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THE PANTOMIMES OF AUGUSTUS HARRIS:
DRURY LANE 1879 - 1895

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Frederick Marsh Coggin, B.A., M.F.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1973

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INTRODUCTION

The English pantomime is curious not only because the form appears to be indigenous to only one country but also because the pantomime as literature--or even as light entertaining reading--has little to recommend it. Its characters are cartooned stereotypes; its political and social criticisms are usually vapid; its stories are trite satires on familiar fairy tales or nursery fables. Yet, these limitations are precisely what makes the English pantomime an intriguing subject for investigation by a student of the theatre. The appeals of pantomime are singularly theatrical. Only through the ingenuity and the talent of the scene designer, the stage machinist, the comic performer, and the theatrical director can this type of entertainment be made attractive; the English pantomime has no life except in the theatre.1

This quotation from another study of the pantomime gives a partial answer to the inevitable question of why one would attempt this investigation at all. Another reason lies in the value of looking into a theatrical phenomenon which has survived on the stages of a major western theatrical center, England, for over two hundred years. The form of the pantomime has been altered in that span of time, as we shall see in the history which follows; but it has survived and remains a popular entertainment of the English common people. It is true that

the present day productions are more a Christmas tradition than the great popular entertainments they once were, but the productions still play to crowded houses each year in London and other English cities. Theatre scholars cannot afford to ignore such a living link with the past.

Pantomime is an appropriate choice for study because it is an easily isolated and identifiable subject. It has held the stage for over two centuries, so it has continuity. It has always relied on strictly theatrical elements for its success, so by studying these elements in each era, we can trace their development.

There have been several studies done which deal with the English pantomimes, but none have concentrated on the history after 1860. This earlier work has provided the writer with an excellent background of material and research on which to draw.


The pantomimes of Augustus Harris represent the culmination of the drive toward spectacular productions which was building throughout the nineteenth century. Although he did not initiate any significant changes in spectacular production methods, he sensed the audiences' desire for greater visual extravagance, and he supplied it at great profit to himself. As one of the most financially successful theatre managers of the nineteenth century, Harris controlled Drury Lane Theatre from 1879 until his death in 1896.

His pantomimes were regarded during his time as the most lavish and spectacular Christmas entertainments in London. The other managers felt obliged to compete by mounting more extravagant productions themselves, but Augustus Harris was acknowledged by the leading theatrical commentators as being unsurpassed.


Morrow, op. cit.


Harris also altered the form of the pantomime by establishing a practice of using music hall entertainers to play the leading roles in the Christmas annuals. These performers brought with them parts of their acts and specialties and inserted them into the pantomimes. This had the effect of increasing the length and changing the focus from the fairy tales of the script to the personalities and material of the performers. They frequently improvised on the script and felt no need to adhere to the printed words.

The final contribution of Harris to the alteration of the pantomime form comes with the reduction of the traditional Harlequinade to an unimportant, short segment coming at the end of a long evening of songs, dances, comedy, and spectacle. None of the producers who followed Harris restored the Harlequinade to its former importance.

Therefore, it seems useful to pursue a study of this major figure in the history of the nineteenth century British theatre. A knowledge of his work and his contributions to the pantomime tradition will help to fill a gap in the overall picture of the theatre at this time.

Although Harris produced pantomimes at other theatres at various points during his career, this study will be limited to his work at Drury Lane because this theatre represented the bulk of his efforts, and was traditionally
accepted as the home of pantomime in England. A. E. Wilson, the author of several books on pantomime, has this to say concerning the importance of Drury Lane in the history of this genre:

It was at this theatre that in the days of David Garrick some of the first pantomimes were staged. It was in Drury Lane pantomimes that some of the most popular artists became famous, and nearly every change in the form of this particular kind of entertainment seems to have had its origin there.3

This study will not attempt to deal in detail with the technical methods used on the stage during the production of the pantomimes, since Harris did not originate any major techniques in this area. It is possible to ascertain how the various effects were specifically achieved by a study of the many excellent works on the technical theatre of the nineteenth century.4

4Among them are:


Extensive use has been made of contemporary sources to determine how the pantomimes of Augustus Harris appeared to the audiences. The scripts, which were published each year to accompany the pantomime, have been studied and several examples have been chosen for extensive examination. All of the reviews of the opening nights of the pantomimes at Drury Lane published in The Times and The Illustrated London News from 1860 through 1895 have been studied. The years prior to the management of Harris were studied in order to compare and contrast the productions of the pantomimes, and The Graphic and The Theatre magazines were also consulted heavily for reviews as well as for background articles. A very useful memoir was written by Jimmy Glover, who was associated with Augustus Harris for many years as his musical director at both Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Jimmy Glover, His Book supplied enlightening anecdotes as well as information that only an insider would have known.

Useful dissertations containing descriptions of the workings of technical devices on the stage include:

John Morrow, op. cit.

Allan Jackson, op. cit.

Research was conducted in London at both the Victoria and Albert and the British Museums. The organization of the Enthoven Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum proved to be most helpful since this study is concerned primarily with productions at one theatre, Drury Lane. This collection of playbills and assorted theatrical materials is arranged according to theatres, and within the theatre classification, by years.

The opening chapter gives a brief overview of the history of British pantomime from the beginnings to Augustus Harris. Chapter two of the study identifies Augustus Harris by giving biographical material as well as a general overview of his production activities. Chapter three deals with the published scripts of the pantomimes and analyzes them in terms of what was set forth as the departure point for the productions. Chapter four looks at the pantomimes as they were produced and tries to convey some appreciation for the additions brought to them by the efforts of the various theatre artists. The closing chapter summarizes the study and sets forth both conclusions and areas for future study.

CHAPTER I
THE HISTORY OF THE PANTOMIME BEFORE HARRIS

The purpose of this chapter is to trace briefly the history of the English pantomime from its beginnings in the eighteenth century until the time of Sir Augustus Harris. No attempt has been made to provide a comprehensive study of this history since such information is available in several works.¹

The pantomime has a secure place in the history of the English theatre during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But, to theatre scholars, it has never attained pivotal importance because it tended to reflect the tastes of people who were looking for entertainment which made no intellectual demands on them.


The form of the pantomime has changed considerably over the years since the word first appeared on a playbill at Drury Lane in 1717. This notice announced a pantomime ballet afterpiece for John Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus.* Within a year the most important figure in the eighteenth century pantomime appeared at Lincoln's Inn Field theatre. John Rich established the pantomime as a silent performance which featured the adventures of Harlequin. One reason that Rich made the pantomime silent was because he was an agile, acrobatic performer with a poor voice. The form of the Rich pantomime was described by Thelma Niklaus as follows:

The first and shorter part held the serious theme, taken from Greek and Roman mythology, or legend nearer his own time. The second and longer part consisted of the serio-comic love affair of Harlequin and Columbine, in the course of which the lovers were pursued, by Columbine's father, or guardian, or suitor Pantaloon, into extraordinary and unlikely places. Harlequin invariably effected transformations and enchantments with his magic bat, and it was certain that in the end the lovers would be united, and their enemies routed.  

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Five of the dissertations previously cited contain sections on pantomime history which help complete the story. They are those of: David Mayer, Frank Miesle, John Morrow, Miriam Tulin, Mitchell Wells.

2As cited by Mayer, *Harlequin in His Element*, p. 4.

The name, "Harlequinade," was given to the second section of these afterpieces because of the dominating character of Harlequin. Additional technical elements such as machinery to fly characters and to perform tricks were gradually added to the performances.

Rich dominated pantomime from 1717 until 1760, having moved to Covent Garden theatre in 1732 from Lincoln's Inn Fields. His productions were very successful with the London audiences. A rivalry developed between Rich and Drury Lane, with each theatre constantly trying to out-draw the other. Even David Garrick was forced to join in the contest in 1750 when he produced Queen Mab on Boxing Day. The success of this pantomime made this type of entertainment a permanent feature at Drury Lane at Christmas.

Garrick turned the silent Harlequin into a speaking role when he was unable to find a mime who could surpass Rich. The ensuing success was aided by the great scenic artist de Loutherbourg, who supplied some of the scenery for Garrick's pantomimes.

Between the time of John Rich and the next great figure in the history of pantomime, Grimaldi, the form of pantomime only changed in degree. The Opening (the first section) began to use plots taken from other sources such as nursery tales and popular literature, while the
Harlequinade was changed primarily by increasing the number of scenes.

The structure of the pantomime during the eighteenth and the first forty years of the nineteenth centuries was loose enough to allow its characters to poke fun at any number of subjects without trying to stick to a plotline. The action did not have to be logical, and the humor could jump to a new topic if the laughs did not come.

During this same time period, the cast of characters of the Harlequinade became fixed as Harlequin, Columbine, Pantaloon, and Clown. These same descendants of the Commedia dell'Arte appeared in every pantomime, but their characters did not have to be entirely consistent among all pantomimes. They might appear as eighteenth century dandies in one production and seventeenth century rubes in the next, but the audiences loved all of it and registered no complaints at the box offices.

A major shift of emphasis occurred with the rise of Joseph Grimaldi who played the role of clown. Because of his great talents as a clown and his extreme popularity with the audiences, Grimaldi and his associates,

...diverted the harlequinade of Rich, dominated by Harlequin and consequently emphasizing knockabout pursuit and gymnastic feats, to a harlequinade dominated by Clown and consequently emphasizing comedy and satire.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Mayer, *Harlequin in His Element*, p. 4.
This reign of comedy and satire continued until Grimaldi retired in 1823. His influence was still felt during the remainder of his lifetime as his son tried to follow the career of a clown, and Grimaldi tried staging pantomimes. The son was not very successful, and Grimaldi never equaled the accomplishments of his stage career. He died in 1837.

Until the repeal of the Theatrical Licensing Act in 1843, pantomimes were staged at four times during the year. There was a short season of a few weeks which opened November 9th, Lord Mayor's Day, at the Patent houses and those minor theatres which were open during the winter. These same houses opened new pantomimes on December 26th and ran them until the audiences failed. These might last until mid-February. The first productions of the summer minor theatre were pantomimes which opened on Easter Monday. Another new group of pantomimes opened in July at these summer theatres. With the repeal of the Act, the minor theatres could now offer legitimate drama so they were not as interested in filling their schedules with pantomimes. These entertainments, then, settled into being mainly Christmas attractions.

The repeal of the patents also gave the pantomime the right to speak, so the opening section gained in importance since it was able to articulate the satirical material. The rhymed couplets became the predominant
verse form with the pun the favorite form of humor in the opening. The ability to use speech also made possible more complete plots for the openings, which in turn led to the further decline of the Harlequinade.

A rival form of entertainment was introduced by J. R. Planché and Madame Vestris at the Olympic Theatre in 1831. This form was the extravaganza, a literary burlesque filled with satires on popular topics. They became very popular because of their lavish mountings and reliance on spectacle. The pantomimes soon began to incorporate these innovations. Planché's extravaganza

Island of Jewels at the Lyceum on December 26, 1849 introduced William Beverley's spectacular final scene which became the prototype for the transformation scene in the new hybrid, pantomime-extravaganza. In the traditional pantomime, the transformation scene was used to change the characters of the opening into those of the Harlequinade.

Beverley moved to Drury Lane and began to design the scenery for the pantomimes of E. L. Blanchard which played every Christmas at the National Theatre from 1852 through

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Olympic Revels, January 3, 1831 and Olympic Devils, December 26, 1831.
1888, Beverley's work on them lasted from 1854 to 1884. The lengthy association of these two men moved the pantomime continually toward greater spectacle and greater reliance on the script of the opening. The pantomime audiences demanded that each year's spectacle be greater than any previously seen, and that the script deal with a familiar subject in an entertaining way. Beverley and Blanchard fulfilled these demands during their association.

The pantomime scripts of E. L. Blanchard were greatly admired by the public. His writing never descended to the vulgar and was always full of genial humor. He tried to maintain the old style, emphasis on the Harlequinade, but the trend toward spectacle and the spoken word of the opening defeated him. He tried to draw more attention to the Harlequinade by using two separate casts, but this second section continued to decline in importance.

The extravaganzas of Planché and Vestris in the 1840's also led to another change in the pantomime besides the increase in spectacle. Madame Vestris enjoyed considerable success in breeches roles—a young woman playing a young man's role and dressed in a man's clothes. This tradition in the British theatre moved with the spectacle into the pantomimes, so that a Miss Howard was playing Little Boy Blue in Drury Lane's *Little Goody Two-Shoes* in 1862. In
the pantomime, this practice became known as the use of
the "principal boy." The principal boy replaced the male
actor in the hero roles.

The music hall performer had been used in the Har-
lequinade to add variety to the comedy since at least
the early 1850's, but, in the 1870's these performers
began to be cast in the principal roles of the openings.
G. H. Macdermott, a song and dance man, first appeared
in a West End pantomime in 1871, under the management of
Augustus Harris, Sr., the father of the subject of this
study. The practice gained wide acceptance since the
theatres no longer maintained separate pantomime companies,
and these entertainers, could be hired solely for the run
of the production. Their presence did prove a detriment
in that they insisted on using material which they had
perfected in the music halls in their pantomime roles.
This caused another shift in the form of the pantomime as
it provided them with the opportunity to perform their
specialties.

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6Bluebeard - Covent Garden, December 26, 1871.
7An interesting example of how the music hall per-
formers could dominate the pantomime is the Vokes family.
The family consisted of Fred Vokes, and his three sisters,
Jessie, Rosina, and Victoria. They, along with Mrs. Fred
Vokes and two "adopted" brothers, Fawdon and Walter, made
up almost the entire cast of every pantomime at Drury Lane
from 1869 through 1879, except for 1873 when they were on
tour. The combination of the public's tiring of them and
Thus the pantomime had evolved through more than one hundred and fifty years from its beginnings to the advent of the management of Sir Augustus Harris at Drury Lane. In the beginning, the pantomime had been merely a silent, dancing afterpiece which quickly began to feature the antics of an acrobatic Harlequin eternally involved in pursuit of his love. Grimaldi shifted the emphasis to the satiric clown, but the Harlequinade remained the most important part of the evening. With the passing of this most famous of pantomime performers, the decline of the Harlequinade began. The opening gained a voice, and it took the spotlight from the commedia figures for good. With no successor to Grimaldi, the public began to look for their excitement in the rising use of spectacle in the extravaganzas. These were blended into the openings of the pantomimes, and a new type of Christmas entertainment began. Talented writers, such as Blanchard, and exciting scene painters, such as Beverley, propelled this spectacle-laden pantomime into the mid-century and beyond. The final shaping of the pantomime before Augustus Harris entered its history, came with the introduction of the their arrogance in dealing with the other performers, caused Augustus Harris to dismiss them after their first season with him.
principal boy and the starring of the music hall performers. The energetic Sir Augustus was to take this form of entertainment and push it to its limits in the use of spectacle and "imported" talents.
CHAPTER II
WHO WAS AUGUSTUS HARRIS

Introduction

Augustus Henry Glossop Harris was one of the most successful impresarios and theatrical managers of the nineteenth century. At the age of 27 he assumed control of Drury Lane and remained in that post until his death at the age of 44. For 16 years he made Drury Lane the home of spectacular entertainment by producing lavishly mounted melodramas and pantomimes. His scale of extravagant productions set a standard which other producers were forced to emulate. The public became enraptured with the Harris brand of excessive showmanship and turned his reign into a practically unbroken string of financially successful seasons.

Not content with the popular stage, Harris was responsible for the revival in England of major opera seasons. This venture, which was also extremely popular and financially successful, was begun at Drury Lane, but its success prompted him to operate successive seasons
at Covent Garden. His lavish production style in melodrama, pantomime and opera became his trademark.

Biography to 1879

Augustus Harris was the son of a theatrical manager.

Born in 1852, he showed in his youth a liking for a mercantile life, but after a brief experience relinquished it. He thought that acting was his vocation, but he was mistaken again, and so was John Ryder, who strongly advised him to go on the stage. His achievements in this way were not remarkable.1

He started as an actor in the provinces, mostly doing juvenile and light comedy parts. In later years he played various roles in his own productions, but his skills as a manager, luckily, overshadowed these ventures into performance.

Augustus Harris was given his first opportunity on the management side by the English impresario, Mapleson. Starting as an assistant stage manager, he was soon moved to the position of stage manager at Covent Garden. In 1876 he produced his first E. L. Blanchard pantomime, Sinbad the Sailor at the Crystal Palace. This pantomime,

1The Theatre (Vol. 28, July 1, 1896), p. 5.
plus a successful negotiation and production of a French company, led to his appointment as acting manager of the Royalty Theatre. This job was not demanding enough so he took on the additional duties of stage managing and writing for that theatre.

In 1879 he became the lessee of Drury Lane. He was 27 years old and, according to his own account of the event, had £3 15s in his pocket. He arranged to borrow £2750 and opened his first season with Henry V, followed by the pantomime Bluebeard. Both productions were financially successful.

Harris as a Producer

As a producer of spectacular stage entertainments, Sir Augustus Harris was unexcelled in the 19th century. He established a height of costliness unreached before his time. The style of production that he chose was one that set out to dazzle and overwhelm his audiences with the magnificence and loveliness of his sets, costumes, and huge casts.

His mind had an Oriental taste for extravagance and Byzantine splendor. Any excuse or none at all was good enough for the introduction of imposing pageantry. He loved to crowd the stage with hundreds of people and with glittering pomp. His regal way of putting magnificence on the
stage no doubt earned for him the title of 'Augustus Druriolanus,' which Punch conferred upon him.2

His spectacular productions were generally of three types: melodramas, pantomimes and operas. Each of them was produced with no regard for the cost. His judgments of the audience potential for such entertainment proved accurate. As far as can be determined, he had only one losing season at the box office, and this occurred in his fifteenth year at Drury Lane. It is interesting to look at each of these theatrical types in more detail.

The melodrama at Drury Lane under Augustus Harris merely followed the genre as it was being produced throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. His major contribution was to extend the use of spectacular staging as far as he could. As the following comments will indicate, his scripts were not considered good drama, but his staging was impressive. George Bernard Shaw, writing in Saturday Review, dissected the Harris melodrama in his review of Cheer, Boys, Cheer (Drury Lane, 21 September 1895, co-authored by Harris).

_________________________

Do what I will, I cannot acquire a taste for these morbid, realistic-didactic plays on which Sir Augustus Harris lavishes his huge resources. They make me long inexpressibly for a breath of honest, wholesome, simple, straightforward Ibsen. To begin with, I cannot understand them. In vain are the first acts consumed in lawyers' offices, and front scenes laid on every ten minutes to instruct me in the relations, consanguineous, amatory, legal, psychological, and geographic between the persons concerned... I can only note that there has been a great development of the realistic element in the staging of these plays—or rather of this play; for it is always essentially the same play... In this way so much realism is now maintained continuously throughout the play that the old-fashioned climax, which usually meant something with real water in it, would appear ridiculous to us. We therefore have a scene with horses, a polo match or a race, to begin with, and in the fourth act a battle with magazine guns. The disappearance of the real water has led to the dropping out of the saving of the heroine's life by the hero, which used to be a matter of course, and which might, I suggest, be effectively reintroduced by supplementing the horses by a trained mad bull... Of drama proper there is hardly any... The whole affair is a purely traditional entertainment, with the "novel features" which are part of the tradition brought up to date, regardless of cost. The greater part of the audience finds itself amused by the spectacle, and interested by the magazine gun-firing, the Johannesburg hotel, the polo match, and the Worth dresses; but it would be utterly ashamed of taking the thrashing of the villain, of the "Just before the battle, mother" episode, otherwise than with its tongue in its cheek... This to me is the weak point in Drury Lane melodrama. It always contains too much stuff which neither its patrons nor its authors would condescend to take seriously, and which is a mere superstition from the time when playgoers could safely be treated as a mere mob of gaping bumpkins. 3

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Cheer, Boys Cheer opened on September 19, 1895 and ran until December 14, 1895. At this time it was moved to the Olympic in order to produce the Drury Lane pantomime. At the Olympic it ran from December 19, 1895 to February 29, 1896. The public must have failed to agree with Mr. Shaw.

Mr. William Archer, himself no great fan of Augustus Harris, was kinder in his review of the same production, although some of his true feeling slipped through:

... as a piece of melodramatic farce the whole scene was far from despicable. Some of its dialogue rose distinctly above the ordinary Drury Lane level. Polo at Hurlingham, Rotten Row in the season, a fight at Metabeleland, and a reception in a great West-End mansion--these are the principal courses in Sir Augustus Harris' only too lavish bill of fare; and the public worked through them with unsated appetite.4

Sir Augustus Harris' best remembered melodrama was The Derby Winner (co-authored by Harris, Cecil Raleigh and Henry Hamilton). It opened at Drury Lane on September 15, 1894 and ran there until December 15. Again the pantomime forced a move, this time to the Princess's where it ran from December 22 until February 16, 1895. The playing time was four hours and 15 minutes. The

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reviews were very similar to those quoted above. Again, Mr. Archer:

All this equine business is probably better done in *The Derby Winner* than it ever was before. The stage is laid with some imitation sword which effectively deadens the clatter of the horses hoofs, and immensely furthers the illusion. Everything went with perfect smoothness, except the great race at the close, in which the favorite somehow romped in last instead of first. That, of course, was a mere accident, favorites will do these things.5

*The Athenaeum* had contempt for the script, but grudging respect for the mounting of the production.

As drama successive productions at Drury Lane are entitled to little more consideration than are the intervening pantomimes. They observe no laws whatever, not even those of consecutiveness in time, and betray no touch of sentiment that is not arbitrary and conventional. They are, in fact, flimsier than a house of cards—the nearest breath of observation would blow them away. Nonetheless, they achieve their purpose—bring fortune to the management and popularity to the house. This is probably all at which Sir Augustus and his coadjutors aim, and they are entitled to the credit of having reached it. Not at all an inconsiderable task is that which has been achieved in preparing, rehearsing, and putting effectively on the stage the hugh equestrian spectacle which with scarcely a hitch, unrolled on Saturday last its portentous length on the stage of the reopened Drury Lane.6

5William Archer, op. cit., pp. 245-246.

6*The Athenaeum* (September 22, 1894), p. 395.
The melodrama was only one of his production activities. Augustus Harris is also well remembered for his lavish pantomimes produced on the stage of Drury Lane from 1879 to 1895.

It is amusing to compare two contemporary accounts which refer to his ability to exceed his past achievements.

As every Christmas drew near, the announcement that Sir Augustus Harris intended to eclipse all previous productions in his coming pantomimes was spread broadcast, but those who heard it, bearing in their minds the crisp dialogue, with the gorgeous processions floating before their eyes, and remembering the tuneful music of the previous year, shook their heads and murmured, 'impossible.' With the Boxing Day invariably came the conviction that the boast was no boast—that the promise had been faithfully kept.

H. G. Hibbert, in *A Playgoer's Memories*, said, 'I sympathize with the small boy who refused to go to Drury Lane pantomime because 'he knew that Sir Augustus Harris was only going to surpass himself'.

Augustus Harris's pantomimes did have a sameness about them which was also noted by *The Times* in 1885.

The pantomimes invented, arranged, and produced by Mr. Augustus Harris are all so resplendent and so bewildering in their magnitude that there seems at first blush to be little to choose between one and another as there is between the monster audiences that assemble regularly on Boxing Night.

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within the walls of Drury Lane. There is a magnificent sameness about the whole thing--spectacle, story, audience, and all--that for the moment overwelmns and crushes. Who can say if the same pantomimes were given year after year with only a change of name it would not, like some sermons, escape detection?9

Four years later, in 1889, The Times was still printing the same criticism.

There is just a little danger of Pantomime becoming groovy. The grand processions in particular which have been the crowning feature for some years past wear inevitable a close resemblance to each other. Still, considering their undeniable grandeur this does not matter in the least to the younger spectators.10 [Hibbert's young man notwithstanding]

This "sameness" and "groovy" quality was due to the Harris belief in "splendid spectacle and gorgeous tableaux and processions."11 Jimmy Glover, who was the musical director at Drury Lane during Harris's tenure, said, "Harris had a penchant for overdoing it, and although he gave them huge feasts of spendor this often led to dullness."12

10 Ibid. (December 27, 1889), p. 4.
12 As quoted in ibid.
In spite of all this published criticism, the fact remains that the audiences loved his productions. The often-panned processions were the highlights of the pantomimes, usually stealing this honor from the transformation scene.

The Daily Telegraph, in describing one of his pantomimes, gave some idea of the audience reactions.

