with notable frequency in the quartos of "published comedies" to assist readers in registering what might be called the fleshiness of performance.¹⁰¹

The phrasing 'fleshiness of performance' contains within itself an infinite number of possibilities. But for Bourne, the common thread is that they are usually used to connote bodily movement and feeling, including the rhythms of speech: 'for readers to "look at", to "see", and to "mark" the physical dynamics' of drama.¹⁰² In the same way that they can mark discontinuous speech, such as with pauses and stutters, they can mark sporadic bodily action, such as when the actress attempts to direct the attention of the audience. We see this in Litchfield's epilogue, for example, when the sailor sees the ship 'Critic': '—tis I see him now'. If speaking the piece, one might interpret the dash as a pause to look towards the approaching ship. Or such as in the dash that follows the stage direction '(To the side boxes)', standing in for the kinetic performance of Litchfield addressing the 'Ladies' sitting in said side boxes (Fig. 29).

¹⁰¹ Bourne, *Typographies of Performance*, p. 78.

¹⁰² Bourne, *Typographies of Performance*, p. 136.

His name is Critic—'tis, I see him now,
 I know him by the Gorgon at his prow;
 A heavy sailer, but his fire is galling,
 And no one ventures near without a mauling:
 His head all snakes—no wonder that the shot
 Sent from his cannon comes so hissing hot:
 See how he lowers his jib—nay, do not frown,
 Nor cut our rigging up—nor run us down.
(To the Front Boxes) That in the offing there
 is call'd the Rover,
 Who never fights but when he's half-seas
 over;
 And is well known on our dramatic ocean
 By his rough sailing and unsteady motion.
 He has but just left port, for well I wot
 His upper works are damag'd by grape-shot.
 Two other signs he has, howe'er he got 'em,
 A head well brazen'd, and a copper bottom
(pointing to the heels).
(To the Gallery) But you, my honest friends,
 stow'd in the shrouds,
 Who speak in thunder from your birth, the
 clouds;
 You, like true sailors, never hardly press
 When you behold a vessel in distress,
 For well you know, who rule the subject
 wave,
 When it is time to punish, when to save—
 Eager the haughty open foe to bend,
 As to chastise a neutral hollow friend:
 If our ship's crazy, take her into tow,
 Safely she'll sail under your weather bow;
 For should she prove, alas! a cast-away,
 Our bard's third night will be a banyan day.
(To the Side Boxes)—Ladies, between decks,
 if your favouring gales

Figure 29: Detail of epilogue to *Errors Excepted*.

Again, we can look to the stage directions themselves. These are given in italics, therefore separated from the main body, and tend to direct the reader to those whom Litchfield is addressing, either the audience in the upper end of the pit or the side boxes. One stage direction reads: '*(pointing to the heels)*'. This is likely a reference to some on-stage representation of a ship at heel given the epilogue's conceit and the further mention of a 'copper bottom'. This 'copper bottom' likely pertains to copper sheathing found on a ship. An important aspect of these printed stage directions is that they are often found within brackets, as with the previous case study.

As Bourne notes, bracketing stage directions, usually with single brackets at the end of a line, was common practice by the 1670s.¹⁰³ We saw such examples in Mattocks's epilogue. Here, the direction is given in round brackets, in the line. Bracketing separates the stage direction from the main text, but they crucially also 'demand attention' to whatever is held within them.¹⁰⁴ The use of in-line directions here reiterates the importance of Litchfield's direction of address. As Bourne states, stage directions were 'visual cues for reading dialogue and action as integral to each other'.¹⁰⁵ Here, Litchfield's direction of address is just as important as the lines of the epilogue itself, whose comedy would fail without the knowledge that Litchfield is speaking to the ladies of quality and their 'favouring gales', usually found in the side boxes. Kept in-line, the stage direction ensures a reading experience in which the monologue and Litchfield's change of address are read as not only integral to each other but also as happening concurrently to each other.

In other examples, such as Ann Barry's epilogue to *Almida*, printed in January 1771, stage directions are marked with an asterisk, to altered effect.¹⁰⁶ Put simply, an asterisk is a rhetorical *gnome*: something that points elsewhere. Eighteenth-century prose works often employed asterisks as a mode of omission, signalling the reader the absence of something that is both elsewhere and nowhere.¹⁰⁷ For stage directions, the asterisk added to the end of a line breaks the reader's attention and directs them elsewhere for additional information regarding theatrical action. In the case of *Almida*, the stage direction seems to follow the spoken line 'Let them come on – I'll draw my corking pin! *' (Fig. 30).

¹⁰³ Claire M. L. Bourne, 'Dramatic Typography and the Restoration Quartos of *Hamlet*', in *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640-1740*, ed. by Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 153-170 (p. 160).

¹⁰⁴ John Lennard, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 37.

¹⁰⁵ Bourne, *Typographies of Performance*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁶ *The Lady's Magazine*, vol. 1 (January 1771), pp. 279-280.

¹⁰⁷ Laurie Maguire, *The Rhetoric of the Page* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 171-180.

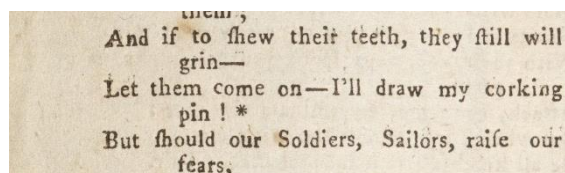


Figure 30: Epilogue to *Almida* (1807), taken from the *Lady's Magazine* (January 1771), p. 279; BC, P + E 1 ADD-BOA (23). Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

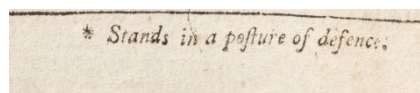


Figure 31: Detail of epilogue to *Almida*.

The line denotes action itself, that the speaker is to draw out a pin, but the asterisked stage direction instead references how the actress stands: ‘* *Stands in a posture of defence*’ (Fig. 31). It could be that this addition describes how the preceding line is performed as a form of deixis; the actress speaks the line *while* standing in a defensive posture. However, the asterisk, as a mark of ‘pointing’, marks the *exact* moment of an action in performance. It prevents the reader from reading action as simultaneous with a spoken line, unlike the bracketed stage direction which implies concurrency. It implies that the action occurs at the moment of the asterisk itself. So instead of a description of an action (the actress speaks while standing defensively), it becomes a subsequent action (the actress speaks her line and then she takes a defensive stance). In this second reading, the defensive stance itself seems to emphasise her line, like an exclamation; she has her pin, and now she is ready. Like the bracket, here the asterisk makes demands of the reader, mediating their experience of dramatic text. Unlike dashes — which invite interpretation from both the performer and the reader — stage directions (marked by brackets or asterisks) prescribe action readerly attention. Readerly attention is similarly directed by the format of the magazine itself and the miscellaneous mode of reading it incites.

By way of the magazine’s miscellaneous format, epilogues were printed alongside other texts either explicitly related, or not. The ‘intertextual conversation’ of the magazine fosters

connections between printed material just as much as it highlights the juxtapositions within its pages.¹⁰⁸ I end this chapter with a brief discussion of how the printed epilogue might interact with other content published within the magazine, and a consideration of what is hidden by the organisation of the epilogues within the Brady Collection. In some cases, such as with *Errors Excepted*, an epilogue is printed within proximity to an associated review of the performance. There are many examples of this over the course of the magazine's publication. Unfortunately, Brady's organisation of his prologues and epilogues — as mainly loose sheets mounted into a folder — tends to obstruct this wider view of the magazine issue. This is an instance when Brady's collecting interests appear to work in tension with my research interest in the printed epilogue's original form as a constituent part of the magazine. Just as Batchelor notes that the common binding of issues into codex forms 'creates an illusion of coherence' for the magazine, Brady's deconstruction of the issues falsely presents the *Lady's Magazine*, concealing its character as an interconnected network of seemingly unrelated content.¹⁰⁹

The *Lady's Magazine's* review of *Errors Excepted* opens with a general description of the play, before turning its attention to the specifics of certain performers. Litchfield is given special mention, noted to 'equal any praise we can bestow' and the magazine specifically praises her performance of the epilogue which they considered better written than the prologue: 'admirably spoken by Mrs. Litchfield, whose powers we never before witnessed on such an occasion. They are valuable and ought not to lie dormant.'¹¹⁰ Starting on page 439 and ending on page 440, the review is printed within the immediate proximity of Litchfield's epilogue. We cannot make any assumptions regarding whether these two pieces would have been read together by any number of readers. However, it seems significant that the

¹⁰⁸ Batchelor, *The Lady's Magazine*, p. 84.

¹⁰⁹ Batchelor, *The Lady's Magazine*, p. 81.

¹¹⁰ *The Lady's Magazine*, vol. 38 (August 1807), p. 440.

magazine's comments about Litchfield's performance appear just across the double-page spread from the printed epilogue. Perhaps after reading the epilogue, a reader's eye may have been caught by her name on the opposite page, or vice versa. The review's comments on the prologue do overtly direct the reader to the opposite page by noting it to be 'given in the Poetry', actively fostering links between its content and attempting to influence the reader's movement throughout the magazine.

In the items from the Brady Collection, we can also see what was printed alongside the epilogues on the same pages. The position of certain pieces within an issue or on a page, despite whether it was a purposeful editorial decision or not, contributes to a sense of the magazine as a 'mutually constitutive whole' in which contrasted pieces encourage the reader to make comparisons and, as Batchelor argues of the *Lady's Magazine* specifically, 'generate[d] critical reflection'.¹¹¹ For example, the epilogue to *Errors Excepted* was printed alongside the performance's prologue, followed by two poetic pieces: 'The Suicide,' signed by L. S. P., and the opening lines to an 'Ode on the Surrender of Dantzic', for which the *Lady's Magazine Index* lists the author as 'Mary Elizabeth'.

'Ode on the Surrender of Dantzic' refers to the 1807 Siege of Danzig during which the French captured the Prussian city of Danzig as part of the War of the Fourth Coalition. The inclusion of the ode to the Prussian army's surrender at Danzig places the militaristic themes of Litchfield's epilogue within a specific historical context, appearing as a routed end to the naval action imagined by her performance. As it does in poetic miscellanies, arranging poetic pieces in this way 'creates juxtapositions that enhance the meaning of individual poems.'¹¹² A reader enlivened by Litchfield's energetic epilogue would be promptly shocked back to

¹¹¹ Jeffrey Drouin, 'Close- and Distant Reading Modernism: Network Analysis, Text-Mining, and Teaching *The Little Review*', *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 5.1 (2014), 110-135 (p. 115); Batchelor, *The Lady's Magazine*, pp. 122-123.

¹¹² Watson, p. 105.

reality by the sombre tone of ‘The Suicide’. The poem’s dramatic descriptions of a man ‘fraught with deadly sin’, rising from ‘his restless bed’, before being pulled back from suicide by the speaker seem fit for the stage. The poem pays specific attention to the movement of the men: ‘Forward I rush’d and seiz’d his arm, / And forc’d him back, secure from harm.’ The descriptions of their movements, given theatrical force by association with Litchfield’s epilogue, appear here like stage directions which guide the reader in their imagining of the unhappy scene, ending with a histrionic petition to personified death by soliloquy: “‘Come, clasp me fast, now welcome Death—”” (Fig. 27). By way of their categorisation, the epilogues collected by Brady appear to retain a sense of theatricality which then bleeds into the magazine’s other content.

Conclusions

As Jennie Batchelor says, it is imperative to read the contents of the *Lady’s Magazine*

both synchronically – as items in explicit or implicit conversation with others in the same issue – and diachronically – as items in dialogue with other pieces of content published in multiple issues over time.¹¹³

Printed epilogues, and their associated reviews, must be understood as ‘in dialogue’ with an evinced interest in actresses as symbols of celebrity and objects of aspiration. Although the epilogues within the Brady Collection are presented as individual pages — and therefore forcibly removed from the ‘conversation’ within and between magazine issues — their extraction highlights the value of close reading such sources and draws attention to the connections fostered by the magazine’s miscellaneous format.

Moving on from playbills printed before performance, this chapter has brought considerations of typography and performance to the eighteenth-century periodical magazine, a form distinctly concerned with the ‘now-ness’ of the theatre and its immediate aftermath. As a

¹¹³ Batchelor, *The Lady’s Magazine*, pp. 84-85.

result, this study has reiterated the *Lady's Magazine* as a valuable source for interrogating the relationship between actresses, celebrity, and the periodical press. Through analysis of their type and punctuation, I have shown how printed epilogues attempted to mark the theatricality, physicality, and skill of their associated performers. Unlike the 'black-lettered' face of Elizabeth Farren's critic, in the printed epilogue, the actress is painted in roman and italic, her skill explicated by bracket and dash. Of course, actresses were also mediated by more overtly visual means. The following chapter, therefore, moves to consider the visual mediation of actresses' performances in the printed theatrical portrait.

3. Visual Mediations: John Bell's Portrait Prints

Visual forms, such as the printed theatrical portrait, played a key role, alongside verbal forms of ephemera, in the mediation of actresses' performances and the dissemination of theatrical knowledge in the eighteenth century. As Robyn Asleson notes, actresses experienced 'unprecedented conspicuousness in the public eye during the period between 1776 and 1812. Not only did they appear regularly in the theaters, but they also became persuasive presences beyond the stage.'¹ Their painted images regularly graced the Royal Academy, and theatrical portrait prints were a common commodity found in the windows of London's print shops and within the pages of printed plays and periodicals. As we might expect, the kinds of mediation enacted by the theatrical portrait differ from those of the textual forms so far discussed in this thesis. In playbills and printed epilogues, actresses' performances are mediated primarily by way of typography. Within the realm of visual art, to which the printed portrait contributed, the focus is instead on iconography and specifically how iconography relates to dramatic genre.

A printer we might consider at least partially responsible for this profusion of actresses in prints is the publisher, John Bell. Bell was a well-known name in the printing world, founding several London newspapers and periodicals, including the *Morning Post* and *Bell's Weekly Messenger*. He also served as personal bookseller to the Prince of Wales in the 1780s.² His professional involvement with the theatre had begun in 1770 when he published the first volume of *The Dramatic Censor*, a weekly critical work by actor and playwright, Francis Gentleman. Following the success of his collaboration with Gentleman, Bell moved

¹ Asleson, 'Introduction', in *Notorious Muse*, ed. by Asleson, p. 1

² Hannah Barker, 'Bell, John (1745-1831)', in *ODNB* <<https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/2014>> [accessed 23 August 2023].

to publish a series of play reprints with adjoined portraits, known as *Bell's Shakespeare* and *Bell's British Theatre*.

In their comprehensive catalogue of Bell's prints, Burnim and Highfill Jr. indicate that over the course of his involvement with publishing theatrical material, which reached its peak in the late 1770s, Bell 'sponsored the largest accumulation of engraved full-length portraits of performers... in theatrical history'.³ Indeed, the abundance of his portraits in the eighteenth century is evident from the fact that they feature so heavily within the Brady Collection. Many of the portraits within Brady's scrapbooks have been taken from Bell's editions of *Shakespeare* and his reprint series *British Theatre*. It might be surprising, then, that nearly one third of all theatrical portraits published by Bell as part of these series depict players in roles that they did not perform.⁴

Bell's reasons for producing such a wealth of false images are unclear. Aparna Gollapudi suggests one possible explanation for this: that due to his focus on old plays, many of which had not been performed for decades, 'actors had to be somewhat arbitrarily cast in old roles'.⁵ However, as Gollapudi goes on to show, this is quickly undermined by Bell's inconsistency in method. In some instances, actresses are given a different role in a play that they were known for. In others, actresses are cast in plays to which they had no association. Gollapudi concludes that 'stage-driven celebrity developed an audience more interested in the purely textual beauties of plays' and that this explains why 'Bell's consumers were content with portraits of actors that had little to do with actual performance.'⁶ In her article, Gollapudi meticulously lays out how Bell's prints 'realign[ed] the contours of late eighteenth-century

³ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 20.

⁴ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 22.

⁵ Aparna Gollapudi, 'Selling Celebrity: Actors' Portraits in *Bell's Shakespeare* and *Bell's British Theatre*', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 36.1 (2012), 54-81 (p. 67).

⁶ Gollapudi, p. 73.

theatrical celebrity'.⁷ However, her analysis falls short in its lack of attention to the importance of gender in discussions of celebrity. At many points Gollapudi uses actor and actress interchangeably, eliding, perhaps unconsciously, the importance of the differentiated figure of the actress for the theatre as a commercial institution. On the other hand, while Felicity Nussbaum acknowledges the significance of Bell's editions to the 'absolute centrality of actresses and their dramatic parts' in the late century, her cursory nod does little to sufficiently examine the prints' mediation of their performances.⁸

Building upon the work of Gollapudi, and wider approaches to the actress in theatrical portraiture, this chapter investigates how Bell's portrait prints mediate actresses' performances in the visual mode. Of course, we cannot consider Bell's portraits as records of historical performance. A reading of theatrical portraiture as such fundamentally misunderstands how such images functioned in the eighteenth-century media landscape, constructed to align with the theatrical public's commercial palate. As Shearer West notes in *The Image of the Actor* (1991), 'the function of the theatrical portrait in the theatre-conscious society of the 18th century was not to preserve accurately an actor's performance, but to suggest such a performance for largely commercial reasons'.⁹ Nevertheless, I argue that Bell's prints, even those presenting performances that never happened, contributed to how actresses were mediated by eighteenth-century forms of ephemeral print. It is further my contention that it is more useful to consider theatrical portraiture as related to, but ultimately detached from, specific and embodied 'real-life' performances. Unlike the typographical mediations seen in the previous chapters, many of which are linked to one specific performance or run of performances, the type of mediation that Bell's prints enact is not of an

⁷ Gollapudi, p. 76.

⁸ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, pp. 265-266.

⁹ Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (London: Pinter, 1991), p. 27.

individual performance, but rather that of an idea; an imagined instance of performance informed by an understanding of an actress's repertoire, personal character, and physical likeness.

In some ways, Bell is an exceptional case. Unlike most printed portraits at this time, his prints were produced primarily as a form of play illustration. They have so far received the most critical attention within this context, with few studies commenting specifically on the representation of actresses within these portraits.¹⁰ However, Bell's prints were circulated widely beyond the codex. They were also available as loose-leaf items which appealed to a much wider audience beyond those who simply wanted a cheap edition of the play. Indeed, within the Brady Collection, Bell's prints have been purposely detached from their associated plays, suggesting that there is value to be found in their consideration as individual objects of intrigue.

Bell's portraits provide a significant case study because the sheer numbers in which they were produced, and their consequent abundance in the Brady Collection, anticipate the move towards the mass-market production of images of actresses further into the nineteenth century.¹¹ Within Brady's collection, Bell's portraits are kept alongside various prints from other publishers in alphabetised scrapbooks, organised by the name of the performer. On one hand, this alphabetical organisation encourages comparison between different iterations of a performer's image. On the other, it suggests a fascination with the multiple and in the case of Bell's examples of manufactured performances, a decreased concern for accuracy of representation. Bell's portraits are thus indicative of the significance of the reproduced image for a growing celebrity culture centred around the actress. Before moving on to discuss the

¹⁰ See West, *The Image of the Actor*, pp. 45-57. See also, Stuart Sillars, *The Illustrated Shakespeare, 1709-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 148-180.

¹¹ It also stands as a useful method of choosing examples from Brady's sizeable collection of prints.

iconography of Bell's portrait prints and how they mediate women's performance, I first contextualise the printed portrait within this growing celebrity culture and its reliance on the actress's image.

The image of the actress

Theatrical portraiture was highly implicated in the developing relationship between actors, actresses, visual culture, and celebrity in the eighteenth century. Famously, Joseph Roach defines the 'celebrity' as an individual 'whose images circulate widely in the absence of their persons'.¹² In the eighteenth century, before the advent of photography or Instagram, these images of celebrities circulated between the hands of publishers, print sellers, and their eager clientele. The link between celebrity and the visual arts is well documented. Heather McPherson's *Art and Celebrity in the Age of Reynolds & Siddons* (2017) is a key source for understanding how the visual arts, and visual arts about the theatre in particular, functioned within a distinctly eighteenth-century system of celebrity, 'a dynamic sociocultural phenomenon produced by a multidirectional matrix of factors, evolving over time but also possessing a period specific, culturally identifiable footprint'.¹³ Arguably, this 'culturally identifiable footprint' is the superior influence of the theatre as an institution of media; a critical source of cultural information and a purveyor of the celebrity actress. This is the system within which Bell's portraits functioned.

Beyond the portrait, actresses found themselves recreated in other commercial visual items such as porcelain figurines, and medallions.¹⁴ Bell's prints specifically were used to produce printed ceramic tiles featuring actors and actresses. These tiles, produced in tin-glazed

¹² Roach, *It*, p. 17.

¹³ Heather McPherson, *Art and Celebrity in the Age of Reynolds & Siddons* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 7.

¹⁴ The Harvard Theatre Collection has a huge collection of these Staffordshire figurines featuring actresses. See Robert Halsband, 'Stage Drama as a Source for Pictorial and Plastic Arts', in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800* ed. by Shirley Strum Kenny (Washington: Folger Books, 1984), pp. 149-170.

earthenware and transfer printed in black or red ink, highlight both the craze for novel celebrity images and the synergetic relationship between printed portraiture and these other visual forms (Fig. 32).¹⁵



Figure 32: Mrs Mattocks as Princess Catherine, based on a print after James Roberts, engraved by Charles Grignion from Bell's Shakespeare, c. 1777-1780, delftware tile, British Museum, London <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1887-0307-E-166-13> [accessed 9 June 2023]. Image © Trustees of the British Museum.

Arguably the most recognisable form of theatrical portraiture in this period was the major oil portrait. Often printed portraits are reproductions of popular works of this type. These larger painted portraits, exhibited at places such as the Royal Academy, were created to portray an idealised image of an actor or actress, employing methods of classical allusion and symbolism to make comparisons between the player and the heroes and muses of mythology. In doing so, they encouraged the rise of feminised celebrity in which actresses, alongside other public women like princesses and courtesans, were gazed at within the public forum of

¹⁵ See Anthony Ray, *Liverpool Printed Tiles* (London: J. Horne, 1994), p. 60.

visual culture.¹⁶ Works such as Gill Perry's *Spectacular Flirtations* (2007), and Robyn Asleson's edited collections *Notorious Muse* (2003) and earlier *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists* (1999), draw needed attention to the influence and impact of the actress, and particularly the star actress, on eighteenth-century portraiture and wider visual culture.¹⁷

Sometimes these portraits would be commissioned by the players themselves, as a method of controlling their image and increasing their visibility within both the theatrical public and the wider public sphere of London society. Most notably, David Garrick commissioned his own portraits in role by artists including Benjamin Wilson, Francis Hayman, and Johan Zoffany, using them as 'instruments of self-publicity'.¹⁸ Actresses engaged in this behaviour as well: the actress Mary Wells used a commissioned portrait by Joshua Reynolds to encourage comparisons between her and Siddons, and therefore grow her public appeal. It was later commented by the *Universal Register* that Wells 'had sought with eagerness to copy out the example of the prodigious Mrs. Siddons'.¹⁹ Although she seems to have not been the only one, it is generally agreed that Siddons set the bar for this kind of public image manipulation. As Robyn Asleson notes, 'Siddons virtually erases the memory of [her] precursors in establishing her representation of herself as the first truly virtuous female representative of the dramatic arts and of tragedy'.²⁰ Laura Engel argues that in theatrical portraits, like their autobiographies, actresses could 'manipulate the concept of authenticity' and redefine the

¹⁶ Kevin Bourque, 'Heady Similitudes: Kitty Fisher, Mezzotint Culture, and Material Narratives of Celebrity, ca. 1750', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 54.2 (2021), 307-336 (p. 316).

¹⁷ See Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations; Notorious Muse*, ed. by Asleson; and *A Passion for Performance*, ed. by Asleson.

¹⁸ Tim Clayton, 'Figures of Fame: Reynolds and the Printed Image', in *Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity*, ed. by M. Postle (London: Tate Publishing, 2005), pp. 49-59 (pp. 51-52). See also, West, *The Image of the Actor*, p. 29.

¹⁹ Quoted in Asleson, 'Introduction', in *Notorious Muse*, ed. by Asleson, p. 10.

²⁰ Asleson, 'Introduction', in *Notorious Muse*, ed. by Asleson, p. 4.

status and meaning of the celebrity woman in the eighteenth century.²¹ Dress and costume iconography, for example, was an important way through which an actress could communicate ideas about wealth, taste, and moral fortitude.²² Gill Perry invokes the idea of flirtation to describe how actresses communicated with audiences through portraiture:

Although the actress was continually struggling with public perceptions of her ambiguous sexuality, there were forms of flirtatious behaviour, which, when defined and developed through dramatic and artistic conventions, could enable the female performer to achieve social mobility, artistic status, and symbolic potential both on stage and in paint.²³

Both the approaches of Engel and Perry figure portraiture as a form of communication between the actress and the public. Defining theatrical portraiture as a form of ‘image-making’ and as ‘flirtation’ places the actress front and centre as the driving force behind the portrait’s power. Key to this is the conception of the actress as an active party in the creation of art through her role as patron, muse, and sitter. From behind the artist’s canvas, she can make suggestions and influence artistic decisions. As such, sitting for a portrait becomes a kind of performance.

In contrast, the actress has limited agency over a printed portrait. Prints, often derivative of paintings or created completely from imagination, do not usually involve a sitter. In this way, the actress’s image is completely at the mercy of the engraver, printer, or publisher. There is no evidence to suggest that the actresses portrayed in Bell’s portraits had any say in how they were represented or how their images were used. As Gilli Bush-Bailey warns, ‘in our desire to identify new-found heroines we have reinforced the traditional model of the artist or poet as divergent from the society in which she works, rather than a product of it’.²⁴ The

²¹ Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity*, p. 2. A similar argument is made by Joanna Jarvis in ‘Performance and Print Culture: Two Eighteenth-Century Actresses and Their Image Control’, in *Pen, Print and Communication in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Caroline Archer-Parré and Malcolm Dick (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), pp. 107-122.

²² Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity*, pp. 18-19.

²³ Perry, p. 15.

²⁴ Bush-Bailey, p. 15.

eighteenth-century actress was a product of mediatised celebrity in which her image circulated beyond her control.

If the circulation of images is a key feature of celebrity, then, in the eighteenth century, this circulation was made possible through significant developments in printing technology. For example, the mezzotint method could create highly detailed reproductions of painted portraits, their softer tonal qualities lending themselves well to accurately portraying minute detail and the varying textures of skin and fabric.²⁵ As William Gilpin explains in his *Essay on Prints* (1768), ‘the characteristic of *mezzotinto* is softness... Nothing, except paint, can express flesh more naturally, or the flowing of hair, or the folds of drapery’.²⁶ By this method, copies of grand portraits could be owned by those who would not otherwise be able to obtain, or afford, the original. It also allowed artists to circulate their work beyond the exhibition. It is likely that Joshua Reynolds, an artist known for his theatrical portraits, was one of the first painters to commission his work in mezzotint. Soon after he finished his apprenticeship with Thomas Hudson, he hired James McArdell to produce a mezzotint plate of his portrait of Lady Charlotte Fitzwilliam for publicity.²⁷ This ability to accurately reproduce painting made mezzotints popular with collectors who, from 1760 onwards, showed a particular interest in acquiring them.²⁸ Mezzotinting, however, is a timely and costly process. Spearheaded by German soldier Ludwig von Seigen and later developed by Prince Rupert of the Rhine, the process involves using a ‘rocker’ to slowly build up an image on a printing plate, using thousands of tiny dots to create the image.²⁹ Only a few high-quality prints could be produced from the mezzotint plate before it started to degrade. This made the

²⁵ Shearer West, ‘The Theatrical Print in Eighteenth-Century London’, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of St Andrews, 1986), p. 78.

²⁶ William Gilpin, *An Essay Upon Prints* (London: 1768), p. 57, ECCO.

²⁷ Carol Wax, *The Mezzotint: History and Technique* (New York: Abrams, 1990), p. 42.

²⁸ See, for example, W. Roberts, ‘The Present Rage for Mezzotints’, *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review*, 50.294 (1901), 257-264.

²⁹ Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (London: British Museum, 1980), pp. 86-7.

method not well-suited to the kind of mass-production required of popular prints of actresses toward the end of the century. Therefore, other methods were used to be able to produce new images quickly.

Printed portraits produced through other methods, such as line or stipple-and-dot engraving, could produce far more copies than mezzotint. Line engraving was not a new method, and it had been used in Europe since the fifteenth century. However, the stipple-and-dot method was a novelty for England in the late 1700s. The stipple technique was pioneered at this time by William Wynne Ryland who had encountered a simplified version in France during the 1750s. It found popularity in England after he used the method to reproduce the paintings of Angelica Kauffman. The stipple method is an intaglio process in which an engraver creates a mass of small dots to make up an image. Unlike mezzotint, on close inspection, these dots remain visible in the final print.³⁰ Like mezzotint, stipple engraving could create soft variations in tone suitable for portraying skin and the folds of fabric, albeit with reduced detail. Although this increased reproducibility came at the cost of fineness, hundreds of prints could be processed before the plate required restoration. The relative cheapness and easy reproducibility of images by the end of the eighteenth century allowed printers like John Bell to capitalise upon the commercial value of the actress's portrait.

³⁰ Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, pp. 82-3.

John Bell's illustrated editions

Bell's portraits were primarily commissioned as illustrations for his highly successful play reprint series *Bell's Shakespeare* and *Bell's British Theatre*. It is widely acknowledged that Bell was one of, if not the first, to include portraits of actors and actresses in role alongside his plays. The success of his series paved the way for many subsequent acting editions and reprints including Kemble's *Select British Theatre* (1815); Elizabeth Inchbald's critical editions of *British Theatre* (1808); Cumberland's *The British Drama* (1817); and Oxberry's *New English Drama* (1818-1825).³¹ However, unlike later editors such as Kemble and Inchbald, Bell had little previous direct involvement with the theatre. He was not an actor, a playwright, or a theatremaker. Instead, it was likely that it was the success of the *Dramatic Censor* that influenced Bell's decision to produce the first acting version of Shakespeare's plays derived from the promptbooks of the two London theatres, for which Francis Gentleman again served as editor. *Bell's Shakespeare* began to appear in 1773 and then was published gradually over that year, and then between 1775 and 1778. Following the success of his editions of Shakespeare, in 1776 Bell published the first edition of *Bell's British Theatre*, a serialised collection of non-Shakespeare acting editions which covered plays considered to be the very best of British playwriting.³² The series was composed of reprints of plays, many of which had entered the public domain with the lapse of perpetual copyright in 1774.

Although in this chapter I am focusing on Bell's portraits as individual ephemeral objects (since they are displayed in this form by Brady), it is important to remain aware of their original publication context as images produced alongside a playtext. As Stuart Sillars notes

³¹ In *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) John Brewer calls Bell 'the model which many other booksellers followed for the next fifty years' (p. 388).

³² For a detailed overview of the series' publishing history, see Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, pp. 10-17.

in his analysis of Bell's editions of Shakespeare, 'for the first time, the reader's progress through the plays is determined visually as much as verbally, with the scenes depicted absorbed simultaneously as both image and word'.³³ Although composition varied depending on binding choices made by purchasers, Sillars suggests that it was most common for portraits to be placed alongside the scenes they depict, imbuing the portrait with the function of offering critical commentary on the play it accompanied.³⁴ Bell's editions were widely commercially successful, and many have noted the significance of Bell's cheap reprints and the impact they had upon the English canon.³⁵ The first edition of *Bell's Shakespeare*, according to Bell's self-aggrandising 1773 advert, received around 890 subscriptions for more than 16,000 sets of the first five volumes.³⁶

One of the reasons they were so successful is because of the unbeatable value that they offered. Sensitive to the theatrical public's spectrum of budgets, Bell made available several different versions of both his plays and prints in differing paper qualities. Sometimes these loose versions of the prints would circulate months before the full play was published.³⁷ In one such advert for his works of Shakespeare, he declares various sets of prints available:

The prints will be sold at 12s. per Set, neatly sewed in Marble Paper; or at 10s. 6d. each Set, in loose Prints, for ornamental Furniture, or to bind up with any Edition of Shakespeare.

On Common Paper, 6d. each Number.

On fine Royal Paper, with Proof Impressions of the Characters only, at 1s. each Number.

On fine Royal Paper, with Proof Impressions of the Historic Scenes, which were originally engraved for this Work, at 1s. 3d. each Number.³⁸

³³ Sillars, p. 112.

³⁴ Sillars, p. 122.

