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Title:
Reproducing Celebrity

Reproducing Celebrity: Painted, Printed and Photographic Theatrical Portraiture in London, c.1820-1870

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the production, dissemination and reception of theatrical portraiture in London between 1820 and 1870, arguing that these painted, printed and photographic portraits function as sites upon which cultural anxieties about celebrity – in which concepts of gender and theatrical genre had a significant role – are negotiated. At its root, I argue that a thematic analysis of theatrical portraiture's many nineteenth-century forms shows the significance of remediation and recognition for the period's actors and artists, thus emphasising the ways in which current scholarly divisions between visual culture and theatrical culture did not exist. In this thesis I seek to redress an imbalance in the art historical study of theatrical portraiture, which has often focused on the grand manner painting of a handful of Royal Academicians, and take issue with the perception that the 'golden age' of theatrical portraiture ended around 1820.

Chapter one analyses the business of producing theatrical portraits, and takes the professional archives of lithographers Richard James Lane and John William Gear as a lens through which to understand the demand for such images. The second chapter questions the assertion that theatrical portraiture fell from favour as a subject for public exhibition. Turning to the iconography of one performer, chapter three argues that Priscilla Horton harnessed the ubiquity of theatrical portraiture by including self-referential 'living portraits' in plays at her own theatre, thus exploiting her audiences' sophisticated visual vocabulary. The fourth chapter considers how viewers engaged with theatrical portraits in serial publications and collections, such as *Figaro in London*, and argues for the importance of theatrical portraiture as a constituent part of the new comic graphic art of the 1830s and 1840s. The final chapter follows theatrical portraiture into the age of photography and examines the almost infinite reproducibility of the carte de visite.

Acknowledgements

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

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Introduction

In the early months of 1836 the lithographer Richard James Lane (1800 – 1872) attended Covent Garden Theatre regularly. However, Lane did not spend his time there only viewing the performances; he was also at work in the dressing room of prominent tragic actor Charles Kemble (1775 – 1854). Both before and after the performances, and even during the course of the play, a costumed Kemble sat for Lane. The resulting sketches were worked up into lithographs by Lane and eventually published in 1840 as *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble Esq.re Drawn from the Life.*[1] The recurrent presence of a printmaker inside the working spaces of the theatre emphasises an essential argument made throughout this thesis: that theatre was a fully integrated part of nineteenth-century visual culture. Disciplinary divisions that separate the study of visual culture and theatrical culture in present-day scholarship have obscured these linked histories. In what follows, I address the production, dissemination and reception of theatrical portraiture in London between 1820 and 1870, arguing that painted, printed and photographic portraits functioned as focus points upon which cultural anxieties about celebrity and commemoration – and in which concepts of gender and theatrical genre had a significant role – were negotiated. My key research questions ask how artists and performers interacted in this period, and what the economic mechanisms that brought theatrical portraits to the marketplace were. What effects did the increasing availability of more varied and less labour intensive printmaking techniques, especially lithography, have on the visual appearance and material quality of theatrical portraits? To what extent was the market for theatrical portraiture segmented by price, the fame of the sitter or the socio-economic background of the artist? Throughout the nineteenth century, the makers of West End theatre were confronted with the need to legitimise their profession, an issue that particularly affected women performers who were often accused of impropriety. In their scholarship, Jacky Bratton, Tracy C. Davis and Catherine Hindson have

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[1] Richard James Lane, *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble Esq.re Drawn from the Life* (London: Colnaghi and Puckle, 1840), n.p.

addressed the resourceful strategies with which women performers countered these assumptions.[2] Was it possible for theatrical portraiture to promote a desirable collective image for female performers, and how might this be achieved? In what ways could the amalgamated or composite portrait, in which multiple performers appear in a series, or in a photographic grid, forge collective identity? What different effects did the composite print have in comparison to the composite carte de visite, an art form that briefly flourished in the early 1860s? Closely linked to the composite portrait is the repeated appearance of theatrical portraits in three principal forms of serial publication - illustrated biographies and play-texts, songbooks, and caricatures - which form a key focus of this study. These publications are linked by format, content and technique, and were frequently issued by the same publishers. Despite their extensive circulation and apparent popularity throughout the mid-nineteenth century, neither art historians nor theatre historians have provided a sustained consideration of the presence of theatrical portraits in serial publications. What effect did the addition of theatrical portraits have on the purchasers of songbooks and play-texts? Could their inclusion prime audiences' perceptions of a performance, or did they create venues for the re-enactment and remediation of theatrical memories?

The origins of theatrical portraiture as a genre in British art lie in the seventeenth century. Peter Lely (1618 – 1680) and Godfrey Kneller (1648 – 1723) painted portraits of performers such as Antony Leigh (d.1892) and Nell Gwyn (1650 – 1687), though those of Gwyn, King Charles II's mistress did not depict her in a particular role. Shearer West has argued that the development of theatrical portraiture in Britain was influenced by the arrival of Jean-Antoine Watteau's (1684 – 1721) *fêtes galantes* to England in 1720. Watteau's London-based followers, especially the Hanoverian Philippe Mercier (1689 – 1760) and Dutch-born Marcellus Laroon (1653 – 1702), pioneered a kind of painting that drew on Watteau's use of commedia dell'arte characters to

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[2] Jacky Bratton, *The Making of the West End Stage: Marriage, Management and the Mapping of Gender in London, 1830 – 1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991); Catherine Hindson, *London's West End Actresses and the Origins of Celebrity Charity, 1880-1920* (Iowa City: Iowa University Press, 2016).

depict scenes from English plays.[3] In the eighteenth century theatre gradually became the primary mode of popular entertainment and painters and printmakers like William Hogarth (1697 – 1764) began creating works with subjects explicitly taken from contemporary plays featuring readily identifiable performers. My definition of what makes a theatrical portrait includes both likenesses in which the performer(s) are depicted in character and those in private dress. The doubling effect of the theatrical portrait, in which images must be identifiable portrayals of a known performer, and, at the same time, recognisable likenesses of a particular character has led other scholars to differ in their definition of what constitutes a theatrical portrait. Theatre historians such as David Mayer have suggested that less attention should be paid to offstage portraiture, than to paintings, prints and photographs showing actors and actresses in character, because these works communicate little information about the theatrical sphere.[4] Gill Perry, amongst others, has countered this view by persuasively arguing that offstage portraits allowed performers to construct professional identities and bolster perceptions of their social status.[5] My argument develops Perry's definition by paying particular attention to the periodical illustrations and composite carte de visite photographs that confidently mix portraits of performers in and out of character on the same picture plane.

I examine the portraiture of established painters such as Daniel Maclise (1806 – 1870), and lesser-known lithographers Richard James Lane (1800 – 1872) and John William Gear (1806 – 1866) alongside historical sources including periodical reviews, autograph albums, manuscript letters and account books. My case studies show how actors and artists alike used these representations to forge public reputations, commemorate personal relationships, and to establish authoritative likenesses within the fugitive art of theatre. Throughout, I assert that theatrical portraits did not duplicate the reality of the performance upon which artists claimed

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[3] Shearer West, "The Theatrical Portrait in Eighteenth Century London" (PhD diss.,University of St Andrews, 1986), 17-21.

[4] David Mayer, "The Actress as Photographic Icon: From Early Photography to Early Film," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Actress*, ed. Maggie B. Gale and John Stokes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 79-80.

[5] Gill Perry, *The First Actresses: Nell Gwynn to Sarah Siddons* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011), 16, 21.

them to be based. Rather than replicate, portraitists and their sitters controlled, idealised, usurped and fixed images in the consciousness of audiences. My research questions address the circulation of theatrical portraiture in this period from four critical viewpoints: the producers (painters, photographers and printmakers), the sitters (actors and actresses), the disseminators (exhibition venues, editors, publishers and print-sellers) and the audiences (exhibition-goers, theatre-goers, periodical readers). In current scholarship on nineteenth-century theatrical portraiture, there is a striking absence of approaches that combine the material conditions of theatre-making, by which I mean how a performer established a reputation for particular roles, with the increasingly professionalised careers of London-based visual artists. Studies of eighteenth-century theatrical portraiture by Shearer West, Gill Perry, Mark Hallett, Joseph Roach, Jim Davis and Heather McPherson have successfully emphasised parallels between the overlapping worlds of the studio and the stage and the importance of personal relationships between artists and performers to the formation of celebrity.[6] However, the heterogeneous theatrical sphere that emerged in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (formalised by the 1843 Theatres Act that permitted more than just the two patent theatres to perform spoken drama) requires an approach that places reproduction at its centre. It is for this reason that printmaking, the primary means by which theatrical portraits were reproduced and reached their audiences between 1820 and 1870, runs as an essential linking strand through all five chapters.