Mr. Harris has been true to his promise of eclipsing all that he and his brother ever before devised or attempted, and it will be a pleasure to see silk, satin, gold and silver armour, bells, flags, banners, dazzle, glitter and electricity massed so as almost to be blinding to the spectator then the Drury Lane Pantomime is a success... We all know what is coming when the stage is arranged with a double staircase and a huge minstrels' gallery. Girls gathering in every conceivable hue, in armour, in glittering chains, in embroidered tabards, in head-dresses of astonishing shape, will file down the stairs and issue from subterranean passages, gongs will sound from the wings, a band on the stage and another band in the orchestra will vie for the mastery of sound and the audience will sit spell-bound and express their astonishment and delight at such unheard of magnificence.13

The form of pantomime productions in England was changed by Harris in three ways. He was the first producer to eliminate the presentation of anything else on the same bill as the pantomime. Earlier in the century, pantomime

13As quoted in Pantomime Pageant, pp. 86-87.
had merely come at the end of an evening of drama. By
1879 when Harris took over Drury Lane, the pantomime was
the main feature of the evening but it was preceded by a
farce. This curtain-raiser was traditionally drowned out
by calls, shouts and songs from the opening night audiences.
Harris made the pantomime a single attraction.

His second contribution was in establishing his own
lavish, spectacular style of production. Ample evidence
of that has been cited. Although he did not originate the
trend toward spectacular pantomime (Flanché and William
Beverley are usually given credit for this), he sensed
the extent of the public's appetite and fed this hunger.

The other major change in pantomime style was his
importation into pantomime of music-hall entertainers to
play the leading roles. His "Principal Boys" were shapely
female singers and comedians who had earned their follow-
ings in the music halls before coming to Drury Lane.
Harris hired the best comedians in London to play the
pantomimes, then left them to their own devices. He was
more concerned with the staging and spectacle than with
comedy.

The influence of these entertainers on the pantomime
was profound. They forced the scripts to be altered in
order to insert additional songs or skits which were often
brought in their entirety from the music hall stage. These
insertions also added to the playing time of the productions until they habitually lasted until after midnight. (In fairness, it should be pointed out that Harris's processions had a greater hand in extending the length.) The entertainers also shifted the level of the comedy from the genteel humor of E. L. Blanchard, downward. Their comedy was courser and considered offensive by many of the critics. H. G. Hibbert commented on this matter and on Harris in general:

Harris was, in truth, greatly responsible for the vulgarizing incursion of the music hall to the "Christmas Annual."... Harris's example was copied far and wide—crude splendour, a serio, and quelques mounees was his formulas. ... All Harris's geese were swans. He was obstinate in his adherence to barbaric splendour and banal humour. He was unreceptive of ideas—at least, he would toss them contemptuously into a pigeon-hole and bring them out as his own long afterwards. I wonder what became of his copy of Blanchard's Diaries. He had furiously noted the old man's strictures on the modern management of Drury Lane, and was with difficulty restrained from the publication of a rejoinder. 14

M. Willson Disher writing in Clowns and Pantomimes was more tolerant of Augustus Harris. As a historian he attempted to put Harris in some perspective.

Before Harris is held accountable for "vulgarizing" influences, it should be noted that pantomime had been declining rapidly. In 1866, the Haymarket under Buckstone (who wrote pantomimes) and the Lyceum under Fechter dropped out of the competition. Other managers followed suit, until in 1880. The Times had to report that 'Save for its two strongholds in Drury Lane and Covent Garden, which still defy the assaults of fashion and the sap of change, pantomime may now be considered as wholly relegated to the suburbs of London.' Even if Harris had been solely responsible for the course fun and— to quote Leopold Wagner---'extravagant ballet scenes, with the lime-light directed upon an army of palpably naked thighs which decency required should be covered with skirts,' he could have justified himself—when Covent Garden housed a circus at Christmas 1884 and 1885, and tried vainly to restore the tradition with 'Jack and the Beanstalk' in 1887—by the results...

There can be little question that Harris found the most amusing performers of his day for his pantomimes. On the other hand, he was incapable of appealing to the public's emotion by any other means than scene-shifting.15

The altering of the scripts by the music hall entertainers was slight in comparison with the handiwork of Augustus Harris.

Under his [Harris's] management Blanchard was author only in name. His pantomimes were 'grossly interpolated.' Harris directed members of his company practically to rewrite the book: in fact, Harry Richolls was the actual author of the new versions of Dick Whittington (1884), Aladdin (1885), and The Babes in the Wood (1888) which appeared as the work of Blanchard. The veteran librettist complained that as he was crushed out by the music-hall element, the good old fairy tales would never again be 'illustrated as they should be.' Harris substituted engineers for authors.16

16 Ibid.
The height of the music hall invasion was reached in a disastrous production of *Robinson Crusoe* in 1893. There were so many entertainers in it, the show was ruined. The public stayed away in sufficient numbers to cause Harris to lose £30,000 that season. He seems to have learned from this mistake, for his remaining two pantomimes moved away from the music hall elements. The amount was reduced in *Dick Whittington* (1894) and was almost non-existent in *Cinderella* (1895). This final pantomime was described by *The Times* critic as being a return to the Planché fairy extravaganza.

As a producer Augustus Harris staged seven Shakespearean plays with his usual emphasis on spectacle. He brought the famous Saxe-Meiningen Company to London in the summer of 1881. This visit influenced the course of English drama notably in the work of Henry Irving. In 1893 Harris presented the Comedie Francaise in repertory, and The Grand Ducal Court Company of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha was brought to Drury Lane in 1895.

*Biography Concluded*

The man had fantastic energy and drive, as witnessed by all the activities listed so far. In addition to these, he was a Freemason of high rank; a member of the Strand division of the London County Council, and a member of the
Committee of the Council on Theatres and Music Halls; connected with a newspaper (he purchased the *Sunday Times* in 1888); managed numerous touring companies plus three, sometimes four, of the principal London theatres at the same time; and was the Sheriff of the City of London in 1890-91. During this tenure in office, the German Emperor visited London and Harris was knighted—because he was sheriff, not for his work in the theatre or opera.

To assist in understanding this man, the following comments from his obituary in *The Theatre* magazine are valuable.

His knowledge of the value of the reputation of success was intuitive, for whatever the fortunes of his ventures may have been, he was always careful to maintain the appearance of magnificent prosperity. He was never known to admit that business was bad. Next must be put his readiness to do anything... He saw nothing derogatory in teaching a troupe of ballet girls, by his own example how to perform a movement which he himself had invented. Then again, he was a man who came to his work with the simple determination to make it pay, hampered by no prejudices, with no fads to air, with no views upon art and the stage.17

These multiple activities would have been enough to occupy two men, so it is small wonder that Harris died at a relatively young age. His obituaries do not list the cause of death but generally imply that it was exhaustion. Harris died June 22, 1896 at the age of 44.

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Influences

Augustus Harris's influence on the theatre was strongest in the area of staging. His opulent style set a tone which proved highly popular with the audiences of London in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The magnificent scale of production forced other managers to follow suit or lose audiences to his productions. Harris never let cost become a factor. He was willing to spend whatever it took to achieve the desired effect. Estimates of his production costs range from £5000 to £16,000 for individual pantomimes.

He was the first producer to use this lavish a budget, but others quickly followed. The swing toward spectacular staging was so well established by 1890 that the critic writing in the Illustrated London News in that year pleaded for relief.

In all probability this will be the very last year of excessive adornment and garish display in the building up of Christmas pantomime. The managers have seemingly combined to try and cut one another's throats and to reduce their banking accounts to a minimum. . . The dramatic world has suddenly gone mad on expensive production, out of all proportion to the artistic scheme on hand. . . Why should actors and actresses be smothered with scenery and rendered of no account! I speak earnestly and in their interests. Scenery and spectacle are murdering dramatic art.18

18The Illustrated London News (January 4, 1890), p. 2.
This writer was not a very good prophet. Spectacular staging continued unchecked until the films proved able to do the job better, thus taking the audiences away from the stage.

Harris influenced the English theatre as an impresario by importing the Saxe-Weiningen Company to London in the summer of 1881. This famous troupe was seen by actor-managers such as Sir Henry Irving. The extent of this influence suggests a study yet to be done and is beyond the scope of this investigation. The importation of important foreign companies also included the Comedie Francaise in the summer of 1893.

In the pantomimes Harris probably exerted his most telling effects. He brought uniquely spectacular staging to the Christmas offerings at Drury Lane, and he added another element which permanently altered the form. He was not the first producer to use music hall entertainers in pantomimes, but he made the practice an established part of the Boxing Day ritual. He engaged the best comedians, singers, and dancers for the pantomime, then allowed them to alter the traditional form to accommodate their particular talents. Although he had abandoned this practice in his last pantomime production, music hall entertainers continued to dominate the British pantomime into the twentieth century.
CHAPTER III
HOW THE SCRIPTS WERE WRITTEN

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the printed scripts of the pantomime—to see how they were written. The study will present common elements of the pre-Augustus Harris scripts which will then be compared to the scripts as they were written during the time of Harris at Drury Lane. Four scripts from the time period 1860-1878 were chosen as typical examples of the pantomime scripts produced before the time of Harris, while another four scripts were selected as representative of those produced by him.

These particular scripts were also chosen because it was possible to compare the same fairy tale produced both before Harris and by Harris. Four sets of pantomimes were chosen for detailed analysis, but examples from other scripts of the period have also been included. The selected scripts are: Sinbad the Sailor (1863 and 1882), Beauty and the Beast (1869 and 1891), Aladdin (1874 and 1885), and The Forty Thieves (1876 and 1886). These scripts are fairly well distributed across the time span under study. The second date of each pair marks the Harris production.
The pre-Harris scripts were all written by E. L. Blanchard, but were produced under two different men, Edmund Falconer (1862-1866) and F. B. Chatterton (1866-1879). In addition, the 1863 Sinbad the Sailor represents the pantomime as written before the coming of the Vokes family to Drury Lane. Beauty and the Beast in 1869 was the first pantomime by the Vokes family at Drury, while the 1874 Aladdin and the 1876 Forty Thieves represent the typical pantomimes of the family.

The Harris scripts are typical examples of his annual efforts. Only in the last two years of his production career did he begin to vary the style of his pantomimes. Samples of these variations are apparent in the 1894 script for Dick Whittington, which is discussed below.

This chapter contrasts the nineteen years of the pre-Harris period with the sixteen years of the Harris reign by looking primarily at the Opening segment of the pantomimes, and only secondarily at the Harlequinade. There are two reasons for these limitations: first, the Harlequinade did not include a coherent script even in its heyday, 1800-1840. At best it was a confusing list of suggestions for comic business and the names of stock situations which would have been familiar to the audiences, but whose meanings have, for the most part,
been lost to us. Secondly, the importance of the Harlequinade was declining during the entire period from 1860 to 1895. By the time of Augustus Harris, it consisted of little more than a concession to tradition—a few scenes of slapstick comedy coming at the end of a long evening of spectacle, processions, music and dance.

In the study of the Openings, attention will be paid to the structure, characterizations, and style of the scripts. Within the section on structure there will be subsections dealing with plot development, dances, and processions.

Although the scripts contain little information about the Harlequinades, what is available will be discussed. Most of this discussion will come in the section of the chapter concerned with the pre-Harris scripts, because of the decline of the Harlequinade under Augustus Harris.

Pre-Harris Scripts, 1860-1878

Before beginning a discussion of the specific scripts chosen as examples of the pre-Augustus Harris pantomimes, some general comments on the scripts of the period 1860 to 1878 are in order. It is not at all surprising that these scripts are quite similar, as they were all written by the same man, E. L. Blanchard, and for the same theatre,
Drury Lane. In fact, Blanchard wrote every Drury Lane Christmas pantomime from 1852 to 1888.

For the purpose of this study, thirteen scripts covering a nineteen year period (1860-1878) were analyzed. In comparing the scripts, a certain commonality emerges. For example, E. L. Blanchard favored the use of an opening scene which was set in a fantasy location and was used for the purpose of setting forth the moral or rationale for the pantomime. Of the thirteen scripts, nine of them have first scenes set in fantasy locations, totally invented locations such as The Interior of Old Mother Hubbard's Cottage (1861), The Welkin, or the Regions of Cloudland (1864), or Mother Bunch's Juvenile Repository (1869). Only four opening scenes are located in realistic settings (settings which represent actual location): The Interior of a Cornish Tinmine (1860), The Great Pyramid (1863), A Street in Canton (1874), and Market Place in Bagdad (1876). Apparently no attempt was made at naturalistic settings of these actual locations.

Blanchard begins plot development in eight of the thirteen first scenes. The remaining five were used to set forth a reason for the telling of the fairy story, as is the case, for example, with the Mother Bunch scene which opens the 1869 Beauty and the Beast (details of
the scene are given below). Earlier, a secondary purpose in the 1863 Sinbad the Sailor had been to arouse the patriotic feeling of the audience by reminding them of John Hanning Speke's 1862 discovery of the Ripon Falls, which was thought to be the source of the Nile. In all of the scripts examined, the first scene of a pantomime had the primary purpose of establishing the audience's interest by the varying means discussed, and by displaying a spectacular stage setting.

The second scenes of these sample scripts show even more commonality of structure. In ten of the thirteen scripts, the traditional ballet occurred in the second scene. Nine of the ballets featured fairies or other supernatural beings in the ballets, while the tenth (Puss in Boots, 1868) used shepherds and shepherdesses to replace the supernatural beings in this standard element.

The pantomimes from the 1860's and 70's featured a standard set of stereotyped characters. In addition to the requisite hero, heroine, and villain, the pantomime usually included comic old people (usually females), fairies or other supernatural beings, and comic animals played by actors. Examples of these types are numerous in the plot summaries which follow below.
All of the scripts employ rhymed verse throughout the pantomime, with the rhyme scheme usually being AA, BB, CC, etc. These rhymed couplets allowed the author to indulge in the frequent use of puns. Several examples of these are cited later in the chapter.

The pantomime traditions of loose structure and satire allowed the author to include incongruous elements in the scripts. For example, characters were allowed to make references to modern British devices or events without having to explain them. One such reference occurs when Aladdin arrives in an apparently Chinese, but definitely magic cave (scene three, Aladdin, 1874) and asks, "What stations's this upon the Underground?"¹

The informal writing style also permitted the author to tell the story in the most expeditious manner without worrying about filling in all of the details. For example, in scene eight of Beauty and the Beast (1869) Beauty's two ugly sisters are brought back into the scene and are described as being "much improved in looks." No explanation is given and no further mention of them is made in the script.

The structure of these early pantomimes was such that they used relatively few scenes to tell their stories, 

¹E. L. Blanchard, Aladdin, 1874, p. 29.
so details and some plot elements were sometimes left out. In *Beauty and the Beast*, 1869, the Beast is discovered wasting away for Beauty's return. The traditional portion of the fairy tale which showed her living with him and establishing a warm relationship was not included in the pantomime. It can be assumed that the audiences were so familiar with the story that they filled in these missing details themselves. Each of the scenes within the production lent itself to the use of a spectacular setting. The audiences wanted the spectacle more than a mere retelling of a familiar fairy tale, so only the essential and visual scenes were used in the pantomime version of the story.

The songs used in these productions were often set to familiar tunes, but new words were written which carried the plot forward. The scripts frequently list a song with notations such as, "Air-Silver Threads Among the Gold." In fact, this tune was used in *Harlequin and the Forty Thieves*, 1876, to carry the invocation of the Chief Fairy as she addressed the gathering of Peris (fairies) in scene two.

Fairies played some part in most of these productions, usually being introduced in the second scene and then being recalled in the final scene of the opening to either wrap-up the plot or to introduce the transformation scene. In some cases they did both. For example,
Sinbad is rescued from the Pygmies (Sinbad the Sailor, 1863) by the Bright Fairy of the Diamond, who waves her wand and causes the transformation scene to take place.

E. L. Blanchard on at least two occasions introduced characters into the opening scenes and then abandoned them. In Sinbad the Sailor, 1863, Young England is a character in scenes one and two. After being introduced as the person for whom the tale is being told, he never reappears in the pantomime. Old Mother Bunch (Beauty and the Beast, 1869) appears in scene one to tell her children a story, but after that scene, the character is entirely forgotten.

It is apparent from the discussion above on the commonalities of the scripts that the pantomimes cannot be dealt with in traditional dramatic terms. What is needed is a detailed examination of some representative scripts in order to gain an appreciation of the diverse elements which appealed to the audiences.

Structure

In the section of the chapter which follows, each of the representative scripts of the period 1860-1878 will be described. A rather detailed description of what the script contains is included in order to show what printed material was available to the producer and
artists working in the pantomimes of this time. In order to show an increase in the use of spectacle during the time period under consideration, it is necessary to demonstrate just what was taking place in the years preceding. The first place to go for such information is the script. Therefore, the rather tedious and detailed descriptions which follow are required. An apology is extended in advance to the reader for the wearisome accounting which is set forth in detailing these pantomime scripts. A reminder is again in order that these entertainments were intended to be seen on the stage, not read for enjoyment. In chapter four, the pantomimes under Harris will be considered from the production viewpoint: what did he do with the scripts which we see in this chapter, and how did the audiences perceive them?

Following the scene-by-scene descriptions are short sections which discuss the script indications of the use of songs and dances. The locations of songs and dances in the scripts are indicated and their purpose is evaluated.
Sinbad the Sailor - 1863

The plot of Sinbad the Sailor does not actually begin until the third scene. The first two scenes are intended primarily for spectacular purposes and to set the premise for the fairy tale. Scene one, set at the Great Pyramid at Sunset, opens with a dance by twelve mummies. King Cheops appears and greets the Spirit of the Nile, who arises through a Lotus Flower. The Spirit of the Nile is worried about preserving the secret of the source of the Nile from Young England who is searching for it. The Spirit seeks aid from the King in protecting the source as Young England appears. The Spirits of the Seven Wonders of the World are summoned, for a reason that is unclear. They parade and exit as the Spirit of the Past is raised. King Cheops and the Spirit of the Past argue with England, but they cannot stop him from going on with the search. The Vocal Memmon lights up and sings that England cannot continue with the search unless he answers three riddles. He does provide satisfactory answers and all except England vanish.

Scene two, set in the Mountains of the Moon, sees England advancing toward the Source of the Nile. After an inspirational speech extolling the virtues of patience and perseverance, England finds the source and stoops to drink from it. The Spirit of the Nile appears, telling him that he can now command the spirits since he was the
first to find the source. He asks to see the delights of the Arabian Nights, and Peries of the land of Persia rush in from the back of the stage to show him the adventures of another explorer—Sinbad the Sailor. The scene closes after a ballet featuring the Peries.

The story of Sinbad begins with scene three which is set in the Seaport of Bassora (with Quay and Landing Place). The scene opens with a section of pantomimed action showing the merchant Ali loading a ship with trade goods, as Turkish women appear and place orders, while sailors continue to load the ship. Ali sings a song which reveals him to be greedy and rich, while Sinbad was rich at one time but now is poor. Sinbad enters, selling melons, and asks Ali for a job on his ship, but is refused. The Spirit of Enterprise appears to Sinbad and gives him a second chance by bringing on trading goods and providing him with good clothes. This is a beautiful example of Victorian England's adoration of commerce. The scene closes with Sinbad shipping out as a partner with Ali.

Scene four takes place in a pavilion in the Indian King's Palace. The King reviews his guards (who, in a typical comic reversal, are all Pygmies) and says that he will hear only good news, anyone bringing bad news will lose his head. The King summons the Princess and tells her that she will marry his choice who happens to
be a rich prince. She refuses, Ali enters and we learn that he has shipwrecked Sinbad and stolen his goods. The King, seeing "SS" on all of the goods, has Ali arrested, and he confesses his crime. Sinbad arrives in time to have the King confiscate all the goods as fee for bringing justice. Sinbad falls in love with the Princess, but the King will only give the Princess to the person who brings him the largest diamond, so Sinbad goes to search for it with Ali as his servant.

The Valley of Diamonds is the setting for scene five. Large joints of meat fall from the sky around Sinbad. The script explains this unusual event by saying that merchants throw meat into the valley hoping that diamonds will stick to it. The Rocs who visit the valley will, the merchants hope, pick up the meat and take it to their nests where the diamonds can be collected. Sinbad stuffs diamonds into his belt before a large Roc descends, seizes the sailor in his claws, and rises—if the scenery is working properly—as the scene closes.

The action moves to the Island of Pygmies in scene six. Ali meets the cannibal pygmies and is carried off for dinner. Sinbad appears, "in a richer dress," telling of his search for the Princess. Sinbad has apparently escaped from the Roc, but no explanation is given. The "Little Old Man of the Sea" then enters, played by a
seven year old boy. The "Old Man" asks Sinbad to carry him over a stream. When he is seated on Sinbad's shoulders, he clamps his legs around the sailor's neck and refuses to let go. Sinbad manages to free himself by getting the Old Man drunk, but before he can escape, Sinbad is captured by the pygmies who lead him off to be eaten.

The last scene is set in The Dark City of the Dwarf Kingdom with the cooking fires ready. A pygmy Revel (one of the three major dance numbers in the show) is held, but Sinbad calls on the Bright Fairy of the Diamond to save him. She enters and waves her wand, causing the transformation scene to take place, in which Sinbad, the Princess, the Old Man, and Ali are changed into Harlequin, Columbine, Pantaloon, and Clown, respectively. A second cast joins them and the Harlequinade takes place.

Beauty and the Beast - 1869

As was the case with the 1863 Sinbad, the plot development does not begin in the first scene of Beauty and the Beast. Instead, Blanchard uses the beginning scene to present a pretext for the telling of the tale. He introduces his audience to Mother Bunch's Juvenile Repository, where numerous children are observed at play. They request to be told a fairy tale by Mother Bunch (a character who never appears after the first scene), who
agrees, then spends the rest of the scene illustrating Blanchard's concept that people value custom more than they seem to, a moral lesson only peripherally connected with the story which follows.

The plot begins with the second scene, but only barely. We are introduced to a fairy, who will play a role in the story, while she is being chastised by the Queen of the Peries for prideful conduct. Her sentence is to find a maiden willing to sacrifice herself for goodness. The purpose of the scene is to introduce these supernatural elements and to bring on the Peries for their traditional second scene ballet number.

Scene three finally begins the story proper by introducing the merchant Ali and his three daughters, the youngest of whom is named Beauty. Ali is broke and must leave for a distant port to get the profits from one of his ships in order to support the extravagant ways of the older sisters. On parting from their father, the older sisters ask for expensive presents, but Beauty asks only for a rose. This selfless action signals the audience that here, indeed, is the true heroine. The Peri appears and is hired as a servant to replace the male servant who will accompany the father. Ali leaves, and the scene ends with the older sisters mistreating the new servant.
The next scene opens with mimed action indicating that the caravan has been robbed and Ali and his servant bound by the robbers. After the pair is rescued by a troupe of monkeys, who then depart, food miraculously appears when spoken of and they sit down to a feast.

Scene five is set at the Palace of Prince Azor (the Beast) and contains the major motivating action of the storyline. After a ballet, Ali picks a rose for Beauty, but Azor appears and condemns Ali to suffer unless he will send Beauty to take his place. Ali agrees. There is a song by the Beast, followed by a dance performed by the beast and the servant. The latter's sudden disappearance ends the scene. No explanation is given for this ending, either here or in later scenes.

The next scene opens with Ali overhearing the older sisters mistreating Beauty and the Peri, now a servant. Ali sings of his adventures and as Beauty agrees to go, the Peri is dismissed by the sisters for indicating that she will accompany Beauty. This scene further reveals the contemptible character of the sisters and the unselfishness of Beauty.

Scene seven, set in The Palm Tree Grove, finds that Ali's servant has guided Beauty and Peri on this trip, and now reveals his love for the Peri. Beauty expresses fright at the thought of the Beast, a natural enough
reaction. To reassure her, the Peri shows Beauty a vision of Ali singing a song of advice. Unknown to Beauty, the two sisters have followed the trio to this spot, and they appear briefly at the end of the scene, but no explanation is given for their actions.

The final scene of the Opening is set in the Wilderness. The Beast is seen pining away. No reason is given, although in the fairy tale, Beauty had lived there for some time before going home. Doctors, unable to help him, are chased off as Azor does a "collapsing song and dance" and falls at the fountain. Beauty enters, and her expression of grief for him causes Azor to arise as a prince. They do a "dance of exultation" and sing a duet while, for no explainable reason, the two sisters enter "improved in looks." The Peri waves her wand to set off the Grand Transformation scene which changes the scene to the Fortunate Islands. At this point in the pantomime, the Peri, who had been under sentence to find a maiden willing to sacrifice herself, is forgiven. The rest of the Peries have gathered to welcome the chastised one, and the chief Peri introduces the Harlequinade with a reference to "Old Custom's Voice." She gives the famous opening line of the traditional Harlequinade, "Hello, Here we are again!" and the Harlequinade begins with a cast that was different from that of the Opening.
Aladdin - 1874

Unlike the previous examples, the plot of the 1874 *Aladdin* begins in the first scene. Scene one is set in a street in Canton, making Aladdin Chinese—a departure from the traditional concept of Aladdin being a figure from the Near East. The scene opens with Abanazar and Aladdin alternately singing of their wickedness, and laziness respectively. After reading the stock market report in a newspaper, Abanazar, in song, plots to get Aladdin to steal the magic lamp for him. A Chinese song and dance, for which no explanation is given, is followed by an elaborate procession featuring the entrance of the Princess and her attendants. Both Aladdin and Abanazar hide to watch her despite the warning given by the Emperor's guards that no one is allowed to watch the Princess. In a song, the Princess, showing much more vanity than the average pantomime heroine, laments this restriction. After her procession exits Aladdin's mother—a widow—is introduced. Through songs we learn that both Aladdin and his mother are "pure-at-heart," although the lyrics do not list the qualities needed for this condition. The wicked Abanazar pretends to be Aladdin's lost uncle. They refuse to believe him until he says that he is rich; then, both accept him instantly, and use his money to buy new clothes. Aladdin goes off still pure-at-heart
with Abanazar and his servant, while a chorus of boys and townspeople sing of Aladdin's good fortune. The good-natured servant--Kazrac--is dumb and uses only gestures to convey meaning.