³⁵ Thomas F. Bonnell, *The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry 1765-1810* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 32-34.

³⁶ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 11,

³⁷ Sillars, p. 115.

³⁸ BC, T. P. 49, 114r.

A common play reprint including portraits would cost just a sixpence. John Brewer claims that Bell's editions would have been an excellent bargain; they offered a playtext and pocket-sized portrait for a similar price to what someone might pay for a portrait of an actress in a print shop.³⁹ According to Robert D. Hume, '[q]uite a lot of people' could afford the 6d. common printing of one print, but the full set at 10-12s would have been considerably more expensive (at least £100 when converted for approximate buying power).⁴⁰ Bell's serial publication method meant that he could solicit patronage over an extended period, therefore stabilising his business costs. It was a great idea, but, despite the genius of it all, Bell would find himself frequently bankrupted because of various copyright disputes and was later charged for libel against the Crown's foot guards in piece for the *Oracle* in 1792.⁴¹ Bell was forced to sell rights and inventory to recoup his losses, and his editions were eagerly bought and recirculated even after they left his jurisdiction.

However, these troubles were not yet underway in 1775 when he was still riding high from the success of his first two editions of the works of Shakespeare. Always looking for ways to increase his work's appeal, from the third edition of *Bell's Shakespeare* he included portraits of actors and actresses. These portraits, supposedly 'from the life', were primarily designed by James Roberts, and were sketched without backgrounds, perhaps influenced by the success of Sawyer and Smith's *Dramatic Characters, or Different Portraits of the English Stage*, published in 1770.⁴² His lengthy advertisement for the first edition of *British Theatre*, which followed a similar format, makes a promise to his readers that

³⁹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 484-488

⁴⁰ Robert D. Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power—and Some Problems in Cultural Economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.4 (2014), 373-416 (pp. 381-382).

⁴¹ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 7.

⁴² *Dramatic Characters, or Different Portraits of the English Stage* (London: Sayer and Smith, 1770).

Each Play will be embellished with at least one lively Dramatic Character, painted from the life, by Permission, on purpose for this work *only*, and executed by the best Engravers in London.⁴³

This description confidently spotlights a key aspect of Bell's USP: that his portraits were supposedly exclusively produced for his readers. These earlier prints show a performer, often with a visible shadow, richly costumed, against a blank background. The print is bordered, with text along the bottom denoting the performer depicted, the character being performed, and often a chosen quotation from the play. The title of the play is printed at the top of the page, alongside the act and scene supposedly shown.

It was intended that the quotation would usually match up to the act and scene, although this could be inconsistent. In one such example, a portrait of Miss Younge as Cleopatra in Bell's edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* (1776), the quotation underneath ('—O, is it come to this?—') supposedly corresponds with Act 3, Scene 2 of the play (Fig. 33). Rather, it is taken from Act 3, Scene 11 when Antony demands the whipping of Thyreus. In Bell's edition, it is even suggested by the editor in a footnote that the scene would have been 'advantaged' by ending with the line.⁴⁴ In this case, Miss Younge's almost smiling portrait appears jarringly mismatched with the passionate anger of the scene in which Antony finds Ceasar's messenger kissing the hand of his lover.

Roberts's style was popular and so he was engaged to produce the portraits and contribute to the engraving for the first editions of Bell's *British Theatre* up until 1781. In 1782, Bell expanded the series with the *Supplement to Bell's British Theatre*, which included four volumes of new material, mostly comedies and farces, but no portraits. In 1785, he announced an alternative literary collection of Shakespeare, distinguished from his acting

⁴³ *Bell's British Theatre, Volume 1* (London: 1776), p. 2, ECCO.

⁴⁴ *Antony and Cleopatra, A Tragedy, by Shakespeare* (London: Bell, 1776), p. 70, ECCO.

version by the ‘elaboration of its presentation’ and the inclusion of a wider variety of portraits including that of Shakespeare, the Prince of Wales, and prints of Shakespearean artefacts.⁴⁵

Reflecting changes in dramatic fashion and the success of Garrick’s scenographer Philip James de Louthembourg, these portraits were less stark and began to include hints of setting and attempts to better replicate vigorous movement and gesture. In 1790, Bell decided to reissue his *British Theatre* in a similar manner which, he declared, would ‘challenge the admiration of the World.’ This edition began publication in January 1791 and contained new, more opulent portraits, painted by Samuel de Wilde and engraved by Thornthwaite, among others. An advert boldly proclaimed that the project had cost him ‘nearly Twenty Thousand Pounds’.⁴⁶

Bell saw his portraits as having value beyond their function as book illustrations. The advert affixed to the first edition of *British Theatre* set out Bell’s aims for the portraits. ‘It has often justly been lamented,’ he begins, ‘that the graces of the actor lived no longer than the Attitude, Breath, and Motion that presented them...’ Positioning his portraits as a remedy to this sorry situation, he continues:

The animated figures accompanying the Drama, will aid the audiences of the present excellent performers to recall at any time during life, the pleasures they have received. ---What value would the public now put upon such a lively record of *Betterton, Cibber, &c. &c.* the delight of their forefathers!⁴⁷

This narrative emphasises the theatrical portrait as a tool for the viewing of players *in memoriam*. Bell describes his portraits as ‘animated’ representations of players, that enable spectators to ‘recall at any time during life, the pleasures they have received’ in watching them perform. Like Charles Lamb’s assertion of the ‘old remembrances’ offered by the

⁴⁵ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ As quoted in Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 15.

⁴⁷ *Bell’s British Theatre, Volume 1*, pp. 4-5.

playbill, the portrait print appears to offer a lively reminder of performance past.⁴⁸ Although Brady appears to have shared this sentiment, for him, the value of ephemera goes one step further, that is, that it can offer the historian the chance of ‘actually seeing’ the great actors and actresses of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹

This would have been aided by the deeper detail offered by Bell’s later portraits. In a 1796 portrait, Mrs Hartley is shown as Rosamond in Thomas Hull’s *Henry II* (1773), a role she created at Covent Garden between 1773 and 1776 (Fig. 34). Acting as a kind of aide-mémoire, Bell’s print harks back to her performance twenty years earlier.⁵⁰ But what exactly is being remembered? Most probably, one would not recognise the print as Hartley if it did not bear her name. Many viewers of the portrait would have never seen her perform as Rosamund, or perhaps in any part. Similarly, if in other cases the quotation does not necessarily relate to the act and scene listed, then how might we understand the ‘performances’ being depicted in Bell’s prints? One way that we might understand it, is through a consideration of genre and how such prints consolidate the boundaries of actresses’ performances within certain genres.

⁴⁸ Lamb, II, p. 302.

⁴⁹ Brady, ‘Juvenile Drama Publishers’, p. 98.

⁵⁰ West, *Image of the Actor*, pp. 26-27.



Figure 33: *Miss Young in the Character of Cleopatra*, published with Bell's edition of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1776) Print is purported to be from Act 3, Scene 2. The quotation below reads: '—O, is it come to this?—' BC, T.P. 49, 58r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.



Figure 34: *Mrs Hartley as Rosamond*, published with Bell's edition of Thomas Hull's *Henry II; or, The Fall of Rosamond* (1796). BC, T.P. 19, 88r. Image © Christ Church Library, Oxford.

The visuality of ‘she-tragedy’

Miss Younge did not ever play as Shakespeare’s Cleopatra; in fact, the play was not performed for the entirety of the eighteenth century. She was, however, performing as Cleopatra in a revival of Dryden’s *All for Love* at the time of publication for Bell’s portrait. Although marketed as an ‘imitation’, Dryden’s blank verse play differs from that of Shakespeare in that it focuses on the very end of Antony and Cleopatra’s relationship and takes place exclusively in Alexandria. Shakespeare’s tragedy was seemingly not well-suited to eighteenth-century tastes. Garrick had attempted to mount a (heavily adapted) version based on Shakespeare’s text in 1759 but it had failed: ‘most observers simply preferred Dryden’s “soft flowing numbers” to the “general language” of Shakespeare’s Antony.’⁵¹ They were, however, both historic tragedies. By ‘casting’ Younge in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Bell establishes the role as within the realm of possibility for her line of business as a tragic actress.

Bell’s decision also makes plain the value of theatrical portraiture for understanding the currents of dramatic taste. The value of theatrical prints for scholars is not in their ability to recall performances of the past, but rather in how they can suggest something of their cultural context, values, and mores of the eighteenth-century stage. Robert Erenstein explains:

a visual document such as a portrait should be investigated as a sort of symbolic contract between the actor and the public in relation to the theatrical *context* in a particular period. Figures depicted in a theatrical illustration can be considered mouthpieces for and interpreters of an anonymous collective. Within the system of prevalent cultural codes, they give, in an individual and unrepeatable manner, expression to whatever at the time was vital and valid.⁵²

⁵¹ *Antony and Cleopatra: Updated Edition*, ed. by David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, repr. 2005), p. 47.

⁵² Robert Erenstein, ‘Theatre Iconography’, in *Picturing Performance: The Iconography of the Performing Arts in Concept and Practice*, ed. by Thomas F. Heck (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999), pp. 136-150 (p. 145), original emphasis.

In Erenstein's construction, theatrical portraits not only present the business of theatre's outward presentation to its spectators but equally present the values of those spectators back to the theatre. Beyond simply a depiction of performance, they take on the function of representing the tastes, expectations, and imaginations of the theatre's audiences. We can see this reflected in the changes seen in Bell's prints over the decades.

The disparity between Bell's earlier and later portraits has much to do with how they approach the changing relationship between player and genre part, character, and celebrity. Despite his attestations otherwise, Bell's 'lively' records, at least in the earlier portraits, are statuesque and vapid; rather than differentiated images of actresses' excellent performances, they are 'rotating personifications of Comedy and Tragedy'.⁵³ Desperately formulaic, these portraits appear to engage in an approach to character organised primarily around genre. Lisa A. Freeman argues that in the eighteenth century, dramatic character was composed of generic features and conventions recognisable by a theatre's audience. She contends that a dramatic character's consciousness is derived from these conventions and that 'the eighteenth-century audience was not absorbed in plumbing a character's depths, but rather it was interactively engaged in tracing a character in relation to generic conventions over the course of three to five acts'.⁵⁴ This appears to explain Bell's prints, which can appear almost completely indistinguishable from each other. In these prints, the character depicted, and even the actress herself, appears to be somewhat secondary to signalling the nature of the dramatic genre in which she features. In other words, an individual actress's identity is relegated in favour of a generic representation of she-tragedy as a highly feminised dramatic style.

⁵³ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Lisa A. Freeman, *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 41.

The first volume of the first edition of *Bell's British Theatre*, which began publication on 4 May 1776, was composed of all tragedies: Aaron Hill's *Zara*; Otway's *Venice Preserv'd*; Rowe's *Jane Shore*; Hughes's *The Siege of Damascus*; and Phillip's *The Distressed Mother*. Four out of these five plays centre their tragedy around a distressed heroine. Three of those, *Zara*, *Jane Shore*, and *The Distressed Mother*, are typical instances of 'she-tragedy', a term employed by Rowe himself in the epilogue to his play.⁵⁵ 'She-tragedy', broadly conceived, is a sub-genre of tragedy in which female characters bear the weight of the plot's tragic affect. 'In these plays,' Jean Marsden explains, 'women are presented to the audience's gaze, established as desirable, and then driven into prolonged and often fatal suffering'. The 'distinctly female nature of this suffering' is the driving force behind the play's emotional influence.⁵⁶ By choosing to begin his *British Theatre* with she-tragedies, Bell is capitalising upon a dramatic trend that, by definition, relied on the performance of actresses.

Saturday, 11 May 1776 saw the release of the second volume to this initial edition, Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserv'd; or, A Plot Discover'd*, 'as performed at the Theatre-Royal on Drury-Lane'. Bell's first print for *Venice Preserv'd* was a fold-out landscape portrait of Ann Barry as Belvidera alongside her second husband Spranger as Jaffair. The portrait shows them both, full-length, arms raised, and looking towards the top left of the frame. Jaffair is wearing a cloak and holding a dagger, whereas Belvidera wears a long dress and a feathered headpiece (Fig. 35). Ann (then Dancer) and Spranger Barry first performed in those roles together at the King's Theatre on 13 August 1766, but Ann had been playing Belvidera since 1752. The print which was chosen again for the 1780 edition of *British Theatre*, seems to covertly capitalise on Ann's publicised affair with Spranger which reportedly began in the late 1750s at Crow Street in Dublin. Following William Dancer's death in 1759, Ann and

⁵⁵ *Bell's British Theatre, Volume 1*, p. 58.

⁵⁶ Jean I. Marsden, *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 60.

Spranger were free to court openly, and they later married. Sadly, shortly after the publication of Bell's print, Spranger died. His death struck a chord with the public, and the theatrical media responded, and countless eulogies followed. Ann Barry's first performance following the death of her husband was as Lady Randolph in *Douglas*, to which she gave a prologue. The piece, seizing the recent news of Spranger's death, involved Barry casting doubt over whether she could sufficiently perform Lady Randolph's grief for Douglas while still suffering in her own tragic circumstances.⁵⁷



Figure 35: *Mr and Mrs Barry in the Characters of Jaffier and Belvidera*, published with Bell's edition of Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* (1776). BC, T.P. 3, 98r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

In Otway's play, Belvidera succumbs to madness following her parting from Jaffier. Her madness becomes the defining aspect of the play's tragic affect from the end of the first act

⁵⁷*Biographical Dictionary*, I, pp. 341-343.

when Belvidera declares to Jaffeir that ‘Oh! I will love thee, even in madness love thee’.⁵⁸ Bell’s print appears to correspond to a scene in Act 5, at which Jaffeir takes his leave from Belvidera. He draws a dagger, then turns to hear a bell toll, which reminds him it is time to leave for his friend Pierre. Below the print Bell includes a quotation from Jaffeir which profoundly resounds when considered in the light of Spranger’s impending demise: ‘Hark the dismal Bell Tolls out for Death.’ This is the turning point in the play at which Belvidera descends into madness. She calls out:

Oh! Give me daggers, fire or water:
How I could bleed, how burn, how drown, the waves
Huzzing and foaming around my sinking head,
Till I descended to the peaceful bottom!⁵⁹

The moment, or dramatic ‘point’, of Jaffeir’s departure is a particularly potent one. It is for this reason that it was probably chosen as Bell’s subject. The ‘heightened subjective state’ of each portrait works in tandem with the use of quotation to allow spectators to ‘read’ the moment of performance through the portrait’s iconography.⁶⁰ This is in alignment with the contemporary concept of the ‘pregnant moment’ as outlined by dramatist Gotthold Lessing in his critical work *Laocoon, or The Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766). Lessing says that, as a painting can only depict one moment — in this case, one moment of performance — that moment must be ‘most fruitful of effect’.⁶¹ She-tragedies abounded with such moments. Their extravagant storylines and heightened emotional representation lend themselves well to such interpretation, which relies on the spectator’s imagination or anticipation of what happens next. In this print, spectators anticipate the withdrawal of Jaffeir and Belvidera’s resulting outburst.

⁵⁸ *Bell’s British Theatre, Volume 1*, p. 17.

⁵⁹ *Bell’s British Theatre, Volume 1*, p. 77.

⁶⁰ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, p. 266.

⁶¹ Gotthold Lessing, *Laocoon: Translated from the Text of Lessing*, trans. by Robert Phillimore (London: Macmillan, 1874), p. 29.

However, one can only imagine the following scene if one knows the play. And as many of Bell's prints circulated separately, it is reasonable to assume that some spectators engaged with it without the benefit of knowing Otway, or their encounters with the play may have been limited to its existence in ephemeral media, in other prints or printed epilogues. As West states, it was through editions like those published by Bell that readers began to interact with plays that had not been performed in decades.⁶² To remain legible, the print must therefore communicate its subject through a determined, but continually changing, visual ontology of she-tragedy. According to Marsden, 'female madness in the she-tragedies of the 1690s and early eighteenth century is more than a matter of semantics.' She continues, 'It is represented in terms of a series of conventional physical signs... loosened hair and clothing as well as exaggerated displays of passion'.⁶³ We do not see this in Barry's *Belvidera*; she is tidy and her gesture, although open, does not seem exaggerated. However, we do see evidence of 'conventional physical signs,' as they developed later into the century, especially through the representation of gesture and posture. As Joseph Roach notes, the gesture was one way through which the actor could channel excessive passion into 'properly regulated conduits'.⁶⁴ These rules for gesture contribute to the intertheatrical network of meaning which governs the performance of tragedy by women in the eighteenth century.

In their introduction to Bell's catalogue, Burnim and Highfill Jr. note how many of Bell's portraits appear to follow prescriptive descriptions for proper gesture in the performance of tragic parts. This is clearest when considering the actresses' arms. In tragic performance, it was deemed proper that arms and hands were never raised above the shoulders, apart from in heroic action. Arms should be away from the torso and the right hand, which always leads the

⁶² West, *The Image of the Actor*, p. 54.

⁶³ Marsden, *Fatal Desire*, p. 90.

⁶⁴ Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 55.

left, if it is raised, should not be extended across the left side further than the heart.⁶⁵ Bell's portrait of Barry seems to adhere to this, although both arms are raised, it is her right arm that is stretched out and her left hand comes to a stop at her heart, gracefully held.⁶⁶

A perhaps unintentional consequence of adherence to generic gesture is that many of the prints of tragic actresses appear dizzyingly similar. Without the help of Bell's annotation, we may even find it hard to tell the difference between the two actresses themselves and/or the roles they were performing. It perhaps seems obvious to suggest that the primary function of the theatrical portrait is to be recognisable as an image of a particular actress. But likeness, as it is conceived of in portraiture, is more complicated than it might seem. In Bell's portraits, it is a moving target. Faces, costumes, and gestures appear replicated, obfuscating the differentiation between actresses. Without the help of the affixed textual description, it is hard to differentiate between the likeness of Miss Younge (later Elizabeth Pope) as the eponymous heroine of William Whitehead's 1754 tragedy *Cruesa, Queen of Athens* (Fig. 36) and Jane Lessingham in the role of Oriana from George Farquar's 1702 play *The Inconstant* (Fig. 37). Although we can observe some differences in the costume and gesture depicted, the physiognomy of the actresses appears quite similar. This calls directly into question the nature of likeness in theatrical portraiture and what — and *who* — these portraits are claiming to depict.

⁶⁵ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁶ For a discussion of these generic codes in comic portraiture, see Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture in Late-Georgian and Regency England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 11-32.



Figure 36: Miss Younge in the Character of Creusa, published with Bell's edition of William Whitehead's *Creusa, Queen of Athens* (1778). BC, T.P. 49, 63r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.



Figure 37: Mrs. Lessingham in the Character of Oriana, published with Bell's edition of George Farquhar's *The Inconstant* (1777). BC, T.P. 27, 6r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

Investigating likeness is made challenging by the fact that conditions of likeness, especially in portraits, are constantly changing over time. As Richard Brilliant explains, likeness is ‘greatly affected by changing views about what constitutes resemblance and whether it can be measured on an objective basis.’⁶⁷ It seems that, at least in the eighteenth century, the notion of likeness extended to moral representation, the representation of one’s internal character, as well as physiological similarity. In his *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1725), Jonathan Richardson writes that

’tis not enough to make a Tame, insipid Resemblance of the Features, so that everybody shall know who the Picture was intended for... a Portrait-Painter must understand Mankind, and enter into their Characters, and express their Minds as well as their Faces.⁶⁸

For Richardson, a simple focus on physical representation makes a picture ‘Tame’ and ‘insipid,’ and good portrait painting requires both technical skill and a deep understanding of human nature. Likeness can perhaps then be understood as a unique combination of these two factors, ‘the relationship between the external appearance of a person and its apprehension by others’. This ‘mimetic equation’ explains the balancing of these two factors, in which physical likeness is not valued over the representation of the internal self.⁶⁹

Richardson’s use of the term ‘Character’ here illuminates the additional problems that arise when we consider likeness within a theatrical context. In theatrical portraiture, likeness becomes ever the more complicated by its relationship to the dramatic part, wherein the ‘internal self’ is necessarily set at a distance in an external performance of a role. Unlike other forms of portraiture in which an actress may be shown as herself or within the allegorical guise of a historical or mythological figure, theatrical portraiture of actresses in role introduces the additional consideration of dramatic character. Talking of portraits of

⁶⁷ Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion, 1991), p. 26.

⁶⁸ Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 2nd edn (London: 1725), pp. 21-22, ECCO.

⁶⁹ Norbert Schneider, *The Art of the Portrait: Masterpieces of European Portrait-Painting (1420-1670)* (Cologne: Taschen, 1994), p. 14.

David Garrick, Leslie Ritchie claims that '[l]ikeness in theatrical portraiture comprehends the expression of characteristic movement or pose, or a particular dramatic moment, associated with the actor's portrayal of that character'.⁷⁰ In other words, portrait portrayals of actors and actresses aim not only to resemble the players themselves — their external appearance and internal self — but also the essence of their performance and specifically, the 'spirit' of their performance within a specific role.⁷¹ This is similar to how, in printed epilogues, the version of the actress being represented is very much one defined by aural identity and her unique way or style of performing.

Likeness is further complicated by the fact that the 'spirit' of a performance could change over time, either through shifts in dramatic norms or style or because of a role being passed from one actress to another. Two portraits of tragic heroine Calista, firstly played by Mary Ann Yates, and later by Ann Brunton, bring to the fore a key impulse of Bell's commercial project: contemporaneity. Throughout the production of his portraits, Bell appears to have made some effort to keep his choices of plays, parts, and actresses appropriate to contemporary repertory and taste. For example, in the first edition of *British Theatre*, Yates is shown as Rowe's Calista, but in the second edition, she is replaced by Brunton, who took over the role in 1786 (Fig. 38 and 39). Yates was celebrated for her Calista, a role she performed fourteen times, second only to her Isabella. Ann Brunton's Calista was not as well-received. According to *The Secret History of the Green Room*, Ann was considered a 'slutish, indolent girl' by the members of the Bath Theatre; she 'soaring at once to the heights of

⁷⁰ Ritchie, *David Garrick and the Mediation of Celebrity*, p. 212.

⁷¹ This is compounded by the contemporary understanding of theatrical portraiture as related to a 'grand style' of history painting. Heather McPherson discusses this regarding Reynolds's portrait of Siddons as the Tragic Muse, an example of the historical mode in which the portrait is seen to be 'underscoring its allegorical dimension and multivalence'. See 'Picturing Tragedy: Mrs Siddons as the Tragic Muse Revisited', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33.3 (2000), 401-430 (pp. 401-403). Reynolds was a particular proponent of this 'grand style,' as set out in his *Seven Discourses on Art* (1778) which would set the tone for portraiture in the late eighteenth century. See West, *The Image of the Actor*, pp. 106-118.

Tragedy, it was thought would be perfectly humbled at her first attempt'.⁷² Comparing the print of Yates as Calista with that of Brunton, we might consider how these prints delineate (or not) the tragic styles of different actresses.

⁷² Haslewood, II, p. 85.



Figure 39: Mrs Yates in the Character of Calista, published with Bell's edition of Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1776). BC, T.P. 48, 24r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.



Figure 38: Miss Brunton as Calista, published with Bell's edition of Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1791). BC, T.P. 7, 11r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

In Bell's print of Yates, her right arm, like Barry's, is shown outstretched with her fingers elegantly splayed. Her left arm is extended out behind her torso, reflecting the gravity of the lines she is shown to deliver: 'Strike home, & I will bless thee for the blow!' As Nussbaum argues, in these earlier prints, 'pictures devoid of accompanying scenery emphasize the actress as much as the part and reinforce the impression of her commanding authority.'⁷³ In the 1776 edition, Yates is shown as a formidable Calista whose strong gesture announces both the generic line of the part and the power of Yates's performance.

Brunton appeared as Calista for the first time on 27 November 1786, 'at which time she was faulted by the critics as being too young to understand the role'.⁷⁴ The *Daily Universal Register* reported that at times her emotional performance seemed incongruent with the play's action: 'when she talked of an asylum, where to hide her sorrows and her shame, instead of the blushing anguish that should accompany the latter, Miss Brunton seemed to glory in proclaiming it to the audience.'⁷⁵ Bell's print does seem to expose her age and relative inexperience. Her face appears young and soft, and her arms, unlike Yates's, seem raised and rigid.

Brunton's gesture, her arms raised high above her head, could be suggestive of the intensity of the moment that the print claims to depict. The quotation attached to the print is taken from the point at which Calista stabs herself upon hearing of her father's death. It reads: 'And you ye glittering heav'nly host of stars, / Hide your fair heads in Clouds, or I shall blast you.'

However, such a gesture could also lay bare Brunton's amateurishness compared to Yates. As Dene Barnett observes, statements proscribing that the actor or orator's 'arms must not carry the hands above the eyes' appear 'repeated well into the 19th century'.⁷⁶ According to the

⁷³ Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, p. 266.

⁷⁴ Burnim and Highfill Jr., *John Bell*, p. 110.

⁷⁵ *Daily Universal Register* (London), 28 November 1786.

⁷⁶ Dene Barnett and Jeanette Massy-Westropp, *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th Century Acting* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1987), p. 104.

French actor François Riccoboni, raising one's arms above the head could be considered a sign of a lack of control or skill on the part of the actress:

It is a well enough known rule, that usually the hand should not be raised above the eye. But when a violent passion carries him away, the Actor can forget all the rules; he can move with despatch, and lift his arms even above his head.⁷⁷

Both the *Daily Universal Register's* review and the erroneousness of Brunton's gesture in Bell's print, appear to suggest a youthful inexperience greatly contrasting with the strong control of the earlier print of Yates. It is perhaps surprising then, that Brunton is chosen to replace Yates in Bell's later edition. What is the value of a portrait of an actress giving a performance found to be sub-par? Well, to put it bluntly, Yates was dead. Despite Bell's declaration in his advertisement that he aimed to provide images of 'excellent performers to recall at any time during life', he seems to have placed a higher value on the printing of actresses who retained the sparkle of youth, beauty, and popularity.

This may also explain his selection of Elizabeth Hartley for eleven portraits in *Shakespeare* and *British Theatre* — only one less than Sarah Siddons, and many of them tragic. Hartley was a known beauty, and her pleasant countenance conformed to a belief that tragedy must always show its characters in a refined, positive light. Marsden would argue that this is compounded specifically regarding she-tragedy in which 'the heroine is designated as the desirable object of a specifically male gaze.'⁷⁸ Bell adhered to this for most of his portraits. Especially in the earlier portraits where there are commonly no backgrounds, actresses are shown young and sprightly, perfectly coiffed, and often unnaturally thin. Hartley, as described in a letter from John Moody to George Garrick, had a 'good figure' and 'well-turned shoulders', enough to make up for her ignorance, stubbornness, and 'inarticulate

⁷⁷ François Riccoboni, *L'art du théâtre* (Paris: 1750), p. 13, cited in Dene Barnett, 'The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century Part III: The Arms', *Theatre Research International*, 3.2 (1978), 79-93 (p. 84).

⁷⁸ Marsden, *Fatal Desire*, p. 63.

gabble'. In his letter, Moody is sure to clarify to Garrick that they missed a bullet in failing to sign her to Drury Lane, as although she was beautiful, such 'superficial glare' was likely to fade.⁷⁹ And fade it did. In the 1790s Hartley, who had featured in not one but two prints of Jane Shore in earlier editions, was replaced by Sarah Siddons. Siddons had first taken up the role in 1782 and it had quickly become established as a cultural bastion of her remarkable dramatic talent. In these examples, Bell's portraits appear to follow suit with recognised lines of performance for actresses. The serial nature of Bell's editions meant that his portraits could be continually updated to reflect the frequent changes in the theatre's repertoire. Sometimes these changes reflected the meteoric rise of individual stars. In *British Theatre*, for example, seven portraits of Siddons arrived with the release of the 1797 edition, many overwriting previously published prints of those roles. However, Bell's choices do not always follow such well-defined logic. In many cases, actresses' performances are completely fabricated.

Rather than simply looking back to the performance past, many of these prints look forward to, or rather completely imagine, potential performance futures. This is not exclusive to Bell. Many printers published prints before any such performance had taken place. For example, there exists a print of Mrs Abington as the servant Scrub in George Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem* published three days before her performance in the role. This print, wholly based on preconceptions and an imagined experience of her performance, was later undermined by her true acting of the part which proved unconvincing, later becoming the target of satire.⁸⁰ This suggests that theatrical portrait prints are less temporally bound than we are often led to believe. Rather than referring to a specific performance, in many cases, Bell's portraits point

⁷⁹ John Moody to George Garrick, 26 July 1772, in *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London: Colburn, 1835), I, p. 476.

⁸⁰ As cited in West, *The Image of the Actor*, pp. 49-51.

to a kind of performance connoted through genre, likeness, or association with an actress's repertoire.

Manufacturing performance and repertoire

Bell's portraits are highly constructed images, far removed from the performance moment they once claimed to recall. Many depict actresses in roles that they never took. Even in depictions of moments that did occur, the nature of the image and the nature of the portrait declares that actresses' performances are filtered through the eyes and tools of the artist and the publisher. Separated from embodied performance by time, space, and medium, they are once performance, now performatic.⁸¹ This is a notion common to many media forms throughout history. Modern film, for example, is reminiscent of embodiment, but through editing, and years of development, becomes something else altogether different, and distanced, from the embodied performance from which it begins. In some sense, this is the process of mediation itself.

In their mediation of performance, Bell's portraits take liberties with many of their subjects, presenting depictions of performances that never happened. Of course, the notion of dramatic performance connotes a degree of artificiality. As Diana Taylor explains, 'it is "put on," antithetical to the "real" and "true" ... in more complex readings, the constructed is recognized as coterminous with the real.'⁸² In Bell's prints ideas of performance as artificial but ultimately connected to reality are turned on their head. In his editions, mediated images of the performance past mingle with performatic visual constructions which, at once, reiterate theatrical epistemologies regarding actresses on the eighteenth-century stage. To expound on

⁸¹ Diana Taylor coins 'performatic' as an alternative to 'performative' to 'denote the adjectival form of the nondiscursive realm of performance'. See Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*, p. 6.

⁸² Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*, p. 4.

this, I now turn to a specific example of these ‘manufactured’ performances also found in Brady’s collection.

In one extreme instance of Bell’s performatic manufacturing, Sarah Siddons is cast as Medea, a role that she supposedly actively declined throughout her life.⁸³ In 1792, Bell published a portrait of Siddons in the role, made famous by Richard Glover’s successful *Medea: A Tragedy* (1761). Anecdotal evidence suggests she had been asked directly about the role, and her reasons for later refusing vary. Horace Walpole recalls one instance in a 1782 letter to the Countess of Ossory: ‘Mrs. Siddons was desired to play Medea and Lady Macbeth—no, she replied, she did not look on them as female characters.’⁸⁴ John Genest reports that she had also been asked by Glover’s family: ‘she said that she did not choose her own characters; which was true—but her real reason for declining the part... probably was, that she was afraid of the exertion it would require’. Yates herself ostensibly declined to play the role regularly, suffering it only for her benefits.⁸⁵ Whatever the truth, there is no evidence to suggest Siddons ever performed as Glover’s infanticidal heroine. There are no contemporary reviews, and the *London Stage*, and more recent online *London Stage Calendar 1800-1844*, reports no performances from playbills or periodicals.⁸⁶ Of course, there is always the chance that such a performance has slipped through the cracks of history, but it is unlikely that such a performance from such a star actress would be completely undocumented.

⁸³ Some of this work has already appeared in Katie Noble, ‘The Medea Network: Adapting Medea in Eighteenth-Century Theatre and Visual Culture’, in *Adaptation Before Cinema: Literary and Visual Convergence from Antiquity through the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Lissette Lopez Szwydky and Glenn Jellenik (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), pp. 155-182.

⁸⁴ ‘To Lady Ossory 25 December 1782’, in *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, 48 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1983), XXXIII, p. 377.

⁸⁵ John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage, from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*, 10 vols. (Bath: Carrington, 1832), V, p. 124.

⁸⁶ *The London Stage Calendar 1800-1844* (2021) <<https://londonstage.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>> [accessed 25 August 2023].



Master Henry Siddons as the Child

Figure 40: *Mrs. Siddons as Medea*, published by Bell in 1792, BC, T.P. Kemble Family, 91r.
 Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

In Bell's print, Siddons is shown full-length standing alongside a child, arm raised to the sky, in front of the crashing sea (Fig. 40). Despite Bell's choice of actress, it was Mary Ann Yates who both created and owned the role of Medea. Glover's play began life at Drury Lane in March 1767 but was performed with a changing cast at both Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Despite these changing faces, Yates remained in the eponymous role opposite Powell, and then Smith, throughout the 1770s. The play was highly popular due to its innovative stagecraft and vivid storytelling. Other playwrights had tried their hand at adapting Medea earlier in the century, but Glover was the first to find any kind of real success.⁸⁷ His *Medea* was chosen again and again for Yates's benefits, before being replaced in the repertory by George Colman the Elder's short burlesque ballet *Medea and Jason* at the turn of the 1780s. Yates does feature in Bell's prints and features as the subject of twelve portraits. However here she is snubbed for one of her popular roles, in favour of the moment's premier tragedienne.