As an art form that disseminates and depicts (or purports to depict) the appearance of an actor and therefore their public visibility, theatrical portraiture is indissolubly linked to the concept of celebrity. Throughout this thesis I intentionally use the term 'celebrity' rather than 'fame'. Though the two concepts are closely connected, 'fame', as Leo Braudy has shown, was

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[6] Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (St Martin's Press, 1991); Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theatre* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations: Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre, 1768-1820* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007); Mark Hallett, *Reynolds: Portraiture in Action* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014); Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture in Late-Georgian and Regency England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); Heather McPherson, *Art and Celebrity in the Age of Garrick and Siddons* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

considered to be superior and associated with enduring accomplishments that can trace their roots to the ancient roman concept of *fama*.[7] Celebrity, on the other hand, is associated with the image-driven state of being well known or much talked about.[8] As a discipline, celebrity studies was initially rooted in the cinematic period but scholars such as Christine Gledhill, Su Homes and Sean Redmond have argued that film took its model of stardom from the theatres.[9] I deploy Chris Rojek's terminology to describe the kinds of celebrity at stake within the nineteenth-century theatre. In his book, *Celebrity,* Rojek divides celebrity into three categories: ascribed (defined by lineage and predetermined), achieved (defined by perceived accomplishments in a field) and attributed (defined by perceived accomplishment in a field, fuelled by representation as such by cultural intermediaries). Attributed celebrity is a direct result of mass-media and Rojek also refers to these short-burning, media-fired celebrities as celetoids. Especially pertinent for the widely reproduced portraits analysed in my thesis is Rojek's argument that the mass-media representation of individuals is the key principle in the formation of celebrity culture. He emphasises the connection between celebrity culture and commodity culture by stating: "celebrities are commodities in the sense that consumers desire to possess them."[10]

Art and theatre historians initially approached celebrity through the lens of biography and charisma. In his book *It* Joseph Roach tracks the historical trajectory of 'it', the mysterious, attractive characteristic often possessed by theatrical performers.[11] For Roach celebrities have two bodies: "the body natural, which decays and dies, and body cinematic, which does neither."[12] Roach also claims that these double-bodied celebrities "foreground a peculiar combination of contradictory attributes expressed through outwards signs of the union of their imperishable and mortal bodies. These include the simultaneous appearance of strength and vulnerability...let

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[7] Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and its History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 426.
[8] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 45-76.
[9] Christine Gledhill ed., *Stardom: Industry of Desire* (London: Routledge, 1991), xiii; Sean Redmond and Su Holmes, ed. *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader.* (London: SAGE Publications, 2007).
[10] Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion, 2001), 15.
[11] Joseph Roach, *It.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).
[12] Roach, *It*, 36.

those marks of strength be called *charismata*; the signs of vulnerability, *stigmata*."[13] These marks

work together in a fascinating interplay that translates into a foundation for public intimacy. So,

Roach argues, Thomas Betterton (c.1635 – 1710) was a more effective tragic actor because of the

way in which his increasingly vulnerable body emphasised the growth of his moral strength.

Correspondingly, as performers aged they had to be careful not to let their *stigmata* overwhelm

their *charismata* to the effect of embarrassment and the destruction of a carefully constructed

'idol' image.[14] Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody's edited collection *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain*

1600-2000 was the first book to explicitly explore the construction and production of celebrity in

British theatre.[15] However, whereas the contributors to Luckhurst and Moody's book

overwhelming explored the concept of celebrity through the discrete lens of individual

biography, my thesis follows scholars such as Heather McPherson by positioning celebrity as a

"dynamic sociocultural phenomenon produced by a multidirectional matrix of factors."[16] While

McPherson's study focuses on the emergence of modern celebrity culture in eighteenth-century

London, my thesis seeks to understand how the expansion of reproductive printmaking

technologies, and the advent of photography, reshaped celebrity culture in the mid-nineteenth

century.

The heterogeneous theatrical environment invoked by the case studies considered in this thesis,

in which key actors and actresses performed in large patent theatres such as the Theatre Royal,

Covent Garden and at small venues such as the Gallery of Illustration, was matched by an

increasingly varied landscape for the exhibition of theatrical portraiture in London. In addition to

the Royal Academy, what kinds of spaces were available for the exhibition of theatrical

portraiture? To what extent was it possible, through repeated exhibition in a variety of venues,

for a theatrical portrait to mimic the effect of a performer's tour? Many rich and complex studies

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[13] Roach, *It*, 36.
[14] Roach, *It*, 37-39.
[15] Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody, *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
[16] McPherson, *Art and Celebrity,* 7.

of individual nineteenth-century performers have been published in recent scholarship, but assessments of a performer's evolving iconography over a long career are less prevalent. Important exceptions include explorations of Charles Mathews' (1776 – 1835) portraiture and studies of Eliza Vestris (1787 – 1856), Henry Irving (1838 – 1905) and Ellen Terry (1847 – 1928).[17] Notably, these performers were amongst the most critically and financially successful of their day. I turn to a performer who was lesser-known both now and during her career, Priscilla Horton (1818 – 1895), to ask how mid-ranking performers collaborated with artists to fashion their careers and achieve parity with their peers. In particular, I ask how Horton deployed the language of the London art world at her own theatre, the Gallery of Illustration. In this thesis I employ an object-focused approach that argues for the importance of theatrical portraiture as an art that brought the bodies of stage performers into closer contact with disparate audiences. Throughout I argue for the significance of miniaturised scale, tactility and portability.

By recalibrating the history of theatrical portraiture with the business of making theatre in London between 1820 and 1870, this study addresses an imbalance in the existing scholarship on portraits of performers. Recent scholarly studies have been unfairly skewered towards the Regency period and have relied upon an insufficiently nuanced narrative of rise and fall to characterise the shift between the appearance and production of theatrical portraits from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century. This narrative locates the zenith of theatrical portraiture from around the late eighteenth century until the end of the Regency period, with a steep decline occurring in the mid-nineteenth century.[18] Two factors have driven this account of theatrical portraiture. The first is institutional: scholarly engagement with theatrical portraiture in Britain's capital have derived principally from the collection of portraits in evidence at the

[17] Jim Davis, "Representing the Comic Actor at Work: The Harlow Portrait of Charles Mathews," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 31 no. 2 (2004): 3-15; Janice Norwood, "Picturing Nineteenth-Century Female Theatre Managers: The Iconology of Eliza Vestris and Sara Lane," *New Theatre Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (2017): 3–21; Shearer West, "The Photographic Portraiture of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry," in *Ruskin, the Theatre and Visual Culture,* ed. Anselm Heinrich, Katherine Newey and Jeffrey Richards (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 187-215.
[18] Geoffrey Ashton with Kalman A. Burnim and Andrew Wilton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club: A Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture* (London: Garrick Club, 1997), xix.

Garrick Club in London, and the strengths of this collection lie primarily in the Georgian period. The archival research I have undertaken at the Bristol Theatre Collection, the National Archives, the British Museum, the Yale Center for British Art, the Harvard Theater Collection at the Houghton Library and the National Portrait Gallery has sought to further expand the iconographical basis for theatrical portrait research.[19] The second factor is technological: in the Georgian period there were two key media for the production of theatrical portraits, painting and copper-plate intaglio printmaking, though from the 1750s the advent of stipple engraving did reduce the price of theatrical portraits therefore making them more accessible.[20] However, by the early to mid-nineteenth century there was a much greater range of technologies available for the creation of portraits including mezzotints, stipple or line engravings, etchings, wood engravings, lithographs and aquatints.[21] Although versatile individuals often practiced a number of these techniques, each still required particular expertise, training, equipment and materials on the part of the printmaker and their publisher. From the 1820s, copper-plate intaglio printing began to decline as publishers increasingly favoured the durable plates and resultant longer print-runs made possible by steel engraving and lithography.[22] Yet, it is not accurate to argue that artists were no longer painting or engraving theatrical portraits on copper. Rather, as Henry Miller has noted in relation to political portraits, new media coexisted and complemented one another.[23] My thesis covers the period from the supposed end of the 'golden age' of theatrical portraiture in 1820 to the dominance of cartes de visite photography in the 1860s. The complex profusion of lithographs, steel or wood engravings and early photographic methods presents a challenge for

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[19] I have undertaken my doctoral research as part of the Collaborative Doctoral Partnership scheme between the National Portrait Gallery and the University of Bristol, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This scheme has provided enhanced access to the collections of the National Portrait Gallery and given me with the opportunity to undertake object-focused research. Aspects of this research have been disseminated in the form of a large case display at the National Portrait Gallery titled 'Reproducing Fame: Printmakers and the Nineteenth Century Stage' (Room 24, 27 August 2016 - 31 July 2017).

[20] Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor,* 46.

[21] For more on these techniques and their development see Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (London: British Museum Press, 1996) and Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: British Museum Press, 2016).

[22] Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print: The Nineteenth Century Engraving Trade* (London: Farrand Press, 1984), 9.

[23] Henry Miller. *Politics Personified: Portraiture, Caricature and Visual Culture in Britain, c. 1830-80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 5.

scholars of theatrical portraiture in this period. My focused 'case study' approach meets this challenge by considering the perspectives of artists, performers, publishers and audiences.