Scene two, set in the Valley of the Cedars among the Blue Mountains, finds Aladdin trying to turn back from the journey, but being restrained by Abanazar who gives Aladdin a magic ring to open the cave. Both join in a song looking forward to "tomorrow," followed by a dance duet. All three descend into the cave to end the scene. This scene was probably a shallow one to permit a shift from the elaborate street scene to the elaborate cave set to follow. Since Kazrac is dumb there is no mention of him in this scene.

Scene three, set in the Interior of the Cave, opens with Aladdin and Abanazar singing a duet--Aladdin reaching for the lamp, Abanazar impatiently demanding it. Abanazar loses his temper and somewhat surprisingly hurls the hapless servant into the cave to share Aladdin's doom. Closing the door of the cave, Abanazar leaves the two to die in darkness. Fortunately Aladdin remembers the magic ring given to him in the previous scene; the Genius of the Ring appears and shows Aladdin the way home through the Garden of the Jewels. Eight different jewels are represented by dancers who perform the Ballet of Gems, after which the scene closes. The plot device of shoving
Kazrac into the cave enables Aladdin to have a faithful companion and comic foil for his further adventures.

Scene four moves to the Widow's house "near the Great Square." Aladdin's mother is revealed as a spendthrift by her many purchases which clutter the stage. Aladdin and Kazrac return tired and hungry and ask for food. The Genius of the Lamp provides a sumptuous dinner during which the script notes that "business" takes place, but nothing specific is indicated. The Genius also gives them new clothes through an instantaneous costume change performed on stage. After these magical treats Aladdin sends his mother with jewels to the emperor to ask for the hand of the Princess just before the royal procession conveniently enters. The Emperor has instantly agreed to the marriage after seeing the rich jewels sent by Aladdin, and Aladdin orders the Lamp to produce a palace for him. The chorus ends the scene by singing somewhat gratuitously that Aladdin should marry the Princess.

A spectacular procession of Aladdin's retinue opens scene five at some length, streaming from the magic palace. The Emperor goes off to inspect the palace grounds. Before following him, Aladdin gives the lamp to the Princess for her inspection. Following the traditional fairy tale Abanazar, disguised as a peddler, offers to trade new lamps for old. She accepts and is immediately dragged into the palace by Abanazar; the
entire palace ascends as the scene closes, displaying Drury Lane's vast technical resources.

The following scene takes place in the Interior of the Flying Palace where Abanazar tries to make love to the Princess, but she haughtily refuses him and he angrily leaves. Aladdin, first heard singing outside, then enters and hides to listen as Abanazar sings instructions to the guards to watch the Princess while he is gone. Aladdin concocts a poison made up of "new Scotch whiskey, new Irish whiskey, blacking, spiders,"\(^2\) and other equally incongruous ingredients. The Princess persuades Abanazar to drink. In reaction to the poison, Abanazar does a wild dance and collapses, permitting Aladdin to recover the lamp. A totally new character named for the famed Kohinoor diamond inexplicably appears and says, "As the greatest diamond ever known, Tis fit that you should have one precious tone."\(^3\) This invitation to song apparently acts as an antidote to the poison since Abanazar recovers, dancing off with Aladdin.

Scene seven is labeled "The Departure of the Dragon" although the scene consists solely of Kohinoor's song delivered with the assistance of the jewel fairies. The

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 43.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 44.
song compares a woman's love to a precious diamond with the woman's love being superior. This song, while expressing sentiments that the audience would have found admirable, has nothing to do with the scene which preceded it or with the transformation scene which followed as scene eight. In the usual pattern, the Harlequinade followed the transformation scene as the final element.

*Harlequin and the Forty Thieves - 1876*

The plot development begins in the first scene of this pantomime, as was the case with the 1874 *Aladdin* and which has been demonstrated as typical in the majority of Blanchard's pantomimes. The scene, set in the Marketplace of Bagdad, is used to introduce the main characters in an exotically interesting setting. An oriental juggler does his snake charming and magic act while the crowd mills about the market, and the forty thieves work their way through the crowd, stealing as they go. Abdallah and Hassarac, the captain and the lieutenant of the thieves, are introduced as the band of thieves perform a dance. Ali Baba and his son, Ganem, are introduced in turn as unsuccessful shopkeepers in the marketplace. They have decided to close their shop and earn their living as woodcutters in the forest. Meanwhile, Ali's miserly brother Cassim, has married a rich woman, Cogia Baba.
Ali's pleas for money motivate Cogia Baba's comic song, "Don't Take Any Notice" [of them]. Morgiana, Cassim's servant, is revealed as a pure and soft-hearted girl when she offers Ali her necklace to sell. Ali nobly refuses her offer, but Ganem and Morgiana fall in love at first sight. The Cadi of Bagdad and his Turkish guards then enter to warn the citizens of the thieves in their midst. The thieves continue to steal, however, even while the warning is being read. Their thefts are discovered, but the thieves themselves go undetected. The chorus sings, "What Do You Take Me For?" and the entire company dances off, ending the scene.

Scene two is the now familiar scene of fairies in gathering, this time in the Divan of the Genii. Eureka, the Chief Peri, sings an invocation to the tune of "Silver Threads Among the Gold." Personifications of Truth and Fortitude appear, and a plan is revealed to aid Ali in finding the cave of the Forty Thieves. The fairies have decided to intervene in order that justice may triumph. Morgiana is summoned from Dreamland (in a cloud car), and magically given a "finishing education" to equip her to assist Ali in defeating the rogues. In order to demonstrate her newly "finished" talents, she sings an unspecified operatic aria before returning to her cloud car. The traditional ballet of Peris ends the scene.
Scene three, the Date Tree Grove, opens with Ali and Ganem entering and calling their donkey. The donkey, played by a comedian dressed in an animal costume, performs a series of tricks, culminating with a dance joined by Ali and Ganem. As they exit, Cassim and Cogia appear for a picnic. Morgiana, under the influence of the Peris, expresses rhapsodic admiration for everything. Ali and Ganem reenter in pursuit of their donkey, but they see the picnic and begin to beg for food. Ali's recognition of his brother results in a lengthy quintette.

Scene four opens outside the Enchanted Cavern in the Depths of the Forest where watchful Peris are seen grouped among the trees. Eureka changes herself into a Dragon Fly to lure Ali to the vicinity of the cave. The Peris vanish as her attempt succeeds. Ali and Ganem start to chop wood when they see the approaching thieves and hide in the trees in their turn. Singing "Don't Make a Noise," the thieves enter with bags of loot, store them in the cave and depart. Ali and Ganem enter the cave and return with a large sack labeled "money." As they close the cave, Cassim and his party stagger out of the woods having become lost after their picnic. In one of the few incidents from the traditional fairy tale Ali uses Cogia's measure to determine his wealth. A coin sticks to it which Cogia pockets. Cassim, conveniently left
momentarily alone on stage, opens the cave just as the Captain, the Lieutenant and twenty thieves return, having forgotten a sword. In a comic chase Cassim is pursued into the cave. After much shouting, the thieves reappear with the two halves of Cassim and nail the parts to the trees before leaving in one of the few overtly violent acts portrayed in these pantomimes. Ali and the others return at this point; with an appropriate expression of horror, they being a song and dance number about the feasibility of sewing Cassim back together. The scene ends on this rather macabre note.

The next scene is a street in Bagdad with five houses which face the street; only one of the doors is practical. Disguised as merchants, the Captain and the Lieutenant enter, seeking an answer to the robbery at their cave. A large crowd containing the Cadi, his guards, Cogia, and the richly dressed Ali family, sweeps in. Ali and Ganem magnanimously give large amounts of gold to the crowd, an act which alerts the thieves, who then plot revenge. The Lieutenant is sent to bring large oil jars containing the thieves while the Captain accosts Ganem. Ali and Ganem sing, "I Don't Know You," but the Captain claims to be an old friend of Ali who coincidentally needs room to store his oil jars for the night. Ali offers his courtyard, and everyone except Ali goes into
the house. Ali does a song and dance number to what is called the "Vokes air." (Ali was played by Fred Vokes, the leading member of the family and its best dancer.) A routine between Morgiana and the Captain follows, which deals with marking the door of Ali's house with chalk in order to identify it for the thieves. Each time he marks it, Morgiana marks all of the others the same way. This action is repeated three times leaving all the doors marked. The Captain finally leaves. Ali and Ganem sing "I'm A Happy Man," a song and dance ending the scene.

Scene six, the Courtyard by Moonlight, finds forty jars in a line upstage. Despite the chalk routine, the jars have found their way to Ali's house. After a comic song by Cogia, now a servant, Ali, the Captain and the Lieutenant enter. The thieves thank Ali and exit. Ali forgives Cogia for her earlier behavior and announces that Ganem and Morgiana are to be married the next day. This permits a song and dance about the wedding which allows everyone but Ali and the Lieutenant to exit. (The Lieutenant has reentered, but there is no indication of when.) Ali and the thief lie down to sleep as Morgiana enters to get oil for her lamp and a series of heads begin to pop out of the jars asking if the time is right. These curious appearances arouse her suspicions. Her supernatural education comes to her assistance; she
gets boiling oil, pours some into each jar, and leaves. The source of the boiling oil is not specified. The Lieutenant awakens and calls for the thieves, but not surprisingly, there are no answers. His calls awaken Ali and an elaborate, acrobatic fight ensues. The fight ends with the Lieutenant being thrown over the wall. As the scene closes, forty pairs of legs are seen sticking out of each jar and wiggling in the air.

Scene seven takes place in the Grand Reception Room of Ali Baba's House where the servants are preparing the wedding breakfast. The Captain, disguised, enters and joins the crowd watching a ballet. The number includes a song and dance by Morgiana in which she approaches the Captain and sees a dagger. There is a "strong chord" in the music as she recognizes that he must be a thief. As she prepares to kill the Captain with his own dagger, Cassim enters, "his body visibly sewn up." The denouement is supplied in the ensuing dialogue:

Cassim: He's very sorry, let him live to see, What Morgiana's sewing did for me.
Morgiana: You will reform if I on you have pity?
Captain: I will, I'll bring out companies in the City, Start mining speculations, and get sank [sic] Cash in a new Co-operative Bank.

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4E. L. Blanchard, Harlequin and the Forty Thieves, 1876, p. 51.
5Ibid., pp. 51-52.
Apparently suffering no ill effects from his flight over the wall, the Lieutenant enters in good health and there is a general song of joy, accompanied by the chorus.

Scene eight is a very short scene set at The Well of Truth. Eureka, Chief Peri, enters with Truth and Fortitude and supplies Blanchard's moral.

Thus years to come this tale will teach our youth, Naught can contend with Fortitude and Truth.

(enter other characters of story)
Through you has justice reached those knaves who steal,
Through me the Peris their bright home reveal.6

This introduces scene nine, the transformation scene called "The Peri's Paradise, with the gates ajar." This was followed by the Harlequinade.

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6 Ibid., p. 52.
Dance

This section discusses each mention of a dance which occurs in the representative scripts just examined. The locations of the dances are noted and, where possible, their purposes are defined.

The contribution of the dance to the pantomime of 1863, Sinbad the Sailor was minor if indications in the script are to be considered as the sole indicator of the dance activity. A total of only three dances are described; however, it must be remembered that each of these was a full stage number. It is possible that there were other dances formed by individuals, but they are not indicated by the script.

The first dance occurs at the opening of scene one when twelve mummies perform a presumably eccentric dance to welcome King Cheops. Scene two contains the customary ballet by the Peris although it apparently has nothing to do with the plot. Young England has asked to see the delights of the Arabian Nights and has been told that he will see the story of Sinbad. The ballet follows immediately. The final dance in this production occurs in scene seven and is labeled a "Pygmy Revel." Although not described by the script, it is obvious from the description of the set that this was a lavish number featuring hordes of pygmies played by small children.
Dancing played a larger part in the 1869 pantomime, *Beauty and the Beast*, because members of the Vokes family—all of whom were renowned as dancers—played all of the principal roles. As a result, five of the eight scenes in this production ended with either a large dance number or the notation that all the characters would "dance off."

The second scene ended with the traditional Grand Ballet performed by Peris, as previously discussed. The next large dance number occurs in scene five, which opens with a Grand Persian Ballet by the *corps de ballet*; the Ballet included the "Bells" mazurka, clearly an interpolation, possibly a popular dance. Later in this scene, the Beast and the servant do what is labeled a "comic shadow dance," but no further description is available. No justification for the dance is given by the script; it is simply listed as following the Beast's song about marriage. This is apparently an early indication of the intrusion of what was probably a standard music hall number.

The Beast has a solo dance number in scene eight. This time he does a collapsing dance which ends with the Beast on the ground. Unlike the comic shadow dance, this number is clearly motivated by the plot since his collapse is caused by his pining for Beauty. (As previously mentioned, the Beast was played by Fred Vokes,
the leading figure of the family and its best dancer.) Upon arising from the ground as the Prince, he performs a "dance of exultation" with Beauty. A total of seven dances are called for in this script.

Aladdin in 1874 is another script tailored for the Vokes family. Scene one, set in a street in Canton, features a Chinese song and dance number by an unspecified member, or members, of the cast. The routine was probably intended primarily for local color and atmosphere. The second scene contains a dance duet by Aladdin and the wicked Abanazar just before they descend into the cave of lamp. The dance follows a song in which they anticipate the joys of owning the lamp. This dance, in some way, dealt with their anticipation of having the use of the lamp. The Ballet of Gems occurs in the third scene, and is danced by eight dancers representing different jewels. The Genius of the Ring has appeared to show Aladdin the way home through the Garden of the Jewels, but before he departs, the hero watches the ballet. This was obviously the largest production number in the show and its use was a total departure from the traditional fairy tale. The final two dances, again featuring Abanazar and Aladdin, occur in scene six. The first is caused when Aladdin poisons Abanazar which sends him into a wild dance ending with his collapse. This number clearly gave Fred okes, who played Abanazar, a showcase for his talents. The
final dance of the Opening occurs at the end of the scene, when Abanazar revives and dances off with Aladdin.

_Harlequin and the Forty Thieves_, 1876, also a script written for the Vokes family, contains two dance notations in the opening scene. The first is an introductory number by the forty thieves who emerge from the crowd in the Market Place at Bagdad and go into their expository routine. The second dance is the familiar Vokes family dance-off at the end of the scene. Scene two contains the traditional Ballet of the Feris which, as usual, contributes little to the plot. Scene three contains another dance-off which includes the major characters and the donkey. The next notation occurs at the end of scene four: Cassim has been sliced into two halves by the thieves, and the major characters do a song and dance number about sewing him back together. The final number in the script is in scene seven, a full stage ballet featuring the chorus and Morgiana, the climax of which is her discovery of the Captain of the thieves disguised as a merchant. The general reconciliation occurs shortly after this moment, and the pantomime is ready for the Harlequinade.

As the dance notations discussed above indicate, the dances in the pantomimes of this period seldom contributed to the plot advancement, but they were colorful
and spectacular. Constant use was made of exotic subjects in the dances—fairies, mummies, foreign cultures, etc. It is entirely possible that many of the songs were accompanied by dances which were not noted in the script. Therefore, the true extent of the involvement of dance in these pantomimes is difficult to determine.

One element is obvious from the scripts and that is that the Vokes family used the pantomime structure to exhibit and exploit their family talents. The family members played all of the major roles in the pantomimes so they would take part in all of the dances. Even the ballet numbers frequently feature a "Miss Vokes" as the principal dancer with the corps de ballet. Fred Vokes, the head of the family, usually played one of the leads and was allowed to have one or two solo numbers in each pantomime. When a dance proved popular, he repeated it in later pantomimes. For example, he played the Beast in 1869 and did a "collapsing" dance in scene eight which reappeared in 1874 in scene six when he played the evil Abanazar.

Although they are not, strictly speaking, dance numbers, processions do involve choreographed movement so some mention of them is appropriate at this time. This is particularly true because Augustus Harris made such
great use of them in his pantomimes that it is helpful to note their use in the years immediately before him.

Processions did not assume a great level of importance in the pantomimes during the years 1860-1878. As had been indicated in the discussion of the plot developments, the processions, when they were used, were as logical a development of the storyline as anything else in the pantomime. Only two occur in the representative scripts. The Grand Oriental Procession March, which opens scene three of the 1869 Beauty and the Beast, portrays the caravan preparing to depart and carry Beauty's father on his adventure. In Aladdin, 1874, scene five opens with a grand procession of Aladdin's retinue which establishes that the command given to the Genius of the Lamp at the conclusion of the previous scene had been carried out. This rather infrequent use of the processional scene was to change greatly under Augustus Harris.

Music

From the evidence in the scripts, there does not appear to have been a great deal of original music composed for the pantomimes of the 1860-1878 period. The audiences like to sing along during the overture to the familiar tunes of the day. In the course of the script, new words would be substituted for "airs" which would
have been known to the audiences. Some original music was used with the occasional songs in the script, but the audience could have followed the words more easily if the tunes were familiar.

A note should be included as to the method used in counting the number of songs in the pantomimes studied. Since any shift in thought within the lyrics was usually given a different melody, this was counted as being a new song when it occurred. Thus, the number of songs referred to below indicates the number of different melodies used.

Looking at the example scripts as they relate to the music reveals relatively little. *Sinbad the Sailor*, 1863, mentions only three songs. The first occurs in scene one when the Vocal Memmon sings a challenge to Young England to answer three riddles before he sets forth on his quest. The second song accompanies the ballet in scene two, with the third one being used to reveal facts about the status of the main characters, needed exposition before the action begins.

*Beauty and the Beast*, 1869, shows an increase in musical activity with the script calling for thirteen songs, at least one being used in each scene except scene four. The songs are fairly well integrated into the storyline. Both of Mother Bunch's songs in scene one convey the message of the scene, with the first telling of the value of the old fairy tales, while the second
comments that folks value custom more than they seem. Although the songs are fairly well integrated into this scene, the scene itself has nothing to do with the tale of Beauty and the Beast.

The Beast's song in scene five reveals a common attitude toward marriage and women in general that re-occurs frequently in pantomime, to wit: "I'm not so very handsome, but you well may understand, I'm rich enough to marry any lady in the land." Scene six contains three songs which advance the plot. Ali tells of his adventures, Peri sings of her desire to accompany Beauty; and one of the older sisters sings of her intention to dismiss Peri as an unworthy servant. Scene seven has Ali appearing in a vision and singing advice to Beauty which amounts to "always do the right thing."
The next song is in the following scene and comes during the Beast's collapsing dance number which illustrates the "pining away" of the Beast. Beauty arrives and the Beast, now a Prince, joins her in a duet and dance of exultation.

The 1874 Aladdin and the 1876 Forty Thieves each contain sixteen songs. In order to avoid needless repetition, it is sufficient to state that the use of the

7E. L. Blanchard, Beauty and the Beast, 1869, p. 22.
songs in these two remaining representative scripts has already been noted and their use specified above. The examples mentioned immediately above are sufficiently illustrative of the typical use.

Characterization

The characters in British pantomime are seldom presented as realistic people. The audiences came to see familiar types going through the traditional plots and adhering to their assigned "stock" functions. The audience wanted to be able to spot the hero and the villain easily and not have to worry that the characters are going to reverse themselves, except for the inevitable reversal by the villain in the final scene. In this wrapping-up of the plot, the evil characters were frequently converted to the side of the good, or they were pardoned by the controlling powers of goodness on condition that they never do evil again.

The pantomimes made use of the stock characters of the fairy tales, and each production had its hero, heroine, villain, comic old people, supernatural being(s), and servants. Some characters combined these roles, such as Morgiana in _The Forty Thieves_, 1876, being both a servant and the heroine. The comic old people were usually only "older" in relation to the hero and heroine, as is the
case with Beauty's two sisters in Beauty and the Beast.

Comic animals played by actors were popular in the pantomimes. For example, Peter Wilkins, 1860, had a whistling oyster; The House that Jack Built, 1861, featured a dog, a cat, and a goose; Number Nin, 1866, used a group of Centaur Cavalry, but they were probably not intended as humorous figures. Donkeys were relatively common, as were dogs and cats; The White Cat, 1877, featured one scene which teemed with cat cooks preparing a dinner.

The following comments on the characters of the representative scripts should indicate the general approach to characterizations taken by Blanchard during these years. Since the characters were generally stock creations--those in use for many years and in very familiar fairy tales--the various types do not fluctuate a great deal in the enactment of their roles.

The main characters in Sinbad the Sailor, 1863, are introduced in scene three where Merchant Ali reveals that he is the villain through his first song. While bragging of his greed, he relates the prior history of Sinbad, who was rich but is now poor. To compound his wickedness, Ali refuses Sinbad a job even when the sailor is reduced to selling melons on the dock. By the end of the scene, both characters have been clearly revealed
by their actions—the evil Ali has oppressed the honest and good Sinbad.

In the Indian King and his daughter, the pantomime has its comic old person and its heroine. The quirks of the king include refusing to hear any bad news, dispensing justice by arresting Ali and then, confiscating Sinbad's trade goods as payment for the arrest. Like any true heroine, the Princess falls in love with Sinbad on first sight. She also remains true to form by refusing to marry her father's choice of a marriage partner. Another comic old person is present in the character of the Little Old Man of the Sea, who was played by a seven year old boy. In his, one big scene, the Old Man becomes drunk and does a comic staggering routine before passing out. The deus ex machina is provided by The Bright Fairy of the Diamond, a creature who appears for the first and last time in the pantomime, solely to rescue Sinbad from the Pygmies.

The first scene of Beauty and the Beast, 1869, features a character, Mother Bunch, who does not appear again in this pantomime. She is a lovable, grandmother-type who reveres custom while not rejecting the improvements of the modern age. She calls forth representatives of the customs which are being ignored as well as allegorical figures representing modern improvements such
as the telegraph, the Suez Canal, and the Bridge Tunnel. Consistency is seldom a feature of pantomime characters if it would interfere with a message that the author wishes to convey.

The character of Beauty is long-suffering, lovable, virtuous, and of course, beautiful. As with all pantomime heroines, the role requires that she be able to sing and dance as well as act. Beauty's companion in this pantomime is also the supernatural being in this script, a Peri who assumes human form to atone for her prideful conduct. She plays a servant to the sisters, but is a serious character rather than a comic servant. In the final scene she reverts to her true form and brings on the transformation scene.

The villain and the hero are combined in the pantomime in the character of Prince Azor, the Beast, who while in the Beast's form, actually does not commit any evil deed, but is certainly frightening. This production omits two parts of the fairy tale which are used in the later version produced by Harris in 1890. Both of the deletions would have added to the dimensions of both Beauty's and the Beast's characters. The first is a complete absence of any reason for his enchantment, and the second is the lack of contact with Beauty before he is shown as "pinning away" for her. Scene seven has
Beauty on her way to meet him for the first time, and scene eight finds him dying. The more traditional version of the tale has them getting to know each other before she leaves for a visit to her home. Her delay in returning causes the near-fatal illness in the traditional fairy tale.

The comic old people are represented by Beauty's two older sisters and her father, Ali. The sisters are cruel to Beauty and the Peri while the father is away on business and they express their selfishness by asking for expensive presents just after the father has told them of his poverty. The father is a comic figure, but not a grotesque, slap-stick-comedy type. His tenderness, warmth, and fatherly concerns are shown in the songs he sings: "It's Nice to Be a Father" and "Act on the Square."

Aladdin, 1874 has the villain Abanazar introduce himself by song in the first scene and brag of his wickedness—a common practice of pantomime villains. The hero is slightly different from the usual stereotype in that Aladdin also introduces himself through a song, but he reveals that he is lazy. In another song later in the scene, Aladdin and his mother are shown to really be the standard "pure-at-heart" characters. Aladdin's one fault serves as a plot device to enable Abanazar to find a lad who is satisfied with his station in life—the condition
which will allow the lad to enter the cave and obtain the lamp.

The character of the servant, Kazrac, was played by a comic dancer who never spoke. He starts out as the servant to the villain, but is cast into the cave to die with Aladdin; which enables the author to shift Kazrac's loyalties to the side of goodness and make him a sympathetic character.