Bell's choice to include both Glover's play and Siddons as its heroine makes some sense. The tragedy had recently re-entered the repertory, albeit temporarily, in the wake of Yates's death in 1787. On 26 March 1792, the same year that Bell's print was published, Glover's *Medea: A Tragedy* was reprised at Covent Garden for what appears to be a one-off performance. The title role was handed to Elizabeth Pope for her benefit. Not much is known about this performance, but Bell thought it of no consequence in the face of the indomitable Mrs Siddons.

The emotional intensity of Bell's portrait of Siddons as Medea is deepened by the proposition that the child depicted is her son Henry Siddons. Such a suggestion is made by Brady himself

⁸⁷ For an overview of the various dramatic adaptations of the mythical Medea in this period, see Edith Hall, 'Medea on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage', in *Medea in Performance 1500-2000*, ed. by Edith Hall, Fiona Macintosh, and Oliver Taplin (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), pp. 49-74.

as a typed comment on the copy of the print within his collection (Fig. 40). A researcher unaware that she likely did not take the role would probably be shocked by the implication that, by performing alongside her son Henry, Siddons would appear to murder her child. Siddons did perform with Henry on occasion; most famously, he appeared alongside her at Drury Lane in Garrick's alteration of *Isabella* as the Child for twenty-two performances of the 1782-1783 season. As Helen E. M. Brooks says, '[f]rom the moment she stepped out from the wings of the stage Siddons was the living image of both real and fictional motherhood'. Audiences could not help but read the performance through her real relationship with her son.⁸⁸ Similarly here, Brady's comment frames the print as coloured by Siddons's motherhood. In this example, we begin to see how Brady's organisation of the print bolsters the fictive performance offered by Bell's portrait.

Despite a performance never taking place, the role of Medea fitted the attributes of Siddons's line. She was known for playing tragic heroines, especially characters which called for intense, shifting emotional representation. Genest comments that 'Medea was as completely in Mrs. Siddons' line of acting, as if it had been expressly written for her'.⁸⁹ On 5 July 1828, a few years before Siddons's death, and upon hearing of the opera singer Madame Pasta taking the role, Henry Crabb Robinson imagines what could have been:

What would Mrs. Siddons have made of such a scene? I am surprised on reflexion that no one made a Medea for her. It ought to have been her very greatest character for it combines every one of the passions in which she excelled—scorn, pity, revenge, love, all blended together.⁹⁰

This association is already visible in Bell's portrait. Although depicting a performance that never happened, the print features several ghostings of Siddons's past performances. Her costume, a long-layered dress and shawl wrapped around her head, appears reminiscent of

⁸⁸ Brooks, *Playing Women*, p. 119. See also Asleson, "'She Was Tragedy Personified'", in *Passion for Performance*, ed. by Asleson, p. 52.

⁸⁹ Genest, p. 124.

⁹⁰ Crabb Robinson, II, p. 396.

those worn in other prints for Euphrasia of *The Grecian Daughter* or Thomas Southerne's *Isabella* (1694), two roles for which she was particularly praised. Euphrasia is also present in her pose, her left hand raised to the sky and clasped shut — all that is missing is her dagger.

These ghostings were not likely intentional, but rather consequential. Here, the print has been constructed from a combination of two existing works. Siddons's head, taken from Reynolds's famous painting of her as the Tragic Muse, has been transposed onto a similar mezzotint of Mary Ann Yates as Medea by William Dickinson after Robert Edge Pine.⁹¹ The print's original composition is barely changed. One slight alteration, other than the head, can be seen in De Wilde's removal of the second child which is visible in Dickinson's portrait. Here, Siddons's legitimacy as a tragic actress is indicated by the turn of her head and sorrowful complexion, taken from Reynold's portrait which, in the years previous, materialised her status as the eighteenth-century's muse of tragedy. The ghosting of Dickinson's portrait of Medea, which would have been recognisable to keen collectors, literally placed Siddons in the place of Yates as the role's successor. Through this print's careful articulation of earlier material, Medea becomes intertwined with the story of star actress Sarah Siddons. The portrait, in its iteration of past performances, past actresses, and iconographic stereotypes, makes visible the constituent parts of the intertheatrical network governing women's tragic performances.

Conclusions

The risk of disregarding mediation's impact on historiography is felt most keenly with regard to these portraits. The print of Siddons as Medea, for example, has been used as evidence for her 'famous performance' in a study as recently as 2020.⁹² By analysing the mechanisms of

⁹¹ Edgar Wind, *Hume and the Heroic Portrait: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Imagery*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 45-46.

⁹² Helen Slaney, *Kinaesthesia and Classical Antiquity 1750-1820: Moved by Stone* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), p. 26.

iconography and dramatic genre in Bell's prints, we can begin to see how this might have happened. It becomes clear that Bell's print of Siddons as Medea is believable, not just because it resembles her physically, but because it resembles her dramatic and tragic style. Detached from any 'real' performance, the theatrical portrait print instead mediates an idea of an actress's performance filtered through the visual language of her repertoire.

In this chapter, I have focused on Bell's prints as individual objects to properly illustrate the intricacies of their iconography and to highlight how their mediation functions differently from that of the playbill or printed epilogue. However, as we have begun to see, the specific ways in which these prints are collected, explained, and organised can equally influence our interpretation of an actress's image. It is to this argument that I return in the following final chapter, offering an analysis of the scrapbook albums in which Bell's prints are held. Just as eighteenth-century forms of ephemeral print contributed to the reiteration of both individual actresses' skills and repertoires, and the professional actress's place within a contemporary system of theatrical celebrity, so too does the modern archive or theatrical collection contribute to the mediation of eighteenth-century actresses' performances to the researcher of theatre history.

4. Collecting the Actress in Scraps: Mediation in the Theatrical Collection

All the print forms explored within this thesis shaped how women's performance was approached, imagined, and remembered in the eighteenth century. Playbills framed the actress's performance before it occurred, setting expectations for novelty, legitimacy, and fostering potentially damning comparisons between individual performers. In periodical magazines, actresses' performances are translated into type using textual correlatives for their physical performance and comedic style. In theatrical portrait prints, actresses' performances are imagined through iconographical engagement with dramatic genre and lines of performance. Using a framework of mediation, I have begun to unpick how these different media have influenced the interpretation of eighteenth-century women's performance.

However, just as important as the medium of the playbill, the periodical, or the print, is the medium of the theatrical collection and archive. Just as the forms I have studied mediate women's performance, my interpretation of those performances has itself been mediated by the Brady Collection: its contents, its omissions, its organisational methods, its history, and its positioning within the institutional archive. As Antoinette Burton explains in her introduction to *Archive Stories* (2005):

history is not merely a project of fact-retrieval... but also a set of complex processes of selection, interpretation, and even creative invention—processes set in motion by, among other things, one's personal encounter with the archive, the history of the archive itself, and the pressure of the contemporary moment on one's reading of what is to be found there.¹

The essays within *Archive Stories* all bring to the fore what is at risk if we ignore the stories that inhere in the archive and archival research, namely, we risk contributing to the misguided reiteration of history as fundamentally objective. History, as a scholarly pursuit, is founded on hegemonic power structures initiated by, and consolidated by, researchers, archivists, and

¹ Antoinette Burton, 'Introduction: Archive Fever, *Archive Stories*', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 1-24 (pp. 7-8).

collectors. Archives, in both the theoretical and physical sense, ‘wield power over the shape and direction of historical scholarship’.² In the case of this thesis, the initial questions that I brought to the archive about whether it might reveal new evidence about the mediation of women’s performance in the eighteenth century, were contested and then reformulated by the ways in which the archive was itself mediated and presented by its collector.

Throughout this thesis, I have commented on how Brady’s organisation of his materials has impacted my own experience and thinking. In this concluding chapter, I reflect, in a more general sense, on the mediatory impact of his organisation and the archive more generally, considering the relationship between the archive and the collector and the consequences of digitisation. This is conducted through close case studies of two of Brady’s scrapbooks: one of Sarah Siddons, and the other of the wider Kemble Family. Most of Brady’s theatrical portraits are kept in these scrapbooks, organised alphabetically or by special topic. Analysis of these scrapbooks reveals how the specific categorisation and organisation of a collection or archive can influence the mediation of performance and the interpretation of theatrical ephemera.

Returning to the collection and the collector

In many cases, an archive or collection within a library’s holdings is approached by way of a finding aid or catalogue, either physical or digital. Such a document acts as a guide for the researcher, informing them of its contents, its contexts, and offers a route by which the collection can be traversed in service of a particular research aim or question. Critically, these catalogues are one example of how historical sources are mediated by the archive. Within the archive, apparatus such as finding aids, catalogues, digitisations, metadata, and even shelfmark systems contribute to how the institutional archive shapes history.

² Schwartz and Cook, p. 2.

Digital metadata, for example, provides contextual information for each item and, in some cases, makes holdings text searchable. This metadata is usually produced by an archivist or library professional, and ‘makes claims for what the image shows and what it is about’, therefore shaping the conclusions of research which works from it. Understood in this way, metadata is a ‘mediating apparatus’ which ‘circumscribes as well as enables’ an item’s ‘knowledge-producing capacity’.³ In other words, the choices made by archivists and librarians in attributing metadata to their holdings can profoundly influence the production of research.⁴

The Brady Collection, however, remains mostly uncatalogued, although there is a card catalogue for its books and several incomplete or outdated lists. Brady’s typed ‘Key to the Collection’, given here as an appendix that I have transcribed, was provided to the library, by Brady, as a guide to the collection’s contents and notable treasures, but it cannot be considered any kind of catalogue – many of the listed items have been removed from their portfolios and some of them never arrived at the library. The collection, nor even a portion of it, is available in digitised form.

It would be wrong to assume that the Brady Collection’s lack of full digitisation, metadata, and official catalogue means that it exists relatively unmediated. As alluded to, Christ Church has, over the course of the collection’s history, altered its contents; giving away some items to other libraries within Oxford, and removing items from portfolios that have been damaged or that do not stand up to modern conservation practices. Further, the collection remains

³ Sonya Petersson and Anna Näslund Dahlgren, ‘Seeing Images: Metadata and Mediation in the Digital Archive’, *Culture Unbound*, 13.2 (2021), 104-132 (pp. 105-106).

⁴ See also Richard Harvey Brown and Beth Davis Brown, ‘The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness’, *History of the Human Sciences*, 11.4 (1998), 17-32 and Wayne A. Wiegand, ‘Libraries and the Invention of Information’, in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell, 2019), pp. 827-840.

deeply mediated by Brady's collecting and organisational practices. As a result, my research has been shaped by the conspicuous presence of the collector within the collection.

It is important to remember that all case studies within this thesis have been possible because Brady once decided that item was worthy of collection. As Maggie B. Gale and Ann Featherstone assert, the 'aesthetic taste of the private collector... might be central to the formation of an archive.'⁵ Indeed, in the case of the Brady Collection, its contents have been gathered absolutely in line with Brady's interests, aesthetic tastes, and personal experiences. He likely collected more of the things that he personally enjoyed. Toy or juvenile theatre, for example, was undoubtedly Brady's passion and this is reflected in its dominance within the collection. Items within the collection are also reflective of what items were accessible to Brady as a collector and what items were circulating within the collectable print ephemera market of the early twentieth century.

Similarly, it is crucial to recall the ideological contexts of collection and archival accumulation. As Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook observe:

Archives are social constructs. Their origins lie in the information needs and social values of the rulers, governments, businesses, associations, and individuals who establish and maintain them.⁶

Indeed, Derrida ties the concept of the archive to the Greek *arke*, arguing that any history of the archive must also include a history of its creation and institutionalisation.⁷ Francis Brady was a white, upper-middle-class, privately educated man, born into a family of colonial administrators. His collecting choices are tinged by that reality. Thomas Richards argues that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the archive emerged as 'a utopian space of

⁵ Maggie B. Gale and Ann Featherstone, 'The Imperative of the Archive: Creative Archive Research', in *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, ed. by Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 17-40 (p. 26).

⁶ Schwartz and Cook, p. 3.

⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 4.

comprehensive knowledge... not a building, nor even a collection of texts, but the collectively imagined junction of all that was known or knowable'. Specifically, 'the imperial archive was a fantasy of knowledge collected and united in the service of state and Empire.'⁸ We might consider the extent to which Brady's amassing of materials was informed by colonial experience; his collecting of Japanese theatrical woodblock prints, for example, must be contextualised within both his childhood in Asia and the prevailing imperial logic of expansion and domination with which he was raised. Similarly, examples of ephemera relating to plays such as George Colman the Younger's *Inkle and Yarico* (1787) or Richard Cumberland's *The West Indian* (1771) contain within them the legacy of enslavement and contemporary discourses regarding abolition. I do not assume that Brady's collecting of such items was directly motivated by his colonial ties, but it is critical to view such material considering his personal contexts. In a more overt example, his 'Key to the Collection' reveals that he also collected anti-Black racist cartoons, brutally reiterating the relationship between his collection and hegemonic power structures.⁹

Brady also had the financial resources with which to amass such a collection and the institutional connections through which he could ensure its safety and posterity. He donated the collection to Christ Church Library as a gift to his alma mater. But, evidenced by his correspondence with the college, he also saw it as a way for him to contribute to the college's intellectual legacy. In choosing to donate his collection he, consciously or unconsciously, asserted his own importance and ideological power. This was then confirmed by the library's decision to accept such a gift.¹⁰ Of course, the library in question is one within a wealthy Oxford college and one with the resources and archivists required for the collection's care

⁸ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso Books, 1993), p. 11.

⁹ See Appendix A.

¹⁰ It is worth noting, that at the time of donation, the college accepted most gifts of former students as a courtesy. However, this fact does not diminish the fact that the collection's ideological importance was reiterated by its subsuming into the college's holdings.

and conservation. The power of the archive, and the mediating power of the Brady Collection, derives equally from its position within Christ Church and Oxford as a seat of institutional authority. As Katja Müller states, ‘place, institution as well as content all contribute to power through order in archives.’ She continues: ‘They form spatial and technical limits, historical circumstances inscribed in material, and set rules and regulations determining what and how to enter information into the collections’.¹¹ With its donation, the collection became one of the college’s many assets and it has been, in some instances, culled, and in others, expanded, in line with their business or research needs. It becomes difficult, then, to accurately get a sense of the Brady Collection as it was first constituted by Brady’s hands.

One area of the collection unchanged by the library, however, is the scrapbooks. I move on to a case study analysis of Brady’s scrapbook of Sarah Siddons to further clarify the processes of mediation felt within the theatrical archive and their impact on the interpretation of women’s performance. Brady does not seem to have been interested in women’s performance as a special topic. However, his indiscriminate collecting of ‘Small Miscellaneous Scraps’ brings to the fore the actress’s significant visibility and celebrity in this period.¹² Despite his hegemonic position, Brady’s collection offers an opportunity to pursue the feminist and queer potential of ephemera as a mode of doing theatre history. However, critical to this is an understanding of the nature and limits of the archive itself, along with a recognition of the narrative enforced by Brady’s collecting and organising practices and how they might challenge my own research priorities.

¹¹ Katja Müller, *Digital Archives and Collections: Creating Online Access to Cultural Heritage* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2021), p. 33.

¹² BC, MS ‘A rough [key]’, 18r.

A(ndromache) to Z(ara): Brady's scrapbook of Sarah Siddons

As I will now show, the contents of the Brady Collection remain deeply mediated by Brady's modes of collecting and organisation and the process of doing research. Brady's scrapbooks offer a key example of how 'the implied narrative' of the archive, and the effects of the researcher/spectator, combine and push against each other in the writing of theatre and performance histories.¹³ Scrapbooks have an 'implied narrative' made material by various choices made by their creator: the use of page numbers, the chosen order, and the selection of included material. However, meaning is derived from them by way of individualised interaction by the researcher/reader – interpretation of a scrapbook is dependent on how someone chooses to interact with it.

Scrapbooks have been described as 'filing systems,' 'paper museum[s],' and a 'unique form of life writing'.¹⁴ Scrapbooks, as a unique form of memory-making, have been well-researched within the American context with the work of Ellen Gruber Garvey being crucial in situating the form as 'an analog of life itself'.¹⁵ As Garvey outlines, the term 'scrapbook' can be applied to a variety of paper objects. Today, we think of a scrapbook as a collection of paper scraps, associated with certain memories and events, cut, and pasted onto colourful pages. In the nineteenth century however, especially in England, 'scrapbooks' often referred to 'portfolios of drawings, or collections of prints and silhouettes,' as we see in Brady's examples.¹⁶ This form of collecting has been traced back to the early-modern commonplace book, handwritten repositories of quotations, extracts, and excerpts collected into a journal or

¹³ Diamond, p. 22.

¹⁴ Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 4; Claire Farago, "'Scraps as it were': Binding Memories', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10.1 (2005), 114-122 (p. 116); Marlis Schweitzer, *Bloody Tyrants & Little Pickles: Stage Roles of Anglo-American Girls in the Nineteenth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2020), p. 162.

¹⁵ Garvey, p. 11. See also: Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹⁶ Garvey, p. 15.

album for future reference. Sometime after 1800, with the proliferation of cheap print, manuscript commonplace books began to include printed extracts and cuttings.¹⁷ Although Brady's scrapbooks are made up mostly of images, the occasional appearance of both printed text and handwriting encourages comparisons between his method and that of earlier commonplacers.

The scrapbook album was a common form for the organisation of ephemera collections such as Brady's. Further examples can be found in other Oxford collections such as the Bodleian's John Johnson collection and the Ashmolean Museum's scrapbooks belonging to Francis Douce.¹⁸ The inclusion of printed extracts saves reading materials for later, just as the commonplacer may copy an extract. Brady's scrapbooks therefore can be seen as not only an artistic endeavour in their compilation, but also a useful reference tool with the addition of his comments, additions, and corrections. The scrapbook seems a fitting home for the ephemeral scrap, offering supposed stability, and most importantly, easy organisation. However, as I will show, once the ephemeron ceases to exist as a loose leaf, it is acted upon by forces of mediation enacted by the material with which it is bound, as well as the archive in which it is kept. Ultimately, this secondary mediation, which happens above and beyond the mediation of performance, works to frame how we, as researchers and spectators, view performance in the past.

Brady's Sarah Siddons scrapbook is one of approximately 115 scrapbook albums in the collection. All are bound in A5 paper portfolio binders secured with pins. Items within the scrapbooks are either pasted onto a blank page or bound directly into the folder. Generally, there is one item per page but in some cases, additional notes and comments have been added

¹⁷ David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 29.

¹⁸ John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Douce album S.9.

alongside the pasted print. The binders that Brady uses appear to be made specifically for archival albums. In using these materials, Brady frames his curation of images as a task of historical importance. As Ellen Gruber Garvey states, the use of archival materials ‘invokes a repository of authoritative history and cultural memory, as though to confer authority on any scrapbook collection.’ The creation of a scrapbook therefore, she concludes, is a performance of ‘archivalness’ – through its creation, Brady expresses a will to record, organise, and transmit knowledge.¹⁹ Garvey connects this performance of archivalness to Diana Taylor’s notion of the repertoire as embodied practice and knowledge.²⁰ In her discussion of Romantic-era albums, Deidre Lynch agrees with this assertion, noting that the album-maker ‘*performs archivalness* in indulging, through her book, her impulse to treasure, amass, embalm.’²¹ For both Garvey and Lynch, the creation of a scrapbook is, in itself, a performance.

If the creation of an album is in some way a performance of repertoire, then what does it mean when that album is theatrical in nature? I contend that in the case of Brady’s scrapbook of Sarah Siddons, the actress’s dramatic repertoire — her acting style, her line of performance, and the roles which constitute it — become linked to Brady’s enacted repertoire of album creation and curation. Deidre Lynch argues that, rather than existing as some kind of inert scaffolding for the collation of scraps, the scrapbook album exists as a curated object intended to be book-like.²² I certainly concur that Brady’s scrapbook albums can be considered bibliographic and, as I will go on to show, they establish a narrative of women’s theatrical performance enacted through Brady’s archival performance of collection and curation.

¹⁹ Garvey, p. 20

²⁰ Garvey, pp. 20-21.

²¹ Deidre Lynch, ‘Paper Slips: Album, Archiving, Accident’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 57.1 (2018), 87-119 (p. 90), original emphasis.

²² Lynch, ‘Paper Slips’, p. 93.

Brady's scrapbook of Sarah Siddons acts as a conduit for the traces of her past performances and a paper embodiment of her reputation as a tragic actress. Sarah Siddons (1755-1831), daughter of Roger Kemble and Sarah Ward and illustrious progeny of the Kemble acting family, made her debut on the London stage as Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* on 29 December 1775. After a successful career on the provincial circuit with her family, she was convinced by theatre manager and star actor David Garrick to make the move to the city. Despite having a rocky start in her move from small provincial theatres to Drury Lane, Siddons found overnight success with her performance of Isabella in *Isabella, or, The Fatal Marriage* on 17 October 1782. In his biography, James Boaden reports how the room was overwhelmed with 'the *sobs*, the *shrieks*, among the tenderer parts of her audiences' as 'the nerves of many a gentle being gave way before the intensity of such appeals'; some members of the audience even fainted.²³ Among Brady's albums, she is one of the only players to have their own scrapbook devoted to them (the others being David Garrick, Edmund Kean, J. P. Kemble, and Charles Mathews). Her important position in his collection demonstrates Brady's high regard for her as an actress as well as her ability to survive the discrimination of memory as a subject of adoration. This survival is of course, in a large part, the result of the sheer amount of print material that circulated relating to her in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Theatrical scrapbooks, specifically, have been cited for their use in better understanding historical audiences and fans' interactions with, and opinions of, the theatre they were watching.²⁴ As Sharon Marcus shows, scrapbooks allow fans intimacy with performers and proximity to their subject through their clipping of 'the heaps of stuff generated by celebrity

²³ James Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, I, p. 327.

²⁴ See, for example, Lynne Conner, 'e-Interpreting: The Audience as Cultural Repository', *Theatre Annual*, 65 (2012), 19-34.

culture'.²⁵ However, scrapbooks were not compiled only by contemporary fans. Eileen Curley has highlighted the use of nineteenth-century theatrical scrapbooks of amateur theatricals for women's engagement in parlour culture, as objects that facilitated conversations and shared learning.²⁶ Julia Rank, on the other hand, has investigated a scrapbook of materials relating to Kate Terry held at the Victoria & Albert Museum that was compiled by two of her daughters, exemplifying how 'material remains can be organised and preserved as part of a memorialisation process' for dead performers by their relatives.²⁷

In her work on sentimental albums, Freya Gowrley similarly invokes the metaphor of the scrapbook as an 'embodied stage' for lost loved ones.²⁸ Taking Gowrley's metaphor of the scrapbook as a stage one step further, we might imagine how theatrical scrapbooks specifically act as a performatic paper stage for the historical performances of women. Brady seems to have been sensitive to the scrapbook album's potential for this kind of memorialisation. His final scrapbook of theatrical portraits ends with a print of a skeleton performing an epilogue – on the stage, a script for 'Life a Play' (Fig. 41). On the following page he includes a typed copy of William Ernest Henley's poem 'A Ballade of Dead Actors' (1920).

²⁵ Sharon Marcus, *The Drama of Celebrity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), p. 96.

²⁶ Eileen Curley, 'Recording Forbidden Careers: Nineteenth-Century Amateur Theatricals', in *Scrapbooks, Snapshots and Memorabilia: Hidden Archives of Performance*, ed. by Glen McGillivray (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 229-248.

²⁷ Julia Rank, 'The Scrapbook as Archive: Collecting and Creating in the Kate Terry Scrapbook', *Theatre Notebook*, 75.1 (2021), 23-50 (p. 23).

²⁸ Freya Gowrley, 'Reflective and Reflexive Forms: Intimacy and Medium Specificity in British and American Sentimental Albums, 1800-1860', *Journal18*, 6 (2018) <<https://www.journal18.org/3036>> [accessed 10 May 2023].

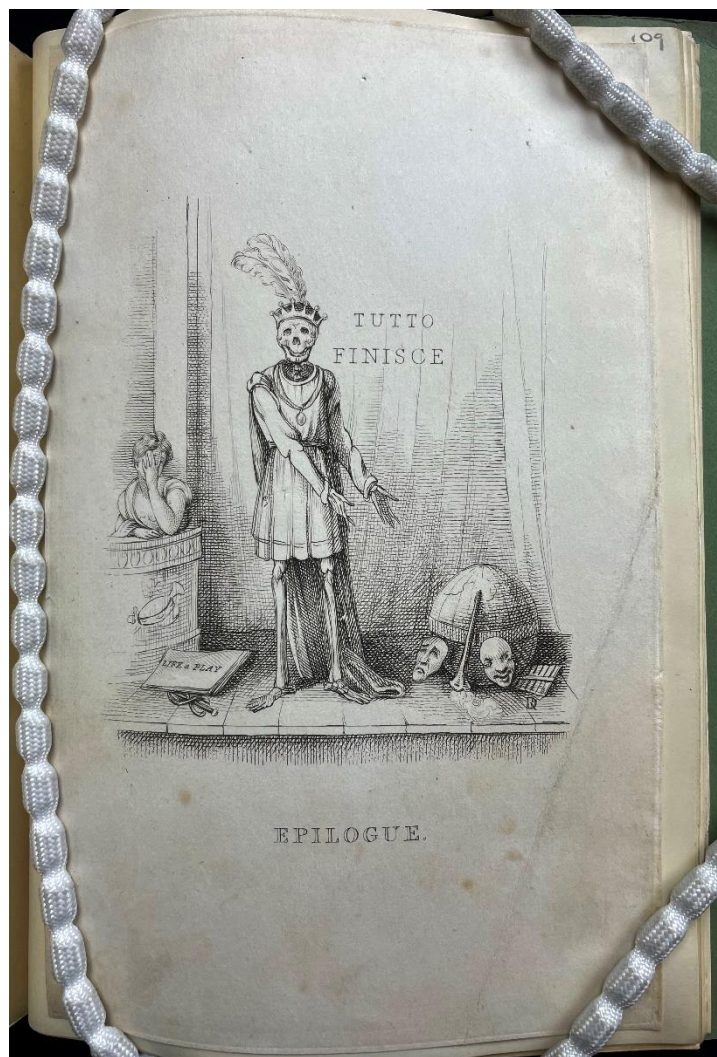


Figure 41: BC T.P. 49, 109r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

The end of the scrapbook, and the end of Brady's archival performance, becomes, in such a way, the end of the performers preserved within it; with the close of the album, in Henley's words, '[i]nto the night go one and all.'²⁹ The relation of the scrapbook to actual performance is what, Sharon Marcus says, makes the theatrical scrapbook a unique genre and form. As she points out:

theatrical scrapbooks complicate our understanding of what counted as performance, because they suggest that theatregoers treated representations of performance as extensions of the theatrical experience.³⁰

²⁹ Brady T.P. 49, 109-111r.

³⁰ Sharon Marcus, 'The Theatrical Scrapbook', *Theatre Survey*, 54.2 (2013), 283-307 (p. 285).

Imagining the Sarah Siddons scrapbook as a kind of paper stage, on which her career is performed, Brady's scrapbook becomes, in a sense, an extension of the eighteenth-century theatrical experience, the past mediated by the present.

The front cover of the Sarah Siddons scrapbook features a twentieth-century print of a cast of Siddons's self-portrait bust of 1820, created by Siddons under the tutelage of Anne Damer, currently held at the Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 42).³¹ A pertinent example of the multivalent mediation present in the theatrical archive, here we are presented with a printed representation of a previous three-dimensional mediation of performance. Siddons's performances were often described in the language of sculpture, and as Heather McPherson argues, this relationship to the sculptural medium helped to develop her neo-classical aesthetic.³² In this respect, Siddons's bust appears as a tangible manifestation of her acting style. Perhaps Siddons wished to encourage these associations. By producing this bust, she takes (physical) control over her representation in public.³³

It is also significant that, here, the scrapbook foregrounds a representation of the actress created alongside Anne Damer, who also acted in private theatricals. Despite the collector's priorities, the Brady Collection here allows us access to a narrative of women's performance which places value in the actress's agency, figuring artistic creation as distinctly linked to theatrical performance and the craft of a public image in the face of celebrity culture. As Laura Engel states, '[w]omen's artistic and theatrical legacies... are not found only in tangible sources, but also by recuperating networks, connections, and collaborations through

³¹ Sarah Siddons, *Self-portrait*, c. 1820, plaster, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

³² Heather McPherson, 'Sculpting Her Image: Sarah Siddons and the Art of Self-Fashioning', in *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe: Gender, Agency, Identity*, ed. by Andrea Pearson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 183-203 (p. 188).

³³ David Worrall, *Celebrity, Performance, Reception: British Georgian Theatre as Social Assemblage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 111-112.

interdisciplinary practices.’³⁴ Here we see how, through a framework of mediation, we can uncover both the limits of the archive but also its affordances for new feminist histories of performance.

³⁴ Laura Engel, ‘Forgotten Encounters: The Legacy of Sculptresses and Female Muses’, *ABO: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640-1830*, 13.1 (2023), pp. 1-2
<<https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/abo/vol13/iss1/4>> [accessed 27 July 2023].

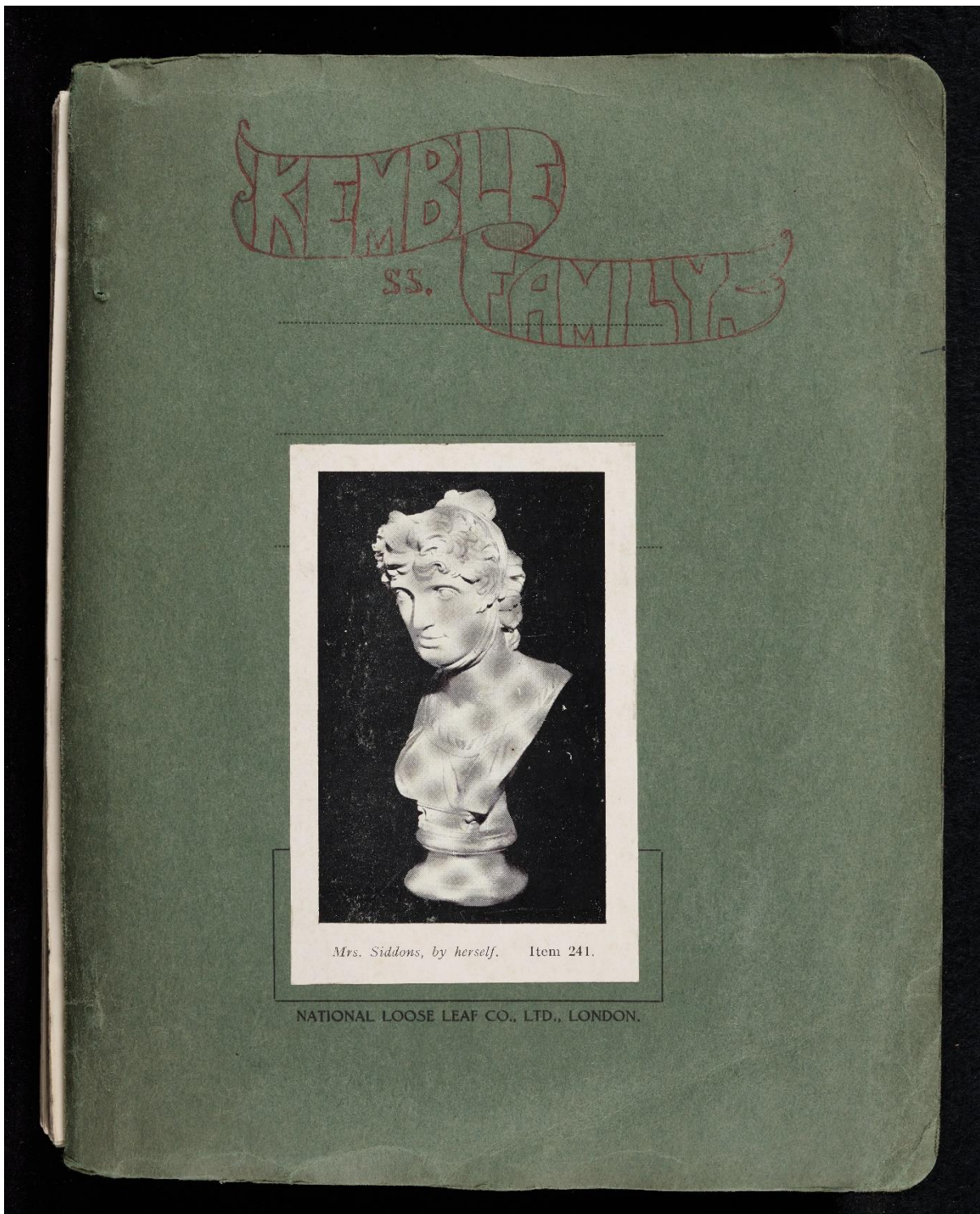


Figure 42: Front cover to Brady's scrapbook of Sarah Siddons featuring a print of Siddons's autobiographical bust and hand typography. Brady MS Kemble Family S.S. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

In the context of Brady's scrapbook, this print acts as to juxtapose Siddons's self-representation with the many images produced of her by the theatre-associated media throughout the eighteenth century. The caption positioning the bust as a self-portrait, 'Mrs. Siddons by herself', reminds us of the personhood of the performer, but also the unreliability of these other representations. Theatrical prints, such as those included in Brady's scraps, usually showed an actress during a performance or in one of her roles. Although often included alongside reviews of performances in periodicals and magazines, as I have shown, they rarely provided reliable depictions of the productions they claimed to represent. Instead, this scrapbook opens with this hint towards the real physical presence of the actress. This can be felt in, not only its three-dimensional embodied representation but also the gesturing towards an object touched and moulded by the hands of Siddons herself.