In this study I contend that rather than suffering from a lull in the quality or vitality of the genre, in the nineteenth century theatrical portraiture was undergoing a complex series of shifts and continuities closely linked to the social and infrastructural developments in the theatre. By tracking the concurrent histories of theatre-making and lithography as a fine art technique in the early to mid-nineteenth century, in the first part of the thesis I also suggest that both benefitted from being attached to one another in the public imagination. In the late 1820s and 1830s the use of lithography for fine art was still in the process of establishing its legitimacy and a similar observation can be made for theatres and the acting profession. The synthesis of lithographic art and theatrical art into the established and time-honoured genre of portraiture was a significant move towards reputable collective identity formation. In chapter one I argue that theatrical portraiture in the nineteenth century took on a character quite unlike that of the previous period. The eighteenth century was an age in which the image of the actor became a key component of social, political and aesthetic discourses through a limited number of powerful stars, namely David Garrick (1717 – 1779), Sarah Siddons (1755 – 1831) and John Philip Kemble (1757 – 1823).[24] However, from the late 1820s onwards technological advances, developments in the physical and ideological make-up of the theatre during the patent theatre saga - in which the two patent theatres of Drury Lane and Covent Garden lost their legal rights to the spoken drama in favour of free market competition - and the commercialisation of the art world meant that theatrical portraiture was dispersed through a greater number of players to a widening public.[25] This was a period of expansion, both in terms of Britain's population and cities' capacity to entertain. A greater number of theatres meant that there were more performers in circulation,

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[24] Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor*, 149.
[25] In reality, theatres had been using burletta licenses to get around the hegemony of the patent theatres for years. See Joseph Donohue "Introduction: The Theatre from 1800 to 1895," in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre Volume 2, 1660-1895*, ed. Joseph Donohue (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), 220-222; Tracy C. Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage 1800-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8; Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

travelling across the country and generating variegated layers of theatrical celebrity at local, regional and for a select minority, national level.

The development of new theatres and more players meant an increase in the overall number of portraits in circulation compared to the previous century, but not necessarily to an increase in the accuracy of likenesses produced. Portraits sometimes bore only a minimal resemblance to the physical features of the performer and ought to be seen as a representation of what artists and audiences imagined their characters' physical and inner characteristics to be. In other words, portraits could encapsulate a constructed on-stage presence, the performance of a character type or a mediated celebrity image. Therefore, any analysis of theatrical portraits requires a consideration of the artistic processes that brought them into existence, the social conditions pertaining to the artists and their theatrical sitters and an understanding of the locations where portraits were mediated and consumed. A close study of theatrical portraits in this era also demonstrates the diversity of performances carried out over the nineteenth-century and resists periodisation, by defining time into the 'age' of individual famous actors.[26]

While both theatre and art historians have been interested in how theatrical portraits were received and understood in this period, there has been little sustained study of the relationships linking producers, performers and consumers.[27] I utilise a cross-disciplinary methodology, drawing upon art and theatre histories. My approach combines an examination of portraits' materiality with the intra- and extra-theatrical networks connecting stage, studio and retail spaces to reveal the artistic and financial concerns underpinning them. This approach offers benefits for both disciplines. Theatre historians are familiar with the ephemerality of stage performance and have often sought to interrogate the traces of theatre through its extant visual culture. Equally,

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[26] Jim Davis, "Presence, personality and physicality: actors and their repertories, 1776-1895," in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre Volume 2 1660-1895*, ed. Joseph Donohue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 290.
[27] The agency of the late Victorian actress, but not the role of the portraitist, in forming on- and off-stage celebrity reputations has been explored in Sos Eltis, "Private Lives and Public Spaces: Reputation, Celebrity and the Late Victorian Actress," in *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000*, ed. Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2005), 169-190. See also West, "The Photographic Portraiture of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry,"187-215.

art historians can provide an understanding of how the specificities and technical limitations of printing techniques and the iconographic conventions of portraiture shaped artistic production and intention. At a geographic level, an art historical approach to the powerful London institution of the Royal Academy, and the city's emergent art market, affords insight into how portraits functioned in the greater web of urban printed visual culture.[28] Theatre historians have developed methods for understanding the multiple visual meanings of stage objects and images in their own temporal moment, paying close attention to historically specific sets of aesthetics in a process that Tracy C. Davis has called the "hatching in of context."[29] Finally, though both disciplines recognise the visual sophistication of mid nineteenth-century audiences, it is important to analyse the interactive and reciprocal relationship between these ways of seeing as exercised during the theatrical event, and in the theatrical portraits which proliferated around and after the show.

Portraits of both male and female figures will be studied in this thesis. In the history of British art, the creation of a portrait has repeatedly marked a moment of transformation in the social identity of an individual, such as university graduation or political promotion.[30] Traditionally, women have been denied these opportunities and were typically only portrayed upon marriage or aristocratic succession, but theatrical portraiture offers a different kind of legitimation: that of publicity and commerce. For instance, the advent of a new role, the joining of a new company, a benefit or revival was sufficient reason for the creation of a portrait of an actor or actress. Focused on both sexes, my thesis will examine how gender impacted upon the creation of a theatrical portrait and probe the "patriarchal keying of stardom."[31] This approach is also significant because it marks a turn away from the actress-focused lens of much recent

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[28] David Solkin, ed., *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

[29] Tracy C. Davis, "The Context Problem," *Theatre Survey* 1 no. 2 (2004): 204.

[30] For more on portraiture and legitimacy see Whitney Davis, "Serial Portraiture and the Death of Man in Late-Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *A Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present,* ed. Dana Arnold and David Peters Corbett (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 502-531.

[31] Barry King, *Taking Fame to Market: On the Pre-History and Post-History of Hollywood Stardom* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2.

scholarship, exemplified by the National Portrait Gallery's exhibition and publication *The First Actresses: From Nell Gwyn to Sarah Siddons.*[32]

Conditions for the production of theatrical portraiture

Theatrical portraits were not created in a vacuum; the commercial infrastructures and market forces that shaped all cultural production in the nineteenth century also governed the creation of painted, printed and photographic likenesses. The recognition of the impact of capitalism, censorship and government intervention has resulted in a significant revaluation of the theatre of the period, perhaps mostly notably Tracy C. Davis' reframing of theatre as "a product of economic ideology."[33] Conditions for theatre-making in the period affected how portraits were produced and what diverse demands they fulfilled. As a component of nineteenth-century economic activity, the theatre produced a number of commodities, such as scripts, costumes and, far more intangibly, performances. Portraits of performers were theatrical commodities too, although they circulated in the extra- rather than intra-theatrical world and were mediated through the intentions of the artist and the limitations of the chosen technique. As I will demonstrate, particularly with regards to the under-acknowledged printmaker John William Gear, the exposure of theatrical portraits was also restricted by the economic pressure felt by artists. While the precarity of creative employment was not unique to the nineteenth century, as recent analysis of eighteenth century expenses for leisure relative to poets, actors and authors' income has demonstrated, the 1830s were a particular period of friction for the London stage.[34] In 1843 direct governmental intervention was felt in the form of the Theatre Regulation Act. This act officially allowed minor theatres in the London metropolitan area to present the spoken drama without fear of prosecution, whereas previously only the Drury Lane and Covent Garden had this right as patent theatres holding a monopoly on the spoken drama. However, the debates

[32] Gill Perry with Joseph R. Roach, Shearer West, *The First Actresses: Nell Gwyn to Sarah Siddons* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011).
[33] Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage,* 7.
[34] Robert D. Hume, "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices and Buying Powers-And Some Problems of Cultural Economics," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 77 no.4 (2014): 373-416.

that culminated in the 1843 act had rumbled throughout the 1830s, having their first public

airing in the 1832 *Report from the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature*.[35] This report stressed the

Select Committee's belief that there had been a decline in dramatic literature and in the taste of

the theatre-going public, and aired the Select Committee's concerns over the changing sizes of

theatres and the need for theatrical censorship.[36]

The changing shape of the theatre is discernible in its shifting geography; from the late 1820s to

1830s at least twelve new venues sprang up in the West End and beyond; by 1843 there were

twenty-four theatres licensed by the Lord Chamberlain.[37] In physical terms theatres had been

growing larger since the late eighteenth century. Sir Robert Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre

Royal built in 1809 (destroyed by fire in 1856, rebuilt in 1858) seated a huge audience of 2,800 in

the open boxes, pit and galleries and an undetermined number in the private boxes. While the

established, formerly patent theatres may have been increasing in capacity, the conditions for

viewing theatre were not consistently improving as forestages were shrinking and views of the

stage were frequently obscured, meaning that actors had to be even clearer in their projection.[38]

The overwhelming size of theatres was bemoaned during the first half of the century. Edmund

Kean's 1828 performances of Othello at the slightly more compact English Opera House, which

with a 2,000-person capacity held around 1,000 fewer spectators than the former patent houses,

were highly praised.[39] Commentators noted that he was shown at "so much advantage in this

comparatively small house, that we shall be tempted to regret his return to Covent Garden;

persons who have only seen him in one of the large houses, can scarcely form an adequate

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[35] *Report from the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature: With the Minutes of Evidence* (London: House of Commons, 2 August 1832).
[36] For a summary of the 1843 Theatre Regulation Act and its history see Jim Davis, "Looking Towards 1843 and the End of the Monopoly," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832* ed. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 156-173.
[37] Richard Schoch, "Shakespeare and the Music Hall," in *The Performing Century: Nineteenth-Century Theatre's History* ed. Tracy C. Davis and Peter Holland (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 236.
[38] Joseph Donohue "Introduction: The Theatre from 1800 to 1895," in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre Volume 2, 1660-1895* ed. Joseph Donohue (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), 227.
[39] Anon., *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, vol. XV (1830): 136.

opinion of his perfect talent….much of this is lost in the large theatres".[40] However, it would be inaccurate to suggest that theatres were getting larger universally; instead a host of smaller and more intimate venues were appearing. From the mid-century onwards these smaller venues flourished, with The New Royalty holding 722, the Prince of Wales' 814 and the particularly bijou Gallery of Illustration seating just 362 when it received its licence in 1861.[41] The variety of viewing experiences offered by newer venues correlated to greater range in the images of actors and actresses available to consumers. Visitors to the expanse of the Covent Garden Theatre Royal might want to see famous poses reconstructed especially as, in an effort to counteract their diminished reach from the stage, actresses and actors continued to invoke the generations-old 'language of passions' to boldly and clearly transmit action to the audience.[42] Theatrical portraiture could both help to establish an actor's line of business, and also alter it. Patrons of smaller venues may have appreciated multiple images of their beloved stars, with whom they could build up a more intimate relation due to proximity. My focus on a wider range of venues and those who performed within them therefore also increases the number and type of performer considered by theatre and art historians in current scholarship.