The other characters are fairly standard. The Emperor agrees to a marriage only after seeing the jewels given to him by Aladdin. The Princess is the love object for Aladdin, with her only independent action being to lose the valuable lamp. Aladdin's mother is a good soul, except for her spendthrift ways, and the fairy element is present in the Genius of the Ring, and the Genius of the Lamp, who are constantly providing escapes and luxury for Aladdin. Another spirit appears at the end of the opening segment. This is Kohinoor, the Diamond who sings a song comparing a woman's love to a precious diamond. No explanation is given for this character, but the Kohinoor diamond is a 108 carat stone in the crown of Queen Victoria, a fact which would have been familiar to many Englishmen.

All of the main characters in The Forty Thieves, 1876, appear in scene one and their relationships are explained as has been cited in the plot description.
The hero role is shared somewhat by Ali Baba and his son, Ganem, who falls in love with the servant/heroine, Morgiana. Ali Baba's brother, Cassim, and his wife, Cogia Baba, are rather unpleasant comic characters, but the real villains are the Captain and the Lieutenant of the band of thieves. Of course, everyone is converted to the side of good in the final scene.

Morgiana is the most interesting character, and the one who has most of the plot action. She is given a special, instant, "finishing education" by the Peris which allows her constantly to outwit the thieves, and which also enables her to sing operatic music, a nice twist to justify a solo number by the actress/singer. She discovers the thieves in the jars; kills them with the boiling oil; dances the lead in the major ballet; and recognize the last of the thieves, thus bringing the action to an end.

There is also a comic donkey named Mokanna who "does tricks," and occasionally joins the human characters in the dance numbers. The principal Peri, Eureka, brings on the characters of Truth and Fortitude as she recites the moral of the tale which is her only function in this pantomime. Unlike several of the pantomimes, the Peris in this script merely comment of the tale without taking part.
Style

The principal thing to remember in studying the scripts of any pantomime is that they were written to be performed, not read. They do not make very interesting reading. The sentiments are exaggerated and the characters are two-dimensional vehicles used to carry the scenes from one spectacle to the next.

All of the pantomimes are written largely, but not entirely, in simple verse, with the predominant rhyme scheme being AA, BB, CC, etc. The following excerpt, which is taken from the first scene of the 1863 Sinbad the Sailor, gives a rather typical example of the erratic verse pattern and the level of humor which was a hit with the audiences of the time. The Vocal Memmon has forbidden Young England from pursuing the source of the Nile until he answers some riddles.

Memmon: Why cannot you at dinner ever be?
England: Why? Because U cannot come till after T.

Memmon: . . . of that place name the latitude,
Where even bricks and mortar show their gratitude?

England: The place is London-Christmas come again,
You'll find a great full house at Drury Lane. 8

This first scene also illustrates another typical pantomime feature, that of an allegorical scene serving

8E. L. Blanchard, Harlequin Sinbad the Sailor, 1863, p. 8.
as an introduction to the fairy tale. The nationalistic feelings of the audience are played upon by having a representation of Young England defeating the spirits arrayed against him and continuing his quest for the source of the Nile.

E. L. Blanchard was fond of giving his audiences a moral lesson while they viewed the fun. In the second scene of the pantomime just mentioned Young England opens the scene by declaring,

'Patience and Perseverance! with these two,
It's wonderful what work we can get through.,' 9

Blanchard was not above personifying such virtues for the benefit of his audiences. In The Forty Thieves, 1876, he has Truth and Fortitude appear in scene two to help the fairy queen devise a plan which enables Ali to find the entrance to the cave of the thieves. It is interesting to note that these two characters do not appear again until the end of the Opening when they walk back on stage, but they do not have any lines. They are there merely to lend their presence to the lesson being proclaimed by Eureka, "Naught can contend with Fortitude and Truth." 10

9Ibid.

Most of the comedy of these early scripts relied on the performers. It was not supplied to a great extent by the author. There were numerous puns and word plays, but the humor was of a rather pedestrian level. The scripts included scenes which gave certain performers a chance to perform their specialty. For example, The Old Man of the Sea in scene six of the 1863 Sinbad the Sailor, has direction from the author to become drunk while sitting on Sinbad's shoulders, fall and pass out. The actor who played the part was a seven year old boy who specialized in drunken old men. The reviews made a point of mentioning how funny the boy was as he rolled and staggered about the stage before collapsing full length on the floor. It is obvious that he expanded the part as written. In the 1876 Forty Thieves, the donkey was brought on and told by the script to do tricks. Reviewers reported him as a highpoint of the show.

The pantomimes made frequent use of topical humor by injecting references into speeches and songs of current scandals or political misdeeds. Most of the references make little sense to a modern reader because of this highly topical nature. Closely akin to topical humor is the frequent use of incongruous items or references by the characters in the fairy tales.
Harlequinade

The Harlequinade reached its peak of popularity before the midpoint of the nineteenth century. From the death of the greatest of all pantomime clowns, Grimaldi, in 1837, the Harlequinade began a slow decline which reached the bottom in 1890 when Augustus Harris left out the Harlequinade completely. Although it was included in subsequent pantomimes, it never regained its place of popularity. The decline of this portion of the pantomime has been attributed partially to the lack of successors to Grimaldi, and partially to the public's growing desire for increased spectacle. William Beverley has been given credit for starting the trend toward increased spectacle in the transformation scene. Writing in his memoirs, Planché dates this event during his collaboration with the famous painter at the Lyceum theatre, citing *The Island of Jewels*, which opened December 26, 1849, as the first use of the spectacular transformation scene.11

Some judgments as to the popularity of the Harlequinade may be made by observing the length of this portion of the pantomime. In his study of the eighteenth century pantomime, Miesle puts the number of scenes in

the Harlequinade at eighteen to twenty between the years of 1780 to 1808. The next fifty years saw the career of Grimaldi and his immediate successors come and go, so that by the sixth and seventh decades of the nineteenth century, the average number of scenes in the Harlequinade had been reduced to four point six per pantomime (based on the pre-Harris scripts used for this study). When the scripts being used for the study of the Augustus Harris type of pantomime are tallied, the average number of scenes falls to two.

It is interesting to note the distribution of the locations for the scenes of the Harlequinades. While examining the scripts for this study, four categories of scene locations were used: realistic interior, realistic exterior, fantasy interior, and fantasy exterior. The fantasy locations are defined as anything which is set in a place that does not exist. (Religious and philosophical viewpoints were not considered applicable.) The realistic settings were locations which either exist or could exist in the ordinary physical world. The majority of the scenes in the Harlequinades before the time of Harris were set in realistic exteriors. Of the total of fifty-six scenes from twelve pantomimes, thirty-

eight were realistic exteriors, fourteen were realistic interiors, and only four were in fantasy locations (one interior, three exteriors).

The traditional figures in the Harlequinades are Harlequin, Columbine, Clown and Pantaloon. With a minimum of support from additional characters, they carried the fun and fooling until the 1850's. By 1859, in Jack and the Beanstalk, E. L. Blanchard was using a double cast in the Harlequinade—two actors playing each role. In some scenes both casts would be on stage at once, but the usual method was to have the casts alternate with the scenes. The rationale for this doubling of the size of the cast was usually given as being required by the strenuousness of the actions in the Harlequinade.

The use of the double cast continued throughout the sixties and seventies until abandoned by Harris in his third pantomime (Robinson Crusoe, 1881). Occasionally the double cast was assisted by additional characters invented by the author. In Peter Wilkins, 1860, a small child was added to play a little clown with an assist from four sprites, who also appeared in the Harlequinades of 1861 (The House that Jack Built), and 1867 (Jack the Giant Killer). An extra Columbine was added for two years—1862 (Little Goody Two Shoes), 1863 (Sinbad the
Sailor). The 1867 Harlequinade featured a triple cast plus the aforementioned extra sprites, but in the following year, the size was restored to the normal double cast. A Harlequina joined the double cast in 1869 (Beauty and the Beast) and in 1870 (The Dragon of Wantley). This extra character became "Harlequin à la Watteau" in 1873 (Jack in the Box), 1874 (Whittington and His Cat), and 1876 (The Forty Thieves). The 1876 Harlequinade also added an old man, and old woman, and a policeman.

The content of the Harlequinades almost defies description. The titles of the various scenes which make up this portion of the pantomime reveal no pattern or apparent connection. A few listings from the scripts will illustrate this point.

1860 sc 1 Exterior of a green grocers. A printing office and a public tavern.
sc 2 A nursery ground and school
sc 3 Farm House and Sporting country
sc 4 Early morning and early closing
Misty View [a type of final scenic display] 13

1864 sc 1 Merchants office, Police Station and Cheesemonger's featuring a dance—
Pas A la Ferea Nena
sc 2 Pantaloons' Retreat
sc 3 National school and cab stand near London including an Animated Alphabet by the corps de ballet
sc 4 A windmill near Windsor with a one legged dance and Pas de Nations. Patent Bread and Bisquet Bakery Fairy's Hall of Splendour. 14

13 E. L. Blanchard, Peter Wilkins, p. 21.
1866 sc 1 Old Street by Day and Night
   sc 2 New Street by Day and Night (in this scene—a Grand Character Pas de Deux)
   sc 3 A Fancy Fair and Forester's Fete—a Dance of Dolls by the Ladies of the Ballet
   sc 4 The Emporium—Bird's Stone and Marble Gallery—dance. Scene ends with Our National Gallery as it will not be in 1966. ¹⁵

1874 sc 1 Railway station
   sc 2 Ramsgate Sands—Heinrich Schmidt and his beautiful children in their elegant Icarian games.
   sc 3 Temple Bar with the Lord Mayor's Show Illustrated by 400 children
   sc 4 Post Office, Milliners and Drapers—entertainment by Messrs. Hector and Faust.
   sc 5 Exterior of a fancy toy warehouse. ¹⁶

The producers felt free to include in this portion of the pantomime anything which they thought the audience would enjoy. No attempt was made to tell any story or maintain a semblance of order beyond the most general framework of the adventures of the cast. At times even this pretense was dropped, leading The Times to comment in 1868, "The Harlequinade at Drury Lane consists chiefly of exhibitions in which Harlequin had no part." ¹⁷

¹⁵E. L. Blanchard, Number Nin, pp. 33-34.


¹⁷The Times (London), December 28, 1868, p. 7.
Harris Scripts 1879-1895

Sir Augustus Harris altered the form of the pantomime chiefly by increasing the size and scope of everything connected with them except the Harlequinade. Although he was not the first producer to use music hall entertainers in the casts of his pantomimes, he expanded the practice to such an extent that their use became the standard method of producing pantomime. This inclusion of music hall performers increased the use of songs and dances--many of which were brought to the pantomime by the performer, having been part of his act. The length of the pantomime was increased by Harris because of his belief in giving the public the best show in London. To him, the best was defined partly as the biggest, the most lavish and the most expensive.

Seven scripts have been obtained from the Harris years at Drury Lane. As these scripts are scattered throughout his career, it is possible to gain a fairly accurate overall picture of his type of pantomime. Scripts are available from the years 1882, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1890, 1893, and 1894.

As has been mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the average length of the pantomime under Harris can be shown to have increased to an average of twelve point nine scenes per pantomime, as compared to seven point five
for the earlier period. The average number of songs jumped to thirty-seven from ten, while the dances increased to ten from a low of five in the 1860's. These average figures were computed from the seven scripts available and not just from the four scripts used in the comparison studies of this chapter. The figures are reflective of the printed versions of the Openings, and do not include the Harlequinades. It is not possible to obtain such information from the printed versions of the Harlequinades since the format varied throughout the period.

A study of the locations for each scene has been made for the seven Harris scripts. Five categories were established: realistic interiors, realistic exteriors, fantasy interiors, fantasy exteriors, and naval scenes. The same definitions for "fantasy" and "realistic" were used that were defined in the previous section on Harlequinades.

The Openings contained a total of ninety scenes with their locations distributed in the following manner. Twenty-eight settings were placed in the fantasy exterior category, twenty fell under the heading of realistic exteriors, and eighteen locations were considered fantasy interiors. Of the remaining two groupings, the naval category had thirteen scenes and the realistic interiors
received eleven scenes. The most favored location for a pantomime scene under Harris was a fantasy exterior, followed by a realistic exterior. The exterior setting obviously offered the designers and stage managers more possibilities for creating spectacular environments. When the two exterior categories are combined, it is apparent that over half of all the scenes in the Openings took place outdoors (forty-eight out of ninety). The combined interior categories total only twenty-nine out of ninety.

The naval categories revealed a curious fact. Out of a total of ninety scenes produced by Augustus Harris, thirteen took place in nautical locations. By contrast, in all of the thirteen pre-Harris scripts studied, only three scenes out of ninety-eight took place in a setting which could be classified as naval. In 1860 (Peter Wilkins) one scene took place on a ship, and one was located on an island. In 1864 (Sinbad the Sailor) one scene was set at dockside.

Augustus Harris's most remembered contribution to the pantomime was his extensive use of the procession. He used this device to expand the spectacle of each pantomime from 1881 through his final production in 1895. The procession was seldom concerned with the plot of the Opening and usually formed a complete break in the action.
Since the spectacle was more important than the story in all of Harris's pantomimes, this interruption was not resented by the majority of the audience. By analyzing the reviews and scripts from the seventeen years of the Harris era, it was found that at least twenty-four processions were staged during the last fifteen years. The first mention in The Times of a procession during a Harris production occurs in the review of Robinson Crusoe on December 27, 1881 when a procession of the companies [trades] of the City of London took place. No processional scene is mentioned in the reviews of Cinderella, 1895, except for William Archer's comment that the Grand Transformation Scene was "not a transformation scene at all, but a procession and ballet."18

In addition to the use of processions, Harris enlarged the spectacle of the pantomimes by increasing the use and the scope of the ballet numbers. With an average of ten dances per pantomime documented by the scripts on hand, it is reasonable to assume that this average represents the common practice throughout the seventeen year span. Contemporary reviews mention noteworthy dance numbers in every year. The extent of the spectacle will be discussed in the following chapter.

Harris did not change the types of characters who people the pantomimes when he took over. The characters remained as two-dimensional as before, and performed essentially the same functions described in the discussion of the Pre-Harris scripts. One noticeable change in casting caused a shift in the method of playing these characters. Harris increased the use of music hall comedians in the principle roles, which meant that men began to play the old women's roles. The humor tended to become more coarse and the use of slapstick increased. Girls had been used in male roles during the sixties and seventies, but usually only playing the hero. During Harris' time, girls were introduced into almost all of the roles.

Some conception of this growth can be obtained from a look at the cast breakdown of several years. In 1860, the script lists fifty-six men and eight women in roles. By 1867, the balance was sixty-one men and thirty-two women. The first script for a Harris pantomime, 1882, shows fourteen men and ten women as having roles. The last script, 1894, shows almost a complete reversal from 1860—ten men and fifty-three women. None of these figures include groups of performers such as the corps de ballet, the children, the supers, or the specialty groups like the acrobats and the aerialists.
Use of rhymed speech continued throughout the Harris productions as it had in other years. Also unchanged was the practice of including incongruous elements and topical allusions. Satire and burlesque continued to be used, but with the shift toward greater emphasis on spectacle, these elements were somewhat downgraded. They may have had greater use than is evident in the scripts because much of the material used by the comedians was improvised and not recorded in the scripts.

Structure

Before beginning this section of detailed descriptions of the representative scripts from Augustus Harris's management, it is necessary to remind the reader again of the need for such lengthy particulars. This chapter is concerned with the printed instructions from the author to the artists; in other words, the script itself and what it contains. By looking at the scene-by-scene descriptions, it is possible to see just where Harris expanded and increased the pantomimes. It is regrettable that it does not make very interesting reading, but it is needed in order to document this increase in the use of spectacle.
Sinbad the Sailor - 1882

As the overture ends, "Mid Thunder and Lightning," an invisible chorus is heard reciting a poem which ends with this final verse:

As a friend of Gus Harris I mean to remain,
So drop in and see me at Old Drury Lane,
And in glitter and glory I'll tell you again
The story of Sinbad the Sailor.19

At this point the curtain becomes transparent and the abode of the Old Man of the Sea is revealed. He is in love with the Rose Queen, but the Spirit of Love tells him that the Diamond Prince is to marry the Rose Queen. To show his displeasure, the Old Man vows to make Sinbad untrue to his beloved. What Sinbad has to do with either the Rose Queen or the Diamond Prince is not explained by the script. The Spirit of Love maintains that Sinbad will be true and the scene ends with "Mutual Defiance," apparently a tableau. The 1863 version had begun also with a scene featuring allegorical figures and spirits, but here their use is tied directly to the plot instead of being a jingoistic appeal. Both versions, however, opened on a scene of spectacle.

Scene two, set in the courtyard of Kybosh Pasha, introduces the characters and is filled with songs and plot elements. The comic servant, Ali, is married to the

cook, another comedian, and they provide a slapstick quarrel as Ali prepares to go to sea with Sinbad. The Kybosh's niece--Fatinitza--is Sinbad's love interest, in defiance of her uncle. Sinbad sings an introduction of Captain Tralala who is to guard Fatinitza while the sailor is away, and of Fatinitza's sister--Zaidee--who is introduced to Captain. Everyone then sings, "One Kiss More." Sinbad and Ali dance off as an attorney enters and sings, "I'm Sorry to Disturb You." At this point, all of the explanation is finally out of the way and the action can begin. Everything, the lawyer sings, must be sold at auction because the Kybosh is bankrupt. His house goods, and daughters are inventoried, via song, and the scene ends with a "General Breakdown" (a dance involving the entire group on stage).

In the 1863 version, the villain was named Ali, but in 1882 this name is given to the comic servant. The latter version gets the plot started in the second scene and it is much more complicated, involving many more characters. This involved plotting is used throughout Harris' pantomimes to enable him to include more spectacle and to provide him with opportunity for more specialty acts.
Scene three is set in a Slave Market and Sea Fort with the girls and Kybosh being auctioned off to Kabob, the young Khedive and his tutor, Professor Hankipanki. After watching a "Persian Ballet," Kybosh does a comic auction, offering himself and his daughters for sale. Sinbad arrives in time singing "No You Don't," and there is a general fight scene after which Sinbad and his party go aboard a ship and sail off. The young Khedive, Kabob, is in the position of the villain, but he is treated as a likeable sort and not a serious threat.

Scene four is strictly for spectacular effects as there are no words listed in the scripts to be spoken, only a description of the action. Fatinitza sings (no words given) on the deck of the ship at sea, after which there is business with a Poodle which is not described. A sea fight takes place, which Khedive Kabob wins and carries off the girls. Alexandria is seen being bombarded in the background while Sinbad and his group first ride the back of a whale and then swim to land.

The next scene is also intended primarily for scenic effect. Sinbad has landed on a fairy island and the Bridal Bower is shown in preparation for the wedding of the Rose Queen and the Diamond Prince, thus linking the supernatural elements with the fairy tale elements. The Old Man of the Sea kidnaps the Diamond Prince, and
Sinbad, assisted by fairies, is sent in pursuit. A flight of cupids is shown crossing the stage as the scene ends.

Scene six shows an interesting plot twist. The young Kabob returns home with his prizes: the poodle, the girls--Fatinitza and Zaidee--and the modern items acquired on his world cruise. These items include: Moet's Champagne, Ridge's Food, Sangster's Umbrellas, Samuel Bros. Clothes, and Kaye's Worsdell Pills. The use of these brand names illustrates the device of introducing incongruous elements into the pantomime. Showing no interest in these modern items, Kabob's father takes the girls away for himself, which angers Kabob and he leaves to find Sinbad.

The next scene, set in the Interior of the Seraglio, opens with a chorus of the Khedive's wives performing while Fatinitza mourns for Sinbad. This is followed by the Khedive's children who perform a dance before everyone goes to bed. Sinbad, the Captain and Ali enter, and are reunited with the girls; they sing a chorus "on tip-toe" as they leave. Kabob and the tutor appear to watch Sinbad's exit. The scene ends with the father's comic business showing frustration over the loss of the girls.

In scene eight, The Old Man of the Sea and his attendants are discovered dancing with joy because the Diamond Prince has decorated their valley with diamonds.
Ali and the cook enter to sing a topical duet, but no words are given in the script. The Old Man jumps onto the cook's neck and stays until Sinbad gives him enough to drink. The Old Man is vanquished and as a reward, the Diamond Prince gives Sinbad all the diamonds, but to carry them out, they must tie themselves to the giant Roc who comes to feed on meat tossed by the merchants. The scene ends with Sinbad being lifted by the bird.

This scene is almost a jumble of several incidents from the traditional fairy tale, such as the Old Man of the Sea's drunkenness, the use of the Roc to carry Sinbad even though it is no longer justified by this plot, and the detail of the tossed meat. It is interesting to note that the incidents which were retained are those which allow for spectacular events.

Scene nine is used to introduce the procession. The tutor and Kabob are seen pursuing Sinbad in a balloon, when the Diamond Prince appears on a cloud and tells them that they are in vain as Sinbad is a favorite in London. This clearly has no deterrent effect, but it does serve to introduce the procession:

Young Khedive: And where is London?
Hankipanki: Really never heard of it!
Diamond Prince: Then be instructed as view appears Of England's history through a thousand years.\(^\text{20}\)

\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 32.
Scene ten is the procession of all the Kings and Queens of England from William the Conquerer to Victoria. The next three scenes are obviously only additional spectacles. Scene eleven is a fairy landscape showing the Rose Queen and the Diamond Prince reunited. Scene twelve (which was cut from the performance, but was printed in the Book of Words) shows a giant and giantess at dinner. They cut a pie containing Sinbad and the other characters; the giant was to have been fifty feet high. Scene thirteen is listed in the script as "The Newest of the New Law Courts, The Trial." No other notation is included.

The final scene offered every principal in the cast a chance to do a solo number and was a final opportunity for Harris to give the audience something extra for their money. The Rose Queen and the Diamond Prince announce the end of the show, but Sinbad refuses.

Sinbad: Sinbad would learn in what his friends excelled.
Let each one here his special powers revealing,
Please people who excel in generous feeling.
(Various Accomplishments Exhibited)21

The transformation scene followed and was labeled, "Christmas." This was followed in turn by the Harlequinade.

21 Ibid., p. 35.
Aladdin 1885

The difficulty in analyzing the humor of the pantomimes is partially explained by this not untypical note found in the script.

Note: This libretto is subject to alteration from time to time for the introduction of topical allusions.22

Scene one featured the famous comedian, Herbert Campbell, as Abanazar, therefore assuring that the character would be more comical than the earlier version. In the 1885 version Abanazar is a magician awaiting midnight when the stars will reveal the location of the magic lamp. Unfortunately, he is being visited by the Emperor and the Prime Minister who persist in staying. There is much comic business with false starts at leaving as well as with the Emperor's dog, played by two men. Everyone finally leaves, and Abanazar throws into his caldron such disparate items as: votes for the London schoolboard, a photograph of Jumbo, campaign promises of the Liberals, Tories, Radicals, and Whigs. Out pops Kazrac, the Spirit of the Ring, who like the 1874 comic servant with the same name, is played as a mute who mimes all of his actions. Kazrac reveals that the Lamp can only be obtained by a boy who is contented with his lot in life. Abanazar uses the Ring to go in search of this boy.

22Note placed in script just before scene 1, E. L. Blanchard, Aladdin, 1885.
The next scene is filled with the incongruities which were favorites with the pantomime audiences. It is set in the City of Pekin's Marketplace, and opens with the Emperor's guards clearing a mob from the square. Abanazar flirts with a maid named Chee Kee (there was a frequent use of comic names to reveal character) before meeting Aladdin's mother, Twankay, who mistakes him for a bill collector. The Widow Twankay (played by another famous comedian Harry Nicholls) frequently uses modern references in her speech.

The gas account! He's come to cut it off. These rates and taxes keep for ever growing. I clean forgot last quarter's water owing.23

Abanazar introduces himself as her husband's long-lost rich brother. As in the earlier version he is accepted because of his wealth, and he offers to show Aladdin the sights around town (Pekin) such as the Natural History exhibition and Cleopatra's needle.

Additional spectacle is introduced when a proclamation is read to the crowd announcing new methods of raising money: new tax on opium, gin and whisky, and the auctioning of the Princess. The cavalry clears the street, but the mob attacks the Princess's retinue and asks her to intercede with her father. The remainder of the scene is sung. She agrees to speak with her father, and Aladdin

23 E. L. Blanchard, Aladdin, 1885, p. 15.
protects her from the mob; not unexpectedly the Princess and Aladdin fall in love at first sight. To further complicate things, Abanazar is also in love with the Princess. The Emperor appears and the mob demands his resignation, but he refuses, providing a dramatic closing for the scene.