Upon opening the scrapbook, we find it begins with prints of Siddons out of role. It then includes images of Siddons in twenty-seven different roles, including the Tragic Muse and personified 'Tragedy'. The following graph (Fig. 43) shows the roles depicted by the prints in Brady's scrapbooks and how many prints are included for each role. By including this variety of prints, Brady has attempted to create a comprehensive record of Siddons's line of performance.

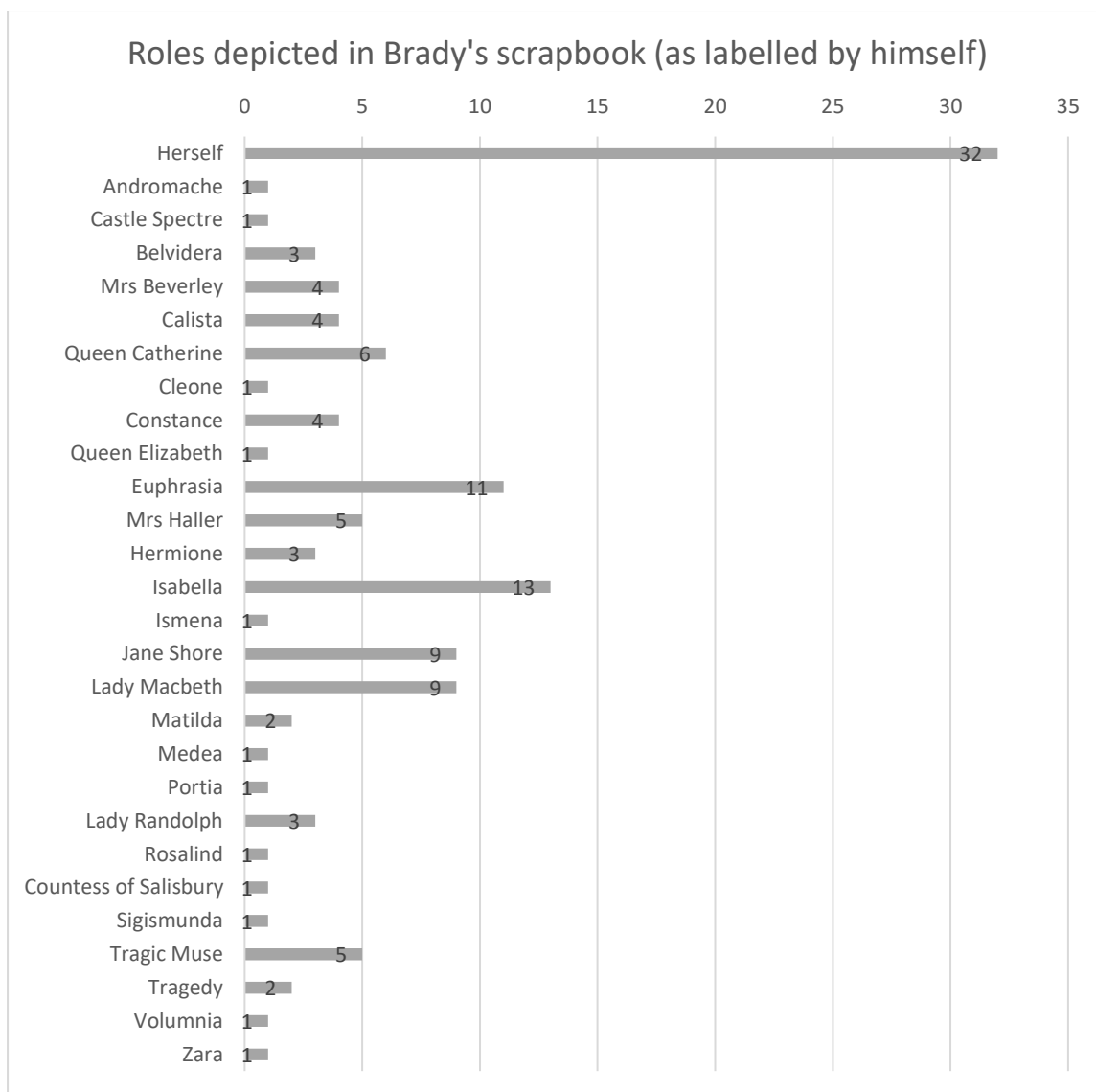


Figure 43: Roles depicted in MS Kemble Family S.S. (as labelled by Brady). The print listed under 'Castle Spectre', by its position scrapbook organised alphabetically, is most likely suggested to be the role of Angela in Matthew Lewis's *The Castle Spectre* (1797).

The most well-represented roles are Euphrasia and Isabella with third place as a tie between Jane Shore and the Shakespearean tragic heroine Lady Macbeth. These roles generally align with those most valued by contemporary commentators and modern scholars. Talking generally of Siddons's roles, Shearer West says that her 'choice of parts and her method of performing them reinforced and promoted popular ideas of virtue, piety, and women's role in society, even while her interpretations pushed against a passive acceptance of these stereotypes.' West lists her key roles as Calista, Mrs Beverley, Zara, Euphrasia, Mrs Haller,

and Jane Shore.³⁵ These roles have come to be synonymous with Siddons's acting style and career. It is no surprise, then, that these were the roles we saw again and again on the playbills during the period of Siddons's post-retirement performances and the rise of Eliza O'Neill at Covent Garden in the 1810s.

Many of these roles are included in the scrapbook in large numbers, with many duplicates. As Sharon Marcus observes, theatrical scrapbooks tend to 'arrange multiple images within the same album', 'often foregrounding how stars stayed identifiably the same across their diverse identifications'.³⁶ Walter Benjamin argues that this duplication, as well as technological advances in the replication of prints and photographs, has led to the devaluing of a performer's 'aura'. He states that the cheap production of copies devalues the 'aura' of performance as the true presence of the performer is lost.³⁷ Disagreeing with his view, Marcus offers the concept of the 'halo of the multiple'. She contends that:

The age of mechanical reproducibility gave rise to its own version of aura; call it the 'halo of the multiple.' By virtue of being multiplied, celebrities come to seem unique; their apparent singularity is *intensified* by copying. The more versions of them we see, the more distinctive they come to seem. Copies do not dim the celebrity's halo; they brighten it.³⁸

This seems to be the case in Brady's scrapbook. Every additional print of Siddons only adds to her singularity as an actress and as a performer. Similarly, Brady's choice to include many duplicates suggests that the multiples add, rather than diminish, value. The Siddons scrapbook includes many different print interpretations of each role, including eleven prints of her as Euphrasia from Arthur Murphy's *The Grecian Daughter* and thirteen of her as the

³⁵ Shearer West, 'The Public and Private Roles of Sarah Siddons', in *A Passion for Performance*, ed. by Asleson, pp. 41-96 (pp. 4-5).

³⁶ Marcus, *Drama of Celebrity*, p. 137.

³⁷ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt and trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 229.

³⁸ Marcus, *Drama of Celebrity*, p. 127.

titular Isabella from Thomas Southerne's popular tragedy in which she found overnight success.³⁹

The prints are ordered as shown, mostly in alphabetical order, although the prints of Siddons 'as herself' are split between the beginning of the scrapbook and the end. This disproportionate representation of Siddons as herself points towards the power of theatrical celebrity in this period. As Stella Tillyard notes, '[c]elebrity was born at the moment private life became a tradable public commodity,' and theatrical portraits of actresses out of character constituted a major aspect of this commodification.⁴⁰ Mirroring the multiplicity of the eighteenth-century night of entertainment, which featured numerous interludes and afterpieces around a mainpiece, here the actress moves between a variety of roles before leaving character and returning to herself with the lowering of the curtain, and the closing of the book. The inclusion of prints in role alongside prints out of role, at once acknowledges the separation of dramatic performance and personal life, while also recognising how these dramatic performances were integral to the position of the actress as a public figure.

This is further exemplified by Brady's placement of a print of Siddons as Mrs Haller by Thomson from 1820, alongside two similar prints, in which Siddons appears in the same dress and pose but is listed as herself.⁴¹ All three prints are after a painting by Thomas Lawrence. However, as pointed out in the *Biographical Dictionary*, Lawrence's portrait is not likely to be after Mrs Haller, as the play was not performed in London until March 1798. It is suggested that it was not until the publication of Thompson's engraving in 1820 that the portrait became associated with the role.⁴² By placing these prints alongside each other,

³⁹ Many of his other scrapbooks also include duplicates; of note is the Shakespeare scrapbook in which every page is adorned with a different copy and interpretation of Droeshout's engraving originally published with the First Folio. See BC, MS Shakespeare.

⁴⁰ Tillyard, p. 25.

⁴¹ BC, T.P. Kemble Family S.S., 41-43r.

⁴² *Biographical Dictionary*, XIV, p. 44.

Brady sanctions the association between the role, Lawrence's painting, and its various printings, thereby blurring the boundaries between Siddons as herself and Siddons in the dramatic character of Mrs Haller. Gillian Perry notes that '[b]y the 1790s the confusion of, and comparisons between, painted and performed roles became an integral part of the critical discourse on Siddons'.⁴³ In the previous chapter, we saw this in Bell's usage of false performances in his frontispieces for his editions of Shakespeare and *British Theatre*. In this case, the importance of Siddons as Mrs Haller — and specifically the version of Mrs Haller offered by Thomson — is instructed by the print's position within the organisational order of Brady's album.

Organisational order is a key mode of mediation in the scrapbook album and an important aspect of Brady's archival performance. The order of the contents and the order of the pages dictates how the reader and/or researcher interacts with the album and the prints held within it. Scrapbooks, like all codex forms, prescribe behaviour by way of their construction. Their very form implies a correct way of reading and a correct way of interacting with their contents. Robin Bernstein conceives of the 'scriptive thing' as a way of thinking through the ways that things can combine a sense of narrative and materiality to influence behaviour. As she states:

Items of material culture script in much the same sense that literary texts mean: neither a thing nor a poem (for example) is conscious or agential, but a thing can invite behaviors that its maker did and did not envision, and a poem may produce meanings that include and exceed a poet's intentions. To describe elements of material culture as "scripting" actions is not to suggest that things possess agency or that people lack it, but instead to propose that agency emerges through constant engagement with the stuff of our lives.⁴⁴

Scriptive things influence actions through both 'orders' (definitive instructions) and 'blandishments' (gentle persuasions). 'Orders' denote determined actions required for

⁴³ Perry, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), p. 12.

function, such as the turning of pages or, for words in the English language, the reading of left to right. ‘Blandishments,’ on the other hand, influence ‘implied or prompted actions’, often behaviour resulting from an interaction with the thing’s materiality.⁴⁵ I am not the first to apply Bernstein’s theory to scrapbooks; as Ellen Gruber Garvey notes, ‘the scrapbook maker... demands the reader acknowledge the predetermined path through the clippings’, and this path and the arrangement of materials within the scrapbook constitute a work in itself.⁴⁶

If we consider Brady’s Siddons scrapbook as a ‘scriptive thing’ — an object with both an ordered and implied script — we might consider how the reader or spectator is guided through their experience of the album by its alphabetical organisation. Often, we expect scrapbooks, especially theatre scrapbooks, to be organised chronologically in such a way that it allows us to follow the course of a performer’s career over time. Why did Brady choose to organise his scrapbooks alphabetically? Undoubtedly, such an order makes it easier to find depictions of specific performers or parts. However, it could be that alphabetical organisation also encourages a more holistic view of a performer’s career, allowing a reader/spectator to make their own connections and associations. Returning briefly to the prints of Siddons as Mrs Haller, we can consider how the association between the three prints, and Lawrence’s original portrait, is encouraged by the orders and blandishments of the scrapbook’s form. The scrapbook demands to be read by the turning of pages, and so associations are created between materials on pages that sit close to each other.⁴⁷ This kind of ordering also implies an amount of agency on Brady’s part as it would have involved forward planning. The elements of the scrapbooks could only have been organised this way if he had already put them in order before transposing them to the pages of the scrapbook. Therefore, what is and

⁴⁵ Bernstein, *Racial Innocence*, p. 77.

⁴⁶ Garvey, pp. 207-208.

⁴⁷ This is intensified by the fact that the scrapbook has page numbers, although it is likely that these were added by the library later. Nevertheless, page numbers are a clear example of an ‘order’ demanded by the scrapbook as a codex form.

is not included is the result of his archival performance, a process of conscious decision-making and curation.

As we have seen, one outcome of the scrapbook's organisation is the prompted behaviour of the creation of associations and links between certain representations of Siddons and her roles, helped along by both the ordering and Brady's editing decisions. These links are significant because albums, by their very nature, come into being through the conscious clipping and, ultimately, the destruction of other books and texts.⁴⁸ Many of the portraits within Brady's scrapbooks are frontispieces and other illustrations taken from cheap acting editions. In clipping these prints, Brady forcibly removes them from the context of the written play. This suggests that he saw more value in the preservation of the portrait print as an individual object of intrigue, rather than as a constituent part of the playtext. In placing the portraits alongside others, he encourages comparisons to be made and ultimately resituates them within a wider narrative of his own making.

As Jeffrey Todd Knight argues in his study of compiled editions of Shakespeare, 'processes of making and remaking texts help to generate meaning, establishing links between works in the same binding or dissolving links so that works stand alone'.⁴⁹ By including depictions of all these roles in the same binding, Brady encourages links to be made between them, as constituent parts of Siddons's wider repertoire. For example, he places together a variety of roles that were in some way linked to Siddons's status as a mother. We see the highly celebrated motherly role of Isabella who, in Southerne's play, begs to support her family, contrasted with potentially anti-maternal characters like Lady Macbeth and Medea. Siddons did not, as I have indicated, ever play Medea, but Lady Macbeth, with some alterations from

⁴⁸ As Deidre Lynch puts it: 'Founded on clipping, both literally and figuratively, albums are books that come together only as other books come apart'. See, 'Paper Slips', p. 89.

⁴⁹ Jeffrey Todd Knight, 'Making Shakespeare's Books: Assembly and Intertextuality in the Archives', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 60.3 (2009), 304-340 (p. 306).

Shakespeare's original, became one of her most famous roles. She played it consistently throughout her career, in both the provincial theatres and on the London stage.

As Chelsea M. Phillips argues, following Siddons's pregnancy shortly after debuting Lady Macbeth, the role became distinctly linked to the actress's status as a mother in the public imagination.⁵⁰ This is somewhat surprising given Lady Macbeth's speeches that expressly disavow maternal love in the play. However, as Phillips states, the promise of Siddons's child was figured in the press as a possible restorative to the perceived inequality of talent between Siddons's Lady Macbeth and William Smith's Macbeth.⁵¹ Rather than being a distraction from Siddons's personation, her pregnancy seemed to enhance it. As Engel says, 'The double nature of her persona as the character and the pregnant actress must have collided... and helped to underscore Siddons's characterizations of Lady Macbeth' as a character worthy of some understanding.⁵² By binding together Lady Macbeth and the sympathetic Isabella, Brady inadvertently encourages a similar conclusion.

Immediately following the images of Lady Macbeth, Brady includes two prints of Siddons as Matilda in Richard Cumberland's *The Carmelite* (1784), both published by John Bell.

Debuting on 2 December 1784, Siddons played the role of Matilda alongside her brother J. P. Kemble as Matilda's son Montgomeri. Unlike her performance of Lady Macbeth, which although sympathetic, was ultimately a subversion of motherhood, her Matilda 'relied on the pathos of maternal affection'.⁵³ Despite being a tragedy, *The Carmelite's* maternal plot ends with the triumphant reuniting of a mourning mother, bereft son, and long-lost father. In

⁵⁰ Phillips, pp. 124-125.

⁵¹ Phillips, pp. 125-126.

⁵² Laura Engel, 'The Personating of Queens: Lady Macbeth, Sarah Siddons, and the Creation of Female Celebrity in the Late Eighteenth Century', in *Macbeth: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Nick Moschovakis (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 240-257 (pp. 249-250).

⁵³ Fiona Ritchie, *Shakespeare in the Theatre: Sarah Siddons and John Philip Kemble* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2022), pp. 38.

Brady's scrapbook, contrasted with Lady Macbeth's violent rending of maternal ties — and on the next page, Medea's brutal infanticide — Matilda stands as a symbol of motherhood's ability to endure devastation. Despite the success of *The Carmelite*, commentators criticised the play's merging of tragedy with happy reconciliation.⁵⁴ Seeing them together in Brady's book, spectators are encouraged to examine the two contrasting roles alongside each other, throwing into sharp relief the spectrum of Siddons's dramatic representations and the unwavering power of her tragic affect.

As we saw in the previous chapter, even though Siddons never played Medea, the print's inclusion nevertheless contributes to the version of repertoire offered by Brady's scrapbook. Similarly, Angela in Matthew Gregory Lewis's *The Castle Spectre* (1797) is included. The print is not officially labelled as a portrayal of Siddons, but rather, a handwritten note from Brady supposes it to be her (Fig. 44). Although he does not explicitly say it is Angela, the print's primary position within his alphabetical ordering suggests that may have been his suspicion. However, there does not seem to be any evidence that Siddons took the role of Angela, or any other part, in Lewis's play. I also cannot find any other reference to this engraving. It is more likely to be Dorothy Jordan who owned the role for much of the late century. Alternatively, it could be Harriet Siddons (Sarah's daughter-in-law) who took the role of Angela for a revival at Covent Garden in January 1808. It could, of course, be neither. Without any labelling, it is hard to tell whether the print is intended for any specific actress or even definitely related to the *Castle Spectre*. Nevertheless, included in the scrapbook, it becomes part of the printed record of Siddons's career.

⁵⁴ Ritchie, *Shakespeare in the Theatre*, p. 39.



Figure 44: Untitled print, implied to be Siddons as Angela in *The Castle Spectre*. Brady Kemble Family S.S. 6r. Image © Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Brady also includes representations of Siddons as the Tragic Muse in his scrapbook (Fig. 45).

The Tragic Muse is, rather than a stage role, an abstracted character that Siddons is seen to fulfil, popularised by the 1780s portrait by Joshua Reynolds; ‘rather an ideal representation of despair than a copy of Mrs Siddons’s countenance when affected by that passion’.⁵⁵

However, its inclusion in this scrapbook is symptomatic of its cultural absorption into

⁵⁵ William Thomas Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England 1700-1799*, 2 vols. (London: Medici Society, 1928), II, p. 6, Hathi Trust ebook.

Siddons's theatrical repertoire as one of the many roles she would later become associated with in both popular culture and theatre historiography.



Figure 45: Mrs Siddons as the Tragic Muse taken from the portrait of Reynolds. MS Kemble Family S.S., 96r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

The creation of this portrait by Reynolds was very much conceived as a performance in contemporary commentary. *The Public Advertiser* dubbed the creation of Reynolds's painting 'a most sublime and masterly performance' and in her *Reminiscences*, Siddons herself gave a rather mythologised account of her walking into the artist's studio and seating herself instantly in the attitude of the Muse, as if walking upon a stage.⁵⁶ She explains how:

When I attended him for the first sitting... he took me by the hand, saying, "Ascend your undisputed throne and graciously bestow upon me some grand Idea of The

⁵⁶ *The Public Advertiser*, 28 April 1784, p. 2.

Tragick Muse." I walked up the steps and seated myself instantly in the attitude in which She now appears.⁵⁷

The Muse would eventually be subsumed into Siddons repertory; a role she would be called to revive upon the stage in the form of a tableau vivant for Garrick's 1785-1786 jubilee.

Then, over a century later, the Muse would be reprised in Liverpool by Aida Jenoure who 'majestically represented Siddons as the Tragic Muse' on the opening night of the Playhouse in 1911.⁵⁸

Despite not being a depiction of a dramatic role, due to their alphabetical position, these prints of the Muse fall into association with other legitimate roles in her repertory. A large proportion of the roles represented in the scrapbook are tragic roles, as to be expected. One interpretation of Siddons as the Muse, a side profile print published by John Bell in 1783, features Siddons in an extravagant feather hat, like that, as Heather McPherson reminds us, which she wore for her role of Zara.⁵⁹ Zara, again, is featured soon after these prints and so the comparison is made clear only eight page turns later. It is not clear whether this print was published before the Reynolds portrait, but Brady's inclusion of it before the Reynolds engraving in his scrapbook does perhaps skew our usual interpretation of such depictions which often places Reynolds in the primary position.

On our way to the Zara print we come across this print of Siddons as Tragedy (n. d.) and a second identical version (1790) with the addition of a quotation whose use of the phrasing 'harrow up the soul' alludes to Hamlet (Fig. 46).⁶⁰ This second print appears almost instructional, focusing on Siddons's method for tragic acting. Her open exaggerated posture and strong facial expression reflect changes in acting needed to accommodate larger theatres

⁵⁷ *The Reminiscences of Sarah Kemble Siddons, 1773-1785* (Cambridge: Widener Library, 1942) pp. 17.

⁵⁸ Grace Wyndham Goldie, *The Liverpool Repertory Theatre 1911-1934* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), p. 63.

⁵⁹ McPherson, 'Picturing Tragedy', p. 413.

⁶⁰ In act 1, scene 5, the ghost tells Hamlet that 'I could a tale unfold whose lightest word / Would harrow up thy soul' (1.5.20-21).

and expanding space between stages and audiences. The ‘how to’ of the print’s caption places it firmly within the context of acting and elocution instruction. Prints such as these were common inclusions for spouting manuals and other instructional texts which often looked to actors and actresses as subjects for mimesis.⁶¹ Here Siddons is presented as an exemplary performer and an expert at her craft, an image to which others should aspire.



Figure 46: 'Attic Miscellany. Theatrical Portraiture No. 6' (1790) depicting Siddons as Tragedy. Brady MS Kemble Family S.S., 97r. Image © Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

The inclusion of the Hamlet quotation firmly places Siddons within a wider tradition of tragic heroism and encourages a genealogy between her as an actress, fellow stars like David

⁶¹ Ritchie, 'The Spouters' Revenge', pp. 47-50.

Garrick, and the tragic characters she inhabits. Just as Siddons here exemplifies the proper mode of acting, the quotation from Hamlet hints towards the proper material. Dialogues such as the one paraphrased here were ripe pickings for spouters and other amateur actors. Like many other forms of theatrical ephemera, theatrical prints encourage the combination of actress and part through what Nussbaum has called the ‘interiority effect’.⁶² Here, Siddons becomes shorthand for tragedy itself, just as the image becomes representative of her as an actress.

As Knight notes, it is not only links between collected works that are significant but also the dissolution of links between works that are made to stand alone.⁶³ One of the most startling omissions in terms of her most famous roles is Siddons’s performance as Hamlet, a part that she performed ‘repeatedly, if not sporadically for three decades’.⁶⁴ As the performance occurred outside of the London industry circle of theatres and printers, there does not exist a conventional theatrical print of Siddons in the role. There is, however, a satirical caricature featuring Siddons as Hamlet, originally published in the *Dublin Satirist* in 1810. This print appeared following the supposed scandal involving Siddons being accused of having an affair with Mr Galindo by his wife Catherine. In the print, Siddons and Galindo are shown during a fencing scene. Siddons’s foil is suggestively aimed at Galindo’s heart, while his wife watches from the wings (Fig. 47). A copy of this caricature, held in the Harvard Theatre Collection, is accompanied by a note decreeing it to be ‘the rarest of all Siddons prints caricatures or otherwise’.⁶⁵

⁶² Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, p. 45.

⁶³ Knight, p. 306.

⁶⁴ Celestine Woo, ‘Sarah Siddons’s Performances as Hamlet: Breaching the Breeches Part’, *European Romantic Review*, 18.5 (2007), 573-595 (p. 575). See also Woo, ‘Sarah Siddons as Hamlet: Three Decades, Five Towns, Absent Breeches, and Rife Critical Confusion’, *ANQ*, 20.1 (2007), 37-44.

⁶⁵ Cambridge, MA, Harvard Theatre Collection, ‘Caricature of Siddons as Hamlet’, *Mrs Galindo and Siddons Etc.*, THR 489 3.39. Pencilled note on the inside front cover.



Figure 47: 'A Palpable Hit!!! Hamlet. Engraved for the Dublin Satirist' (1810), BC, B5.
Image author's own.

I originally (and rather foolishly) assumed that Brady would not have such a rare print, despite his connections with the theatre publishing industry. It is not in the scrapbook but does appear in another portfolio in loose leaf. We can ponder on the reasons why Brady does not include the print in the scrapbook. A sensible and obvious assumption would be that it is too large — the scrapbook is only roughly A5 size, and the print is larger than A4. It is also possible that Brady wanted to keep the subjects of the scrapbook to conventional prints that we would recognise as theatrical portraiture. Yet this is complicated by the inclusion of the Tragic Muse portraits, which, do not fit either. It could also be that Brady thought that the decidedly negative portrayal of Siddons in the caricature would be somehow detrimental to the image of her that he has constructed in his scrapbook. Whatever Brady's specific reason, the absence of Siddons's Hamlet from the scrapbook has its own mediating effect. For one, it

makes clear the metropolitan focus of Brady's collecting and wider theatre scholarship.

Often, in our discussions of eighteenth-century actresses, roles outside of London are sidelined or even left out completely. With the inclusion of the *Dublin Satirist's* Hamlet would also come the acknowledgement of Siddons as a potentially flawed character. This humanisation again seems at odds with Brady's presentation of Siddons as an abstracted star of the past.

Our trajectory then, and the 'script' of Brady's scrapbook, begins with Siddons as herself, in her various roles, mainly tragic, and ends with her as the regal Tragic Muse, sitting upon her throne. Although seemingly harmless, the scrapbook's alphabetical organisation brings with it the mediating effect of Brady's archival performance, which acts to replicate associations regarding Siddons's roles and raises questions regarding forms of mediation that occur both within and without the archive. Further, the absence of Hamlet and the inclusion of the Tragic Muse bring into being a repertory or performance canon that is not only derived from performances that happened on stage. The scrapbook creates within itself a singular narrative version of Siddons's career, one unique to its form and unique to its collector's vision of her celebrity.

In this scrapbook, we see how organisational order works to foster links between Sarah Siddons's various performances, including those she performed offstage. However, here she is only seen within the context of her performances. How, then, might this be compared to her mediation within a collection of prints beyond the single actress? Siddons was a member of the established Kemble family, in which many of her relatives were also actresses. In the next section, I explore how Brady's scrapbook of the wider Kemble family and its framing as a genealogical object works to mediate the performances that it aims to preserve.

‘Was she not a Kemble born’: The Kemble women and Brady’s scrapbook genealogy

Large intergenerational families of actors, like the Kembles, are surprisingly (or rather unsurprisingly) common. We can see this in families of our own century like the Barrymores, the Skarsgåards, the Coppolas, and the Gyllenhaals whose names have come to signify tried and tested acting talent. Often such talent is figured as hereditary, despite the obvious cultural advantages underlying these patterns of activity. Because of their famous parents, children of these families are often perfectly placed, in terms of education and opportunities, to try their hand at their own success.

Rising to power in the late eighteenth century during a huge media boom, the Kembles can be seen to set the template for the famous media family. Starting with travelling actor Roger Kemble, his wife Sarah Ward, and their twelve children, the family produced a huge number of famous actors and actresses throughout its branches, the most famous being their oldest child, Sarah Siddons. Not only famous for their work on the stage, but the family also drew attention because of their capacity for intrigue and scandal. Publications such as *Oxberry’s Dramatic Biography and Histrionic Anecdotes* (1825-1826) peddled curious stories of Kemble ancestors, including a great uncle who was a Roman priest in the reign of Charles I, whose hand had been cut off during his execution because it was believed to have supernatural powers.⁶⁶ There was a clear market for Kemble-related media, factual or otherwise. Just as the public liked to watch members of the family act, they loved to read about them and view their images in newspapers and periodicals. This is exemplified by the plethora of images that reside within Brady’s scrapbooks.

Brady’s Sarah Siddons scrapbook is one of three books in his collection which carry the name of Kemble. Alongside this one, we find a scrapbook for J. P. Kemble and a general

⁶⁶ Oxberry, II, p. 16.

scrapbook that covers various other members of the celebrated acting dynasty. It is this latter book that stands as the basis of my next investigation. This scrapbook is very much framed as a genealogical object. On its first page, we find a hand-typed family tree that follows the family's branches from Roger Kemble to his great-grandson Henry Kemble.⁶⁷ Ultimately this family tree functions as a mediating paratext, framing the included performances within the context of professional and familial connections between performers. For the women of the Kemble family, this positioning of their performances within a complex network of acting genealogy allows them to transcend gendered boundaries of talent and respectability.

This family tree operates as a prelude to Brady's collected ephemera, highlighting the overwhelming influence of familial links on the careers of actresses and theatre history more generally. In *Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997), Gérard Genette gives the family tree as an example of a documentary paratext possibly included in a work of fiction.⁶⁸ But like the fictional family tree, Brady's typed addition initially appears to function as a useful reference for various interesting characters which may appear in the pages of his book. It also encourages the spectator — or the researcher — to consider the Kemble family women in terms of their theatrical genealogy, figuratively setting the stage for a family drama of epic proportions.

Before considering this family tree in more depth, I will give an overview of the physical scrapbook and its contents. This example is created from an identical blank book to that used for Brady's other scrapbooks. And just like Brady's other books, it features a decorated front

⁶⁷ Here, Brady notes J. P. Kemble's son Henry Charles to be 'The Beetle', but that name was given to Henry, the child of Henry James Vincent, third child of Charles Kemble. This is a mistake possibly due to their shared year of death, which Brady notes. See W. J. Lawrence and Nilanjana Banerji, 'Kemble, Henry (1848-1907)', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34272>> [accessed 15 January 2022]. A correct and full family tree of the Kembles can be found in Deirdre David's *Fanny Kemble: A Performed Life* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 289.

⁶⁸ Genette, p. 404.

cover with a pasted print and hand-drawn typography. This hand typography is inked in a bright pink ink pen, a particular reminder of the scrapbook's amateur hobbyist compiler.



Figure 48: Front cover to Brady MS Kemble Family, featuring a print of Sally Siddons after Thomas Lawrence. Image © Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Featured on the scrapbook's front cover is Sally Siddons, Sarah Siddons's first-born daughter (Fig. 48). Sarah and her husband William Siddons had seven children, although only five made it to adulthood. Sally (Sarah) Siddons was born in 1775 and was a talented singer. The print used on the cover is a reproduction of a sketch for a portrait of Sally by Sir Thomas

Lawrence.⁶⁹ To differentiate Sally from her mother of the same name, Brady has underlined 'Miss' in the same luminescent pink ink used for the scrapbook's title banner. This extravagant banner seemingly announces the scrapbook as a complete chronicle of the family's history. However, this is quickly undermined when we take a closer look at the family tree within its pages (Fig. 49).