Technical developments in stage lighting, which gradually changed from tallow, oil and candles to gas during the late 1810s and 1820s, also had an impact on how the audience perceived its players. Gas lighting allowed for greater control of effects than oil or candlelight, with gas batten 'lengths' and oxy-hydrogen limelight making it increasingly possible to focus light on areas of the stage.[43] Lighting the stage with gas did not uniformly improve the conditions for viewing plays though; audience members complained about the size of the footlights as well as how they smoked, flickered and refracted the light so that performers appeared distorted. The new gas lighting also caused problems for actors and actresses who had to avert their eyes from the glare

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[40] Anon., *Theatrical Observer*, November 25, 1828, 1.

[41] *Report from the Select Committee on Theatrical Licenses and Regulations* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), 295.

[42] Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985), 26.

[43] Christopher Baugh, "Stage design from Loutherbourg to Poel," in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre Volume 2, 1660-1895*, ed. Joseph Donohue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 325

and their expressions were, as some critics complained, "destroyed by the reversal of shadows under which the face is usually and best seen. The figure suffers as much as the face from this inversion".[44] Accusations were made that too much gaslight caused stage make-up to become bleached out and new lighting also revealed the inadequacies of some cheaply made costumes, spoiling visual effects.[45] Such commentary reveals the instability of likeness and vision within the theatre and urges a serious consideration of how the specific spatial and technological conditions of theatres impacted the visual experience of audiences. While some theatregoers were struggling to discern performers, for others, the permanent illumination of both the stage and its audience, which remained until the 1880s when it became possible and customary to dim the house lights, meant that the dynamic between performers and theatregoers was more intimate and immediate. They could look one another in the eye and visually (as well as aurally) express approval or disdain.[46] Although electric light was experimentally installed at the Haymarket in 1848, technological developments did not make electric lighting commonplace in theatres until the mid-1880s.[47] In *The Victorian Eye* Christopher Otter asserts that nineteenth-century visual experience should not be reductively parcelled into the two rigid paradigms of the flâneur and the panopticon. Instead he suggests that much more rich and varied patterns of perception, including introspection and mutual observation, were at play.[48] In this thesis I argue that a multiplicity of varied and inconstant viewing experiences were also active within theatres, and that optical ambiguity, in part, drove demand for the theatrical portraits that purported to show fixed, un-obscured likenesses. For instance, most theatrical portraitists chose to eliminate or greatly simplify the stage scenery in their portraits. This is the case even if, as in the case of Lane and Charles Kemble introduced above, preliminary sketches were taken during the actor or

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[44] Alfred Aigner, "On the illumination of theatres," *Journal of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 2 (1831): 46.
[45] Terrence Rees, *Theatre Lighting in the Age of Gas* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1978), 189.
[46] Rees, *Theatre Lighting in the Age of Gas*, 187-8.
[47] Christopher Otter, "Cleansing and Clarifying: Technology and Perception in Nineteenth-Century London," *Journal of British Studies* 4, no.1 (2004): 57.
[48] Christopher Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 2008), 3-8.

actress' onstage performance. Often, artists employed costume, gesture and the occasional hand-held prop to suggest the imagery of the play, rather than stage scenery itself. In bringing the figure of the actor to the front of the picture plane artists and actors took a step towards countering the visual instability of the stage.

A final decisive change to the theatrical spectacle in the early to mid-nineteenth century was the move towards long runs for plays and the 1860s decline of the stock system, a theatrical system which had thrived since the Elizabethan period in which actors specialised in dramatic types such as leading lady, villain or tragedian.[49] In one respect, the dominance of long runs was a boon for the portraitists of the day as actors and actresses could make a claim for ownership of a particular role in more tangible and reproducible fashion, but the greater availability of portraiture also recalibrated the idea of a singular 'great tragedian' or 'great comedian'. These mantles were challenged by the greater visibility of an increasingly wide range of performers playing the same roles. Actors such as Charles Fechter (1824-1879) could become renowned for his Hamlet at the same time as Samuel Phelps (1804-1878), while simultaneously vying for visibility with other actors such as Gustavus Vaughn Brooke (1818-1866). While portraits (Figs.1-3) of these actors in character as Hamlet were not produced at exactly the same dates they would have been in circulation in the same period. Certainly, some performers were connected more closely with the role of Hamlet than others, Charles Fechter in particular was noted as the favourite Hamlet of figures including Charles Dickens, but the character of Hamlet was not wedded to a single performer in the early nineteenth century.[50] No individual actor could claim what Joseph Roach has termed 'role icon' status - when a performer inhabits a role both "on and off stage, no matter what other parts they enact night to night".[51]

Together, the changes to theatre capacity, lighting and programming provide a complex and sometimes contradictory set of conditions that had an impact upon how audiences saw and

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[49] Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage*, 316.
[50] Charles Dickens, "On Mr Fechter's Acting," *Journalism* IV: 403 – 9.
[51] Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 39.

imagined the stage, which in turn influenced how artists interpreted performances in portraiture. While some actors and actresses were increasingly becoming visually associated with their most played parts, and consumers were perhaps more likely to want a visual representation of that definitive role, there was also a diversification of these parts. David Worrall has claimed that the availability of theatre seats in London around 1800, which he asserts exceeded one million, means that the cultural impact of the theatre was far greater than that of the Royal Academy exhibitions in the same period.[52] Worrall argues that the grand paintings of Lawrence and Reynolds have "distorted our sense of the original balance between the artists and the theatres on which their work depended…it was the volume, frequency and reiteration of theatrical performance within Georgian society that created a cultural economy which comprehensively mediated, reflected and produced a variety of perspectives on politics, empire, sexuality and celebrity."[53] While this view is persuasive it fails to account for the vast dissemination and impact of printed theatrical portraiture, which was only increasing in magnitude and reach from the 1820s onwards. In the case studies that follow I draw a portion of this vast printed theatrical portrait output back into the discourse on mid-nineteenth-century theatre to reconsider the 'distorted balance' identified by Worrall.

The exhibition of impressive oil portraits in the respected spaces of the Royal Academy allowed a small portion of society, principally the elite, to engage with theatrical portraiture. Exacting engravings after these portraits eventually made it possible for wider audiences to view them, though a high-quality mezzotint could take at least a year to be finished and cost a guinea.[54] By the mid-1820s however, a smaller scale engraving, or a lithograph, could be worked-up, printed, coloured and published in less than six weeks. Publishers could also choose to target the lower spectrum of the market with illustrated song sheets which cost just a penny. To illuminate the

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[52] David, *Celebrity, Performance, Reception: British Georgian Theatre as Social Assemblage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 38-39.
[53] Worrall, *Celebrity, Performance, Reception,* 40.
[54] Sheila O'Connell, "A contract between George Harlow and William Cribb," *Print Quarterly* 8, 1 (1991): 48-49.

relationship between mid-nineteenth-century theatre audiences and the market for theatrical

portraits, an understanding of what a theatre ticket might cost in relation to a theatrical print is

helpful. However, the analyses of theatrical financial records undertaken by Tracy C. Davis, in

her *Economics of the British Stage,* and by Jim Davis and Victor Emeljanow in their *Reflecting the*

Audience make clear the difficulty of drawing broad conclusions on the price of audience

admission tickets. Evaluating admission prices is problematic because the valuation of sterling

varied considerably throughout the period 1820-1870 and because admission to the gallery in

one theatre might be the same rate as admission to the boxes in another. In 1841 admission to

Covent Garden was slightly more expensive than Drury Lane; Drury Lane charged 5s to a

private box, 3s for the pit, 1s 6d for the lower gallery and 1 s for the upper gallery. At Covent

Garden dress boxes cost 7s, admission to the first and second circles was 5s, 3s for the pit and 1s

for the gallery; both theatres allowed half-price admission after 9pm.[55] As an indicator of value,

7s was the cost of 1 days' skilled labour in 1840 and would be worth approximately £21.15 in

2017.[56] In 1845, the successful suburban Sadler's Wells Theatre charged 4s for a private box and

6d in the gallery. However, prices fluctuated widely across the city with the newly legitimate

theatres such as the City of London and Victoria charging considerably less; in 1846 both

charged 1s for a box.[57] Even within individual theatres prices rarely remained stable and

management had to react to spectator demand. For instance, plummeting audience numbers at

Drury Lane led to manager E.T. Smith not only altering the kind of entertainment on stage but

also lowering admission charges to 4s for stalls, 3s for dress boxes, 2s for the pit, 1s for the lower

gallery and 6d for the upper gallery, during the 1852 Christmas season.[58] Nonetheless, in most

cases a single theatrical portrait, including those in periodicals like *Figaro in London* that sold for

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[55] Jim Davis and Victor Emeljanow, *Reflecting the Audience: London Theatregoing, 1840-1880* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), 268, n. 52.