Scene three is set in the Gallery Leading to the Royal Baths. The Princess and Chee Kee argue over Aladdin in a quarrelling duet. Aladdin tries to see the Princess and is carried off by Abanazar and the Widow. A music hall-type routine is inserted at this point which has the Emperor doing a song and dance called "The Oriental Kasher," followed by a comic bit with the dog. It has broken off its tail and several characters try to stick it on before the dog joins in a quartette [sic] and dance as the scene ends.

Inside the Royal Baths Aladdin and the Princess sing a duet called, "Cupid's a Dodger." Numerous characters enter looking for Aladdin, and he is finally caught and arrested. The remainder of this scene is also sung. The Princess tries to intercede for Aladdin with her father, but to no avail. Abanazar rubs his ring; Kazrac appears and takes Aladdin and Abanazar through a rapid scene change to the Entrance to the Mystic Cave. This scene (number five) contains the same action as scene two of the 1874 version: Aladdin agrees to go into the
cave and get the lamp.

Scene six parallels scene three of the 1874 pantomime as Aladdin and Abanazar argue over the lamp and Aladdin is left to starve in the cave. At this point the versions differ as Aladdin dusts the old lamp and meets the Genius of the Lamp. As a way of introducing a procession, the Genius wants to show Aladdin all the fair women of the earth. Aladdin agrees to this, but he maintains that he will remain true to the Princess.

Scene seven is "A Dream of Fair Women," a procession which includes twenty-one famous women from history plus their retinues. The scene also contains a "Ballet of the Riches of the Earth" performed by the corps de ballet who are also on stage in addition to the members of the procession.

The following scene is another comic interlude with the Emperor, the Prime Minister, the Widow and Abanazar. After trying to steal the Widow's goods, the Emperor attempts to prevent a wedding between Aladdin and the Princess, but the Widow threatens a breach of promise suit,

We'll put the brokers in, take all You've got; for breach of promise now they give it hot.24

Aladdin enters through a trap and runs Abanazar off. The scene ends with the Widow asking to have her house redone.

24Ibid., p. 41.
The Genius agrees and scene nine shows the house "re-decorated," but there is no dialogue in the scene.

Scene ten is still another excuse for further spectacle. Aladdin had requested "three acres and a cow" for his mother, but the Genius had only one plot left--due to the elections being completed. The characters are taken to this sole remaining plot and it turns out to be "The Swamp of the Dismal Demon." It seems that the demon must be slain before the Genius can transform the plot into a pleasant place. Aladdin summons the Spirit of the Ring to fight the demon. A choreographed fight occurs, during which Abanazar tries to help the demon, but Aladdin banishes him and the demon is slain.

The Fertile Plains is the setting for scene eleven, which contains several examples of spectacular staging. Aladdin asks the Genius of the Lamp to build him a palace using British workmen since there are none better. The Widow comments "I read that line in some Election Bill." A large group of children, about ten years old, enter singing a working song. They proceed to build a palace, even taking a lunch break when their wives appear with lunch pails. The Emperor and his retinue appear and demand to see Aladdin's retinue. Of course, Aladdin's retinue takes the form of a procession, which convinces

\[25\text{Ibid., p. 47.}\]
the Emperor that the wedding is a good idea after all. Everyone enters the palace and clears the stage so that Abanazar can enter as a beggar and trade lamps with the Princess. For no particular reason, Abanazar stops before the exchange and sings a song, "Old Clo," for which no words are given. With the lamp in his grasp, Abanazar magically strikes everyone still and drags the Princess into the Palace, which ascends. The level of comic writing is seen by the following exchange between Aladdin and the Emperor.

Aladdin: My Palace gone! Can I believe such things?
Emperor: You shouldn't have built your palace with two wings.26

The Genius of the Ring appears, there is some unidentified comic business, and the scene changes.

The final scene before the transformation scene is a rather typical wrap-up ending for a Harris pantomime. It has at least eight songs and one dance number, and ends with a plea for applause and word-of-mouth publicity. The setting is listed as, "The Palace in Africa, with view of Egyptian Pyramids." It opens with a group of pages singing a love song. Abanazar tries to get the Princess to love him, but she refuses. He leaves to give her five minutes to think about it, but Aladdin appears to sing his plan. He will drug some wine which the Princess will then

26Ibid., p. 52.
give to Abanazar. She has trouble getting Abanazar to drink because he is a "Mussulman," but she finally prevails. He drinks and says,

What means this strange sensation? It is thrilling!
A thousand Music Halls at once I'm filling,
And singing in the very best society
Topical songs of every variety.
My throat is dry--more verses can't afford
When I am ten times at each hall encored,
And now I'm playing whist--turn up a club!
And lose a single-double and the rub. (falls)27

The cast goes into a big finale, dances a polka, and sings of Aladdin's wedding and subsequent married life. Another song asks, "O, tell us, can we call our Aladdin a hit?"28 After the audience is requested to tell their friends about the show, the Genius of Old Drury Lane enters to introduce the Harlequinade.

27 Ibid., p. 58.
28 Ibid., p. 59.
The opening scene of this pantomime states what was probably the real reasoning behind the selection of this subject for the 1886 production. The Arabian Knights are discovered reposing at ease in Paradise. Despite numerous dancing Houris (who perform a ballet), and several snappy songs, they are bored. Word comes from Augustus Druiolanus—Augustus Harris—(via a petty thief who took the wrong boat and arrived in Paradise) that following the success of Aladdin last year Druiolanus wants another Eastern story. They all agree to assist, ending the scene with a song of the joys of seeing London again.

The actual plot begins in scene two—the Bazaar—with all the characters being introduced and their backgrounds given. Ali Baba is married to Cogia (Cogia was Cassim's wife in the 1876 version); they have a son, Ganem, who is in love with Morgiana, Cassim's servant. However, the marriage is opposed by Cassim because Ali is poor. Ali and Cogia were played by male comedians, so several instances of slapstick are noted in the scene, but no details are given. In order to look good in the eyes of the people, Cassim ostentatiously presents a donkey to his brother. This magnanimous act covers Cassim's real hope that the donkey will kill Ali. The
last portion of the scene is a series of songs during which it is revealed that despite their wealth Cassim and his wife owe a great deal of money in the neighborhood. Ali leaves to cut wood in order to make some money; unlike the earlier version, Ali's traditional poverty is not explained.

Scene three opens in the forest with a section of comic business concerning the donkey, a big monkey, Ali, Ganem, and some small monkeys; unfortunately, the script does not indicate what the business was. Morgiana, who has left Cassim's employ, joins them with a supply of food. Ganem proposes to her and everyone present agrees that the marriage is a good idea. At this point the Forty Thieves are brought on for the first time with a big march which gives Ali's group time to hide. The thieves proceed to read the minutes from their last meeting. An agreement is made to have each thief recruit a band of his own in order to increase business. They store their loot and depart to their club. Ali and his group creep from hiding having overheard the password—"Open Sesame." They see the size of the treasure and decide to return tomorrow with a measure to calculate the amount of gold. This incident of the thieves splitting their group into segments in order to grow seems to be a beautiful satire on the current practices of the business trusts.
Scene four takes place sometime later in Ali's home. They have the gold and are starting to count it when Mrs. Cassim enters and discovers gold sticking to her measure. To keep Cassim from going to the police, Ali agrees to share with him. In a counterpointed duet Ali sings his distrust of Cassim while Cassim swears that he is trustworthy.

The next scene provides the excuse for another procession. Ali's group has returned to the cave for more gold, when the thieves are heard approaching. The procession is in the form of the Grand Processional Entry of the Thieves and their retinues with each of the forty having recruited ten or twelve others. Despite the lengthy and noisy entrance of the band, Cassim's greed keeps him in the cave too long and he is caught by the thieves. The ending is sung with Cassim begging for mercy, and the thieves saying that he must die.

Scene six serves primarily as plot advancement. Outside Cassim's home, we find Mrs. Cassim happy at the thought of being a widow. Ali enters and shows her one piece of Cassim at a time in order to break the news of her husband's death gently. Morgiana gets a tailor to sew the body together, but the thieves learn of it and associate her with the loss of their gold. They plan to gain access to Ali's house by hiding in oil jars. Fortunately, Morgiana overhears their plan.
The following scene is a satire of London club life in the West End. It takes place in the new club of the Forty Thieves and opens with a song, "Ain't You Glad You Didn't [choose the honest life]. The club is so complete they do not have to go out to the theatre; they have their own ballet company which obligingly (and unsurprisingly) ends the scene with a dance.

Scene eight returns to the plot with Cogia and Ali complaining that they are not happy being rich and singing a topical duet. Mrs. Cassim blackmails Ali into letting her stay with them for good, so she is put to work helping Cogia with the stray children which Cogia now collects. This "collection" offers an opportunity for a dance number by the children. Although it had nothing to do with the plot, this incident was an excuse for using the large group of children which was traditional in a Drury Lane pantomime. The scene ends as one of the thieves arrives and asks to store his oil overnight.

In the courtyard of Ali's palace there is a short scene showing the jars in place and the thieves in the jars. Ganem serenades Morgiana as she appears at a window—a la Juliette. Unlike the earlier version the actual pouring of the oil takes place offstage between scenes.
The final scene is inside the palace where one of the thieves flirts with Mrs. Cassim and they sing a duet. Ali and Cogia brag of their riches while inviting the Captain of the thieves for drinks. The script notes the entrance of the donkey and the Chief of Police at this point, but there is no further mention of them. During the course of a dance, Morgiana exposes the Captain of the thieves, but the usual general forgiveness takes place and Cassim and the thieves return to life. The scene ends with a "concerted piece," a full cast rendering of a song.

Following in the script is something called scene eleven, but it is actually a series of spectacular scenes that have nothing to do with the storyline just completed. It opens in a ruined Indian temple with a suttee about to take place; Civilization comes to the rescue, and the scene changes to the deck of a man-of-war where a group of children perform several national dances. Britannia then welcomes her colonies to celebrate Queen Victoria's jubilee in the Temple of Fame. A grand processional entry of Great Britain and her colonies follows, succeeded by a grand ballet. The grand ballet was followed in turn by the Harlequinade, to ensure something for everyone.
The opening scene of this pantomime is composed of three tableaux. In the first of these, a number of imps are discovered dancing around a caldron as Old Bogey declares that the King is too good, and must be prevented from doing further worthy acts. The second section, located in Old Bogey's Inferno, finds all his evil aides in conference when the Good Fairy and her assistants arrive to announce their intentions of stopping Old Bogey's plans. The final segment is set in the King of Diamonds' Regions where his forces also vow war on Old Bogey. The King of Diamonds is not to be confused with the earthly King who is the object of Old Bogey's evil intentions. Who this earthly King is is not explained by the text, but it is obvious that it must be the hero of the pantomime.

The plot begins in scene two with Lombarde Street (Beauty's father, played by the famous comedian, Dan Leno) bragging, in song, of wild times that he has had which are unknown to his wife. He also reveals that one of his daughters must marry the King in order to restore the family fortunes. The two ugly sisters (also played by famous comedians) plan to accompany the father to the ball, so after much comic business getting dressed, the trio leaves. Beauty and the servant also decide to attend, but they will go disguised. Most of the plot developments
of this and the subsequent scene are more in the tradition of Cinderella than that of Beauty and the Beast.

The ballroom is filled with British army officers circa 1890, and other society types from the same period, thus making the pantomime contemporary with the audience. A small procession enters with the King who sings, "I Try to Lead the Fashion in a Proper Sort of Way." Beauty enters and at first glance she and the King fall in love and dance. The father drinks too much and forces the two sisters to leave for home just as Old Bogey rises through a trap and orders the King to stop doing "good." The King refuses and is instantly turned into a beast which is chased off by the guests.

In the next scene outside the Royal Palace, Old Bogey curses the Beast and condemns him to be forever deformed. The long curse includes this interesting variation.

May all your weather seem like Bleakest March!  
Your shirts and collars devoid of starch!  
Dressing in haste may every button fly!^{29}

Rosebud (the Good Fairy) and the Diamond King appear to modify the curse by adding that Love's power may remove it if the love is for the Beast in his present shape. The Diamond King then ends the scene by singing, "A Palace of Delight" which tells of his love for Rosebud. This final

^{29}Augustus Harris and W. Yardley, Beauty and the Beast, 1890, p. 43.
song establishes a secondary love interest which does not reappear until the final scene.

On their return from the ball Beauty and the servant try to enter their house, but they set off a burgler alarm; after finding the key, they step on an earwig (an insect) and it explodes. This sort of action had nothing to do with the plot, but it provided additional comedy. They enter the house just as Streete and the sisters appear. Time is condensed considerably in the remainder of this scene; because it is necessary to insert the traditional exposition of the fairy tale. Much of the preceding action has been due to Harris's elaboration. The sisters destroy an invitation for Beauty to appear in a palace burlesque, and Streete gets a letter which sends him to France. Comic business is introduced when everyone tries to hitch the donkeys to a cart for the trip to the docks. Beauty is the only person able to handle them, so all goes well when she takes over. The entire group then enters the cart and a Grand Moving Panorama of the Road to the Docks begins to roll behind them.

At the docks the sisters ask for expensive presents, but Beauty asks only for a rose. While the family goes for a drink, the fairies indicate that Street will land on the fairy isle instead of in France. To insure that
this happens, Old Bogey sends his imps aboard the ship as sailors. Two dances follow and the family returns to sing a medley before the ship sails.

Scene seven's only purpose seems to be to provide an opportunity for the two comedians playing the sisters to perform. Officers are awaiting Beauty in an anteroom in the palace before beginning the rehearsal for the burlesque mentioned in scene five. The two sisters arrive instead and do several songs, after which another couple does a waltz to end the scene.

The next scene provides more opportunity for comedy and spectacle. Amidships, Streête and the servant struggle with the two donkeys over possession of the berths since they are all seasick. There is a loud crash, and the ship begins to break-up. This action is followed by a brief scene showing the donkeys swimming to shore with the men holding onto their tails.

Scene ten takes place in the Beast's Rose Garden, "in Bud." He is in the form of the King, but is forced to change back into a beast when the fairies announce the approach of men. The seafarers stagger on calling for food and drink, and it magically appears. After dinner, the men eventually fall over drunk, and the fairies call forth the roses who sing while the scene changes.
The change involves the garden going from bud to bloom. A grand ballet of Roses is followed by a plot episode in which Streeter picks a rose for Beauty and the Beast appears. He recognizes Beauty's father and gets a promise from Streeter that if he is released, Beauty will return to take his place. The scene ends with a quick set change.

The action shifts to Streeter's home where the sisters complain and wait for Beauty to dress them. She refuses, and they start to beat her when Streeter and the servant arrive by rising through a trap. Street's first lines make reference to a recent modern development in London.

Streeter: All change here please. All change.
Beauty: How did you come here?
Streeter: By the Underground.30

Beauty agrees to go to the Beast; everyone sings a "concerted finale," "Come Let's Be Gay," and the scene ends with a very lively dance involving everyone on stage.

In the Grand Hall of the Beast's palace, the King is pacing followed by the two donkeys, whom he puts through a series of tricks before they exit. The donkey interlude is clearly an extraneous filler. Beauty and Streeter enter, after being announced by an electric bell, and the

30Ibid., p. 72. The world's first electric underground railroad opened in London November 4, 1890, less than two months before this show.
Beast introduces a Grand Ballet of Temptation (the reason for which is unclear), followed by a chorus of welcome.

Scene fourteen shows Beauty's awakening love for the Beast through a love song duet. After the song he shows Beauty, via a magic mirror, her family's poor financial condition. Beauty begs to return home, and her wish is granted providing that she returns in one day. The Beast gives her a magic ring to provide transportation, puts her on a trunk of presents and sends her home. This scene was left out of the earlier version.

Back at home, Beauty gives the presents to her sisters and goes in search of her father. One of the sisters sings a song entitled, "The Mixture As Before" (no words are given in the script). After Beauty lies down to sleep away her one remaining hour at home, Old Bogey rises and sets back the clock. A vision of lamenting roses is seen at the back of the stage. After this musical interlude, Beauty awakens, feels apprehension, and quickly rubs her ring to return.

The Beast is found lying on the ground in his garden. The two sisters enter and ask him to marry one of them, but he prefers to die. Although it took Streete a sea voyage and Beauty a magic ring to reach the island, the sisters are simply there. Beauty enters and rushes to him as all of the other main characters, whose travel
arrangements are equally vague, gather for the denouement. When Beauty declares that she will marry the Beast, the King arises in human form and the lovers are reunited. Old Bogey rises through a trap, admits his defeat and asks to remain for the finale. Rosebud gives permission cuing a medley of six different songs, during which the wedding and the wedding breakfast are anticipated.

Scene seventeen is the transformation scene which is followed by a Grand Procession of Viands for the Wedding Breakfast and Beauty's Wedding Cake. This was a rather unusual procession even for Harris, a fact that can be seen by looking at the list of topics which follows below. The actors were costumed as various breakfast items; muffins, teapots, kippers, etc. There is no Harlequinade in this script, marking the only time this traditional part of the pantomime was eliminated completely. It was subsequently restored the following year.

Dance

The dance number provided Augustus Harris with an excellent opportunity to present spectacular scenes with large groups of dancers in extravagant and colorful costumes, filling the spacious Drury Lane stage with patterns of eye-catching movement. The occasion was made-to-order for his sense of showmanship. There is cause to wonder
why he did not make even more use of this device than he did. Of course, he could very well have included more dances in the pantomimes than are indicated in the scripts or in the reviews. Until more evidence comes to light, this investigation will have to base its comments on the available data contained in the scripts.

In each of the pantomimes from 1879 through 1895 there is at least one major dance number indicated. Where scripts are available, an exact count was made of the number of dances, but for the other years, information was gathered from contemporary reviews. The seven scripts yielded a total of seventy-one dances for an average of ten point fourteen per pantomime. This compares to an average of four point eight dances for the thirteen scripts of the pre-Harris era. What might appear to be a significant increase at first glance, does not prove to be if the length of the pantomimes is considered. The average length of the pre-Harris show was seven point five scenes, compared to the Harris average of twelve point nine scenes. Therefore, although the average number of dances almost doubled in the Harris time, the length of the pantomime also came close to doubling.

It is of interest to note the variety of subjects in the dances performed in the Harris pantomimes. The following list will illustrate something of this variety.
The list is not presented as a complete record, but it records at least one dance for each year of the Harris era.

**Pantomime Dance Subjects—Drury Lane**

1879 - Albanian dance, Ottoman dance
1880 - The Flight of 1000 Years
1881 - Infantine Hornpipe (c), Cannibalistic Ballet
1882 - Persian Ballet, Wedding Ballet, Nursery Dance (c)
1883 - Fairy Ballet
1884 - Sand Dance, Marriage Dance
1885 - Dance of the Workman's Wives (c)
1886 - Baby Ballet (c), National Dances (c), Grand Ballet
1887 - Doll Ballet (c)
1888 - Toy Ballet, Bird Ballet
1889 - Fowl Dance
1890 - Roses Ballet, Temptation Ballet
1891 - Dolls at Home Ballet (c), Japanese Fan Dance, Floral Dance
1892 - Glow Worm Ballet
1893 - Hornpipe, Fish Ballet, Bird Dance, Indian Dance
1894 - Flower Ballet, Fan Dance, Can Can
1895 - Japanese Doll Dance (c), The Ball, The Wedding

Certain elements tended to repeat themselves in the dance numbers presented. Of the thirty-five dances listed above; six dealt with other nationalities, five with animals (including fish and birds), and eight were performed by children (indicated by the notation "c").

As has been mentioned, Sir Augustus' best known contribution to the pantomime was the use of the procession. This device was a scene which consisted of a series of people, or groups of people, representing elements of a theme. The people would come onstage in order and parade across or around the area, giving the audience time
to admire the costumes and to recognize the character that they were representing. Then the procession member left the stage or merely came to rest so the next element of the procession could repeat the process. The theme could be the Kings and Queens of England, as it was twice, in 1882 and in 1893; or it could be a parade of the ingredients for a wedding breakfast as in 1890.

The subjects of these processions are varied enough to require a list. This list was compiled from the scripts available and from mentions made by contemporary accounts of the productions. It should be noted that some of the pantomimes featured more than one procession, and that Harris did not stage his first procession until his third year of pantomime production at Drury Lane.

1881 - The Companies [Trades] of London
1882 - The Kings and Queens of England
1883 - Nursery Story Characters, Fairy Tradesmen
1884 - The Lord Mayor's Show; Grand Procession of Lamps
1885 - A Dream of Fair Women; Procession of Retainers [for Aladdin]
1886 - Entrance of the Forty Thieves and their Retainers; Great Britain and Her Colonies
1887 - Entrance of the Wedding Party; Procession of Knights
1888 - Procession of the Toys; Procession of the Birds
1889 - Shakespearean Heroines; The Gods and Goddesses of Mt. Olympus
1890 - Procession of the Viands for the Wedding Breakfast
1891 - Procession of the Nations [24 nations featured]
1892 - English Sports and Pastimes; Nursery Rhymes
1893 - The History of England in Twenty Minutes
1894 - The Wedding Guests and Guards; The Lord Mayor's Show
1895 - The Grand Transformation Scene
This list, like that of the dances, does not pretend to be an inclusive one. It does represent information collected from the pantomime reviews of The Times, The Illustrated London News, The Graphic, and The Theatre, plus the seven scripts from the Harris era.

There was some criticism raised by contemporary theatre critics that the processions added nothing to the storyline of the pantomime. This is certainly a valid point, but it was not Augustus Harris's intention to let the plot get in the way of a good show. The public enjoyed the magnificent pageantry and swirling colors employed by Harris, so he gave them what they wanted.

The processions were certainly introduced into the pantomime with little regard to the logic of their appearance, as can be noted in the scene descriptions. In 1882, the Young Khedive is shown "The Kings and Queens of England" while floating in a balloon in pursuit of Sinbad. In 1885 Aladdin is shown "A Dream of Fair Women" while sealed in a cave. "The Entrance of the Forty Thieves" in 1886 is a part of the story, but the second procession in that pantomime, "Great Britain and her Colonies" came between the final scene and the Harlequinade. In 1890, the procession took the place of the Harlequinade itself, although this did not become the standard practice.
The great growth in the number of songs used during a pantomime from the pre-Harris average of ten, to the Harris average of thirty-seven, illustrates the importance placed on them by Sir Augustus. The length of the pantomime almost doubled, while the number of songs increased over three and a half times.

The increase can be partially attributed to the increase in the use of music hall entertainers. These performers specialized in songs and musical entertainment in the variety halls, so it was natural to make use of their popular talents after they moved to the stage of Drury Lane. At several points in the scene descriptions above it was noted that a performer would sing, but no words were given in the script. It is assumed that these songs were popular hits of the day that the artist had used before, and thus the numbers would have been very familiar to his audiences. One point that adds to this assumption is the use of this device only by characters who were played by famous music hall performers. For example in the 1886 Forty Thieves, scene two has Ali Baba and his wife singing a duet called "Bid Me Goodbye," but the script does not give any lyrics. The two characters were played by Harry Nicholls and Herbert Campbell, two very popular comedians. Another indication that popular songs
were used was the practice of including the name of the
music publisher after the song title in each Book of Words.
This made it easier for the audiences to buy the sheet
music.

Another type of song for which no lyrics were given
was the topical song. In scene eight of the pantomime
quoted above, the same pair of comedians do a topical
duet after having just complained about the servants
making fun of them. The characters have just come into
immense wealth, so it is possible to speculate that the
song might have included some fun being poked at the
nouveau riche as well as references to the news of the
day. According to A. E. Wilson, Harry Nicholls, one of the
pair just mentioned, made a habit of sitting down each
night before the show with a daily newspaper and com-
posing the lyrics for the evening's topical songs.

Augustus Harris increased the number of songs in
his pantomimes by using the device of having the last por-
tion of a scene sung in one long medley. In the 1882
Sinbad the Sailor, scene two has the remainder of the
scene set to song from the point of the attorney's entrance
to inventory the household goods. This device is also
employed in scene two and scene twelve of the 1885 Aladdin;

31A. E. Wilson, Pantomime Pageant, p. 58.
scene two and scene five of the 1886 Forty Thieves; and
scenes six and sixteen of the 1890 Beauty and the Beast.

The majority of the songs used in the pantomimes of
Augustus Harris were integrated into the plot, rather
than being completely extraneous as the topical songs
were. The songs generally served the purpose of rein-
forcing or amplifying the plot or a character's feelings.
There are numerous examples, but a few will serve to
illustrate the point. In 1882, Sinbad sings a love song
to Fatinitza in scene two called, "One Kiss More," and
stops an auction of the girls in scene three with, "No
You Don't." The Forty Thieves open scene seven in 1886
with a song entitled, "Ain't You Glad You Didn't" [choose
the honest life] while the scene shows them enjoying the
fruits of stealing.