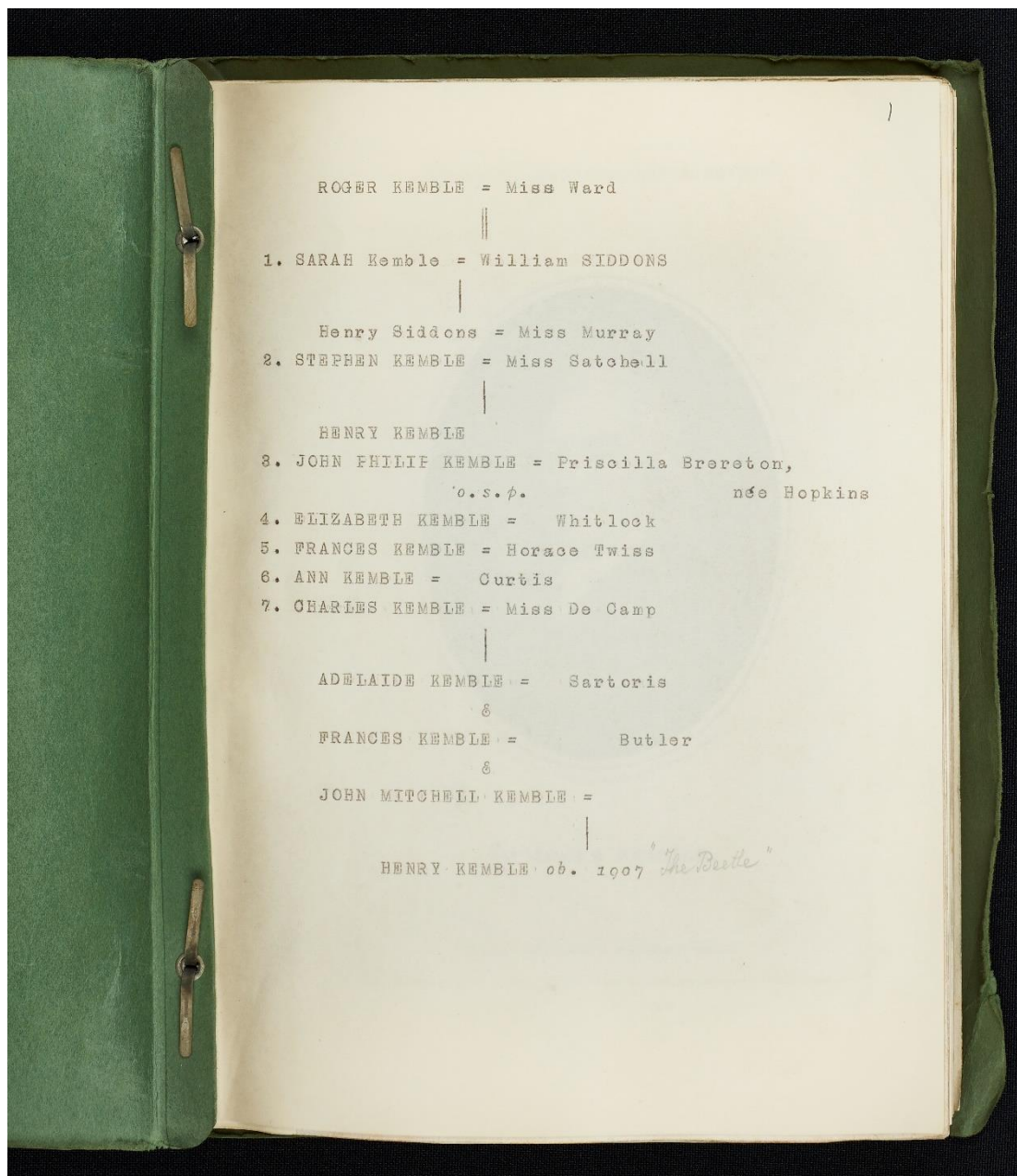


Figure 49: Brady MS Kemble Family 1r. Image © Christ Church Library, Oxford.

⁶⁹ The portrait now resides in a private collection.

This family tree shows Roger Kemble and Sarah Ward, followed by seven of their children (numbered) and a selection of the succeeding generations. It quickly becomes apparent that Sally Siddons is not featured in this tree, begging the question, why not? Family trees are a popular feature of both personal family scrapbooks and extra-illustrated books. Within such chaotic codices, family trees enforce a sense of logic; like the names on a playbill, they introduce the characters to appear in the ensuing portrayal. This ‘tree-logic’ orders information hierarchically with attention paid to predecessors and ‘roots’. As Deleuze and Guattari state, ‘all of tree logic is a logic of tracing and reproduction’.⁷⁰ The prefatory family tree, then, places the Kemble family within this logic, foregrounding the reproduction of talent through each of the family’s generations. However, with its curious omissions, Brady’s family tree appears in tension with ephemera’s queer miscellaneity. The other scraps included within the scrapbook, including the cover print featuring Sally Siddons, at once disrupt the neat logic suggested by his attempt at traditional patriarchal genealogy.

In *New Readings in Theatre History*, Jacky Bratton brings to the fore the feminist potential of a radical focus on matriarchal acting genealogies. As she states, by focusing on these familial links,

the significance of women as the carriers of the line, managers of theatres, and performers, possessors and transmitters of theatrical talent – as prime custodians of cultural capital – can be brought into focus in quite a new way.⁷¹

In an example specific to the Kemble family, Bratton shows how genealogical research allows us to follow the family’s involvement in the theatre back to Sarah Ward, wife of Roger Kemble and daughter of John Ward, a manager of a Midlands strolling company. Bratton argues for the positioning of Sarah, over Roger Kemble, as the originator of the

⁷⁰ G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 12.

⁷¹ Bratton, p. 174.

Kemble theatrical family line, therefore complicating our understanding of the Kemble family as deriving from simply patriarchal talent.⁷² However, Brady's family tree seems to indulge in a reading of Roger Kemble as the family's originator, seen through the printing of his name in accentuated upper-case lettering. This upper-case lettering is applied to all family members who are Kemble by birth (rather than marriage). Again, like the names on the playbill, capitals are granted to only the performance's most important players.

By including this family tree, Brady applies expectations and sets himself the task of telling the story of the individuals he has named. However, this is a task that he ultimately cannot fulfil. The family tree is incomplete and there are several inconsistencies between the tree and the subsequent pages of the scrapbook. We are left wondering, then, what exactly is the reasoning behind who is and isn't included in the family tree, and the scrapbook as a whole? We might assume that it is the possession of a performing career, but this does not necessarily fit with the inclusion of the Siddons sisters on the scrapbook's final pages and the inclusion of Ann Kemble in the family tree. Despite a brief career as an orator for notorious quack doctor James Graham's Temple of Hymen and some success as a songwriter and librettist, Ann Kemble was discouraged from acting due to a squint and other health issues.⁷³ The use of capitals for Roger's children and their descendants suggests that perhaps the design is based on bloodlines, but many individuals who would be considered part of the Kemble bloodline are not included. This would include Sarah Siddons's daughters Sally and Maria who, despite being missing from the tree, are included in the scrapbook. It seems then that the most importance is given to having both Kemble blood and the Kemble name. This conception of the family, as a line of both name and blood, can be described as a 'lineage-

⁷² Bratton, pp. 190-191.

⁷³ Vincent Freimarck, 'Hatton, Ann Julia Kemble (29 April 1764 – 26 December 1838)', in *American National Biography* <<https://www.anb.org/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-1602337>> [accessed 4 February 2022].

family’: a relationship transmitted ‘by birth and blood,’ and ‘a notion of progeny, especially male progeny’.⁷⁴

This concern with specifically male progeny within Brady’s tree-logic may allude to the common construction of the Kemble family in popular culture as a kind of monarchical dynasty. However, it seems to be the women of the Kemble family who are most often described using the language of a feminised, matriarchal monarchy. And just like the monarchy, their name takes on a metonymic potential, becoming a metaphor within a lexicon of theatrical exception. This dynastic association is perhaps pre-empted by the popularity of George Henry Harlow’s painting *The Court for the Trial of Queen Katherine* (1817), commonly known as ‘The Kemble Family’. The scene, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1817, depicts Sarah Siddons as Queen Katherine, John Philip Kemble as Cardinal Wolsey, Stephen Kemble as Henry VIII, Charles Kemble as Thomas Cromwell, and Fanny Kemble as the Page in *Henry VIII*.⁷⁵ As Gill Perry argues, the depiction of Siddons as the Queen ‘involved a form of mimicry which confirmed her “aristocratic” demeanor’ and codified her ‘queenly’ social status.⁷⁶ The imagined production of Harlow’s painting deftly highlights the Kemble family as a collective whose intra-personal relationships were forged on the stage through a system of familial apprenticeship and training.

Being a member of the Kemble family seemed to increase the likelihood of an individual entering the theatre business. However, this was quite common for families involved with the theatre. Bratton’s study of the Oxberry dramatic biographies reveals that, of its subjects, ‘only 30 per cent of the women were not personally as well as professionally embedded in the

⁷⁴ Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 74.

⁷⁵ Barbara Hodgdon, *The Shakespeare Trade: Performances and Appropriations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), p. 227.

⁷⁶ Perry, p. 79.

group'. In other words, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women were much more likely to start acting if they had already extant familial links to the business.⁷⁷ Even before the Restoration and the rise of the professional actress, women in theatrical families would often retain links to the acting world by marrying other actors.⁷⁸ The inclusion of the family tree in Brady's scrapbook makes visible marriage links that persist in the Kemble story such as their connections through marriage to other acting families such as the Murrays, Wards, and the de Camps. And, as Bratton notes, these various family links force us to question 'the artificiality of the division into high and low art, the distinction made between the entertainment world and drama,' as spoken drama actors acquire links to street musicians and pantomime players.⁷⁹ Theatrical families then are made up of practitioners of both 'high' and 'low' art, promoting a theatrical community able to train its members in various disciplines.

However, nineteenth-century art historian Anna Jameson argues that it was specifically their proximity to 'high' art that made the Kemble women so extraordinary. In her essay on Adelaide Kemble, Jameson ponders the source of the actress's accomplishments: She asks: 'With *her*, as with every great artist, her art was not a profession merely... Was she not a Kemble born—the true daughter of her race?'⁸⁰ Eventually, Jameson comes to a conclusion that distinguishes between acting as a profession and acting as an artistic calling; that what holds the Kemble women above others, is that they are not simply practising a profession for which they have natural talent, but rather creating art. She writes:

To say that the women of the Kemble family owed their preeminence in their profession solely to professional talent, appears to me a great mistake. To say that they owed the interest and dignity with which they were invested in public, and the position they held in private society, merely to their unsullied reputation in domestic life, is not only a mistake,—it is a positive insult to *them*, not less than to the many amiable and excellent

⁷⁷ Bratton, pp. 183-184.

⁷⁸ John H. Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 2.

⁷⁹ Bratton, p. 188.

⁸⁰ Anna Jameson, 'Adelaide Kemble and the Lyrical Drama in 1841,' in *Memoirs and Essays Illustrative of Art, Literature and Social Morals* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), pp. 42-74 (p. 48), original emphasis.

women who have adorned the profession by virtues as well as talents. No; it has been through every branch of this remarkable family the element of the *ideal* in aspiration and intellect—something more generous and elevated in their ambition—which has thus distinguished them; the prevalence of the poetical in the whole tone of the mind, interfused through all their artistic conceptions on the stage; and in private life a self-respect which ennobled at once themselves and their profession. Such women had a right to hold themselves above those of the *métier*—and they did so.⁸¹

In Jameson's view, it is reductive to suggest that the Kemble women owe their pre-eminence simply to being talented or staying virtuous in the eyes of the public. Instead, she argues that the Kemble women possess a kind of shared poetical genius which then lends itself to theatre as a form of high art, furnishing them with the ability to decipher artistic character to a higher standard. Talking of Frances, to whom she was also close, she argues that she was successful because of her 'fine taste and original and powerful mind'.⁸² Ultimately, according to her editor, Jameson saw successful performances as 'critical, textual endeavours' and she believed the Kemble women to share that view.⁸³ This poetical genius and its associated 'elevated' ambition, running 'through every branch of this remarkable family' appear in some way hereditary, although she does not clarify to what extent she believes this to be genetic or environmental by way of their upbringing.

This framing of the Kemble women's talent as artistic genius appears crucial to the mediation of their performance in ephemeral print and its subsequent collection. As Marcus notes, '[t]heater was one of the few arenas where the public deemed women as capable, gifted, and intelligent as men and when men proved as willing as women to admire female accomplishment'.⁸⁴ Arguably, this acknowledgement of their accomplishment and the positioning of them as artists instead of professionals, made them more suited to memorialisation in engravings, portraits, and scrapbooks as it highlighted both their

⁸¹ Jameson, 'Adelaide Kemble', pp. 52-53, original emphasis.

⁸² Anna Jameson, *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1834), p. 294, Hathi Trust ebook.

⁸³ Cheri L. Larsen Hoeckley, 'Introduction', in Anna Murphy Jameson, *Shakespeare's Heroines* (London: Broadview Editions, 2005), p. 33.

⁸⁴ Marcus, *Drama of Celebrity*, p. 178.

exceptionality and the rareness of both their talent and the paper on which they were represented.

This closeness to genius is at least partially replicated by Brady's emphasis on the Kembles as talented thespians of Shakespeare. One of the only times Sarah Siddons appears in this scrapbook is in an 1825 print declaring to represent 'Eminent By-Gone Performers of Shakespeare's Characters,' printed for the *London Stage* (Fig. 50). These prints of multiple miniature portraits were popular in theatrical publications and were fashionable objects for scrapbookers and individuals interested in extra-illustrating bound volumes.⁸⁵ The word 'by-gone,' according to the *OED*, means something that has gone by, specifically when referring to people it often means deceased or departed; a person of the past; an 'artefact'.⁸⁶ Many actors shown in the print such as Charles Macklin and David Garrick were indeed dead, but both Sarah Siddons and Charles Kemble were still alive at the time of the print's publishing in 1825. Sarah Siddons had retired in the 1810s, but Charles Kemble would not leave the stage for another eleven years. Here, the Kembles' imminent retirement from the stage has been equated with death, the passing of their careers immortalised in a paper mortuary of other performers now gone. As this print features on only page five of the scrapbook, it foregrounds the succeeding prints by historicising the family as something lost, a historical artefact to be collected and viewed. Most importantly, however, it situates the women of the Kemble family, in this case, Sarah Siddons, as implicated in a conception of artistic genius inherently linked to the performance of Shakespeare.

⁸⁵ Cindy McCreery, 'Keeping Up with the Bon Ton: The Tête à Tête Series in the *Town and Country Magazine*', in *Gender in Eighteenth Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed. by Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 207-229 (p. 216).

⁸⁶ 'bygone, *adj. and n.*', in *OED Online* <www.oed.com/view/Entry/25557> [accessed 16 January 2022].

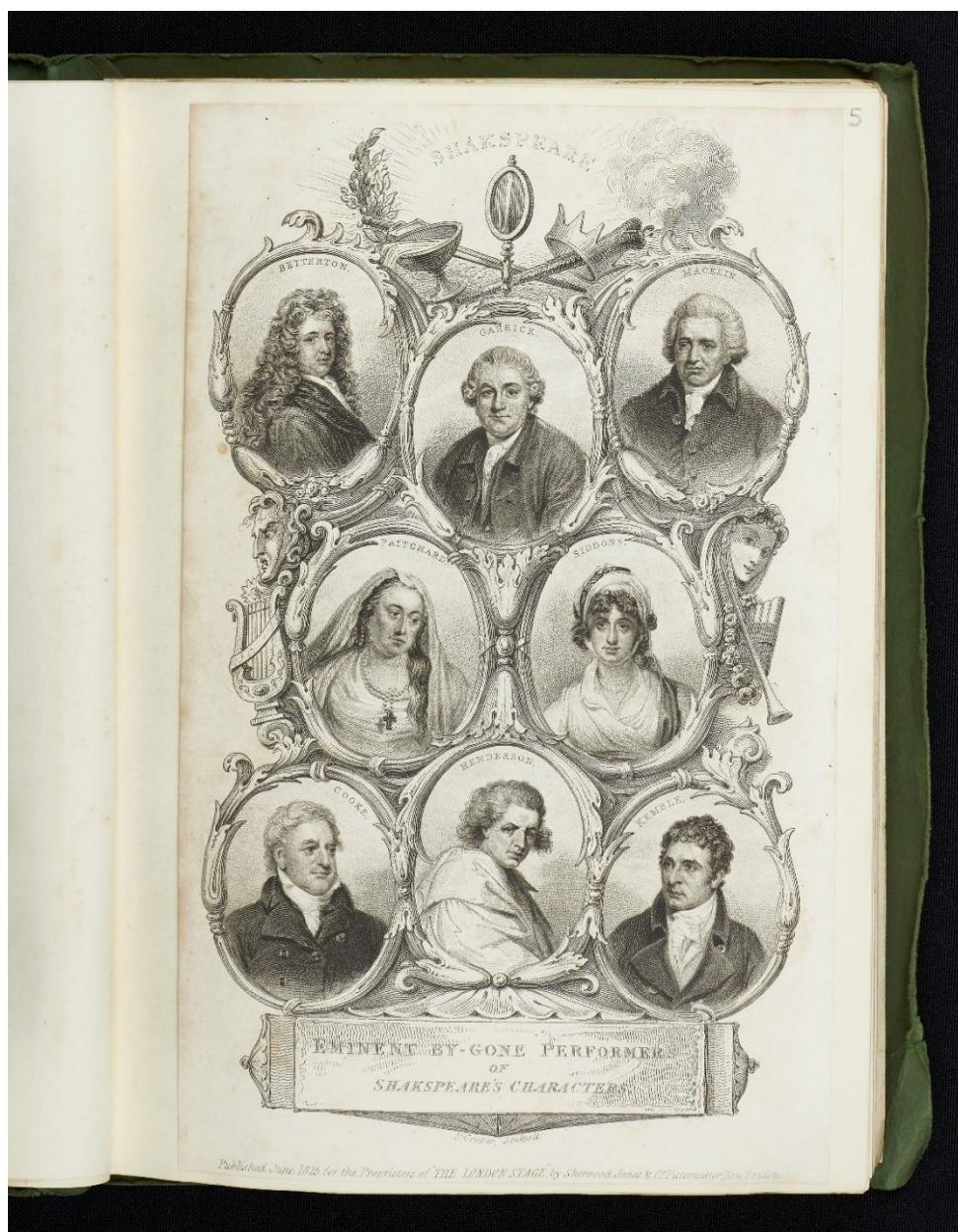


Figure 50: 'Eminent By-Gone Performers of Shakespeare's Characters, Published June 1825 for the Proprietors of THE LONDON STAGE,' MS Kemble Family, 5r. Image © Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Sarah Siddons is the only Kemble woman included in the print, and alongside Hannah Pritchard, she is one of only two actresses. Their inclusion in this print, alongside the thespian men of the age, acts to legitimise their careers as performers who knew the high art of Shakespeare. Their eternalisation in print bolsters their claim to fame and solidifies their place in archival memory. However, with ideas of hierarchy in mind, we can consider the ordering of the miniatures within the print. Crucially, Sarah sits above her brother, connecting

the line between him and the great Shakespeare men, David Garrick, Thomas Betterton, and Charles Macklin. In this print, Garrick's central positioning suggests a similar tree-logic to that of Brady's family tree, in which thespian talent flows down through the various branches of acting lineage. Here, the talent flows vertically through the horizontal family tree, the sister as the ancestor of the brother. In a way, this print stands as a microcosm of Brady's scrapbook collection: a handful of women amongst mainly men; the centrality of the Kemble family; and an urge to memorialise by-gone performers through the stitching together of individual prints.

Conclusions

On the final page of his Sarah Siddons scrapbook, Brady offers a humorous commentary on the nature of archival representation. In a typed comment, he declares that the pasted image is 'not to be identified with Siddons!' (Fig. 51). His comment sits below a print captioned: 'Mrs S--. Tim in the Secret, & Lucy in the Dressing Room', seemingly a frontispiece removed from an erotic epistle called 'Tom in the Secret,' originally featured in *The Covent Garden Repository* (1796).⁸⁷ Tita Chico notes that 'Tom in the Secret' stands as a significant example of the eighteenth-century dressing room trope, in which Tom, aroused by the maid Lucy's

⁸⁷ *The Covent-Garden Repository or, Ranger's Packet of Whim, Frolick, and Amusement. Number III. Embellished with the following elegant engraving, viz. a humorous scene of Mrs. S-, Tom, and Lucy, in the dressing-room...* (London: 1796), British Library, London.

breasts, attempts to grope her as she dresses her Lady's hair.⁸⁸ To Tom's surprise, Lucy accepts his advances and, in her rapture, burns her Lady with a curling iron.



Figure 51: Frontispiece to 'Tom in the Secret', Brady MS Kemble Family S.S., 129r. Image © Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Brady's note is correct: this is not likely to be a representation of Siddons. In fact, to a researcher of the theatre, his comment reads like a witty acknowledgement of the obvious. If the print is to be associated with any Siddons, then it is likely a reference to the 'Miss Sarah Siddons' listed as a sex worker based in Tavistock Row in *Harris's List for 1788*.⁸⁹

Appearing at the brink of Siddonsmania, Roach calls this impersonation 'flagrant brand-infringement'.⁹⁰ However, in the context of the many Siddons prints preceding the lewd image, the use of the satirical half-blank 'Mrs. S—' sets into motion what Sean Silver calls 'a minimal act of interpretation... opening possibilities which aren't in the name itself'.⁹¹ The

⁸⁸ Tita Chico, *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), pp. 210-211.

⁸⁹ *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies: or, Man of Pleasure's Kalender for the Year, 1788* (London, 1788), pp. 83-84, ECCO.

⁹⁰ Roach, *It*, p. 164.

⁹¹ Sean Silver, 'Satirical Objects', in *The Oxford Handbook of Eighteenth-Century Satire*, ed. by Paddy Bullard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 371-386 (p. 379).

print's presence in the album, the use of the half-blank, and even Brady's imposing comment, open the possibility that this *may* be the theatre's own Sarah Siddons. In such a way, the scrapbook ends with an instance of Brady speaking directly to some imagined reader, encouraging them, through comic in-joke, to join him in a salute to the archive's powers of mediation, and equally, the instability of the scrapbook as a form of knowledge creation.

Scrapbooks constitute a form of information gathering, organising, and retrieval, that devises a narrative unique to that object and that collator. Brady's scrapbook of Sarah Siddons, for example, has much to tell us regarding Brady's specific archival performance and the epistemological assumptions about actresses circulating at the time of its creation. As Marlis Schweitzer puts it, 'scrapbooks are simultaneously scripts and theatres that direct readers along a specific path and offer access to hidden repertoires'.⁹² In a literal sense, Brady's scrapbooks offer access to a version of the theatrical repertoire derived from the archive itself. A repertoire derived not only from embodied stage performance but also from performance's mediation in print.

However, despite the scrapbook's constant reference to its material existence as a constructed object, there is also the acknowledgement that, just as the album is constructed from destroyed books, it can be again taken apart into pieces. It is possible, then, that the narrative created by Brady's scrapbooks of Siddons and the Kemble Family could be remediated into something new.⁹³ Although it remains important to be aware of the archive's mediatory impact, there is no requirement that we, as researchers, are burdened by it. Indeed, that is the outcome of my project in which I am tracing the mediations of the collection through a different focus and therefore reshaping the narrative offered by Brady's original organisation.

⁹² Schweitzer, p. 161.

⁹³ It is this that, some scholars argue, scrapbooks have in common with digital forms of social media and micro-blogging. See Conner, and Katie Day Good, 'From Scrapbook to Facebook: A History of Personal Media Assemblage and Archives', *New Media and Society*, 15.4 (2012), 557-573.

Throughout this thesis, I have redrawn the narrative of the Brady Collection into one which places the actress at the centre. Through her, I have illuminated the complicated web of connections between performance, print, and feminised celebrity that existed during the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

From scrapbook to digital image

Although my project focuses on mediation – and considers materiality and physical form as critical to this mediation – for various reasons, I had to engage with the Brady Collection and its contents through digital images. When the libraries first closed in March 2020, I was left working from phone images that I had taken myself. When the Christ Church Library started to return to business that September, Special Collections remained closed. Therefore, I requested, and then was sent, digital images to work from. Even when the library fully opened, it was often easier for me to work from these images (following extended physical consultation in the library), because it allowed me to mitigate illness, staff shortages, and other unforeseen problems of access.

This is the primary benefit of digitisation for scholars; it can greatly improve accessibility. Digitisation allows sources to be accessed by researchers thousands of miles away. It also allows for the accommodation of various disabilities or impairments that might otherwise hinder research by traditional means. Text and images, for example, can be magnified, and being able to view source materials online offers an alternative for researchers with mobility issues who are usually hindered by the common physical inaccessibility of library and museum buildings. During COVID-19, widespread digitisation efforts meant that access to research and knowledge could continue, even in the face of a global health crisis. It is important to note, however, that digitisation for research and digitisation for accessibility are two, sometimes competing, aims, and there is still a way to go in making many existing digitisation projects accessible from a disability standpoint.

Theatre history has become particularly reliant on digital tools such as ECCO (*Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*) and AM Digital's *Eighteenth-Century Drama*. In the 1990s,

Christie Carson observed that ‘the speed, accuracy and flexibility of digital processes and communication are invaluable to the workings of contemporary theatre and theatre research’.¹

In the decades since, the theatre historian’s reliance on digital tools has increased exponentially. Digitised versions of landmark publications like the *London Stage* and Highfill Jr., Burnim and Langhans’s *Biographical Dictionary*, allow researchers to, quickly and easily, retrieve details about a particular eighteenth-century performance or performer without needing to trawl through huge multi-volume print publications. The potential is even greater for the study of twenty-first-century theatre and performance. Digitisation and the recording of performance via audio-visual technology allow for an extraordinary level of documentation. Rather than interpreting what a performance may have been like from printed documents, researchers can now watch a performance, or rather, one particular night of a performance, for themselves. This extends to the study of eighteenth-century theatre’s staging and reception; projects like the R18 Collective have allowed for the reproduction and revival of eighteenth-century plays by way of digital performances and readings via Zoom.²

Despite the benefits offered by digitised theatre resources, the use of digital images, and especially fully-fledged digitised resources, requires astute critical awareness. Advocates of digital tool criticism encourage researchers to remain aware of the effects and limitations of working with digital tools and digitised sources, and specifically the impact of that digital tool or source on the interpretation of data and the writing of historical narratives.³ Specific to eighteenth-century studies, Stephen H. Gregg’s study of ECCO (a source used throughout

¹ Christie Carson, ‘Theatre and Technology: Battling with the Box’, *Digital Creativity*, 10.3 (1999), 129-134 (p. 129). See also *Shakespeare and the Digital World: Redefining Scholarship and Practice*, ed. by Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

² See *R18 Collective* <<https://www.r18collective.org/>> [accessed 4 May 2023].

³ Marijn Koolen, Jasmijn van Gorp, and Jaco van Ossenbruggen, ‘Toward a Model for Digital Tool Criticism: Reflection as Integrative Practice’, *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 34.2 (2019), 368-385 (pp. 381-382). See also Sharon Ringel, ‘Interfacing with the Past: Archival Digitization and the Construction of Digital Depository’, *Convergence*, 27.5 (2020), 1308-1323.

this thesis) deftly illustrates how the platform's history, format, and digitisation methods must be considered as an essential aspect of an eighteenth-century text's history. Critically, he points to how digitisation projects can be subject to commercial enterprise, socio-political influences, and human error; all of which then affect the mediation of their texts.⁴ Sarah Dellmann similarly shows how choices made during the digitisation process, such as whether to use a backlight, can affect the interpretation of lantern slides. As she states, 'we never "just document" when we translate, when we change forms, even when we do so with documentary ambition'.⁵ Any movement from one media to another, whether that be from performance to print, or object to digitisation — any mediation or remediation — involves a reframing and refiguring of context and content, which then impacts interpretation.

Digitisation poses several problems for ephemeral materials.⁶ Such materials often exist in large numbers, making digitisation costly in terms of both money and labour. Digitisation can also, for example, skew an item's true scale. Playbills, especially, seem much more uniform when viewed digitally. Digitisation may also obscure signs of use, or even small, printed details which are easy to miss when viewed on a bright computer screen. This is especially true in the case of large-scale digitisation projects, for which uniformity and high-contrast images are the norm. However, in the twenty-first century, digitisation is no longer limited to the Internet or museum photography departments.

At the start of the COVID-19 lockdowns, I started working from my own digital photography. These images, taken in a flurry of excitement and intrigue during my first visits

⁴ Stephen H. Gregg, *Old Books and Digital Publishing: Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

⁵ Sarah Dellmann, 'Analogue Objects Online: Epistemological Reflections on Digital Reproductions of Lantern Slides', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 17.3-4 (2019), 322-340 (p. 335).

⁶ See, for example, James Mussell, 'The Passing of Print: Digitising Ephemera and the Ephemerality of the Digital', *Media History*, 18.1 (2012), 77-92; Patricia Fumerton, 'Digitizing Ephemera and its Discontents: EBBA's Quest to Capture the Protean Broadside Ballad', in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll, pp. 55-98.

to the library, were not made for research. They were blurry, badly framed, and were not guided by any question or scholarly aim. They faltered in comparison to the high-resolution images offered by professional digitisation or image request services. The progress of my research was fundamentally affected by these images. Blurring and depth of field directed my attention and focus, and materials that I had unfortunately not been able to photograph were left out of analysis by necessity. In that instance, my engagement with theatre history was mediated by my 'DIY digitization'.⁷ In many cases, my research was guided, both figuratively and literally, by my hand, holding open the pages of a playtext that Brady had pasted into one of his portfolios (Fig. 52).

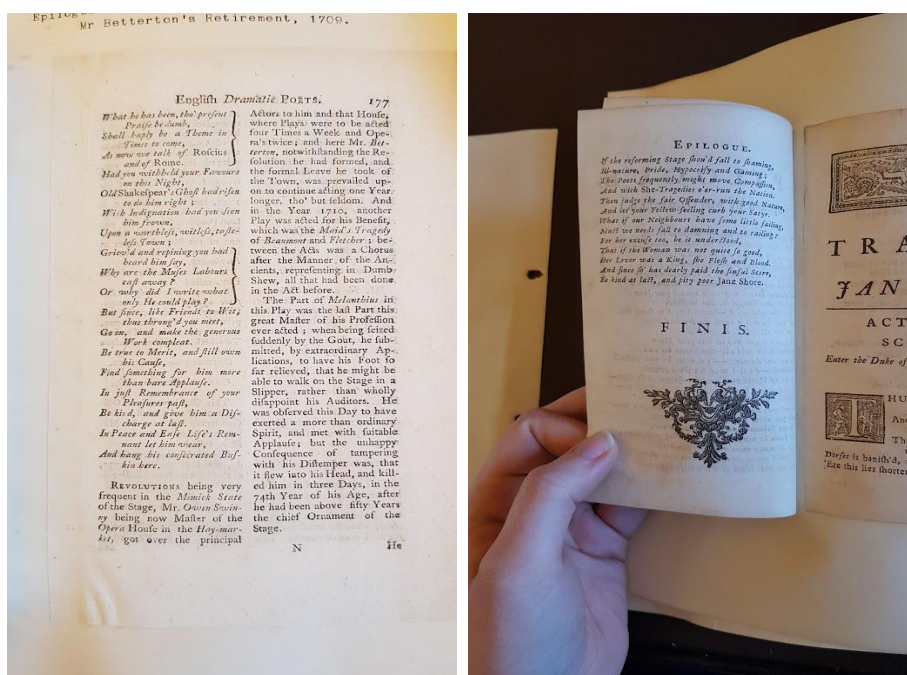


Figure 52: Examples of my 'DIY Digitization'. Images author's own.

⁷ Daniel Wakelin, 'A New Age of Photography: "DIY Digitization" in Manuscript Studies', *Anglia*, 139.1 (2021), 71-93 (p. 71).

Returning now to Brady's scrapbook, much of what is discussed in the previous section is obscured if one views it through the screen of a computer or other digital device. It is much easier to disregard the orders and blandishments of the scrapbook if you do not have to interact with it physically. The connections and associations forged between images and roles appear to break down when the album's pages are viewed by way of individual files and separate computer windows. However, by drawing attention to this fact, I do not weaken my argument but rather strengthen it. In bringing attention to the forms of mediation present in the Brady Collection and its contents, I aim to highlight the mediatory power of the theatrical archive in general. Whether physical or digital, archives, theatrical collections — and importantly, our interactions with their ephemeral contents — are central to the creation, and reiteration, of knowledge regarding eighteenth-century actresses and their performances.