[56] Calculations drawn from http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/.

[57] Davis and Emeljanow, *Reflecting the Audience*, 246, n.49; Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage*, 206.

[58] Davis and Emeljanow, *Reflecting the Audience*, 203.

1d and those by John William Gear which sold for 2s or 3s, was significantly cheaper than a ticket to the theatre.

Following publication, there were many ways in which potential consumers could survey and purchase theatrical prints but perhaps the most obvious is the display in the print shop window. The print shop, its glass facade crowded with freshly published images jostling for attention, forms the subjects of many comic prints in which theatrical portraits can be discerned. These windows functioned as a proxy to the stage; the transparent frontage welcomed spectatorship while also acting as a physical barrier to audiences. The process of viewing theatrical portraits allowed spectators to familiarise themselves with the performer's representation in that role. In addition, when viewed from the streets, the actor or actress partially re-performed that role so that the pavement dwellers virtually joined (or re-joined) the theatregoers who had seen the role activated under the proscenium arch. The display is the window, which could feature many performers in a variety of roles and poses, therefore accentuated the essential live-ness of theatre and the interpretive process that translated movement into static print. Important distinctions must, however, be made between these audiences, as social class, gender, and wealth governed who could financially and culturally afford to see what. As other scholars have noted, the throng depicted by illustrator Richard Doyle outside Delaporte's print shop (Fig. 4) presents a well-ordered vision of the print shop window, with an open doorway indicative of commercial openness and success, but this gentility was not uniform.[59] For instance, in a single plate lithograph entitled 'The Print Shop Nuisance' (Fig. 5) the anonymous artist has depicted an old man staring rapaciously at the sketchy print of a dancer featuring in a shop's window display. As alluded to in the caption 'Stopping to admire the Pets of the Ballet in a print shop window, the circumstance leaves a lasting impression on your Coat as well as your Mind', the central joke of this comic lithograph turns upon a smartly dressed gentleman having his coat soiled by the soot-covered sweeps also peering into the window. Broadly, this print restates how the perceived

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[59] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order, 1830-50* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 112.

decadence of the stage and questionable morality of those who performed there affected the reception of portraits in the public sphere. 'The Print Shop Nuisance' is also an explicit commentary on the dissolution of appropriate boundaries of class distinction between the sweep and the gentleman. However, the choice wording of the caption, which contains printmaking appropriate wordplay on the term 'impressions', also indicates the important role portrait prints could play in building up the sophisticated visual vocabulary of theatregoing audiences. George Cruickshank's print 'Outside of a Humble Print Shop' (Fig. 6) also accentuates the almost myopic attention paid by consumers who ignore the bustle of the streets to rifle through the penny boxes. In utilising these prints to inform our understanding of how nineteenth-century consumers encountered theatrical portraits it is necessary to emphasise that these prints were caricatures, seeking to exaggerate and distort. However, the space around the print shop was one in which substantial numbers would have come into contact with theatrical prints and it is important to recognise these spaces as ones of integration and re-performance. The geographic location of print shops and printmakers' premises was also significant as many were well within easy walking distance from the West End theatres, on the Strand or Fleet Street or around Holborn. As such they were frequently passed by theatre-goers and performers on their way to or from a performance.

There is evidence to suggest that keen playgoers could pick up a likeness of their favoured performer in the run up to, or immediate aftermath of, the play. Lithographs were for sale at Drury Lane Theatre, a fact supported by its lessee, J W Hammond's bankruptcy petition of 1840, which named him as a "book and print seller dealer and chapman".[60] It was perhaps just outside the theatre that a more audible trade in theatrical portrait prints was occurring as street hawkers offered their wares. In August 1866 *The Times* somewhat melodramatically recalled the sudden visibility of John Liston's character Paul Pry, which he debuted at the Haymarket in 1825:

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[60] Public Records Office B9/42

Liston's figure, with the strangely-shaped straw hat, the striped trousers crammed into

the Hessian boots, and the indispensible umbrella, was sure to be seen everywhere- on

the walls of the Royal Academy, on the penny sheets of the theatrical print-seller, and on

the image-board of the itinerant Italians...likewise ornamenting the signs of gingerbread

stalls and the carts belonging to the vendors of ginger-pop. Go where you would 40

years ago, you could not by any means avoid Paul Pry; the stern Puritan, by some means

or other, knew his face and costume as well as the most inveterate playgoer, and his

frequently-recurring phrase, 'I hope I don't intrude', became a constant element on the

'chaff' of the London street-boy.[61]

Newspaper advertisements also broadened the reach of potential portrait purchasers as volumes

were announced and puffed in theatrical periodicals like *The Era* and papers such as *The*

Examiner. In 1858 for instance Henry Lea announced his new venture entitled *Lea's British Drama*

and Theatrical Portrait Gallery, a weekly publication of a play, one of the "best Tragedies, Comedies,

Melodramas and Farces in the English language", accompanied by a "highly finished full-length

portrait of some actor or actress", available for twopence from all booksellers.[62] It is also likely

that actors would have brought prints of themselves with them on their regional and

international tours, as they would later with cartes de visites and as Garrick had done in the

eighteenth-century. This wider network of dissemination allowed virtual engagement with

performers for many, particularly until developments in transport significantly increased

potential theatre audiences in London around the mid 1850s.[63] The consumption of theatrical

portrait prints was undoubtedly governed by price, for the song sheets and simpler prints

available from street sellers would have been purchased by poorer theatregoers while Lane's

refined lithographic albums were high status, expensive objects. Antony Dyson has claimed that

[61] Anon., *The Times*, 31 August, 1866, 3
[62] Anon., "Lea's British Theatre," *The Era*, 7 Nov 1858, 8.
[63] Davis and Emeljanow, *Reflecting the Audience,* 179-84.

reproductive prints were aimed at the growing ranks of the middle classes.[64] However, as the variety of prints assessed above demonstrates, engagement with theatrical portraits cannot be narrowly pinned to one particular social group. To assert that certain audiences only purchased certain types of theatrical portrait (for instance only comic or Shakespearean) would be to misread history in the same way as suggestions that only lower class audiences attended the music halls while respectable audiences patronised the theatres. Both theatres and music hall catered to mixed clienteles, sometimes within the same building, sometimes according to the neighbourhood in which they were located.[65] Having worked in detail through the methodology of the thesis and the complex economic and commercial infrastructure that underpinned the production of both theatre and printmaking in mid-nineteenth-century London, I will now outline the chapter structure.

Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into five chapters, each of which addresses theatrical portraits from a different viewpoint in the nexus of theatrical portrait production, dissemination and reception.

How did the underlying mechanisms of printed theatrical portraiture in London function between the late 1820s and the 1860s? Chapter one focuses on the practice of key portrait lithographers Richard James Lane (1800-1872) and John William Gear (1806-1866) to assess the ways in which artists, performers and publishers interacted to create theatrical portraits. Lane was a significant artist of theatrical lithographs, and his long and successful career spanned the 1820s to early 1860s; yet his portraiture has been almost entirely overlooked by scholars. An examination of the rich evidence in Lane's previously unstudied correspondence and account books, NPG Archives MS 56-65, elucidates the process of sitting to a drawn portrait for lithographic reproduction, financial dealings with printers, and dissemination through publication and exhibition at the Royal Academy. The archival collections relating to John William Gear,

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[64] Dyson, *Pictures to Print*, 9.
[65] Davis and Emeljanow, *Reflecting the Audience,* x.

held by the Harvard Theater Collection, demonstrate the breadth and range of his portrait practice. This chapter also places Lane and Gear into a specifically theatrical context by paying close attention to the material conditions of theatres, and considering how scale and lighting affected the demand for portraits of actors in a range of roles.

In the second chapter, I turn to portrait painters, principally Daniel Maclise, to understand the different exhibiting spaces in which audiences came into contact with large-scale theatrical likenesses. What spaces, intellectual and physical, did theatrical portraits occupy in London's expanding and varied exhibition culture in the mid-nineteenth century? I consider the motivations and intentions that both artists and performers had for showing portraits at venues including the Royal Academy, as well as smaller retail spaces such as Joseph Hogarth's print shop. My aim is to establish the extent to which the display of theatrical portraits was connected to the complex broadening of theatrical culture in this period and in particular to question assertions that the genre fell from favour in exhibitions. The two case studies that follow indicate the different exhibiting models and venues then spanning the metropolis. The first study focuses on the 1838 Royal Academy annual exhibition and the appearance of two portraits of Charles Kean as Hamlet. The second considers Daniel Maclise's oil portrait of *Charles William Macready in the character of Werner,* and explores the effects of the theatrical portrait assuming the role of the painted understudy by following the actor around Britain on his farewell tour. Finally, the concluding section considers how the theatrical profession sought to collect and display its stars at the end of the period addressed in this study.