No information could be found concerning the over-
tures to the pantomimes, other than references in the
reviews to the great number of popular songs which were
included so that the audience could sing along on Boxing
Night. None of the scripts discuss the overture other
than to say that one was used.
Characterizations

The characters in the pantomimes by Augustus Harris did not vary greatly from the types of characters found in the earlier scripts. Each show has its hero and heroine, its villain and servant, and its comic old people. The supernatural beings and the comic animals also appear with great regularity.

The pantomimes of Harris tend to have more opportunities for the comedians to perform than was the case earlier. The roles of the minor characters were larger, often through the device of adding extraneous scenes which enabled them to show their talents. A good example of this is the seventh scene of the 1890 Beauty and the Beast in which the two older sisters of Beauty, played by the comedians Herbert Campbell and Harry Nicholls, attend a rehearsal in the palace. They have intercepted the invitation intended for Beauty to perform in a burlesque, and they intend to substitute themselves. The scene has nothing to do with the plot, but each sister gets to sing one solo song and to take part in a duet.

There was a tendency for Augustus Harris to turn roles that had been somewhat serious into straight comic performance. This is very evident when the roles of Beauty's father are compared in the two versions of Beauty and the Beast. In 1869 the father, Ali, has his
serious moments, as in scene three when he asks the daughters what he should bring them. The two older sisters ask for expensive presents, but Beauty asks only for a rose. To this request he replies with a song, "It's Nice to Be a Father." In the same situation in 1890, the father, Streete, takes the family off for a drink. The two fathers are not the same when it comes to courage either. In 1890 Streete was played strictly for laughs by the great comedian, Dan Leno. When he approaches the Beast's territory in scene thirteen, he plays the scene as a terrified coward. In the early version, Ali is able to stand up to the Beast and talk with him without becoming incapacitated by fear.

The role of Abanazar in Aladdin also became more comical in Harris' production. In 1874 he is the standard villain out to gain the lamp, but by 1885 he had become a magician who has to contend with other comic characters like the Emperor and the Widow, as well as his quest for the lamp. In Harris' version, Abanazar is seen as a comic character from the opening of scene one where he is desperate to get rid of all of his visitors before the magic hour of twelve in order to work his charm.

It is only fair to say that the authors and producers tended to write their roles to fit the performers who were to play them. During the decade from 1869 to 1879 when the Vokes family played almost all of the leading roles
in the Drury Lane pantomimes, comedy was not stressed. The family was given plenty of opportunity to display their dancing abilities. With the advent of the music hall comedians on the Drury stage, the emphasis shifted to comedy. More of the roles were played by comedians and more comic roles were written into the scripts.

The 1890 Beauty and the Beast is a good example of the roles being written for the actors who were going to play them. That pantomime featured Dan Leno as the father and Herbert Campbell and Harry Nicholls as the two older, uglier sisters. In addition to the terrified coward previously mentioned, Leno evidently played a very good drunk scene for he gets drunk during the ball scene (scene three), and again during scene ten in the Beast's garden. The two sisters are given four opportunities to perform duets and solo songs in scenes two, seven, twelve, and fifteen. The sisters' characters are interchangeable from the scripts point-of-view; they are written as a pair of characters who work together. The greatest comedy team to come out of the 1890's-1900's was made up of Dan Leno and Herbert Campbell. In 1890 they were not teamed although both were in the cast, but soon afterward they started working together so successfully that they remained a working
team in pantomime until their deaths in the same year, 1904.\textsuperscript{32}

None of the characters in these pantomimes are written as well-developed individuals, but rather as two-dimensional functionaries who perform the job of carrying the plot forward, and providing the opportunities for the performers to exhibit their specialties. Their names were frequently associated with or indicative of their function, as Koolinari the cook; Professor Hankipanki, the tutor; and Princess Ûglimugh all from the 1882 Sinbad the Sailor.

Style

There are a great many similarities between the scripts of the pre-Harris time and those of Augustus Harris. The few differences are primarily those of degree. Both sets of scripts used the same rhyme scheme, the same type of characters, and the same incongruous elements in the midst of their stories. The Harris scripts were longer and more complicated in their plots, with a greater emphasis on comedy. Both types of scripts used supernatural characters, but the early pantomimes

\footnote{\textsuperscript{32}Cam\penalty1000 bbell died of an accident in July, and Leno died a few months later from a combination of physical and mental problems.}
relained on them more than was the case under Harris. This shift can be seen in the endings of the eight example scripts. All four of the early shows had fairies taking a major part in the final wrap-up of the action, but under Harris only one of the four gives any significant part in the ending to the supernatural characters. In the 1890 Beauty and the Beast, Rosebud and Old Bogey appear briefly in order for him to be forgiven for his previous misdeeds.

Incongruous items constantly appear in each of the Harris pantomimes. Some of them have already been mentioned, such as the gifts brought back by the young Kabob on his return from a world cruise (scene six, 1882 Sinbad the Sailor), and the numerous examples in the first two scenes of the 1885 Aladdin. Rather than restate the several other examples cited in the script descriptions, it is sufficient to say that Augustus Harris continued the practice of using such items in the pantomime, and he increased the number of them primarily by lengthening the pantomimes.

The use of puns also continued in each of the pantomimes, but their numbers seem to be somewhat reduced, although no statistical study was made to determine the accuracy of this impression. The quality of the puns does not seem to improve during the Harris period. The rather typical example which follows is from the 1890 Beauty and the Beast. Streete and the servant are seasick
in a shipboard cabin when the donkeys are brought in. They are also seasick. Strete says to the servant, "Like them I think you've softening of the brayin."\(^{33}\)

The attraction of the pantomimes was not primarily witty verbal humor. Their principle appeal lay in the singing, dancing, and visual elements discussed in detail in the following chapter.

**Harlequinade**

The Harlequinade played little part in the pantomimes of Augustus Harris. Coming after four hours of spectacle, music, and comedy, the Harlequinade usually lasted twenty to thirty minutes and consisted of only two scenes. The traditional cast of Harlequin, Columbine, Panteloon, and Clown was retained, but additional characters were sometimes introduced.

Information on the size of the casts of the Harlequinades has been found in contemporary sources for twelve of the seventeen Harris pantomimes at Drury Lane. In the list that follows the word "double" indicates that the cast consisted of two actors playing each of the four traditional roles. Except for 1886, there is no way of knowing how they were employed. They could have played

together in the same scenes, or they could have played alternately—one cast per scene. The alternating method had been the most common during the 1860-1879 period. The word "single" means that only the traditional four characters appeared, with one cast of actors used. The additional characters who appeared are listed.

Harlequinade Casts at Drury Lane

1879 - double
1880 - double
1881 - single
1882 - single
1883 - unknown
1884 - single, plus Pierrot, Pierrotte, Arlequin, Arlequina, Policeman
1885 - single, but with Policeman XYZ used instead of Harlequin
1886 - double with one cast per scene, plus a policeman in each scene
1887 - unknown
1888 - unknown
1889 - unknown
1890 - no Harlequinade that year
1891 - a two part Harlequinade. Part one - single. Part two - used two performers not given names, plus a policeman
1892 - single
1893 - single
1894 - single, plus a policeman
1895 - unknown

The scripts offer almost no information concerning the Harlequinades other than the cast list and an indication of where the scenes take place. The only name that occurs with some regularity in these Harlequinade scripts is that of Harry Payne, who was the clown at Drury Lane for most of the Augustus Harris years.
Using the same scene-location categories discussed under the pre-Harris section on the Harlequinades, we find that of a total of fourteen scenes in the seven Harris scripts; ten of them take place on a set that is classified as a realistic exterior. This parallels the pre-Harris scripts where thirty-eight of fifty-six scenes were located in realistic exteriors. The traditional locations for the Harlequinades therefore, appear to have been retained during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Summary

In this chapter we have examined the written record of the pantomimes, their scripts, for the years 1860-1878 and compared them with the scripts used during the years 1879-1895. The representative scripts discussed have shown that Augustus Harris's major changes in the pantomime scripts were primarily increases in length, and in the number of songs and dances which he used. Other changes included shifting the emphasis of some characters and making them more comic, which was usually the result of writing the role to fit a comedian who was to play the part. The final change made by Augustus Harris was to reduce the Harlequinade to a minimum.

34 See above, pp. 81-82.
CHAPTER IV
HOW THE SCRIPTS WERE PERFORMED

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the productions of the pantomimes under Sir Augustus Harris. The previous chapter has examined the scripts of the pantomimes, and determined what the typical script was like. This chapter will show what the results were when this written word was combined with such production values as costumes, lights, settings, and the contributions of the performers.

The latter element is very important in a production such as the pantomime where the principal members of the cast were usually performers, not "straight" actors. They came from the music hall stages where they had gained star billing performing songs, dances and skits which were not limited by a script. They were used to improvising when the occasion seemed suited to it, and to changing their material at will. These habits were brought with them into the pantomimes with significant results.

The scripts became less and less important as the demand for spectacle and variety entertainment increased.
The music hall performers forced alterations in the scripts to accommodate their special talents. The producers, such as Harris, used every excuse in the script to introduce spectacular settings, scenes and machinery which further detracted from the storyline.

E. L. Blanchard, the author of every Drury Lane pantomime from 1852 through 1888, complained in his diary about this adulteration of his work. In the entry for December 26, 1882, he wrote,

To Drury Lane to see Sinbad, which, though expensively got up, is a very dreary music hall entertainment; and for the misprinting and grossly interpolated book I am in no way responsible. It is deservedly hissed at various portions—hardly anything done as I had intended, or spoken as I had written: The music hall element crushing out the rest, and the good old fairy tales never to be again illustrated as they should be.

It should be remembered that this production was only the fourth pantomime produced at Drury Lane by Augustus Harris. Blanchard's resentment of Harris had begun early, and it continued for the remaining six years of Blanchard's career.

Blanchard was always very fond of the Harlequinade which explains the reference he makes in this comment from the diary entry of December 26, 1885.

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... afterwards to Drury Lane to see *Aladdin*. The pantomime, not at all following the text I have written, Augustus Harris seems to have placed it very brilliantly on the stage, but it is more dazzling than funny, and I get very weary of the gagging of the music hall people, and with eyes dazzled with the gas and glitter, cannot stay till midnight, when the harlequinade only commences, and which few now seem to care about. Oh, the change from one's boyhood! left to be rattled through as rapidly as possible, and without I fear any adequate rehearsal.  

Augustus Harris did indeed, place the pantomimes "very brilliantly on the stage." This chapter comments on the preparation period as well as the composition of the company and the costs involved with the productions. Some typical spectacular scenes will be described to aid in comprehending the Harris level of production. Because the procession scene was almost the Harris trademark, a special section is devoted to that type of scene. Miscellaneous comments from contemporary accounts are included if they shed some light on the Harris style of production.

Preparation

The pantomimes of Augustus Harris were enormously complicated productions requiring months of preparation and thousands of pounds in expenditures. A writer in *The Theatre* gave an overall view of the preparation period of a typical pantomime in 1882.

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2Ibid., pp. 578-79.
The active preparation of a pantomime, . . . the rehearsals and all the arrangements involved, occupies a period of not less than three months, although the first thoughts relative to it really occur while the old pantomime is still running its successful course. The actual first stage in the construction of the pantomime takes place about six months before the opening-night. . . . in solemn conclave assembled of stage-manager, author, scene-painter, and ballet-master, the title, the outlines of the plot, and the chief characteristics of the spectacle that is to afford amusement and enjoyment to thousands of people at Christmas are decided upon, and from that date the actual preparations commence. The necessity for so much time for this purpose is not to be wondered at if we remember the vast and gigantic character of the piece to be produced, and when we consider how few are the hitches in the performance of a pantomime, wherein the scenes are shifted some fourteen times, not to speak of the elaborate fairy scenes frequently occupying the whole extent of the stage, without the 'drop' once descending.3

According to Augustus Harris's musical director, Jimmy Glover, the great producer had a reputation for having "a few hitches" on opening night. Writing in 1911, he said,

Since Harris' death, long though that be, no Drury Lane pantomime or drama has ever boasted of a first-night hitch. In the former regime, it was quite the thing to be there 'to see the fun'--not intended by management or authors.4

Considering the complexity of the pantomimes, opening night mistakes are to be expected, but Harris seemed to have more than his share. A few of these problems will be described later.

Augustus Harris took an active part in the preparation of his productions. He was especially interested in having everything that he presented upon the stage be as accurate as possible in its representation. All of the costumes worn by the historical characters in the processions were researched by his staff and made to resemble the original models as much as possible. No expense was spared in this preparation. In fact, Harris often spent money with no particular project in mind. Charles H. Thomas, who was connected with Drury Lane for approximately thirty years and who served as the treasurer for Harris, has been quoted as saying:

One of his weaknesses was to buy thousands of yards of brocade and silks on speculation, thinking he would need them in future pantomimes. More often than not they became dud stock.5

This desire for accuracy led Harris to make use of various authorities as advisers to the producer. Hermann Klein was associated with Augustus Harris primarily in the Covent Garden Opera productions, but he relates an incident that reveals the extent to which Harris went in obtaining the best advice.

During the preparation of one of his autumn dramas (I think it was 'Human Nature') I went to Drury Lane while a rehearsal was in progress, and sat down in the stalls to watch the training of an army of supers in an imaginary fight with some

5A. E. Wilson, Pantomime Pageant, p. 88.
African natives. In due course this was followed by a homecoming and a triumphal march through Trafalgar Square, with the hero at the head of his victorious company. The whole business was splendidly done.

Actively assisting the manager in these operations was a gentleman in a frockcoat and tall hat, of undeniable military appearance, who impressed me both by his quiet, masterful manner and the imperturbable patience with which he directed maneuvers to be repeated over and over again until they were satisfactorily executed. After the rehearsal was concluded I went upon the stage. Augustus Harris was talking to his military adviser. He beckoned me to approach. 'Klein, I want to introduce you to my friend Major Kitchener, who has been kind enough to come and help me with this 'soldiering' work. What do you think of it? Did you ever see such fighting and marching on the stage before?'

I certainly never had, and I offered my congratulations. They were accepted with a murmur of thanks and a shake of the hand by the man who was afterward to be the hero of Omdurman and the victor in the great South African War. He had gladly consented to place his knowledge and experience at the disposal of the popular theatrical manager.

Klein accompanied Harris to the continent on several occasions while Sir Augustus conducted his business. He relates one trip they made while Harris was planning a new operatic production.

Augustus Harris was positively anxious to see one [a bull-fight], in order, as he explained it, to get the necessary points for a realistic production of the last act of 'Carmen.' . . . We went subsequently to one of the regular bull-fights . . . and at this he made plentiful notes for the procession of the Alcade, the picadors on horseback, and the group of banderilleros, for all of whom he ordered real and costly Spanish costumes. He even arranged for an exact copy of the curious

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hurdle-like contrivance, drawn by three ponies used for the purpose of dragging the bodies of the dead horses and bulls out of the arena.

Not satisfied with this, we paid a twenty-four hours' visit to Seville in order to obtain touches of the true couleur locale. We went to the great cigar and cigarette factory where Carmen is supposed to conduct herself with so much impropriety. We obtained photographs of the Giralda Tower, we sketched the entrance to the Plaza de Toros, and we gathered together every authentic detail that it was possible to procure for uniforms, costumes, and scenery.

Thus was it that the mise en scène of "Carmen," as prepared by Augustus Harris, proved to be by far the most accurate and picturesque that Bizet's opera had ever been vouchsafed.7

Although he could go to tremendous trouble and expense to mount a scene, Harris was in total command of his productions so he felt no hesitation in changing his mind at the last minute about some element. One of his co-authors and fellow workers, Cecil Raleigh, is quoted as telling of the following incident:

|There was in one of the pantomimes a certain procession, the total cost of which was about £3000. At the dress rehearsal of the pantomime Sir Augustus stood watch in hand timing the procession. After it was over he stopped the rehearsal. 'On Boxing Night,' he said closing his watch, 'we shall not have this procession. You will go straight on from the preceding scene. Now you can take off your dresses and put them away upstairs; they will come in useful some day.'8 |

7 Ibid., p. 278-79.
8 A. E. Wilson, King Panto, p. 188.
It would be interesting to know which of the pantomimes this story relates to as Harris was frequently criticized for letting his productions run much too long. This is the only recorded incident of Harris ever reducing the length of a pantomime.

The Company

In a study of how the pantomimes were performed, it is necessary to analyze the company that was employed to present them. Information is available from the year 1882 for the Augustus Harris production of Mother Goose which opened December 26, 1880. This pantomime was only the second that Harris opened at Drury Lane. If we are to believe the numerous contemporary comments that each year Augustus Harris surpassed the previous production, then we will be safe in accepting the following information as being the minimum conditions of production at Drury Lane during the Harris tenure.

Such spectacles, as we know, require the employment of a large number of persons, probably not far short of 700 or 800, at such a theatre as Drury Lane. In such pantomimes as Mr. Harris presents to us the force may approximately be divided as follow: Band, 30 persons; ballet and extras, 150; carpenters, 70; property and gas men, 50; dressers, 50; children and supers, 260; in addition to which we must not forget the chief actors, the pantominists, together with the various employees required for the auditorium.9

It is interesting to compare these figures with those from 1865. The London magazine, Temple Bar, gives the size of the Drury Lane company as "nearly nine hundred," which included everyone from "the foremost man down to the charwoman."\(^{10}\) The overall number of employees at "The Lane" seems to be almost the same. Forty-five dressers were used in 1865 compared to fifty in 1880. Seventeen gas men were employed in 1865, but the category is not listed separately for 1880. The "ladies of the ballet" numbered about five dozen in the earlier year, with two dozen of them listed as being principals. The remainder were considered as being in training for the leading spots in the corps de ballet. Again, the breakdown is not the same, so exact comparisons are not possible. Contemporary reviews of the Harris productions frequently used the figure of 100 for the corps de ballet, so this would indicate a significant increase in the size of this element. Temple Bar said, "The number of children now engaged in a pantomime at Drury Lane generally exceeds two hundred. The girls are more numerous than the boys."\(^{11}\) The use of large numbers of children in pantomime scenes remained a popular item throughout the period of Harris's productions.

\(^{10}\) Temple Bar, March, 1866, p. 542.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 545.
From the above information it would seem that Augustus Harris did not significantly increase the size of the Drury Lane company in the first two years of his management. Although it is not possible to know from the available figures, Harris could have shifted the numbers of people within some categories in order to achieve more effective use of the personnel. For example, we can see that he increased the size of the ballet group, so by reducing the number of children and raising the number of supers, Harris could have staged larger and more spectacular crowd scenes without increasing the overall number of people employed.

As previously mentioned, children played a part in each of the pantomime productions. There was always at least one scene which featured a large group of children involved in a dance number, or as in the 1885 Aladdin, taking part in a spectacular scene usually imitating adults. (Scene eleven—in which they portrayed working men and women building Aladdin's palace.)

The audiences loved these children, and the children were eager to take part in the pantomimes. Most of the children were from the local area, the children of lower class people who frequently worked as extras or supers at Drury Lane. They were not mistreated, but the children were expected to conform to the discipline of the theatre.
staff. The most severe punishment for a child was to be sent home and not allowed to take part in the pantomime.

A few comments on the children were written in 1866, but they would still be applicable during Harris's time.

It is a curious fact that in engaging these children, the manager prefers the quiet and dull to the smart and lively. Your smart lad and girl are given to 'larking,' and thinking of their own cleverness. The quiet and dull are more 'teachable,' and can be made to seem lively, without flinging off disciplining. These little creatures are thus kept from the streets; many of them are sons and daughters of persons employed in the house; and their shilling a night and a good washing tell pleasantly in many a humble household, to which, on Saturday nights, they contribute their wages and clean faces.\(^{12}\)

Augustus Harris made a practice of using the pupils of Katti Lanner's National Training School of Dancing to perform the dance numbers in his pantomimes for at least seven years. Madame Lanner's name appears in the credits for each of the productions from 1880 through 1886.

Augustus Harris sought to rejuvenate the pantomime at Drury Lane by bringing the stars of the music halls into the national theatre at the Christmas season. There had been incidents of music hall performers starring in pantomimes before Harris, but he began using them as a regular practice. In Harris' first pantomime, Bluebeard (1879), the Yokes family played all of the starring roles as they had done for the past ten years. The young manager

\(^{12}\text{Ibid.}\)
replaced them in his second pantomime with music hall performers such as Arthur Roberts, James Fawn and Kate Santley. Harris proved to have had good judgment in not using the Vokes family again, as they moved in 1880 to Covent Garden for a pantomime which was not successful. The family disbanded as a unit not long after this experience.

The most famous of all the music hall comedians to come to national prominence in the pantomimes was Dan Leno. Augustus Harris saw the little man performing in a pantomime at the Surrey and hired him for a small part in the 1888 Babes in the Wood. He played the wicked aunt for a salary of £28 per week. According to A. E. Wilson, the English writer on pantomime, Leno's last engagement at Drury Lane paid him a salary of £240 per week. He played at Drury Lane in each pantomime until 1904, usually teamed with Herbert Campbell. Leno was a wiry five foot four inches while Campbell was a large, rotund man with a huge voice. They were the perfect foils for each other, with the conflicting styles of quick energetic movements versus the slow and deliberate. Leno died at the age of forty-three from a combination of physical and mental disorders aggravated by the accidental death five months before of Campbell.
Although Dan Leno was the most popular comedian of his day, he is not credited with making any important changed in the form of the pantomime. He performed within the framework provided by Harris and the authors, but he drew tremendous responses from the audiences. He was not an innovator in the field of comedy.

Augustus Harris was noted for his peculiar contracts with his stars. He wanted to guarantee that he had as little competition as possible, so he sought to prevent talented people from appearing in London unless they were appearing in his shows. George B. Shaw spoke of this practice in his obituary on Harris:

Sir Augustus Harris paid more money every year to prevent artists from working for anybody else than some of his predecessors paid for work actually done on their stages. . . Just as he forestalled possible rivals as a pantomime manager by engaging all the stars of the music hall, whether he had work for them or not, so, as an impresario, he engaged every operatic artist who showed the slightest promise of becoming a source of strength to a competitor. . . There was no malice in the matter. The alternative to monopoly was bankruptcy. Sir Augustus Harris's triumph as a business impresario was his acceptance of that big condition and his achievement of the feat of finance and organization involved by it.13

Jimmy Glover, the long-time musical director at Drury Lane, explains in more detail how Harris applied these contracts to his opera companies:

One of his pet schemes was, what I called a 'when opera' contract, and this really was a wonderful document. When an operatic artiste came to Harris and asked for an engagement—if the artiste were at all decent, he offered them a 'when opera' contract—that is, an engagement at so much a week for three years, only to operate when Sir Augustus Harris performed opera—no matter in what language. Now this contract only practically bound Harris to fourteen weeks a year—the grand opera season—and yet the very moment he advertised or announced 'opera,' prime donne, contralti, baritones, bassi, and chorus, fully equipped with a repertoire, all had to come from any part of the world to London... So that this position arose: if Lago, Mapleson or other impresario announced a season of opera at any London theatre—the very next morning would appear in all the press 'Sir Augustus Harris announces a short season of grand opera. Full particulars shortly.' And then off went the cables all over the world to those who had signed these contracts, and a ready-made opera company was at hand in a few days.\(^\text{14}\)

These contracts and his other business methods proved to work well for Harris. Shaw insists that there was no way of knowing if the operas were paying for themselves. "As to his making opera pay, he did not succeed in doing that until he was in business on an enormous scale, and was making one enterprise pay for another."\(^\text{15}\)

The pantomimes, the operas, the melodramas, and all of the other Harris financial undertakings cannot be separated into individual accounts. "I have always said that to criticize Sir Augustus Harris it was not enough to be a musician: one had to be an economist as well."\(^\text{16}\)


\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 178.
Shaw could never resist the parting comment. Jimmy Glover, a close associate of Harris, provides a statement of Augustus Harris' financial success. Although strict verification of his financial position is unavailable, this statement is assumed to be valid because of the personal and working relationship between Glover and Harris.

Harris really died a very rich man. His estate realized about £100,000, for it included Drury Lane—four years lease to run; Theatrical scenery; Opera scenery bought by Covent Garden Syndicate; 'The Little Genius' production; various sundries; and of course, his copyrights were all good negotiable effects.17

Technical Elements

There is no evidence to indicate that Augustus Harris was responsible for any innovations in the art of stage production. He appears to have used the standard technology of his time in producing his pantomimes and other spectacular events. However, he did not let tradition hinder him in any staging. If some new device was available, and it could be used to further the spectacle, Harris would include it in the show. For example,

Harris was the first to introduce an electrically driven coach for Cinderella. That was in 1894 before the days of the accumulator and the carriage had to take off with a huge trailing cable which induced Dan Leno to remark to Herbert Campbell, 'Well, the Great Sea Serpent is going, too.' [The actual date was December 26, 1895 for the production of Cinderella.]