Mediation and the writing of women's theatre history

As Schwartz and Cook note, 'the choice of what to record and the decision over what to preserve, and thereby privilege, occur within socially constructed, but now naturalized frameworks that determine the significance of what becomes archives.'⁸ This naturalisation of the power structures that underlie the archive has led to the misconception of the archive as objective and the researcher as ideologically neutral. As Antoinette Burton argues,

[c]rucial to the task of re-materializing the multiple contingencies of history writing is the project of historicizing the emergence of state and local archives; interrogating how archive logics work, what subjects they produce, and which they silence in specific historical and cultural contexts; enumerating the ways in which archival work is an embodied experience, one shaped as much by national identity, gender, race, and class as by professional training or credentials; pressing the limits of disciplinary boundaries to consider what kind of archive work different genres, material artifacts, and aesthetic forms do, for what audiences and to what ends...⁹

In various ways, this thesis has attended to the task that Burton sets out: I have attempted to historicise the emergence of the Brady Collection as an archive, interrogating its logics and

⁸ Schwartz and Cook, p. 3.

⁹ Burton, p. 9.

the subjects within it. I have considered the different 'archive work' of different genres of theatrical ephemera and have attended to their 'relative evidentiary weight'. In some instances, as with playbills, I have argued for the genre's revaluation as a critical source of theatrical history. However, as Burton says, an archive's history can change and be subject to multiple different readings as it moves through space and time.

Of course, the unspoken implication here is that this thesis, like the Brady Collection and the objects within it, is equally mediated. My analysis is the product of my personal circumstances and experiences, and it is tied to the specific contexts in which this thesis was produced. I do not wish to claim that any of this is absolute certainty, or that my interpretation is the only possible interpretation. Mediation, as we know, remains a continuing and evolving process. It is very likely, in fact, it is a certainty, that once the Brady Collection is officially catalogued, the ways in which it mediates historical performance will change and multiply. As Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, and Graeme Reid put it, 'the archive is also always already refigured'.¹⁰ The Brady Collection has already changed so much since the inception of this project. Only two weeks before the moment in which I am writing this conclusion, the library received new material relating to Brady. The library was loaned several Victorian and Edwardian passports used by Brady's family which, if made part of the permanent Brady Collection, may then be housed alongside Brady's theatrical materials. This would undoubtedly alter the collection's mediatory impact, emphasising its colonial roots and links to imperial expansion. One could argue that, for that reason, this thesis is already out of date.

However, the volatility of the archive (it can be both added to and depleted) does not take away from what can be learnt from an analysis of its power. In many ways, the point of this

¹⁰ Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, and Graeme Reid, 'Introduction', in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton and others (Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), pp. 7-18 (p. 7).

thesis has not been to offer some new objective truth about eighteenth-century actresses, but rather, to offer a new way of imagining historical performance and its printed evidence. Feminist critics including, most notably, Tracy C. Davis, have long remarked on the difficulty of locating women's subjectivity in the theatrical archive, and the need for revisionist approaches.¹¹ In 2003, Susan Bennett's essay 'Decomposing History,' acted as a brutal reminder that, even twenty years after Davis's initial proclamation, there was still much work to be done.¹² Within eighteenth-century theatre history, some have, as a solution to this problem, turned to investigations of the actress's agency in writing and the power she could wield over her public image. However, as we have seen, the actress appeared in various forms of media over which she had no control. It was through these ephemeral texts and images, that long-pervading narratives regarding the actress's acting style, lines of performance, and even personal life, could find purchase.

An alternative, then, is to pay deeper attention to how knowledge about women and their performances was recorded, and how these records feature in both the archive and our research. Through an analysis of her mediation in various forms of theatrical ephemera, and in the theatrical archive, I have shown how these epistemological assumptions about the eighteenth-century actress have come into being. In various ways, I have shown how knowledge and pervading narratives about actresses were created and upheld, and how their careers were figured in the flurry of printed forms that could be found on the walls, streets, and coffeehouse tables beyond the theatre. The general aim of the forms of ephemera discussed here was to capture the ephemerality of eighteenth-century theatre in print.

However, as we have seen, there is value in rejecting a hard separation between the printed

¹¹ Tracy C. Davis, 'Questions for a Feminist Methodology in Theatre History', in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past*, ed. by Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1989), pp. 59-81.

¹² Susan Bennett, 'Decomposing History (Why Are There So Few Women in Theater History)', in *Theorizing Practice: Redefining Theatre History*, ed. by W. B. Worthen and Peter Holland (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 71-87.

archive and embodied performance. In the case of the Brady Collection, performance begets print, and print, in turn, begets performance.

Appendix A: Brady's Key to the Collection

What follows is a semi-diplomatic transcription of Brady's 'A rough [key]', with the following conventions:

- Listings have been edited with bullet points or dashes for readability and in most cases, original line breaks have not been retained.
- Original capitalisation has been retained.
- Abbreviations and brevigraphs are retained, except for: 'esp.' and 'esply' for especially, 'autog.' for 'autographed', 'includg' for including', 'do' for ditto.
- Spelling errors, omissions, and additions have been edited for clarity.
- Some clarifications are given in square brackets.

| Portfolio (as designated by Brady at time of donation) and corresponding page number in 'A rough [key]' | Listed Contents according to 'A rough [key]' |
|--|--|
| A [1r] | <p><i>Please note that not all the listed contents were received by the library. Please contact Christ Church Library for any further details or clarifications.</i></p> <p>The Standard Size Black Portfolio marked "A." contains</p> <p>Coloured portraits of Theatrical Characters from Alexandre to Liston, including especially</p> <p>Master Burke in various impersonations Catalani (Buck) Coates – "<i>Bucks, have at you all!</i>" etc. Teatro San Clemente (cf. <i>Ld Normanby</i>) Mme Girardelli the Fire-eater Grimaldi George Grossmith (the First) Kean, Caricatures Mme Lefort the Bearded Lady Liston – including one with Vestris as the Broom Girl</p> |
| A.2 [2r] | <p>Stout green Portfolio opening sideways and marked "A.2" containing small coloured engravings of Theatrical Characters, including</p> <p>Astley Master Betty Master Burke R. Cruickshank Clara Fisher</p> |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| | <p>Grimaldi (especially Mother Goose) Stephen Kemble (two versions) Charles & Fanny Kemble Liston (especially Moll Flaggon) Matthews Munden (Dighton) Polichinelle (Manet) Russell as Bob Logic (Dublin) Talbot (Dublin) Vestris</p> |
| A.3 [3r] | <p>Standard size black Portfolio marked "A.3" containing coloured engraved portraits of Theatrical Characters Macready to Young including</p> <p>Harriet Mellon & Thomas Coutts (Rowlandson) Potier in <i>Les Anglaises pour Rire</i> Simmons as Mother Goose Skeffington Kitty Stephens Talbot as M Tonson (Dublin) Walbourn as Dusty Bob Wieland (autographed)</p> <p>followed by various caricatures including Ballet Dancers (Rose &c.) O. P. Riots Master Betty</p> |
| B.1 [4r] | <p>Standard Size Grey Portfolio with black back marked "B.1" containing plain engraved portraits of Theatrical Characters from Abbott to Diddear, including</p> <p>Master Betty (and his Son) J. B. Booth G. V. Brooke Romeo Coates Collings' Brush Sam Cowell Deburau Delpini Boz</p> |
| B.2 [5r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked "B.2" Plain engraved Portraits of Theatrical Characters Diddear to Nell Gwyn including</p> <p>Farinelli (<i>Eunuch's Glory</i>) Elizabeth Farren (Sayers Caricatures) Antonio Ferrabosco as Pantaloon Edwin Forrest Frodsham of York</p> |

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| | <p>Garrick, especially as Tancred, Lord Chalkstone, <i>Miss in her 'Teens</i> &c. Garrick's Seal Mlle George Grisi</p> |
| B.3 [6r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked "B.3" containing Plain engraved Theatrical characters Hacket to Kemble including</p> <p>Harley Heidegger Hewlett (alias Ira Aldridge) as Richard III Mrs Honey Little Huline Joy, the "<i>Strong Dog</i>" Jullien Moses Kean Edmund Kean, especially Gloster '<i>The Dogs barked at me.</i>' Kemble Family, especially Fanny K. as Juliet</p> |
| B.4 [7r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked B.4 containing Plain Theatrical Characters King to Oxberry including</p> <p>Lablache La Tourilère (Watteau) Lecouvreur Lewis Miss Love Macready, especially Ion Maddox Malibran 'Teapot' Mossop Miss Murray as Susanna Miss O'Neill</p> |
| B5 [8r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked "B.5" containing plain engraved portraits of Theatrical Characters from Paganini to Strickland, including</p> <p>Paganini Parsons Pasta Paton, including one that might be Fanny Eckerlin J. Howard Payne Quin Rachel Reeve Reynolds' Plays (Sayers) Robson W. G. Ross singing <i>Sam Hall</i> Sheridan Shuter Mrs Siddons, especially as Hamlet</p> |

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| | <p>Mr Simpson (M. C. at Vauxhall) “Obi” Smith as the Bottle Imp Kitty Stephens</p> |
| B6 [9r] | <p>Standard size black Portfolio marked “B.6” containing plain engraved portraits of Theatrical Characters from Taglioni to Zuchelli, including</p> <p>Talma Topham the Strong Man Ellen Tree Van Amburgh Vandenhoff Vestris Weber Walbourn as <i>Dusty Bob</i> Woodward as the Fine Gentleman &c. Miss Wollgar as a Bloomer</p> |
| C1 [10r] | <p>Extra-large Green Portfolio Marked “C.1” lettered ‘<i>Dr A. Simpson-Harvey</i>’ containing inter alia</p> <p>Special Charles Mathews collection Coloured litho. portraits of Charles Kemble Characters from <i>Nicholas Nickleby</i> Coloured caricatures including: Lord Macartney & Chinese Emperor (Gillray) Mrs Clarke (Buck) Three Graces in the Wind</p> <p>Fans Otter Hunting (Alken) Bunbury & Rowlandson – Rural Scenes Transparencies, including George V. Toy Theatre Fronts Penny Plays Ombres Chinoises German Toy Theatre Characters Willi Busch Images d’Epinal Sample Wood-blocks Design for Wall-paper by Mundi Willis</p> |
| C2 [11r] | <p>Standard size Black Portfolio marked C.2 mainly containing second quality prints and reproductions of theatrical interest, but including</p> <p>Baxter Prints of Dancers Subscription Ticket to Carlisle House Photographs, including Tiepolos French Theatrical Costumes Design for Scene <i>Tempesta</i> in <i>La Flora</i> Scenes in <i>Winter’s Tale</i> &c. from the Illustrated London News Pantomime Scenes Death of Grimaldi (Newspaper cuttings)</p> |

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| | <p>Covent Garden Theatrical Fund, Subscribers 1831 Elephants Feats of Horsemanship Performing Dogs <i>Entracte &c. Caricatures</i> Odd Numbers of <i>The Players</i> F. Robson <i>The Drama</i>, Connie Gilchrist, including N. B. First Engagement of Marianne Caldwell! Frontispieces to Opera Scores, including <i>Cherokee</i> <i>Haunted Tower</i> <i>Woodman</i></p> <p>continued</p> |
| <p>C2 [12r]</p> | <p>CONTINUATION of Portfolio marked "C.2"</p> <p>Hayman's Scenes, from Vauxhall Gardens Coloured Scenes from German Plays Orde, <i>High Life Below Stairs</i> Cruikshank's <i>Dramatic Scenes</i>, inc. Paganini <i>Vanity Fair</i> & other recent Caricatures <i>Picture Post</i> Interview with Miss Pollock</p> |
| <p>C3 [13r]</p> | <p>Large mottled Portfolio marked "C.3" containing fine plain and coloured portraits of Theatrical Characters including</p> <p>P. Consort Romeo Coates T. P. Cooke as Frankenstein's Monster Delpini Miss Farren – Gillray Fechter <i>Little Jockey</i> Grisi – Chalon P. Horton Kean as an Indian Chief Charles Kean - Shadow Prints as Richard III also <i>Sir Giles, Louis XI &c.</i> Miss Kelly in various impersonations, coloured Kemble Family – Gillray Malibran as <i>Fidelio</i> General Claude Martin Miss Nisbett as <i>Lady Macbeth</i> Mr Norman on the Elephant – Rowlandson Rose Cheri – Chalon "The Tragic Muse & her Brother-in-law" in <i>Douglas</i> – original pen and ink sketches by Mr St George Ellen Tree Madam Vestris</p> |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| D1 [14r] | <p>Large Black Portfolio marked “D.1” containing miscellaneous Non-Theatrical prints, including</p> <p>French Military Caricatures Crimean War Chiens & Chats Coiffés Tregear’s ‘Black Jokes’ [anti-Black racist cartoons of the 1830s] Rowlandson & other Caricatures Richard Turpin “Foreign & Home Service” Costume of Appenzell Engraved Portraits Angelo Sword Drill Rustic Sketches – Heath & Pyne Ovals Plain Caricatures including Gillray & Cruickshank Miseries of Warfare in the Peninsula The Sailor’s Progress The Midshipman’s Progress <i>The Birds</i> Cut-Outs Lampshades Poster of Military Tournament after Rowlandson</p> |
| D2 [15r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked “D.2” containing miscellaneous Scraps & Leaflets including</p> <p>Fast Young Woman Polka Nix My Dolly Fencing Postures Cavalry Swordsmanship – Rowlandson Caricatures of Johnson & Boswell Sayers Caricatures, especially Fox Fashionable Dresses Death of Nelson Funeral & other Ca[s?]es Coronations French Caricatures Moveable Flaps & Circulating Heads Invasion Leaflets Kölner Dom Farington – Views from Richmond Hill and Putney Bridge Chinese Boats & Views Chinoiseries Crystal Palace Christ Church, etc.</p> |
| D3 [16r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked “D.3” Containing Portraits of Eccentric and other Characters and miscellaneous Scraps including</p> <p>Calculating Boy</p> |

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| | <p>Miss Biffin Countess of Blessington (in Opera Box) Sir Thomas F. Brady Richard Brothers Letitia Buonaparte (printed in colour) Bamfylde Moore Carew Lord Charlemont Sir William Courtenay <i>alias</i> John Thom Lord Euston (mezzotint) Old Fritz Daniel Good, the Roehampton Murderer William Hickey (photograph) William Jones, the Orientalist The Ladies of Llangollen Prince Lee Boo Grandpa Medhurst with pigdaun, Chinese Teacher & Malay Boy by Chinnery (a Baxter Print) Napper Tandy</p> <p><i>CONTINUED</i></p> |
| <p>D3 [17r]</p> | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked “D.3” also contains</p> <p>Garrett Election Sundry Caricatures by Geo. Cruikshank viz. <i>Dr Squintim, Matrimonial Ladder, Bottle</i> Valentines Park’s Children’s Sports Hidden Portraits, <i>Violets, Royal Oak</i> Willi Busch Sundry Sketches including pencil caricature of Sir Walter Medhurst with S. G. M. H. [Susan Georgina Marshall Hole] Photo of H. F. B. [Herbert Francis Brady] Watercolour portrait of C. M. Hole Freedom of the Borough of Tiverton Interiors of Charlton House</p> |
| <p>D4 [18r]</p> | <p>Small Brown Portfolio marked “D.4” containing small Miscellaneous Scraps of no particular importance but including</p> <p>Proclamation of King George V at Tiverton, 1910 Putney Toll Bridge Watercolour drawing attributed to Rowlandson Linocuts by Marion Hillier Entrée & Sortie de l’Ecole – Hamilton & Bartolozzi Juvenile Scraps Monkeys by Thomas Landseer Watercolour drawing of Irishmen & Scot attributed to I. R. Ck “Old Master” drawings Steam Packet, Holyhead to Howth</p> |

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| | <p>Various Royal Family including <i>The Windsor Pear</i> [lift the flap print] <i>Air Apparent</i> [lift the flap print] <i>Queen's Royal Annual</i> Kentish Post; or, Canterbury Newsletter for 8/11.1.1734/5</p> |
| No. 10 [19r] | <p>Large Brown leather-backed Portfolio marked "No. 10" containing Mezzotint portraits of Actors (many fine) from Mrs Baddeley to Knight including</p> <p>Berry as the Spanish Friar Master Betty Bowden as Robin Hood Miss Brown as Clara Bullock Chalmers, of T. R. Norwich Dibdin as Mungo, Edwin as Lingo Farinelli Several Garricks, including one in colour Griffin & Jounson in <i>The Alchemist</i> Nell Gwyn Mrs Hartley Henderson Johnston Mrs Jordan as Hippolyta Edmund Kean Miss Frances Kemble in colour (N. B. <i>Not Fanny</i>) King "Little" Knight</p> |
| No. 20 [20r] | <p>Large Brown Leather-backed Portfolio, marked "No.20" containing Mezzotint portraits of Actors (many fine) from Nat Lee to C.M. Young, including</p> <p>Lowe & Mrs Fenton in <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> Maddocks, with Straw Mattocks & Quick in <i>The Duenna</i> Moody Miss O'Neill Packer Quin Rae Miss Rose Zenesino Shuter Skeggs, with Broomstick Turbutt as Sosia Walker as Macheath Warner Several Wilks Several Young</p> |

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| | <p><i>also</i></p> <p>Dr Busby Royal Academy at Somerset House Shanghai/Soochow Railway Wm Alexander's Illustrations to Ld Macartney's Embassy</p> |
| OS.1 [21r] | <p>Extra Large Mottled Portfolio Marked "O.S.1" containing fine engravings & mezzotints, including</p> <p>Interiors of T. R. D. L. & Pantheon Scenes by Zoffany & others from especially <i>Children in the Wood</i> <i>Devil on Two Sticks</i> <i>Mayer of Garrett</i> Garrick as Lear Farmer in <i>The Farmer's Return</i> Sir John Brute in <i>The Provok'd Wife</i> Abel Drugger in <i>The Tobacconist</i> Richard III Garrick's Company Henderson as Macbeth J. P. Kemble as Richard III Kemble Family in <i>Henry VIII</i> King Munden Spencer Family <i>Twelfth Night</i> <i>Conquest of Mexico</i> Shakespearian Scenes by Bunbury</p> |
| OS.2 [22r] | <p>Extra Large Mottled Portfolio marked "O.S.2" containing fine engraved or litho. portraits, some in colour, including</p> <p>Bacon (<i>PBL</i>) Barrimore Brothers as <i>Les Trois Magots</i> – Gillray Paul Bedford Bellini – Chalon Alderman Boydell – Gillray Ctess of Buckingham as Cowslip – Gillray Catalani Mlle Celeste – Chalon Miss Chester as Beatrice – Chalon T. P. Cooke (coloured) Charlotte Cushman, autograph presentation to T. P. Cooke Charlotte Cushman as Mrs Haller Lingo & Cowslip Grandolfi – Gauci Grisi – Chalon Horn as Seraskier Miss Huddart as Joan of Arc Jones</p> |

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| | <p>Edmund Kean at Tomb of G. F. Cooke Charles Kean as Hamlet – Chalon Charles Kean as Macbeth – Chalon Fanny Kelly Fanny Kemble Adelaide Kemble as Norma – Lane</p> <p>- Continued -</p> |
| OS.2 [23r] | <p>Extra Large Mottled Portfolio marked “O.S.2”</p> <p>W. C. Macready in Plain Clothes (<i>PBL</i>) Harriet Mellon, coloured caricatures Parsons in <i>Surrender of Calais</i> Persiani – Chalon Mrs Siddons “Obi” Smith as Zamiel in <i>Der Freischutz</i> Ellen Tree as Ion Von Kotzebue C. M. Young Prince Albert Queen Victoria Gutzlaff <i>The Stage’s Glory</i> Scenes from <i>The Blood Red Knight</i> and <i>Timor the Tartar</i> Specimen Writing Papers, including <i>Mother Goose</i> <i>The Irishman’s Progress</i> <i>The Player’s Progress</i> Grotesque Strip by Bunbury Scenes from <i>Pizarro</i> <i>Macbeth</i> burlesqued Bartholomew Fair – G.Ck Theatres & Pleasure Gardens, including The Folly Barge Performing Monkey Bushmen at Vauxhall Arrival of the Fishing Fleet in the East Indies Family of Italian Musicians – Rowlandson</p> |
| X. [24r] | <p>Extremely Large Old Worn Black Portfolio marked “X” contains</p> <p>W. H. W. Betty with Bust of Shakespeare J. P. Kemble as Coriolanus, with Aufidius <i>Love in a Village</i> – Zoffany Mrs Siddons as the Grecian Daughter</p> |
| Boydell [25r] | <p>Extra Large Buff mottled Portfolio marked “Boydell” contains</p> <p>Boydell’s Gallery of Illustrations to Shakespeare plus some others pub’d by Bowyer Notice unfinished plate of Henry VIII also Four States of Reynold’s <i>Macbeth</i></p> |

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| | Also, some large Illustrations by Stothard to Shakespeare Milton History of England |
| Theatres A [26r] | Music Size Mottled Portfolio marked "Theatres A" containing Engraved Views & Interiors of London Theatres published mostly by Wilkinson and Ackermann Note also Song Sheet "Bartholomew Fair" autographed by F. W. Pailthorpe |
| Theatres &c. B [27r] | Music Size Mottled Portfolio marked "Theatres &c. B." containing Satirical Prints by Hogarth & al. Westminster Play Provincial Theatres from <i>Theatric Tourist</i> & other sources Fairs Showmen Elephants Exeter Change <i>Auteur Siffle &c.</i> Edinburgh Audience Strolling Player Comedy in the Country Pigeon Holes Comedy & Tragedy Theatrical Pleasures Jack in the Box Humours of a Country Fair Pit Entry Foreign Theatres <i>Théatres de Paris</i> Pleasure Gardens |
| Penny Plain Large [28r] | Music Size Mottled Portfolio marked "Penny Plain Large" There is a detailed list in this Portfolio; Noteworthy items include Large Character Portraits, especially a fine coloured series published by Hodgson Skelt portraits reprinted on India paper Ducrow's Feats published by Lloyd Battle Scenes <i>Life in London</i> Reprints from Mr Stone's plates |
| JUDR. [29r] | Large Buff Portfolio marked "JUDR" containing Juvenile Dramatic Prints There is a detailed list in this Portfolio; noteworthy items include Combats Coronation of George IV Scenes from <i>Miller & His Men, Brigand &c.</i> Large Equestrian Combats |

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| | <p>Stage Fronts Large Scenes by Hodgson, especially from: <i>Montrose, Richard III, Rob Roy</i> Large Scenes from Skelt's <i>Mountaineers</i> Pollock's Stage Front Large sheets from: <i>Harlequin Fancy</i> <i>Robinson Crusoe</i> <i>Three Fishers</i> <i>H. & the Golden Fish (PBL)</i> Photostat of West's List</p> |
| JUDR. [30r] | <p>Music Size Brown Portfolio marked "JUDR" containing Juvenile Dramatic Prints.</p> <p>There is a detailed list in this portfolio; noteworthy items include Large Scenes by Pollock, Webb & Park (Note H. J. Webb's colouring of <i>Red Rover</i> and Park's <i>Maid & the Magpie</i>) Drop Scenes & Scenes from plays published by George Skelt, alias Conetta of Jersey (note his autograph on sc.2 of <i>Douglas</i>), including complete Plays: <i>Robinson Crusoe</i> <i>Mary the Maid of the Inn</i> <i>Freischutz</i> <i>Silver Arrow</i> <i>Black-Ey'd Susan</i> <i>Council of Ten</i> <i>Old Oak Chest</i> <i>Land Storm</i> <i>Miller & his Men</i></p> |
| George Skelt Reprints [31r] | <p>Music Size Blue Mottled Portfolio marked "George Skelt – Reprints" containing</p> <p>Portrait Characters. Combats &c., (but not Plays) reprinted & mostly coloured by George Skelt alias Conetta of Jersey.</p> <p>There is a detailed list inside.</p> |
| Theatrical Portraits [32r] | <p>Quarto Size Pink Cardboard Folder labelled "Theatrical Portraits" containing</p> <p>A selection of George Skelt's reproductions of single large character portraits distributed by the <i>Society for Theatre Research</i> in 1963 (plus a few additions) with some Introductory Matter, including a Notice of George Skelt by George Speaight and Catalogues of Publications by Benjamin Pollock Ltd.</p> |
| Undesignated [33r] | <p>A Tall Brown Portfolio (originally <i>Foyer des Artistes</i>) with a Japanese Cock on the outside and a Webbing Strap, contains</p> <p>Photogravures of the '80s La Pasta</p> |

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| | <p>J. P. Kemble Costumes for the Eglinton Tournament (?) Lottery Puffs Rhyme Sheets, especially by Lovat Fraser</p> |
| La Touraine [34r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio Lettered "<i>La Touraine</i>" contains Theatre Costumes published by Tresentsky including Charles Kean's <i>Winter's Tale</i> and <i>Henry VIII</i>. Also, Dublin Street Views circa 1820 published by S. W. and P. Brocas</p> |
| Playbills [35r] | <p>Large Mottled Purple Portfolio marked "Playbills" These purport to be arranged according to Theatres and therein, according to date, the London Theatres coming first. Interesting items include TRDL, printed on silk, 1.8.1800 Lace-paper programme of Entertainment at Windsor Castle, 18.1.52 TRCG. [Quy facsimile?] Bellamy & Woffington in <i>The Rival Queens</i>, 31.1.1756 TRCG, a broken run 1813-16 including: C. M. Young as The Stranger [<i>Inkle & Yarico</i>, final appearance Mme Sachi, <i>Timor the Tartar</i>, endorsed with the Box-keeper's note of the takings. Notice his use of the word "hatch" for the pit entry. Last Appearance of C. M. Young as Hamlet, 30.5.32 Final Appce of Charles Kemble as Benedick, 23.12.36 1839, Macready as King Lear, Claude Melnotte, William Tell First Performance of <i>Richelieu</i>, 2.3.39 (W. C. M. as Richelieu</p> |
| Playbills [36r] | <p>"PLAYBILLS" First Continuation Sheet TRDL, Last appearance of Grimaldi, 27.6.28 Barry Sullivan as Richard III, 1874 Goodmans Fields, First appearance of Garrick in <i>The Fair Pentient</i>, 2. 12.[1741] Facsimile T. R. Haymarket, First appearance (alleged) of E. Kean as a servant in <i>John Bull</i>, 16.8.06 <i>Hamlet</i>, endorsed with a note of Kean's "illness" Chas Kean as Hamlet, 21.4.49 Final appearances of Macready as Othello 27.1.51 & as King John, 2.2.51. Princess's Theatre, Charlotte Cushman as Meg Merrilies, 27.6.1845 Fechter in <i>The Corsican Brothers</i>, 27.2.69 Phelps in <i>The King of the Commons</i>, 12.2.71 Phelps in <i>The Man of the World</i>, [1871] Standard Theatre, Phelps as Macbeth, King Lear, Stranger, June 1859.</p> |

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| | <p>Surrey Theatre, T. P. Cooke, 7.6.31 Astley's Amphitheatre, all with wood-cuts, <i>Battle of Waterloo, Courier of St Petersburg</i> (28.7.28), Van Ambrugh &c. (24.9.30), <i>Afghanistan War, Battle of Worcester, Conquest of Mexico</i> with Morocco Arabs, <i>Mazeppa</i> (1843) <i>Richard III</i> on horseback (no wood-cut)</p> <p>C O N T I N U E D</p> |
| Playbills [37r] | <p>"PLAYBILLS", Second Continuation Sheet</p> <p>Cornwall's Royal Circus at Yorkshire Stingo, 1843, (with woodcuts) Batty's Circus at Bath (with woodcuts) Wombwell's Menagerie circa 1842 (with woodcuts) Bath, Mr & Mrs Charles Kean, 1843 Chelmsford, C. Kean "for the races", 1833 Dover, 1848 Margate, 1827 North Shields, <i>I am Here!</i>, (wood-cut) Stirbitch Fair, 1782 Teignmouth, 1810 Theatre Royal [Where?], Mr & Mrs Siddons [Jr], 22.6.08 Illustrated programmes, ca 1878, including <i>Dan'l Druce, Cloches de Corneville, Sorcerer &c.</i> The Dover Company (parents of Douglas Jerrold) Belfast, Kean in <i>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</i>, '23 Spoof programmes of the Tichbourne Case</p> |
| Stothard [38r] | <p>Standard Size Black Portfolio marked "STOTHARD" contains</p> <p>India paper prints of small book illustrations by or attributed to Thomas Stothard N. B. The first of these (a PBL of Jason & Medea has been autographed by Balmanno. Illustrations to <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> and <i>Paradise Lost</i> Circles and Ovals Illustrations to T. Moore Shakespeare <i>Seven Ages of Man</i> Gessner's <i>Death of Abel</i></p> <p>Also Non-Stothard illustrations to Shakespeare by Taylor & Hayman</p> <p>India paper prints on large mounts of Stothard's illustrations to Roger's <i>Italy</i></p> <p>N.B. There are other large Stothard's in the Portfolio marked "BOYDELL"</p> |
| J. T. S. | <p>Small Brown Portfolio marked "J.T.S." contains</p> |

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| [39r] | <p>Memoir & portrait of John Thomas Smith, alias “Rainy Day Smith”</p> <p>Proof engraving of I. Walton’s house in Fleet Street, autographed & given by the artist to his daughter Joanna</p> <p><i>Vagabondia</i> – Beggars, [disabled people] and other characteristic London figures</p> <p>Views of ruinous rustic cottages near London</p> <p>Ancient London Buildings in the course of demolition</p> |
| Frye [40r] | <p>Large green Portfolio marked “FRYE” contains</p> <p>a number of large fine mezzotint portrait heads by Thomas Frye (1710-1782)</p> |
| Harry Angelo [41r] | <p>Red Medium Size Portfolio lettered “Reminiscences of Harry Angelo”</p> <p>This contains additional reproductions of prints illustrative of Angelo’s Reminiscences (in two large brown volumes) of which it forms part and from which it should NOT BE SEPERATED!</p> |
| Undesignated [42r] | <p>Foolscap size Folder covered with padded cotton patterned in red on black, but not specially marked contains</p> <p>reprints from Skelt’s and other copper plates lent me by the late Mr W. M. Stone</p> |
| Geffroy &c. [43r] | <p>Small Dark Red Folder with Webbing Band & Small Labels contains Sets of Prints in separate Envelopes, viz.</p> <p>Geffroy – coloured French theatrical characters</p> <p>G. Scharf Jr – <i>Recollection of Scenic Effects</i></p> <p>Playhouse Habits</p> <p>Kay’s Theatrical Caricatures</p> <p>Picture Note-Paper – Engraved views of Watering Places, also Comic Seaside Scenes</p> <p>Lady Hamilton’s Attitudes</p> <p><i>Il Solimano</i> – Scenic Settings by Callot, 1620</p> <p>John Martin</p> |
| Japanese Prints No.1 [44r] | <p>Black Standard Size Portfolio marked “Japanese Prints No.1” contains</p> <p>Wood-cuts, mainly theatrical, by the following Artists</p> <p>N.B. The numbers in brackets correspond with those pencilled on the mounts and represent my attempted identifications of the Artists’ signatures</p> <p>(1) Kuniyoshi</p> <p>(2) Kunichika</p> |

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| | <p>(3) Kunisuna(sp?) (4) and (5) Unidentified but query Chukinobu, Kuninaga, Toyokuni Kuniaki, Toyokuni Kunichika,</p> |
| <p>Japanese Prints, Nos. 2 and 3 [45r]</p> | <p>Buff Standard size Portfolios marked “Japanese Prints No.2” and “Japanese Prints No.3”</p> <p>No. 2 contains (5) Toyokuni – Heads & Shoulders</p> <p>No. 3 contains (6) Toyokuni - Pairs of Heads & Shoulders - Large Heads - Small Heads - Groups - Large Whole Single Figures Without Background and With Background - Pairs of Whole Figures’</p> |
| <p>Japanese Prints, No. 4 [46r]</p> | <p>Black Standard Size Portfolio marked “Japanese Prints No.4” contains</p> <p>(5) Toyokuni – Diptychs & Triptychs (6) - - (7) - - (8) Shunyei (10) - - (11) Unidentified (12) Unidentified (13) Unidentified (14) Unidentified ? Utamaru (15) Unidentified (16) Unidentified ? Yoshitsuya (17) Unidentified ? Utagawa (18) Unidentified ? Kuniteru (18a) Unidentified ? Yoshitora</p> |
| <p>Japanese Prints, No. 5 [47r]</p> | <p>Blue Standard Size Portfolio marked “Japanese Prints No. 5” contains</p> <p>(19) Kunisada (20) ? Yoshitoshi (21) ? Yoshitoshi (22) Kunihisa (23)_ ? Yoshitake (24) ? Kuniaki (25) ? Yoshitora (26) Hokoshu (27) Unidentified (28) ? Ipposai Kunikane</p> |