Chapter three examines the varied serial portraiture of the noteworthy actress and singer Priscilla Horton, also known as Mrs German Reed (1818-1895). How did the conventions of theatrical poses, compositions and background vary or remain constant in the period? How did a performer's gender, age and favoured roles shape the ways in which artists portrayed them? A case study of Priscilla Horton's changing portrait likeness, and of the artists who altered her

public image in correspondence with her changing career, marriage and developing role as a theatre manager, will advance an understanding of these key research questions. The first section proceeds chronologically, starting with an examination of Horton in the role of Ariel, which was the part that came to define her early career and identity. In the second section I discuss Horton's autograph book as a marker of the actress' sophisticated visual literacy. This rich resource, containing lively illustrations and letters by leading nineteenth-century artists and performers, is now held at the Free Public Library of Philadelphia. In the mid-1850s Horton and her husband embarked on a new theatrical venture, the small Gallery of Illustration. Based on Regent's Street, the Reeds theatre marketed itself as a kind of respectable drawing room entertainment, despite the fact that it charged for tickets and had a regular programme.[66] Portraits of Horton from this period of her career focus more intently on her expressions or the content of the song or act being played rather than spectacular posing effects. As a more mature performer who, as both a manager and proprietor, had far more creative and financial powers to choose and direct the roles she played, Horton was able to exercise greater agency over her representation. I argue that at this theatre Horton continually elided her theatrical entertainments with the visual arts; by drawing on references to grand manner portraiture and Hogarth, Horton appropriated respectability and engineered her reputation for commercial and social gain.

In chapter three I suggest *hyper-recognition* as a model for explaining how the web of imagery surrounding a performer drew from static visual portraiture and the kinetic stage. *Hyper-recognition* recalls Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's concept of hypermediacy, or the overlaying of different kinds of media so that the viewer registers remediation, as the use of ideas and meanings from previous historical models such as references to paintings or literary adaptations.[67] The term suggests that more is at stake for artists than copying or recording a scene as it actually was, and viewers were conscious of the visual and temporal slippage between

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[66] Jacky Bratton, *The Making of the West End Stage: Marriage, Management and the Mapping of Gender in London, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 72-74.

[67] Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (London: MIT Press, 1999).

live performances and static images. Put differently, I mean that the translation of Horton's mobile, dynamic and ephemeral stage performance onto the fixed surface of paper or canvas was never unmediated and always an interpretive process.

In the 1830s theatrical portraits increasingly appeared in serial publications such as periodicals, play texts and songbooks; the presence of theatrical portraits in these publications was part of a larger technologically and commercially led change, which saw a shift from single-sheet engraved or etched prints to bound serials.[68] Chapter four focuses on the interaction between text and portrait image. Firstly, in chapter four, I examine two interrelated, but distinct, forms of serial portrait publication which achieved widespread popularity in the first half of the nineteenth century: biographical publications featuring theatrical frontispieces and songbooks. How did theatrical portraits function in these often cheaply illustrated publications? The additional of theatrical portraits to serial publications began in the late 1770s with John Bell's *British Theatre*, but it was in the early nineteenth century that this form of book illustration was developed and elaborated.[69] A case study including Daniel Terry's *British Theatrical Gallery: A Collection of Whole Length Portraits, with biographical notices* (H. Bertoud, 1825) will analyse the formation of collective and individual biography in the context of increased interest in both nationalism and professionalism. What was the purpose of illustrations such as vignettes and full-length portraits within songbooks? Were they intended to recall previous evenings' entertainment or provide suggestions for domestic performance? Songbooks including *The Universal Songster*, T. Duncombe's *London Vocalist* and *Hodgson's London Songbook for 1833* will be considered as publications which negotiated between private consumption and public performance, between individuals and communities. Many of the illustrations to serial theatrical biographies and songbooks were produced quickly and relatively crudely, and often by the same artists who were producing caricatures or comic 'scraps' for the periodical press. The final section of this chapter

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[68] Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, "Introduction: The Lure of Illustration," in *The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century Picture and Press* ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 2.
[69] See Chapter 1 for an introduction to John Bell's illustrated plays.

will examine the integration of theatrical portraiture into printed comic art in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. How, and why, did printmakers such as William Heath, William Newman, Alfred Crowquill, Theodore Lane and William Chester Walker draw upon the conventions of theatrical portraiture for their comic graphic productions?

The fifth and final chapter addresses a new form of photographic portraiture that gained great popularity in the 1860s - the composite carte-de-visite - to understand the formation of collective theatrical identity. These pocket-sized images did not supersede printed portraits of actors and actresses, but their widespread proliferation and affordability did provide a different way for nineteenth-century consumers to engage with the likenesses of stage performers. The black and white photograph known as the carte arrived in England from France in 1857. Patented in Paris by André-Adolphe Diséri in 1854, in England carte-de-visites did not achieve their enormous popularity, a phenomenon sometimes known as cartomania, until the end of 1859. The boom lasted until around 1864.[70] Chapter five is concerned with two elements of identity which can be conveyed by portraiture: likeness and recognisability, rather than self-expression through photography. I explore the extent to which photographs such as cartes made performers more recognisable to their London publics, and suggest that photographic experiments such as the composite carte aimed to combat the banality and standardisation which threatened to merge theatrical celebrity into the masse of carte production. In the second part of this chapter I focus on the theatrical portrait images created by significant nineteenth-century photographer (George) Herbert Watkins (1828-1916). Watkins produced both cartes de visite and larger format albumen print photographs of prominent public figures. While his photographs of artists and writers such as Charles Dickens and John Everett Millais have received considerable scholarly attention, the same treatment has not been extended to his theatrical images.[71] Yet Watkins was an important

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[70] Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegorie* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 71.

[71] See Gertrude Mae Prescott, "Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900," (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1985), 101-124. See also Carol Blackett-Ord, "Sir George Everett Millais by

photographic innovator and the record he compiled of his own works, now Album P301 at the National Portrait Gallery, shows how Watkins experimented with pose and cropping to better express the performing styles of his theatrical subjects. Chapter five will consider the photographs Watkins produced to accompany printed biographies in Herbert Fry's *National Gallery of Photographic Portraits* (1857-58) publication series, and his experimental photographic caricatures, which combined large, photographed heads with drawn and printed bodies.

Having worked in considerable detail through the technological and economic conditions in which theatre and theatrical portraiture were produced in the mid-nineteenth-century, my chapters will now offer deeper analysis of the genre from the four critical viewpoints noted at the opening of this introduction: the producers (painters, photographers and printmakers), the sitters (actors and actresses), the disseminators (exhibition venues, editors, publishers and print-sellers) and the audiences (exhibition-goers, theatre-goers, periodical readers). The research questions I pose in this thesis address theatrical figures whose iconography and visual agency has hitherto fallen below the interest of art historians. In particular, my cross-disciplinary methodology centralises the importance of repetition and reproduction within both the intra and extra-theatrical worlds to argue for theatrical portraiture as a collaborative medium within which producers, performers, publishers and audiences could calibrate and project their understanding of celebrity, identity and respectability.

(George) Herbert Watkins," *Later Victorian Portraits Catalogue: Online Database, National Portrait Gallery.* http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitExtended/mw09148/Sir-John-Everett-Millais-1st-Bt?LinkID=mp03083&role=sit&rNo=3

Chapter One

The Business of Theatrical Portraiture in London: the Portrait Lithography of Richard James Lane and John William Gear

In January 1840, the weekly periodical the *Theatrical Journal* succinctly described the recent history of theatrical portraiture: "It has been customary for many years whenever an actor or actress comes before a London audience, if at all successful, to have their portraits taken, by which means the town becomes familiarised both with their name and person."[1] The type of portraits to which the *Theatrical Journal* refers were prints, which tidily carried the faces and stage name of the performer on one sheet. Though Shearer West and Jim Davis have noted the ubiquity of prints of performers in the period from late eighteenth century onwards, little scholarship has sought to understand the mechanisms and relationships that brought these prints to market.[2] My first chapter is therefore driven by three questions: how did performers and printmakers interact during this period: through formal sittings, by the artist attending the theatre or by some other means? What were the economic mechanisms, by which I mean the arrangements between printmakers, publishers and print-sellers, which brought these portraits to public marketplaces? Finally, what effects did the growing availability of less labour intensive printmaking techniques such as lithography have on the visual appearance of theatrical portraits?