In 1893 the machine gun was still fairly novel with most of the population of London so Augustus Harris used it in at least two productions. Jimmy Glover described the first incident:

I migrated from the Palace to Drury Lane and opened with 'A Life of Pleasure,' the principal scene of which was a great Maxim gun demonstration. This sensation startled London, and on the first night Harris had not a single idea how it was to end. He had this habit of leaving things. Collins fished out some old scene 'Cloths' from the cellar, made a ravine spanned by a bridge, placed a couple of Maxims (one each side at the stage) and with 'Lights out' and Cimmerian darkness let go the guns, which Harris had never seen rehearsed. The effect was magical, and to no one so much as to Harris, who, standing in the wing, suddenly lowered the curtain and in a moment was in front bowing acknowledgments to as huge a call as I ever heard. 19

In the very next production that Harris staged, which happened to be the ill-fated Robinson Crusoe, he again used the machine gun, but nothing is known of the audiences' reaction. The critic, William Archer, who was not fond of Harris' brand of theatre, made the following remark:

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Miss Ada Blanche made a very popular Robinson Crusoe, and ministered to that patriotism which is one of the holiest feelings of our nature, by exterminating a huddled crowd of savages with a machine gun.  

The use of electrical lighting in the theatre was commonly accepted by the time of Harris' productions, but he made extensive use of it and other electrical devices if comments in contemporary accounts are to be accepted. The scripts for the 1882 Sinbad the Sailor indicates in scene fourteen—Grand Transformation Scene—that "novel and magnificent electrical effects" were used. Unfortunately, none of the reviews described these effects. The list of credits in the Book of Words began to carry a credit for Limelights in 1884, while the Book of Words for 1885 carried a credit for "Electrical effects by Mons. Trouve (3 East India Ave.) and Miss McMullen."  

The sixth scene of the 1892 Little Bo Peep, Little Red Riding Hood, and Hop O' My Thumb featured a Glow Worm Ballet in which each performer held a spray of electric lights or was crowned with softly glowing lights. An undersea Fish Ballet (scene three) in 1893 featured soft electric lights arranged in the girls' hair. The credit line for "Electrical effects" appeared again in the Book

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21 E. L. Blanchard, Aladdin, 1885, credit page.
of Words for Dick Whittington in 1894, and the Wedding scene of that pantomime (scene seven) is said by The Graphic (December 22, 1894, p. 714) in a review article to have had more than four thousand electric lamps. The same scene in the 1895 Cinderella that used the electric coach also had additional electrical devices. William Archer describes it:

Dazzling rather than beautiful, was the epithet suggested by the tableau of 'Fairyland,' with its wilderness of electric lamps, its rotating electric wheel in the background, and in the foreground Cinderella's automotor carriage encrusted with incandescent jewels.22

One of the standard items of stage machinery in use during the time of this study was the scenic panorama.23 Wickman dates its general use in the theatre from 1823, and the first indication of its use as a scenic setting in the Christmas pantomime at Drury Lane in the same year.

There are numerous indications of its use during the Harris productions. In 1880, a panorama was used in connection with a demon-guarded wood. The 1881 production used a double panorama which enabled the audience to see

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both sides of the Thames as the ship, which was the set, appeared to leave the dock and sail down the river. In scene four of the 1882 *Sinbad the Sailor* a Grand Panorama was used in connection with a view of the Bombardment of Alexandria and a sea fight. There appears to have been little change in the use of the panorama throughout Augustus Harris' entire tenure. A notation in the 1893 production Book of Words shows them using it to open scene five. *The Times* called it a "moving transparency" which served to show a dream that the heroine was having.

Although he used the standard machinery of the time, Harris managed to make the most of that machinery. A simple device like a trap was put to the maximum use as in scene ten of *Aladdin*, 1885. In the course of a fight between the Demon of the swamp, who appears as a giant frog, and another demon, who impersonated a giant bat; the giant bat supposedly performed forty leaps and made use of numerous traps in two minutes. This information is taken from the Book of Words, so perhaps caution should be applied to this time estimate.

Mention has been made of the problems that plagued Augustus Harris on opening nights throughout his career. During a discussion of his use of stage machinery would

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be a good time to detail his most costly opening night machinery hitch. During the production of *Sinbad the Sailor*, 1882, scene eight was to feature the Flight of the Roc. The huge bird was to be lowered onto the stage, take Sinbad in its claws and rise as the scene changed to a balloon in mid-air. On opening night, the roc descended vertically with its wings outspread. The *Times* described it as covering more than half the stage. The girl playing Sinbad was taken in the claws and the contraption started to rise. After a few feet, the Roc jammed and nearly dropped the girl. The rigging crew was unable to free it. Jimmy Glover describes the event:

> The roc filled the entire stage and was only supposed to move a few feet just to lift Sinbad off the ground. The Front scene dropped and there was ten minutes to set the next scene. The curtain was down for an hour and a half, because the roc had stuck! Twelve carpenters had to saw and hammer it away, and smash it to pieces, before the pantomime could go on. £1000 gone in two hours! Coming in front of the curtain Augustus Harris said: 'I must claim your indulgence--this is a very heavy pantomime.' And the gallery boys shouted back 'Yes, Gus, it is!'

Processions

The use of the procession in the pantomime was a specialty of Augustus Harris. The previous chapter listed

the subjects of the twenty-four processions which have been established as taking place during fifteen of Harris's pantomimes. It is the purpose of this section to give some idea of how these processions looked as they were presented.

The procession scene did not have to have anything to do with the story being presented in the pantomime, as will be illustrated by the contemporary accounts cited later. Harris used the flimsiest of excuses to present one of these huge scenes. He sought to fill the stage of Drury Lane with large, moving masses of spectacular and colorful characters who were costumed to represent elements of the subject being presented. The Drury Lane supers and chorus were called upon to impersonate such widely diverse elements as a deck of cards (1892), a breakfast muffin (1890), and Elizabeth I (1882 and 1893). The processions were very popular with the audiences, but the chief complaint in the written discussions of them was the fact that they were dull.

Harris could blend some curious mixtures with the processions as evidenced by this description taken from the Synopsis of Scenery page in the 1882 Book of Words.

Scene 10--The Tower of London--Procession of the Kings and Queens of England from William the Conqueror terminating with the Review of the troops after their return from Egypt. The spacious Drury Lane stage not being large enough for the multitude in this scene, the back wall had
been taken down, and the stage doubled in size. In this scene Mr. Harry Jackson will introduce his celebrated impersonation of Napoleon I.26

The army was played by children, both boys and girls, whose uniforms were complete to every detail.

This desire for accuracy is also mentioned by the pantomime authority, A. E. Wilson in his account of one of the processions in the 1884 pantomime, Whittington and His Cat.

Another year there was a Lord Mayor's show in which every attempt was made to be archaeologically correct, for Harris was always a stickler for accuracy. No fewer than fourteen City companies were represented with their emblazoned coats of arms and supporters. There were heralds, watchmen, City marshals, bands galore, City Knight Templars, knights in gold and silver armour and embodied records of the Heralds' College. There were even live animals and Lord Mayor Sir Richard Whittington wound up the procession on a white horse.27

The Illustrated London News described this procession as follows:

When every company, squadron, cohort, and army of trained girls has advanced, retired, filed, and disappeared into a mass of indescribable colour; when the properties and the ponies have been massed to the satisfaction of Mr. Charles Harris [Augustus Harris's brother, who served as his stage manager], the final outburst comes with trumpets, bells, cheering, and the advance of Sir Richard Whittington and his bride upon horses brave with magnificent trappings. It is then felt that the force of expenditure cannot further go, and that the triumph of the modern manager as exhibited by his banking account is complete.28

26 E. L. Blanchard, Sinbad the Sailor, 1882.
28 Illustrated London News, January 3, 1885, p. 3.
In 1887 Harris presented *Puss in Boots* on Boxing Day. The chief critical comments were complaints about the length and what *The Graphic* called "its inordinate length and overpowering magnificence."

Even *The Times*, which seldom was critical of a Harris production, chose to comment that "The chief merit of the pantomime lay in its spectacular effects which are magnificent." It is easy to give weight to these visual observations when you read the descriptions of two of the processions.

Two of the scenes, indeed, are veritable dreams of beauty. In the first of these we are shown part of the palace of the King and Queen, whose daughter the miller's boy eventually marries. This inner court into which we are introduced is a dazzling structure of marble, with high raised galleries, lofty columns, and a grand staircase down which a dozen people can walk abreast. Chambermaids, prettily dressed in gowns of the most delicate tints of yellow and blue, first trip down the staircase, and shortly afterwards, heralded by trumpeters clad in gorgeous tabards, the whole court, in uniforms which could only be described by exhausting the catalogue of colours, make their way slowly into the court, which is almost completely filled with the brilliant throng. Upon the staircase remain a large body of retainers in slashed doublets and trunk hose of sheeny white sparkling with silver; and from the arches of the galleries above, gaily bedight attendants view the scene below.31

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29 *The Graphic* (London), January 7, 1888, p. 3.

30 *The Times* (London), December 27, 1887, p. 5.

The second procession occurred after the Cat has gotten rid of the ogre and enters his castle.

A hall of noble dimensions is seen filled with warriors in complete armour. Some of them are mounted, but the majority are foot soldiers, who go through some regular evolutions, brandishing their halberts. When their drill is over the hall is yet further enlarged by the removal of tapestry at the back, and swarming down a lofty flight of stairs countless warriors in gold and silver mail deploy before the audience, and are in their turn followed by knights accompanied by their squires and standard bearers. The entire stage in its length and breadth is filled with glittering metal, nodding plumes, and fluttering pennants which rival in colour the whole tribe of butterflies, and when the trumpets blow, the effect of this display is not only beautiful but stirring also.\(^32\)

It is no wonder that The Graphic felt compelled to say, "he [Harris] ends by cramming into one pantomime enough to make half-a-dozen pieces of the sort."\(^33\)

A. E. Wilson describes a pantomime performance which illustrates Harris' penchant for including processions on the slightest excuse.

In *Jack and the Beanstalk* in 1889 there was a procession of Shakespearean heroines and a mass meeting of gods and goddesses on Mount Olympus. The first, a rather singular feature to introduce into a legend about the slaying of a Cornish giant, was brought in in a typically ingenious way. The scene was the Giant's library, crowded with outsize tomes for presumably the Giant was quite a Shakespearean scholar. From these books issued groups of characters from the principal plays of Shakespeare. It was all very artistically done, but as one critic observed the heroines might have

\(^{32}\)Ibid.

\(^{33}\)The Graphic (London), January 7, 1888, p. 3.
been recognized by the experienced playgoer, but
the majority of the audience had to take them on
trust.
Similarly in the gorgeous scene on Mount Olympus
where it took a classical scholar to identify the
various deities.34

In his triple-threat pantomime of 1892, Little Bo
Peep, Little Red Riding Hood, and Hop O' My Thumb, Harris
presented a procession of English sports and pastimes
which represented twenty-one different activities ranging
from golf to football and skating to tennis. As if this
were not enough, he also included a procession illustrating
twenty-eight different nursery rhymes and fairy tales. In
order to enlarge the scope of the scene, a dance number
preceded the nursery rhyme procession. The Times described
it as follows:

All of the sides and back of the spacious stage
was literally walled with mirrors, above was
silvered tracery, and the mirrors were divided
by gilded pillars, from which the electric light
flashed and sparkled. In this scintillating hall,
or at the sides of it, innumerable persons in the
most gorgeous dresses were already standing when
before the procession which was to follow, came a
concerted skirt dance and then a species of ser­
pentine skirt dances, the performers in which
manipulated skirts of immense length with great
dexterity. These skirts were alike in having a
border of gold at the bottom in passing from dark
to light shade from waist to hin; for the rest
they were red, blue and purple, and exceedingly
pleasing. Then came the great procession of
nursery rhymes, twenty-eight in number.35

35 The Times (London), December 27, 1892, p. 9.
One of the twenty-eight illustrations, that of "The Old Woman in the Shoe," used over a dozen children in white night caps, riding in a shoe and preceded by an old woman. Augustus Harris was called to the stage for a bow after the completion of this scene.

One of the most interesting of Harris's processions took place in the 1893 Robinson Crusoe. For the second time he used the Kings and Queens of England as the theme, but this time he enlarged the scope of the scene by increasing the retinues of each ruler. Jimmy Glover, in his memoirs, recalled the incident:

When Augustus Harris decided that the big scene in a pantomime should be 'The History of England in Twenty Minutes,' he would not take Collins' word [Arthur Collins, Harris's assistant and later the manager of Drury Lane after Harris] that it was impossible, and Collins was right, for on the first night it lasted one hour and forty minutes. It was the most tiresome yet humorous thing to rehearse that I ever experienced. 'Where's Joan of Arc?' shouted Harris, 'Gone to the Albion,' a neighbouring hostelry, 'with William the Conqueror,' replied the call boy. 'Oh, Henry the Eighth for goodness sake do look as if you really have eight wives!' 'I can't, guv'nor,' replied Henry the Eighth, 'I've got one at home and she's a packet--I can tell you!' Then the first night came and everything went well till we got to Charles the First. 'Charles the First--where is he?' Nowhere to be found, and so we had to pass on--without Charles the First. 'Mr. Dick could not keep Charles the First's head out of his memorial,' wrote Mr. 'Spectator' Walkley in 'The Star,' but Sir Augustus Harris kept his head, body and shoulders out of the History of England.' When Arthur Collins rushed up and burst into the dressing room to find the missing monarch and give him 'instant execution,' Charles the First was with Cardinal Wolsey,
with his legs crossed sitting on a table playing cards and smoking a cigarette, for he 'didn't know it was so near.'

Augustus Harris was not one to waste an idea. According to *The Illustrated London News* (January 5, 1895, p. 3), Harris had originally intended to use a procession called, "Grand Procession of Guests and Guards, The Wedding Presents, The Courtiers, the Emperor, and the Bridal Pair" in a pantomime for 1894 called *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*. However, another producer used the *Aladdin* subject first that year, so Harris changed to *Dick Whittington*, but he kept the procession scene. It became scene seven.

The second procession of that pantomime was another Lord Mayor's show (he had first used that idea in 1884). *The Times* said of it:

> But perhaps the crowning effort of the management in a spectacular sense is the mimic Lord Mayor's show, which is remarkable not only for its magnitude, but for the effectiveness of its treatment, the various sections of the show emerging from the depths of the stage in endless variety and massing themselves on either side of what appears to be a banner-decked street, until the huge tableau, one of the finest ever seen at Drury Lane, is complete.

The processions of Augustus Harris were his most remembered contributions to the pantomimes, but they were not the only elements of spectacular staging which he employed. The following section discusses some of these other components, and part of the critical reactions to them.

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37 *The Times* (London), December 27, 1894, p. 4.
Emphasis on Spectacle

The pantomimes of Augustus Harris often tended to emphasize spectacle at the expense of liveliness and fun. He was interested in providing his audience with the ultimate in visual excitement, but in doing so he neglected the matters of pacing and variety. In productions that frequently lasted over four hours, the audiences were inundated with countless processions and large crowd scenes until they found themselves having difficulty following the storyline. A writer in The Times as early as Harris' sixth pantomime (1884) was commenting on these problems.

It is as a spectacle rather than as a performance that Dick Whittington excels... Gorgeous scenery and fantastic pageants in which hundreds of figurants take part bewilder the imagination, and the spectator, when he has time to think, realizes why a familiar theme must be chosen as the basis of such spectacles, since otherwise he would be carried out of his reckoning altogether.38

In commenting on the same Dick Whittington, The Illustrated London News was kind, but aware of a problem. This review mentioned the lack of fun and the emphasis on spectacle.

They [the stars and artists] are not the main-spring of the entertainment; they are simply a clever adjunct... The pantomime at Old Drury

38 Ibid., December 27, 1884, p. 3.
this year consists of two marvellous processional scenes, relieved by a minimum of humor, song and dance. The money spent on this tableau must amount to an enormous figure. There is no scamping or pinching anywhere. The material is of the richest; the properties are of the rarest; the armour is of the brightest. Wonder and astonishment are supposed to be the impression gained, not laughter or fun.39

Aladdin in the following year fared little better with the critics in these same categories of fun and spectacle. The Illustrated London News said:

A luxurious and extravagant time must have its counterpart in the Christmas pantomime. So splendour succeeds satire, and pomp takes the place of pun; and the gambols of clown, harlequin, pantaloon, and columbine are lost in the sea of stage-management.40

The Times mused over the possibility that because all of Harris' pantomimes were so "resplendent and bewildering in their magnitude"41 perhaps he was just changing the names and presenting the same production every year. In any event, of the current pantomime (Aladdin) they said, "Acting is of little account in a production which is almost wholly spectacular."42

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39Illustrated London News, January 3, 1885, p. 3.

40Ibid., January 2, 1886, p. 7.

41The Times (London), December 28, 1885, p. 8.

42Ibid.
These comments on the predominance of spectacle continued throughout Harris' career. In 1889, *The Graphic* called the pantomime dull from the point of view of verse and jokes, but commented that it was very picturesque. The pantomime was *Jack and the Beanstalk*. Of *Humpty-Dumpty* in 1891, *The Illustrated London News* said only, "The fun of the pantomime is rather slender." *The Times*, however, was more explicit.

So far as the long-drawn performance of four hours and a half depended for success on resolute enterprise, careful organization, and the matchless power of providing spectacular effects, for which the well-known lessee and manager of Drury Lane is famous, the result was a complete triumph. [the] defects were poverty in topical allusion, and, in some of the actors, lack of vocal power.

In 1892, *The Times* reported that the spectacle was more interesting than the plot, and that, "The pantomime moved but slowly." *The Theatre* in a review of *Little Bo Peep*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, and *Hop O' My Thumb* (1892) stated that the three subjects made it, "rather wearisome."

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43 *The Graphic* (London), January 4, 1890, p. 23.
44 *Illustrated London News*, January 9, 1892, p. 35.
47 *The Theatre*, February 1, 1893, p. 102.
A contemporary playgoer during Harris' time wrote of the trend toward spectacle:

Little by little the modest requirements which had so long satisfied our forefathers have been entirely thrown in the shade owing to the increasing mania for spectacular magnificence and scenic display; the public becoming each year more exacting and managers perpetually striving, as Planché says, 'to out-do their former out-doings,' and out-Heroding Herod in their efforts to retain the supremacy. That the result is 'ultra-gorgeous' it is impossible to deny; but as far as amusement goes it may be doubted if we have gained by the change.\(^{48}\)

As a man who worked with Augustus Harris for many years, Jimmy Glover's comments on this subject are valuable in that they reveal an insider's views. Here, he supports the dullness charge and comments on the problem in using music hall stars.

... with the music hall development, and the accompanying importation of 'specialties,' the verdict generally was that the story was guilty of dullness and patchy in construction, the humour stodgy, and the sequence unrecognizable. This was never so palpable as in Harris' greatest failure—Robinson Crusoe. Ada Blanche excepted, each of these artistes introduced songs totally foreign to the story, its sentiment and its character, and thoroughly unsuited to children.\(^{49}\)

Of course, George Bernard Shaw had many choice words on this subject. It should be noted before his critical comments are reported that Shaw is on record as not disliking Harris personally. As a part of Sir Augustus' obituary, Shaw wrote:

\(^{48}\) A. E. Wilson, \textit{King Panto}, p. 193.
\(^{49}\) A. E. Wilson, \textit{King Panto}, p. 193.
For my own part I confess to liking the man better than I had any reason to like him. There was a certain pathos about him, with a touch of humor; and I do not doubt the assurances of his friends that he was very sensitive to stories of distress. But I know that he was not a great manager; and I am not convinced that he was even a very clever one.

He goes on to argue that Harris had stumbled onto a formula for success that was too good even for him to upset.

Returning to Shaw as a critic of productions rather than personalities, we find him making his usual case against the Harris brand of production.

It is piteous to see the wealth of artistic effort which is annually swamped in the morass of purposeless wastefulness that constitutes a pantomime... The rough rule is to spend money recklessly on whatever can be seen and heard and recognized as costly, and to economize on invention, fancy, dramatic faculty—in short, on brains. It is only when the brains get thrown in gratuitously through the accident of some of the contracting parties happening to possess them—a contingency which managerial care cannot always avert—that the entertainment acquires sufficient form or purpose to make it humanly apprehensible. To the mind's eye and ear the modern pantomime, as surveyed by the late Sir Augustus Harris, is neither visible nor audible. It is a glittering, noisy void, horribly wearisome and enervating, like all performances which worry the physical senses without any recreation appeal to the emotions and through them to the intellect.

One of the impressions gained from several of the statements quoted above is that Harris spared no expense in his visual production elements, primarily sets and

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costumes. He purchased the finest materials and hired the best available designers and technicians to implement the lavish plans.

Although he may have produced the finest costumes, according to Shaw, he frequently chose the wrong persons to wear them.

Sir Augustus, lavish as to the trappings and suits of his fashionable scenes, was reckless as to the presentability of their wearers. . . Now whether Sir Augustus knew the difference, and cynically selected the disreputable people as likely to be more attractive to the sailor-like simplicity of the average playgoer, or whether he had a bad eye for distinctions, just as some people have a bad ear for music, there can be no doubt that not even the Vicar of Wakefield could have been imposed on by his fashionable crowds.52

Special Spectacular Scenes

The emphasis on spectacular staging has been established and many of the scenes described, so it is proper, at this time, to mention some of the other special scenes and elements which contributed to the Harris brand of staging. The examples are cited in chronological order.

In Augustus Harris' second pantomime—1880—he introduced another scene after the conclusion of the Harlequinade. The scene was called a "Reflected Stature Ballet." The Times partially described it as follows, "The dancers posing

52Ibid., p. 220.
in statuesque groups, and their forms and motions, as well as the interior of the playhouse, being visible in an enormous plate glass mirror placed at the back of the stage."\(^{53}\) Harris frequently employed mirrors in his stage settings to enhance the already huge crowds, and to re-reflect the hundreds of lights used on each scene.

In the 1882 *Sinbad the Sailor*, scene four has been mentioned for its use of a panorama, but the scene also contained a sea fight with one ship being blown up. The survivors go to an island on the back of a whale, which *The Times* describes as, an "enormous creature of canvas on a sea of green muslin, snapping a pair of enormous jaws and lashing with its tail."\(^{54}\) From the island, the people swim to land with the panorama working in the background.

Of the 1885 *Aladdin*, *The Times* reacted as previously quoted, "Acting is of little account in a production which is almost wholly spectacular."\(^{55}\) This spectacular element is illustrated by scene eleven, which *The Illustrated London News* described:

\(^{53}\textit{The Times} (London), December 28, 1880, p. 4.\)

\(^{54}\textit{Ibid.}, December 27, 1882, p. 4.\)

\(^{55}\textit{Ibid.}, December 28, 1885, p. 8.\)
An army of working-men children advance to build Aladdin's palace. They erect hoardings and scaffolding; they mix mortar and lay bricks; they use hod, spade and trowel, and go through the various duties of their respective trades. Then the dinner-bell rings. The wives come on with baskets, babies and perambulators. The married folk scold, quarrel, sulk and make it up again; and the whole thing is one of the very prettiest and cleverest features in the pantomime.56

The Times gave the children's ages as being about ten. It might be remembered from the plot descriptions that at the end of this scene, the palace ascends into the air.

The Forty Thieves of 1886 offers an interesting opportunity to show how some of these pantomime descriptions were pieced together. In scene three, which takes place at the entrance to the cave of the thieves, the script mentions that a monkey enters, but there is no indication of any business. The Graphic57 offered the information that the monkey chased the Donkey. The Times58 elaborated by adding that the entrance to the cave was surrounded by a troop of monkeys, and that there was much comic business by both the monkeys and the donkey. The Illustrated London News59 revealed that the troop of monkeys were children, and the business between the monkey and the Donkey included climbing up the private boxes and making a tour of the

57 The Graphic, January 1, 1887, p. 7.
58 The Times (London), December 28, 1886, p. 5.
dress circle. Only by consulting several sources was it possible to obtain a clear picture of this moment.

Any large spectacular pantomime is made up of many small details which contribute to the overall impression. As an illustration, the 1889 *Jack and the Beanstalk* featured a giant who was ten feet tall and was played by an actor who specialized in monsters. *The Graphic*\(^{60}\) reported that the arms and legs worked well, which seems to indicate that this was not always the case. The beanstalk grew out of the stage with a base shaped like the Eiffel Tower, and another scene featured a dancer playing a fowl and doing a number with a real fighting game cock.

Scene six of *Beauty and the Beast*, 1890, was set at the docks. The ship which was loaded during the scene, sailed off at the end carrying at least a dozen people. Because of the weight, the ship moved on tramway rails laid on the stage floor. Two scenes later, *The Times*\(^{61}\) described scene eight, which takes place in a cabin aboard the ship, as having a ceiling which rolled one way and bunks that rolled the other, while the floor remained stationary. The scene concluded with the ship breaking up and sinking. However, *The Times* did not think the scene worked very well, but did not elaborate.