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| | <p>(29) Gotokei (3[0]) Yeisen (31) Yoshikuni (32) Unidentified (33) Keisei Yoshiiki – Silhouettes (34) Unidentified – <i>Ladies Fire Brigade</i> (35) ? Kunichika (36) Unidentified (37) Yoshiharu (38) Kuniasu (39) Unidentified – <i>Parachutist</i> (40) Unidentified - ? Kuni - -</p> <p>B A C K</p> |
| Japanese Prints, No. 5 [47v] | <p>Japanese Prints No. 5 continued contains (41) Yoshikuni (42) Unidentified - ? Toyo - - followed by a number of unidentified and recent prints</p> |
| [48r] | <p>Taller than Standard Size Green Portfolio labelled in Japanese script contains</p> <p>Mainly Triptychs mainly of Battle Scenes signed by unidentified variations of <i>Yoshi</i> and <i>Kuni</i></p> |
| Music Titles A.1, 2 & 3 [49r] | <p>Music Size Green & Black Portfolio marked “Music Titles A.1” contains</p> <p>Portraits of theatrical, music-hall or circus singers or performers and dancers from Miss C. Adams & Mr Cormack dancing the Zartoriski Polka to Miss Fanny Kemble as Juliet</p> <p>Music Size Dark Green Portfolio marked “Music Titles A.2” contains</p> <p>similar portraits from Lablache and Sontag dancing the Polka to Miss Louise Pyne as Fanny in <i>Charles the Second</i></p> <p>Music Size Buff Portfolio marked “Music Titles A.3” contains</p> <p>similar portraits from Rachel as Medea [<i>N. Y.</i>] to Zazel being fired from a cannon at the Royal Aquarium</p> |
| Music Titles B. [50r] | <p>Music Size Black Mottled Portfolio marked “Music Titles B.” contains</p> <p>Theatres Scenes from Plays & Operas</p> |

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| | Harlequinade Characters |
| Music Titles C.1 [51r] | <p>Music Size Black Mottled Portfolio marked “Music Titles C.1” contains the following subjects</p> <p>Royal Family Foreign Royalties France – Second Republic & Empire Garibaldi Crimean War Indian Mutiny Berlin Congress Abyssian Expedition Khyber Pass Military Volunteers</p> |
| Music Titles C.2 [52r] | <p>Music Size Black Mottled Portfolio marked “Music Titles C.2” contains</p> <p>Naval Sailing including Capt Webb Shipping Railways Beulah Spa Fancy Fair Fancy Dress Geographical, including London, Edinburgh, Dublin &c. University Drinking, Note Jolly Dogs Banting Cycling & other Galops Postman Stamps Political Wellington &c.</p> |
| Music Titles C.3 [53r] | <p>Music Size Buff Mottled Portfolio marked “Music Titles C.3” contains</p> <p>Riding Driving Skating Polkas, Mazurkas &c. especially by Jullien Rural Animals Dogs – note Master Mcgrath Christmas Birds Rustics Beauties, including Bloomers, Crinolines & other Fashions Miscellaneous</p> |

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| <p>Music Titles D [54r]</p> | <p>Music Size Buff Portfolio marked “Music Titles D” (D standing for “Dull” or “Duplicate”) contains a Miscellaneous collection including some items of interest e.g.</p> <p>A Pamphlet on the origins of Yankee Doodle Tulips (<i>Two Lips</i>) Caporal Violette The Peace (<i>a Piece</i>) of China Carlo in <i>Phillip & his Dog</i> Laxey Glen Schottische White Star Polka Paul Bedford as Norma Vive la Chasse! Fred Sullivan in <i>Trial by Jury</i> A military mess – Ld Cardigan & the Black Bottle) Blondin Quadrilles The Queen’s Coronation Her Majesty’s Monkey The Cork Leg Jullien’s Great Comet Galop at the Royal Surrey Gardens etc.</p> |
| <p>Volunteers &c [55r]</p> | <p>Music Size Portfolio, mottled grey & green with red & blue diced spine, marked “Volunteers &c.” contains</p> <p>Uniforms and manual of the London Volunteer Corps 1798 by Rowlandson</p> <p>XVIth Century Costumes (French)</p> <p>Costumes des bourgeois de Paris</p> <p>plus some comic coloured Fishing Scenes published by Mclean (reprints)</p> <p>incidentally, there are some similar reprints in the large black Portfolio marked “D.1”</p> |
| <p>Chinese Types [56r]</p> | <p>Music Size Black Mottled Portfolio marked “Chinese Types” contains</p> <p>Coloured Chinese Views, Groups and Figures by William Alexander published by Millar circa 1800</p> <p>A Series of Chinese Tradesmen by Dudley from nature originals published by Millar 1799</p> <p>Loo-Choo Islanders by Robert Havell published by John Murray 1818</p> <p>N.B. Alexander accompanied Lord Macartney’s Embassy (1793) and Havell Lord Amherst’s (1816)</p> |

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| | <i>SEE also Next Item!</i> |
| Dress & Manners of the Chinese [57r] | <p>Small Quarto Brown Portfolio marked “Dress & Manners of the Chinese” contains</p> <p>More Chinese Types by William Alexander published by John Murray 1814</p> <p>N.B. The series of large drawings by Alexander illustrative of Sir George Staunton’s Account of Lord Macartney’s Embassy (1797) are to be found in the Large Brown Leather-backed Portfolio lettered “No.20”</p> <p>N.B. Gillray’s Caricature (No.88) of Ld Macartney’s reception by the Emperor Chien Lung is to be found in the Extra-Large Green Portfolio marked “C.1”</p> <p>N.B. There is miniature “needle-case” engraving of the same incident pasted inside the front cover of Helen Robins’s <i>Our First Ambassador to China</i>.</p> |
| Chinese Drama [58r] | <p>A Black Music Size Portfolio marked “C[h]inese Drama” contains</p> <p>A Parcel of Coloured Chinese Dramatic and Juvenile Prints (mostly steel engravings) as sold in the streets of Peking at the China New Year</p> <p>These were purchased there in 1934 for Mrs E. G. Hillier (on my behalf) by L. C. Arlington</p> <p>They are accompanied by thirty or more MS sheets of explanatory notes and translations by E. Alabaster</p> <p>WITH THESE is a silk-bound folio copy of <i>The Chinese Drama</i> by (Sir) R. F. Johnston with coloured illustrations by C. R. Winzer pub’d by Kelly & Walsh Shanghai 1921 which was given me by Mr [Ottersill?] of H. B. M’s China Consular Service.</p> |
| Protean Views [59r] | <p>Black Music Size Portfolio Marked “Protean Views Transparencies &c.”</p> <p>N. B. Protean Views change the scene but Transparencies the lighting only. Etc refers to A couple of pin-prick pictures at the beginning of the Portfolio.</p> <p>There is a typed list of these – mainly by Spooner or Morgan. Interesting items are Spooner’s Royal Rose Wellington at Waterloo Q. Victoria’s Coronation i[n] Westminster Abbey Queen’s Visit to the Guildhall Interment of Wm IV in St George’s Chapel, Windsor Burning of the House of Commons</p> |

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| | <p>Mont Blanc & Windsor Castle Windermere & Greenwich Railroad Snow Scene & Thames Tunnel [Ed]dystone Lighthouse</p> <p>C O N T I N U E D</p> |
| <p>Protean Views [60r]</p> | <p>“Protean Views” Continued</p> <p>Spooner’s Northern Lights in Lappland Mount Vesuvius (<i>N.B. This is from the Panorama in Surrey Zoological Gardens</i>) Magic Lantern Sleeping Beauty</p> <p>Morgan’s Coronation in Westminster Abbey Temple Bar by Moonlight Vesuvius Napoleon in Elba</p> <p>Reeves’ Thames Tunnel Relph’s York Minster in Flames Anon. Tom o’Shanter Eglinton Tournament Village destroyed by an Avalanche Napoleon’s Armies bivouacking in a Basilica The Fighting Cocks (Spooner)</p> <p>Large Transparencies of Turnip Lantern Applewoman Macbeth</p> <p>N.B. There are also some Transparencies in the Portfolio marked “C.1”</p> |
| <p>Juvenile Drama [61r]</p> | <p>The main part of the Toy Theatre collection is housed, in alphabetical order of play, in <u>18 drawers</u>, as follows:</p> <p>J1 – Odd Sheets J2 – ABBOT to BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA J3 – BATTLE OF WATERLOO to BLIND BOY J4 – BLUE BEARD to BRIGAND’S SON J5 – CAPTAIN ROSS to DOUGLAS (Green) J6 – DOUGLAS (Pollock) to FLYING DUTCHMAN J7 – FOREST OF BONDY to GOODY GOOSE J8 – GUY FAWKES to HARLEQUIN JACK AND THE BEANSTALK J9 - HARLEQUIN JACK SHEPPARD to HARLEQUIN AND THE SWANS J10 – HENRY THE FOURTH to JACOB FAITHFUL J11 – JONATHAN BRADFORD to MAID AND THE MAGPIE (O. Hodgson)</p> |

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| | <p>J12 – MAID AND THE MAGPIE (other versions) to MAZEPPA J13 – MILLER AND HIS MEN to MY POLL AND MY PARTNER JOE J14 – NINTH STATUE to PRISONER OF LA ROCHELLE J15 – RED ROVER to RIFLE VOLUNTEERS J16 – ROB ROY to TEKELI J17 – THERESE to UNION JACK J18 – VAMPIRE to WRECK ASHORE</p> |
| <p>Theatrical Portraits [62r/63r]</p> | <p>Issued by the Juvenile Drama publishers, and often intended for tinselling. The main part of these is housed in <u>17 drawers</u>, the arrangement being approximately as follows:</p> <p>K1 – Single portraits by various early publishers K2 – Single portraits by West and Orlando Hodgson K3 – Single portraits by Orlando Hodgson (small) and Hodgson & Co. K4 – Single portraits of Mr Kean as Richard III. Single portraits by Park K5 – Single portraits by Park (small). Single portraits of Mr Ducrow in his Equestrian Feats K6 – (Interpolated drawer.) Photostats of Toy Theatre sheets, mostly by West, but a few by Green and Jameson K7 – Single portraits by Fairburn, Johnson, Green, Skelt, and others K8 – Single portraits by Skelt K9 – Single portraits by Marks, Pitts, and Webb K10 – Single portraits by Redington and Waldo S. Lanchester K11 – Copper plate. “Juvenile Operas”. Single portraits of the Royal Family. Juvenile Sundries. Drop Scenes. Original sketch for a portrait. Silk portrait. Mounted portraits K12 – (Interpolated drawer.) Single portraits (laid down). Plain portraits by Park, West, and various others. Photostats of odd sheets by various publishers. Photostats and tracings used by G. Skelt K13 – Combats. Pairs. Grand Cars K14 – Fours (including some equestrian pairs). Sixes (Fairburn, Johnson, Hodgson, Skelt and miscellaneous) K15 – Sixes (Marks, Park, Skelt, Webb and Green). Nines. Pantomime Characters. Pantomime Tricks. Made-up Tricks K16 – Miniature Characters (including some fours and sixes). Soldiers. Ships. Scraps. Twelfth Night Characters K17 – Wings and other bits of scenery by West (mounted). Mrs Kennedy as Mrs Marwood in <i>The Way of the World</i> (1924). Shakespeare Tin. Theatrical Tokens and Medals. “FBB” stamp. Broken handle of drawer K14</p> <p>For fuller details of the contents of the above drawers, see the hand-list, and the typed lists on the front of each packet of portraits, etc.</p> |
| <p>J.D. (continued): Bound Volumes [64r]</p> | <p>Mr Speaight’s “The History of the English Toy Theatre” (1969 edition) is catalogued as Brady D.88, but may conveniently be kept</p> |

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| | <p>with the prints. The following are not catalogued as part of the book collection:</p> <p>An extra-illustrated copy of A.E. Wilson's "Penny Plain Two Pence Coloured"</p> <p>Texts of 24 Dramas published by Hodgson and Co. With a typed list at the front</p> <p>Plays by F. J. Harvey Darton: The London Review The Good Fairy (2 copies)</p> |
| Tinselled Portraits [65r] | [Page is left blank] |
| Prologues and Epilogues [66r] | <p>Arranged in alphabetical order of play, in <u>10 oversize pink binders</u>, as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 – Prelims + ADVENTURES to BOADICEA 2 – BOLD STROKE FOR A WIFE to CLEMENTINA 3 – CLEOMENES to DISTRESSED BARONET 4 – DISTREST MOTHER to FASHIONABLE LOVER 5 – FATAL CURIOSITY to ISABELLA 6 – JANE SHORE to MACBETH (Additions) 7 – MAD LOVER to OROONOKO 8 – ORPHAN to SETHONA 9 – SHE-GALLANTS to TIMES 10 – TIMON OF ATHENS to ZORAIDA <p>Together with <u>1 oversize pink binder</u> of miscellaneous material (not prologues and epilogues)</p> |
| Mr Brady's Selections [67r] | <p>Quotations of various topics from the Dramatic Works of James Shirley Contained in a <u>black loose-leaf binder</u></p> <p>A selection of Latin erotic verse Contained in a <u>red-brown binder</u></p> |
| Scenes from Plays [68r/69r] | <p>Illustrations of scenes from plays, mostly from eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sources, but also from the more obscure mid-nineteenth century sources; arranged in alphabetical order of play, in <u>20 green binders</u>, as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 – Prelims + ABRA-MULE to AUTHOR 2 – BANKRUPT to BUSY BODY 3 – CAESAR BORGIA to CONSTANTINE THE GREAT 4 – CONTRIVANCES to CYRUS 5 – DAGOBERT to EVERY ONE HAS HIS FAULT 6 – FAIR CIRCASSIAN to GUSTAVUS VASA 7 – HAMLET to IVANHOE 8 – JANE SHORE to KING HENRY IV, PART II |

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| | <p>9 – KING HENRY V to KING HENRY VI, PART III 10 – KING HENRY VIII to KING RICHARD II 11- KING RICHARD III to LOVE’S CURE 12 – LOVE’S LABOUR’S LOST to MAYOR OF GARRATT 13 – MEASURE FOR MEASURE to MIDSUMMER NIGHT’S DREAM 14 – MINOR to OTHELLO 15 – PADLOCK to ROMAN FATHER 16 – ROMEO AND JULIET to SYTHES 17 – TAMERLANE to TIMON OF ATHENS 18 – TITUS ADRONICUS to TWIN RIVALS 19 – TWO FOSCARI to WEST INDIAN 20 – WHAT D’YE CALL IT to ZENOBIA + postlims</p> |
| <p>Scenes from Foreign Plays [69r]</p> | <p>Arranged in alphabetical order of play, in <u>6 green binders</u>, as follows:</p> <p>1 – Prelims + ACHILLE to AVARE 2 – AVANTURES DES CHAMPS ELISÉES to DISTRAIT 3 – DOM GARCIE to GALATEA 4 – GALERIE DU PALAIS to MÉDECIN MALGRÉ LUI 5 – MÉDECIN VOLANT to PRÉCIEUSES RIDICULES 6 – PRINCESSE D’ÉLIDE to ZULIME</p> |
| <p>Scenes from Plays (continued) [70r/71r]</p> | <p>ILLUSTRATIONS FOR DACIER’S TERRENCE Contained in <u>1 pink-buff binder</u></p> <p>OUTLINE ILLUSTRATIONS TO SHAKESPEARE After Boydell, etc. Contained in <u>1 buff binder</u></p> <p>HARDING’S EXTRA-ILLUSTRATIONS TO BELL’S SHAKESPEARE Arranged as follows, in <u>4 oversize red binders</u>:</p> <p>1 – PROLEGOMENA and CLASSICAL HISTORIES 2 – HISTORIES, PART I (King John to Henry VI, Part I) 3 – HISTORIES, PART II (King Henry, Part II, to Henry VIII) 4 – COMEDIES and TRAGEDIES</p> <p>ILLUSTRATIONS TO SHAKESPEARE BY HENRY PILLE Contained in <u>1 oversize dark green binder</u></p> <p>CRUICKSHANK’S PUNCH AND JUDY ILLUSTRATIONS Contained in <u>1 oversize dark green binder</u></p> <p>Illustrations from the principal acting editions of the mid-nineteenth century, arranged (with some exceptions, which are noted below) by edition:</p> <p>Scenes from Cumberland’s British and Minor Theatres (but also including</p> |

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| | <p>Richardson's Royal and Minor Dramas, plays mostly republished by Cumberland, Pattie's Edition, Strange's Edition, plays mostly republished by Duncombe) arranged as follows, in <u>3 grey binders</u>:</p> <p>I – ADELGITHA to HYPOCRITE II – ICE WITCH to PROVOKED HUSBAND III – RACE FOR A DINNER to YOUTH, LOVE, AND FOLLY</p> <p>Scenes from Duncombe's Acting Edition, contained in <u>1 blue binder</u></p> <p><u>1 green binder</u>, containing scenes from the following editions in three separate sequences: Webster's Acting National Drama Maurice's Farces Dibdin's London Theatre</p> <p>Scenes from The London Stage, arranged as follows, in <u>1 dark blue and 1 light blue binder</u>: ABROAD AND AT HOME to KNOW YOUR OWN MIND "Continuation": LADY JANE GREY to ZARA</p> |
| Scenes from Plays, etc [73r] | <p>ILLUSTRATIONS FROM CARLO GOLDONI'S DRAMATIC WORKS Published by Antonio Zatta e Figli, Venice, 1780-91 Contained in a <u>cardboard box</u></p> <p>DRAMATIC TALES AND ROMANCES Illustrated with Coloured Plates. Published by Duncombe Contained in a <u>cardboard box</u></p> |
| Theatres [74r] | <p>Illustrations arranged in <u>2 grey binders</u>, according to the following categories: PATENT MINOR AND PROVINCIAL</p> |
| Theatricalia [74r] | <p>Miscellaneous illustrations contained in <u>2 grey binders</u>, numbered I and II</p> |
| Theatrical Portraits [75r/76r/77r] | <p>Arranged in alphabetical order of actor, playwright, etc., in <u>49 green binders</u> (numbered), with certain exceptions, who are to found separately in a further series of <u>7 green binders</u> (unnumbered), as follows:</p> <p>1 – Prelims + ABBOT to AICKIN 2 – ALBERT to BANKS 3 – BANNISTER to BARRY 4 – BARRYMORE to BETTERTON 5 – BETTY to BOHEMIAN BROTHERS 6 – BOLTON to BRUNSDON 7 – BRUNTON to CAPELL</p> |

- 8 – CARADORI to CHURCHILL
 9 – CIBBER to COCKAIN
 10 – COLLIER to COOKE
 11 – COOPER to DANIEL
 12 – DARANCOURT to DI RHONA
 13 – DOBBS to EGAN
 14 – EGERTON to FARINELLI
 15 – FARLEY to FAVART
 16 – FAWCETT to FOOTE
 17 – FORDE to GOLDSMITH (except Garrick, for whom see below)
 18 – GOMERSAL to HARE
 19 – HARLEY to HARTLEY
 20 – HARVEY to HOLCROFT
 21 – HOLMAN to HOPKINS
 22 – HORN to ISSACS
 23 – JACKSON to JONSON
 24 – JORDAN to KEELEY (except Edmund Kean, for whom see below)
 25 – KELLY to KING (except the Kemble Family, for whom see below)
 26 – KNIGHT to LESCOT
 27 – LESSINGHAM to LEWIS
 28 – LIND to LISTON
 29 – LITCHFIELD to MACKLIN
 30 – MACREADY to MARTYR
 31 – MASON to MERCANDOTTI (except Charles Mathews, for whom see below)
 32 – MERRY to MÜLLER
 33 – MUNDEN to OLDFIELD
 34 – O'NEILL to PALMER
 35 – PARKER to PELHAM
 36 – PENLEY to POVEY
 37 – POWELL to QUICK
 38 – QUIN to RIVIÈRE
 39 – ROBERTSON to SCHILLER
 40 – SCHIRMER to SLOMAN (except Shakespeare, for whom see below, and Mrs Siddons, for whom see the Kemble Family below)
 41 – SMITH to SOMERVILLE
 42 – SOMMERS to SWORDS
 43 – TAGLIONI to TYROLESE SINGERS
 44 – UNDERHILL to VESTRIS
 45 – VILLIERS to WEBSTER
 46 – WEICHSEL to WILLIAMS
 47 – WILSON to WYCHERLEY
 48 – YATES to YATES
 49 – YOUNG to ZUCHELLI + postlims + indexes

The unnumbered binders are as follows:
 GARRICK

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| | <p>E. KEAN KEMBLE FAMILY: S.S. [i.e., Mrs Siddons] KEMBLE FAMILY: J.P.K [i.e., John Philip Kemble] KEMBLE FAMILY [i.e., all the remaining members thereof] C. MATHEWS SHAKESPEARE</p> |
| Theatrical Portraits (continued) [78r/79r] | <p>THE BEGGAR'S OPERA Caricatures by Powys Evans Contained (as published) in a <u>small portfolio</u></p> <p>SOME WOODCUT PORTRAITS FROM THE "THEATRICAL TIMES", 1846-47 <u>Contained in 1 outsize orange binder (with green spine)</u></p> <p>PORTRAITS FROM THE "LONDON JOURNAL", 1848, AND "ILLUSTRATED REVIEW", 1873 <u>Contained in 1 faded black spring-back binder</u></p> <p>THE SHAKESPEARE GALLERY containing all of the Principal Female Characters in the Plays of the Great Poet. Engraved under the Direction of Charles Heath. Published by Charles Tilt <u>Contained in 1 faded black spring-back binder</u></p> <p>SHAKESPEAREAN AND OTHER PORTRAITS (many after Daguerreotypes) Arranged in alphabetical order of actor, in <u>2 black and 1 red spring-back binders</u>, as follows: ABBOTT to DYOTT (black) EDDY to MACREADY (red) MARSTON to YOUNGE + postlims (black)</p> |
| Theatrical Letters and Autographs [80r] | <p>Theatrical letters, in the hand, or bearing the signature, of actors, managers, and dramatists, 1890s to 1920s, mostly addressed to Miss Marianne Caldwell. With a small amount of earlier material <u>Contained in a box file</u></p> |
| Portraits [81r/82r] | <p>Mostly non-theatrical. Arranged in alphabetical order of personage, in <u>17 grey binders</u>, as follows:</p> <p>A – ABBOT to BEDFORD B – BEECHEY to BROUGHTON C – BROWNRIGG to CHARLES D – CHARLES to COVENTRY E – COWLEY to DEVONSHIRE F – DICKONS to FALKLAND G – FARLEY to GEORGE H – GERNER to HAMILTON IJ – HAMMERSMITH to HUME</p> |

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| | <p>K – HUMPHREY to L’ENCLOS L – LEOPOLD to MILTON M – MIRABEAU to O’KEEFFE N – OMAI to PORTUGAL O – POTTINGER to SCHIRMER P – SCOTT to STUART Q – SUETT to WARWICK R – WASHINGTON to ZOUTMAN + postlims</p> <p>With, in addition, <u>1 dark brown binder</u>, containing MINIATURE MEZZOTINTS</p> |
| <p>Illustrations by Stothard and others [82r/83r]</p> | <p>Mostly non-theatrical. Included are <u>11 blue binders</u> of illustrations by Stothard, arranged under various categories as follows:</p> <p>Poets, etc. (4 binders): 1 – AKENSIDE to DANTE 2 – DEFOE to KNOX 3 – LANGHORNE to SHAKESPEARE (except Rogers, for whom see below) 4 – SHENSTONE to YOUNG</p> <p>Novelists (3 binders): A – CHINESE TALES to GIL BLAS B – GRANDISON to MARMONTEL C – PEREGRINE PICKLE to ZADIG</p> <p>Magazines and Annuals (single binder)</p> <p>Apocrypha (single binder)</p> <p>ROGERS (2 binders): ILLUSTRATIONS ON STEEL ILLUSTRATIONS CUT ON WOOD BY LUKE CLENNELL</p> <p>CARRINGTON BOWLES, etc. Mezzotints, contained in <u>1 dark brown binder</u></p> <p>ORIGINAL BAB BALLADS FROM “FUN” Contained in <u>1 oversize pink binder</u></p> |
| <p>Bound-up Illustrations [84r]</p> | <p>WATER-COLOUR THEATRICAL CHARACTERS</p> <p>“THE OLD ACTORS” Character Portraits, 1773-80, published by Harrison and Wenman</p> <p>COOKE’S ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE BRITISH THEATRE</p> <p>“SHAKESPEARE” Scenic illustrations, published by Vernor and Hood</p> |

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| | <p>ILLUSTRATIONS TO INCHBALD'S BRITISH THEATRE Proofs before letters</p> <p>PRINTER'S SAMPLE BOOK OF WOOD BLOCKS</p> |
| <p>Large Illustrated Books [85r]</p> | <p>LONDON THEATRES, 1819</p> <p>CHARLES CHURCHILL'S ROSCIAD (1891)</p> <p>PORTRAITS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY</p> <p>THE ROYAL DRAMATIC RECORD (text only)</p> <p>TERRY'S BRITISH THEATRICAL GALLERY</p> <p>DRAMATIC RECOLLECTIONS OF THE YEARS 1838-39</p> <p>SIXTEEN PORTRAITS OF CHARLES KEMBLE BY RICHARD J. LANE (1840)</p> |

Appendix B: Playbills in the Brady Collection to 1820

What follows is a list of the eighteenth-century playbills (to 1820) contained within the Brady Collection 'Playbills' folder. This list is correct as of December 2022.

| Date | Year | Theatre | Mainpiece | Other | Notes |
|---------------|------|---------|----------------------------|--|--|
| London | | | | | |
| 31/01/1756 | 1756 | CG | Rival Queens, The | Double Disappointment, The | Brady's key notes that this might be a facsimile |
| 02/03/1799 | 1799 | CG | Lover's Vows | Oscar and Malvina | |
| 01/05/1800 | 1800 | DL | Wheel of Fortune, The | Who's the Dupe? | on silk |
| 12/03/1801 | 1801 | CG | Poor Gentleman, The | Perouse | |
| 30/04/1811 | 1811 | CG | Gazette Extraordinary, The | Timour the Tartar | |
| 01/11/1813 | 1813 | CG | King Henry the Fifth | Miller and His Men, The | |
| 14/09/1814 | 1814 | CG | Midas | Child of Nature, The; Grand Alliance, The; Timour the Tartar | |
| 09/02/1815 | 1815 | CG | Stranger, The | Hit or Miss! | |
| 13/02/1815 | 1815 | CG | Brother and Sister | Love, Law, & Physick; Harlequin Whittington | |
| 25/02/1815 | 1815 | CG | Stranger, The | Love Laughs at Locksmiths | |
| 27/02/1815 | 1815 | CG | Artaxerxes | Sleep Walker, The; Harlequin Whittington | |
| 01/04/1815 | 1815 | CG | Isabella | Love in Limbo | |
| 03/04/1815 | 1815 | CG | King Henry IV | Zembuca | |
| 03/05/1815 | 1815 | CG | Comus | Mrs. Wiggins; Zembuca | |
| 18/05/1815 | 1815 | CG | Isabella | Fortune of War! | |
| 31/05/1815 | 1815 | CG | Mail Coach Adventures | Ventriloquy; Fontainbleau; Crumpy the Hunchback | Benefit for Mr Mathews |
| 13/06/1815 | 1815 | CG | Beggar's Opera, The | A Tale of Mystery; Comus | |

| Date | Year | Theatre | Mainpiece | Other | Notes |
|------------|------|---------|-----------------------|---|--|
| 16/06/1815 | 1815 | CG | Timour the Tartar | Mail Coach Adventures; Brother and Sister | Mr Farley's night |
| 19/06/1815 | 1815 | CG | Grecian Daughter, The | Forty Thieves | |
| 20/06/1815 | 1815 | CG | Love in a Village | Bombastes Furioso; The Sleep Walker | Mr Blanchard's night |
| 21/06/1815 | 1815 | CG | Mail Coach Adventures | Divertisement; Fontainleau | Benefit of Mrs Gibbs |
| 28/06/1815 | 1815 | CG | Will, The | Reformation; Forty Thieves | Miss S. Booth's night |
| 30/06/1815 | 1815 | CG | Duenna, The | Rival Soldiers, The; The Blind Boy | For the benefit of Mr. Brandon, box-book and housekeeper |
| 01/07/1815 | 1815 | CG | Jane Shore | Two Doctor Hobbs | |
| 06/07/1815 | 1815 | CG | Exile, The | La Belle Alliance; The Critick | for the benefit of Mr Abbott |
| 17/07/1815 | 1815 | CG | Point of Honor, The | The Sleep Walker; The Forest of Bondy | Benefit of Mr Ware, leader of the band |
| 19/07/1815 | 1815 | CG | Brother and Sister | Fontainebleau; A Tale of Mystery | Benefit of Mr Claremont and Master Williams |
| 05/10/1815 | 1815 | CG | Artaxerxes | Farce Writer, The; The Magpie, or the Maid? | |
| 06/11/1815 | 1815 | CG | Beggar's Opera, The | The Sleep Walker; John du Bart | |
| 16/11/1815 | 1815 | CG | Venice Preserved | Killing no Murder | |
| 22/11/1815 | 1815 | CG | Cymon | Love, Law, & Physick | |
| 01/02/1816 | 1816 | CG | Isabella | Portfolio | |
| 15/02/1816 | 1816 | CG | Measure for Measure | Love, Law, & Physick | |
| 26/03/1816 | 1816 | CG | School for Scandal | Farce Writer, The | |

| Date | Year | Theatre | Mainpiece | Other | Notes |
|------------|------|-----------|----------------------------|--|--|
| 04/06/1816 | 1816 | CG | Beggar's Opera, The | Chip of the Old Block; The Prize | Mr Mathews's night |
| 06/06/1816 | 1816 | CG | Jealous Wife, The | Chip of the Old Block | |
| 14/06/1816 | 1816 | CG | School of Reform, The | Finger Post, The | Mr Emery's benefit |
| 18/06/1816 | 1816 | CG | Inkle and Yarico | Timour the Tartar | Mr Farley's benefit; handwriting on verso |
| 21/06/1816 | 1816 | CG | Guy Mannering | Festival of Apollo, The; Love, Law, & Physick | Mr Sinclair's benefit |
| 26/06/1816 | 1816 | CG | A Midsummer Night's Dream | Bambastes Furioso; The Farmer | Mr Taylor's benefit |
| 28/06/1816 | 1816 | CG | As You Like It | Rival Soldiers, The; The Blind Boy | Miss S. Booth's benefit |
| 18/08/1816 | 1816 | Haymarket | John Bull | The Agreeable Surprise | |
| 17/10/1816 | 1816 | CG | Guy Mannering | Lodoiska | |
| 16/11/1816 | 1816 | CG | Slave, The | Chip of the Old Block | |
| 03/12/1816 | 1816 | DL | Love in a Village | Cry To-Day and Laugh To-Morrow | |
| 07/02/1817 | 1817 | CG | Guy Mannering | Aurora; The Sleep Walker | |
| 22/02/1817 | 1817 | CG | Beggar's Opera, The | Bombastes Furioso; Aurora; Love Laughs at Locksmiths | |
| 08/03/1817 | 1817 | CG | A New Way to Pay Old Debts | Aurora; The Heir of Vironi | |
| 11/03/1817 | 1817 | CG | Guy Mannering | Aurora; The Critick | |
| 31/03/1818 | 1818 | CG | Rob Roy Macgregor | Husbands and Wives | |
| 15/05/1820 | 1820 | CG | Henri Quatre | Harlequin & Cinderella | |
| 07/06/1820 | 1820 | CG | Rob Roy Macgregor | Peep at my People; The Poor Soldier | |

| Other | | | | | |
|------------|------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Date | Year | Theatre | Mainpiece | Other | Notes |
| 02/12/1741 | 1741 | Goodman's Fields | Fair Penitent, The | a farce | Lothario by Mr. Garrick', for the benefit of Mr Garrick, likely a facsimile |
| 07/10/1782 | 1782 | Temporary Theatre Stirbitch-Fair | She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not | Gentle Shepherd, The | Yearly benefit of Mr Waddy and Mrs Weston, by his Majesty's Servants from the Theatre-Royal, Norwich |
| 23/09/1806 | 1806 | Assembly Rooms Chatham | Mountaineers, The | Tom Thumb | |
| 06/04/1808 | 1808 | Theatre Sheerness | Heir at Law, The | All Alive at Sheerness, Of Age to Morrow | By desire of the Hon. J. P. Irby and the officers of His Majesty's Ship Amelia |
| 13/05/1808 | 1808 | Theatre Wilsley-Green | Battle of Hexham, The | Cupid's Frolick, The Poor Sailor | |
| 22/06/1808 | 1808 | Theatre Royal[?] | Cymbeline | Blind Boy, The | |
| 26/06/1811 | 1811 | Theatre Royal Bristol | George Barnwell | Hobin the Well, Don Juan, various songs | Mr and Mrs Egan's first benefit in Bristol |

| Date | Year | Theatre | Mainpiece | Other | Notes |
|------------|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| 23/12/1811 | 1811 | Theatre Royal Bristol | Peasant Boy, The | Rendezvous, The; The Irish Widow | |
| 12/10/1812 | 1812 | Teignmouth Theatre | Every One Has His Fault | William Tell | |