Pursuing an understanding of how artists interacted with performers, and the economics of theatrical portraiture, is particularly important for the period examined in this thesis due to these new printing technologies. In this chapter I examine the shape of the theatrical portraiture market from the late 1820s to the 1860s, investigating how these images were produced and disseminated, while aligning this history with that of changing conditions within theatres. The

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[1] Anon., "Theatrical portraits," *Theatrical Journal* 1 (January 1840): 58.
[2] Shearer. West, *The Image of the Actor*; Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture in Late-Georgian and Regency England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

creation of a theatrical portrait was governed not only by the mechanics of its artistic production but also by the demands of the theatre world where the figure acted publicly, however, these two critical strands are rarely brought together by scholars seeking to study and interpret nineteenth-century portraits.[3] As such, I draw together the business of the theatre and the resources that influenced artistic choices, with the business of the studio. From the 1820s onwards the appearance, and eventual popularity, of new printing techniques such as lithography, steel engraving and wood engraving started to expand and modify the market for theatrical portraits. The delicacy of the lithograph technique, and the swiftness with which lithographs could be printed, made them well suited for theatrical portraits – an art form that required accuracy and contemporaneity for success. Consequently, this chapter examines the practices of two lithographers who specialised in theatrical subjects throughout their careers: Richard James Lane (1800 – 1872) and John William Gear (1806 – 1866). My intention here is not to propose that Lane and Gear were exceptional in how they approached actors for sittings or utilised their personal theatrical networks for subject matter. Instead I situate these artists' careers as two remarkably well documented case studies which lay the groundwork for understanding how the careers of many other artists working as theatrical printmakers, including little known lithographers such as James Henry Lynch (fl. 1815 – 1865) can be approached.[4]

Until the early nineteenth century the majority of successful theatrical portraits were made as prints after oil paintings, often by established portrait painters such as Johann Zoffany, William Hogarth and Thomas Lawrence. While portraits varied significantly in quality and appeared on everything from single sheets to fans to playing cards, using a great range of printed techniques, they tended to be reproductive. The leading publisher of theatrical portraits in the late eighteenth-century was John Bell (1745-1831). His *Bell's Shakespeare* and *Bell's British Theatre*

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[3] Recent treatments of earlier historical periods have been more inclusive, see Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations* and Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture.*

[4] Although James Henry Lynch exhibited twenty-four portrait lithographs at the Royal Academy between 1856 and 1865, scholarly interest in Lynch has been limited to a short entry in a specialist dictionary. See Rodney K Engen, *Dictionary of Victorian Engravers, Print Publishers and Their Works* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1979).

produced hundreds of portraits, predominantly drawn by Samuel de Wilde and James Roberts and then engraved by James Thornthwaite, Wiliam Leney and Philippe Audinet amongst others. Bell's illustrated editions of plays were popular and inspired many copies and plagiarised versions.[5] Though the portraits in Bell's editions claimed to be "drawn from the life" this was often a fallacy. The images cannot be directly linked to specific performances and, in addition, almost a third of these purported portraits presented actors in roles that there is no record of them having appeared in.[6] This approach differs considerably to the one taken by Richard James Lane and John William Gear, both of whom proudly sketched from the life in most instances, and noted this fact in the paratextual lettering beneath their prints.

The variety of painted and printed theatrical portraiture available in the early-nineteenth century suggests a buoyant and growing market for this type of art. The top of the market was dominated by theatrical portraits shown at the Royal Academy's exhibitions, which included an annual contingent of fifteen to thirty theatrical portraits from 1795 to 1835.[7] Engravings made after these portraits were then often used as frontispieces to collections of plays, such as George Cumberland's *British Theatre* and *Minor Theatre*. In addition, theatrical portrait prints appeared in theatrical biographies and illustrated theatrical periodicals, but the quality of these engravings varied widely and often tended to be crude. The market then, was fairly uneven in quality, even if the anticipated audiences still tended towards the upper-most section of theatregoing society. As an upcoming member of London's art establishment Lane was aware of the types of publications and portraits which were being produced and may have discerned a gap in the market for fine, well-executed printed theatrical portraits. His lithographs could be produced more quickly than mezzotint engravings after George Clint's 1820s theatrical scenes but retained the high-quality

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[5] Kalman A. Burnim and Philip H. Highfill, *John Bell, Patron of British Theatrical Portraiture : A Catalog of the Theatrical Portraits in His Editions of Bell's Shakespeare and Bell's British Theatre* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 10.
[6] Burnim and Highfill. *John Bell,* 20-24.
[7] Between 1795-1835 a total of 778 theatrical portraits were shown at the Royal Academy exhibition, including 26 in 1830, figures quoted in Ashton with Burnim and Wilton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club,* lvi.

lustre of the new art of lithography. Typically, Lane would create portraits of the actors in costume; of the 152 theatrical portraits recorded in his account books 130 portray the sitter in character, and in a posture relating to a particular moment of the play. This substantial output makes Lane a key figure of nineteenth-century theatrical portraiture but his work has been overlooked in scholarship. Lane managed to maintain a respectable position in the Royal Academy, exploit a relatively new art form of lithography and produce commercially successful prints in rapid response to market demand. His account books and correspondence, as well as his finely-drawn portraits, construct a fuller picture of how he strategically cultivated a particular market for his work. John William Gear's output also focused on portraits of performers, and he eventually became an established artist-lithographer with premises on Charlotte Street, Fitzrovia. Influenced by his artistic and musical family background, Gear produced drawings and lithographs that depicted the players, members of the audiences, and backstage theatre staff. His father, Joseph Gear (1768-1853), was an artist and musician who worked as a double bassist at Drury Lane, and practiced as a marine painter. While John William Gear followed his father's example, his brother, Henry Handel Gear, inherited the family's musical proclivity and became a concert singer.[8]

Lane and Gear were near contemporaries, but the uneven progress of their careers suggests that Lane's more socially elevated background gave him privileged access to artistic institutions such as the Royal Academy and aristocratic patronage. Without institutional support, Gear instead searched for topical niches within the theatrical portrait genre by turning his attention to portraying the audience and backstage workers. This chapter utilises previously unstudied collections of drawings, prints and correspondence created by both artists. The National Portrait Gallery holds the core collection of material relating to Richard James Lane (NPG MS 56-65), while the Harvard Theatre Collection at the Houghton Library holds that relating to John

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[8] Anon., "Chit chat." *Theatrical Journal,* 1 (1840): 211-212.

William Gear (MS Thr 636).[9] Gear and Lane's careers flourished in the same period, c.1820 –

1860, and in the same genre, but the detail and depth of NPG MS 56-65, which contains account

books and professional correspondence far outstrips that of the Houghton's holdings on Gear.

For this reason, the opening of this chapter focuses primarily on Lane, and draws upon

accounting material and letters to uncover the artistic and economic opportunities, as well as

pressures, which shaped his portraiture. In this second part of this chapter I compare two short

but substantial pieces of writing – both addresses to the public, written as explanatory

accompaniments to bound sets of prints – by each lithographer. Though theatrical lithographs

have been habitually dismissed as straightforward records of performance, these notices indicate

that Lane and Gear perceived their portraits to be a form of, and stimulus to, dramatic critique.

The chapter concludes by assessing the critical reception and later reputations of both artists.

Building a Reputation

Born to Theophilus Lane, prebendary of Hereford Cathedral, and Sophia Gardiner, niece of

celebrated portraitist Thomas Gainsborough, Richard James Lane began his formal artistic

training at the age of sixteen when he was apprenticed to the engraver Charles Heath.[10] Under

Heath, Lane was introduced to lithography, a printmaking technique that was still new to Britain

in the early 1820s. In 1824 the leading lithographic printer in England, Charles Hullmandel,

commissioned a vignette from Lane for his lithographic treatise *The Art of Drawing on Stone*

(1824); the two men formed a professional relationship and Hullmandel become the printer for

almost all of Lane's early lithographs.[11] As a young artist striving to establish himself in the

increasingly competitive London art world Lane was keen to gain entry into the Royal Academy.

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[9] Richard James Lane, *Account Books, Correspondence and Indexes, 1800-1872* (NPG MS 56-65). National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Library and Archive; John William Gear and Joseph Gear Drawings and Prints, 1817-1865 (MS Thr 636). Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
[10] Michael Twyman, "Lane, Richard James (1800–1872)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15997
[11] Charles Hullmandel, *The Art of Drawing on Stone, Giving a Full Explanation of the Various Styles, Etc* (London: Charles Hullmandel and Rudolph Ackermann, 1824).

Therefore Lane's decision to dedicate his 1825 series of tinted lithographs entitled *Studies of figures, selected from the sketch books of the late Thomas Gainsborough* (Fig. 7) to the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Thomas Lawrence, was especially strategic. In response, he received a letter from Sir Thomas Lawrence dated 4th May 1825:

> "My dear Sir,
>
> Receive my sincerest thanks for this admirable specimen on your talents, and evidence of your kindness. I shall carefully preserve it, both for the sake of the artist, and as remembrance of a young friend whom I so entirely esteem. I hope in the next week to have the pleasure of a visit from you....[12]"

His delicate reproductions showcased the novel technique of tinting lithographs. This technical feat successfully replicated the crayon-like effects of Gainsborough, and simultaneously helped him to forge a reputation within academic circles.[13] As noted above, Thomas Gainsborough was his mother's uncle, and invoking his familial ties paved the way for Lane to be accepted by the Academy, which they did two years after his submission to Lawrence by making him Associate Royal Academician in 1827. A letter dated 18th June 1830 from artist Martin Archer Shee praising a lithograph that Lane had made showing the death mask of Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769 – 1830) (Fig. 8) demonstrates how Lane's reputation with other academicians was quickly secured: "Your lithograph of our poor friend Sir Thomas still excites my highest admiration; and perhaps it will be some gratification to you to learn that the sentiment has been echoed to me by several members of the Academy."[14] Lane's Gainsborough connection also had a particular theatrical facet as not only did Thomas Gainsborough paint portraits of David Garrick and Sarah Siddons but his nephew and successor, Gainsborough Dupont (1754 – 1797) was a significant theatrical

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[12] RJ Lane/NPG/MS 61/Correspondence/Vol.1/Letter 1.
[13] Michael Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography: Printed Colour for All* (London: Oak Knoll Press, 2013), 46-47.
[14] RJ Lane/NPG/MS 61/Correspondence/Vol.1/Letter 20.

portrait painter of the late eighteenth century. In the 1790s Gainsborough Dupont was commissioned by Thomas Harris, then manager of Covent Garden, to paint the theatre's performers and is known to have produced 24 portraits, of which 16 are extant.[15] In electing to become a specialist in theatrical portraiture Lane continued to draw upon his valuable artistic heritage.