\(^{60}\) *The Graphic*, January 4, 1890, p. 23.

\(^{61}\) *The Times* (London), December 27, 1890, p. 4.
Although *The Theatre* magazine found the 1892 pantomime dull, it did state that it was, "set in a Watteau-ballet of the costliest silks, satins, and brocades."62 One scene was set in the Ogre's castle and featured furniture built to giant scale, with a table seven feet high and a roaring fire to match. It is not known if the fire was real or simulated. None of the spectacle could keep William Archer from summarizing it by saying, "the production gave evidence of even more than the usual profusences of expenditure, and no more than the usual economy of brains."63

Archer continued to review the pantomimes the following year, and had this to say about *Robinson Crusoe*:

Sir Augustus Harris's fifteenth annual, *Robinson Crusoe*, is an excellent pantomime of what may be called the monster-medley type. It has as little as possible to do with the story of Robinson Crusoe, but that name is as good as another for a series of gorgeous pageants, with interludes by the most popular artistes.64

Archer's comments on the two remaining pantomimes of Augustus Harris's career reflected the general impressions left by other critics and reviewers. Writing of *Dick Whittington* in 1894, he said:

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64 Ibid., *The Theatrical World of 1894*, p. 4.
A certain effort in the direction of coherence is, indeed, discernable. Children will be able to recognize in the action several incidents from the life of their old friend Whittington. Moreover, the Music Hall element has been slightly reduced.

The Cinderella of 1895 brought this comment:

I heartily congratulate Sir Augustus Harris on the prettiest and most refined production of his reign. There is even a certain merit in the book of Cinderella. As for the spectacle, it is not only indescribably gorgeous, but, in two scenes at any rate, exceedingly beautiful. But beautiful rather than merely dazzling was the word to apply to the magnificent Ballroom scene; while the so-called 'Grand Transformation Scene' (not a Transformation scene at all, but a procession and ballet) was, to my thinking, by far the most exquisite spectacle, in its richness of design and delicacy of colour, we have yet seen on the Drury Lane stage. The aerial flights of the Grigolati Troupe, if they did not add much to the artistic charm of the scene, were in themselves ingenious and graceful, and will certainly enrapture the children.

All of these spectacular elements cost a great deal of money to stage. The following section discusses these costs and shows how Augustus Harris was able to afford such lavish productions.

Costs and Lengths of Runs

The pantomime, in the second half of the nineteenth century, was always an expensive show to produce, demanding complicated machinery, elaborate sets and sumptuous costumes.

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65 Ibid., The Theatrical World of 1895, pp. 1-2.
66 Ibid., The Theatrical World of 1896, pp. 1-2.
The large numbers in the casts also sent the costs upwards. However, the managers found that whatever was spent, usually was more than repaid. The pantomime was the largest moneymaker of the year, and its success frequently made the difference between a successful season and a losing one for the theatre.

As has been noted, Augustus Harris died a rich man. It is not possible to know just which of his projects made or lost money, but only one of his pantomimes is ever mentioned as having lost any money. That one was the 1893 *Robinson Crusoe* which he overfilled with music hall artists.

*The Theatre* magazine for January, 1882 discussed the company make-up and the costs involved in the production of the 1880 *Mother Goose*. The company size has previously been discussed, but not the costs. *Mother Goose* cost £6000 to open and £1500 to £1700 per week in salaries. Six years later, E. L. Blanchard writing in his diary for December 27, 1886, lists the cost to open the pantomime *The Forty Thieves* as £16,000. The *Theatre* lists the cost per performance of *Mother Goose* as £200. Only three years, later, Blanchard cites a conversation with a Drury Lane official in which he was told that the pantomime, *Cinderella*, was

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costing £250 per performance to produce. Augustus Harris, writing in a record of his first five years of productions at Drury Lane, states that he spent nearly £30,000 up to the time of the one hundredth performance of Cinderella, 1883. This averages about £3300 per week in production costs, compared to an average weekly cost of £1500 for the 1865 pantomime at Drury Lane. In less than twenty years, the weekly costs had more than doubled. This was not a period of generally inflationary costs in Great Britain, so it appears that the increase in costs is the result of a change in production size.

All of this money going out each week for each production was not a problem for Augustus Harris. The income at the boxoffice proves this point. On January 17, 1883, E. L. Blanchard wrote in his diary, "Augustus Harris this day advertises that he has taken £16,000 at Drury Lane in eighteen days—the largest sum in the time ever received!" The next year, on January 16, 1884, Blanchard

68 Ibid., p. 556.

69 Augustus Harris, Five Years at Old Drury, 1879-1884, p. 30.

70 Information gathered from Temple Bar magazine, March, 1866.


wrote, "Seeing Pettitt today, tells me that the Drury Lane receipts this week have been nearly £1,000 a day for two performances." This is the same production that was costing £250 per performance—a profit of £3,000 per week. On February 2, 1886, Blanchard again recorded some information on the receipts for the pantomime. "According to the World of this day, the receipts of the first sixty performances of the Drury Lane pantomime Aladdin amounted to £28,400!" 

No figures have become available concerning the later years of Harris' management. As Jimmy Glover puts it, "Harris was a good business man but always very touchy about his financial position, which, after his Shrievalty, was the cause of much unnecessary and unkindly remark." It is reasonable to assume that the early trends continued since Harris was reportedly wealthy at the time of his death.

The amount of money that any pantomime made was determined by the number of performances it played. Some information is available that indicates the Drury Lane

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73 Ibid., p. 556.
74 Ibid., p. 586.
pantomime usually ran from Boxing Night, December 26, until some time in March of the next year. In 1884, Harris wrote, "All through February ten performances have been given every week, a thing admitted by the Daily News to be unprecedented." 76

From contemporary sources it has been possible to determine the length of the runs for nine of the Harris pantomimes with some information known about a tenth. Some of the runs are listed in number of performances; while some are listed by the closing date with the number of performances estimated. Harris mentioned ten performances per week for the 1884 pantomime, but it is not known if this was always the number per week.

The following is a listing of the lengths of the performance runs:

1879 - 81 performances
1880 - 97 performances
1881 - 122 performances
1882 - 104 performances
1883 - 100 performances as of February 29, 1884 (still running at that time)
1888 - closed April 27, 1889, approximately 160 performances
1892 - closed March 11, 1893, approximately 115 performances
1893 - closed March 10, 1894, approximately 114 performances
1894 - closed March 16, 1895, approximately 122 performances

76 op. cit., Harris.
1895 - closed March 21, 1896, after 138 performances

All pantomimes opened on December 26, except 1881 and 1886, which opened on December 27. The average playing time for the individual pantomime was approximately four to four and one half fours.

In can be seen from this discussion that Sir Augustus Harris as a producer of pantomime, was dedicated to the use of spectacle in all of its visual aspects. He spent money on his pantomimes without regard for caution, and his efforts were rewarded. The extensive preparation period with the strong company produced the most magnificent pantomimes in London. The latest technical novelties were pressed into use to enhance the spectacle, which usually included glorious processions with hundreds of people in colorful costumes. Unfortunately, Harris's penchant for overdoing things led to critical complaints of dullness and sameness in spectacles which never seemed to end, but, his audiences ignored the critics and continued to flock to the Harris pantomimes each year.

Information for:
1879-1883 from Augustus Harris, op. cit., pp. 12, 17, 22, 26, 30; 1888 from The Theatre, February 1, 1889, p. 114; 1892 from The Theatre, February 1, 1893, p. 102; 1893-1895 from Archer, op. cit., World of 93, 94, 95.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Sir Augustus Harris was one of the most successful commercial theatre managers in England during the Nineteenth century. He operated Drury Lane theatre from 1879 to 1895 as a financial success while producing melodramas, pantomimes, and opera. His sixteen years at Drury Lane earned the National Theatre the reputation of being the home of spectacular entertainment. His extravagantly mounted productions forced other producers to follow suit in order to satisfy the audiences' continuing demand for greater spectacle.

Harris came from a theatrical family. His father was a manager at Covent Garden, and his mother operated a theatrical costume house. After a brief try at a business career, Harris went on the stage as an actor, but soon switched to stage-management. He acquired the lease of Drury Lane at the age of twenty-seven, having decided to fulfill the public's desire for spectacle on stage in the most lavish way possible.
He produced sixteen melodramas at Drury Lane, all but one of which carry his name as co-author. London audiences responded with great enthusiasm to the spectacle and lavishness of the productions, but the critics were generally unhappy with the scripts as drama.

Augustus Harris was also a successful producer of opera in London, with his first attempts being staged at Drury Lane. After these proved successful, Harris leased Covent Garden for opera and continued to produce there until his death at the age of forty-four. The operas were staged with the same lavishness as his other productions. His willingness to pay for the best talent, and his unique contractual arrangements with the singers, assured him of strong companies whenever he mounted an opera season.

Under Augustus Harris, the pantomimes were altered in two significant ways: the level of spectacle increased to a new high, and the use of music hall entertainers in the principal roles forced the pantomimes to accommodate their special talents. This was done by expanding the opening to accept the extra songs and comic routines brought by the performers from their music halls. These artists felt no allegiance to the script, so improvisation in the opening segment became prevalent during the pantomime performances.
It is possible to show how the scripts of the pantomimes changed under the management of Augustus Harris. By comparing representative scripts from the nineteen year period before Harris came to Drury Lane, with representative scripts used during his period, it is clear that under Harris the pantomime increased in length, in the number of songs used, and in the number of dances staged. Using all of the available scripts, counts were made of the number of scenes, songs and dances. It was then possible to compare the average number in each category before Harris’ management, with the count during his time at Drury Lane. During the period 1860-1878, the Opening of the Pantomime contained an average of seven and a half scenes, with the Harlequinade having an average of four point six scenes. Under Harris, the Opening average was twelve point nine scenes, with the Harlequinade having an average of only two scenes. The number of songs per pantomime rose from an average of ten in the earlier period, to an average of thirty-seven. The dances listed in the scripts rose from a low of five during the 1860’s to an average of ten during the Harris period. The counts of the songs and dances are taken from the published scripts, but it is possible that the actual productions might have varied the numbers since the use of improvisation by the music hall performers was common.
Based on the evidence of the scripts, the Harlequinade continued to lose most of its importance under Harris. It not only was reduced in length, but the content underwent changes. Before Harris, the Harlequinade was usually played by a double company of performers, two actors playing the same role and alternating with the scenes, and various kinds of variety entertainment was inserted which bore little or no relation to the traditional comedy. Such entertainment might range from groups of children doing dance numbers, to jugglers or aerial acts. Harris reduced the company to four performers on most occasions, and eliminated the extraneous entertainment. In reality, he merely moved the variety entertainment from the Harlequinade to the Opening, where the same, widely varied types of entertainments frequently turned up in his crowd scenes or processions.

The changes in the way plots were developed under Harris were primarily those caused by the increase in spectacle. In order to make the pantomimes longer, the story lines became more complex, thus offering more performers greater opportunities. The characterizations remained primarily the same—stereo-typed, two-dimensional, and cartoon-like. Identification of their function remained easy for the audience, with the heroes and the villains frequently stating their position in the early scenes, via song.
Augustus Harris' pantomimes were very expensive and complicated productions which required months of preparation with the first scene construction often beginning six months before the opening date. Harris was interested in this preparation period and constantly supervised various phases of it, and he insisted on historical accuracy when presenting representations of actual events or persons. This dedication and the huge size of the productions necessitated the expenditure of great sums of money, but he never economized on the visual elements of his pantomimes. He made use of authorities in the fields as technical advisers whenever he staged realistic events such as battles or marches.

Figures on the overall number of people employed at Drury Lane during the production of a pantomime do not differ greatly between 1865 and 1880. Temple Bar magazine suggests that the theatre employed "nearly nine hundred" people during a pantomime in the sixties, while The Theatre magazine states that Harris used between seven and eight hundred people in his first Christmas productions. Although the total size of the company may not have increased, the

1Temple Bar, March 1866, p. 542.
2The Theatre, January 1882, p. 27.
internal make-up was changed. For example, it is known by studying the cast lists that he began to use more girls in his productions than the earlier producers had done, and this is further shown by his reversal of the 1860's practice of casting a predominance of men in the principal roles.

In order to prevent as much competition as possible, Augustus Harris often employed more music hall talents than he needed. This was also true in his opera productions. He was able to get a large number of opera singers to sign contracts which prohibited them from performing for anyone else whenever Harris was staging opera. This practice caused him to spend a great deal of money to prevent talented people from working, but he also prevented his competitors from using the talents against him. These tactics were apparently successful since Harris reportedly died a wealthy man.

Harris does not appear to have been responsible for innovations in the use of technical facilities on the stage. He used all of the standard technology of his time to stage his pantomime spectacles such as the

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3 For an excellent study of the nineteenth century stage technology, the reader is referred to Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery (London, 1951). For explanations of various special effects during the period, Albert A. Hopkins, Magic (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967) is recommended.
ones discussed in this study, but he was not averse to including some of the world's newer technical developments if they would enhance his show. The prime requirement for inclusion in his show was that they be novel or spectacular, such as machine guns or electric cars.

The procession became one of the hallmarks of an Augustus Harris pantomime. This was a scene in which large numbers of people impersonated the various elements of a theme, and paraded on the stage in richly detailed costumes and with the appropriate props. The theme might be anything either suggested by the story or imposed on it by the mind of the manager. As the processions seldom had anything to do with the plot, it was even possible to use them more than once; or to design them for one story, then insert them into another without changing an element. Harris used at least twenty-four processions during fifteen of his pantomimes. The chief complaint voiced by the critics was that there was so much magnificence it tended to dull the senses and numb the viewer to the details. Harris constantly put more on the stage than could be appreciated at a single viewing.

The pantomimes of Augustus Harris tended to run long and to be expensive to produce. The average playing time was four to four and a half hours, with several commentators, such as the author E. L. Blanchard, indicating that
the Harlequinade usually began around midnight. Blanchard also has entries in his diary which show the costs of opening the pantomimes to have run from £5000 to £16,000, with the highest cost-per-performance recorded by Blanchard as £250. However, he also states that the box office income at the same time was running some £1000 per day for two performances, which represents a profit of £500 per day. Most of the pantomimes of Augustus Harris had runs which generally took them from December 26th into the month of March. If the income of £500 profit per day was maintained for only sixty days—a conservative figure—this would have represented a profit of £30,000 for the run of the pantomime.

Conclusions

Sir Augustus Harris was a commercially successful theatre manager who recognized his audiences' desire for greater spectacle in theatrical productions, and gave it to them. He set new levels of spectacle which other producers followed. Employing the same levels of spectacular production in melodramas, operas, and pantomime, Harris made these forms profitable. In addition to increasing the spectacle in the pantomimes, he established the practice of using performers from the music halls as the stars of the Christmas entertainments. This altered the form
of the pantomime by forcing it to expand and to accommodate their talents.

Harris has not found a large niche in the history of the theatre. His influence in the pantomime is still felt in that popular variety stars are often used in the leading roles today, but the level of spectacle that he established lasted only through the management of his successor, Arthur Collins.

Collins had been his assistant at Drury Lane for several years before Harris' death, and as stage manager had played a large part in the production of the Christmas annuals. After securing the lease for himself, Collins continued the Harris brand of pantomime production until his death in 1921. The principal contributions made by Collins to the pantomime were attempts to out-do his teacher by producing pantomimes which lasted five hours and cutting the Harlequinade to ten minutes. Competition from the movies and the huge expenses finally forced a reduction in the level of spectacle established by Harris and carried on by Arthur Collins.

Augustus Harris is remembered for re-establishing opera in London in the 1880's and making it financially secure. With the support of various members of society, Harris built up a solid bank of patrons that enabled him to maintain the most lavish production style in opera at that time.
Augustus Harris was not an innovator, but rather an elaborator. He took what he found in the theatre and expanded it. Generally speaking, his contributions to the theatre were limited to his style of production. He liked the lavish, colorful productions which used hundreds of people in moving masses. But, little that he did was original. However, it is in his favor to say that he was not so bound by traditions that he failed to use new technical advances if they would contribute to the productions.

There are further areas of study connected with both Augustus Harris and the pantomimes of England during the nineteenth century. A full-scale biographical study of Harris needs to be done. It has been indicated by this study that Harris is an interesting figure who was extremely energetic and active in many projects at once. More work remains to be done with his productions of operas and melodramas. While managing Drury Lane, Harris also managed Covent Garden, was active in civic affairs and published The Sunday Times.

Two men were very influential in the history of the pantomime in England during the nineteenth century—E. L. Blanchard, the author, and William Beverley, the designer and scene painter. Blanchard wrote every pantomime script for Drury Lane from 1852 through 1888 in
addition to serving as theatre critic for several periodicals and daily newspapers. He furnished pantomimes for other theatres as well, sometimes writing as many as five in one year. Because of his long productive life, a study of him should provide a good view of the changing theatre during a large portion of the nineteenth century.

William Beverley is one of the forgotten men of the nineteenth century theatre. He was active in the London theatre for nearly forty years, 1846-1884, yet almost nothing has been written about him. The Dictionary of National Biography says:

After Clarkson Stanfield, Beverley was the most distinguished scene painter of the nineteenth century. Not only did he excel in the practice of his art, but he assisted materially in its development.4

Working with J. R. Planché and Madame Vestris at the Lyceum theatre from 1847 until 1854, Beverley was responsible for the scenery which made the extravaganzas so popular with the audiences. Planché, writing in his memoirs,5 gave Beverley credit for starting the renewed interest in spectacular scenery which became common practice during the remainder of the nineteenth century.


Beverley moved to Drury Lane in 1854 and worked with that theatre, among others, for the remainder of his career. He did the scenery for all of Blanchard's pantomimes until 1884. His creation of atmospheric effects on scene drops was considered outstanding, and yet no study has been done on the man or his work.

A need exists for further work on the history of the pantomime. The years between 1860—the end of the period covered by the Morrow study—and 1879—the beginning of Harris' management—have not been studied in any great detail by theatre scholars. These years were very important in the development of the use of spectacular scenery in the English pantomime, as evidenced by the pantomime-extravaganza coming into full acceptance during this time. These decades also saw the first use of music hall stars in the major roles of the pantomimes, and the introduction of the use of the principal boy (a young girl playing the part of the young male hero) in these entertainments. A study of the English pantomime for the years 1860-1879 should yield valuable results to the theatre historian.
APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON SELECTED PANTOMIMES 1860-1877

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Scenes Excluding Harlequinade</th>
<th>Total Scenes in Harlequinade</th>
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APPENDIX A
(Continued)

STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON SELECTED PANTOMINES 1882-1894

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APPENDIX B

AUGUSTUS HARRIS MANAGEMENT

DRURY LANE*

George Rignold's Season

1879. "Henry V." (George Rignold), Shakespeare, Novr. 1st; "Blue Beard" (Pantomime), Augustus Harris' first, Bros. Grimm; E. L. Blanchard, Decr. 26th.


Miss Marie Litton's Season


1881. "The World" (Revival), Merritt, Pettitt, and A. Harris, Mar. 14th, preceded by "The Stores," Bucalossi, Rose and A. Harris.

John McCullough's Season


Frank and Pollini's German Opera Season

Madame Ristori's Season


The Carl Rosa English Opera Season


Carl Rosa Opera Season


1886. "Human Nature" (Revival), Pettitt and A. Harris, April 24th; Carl Rosa Season, May 31st; "Frivoli," Herve and W. Beatty Kingston, June 29th; "A Run of Luck," Pettitt and A. Harris, Aug. 28th; Slaviansky's Russian Choir (Matinees), July 13th and July 17th; "The Forty Thieves" (Pantomime), E. L. Blanchard, Decr. 27th.
1887. Carl Rosa Opera Season, April 30th; Italian Opera Season, June 13th; "Pleasure," Paul Merritt and A. Harris, Sept. 3rd; "Nitocris" (Matinee), Clo Graves, Nov. 2nd; "Fuss in Boots" (Pantomime), E. L. Blanchard, Decr. 26th.


1890. Carl Rosa Opera Season, April 5th; "Paul Kauvar," Steele Mackay, May 12th; "Million of Money," H. Pettitt and A. Harris, Sept. 6th; "Beauty and the Beast" (Pantomime), W. Yardley and A. Harris, Decr. 26th.

1891. "It's Never Too Late to Mend" (Revival), Charles Reade, April 11th; "Formosa," (Revival), Dion Bouicault, May 26th; "Drink" (Revival), Charles Reade, June 23rd; "A Sailor's Knot," Henry Pettitt, Sept. 5th; "Humpty Dumpty" (Pantomime), H. Nicholls and A. Harris, Decr. 26th.

1892. German-Italian Opera (Extra to Covent Garden Performances), June 13th; "The Prodigal Daughter" (well-known racer, "Voluptuary" used), H. Pettitt and A. Harris, Sept. 17th; "Little Bo-Peep" (Pantomime), Wilton Jones and A. Harris, Decr. 26th.

1893. English Opera (Spring Season), April 3rd; Comédie Francaise Season, June 12th; Grand Opera (Extra Performances by Covent Garden Artists), July 15th; "A Life of Pleasure" (Music by Glover), H. Pettitt and A. Harris, Sept. 21st; "Robinson Crusoe" (Pantomime, Augustus Harris' first great illness) H. Nicholls and A. Harris, Decr. 26th.

1894. English Opera (Matinees from April 14th to May 12th), March 24th; "Gentleman Jack" (James Corbett, Champion of the World) and W. A. Brady, April 21st; German Opera (Extra Performance by Covent Garden Artists), June 19th; "The Derby Winner" (Music by Glover), H. Hamilton, C. Raleigh and A. Harris, Sept. 15th; "Dick Whittington" (Pantomime), C. Raleigh, H. Hamilton and A. Harris (Music by Glover), Decr. 26th.
1895. English Opera (Spring Season), conducted by Glover, April 13th; Ellenora Duse Season, Conducted by Glover, June 3rd; Saxe-Coburg Ducal Company, June 17th; "Cheer, Boys, Cheer" (Henry Russell present), C. Raleigh, A. Harris, and H. Hamilton (Music by Glover), Septr. 19th; "Cinderella" (Pantomime, Motor Car first used on the Stage to take Cinderella to Ball), C. Raleigh, A. Harris and A. Sturgess (Music by Glover), Decr. 26th.

1896. English Opera Season, Conducted by Glover, April 4th; "Jo" (Jennie Lee), May 13th.

Sir Augustus Harris died June 22nd.

"Duchess of Coolgardie" (John Coleman's Season), Eustace Leigh and Cyril Clare, Septr. 19th; "Kiss of Delilah," Novr. 27th; "Aladdin" (Pantomime) (Management: Executors of Sr. A. Harris and Oscar Barrett), A. Sturgess, Decr. 26th.

BENEFITS

G. Rignold's Benefit ("Black-Eyed Susan"), 1879, Decr. 5th and 6th; Royal General Theatrical Fund Benefit (Matinee), 1881, Feb. 28th; Charles Harcourt Memorial Fund Benefit, 1881, May 18th; William Holland's Benefit (Matinee), 1881, Decr. 7th; Benefit to Sam Hayes, 1882, May 14th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1883, Mar. 19th; Actors' Benevolent Fund (Matinee), 1884, May 29th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1884, April 3rd; A.B.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1884, June 19th; Benefit to F. B. Chatterton (Matinee), 1885, Mar. 5th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1885, Mar. 26th; Benefit to Lady Julius Benedict, whose husband wrote "The Lily of Killarney" (Matinee), 1885, June 23rd; William Creswick's Farewell, 1885, Octr. 29th; Harry Jackson's widow Benefit, 1885, Novr. 26th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1886, Mar. 4th; Benefit to Lionel Brough (Matinee), 1886, July 6th; Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Russell's Matinee, The Harmony and Expression of Motion, 1886, July 31st; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1887, April 21st; Charles Warner's Benefit (Matinee), 1888, June 7th; Mrs. Anna Conover's Benefit (Matinee), 1888, June 11th; Exhibition of Armada and Elizabethan Relics (in the Foyer), 1888, Octr. 4th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1889, April 11th; R.G.T.F.
Benefit (Matinee), 1890, Mar. 17th; Benefit to widow of E. L. Blanchard, 1890, June 2nd; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1891, April 23rd; Aged French Professors' Benefit (Matinee), 1891, June 30th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1892, Novr. 24th; Peterkin Opera Company ("Royalty") Benefit (Matinee), 1893, Sept. 28th; "Sun" Miners' Benefit (Matinee), 1893, Octr. 12th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinee), 1893, Decr. 4th; "Genoveva" Opera by Pupils of the Royal College of Music, 1893, Decr. 6th; R.G.T.F. Benefit (Matinees), 1894, Novr. 15th; 1895, Novr. 28th.

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Books


Harris, Augustus. *Five Years at Old Drury Lane, 1879-1884, Being a Record of Productions at the National Theatre During the Last Five Years of the Management of Augustus Harris*. London: Alfred Gibbons, 1884.


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