Appendix C: Prologues & Epilogues from Periodicals in the Brady Collection to 1820

What follows is a list of the eighteenth-century prologues and epilogues (to 1820) contained within the Brady Collection 'P+E' folders. This list is correct as of December 2022. Most dates given are an estimate, in many cases, provided by Brady himself by way of pencilled note (ND = no date given). Names of periodicals have been given where known.

| Shelf mark | Paratext Type | Source Type | Source Title | Source Date | Source Page | Piece | Written | Performed |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------------------|----------------|-------------|--|-----------------------------|--------------|
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 1 | Occasional Address | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1782? | 663-664 | First appearance | None given | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 2 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783? | 271 | The Adventures of a Night | By the Author of the Farce' | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 3 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 431-432 | The Advertisement or a School for Husbands | None given | None given |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 3 | Address | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 432 | None given | None given | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 4 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine(?) | 1784? | 608-609 | Aerostation | None given | Mr Wilson |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 7 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine(?) | 1781? | 439 | Albina | by the Author' | Mrs Massey |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 20 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine(?) | 1787? | 711 | All on a Summer's Day | H. S. Woodfall | Mr Farren |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 21 | Prologue | Periodical | British Theatre | 26th July 1785 | 472-474 | All's Well That End's Well | Mr Pilon | Mr Bannister |

| Shelf mark | Paratext Type | Source Type | Source Title | Source Date | Source Page | Piece | Written | Performed |
|------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------|--|------------------------|----------------------|
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 21 | Prologue | Periodical | British Theatre | 4th August 1785 | 472-474 | I'll Tell You What | Mr Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 21 | Epilogue | Periodical | British Theatre | 4th August 1785 | 472-474 | I'll Tell You What | Mr Colman | Miss Farren |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 23 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1771 | 279-280 | Almida | William Whitehead Esq. | Mr Reddish |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 23 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1771 | 279-280 | Almida | Mr Garrick | Mrs Barry |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 31 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine(?) | ND | 552 | Appearance is Against Them | None given | Mr Wroughton |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 33 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1790 (April) | 216 | Arden of Faversham | Mr Merry | Mr Holman |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 42 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781? | 381-382 | The Baron | Mr Pillon | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 42 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 381-382 | The Baron | Edward Topham Esq | Mrs Wilson |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 43 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1790 | 551 | Opening of Earl of Barrymore's New Theatre at Wargrave | Henry Blackstone Esq | Henry Blackstone Esq |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 53 | Epilogue-Prologue | Periodical | Hibernian Magazine(?) | May | 272 | The Beggar's Opera | Edward Topham Esq | Mrs Wells |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 56 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1780 | 438-439 | The Belle's Strategem | None given | Mr Edwin |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 56 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1780 | 438-439 | The Belle's Strategem | None given | Miss Young |

| Shelf mark | Paratext Type | Source Type | Source Title | Source Date | Source Page | Piece | Written | Performed |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 58 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1782 | 461-462 | The Best Bidder | Captn. Topham | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 58 | Occasional Address | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1782 | 461-462 | First appearance at Covent Garden | None given | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 58 | Epilogue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1782 | 461-462 | Tragedy of Douglas | Mr Mavor | None given |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 59 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1790 | 663 | Better Late Than Never | Duke of Leeds | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 59 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1790 | 663-664 | Better Late Than Never | The Author | Mrs Jordan |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 60 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783? | 138-139 | Young Quaker | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 60 | Epilogue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783 | 138-139 | Young Quaker | George Colman | Miss Frodsham |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 60 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783 | 139 | The Birth Day | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 60 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783 | 139-140 | The Lawyer | By a friend | The Author |
| P+E 1 ADD-BOA 60 | Epilogue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783 | 139-40 | The Lawyer | The author | Mrs Bulkley |

| Shelf mark | Paratext Type | Source Type | Source Title | Source Date | Source Page | Piece | Written | Performed |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 5 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 327 | Bonds Without Judgement | George Monck Berkley | None given |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 6 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | NP | Bonduca | David Garrick | None given |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 9 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 157-158 | The Box Lobby Challenge | Francis North | None given |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 9 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 157-158 | The Box Lobby Challenge | George Colman | None given |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 12 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 664-665 | None given | None given | Mr Shuser(?) |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 12 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 664-665 | The Brothers | None given | Mr Smith |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 12 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 664-665 | The Brothers | None given | Mrs Yates |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 26 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787 | 438 | None given | None given | None given |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 28 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | ND | 144-145 | The Candidate | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 29 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783 | 159-160 | The Capricious Lady | The Author | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 29 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783 | 159-160 | The Capricious Lady | George Colman | Mrs Abington |

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| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 30 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1786 | 159 | The Captives | Thomas Vaughan | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 30 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1786 | 102(?) 159 | The Captives | Thomas Vaughan | Mrs Siddons |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 42 | Prologue | Periodical | Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine | ND | NP | Cato | None given | Prince George |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 42 | Epilogue | Periodical | Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine | ND | NP | Cato | None given | Lady Augusta and Prince Edward |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 46 | Address | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 517-518 | None given | George Colman | None given |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 46 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 517-518 | Cheap Living | John Taylor | Mr C Kemble |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 46 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 517-518 | Cheap Living | John Taylor | Miss De Camp |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 47 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1790 | 495-496 | None given | Young Lady | None given |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 57 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1770 | 374-375 | Clementina | George Colman | Mr Bensley |
| P+E 2 BOL-CLE 57 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1770 | 374-375 | Clementina | George Colman | Mrs Yates |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 4 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 218 | None given | Horace Walpole | Mrs Clive |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 6 | Occasional Epilogue | Periodical | Monthly Miscellany | 1774 | 361-362 | None given | None given | Miss Barsanti |

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| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 27 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 605-606 | Duplicity | None given | None given |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 27 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 606 | The Divorce | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 27 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 606-607 | The Divorce | None given | Miss Farren |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 27 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 607 | The Count of Narbonne | None given | Mr Wroughton |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 27 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 607-608 | The Count of Narbonne | R. Goodenough | Miss Younge |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 27 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 608 | The Count of Narbonne | Edmund Malone | None given |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 28 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787 | 491 | The Country Attorney | None given | Mr Bensley |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 28 | Epilogue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787 | 491-492 | The Country Attorney | George Colman | Miss Farren |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 30 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 656-657 | The Country Girl | None given | None given |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 30 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 657 | The Romance of an Hour | Mr Kelly | Mr Lee |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 30 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 657-658 | The Romance of an Hour | Mr Kelly | Mrs Bulkley |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 30 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 658 | The Choleric Man | None given | Mr Smith |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 34 | Occasional Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 323 | None given | None given | Miss Barsanti |

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| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 35 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1777 | NP | None given | None given | Mr Lewis |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 39 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1791 | 189-190 | Crochet Lodge | None given | Mr Fawcett |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 40 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 85 | A Cure for the Heart-Ache | T. W. Fitzgerald | None given |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 40 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 85-86 | A Cure for the Heart-Ache | M. P. Andrews | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 47 | Prologue | Periodical | Monthly Chronicle | 1780 | 673-674 | Deaf Indeed | None given | None given |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 47 | Epilogue | Periodical | Monthly Chronicle | 1780 | 673-674 | Lady Craven's Miniature Picture | Mr Jekyll | None given |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 48 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1780 | 103-104 | The Deaf Lover | The Author | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 49 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 285-286 | The Deserted Daughter | None given | None given |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 49 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1795 | 286 | The Deserted Daughter | None given | Mrs Pope, Miss Wallis and Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 53 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770 | 229 | The Devil Upon Two Sticks | None given | Mr Foote? |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 54 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1790 | NP | None given | Mr Lee (Devizes) | Mr Shatford |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 55 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 439 | The Disbanded Officer | Mr Colman | Mr Palmer |

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| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 55 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 439-440 | The Disbanded Officer | None given | Miss Farren |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 57 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 213-214 | Dissipation | Captn. Topham | Mr King |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 57 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 214 | Dissipation | The Author | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 57 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 214 | Second Thoughts Are Best | Mr Walwyn | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P+E 3 CLE-DIS 58 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1787 | 271-272 | The Distressed Baronet | The Author | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 7 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 330 | Doctor Last in His Chariot | Mr Garrick | Mr Foote |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 7 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 330-331 | Doctor Last in His Chariot | The Author | a girl of four years and a half old |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 17 | Prologue | Periodical | Gentleman's Magazine | April 1789 | 354 | Mahomet | Mr Gillum | Mr Fector |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 17 | Epilogue | Periodical | Gentleman's Magazine | April 1789 | 354-355 | Mahomet | Captn. Topham | Mr Fector |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 17 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | June 1789 | 536 | Matilda | Mr Pratt | Mr Fector |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 17 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | June 1789 | 536 | Matilda | Mr Cobb | Mr Fector |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 19 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1798 | 269 | Macbeth | Major General Fitzpatrick | Mr Kemble |

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| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 19 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1798 | 269-270 | Macbeth | George Colman | Miss Farren |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 20 | Prologue | Periodical | London Magazine | 1773 | 563 | The Duelist | The Author | Mr Smith |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 20 | Epilogue | Periodical | London Magazine | 1773 | 563-564 | The Duelist | The Author | Miss Barsanti |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 23 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 552 | Duplicity | Mr Nicholson | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 32 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 47 | Edward and Eleonora | Mr Gillum | Mr Fector |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 34 | Address | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1784 | 327 | None given | None given | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 34 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1784 | 327-328 | The Election of the Managers | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 36 | Prologue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1794 | 375-376 | Emilia Galotti | None given | Mr Whitfield |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 36 | Epilogue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1794 | 376 | Emilia Galotti | None given | Mrs Siddons |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 37 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794 | 605 | Emilia Galotti | None given | Mr Whitfield |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 37 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794 | 605-606 | Emilia Galotti | None given | Mrs Siddons |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 41 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1807 | 411 | Errors Excepted | Charles Dibdin | Mr Young |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 41 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1807 | 411-412 | Errors Excepted | John Litchfield | Mrs Litchfield |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 42 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1807 | 411 | Errors Excepted | Charles Dibdin | Mr Young |

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| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 42 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1807 | 411-412 | Errors Excepted | John Litchfield | Mrs Litchfield |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 44 | Epilogue | Periodical | Le Belle Assemblée | 1807 | 38-39 | Eunuch | None given | None given |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 52 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 100 | Every One Has His Fault | Mr Nares | Mr Farren |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 52 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1793 | 100-101 | Every One Has His Fault | M. P. Andrews | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 53 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 663 | The Fair Circassian | A Friend | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 53 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 663-664 | The Fair Circassian | None given | Miss Seaward |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 53 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 664 | The Fair Circassian | A Friend | Miss Farren |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 61 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 269 | False Colours | Charles Morris | Mr Wroughton |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 61 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1793 | 269-270 | False Colours | George Colman | Miss Farren |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 61 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 270 | How to Grow Rich | W. T. Fitzgerald | Mr Pope |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 61 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 271 | How to Grow Rich | None given | Mr Lewis |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 65 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 565 | False Impressions | None given | Mr Murray |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 65 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 565-566 | False Impressions | None given | Miss Betterton |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 67 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Monthly Miscellany | 1774 | 135-136 | Falstaff's Wedding | None given | None given |

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| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 68 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1789 | 438-439 | The Family Party | The Author | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 70 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1785 | 214 | Fashionable Levities | Mr Chalmers | Mr Wroughton |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 70 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1785 | 215 | Fashionable Levities | None given | Miss Younge |
| P+E 4 DIS-FAS 70 | Epilogue-Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1785 | 215-216 | Fashionable Levities | E. Topham | Mrs Wells |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 2 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | July 1782 | 61-62 | The Fatal Curiosity | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 2 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | July 1782 | 62 | The East Indian | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 2 | Address | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | July 1782 | 62-63 | None given | Mrs Siddons | Mrs Siddons |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 3 | Address | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 421 | The Fatal Curiosity | None given | Mrs Siddons |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 4 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 161 | The Fatal Discovery | None given | Mr Barry |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 4 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 161 | The Fatal Discovery | Mr Garrick | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 6 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1779? | 702 | The Fatal Falsehood | The Author | Mr Hull |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 6 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1779? | 702-703 | None given | R. B. Sheridan | Mr Lee Lewes |

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| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 8 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1780 | 495 | The Female Captain | The Author | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 9 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1787 | 103 | The First Floor | The Author | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 10 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794 | 381 | None given | Joseph Richardson | Mr Kemble |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 11 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1784 | 664 | The Follies of a Day | Mr Holcroft | Mr Davies |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 12 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1796 | 565 | The Fortune's Fool | M. P. Andrews | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 13 | Epilogue | Periodical | The Monthly Mirror | 1796 | 433 | The Fortune's Fool | M. P. Andrews | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 15 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Monthly Museum | ND | 421 | The Lock and Key | Dr Perfect | Mrs Sullivan |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 16 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783 | 52-53 | A Friend In Need is a Friend Indeed | Dennis O'Bryen | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 16 | Epilogue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783 | 53 | None given | George Colman | Mrs Bulkley |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 18 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 270 | Gallic Gratitude | J. S. Dodd | Mrs Jackson |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 18 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 269 | The Double Deception | The Author | None given |

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| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 23 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783 | 458-459 | The Gamester | Mr Mavor? | None given |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 25 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1780? | 663-664 | The Generous Imposter | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 25 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1780 | 664 | The Generous Imposter | None given | Miss Farren |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 30 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1790? | 606-607 | The German Hotel | None given | Mr Ryder and Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 31 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 43 | The Girl in Stile | The Author | Mr Holman |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 31 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 44 | Eloisa | None given | Mr Pope |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 31 | Epilogue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 44-45 | Eloisa | M. P. Andrews | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 31 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 46 | The First Floor | The Author | None given |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 38 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783? | 495 | Gretna Green | Charles Stuart | Mr Wilson |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 41 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1777? | 329 | None given | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 41 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1777? | 330 | The School for Scandal | Mr Garrick | Mr King |

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| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 41 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1777? | 330 | The School for Scandal | George Colman | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 42 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 263 | None given | Oliver Goldsmith (?) | Mr Lewes |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 43 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 274 | None given | None given | Mr Havard |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 44 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783 | 325 | None given | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 45 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 373 | The Heir at Law | Francis North | Mr C Kemble |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 45 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 373-374 | The Heir at Law | None given | None given |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 48 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786 | 103 | The Heiress | Richard Fitzpatrick | Mr King |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 48 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786 | 103-104 | The Heiress | None given | Miss Farren |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 48 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786? | 104 | The Projects | Mr Cobb | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 52 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786? | 663 | He Wou'd Be a Soldier | Frederick Pilon | Mr Farren |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 52 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786 | 663 | He Wou'd Be a Soldier? | The Author | Mrs Pope |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 52 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786? | 663-664 | The Girl in Stile | The Author | Mr Holman |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 57 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1780? | 558 | The Humours of an Election | Mr Pilon | Mr Wilson |

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| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 57 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1780? | 552 | The Humours of an Election | Mr Pilon | Mr Wilson |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 58 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794? | 47-48 | Ignoramus | Mr Dyer | None given |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 59 | Prologue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1785? | 99 | I'll Tell You What | Mr Coleman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 59 | Epilogue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1785? | 99 | I'll Tell You What | Mr Coleman | Miss Farren |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 65 | Prologue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1749? | 89-90 | Irene | None given | Mr Barry |
| P+E 5 FAT-ISA 65 | Epilogue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1749? | 89-90 | Irene | None given | Mrs Cibber |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 11 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 45 | The Jealous Wife | R. Cumberland | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 11 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 46 | None given | Samuel Foote | Samuel Foote |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 11 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 46-47 | The School for Wives | None given | Mr King and Miss Younge |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 11 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 47 | The School for Wives | None given | Mrs Abington |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 11 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 47 | A Christmas Tale | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 11 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 48 | King Henry the Second | The Author | The Author |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 11 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 48 | King Henry the Second | George Colman | Miss Barsanti |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 12 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 104 | Jehu | The Author | Mr King |

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| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 12 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 103 | Law of Lombardy | The Author | Mr Farren |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 12 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1779 | 103 | Law of Lombardy | The Author | Miss Younge |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 13 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794? | 326 | The Jew | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 13 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794 | 326-327 | The Jew | None given | Miss Farren |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 15 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1803? | 157 | John Bull | T. Dibdin | None given |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 15 | Lyrical Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1803? | 157-158 | John Bull | None given | Mr Johnstone |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 17 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1790? | 382-383 | Le Joueur | None given | Mr Turner |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 18 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 553-554 | The Jubilee | Mr Garrick | Mr King |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 19 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1789? | 435 | Julius Caesar | George Keate | Mr May |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 19 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1789? | 435-436 | Julius Caesar | George Keate | Mr Goodlad |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 28 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1783? | 551-552 | King Lear | George Keate | None given |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 28 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1782? | 552 | King Lear | George Keate | None given |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 36 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770? | 296 | The Lame Lover | None given | None given |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 38 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 103 | Law of Lombardy | The Author | Mr Farren |

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| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 38 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 103 | Law of Lombardy | The Author | Miss Younge |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 40 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1782? | 551-552 | A Lecture on Heads | R. Cumberland | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 41 | Address | Periodical | Monthly Miscellany | 1774? | 239 | The Pigmy Revels | Dr Goldsmith | Mr Lewes |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 42 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 287 | Life's Vagaries | Mr Taylor | Mr Middleton |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 43 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 159 | The Liverpool Prize | Mr Pilon | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 43 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | ND | 160 | The Humours of Oxford | None given | None given |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 44 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 324-325 | Lorenzo | Mr Taylor | Mr Holman |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 44 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 325 | Lorenzo | Miles Peter Andrews | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 45 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 440 | Lord Russel | Mr Coleman | Mr Palmer |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 54 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794? | 101 | Love's Frailties | None given | Mr Bernard |
| P+E 6 JAN-MAC 54 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794 | 101-102 | Love's Frailties | None given | Mrs Esten |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 2 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1783? | 380 | The Magic Picture | W. Pearce | Mr Aickin |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 6 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1803? | 493 | The Maid of Bristol | Mr Coleman | None given |

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| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 6 | Address | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1803? | 494 | Theatre Opening | Mr T. Dibdin | Mr Fawcett |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 7 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1785? | 328 | The Maid of Honour | Henry Phipps | Mr Kemble |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 9 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 95 | The Man of Business | None given | Mr Woodward |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 9 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 95-96 | The Man of Business | None given | Mrs Bulkley |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 9 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 96 | The Note of Hand | None given | None given |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 10 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1796? | 85 | The Man of Ten Thousand | None given | None given |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 10 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1796? | 85-86 | The Man of Ten Thousand | None given | None given |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 11 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 315 | The Man of the World | Mr Pillon | Miss Young |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 21 | Prologue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | ND | 177 | Merope | None given | Mr Garrick |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 21 | Epilogue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | ND | 177-178 | Merope | None given | Mrs Pritchard |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 22 | Address | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797 | 324-325 | The Merry Wives of Windsor | James Bland Burgess | Mrs Mattocks |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 23 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 879 | The Midnight Hour | H. S. Woodfall | Mr Pope |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 24 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 614 | The Minature Picture | Mr Sheridan | Mr King |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 24 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 615 | King Richard the Third | Mr J. F. | Mr J. F. |

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| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 24 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 616 | King Richard the Third | Mr J. F. | None given |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 25 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine(?) | ND | 719 | The Miniature Picture | Mr Jekyll | Mrs Hobart at Newbury and Mrs Abington at DL |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 25 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1780 | 719 | Deaf Indeed | None given | None given |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 39 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783? | 103 | The Mysterious Husband | None given | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 39 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783? | 103-104 | The Mysterious Husband | None given | Miss Younge |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 41 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 268 | National Prejudice | John Henniker | None given |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 42 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1785? | 103-104 | The Natural Son | The Author | Mr Bannister |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 42 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1785? | 104 | The Natural Son | Captain Topham | Miss Farren |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 45 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 654 | The New Peerage | R. Cumberland | Mr Wroughton |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 45 | Epilogue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 654-655 | The New Peerage? | Miss H. Lee | Miss Farren |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 46 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 380 | Next Door Neighbours | T. Vaughan | Mr Bannister |

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| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 46 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 389-381 | Next Door Neighbours | None given | Mrs Kemble |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 46 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 381 | The Dreamer Awake | Peter Pindar | None given |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 46 | Address | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 382 | None given | None given | Mrs Mattocks? |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 49 | Occasional Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 375 | None given | J. H. | Mr Kemble |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 49 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 376 | None given | Mr Foote | Mr Yates |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 49 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 376 | The Cozeners | None given | Mr Foote |
| P+E 7 MAD-ORO 50 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1774? | 169-170 | The Note of Hand | None given | None given |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 6 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1789? | 46 | The Orphan | Mr Lee | Mr Lee |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 17 | Prologue | Periodical | Dublin Magazine and Irish Monthly Register | 1800? | 187-188 | The Point of Honour | None given | Mr Barrymore |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 17 | Occasional Address | Periodical | Dublin Magazine and Irish Monthly Register | 1800? | 188 | None given | Mr Oulton | Mr Macready |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 18 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 385 | The Roman Father | Mr Colman | Mr Holland |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 20 | Epilogue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1790? | 566-567 | None given | None given | Mrs Pritchard? |

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| P + E 8 ORP-SET 21 | Address | Periodical | Walker's Hibernian Magazine | 1804? | 499 | None given | None given | None given |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 22 | Prologue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1777? | 270 | None given | William Whitehead | Sir George Beaumont |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 29 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1789? | * | None given | a Gentleman | Mr Ryder |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 40 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1782? | 268 | Retaliation | None given | None given |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 48 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 598 | None given | Mr Garrick (supposed) | Mr Lacey? |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 48 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 599 | The Maid of the Oaks | None given | Mr King |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 48 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine(?) | ND | 599 | The Maid of the Oaks | None given | Mrs Abington |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 48 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 600 | The Princess of Parma | Mr Cumberland | Mr Cradock |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 48 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 600 | The Princess of Parma | Mr Hanbury | Mrs Thursby |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 48 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 600 | The Election | Mr Cumberland | Mr Cumberland |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 55 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 624 | Percy | Mr Garrick | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 55 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 624 | The Roman Sacrifice | The Author | None given |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 55 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1777 | 624 | The Roman Sacrifice | R. Cumberland | Miss Younge |

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| P + E 8 ORP-SET 59 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781? | 159 | The Royal Suppliants | a Gentleman | None given |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 59 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781 | 159 | The Royal Suppliants | None given | Mrs Crawford |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 59 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781? | 159-160 | The World as it Goes | R. J. Goodenough | Mr Lee Lewes |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 59 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781? | 160 | None given | None given | Miss Young |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 60 | Prologue | Periodical | New Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 377 | None given | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 63 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 101-102 | The School for Arrogance | None given | Mr Bernard |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 63 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 102-103 | The School for Arrogance | None given | Mrs Mattocks |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 64 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786? | 661-662 | A School for Grey-Beards | Mr Cobb | Mr Bannister |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 64 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1786 | 662 | A School for Grey Beards | Mr Cobb | Miss Farren |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 66 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 106 | The School for Rakes | A Friend | Mr King |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 66 | Epilogue | Periodical | London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer(?) | ND | 106-107 | The School for Rakes | A Friend | Mrs Clive |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 68 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1773 | 653 | The School for Wives | None given | Mr King |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 68 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1773 | 653-654 | The School for Wives | None given | Mrs Abington |

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| P + E 8 ORP-SET 69 | Prologue | Periodical | London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer | 1773 | 654 | A Christmas Tale | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 71 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1795? | 333-334 | The Secret Tribunal | John Litchfield | Mr Macready |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 71 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1795? | 334 | The Bank Note | W. T. Fitzgerald | Mr Macready |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 71 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1795 | 334-335 | The Bank Note | Dr Houlton | Mrs Mattocks |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 73 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 207-208 | Seduction | Mr Holcroft | Mr Kemble |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 73 | Epilogue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 208 | Seduction | None given | Miss Farren |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 74 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 148 | Sethona | Mr Cumberland | Mr Reddish |
| P + E 8 ORP-SET 74 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 148-149 | Sethona | Mr Garrick | Mrs Barry |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 6 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 605 | The Siege of Berwick | The Author | Mr Harley |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 6 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1794 | 45 | The Siege of Berwick | The Author | Mrs Pope |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 10 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781? | 439-440 | The Silver Tankard or the Point at Portsmouth | None given | Mr Bannister |

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| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 10 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1781? | 440 | The Critic | Richard Fitzpatrick | Mr King |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 16 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | NP | Sir Thomas Overbury | Richard Brinsley Sheridan | Mr Hull |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 16 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | NP | Sir Thomas Overbury | Richard Brinsley Sheridan | Mrs Hartley |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 20 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1786? | 271-272 | Small Talk or The Westminster Boy | Mr Colman | Mr Holman |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 24 | Prologue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1777? | 154 | The Spanish Barber | Mr Colman | Mr Parsons |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 24 | Epilogue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1777? | 154-155 | The Spanish Barber | None given | Miss Farren |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 24 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Universal Magazine | 1777? | 155 | None given | None given | Mr Lewes |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 30 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 160 | None given | None given | None given |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 31 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 156 | Such Things Are | Thomas Vaughan | Mr Holman |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 43 | Occasional Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1784? | 384-385 | Tancred and Sigismunda | Mr Colman | Mr Bannister |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 54 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1770 | 161 | Timanthes | None given | None given |

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| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 54 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1770 | 161 | Timanthes? | Mr Colman | None given |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 56 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1787? | 663 | The Times | None given | Mr King |
| P + E 9 SHE-TIM 56 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1779 | 663-664 | The Times | None given | Miss Farren |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 2 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770? | 665 | Tis Well It's No Worse | None given | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 2 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770? | 665 | Tis Well It's No Worse | None given | Mr King |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 3 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1786? | 495 | None given | Mr Warton | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 3 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1786? | 495-496 | Tit for Tat | Mr Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 3 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1786? | 496 | Tit for Tat | None given | Miss Farren |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 4 | Prologue | Periodical | British Magazine and Review | 1782? | 382 | Too Civil By Half | The Author | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 5 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 211-212 | None given | Edward Topham | Captain Arabin |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 5 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 212 | Lady Craven's Arcadian Pastoral | None given | Miss Faulkener |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 5 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 212 | Walloon | The Author | None given |

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| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 6 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1807? | 161 | Town and Country | Mr Taylor | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 6 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1807? | 161-162 | Town and Country | Mr Colman | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 7 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1795 | 93 | The Town Before You | None given | Mrs Mattocks |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 7 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1795 | 94 | The Town Before You | None given | Miss Wallis |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 8 | Epilogue | Periodical | Monthly Miscellany | 1774? | 133 | The Note of Hand | None given | Mr Moody |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 8 | Prologue | Periodical | Monthly Miscellany | 1774? | 133-134 | Sethona | Mr Cumberland | Mr Reddish |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 8 | Epilogue | Periodical | Monthly Miscellany | 1774? | 134 | Sethona | Mr Garrick | Mrs Barry |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 9 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770? | 106 | The Trip to Scotland | None given | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 9 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770? | 106 | The Trip to Scotland | None given | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 10 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 272 | Tristram Shandy | Mr Chalmers | Mr Whitfield |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 10 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 272-273 | Tristram Shandy | None given | Mrs Kennedy? |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 13 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 384 | Turk and No Turk | The Author | Mr Bannister |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 13 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | ND | 383 | All's Well That Ends Well | Mr Pilon | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 20 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | NP | None given | George Colman | Mrs Bulkley |

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| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 23 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1782? | 163 | Variety | R. Tickell | Mr King |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 23 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1782? | 164 | The Positive Man | George Colman | Mr Edwin |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 33 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1798? | 181 | The Tragedy of Vortigern | None given | Mr Whitfield |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 33 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1796 | 181-182 | The Tragedy of Vortigern | None given | Mrs Jordan |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 35 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1796? | 133 | The Way to Get Married | W. T. Fitzgerald | Mr Macready |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 35 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1796 | 133-134 | The Way to Get Married | Captain Topham | Mrs Mattocks |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 38 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | ND | 661 | The Wedding Day | T. Vaughan | Mr Barrymore |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 39 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 377 | None given | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 40 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1786? | 215 | Werter | Mr Meyler of Bath | Mr Wroughton |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 40 | Epilogue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1786? | 215-216 | Werter | Mr Meyler of Bath | Miss Brunton |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 45 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1775? | 141 | The Wheel of Fortune | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 45 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1795 | 141-142 | The Wheel of Fortune | None given | Miss Farren |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 46 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine | 1782? | 105 | Which is the Man? | Mr Bate | Mr Lee Lewes |

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| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 47 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 269 | Who's the Dupe? | Inchbald? | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 47 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 269-270 | The Double Deception | The Author | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 47 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 270 | Gallic Gratitude | J. S. Dodd | Mrs Jackson |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 48 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1787? | 383 | The Widow and No Widow | Edward Topham | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 49 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1786? | 383 | None given | Mr Colman | Mr Bentley |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 49 | Prologue | Periodical | Town and Country Magazine | 1786? | 383-384 | The Widow's Vow | Mr Holcroft | Mr Bannister |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 51 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1791? | 437 | Wild Oats | Mr Taylor | Mr Harley |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 53 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797? | 278 | The Will | T. Taylor | Mr R. Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 53 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797? | 279 | The Will | M. P, Andrews | Mrs Jordan |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 55 | Prologue | Periodical | New Town and Country Magazine | 1787? | 317-318 | Bonds Without Judgment | George Monck Berkley | None given |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 56 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797? | 181 | Wives as They Were and Maids As They Are | A Friend | Mr Waddy |

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| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 56 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1797? | 181-182 | Wives as They Were and Maids As They Are | Mr Taylor | Miss Wallis |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 63 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770? | 271 | A Word to the Wise | Mr Kelly | Mr King |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 63 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | 1770? | 272 | A Word to the Wise? | None given | Mrs Barry |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 64 | Prologue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 639 | The World in a Village | Mr Taylor | Mr Holman |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 64 | Epilogue | Periodical | Unknown | ND | 639-640 | The World in a Village | Mrs Esten | Mrs Esten |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 66 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783? | 439 | The Young Quaker | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 66 | Epilogue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783? | 440 | The Young Quaker | George Colman | Miss Fordsham |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 66 | Prologue | Periodical | Lady's Magazine | 1783? | 440 | The Birthday | George Colman | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 74 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | 1779? | 651 | The Times | None given | Mr King |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 74 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | 1779? | 652 | The Times | None given | Miss Farren |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 74 | Prologue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 652 | Zoraida | None given | Mr Palmer |
| P + E 10 TIM-ZOR 74 | Epilogue | Periodical | Westminster Magazine(?) | ND | 652-653 | Zoraida | None given | Mrs Yates |

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Material from the Brady Collection (Christ Church Library, Oxford)

N.B.: Due to the collection's uncatalogued nature, all shelfmarks given are provisional and subject to change.

BC, B. 5

BC, B. 28 [14]

BC, 'Letters'

BC, 'Misc. Library'

BC, MS 1

BC, MS 'A rough [key]'

BC, P + E 1 ADD-BOA

BC, P + E 4 DIS-FAS

BC, P + E 5 FAT-ISA

BC, Photograph of Francis Bridgford Brady (1978)

BC, Photograph of Francis Bridgford Brady (1914)

BC, Photograph of Frank Brady looking through the window of B. Pollock's Print Shop

BC, Photograph of Brady's childhood home in Samshui

BC, 'Playbills'

BC, T.P. 3

BC, T.P. 7

BC, T.P. 19

BC, T.P. 27

BC T.P. 48

BC, T.P. 49

BC, T.P. Kemble Family

BC, T.P. Kemble Family S. S.

BC, MS Shakespeare

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