Following his election to Associate Royal Academician in 1827, Lane began corresponding with a wide-ranging circle of Royal Academicians, architects, printers and patrons. This invaluable professional and personal network, evidenced by letters from academicians Sir Thomas Lawrence, C. R. Leslie, Richard Westmacott, Edward Hodges Baily, Sir Francis Chantrey and William Holman Hunt, brought the still-young lithographer an array of commissions and collaborations. In 1836 Lane worked with portraitist Alfred Edward Chalon (1780 – 1860) to reproduce a set of seven comic drawings that Chalon had made featuring singers Guilia Grisi and Luigi Lablache (Fig. 9). The letters that passed between Lane and Chalon during the production of this project, which was published by John Mitchell under the title *Recollections of the Italian Opera 1835*, show Chalon giving Lane control over the structure of the publication: Chalon instructed Lane to "place the drawings on the table or on the floor and see if there does not make a good arrangement."[16] Here, Lane's contribution was to translate Chalon's spontaneous, lively caricatures into a coherent series and provide organisation to caricatures which Chalon had produced rapidly.

Lane emerged as an artist during a time in which it was becoming possible, or even desirable, for artists to have economic acuity and pursue commercial success. Formerly, eighteenth-century ideals of artistic sensibility had stunted open commercial activity for artists, who were wary of accusations of greed or social climbing. However in the nineteenth century, as Julie Codell has

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[15] John Hayes, "Thomas Harris, Gainsborough Dupont and the Theatrical Gallery at Belmont," *The Connoisseur* 169 (1968): 221-27.

[16] RJ Lane/NPG/MS 61/Correspondence/Vol.1/Letter 25.

argued, artistic professionalism was encouraged and "the Victorian press significantly contributed to a discourse in which the civic and the commercial were sometimes symbiotic, sometimes merged, but rarely adversarial."[17] This relationship between artists, their patrons, publics and the press was not without anxiety as some artists were unable to view their art as a commodity. While influential critics such as John Ruskin did promote the idea of the innocent artist working outside the norms of capitalism, entrepreneurialism and economic acumen were increasingly regarded as necessary attributes.[18] In pursuing theatrical portraits as a significant strand of his artistic practice Lane followed the publisher John Bell and other printmakers in understanding the appeal of the theatrical portrait series. This tactic allowed him to create both reproductive prints, such as his celebrated eight portraits of John Philip Kemble after John Boaden (Fig. 10), and capture contemporary performers in a number of roles as in his *Theatrical Sketches*. Much like theatrical enterprises themselves in the mid-nineteenth century, the creation of theatrical portraits seems to have been financially uncertain despite Lane's excellent contacts. He often drew these portraits at no charge to the actor, instead relying on his printer or publisher to pay him at a percentage of the anticipated profits. Occasionally he would also sell the copyright of an image to someone or the original drawing itself.[19] This range of commercial tactics suggests that he had to be flexible and enterprising in a competitive art world.

Similarly enterprising was the artist John William Gear. The Harvard Theatre Collection at the Houghton Library holds a substantial deposit of Gear's theatrical prints and drawings. However, very little correspondence and only one printed text, an address written to accompany his lithographic series *Portraits of the Public* (1833), by Gear survives in the collection. Nevertheless, the information provided by the detailed lettering that Gear included on his prints enables a

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[17] Julie F. Codell. "The art press and the art market: the artist as 'economic man,'" in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939* ed. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 129.

[18] See Amelia Yeates, "'A Slave kept in Leyland's back parlour': The male Artist in the Victorian Marketplace," *Visual Culture in Britain*, 16 (2015): 171-185.

[19] Lane sold the drawing of Charles Kemble as Faulconbridge in 'King John' to a Mr. Dawkins in 1836 for £10.10. See RJ Lane/NPG/Account Book/MS 56.

reconstruction of where in London Gear lived and worked, and how he developed as a lithographer and printer. The following analysis of Gear's career, and comparison with the works of Lane, shows two different models for success as a portraitist. Lane based his career around attracting the patronage of the powerful – by becoming Lithographer in Ordinary to Queen Victoria – and the support of establishment institutions, by successfully seeking election to Associate Academician by the Royal Academy. As we have seen, Lane's ambition to join the Royal Academy led him to create innovative reproductive lithographs after Thomas Gainsborough, and he collaborated with artists such as Alfred Edward Chalon to create lithographs after watercolour drawings. By contrast, Gear lacked the social connections of Lane and instead sought different angles on theatrical portraiture by turning his attention to portraying the audience and backstage workers. Gear was also never a reproductive printmaker, preferring to draw from the life and put his own work on stone, except in circumstances when his work was reproduced by others in another medium (not lithography) for publication in periodicals or on music sheet covers.[20]

The largest body of Gear's was also in lithography, but unlike Lane, there is no record of Gear having an apprenticeship to a printmaker, though it is possible that his artist father instructed him in painting and drawing. At the very least, we know that Gear was working in the neighbourhoods most associated with London's theatrical printing trade because the lettering on his prints from the years between 1823 and 1825 list him at 6 Wilson Street, Gray's Inn Road (see map Fig. 11). Just a few doors down at number 10 on the narrow road of Wilson Street (since renamed Coley Street) B. M. De Burson ran his Theatrical Print Warehouse. Prior to De Burson taking over the Theatrical Print Warehouse, which must have occurred by August 1821,

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[20] Gear allowed a group of his portraits to be reproduced as stipple engravings by John Rogers for publication in *The Dramatic Magazine* in 1831. See, for example, 'Julia Glover as Mrs Candour', John Rogers after John William Gear, March 1831, Item no: NPG D23443.

W. Clarke operated the premises.[21] Clarke had not exited the business, rather setting up another

Theatrical Print Warehouse by April 1822 at 265 High Holborn near the George & Blue Bear

public houses. High Holborn was only a stone's throw from Wilson Street, but probably

received greater footfall, and higher profits, due to it being a critical thoroughfare. By 1825, the

term 'Theatrical Print Warehouse' had become a generic identifier for any establishment that

specialised in the production and sale of prints related to the theatre, including the toy theatre.[22]

These warehouses were producing prints of the same actors, often in the same roles, so it seems

possible that Gear might have worked for De Burson, and certainly would have been familiar

with the output of the Theatrical Print Warehouse at number 10. The Theatrical Print

Warehouses clustered around High Holborn and the Strand to profit from proximity to the

theatres, and therefore interested potential customers. In 1833, when Gear established premises

at 166 Strand, he followed the example of successful theatrical printmaker William West, who

emphasised in the lettering beneath his prints that West's Theatrical Print Warehouse at 57 Wych

Street was situated 'opposite the Olympic Theatre, Strand' (see map Fig. 12).[23] Gear's own prints

from c.1833 note that they were "Drawn from the Life and on Stone & Pub'd by J.W. Gear, 166

Strand, near the New Strand Theatre". Another undated print made by Gear and titled 'Mr W.J.

Hammond and Miss Daly as Othello and Desdemona at the New Strand Theatre' is

accompanied by lettering stating that it was published "by W. Kenneth at his Theatrical Agency

Office, No22, Gt Russell St, Covent Garden, and to be had at the Strand Theatre".[24] This is

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[21] The lettering beneath De Burson's print of Edmund Kean as Richard the III states 'London Published as the Act directs Aug.t 13th 1821 by BM De Burson, Successor to W. Clarke at his Theatre Print Warehouse 10 Wilston Street, Grays Inn Road'. See Lillian Arvilla Hall, *Catalogue of Dramatic Portraits in the Theatre Collection of the Harvard College Library.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), vol. 2, 353.

[22] Theatrical Print Warehouse became a generic term for printsellers specialising in this part of the trade. A trade card in Banks Collection, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London (Item no: D,2.3453) advertises "W. West, Wholesale & Retail Theatrical Print Warehouse; Exeter House, Exeter Street, Strand. Engraving and Printing Neatly Executed. Circulating Library." See David Powell, Jan Piggott and Horatio Blood, *Printing the Toy Theatre* (London: Pollock's Toy Museum Trust, 2009).

[23] See John William Gear, *Madame Vestris as Don Giovanni*, lithograph, London published December 30, 1828. Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library. Item no: Thr 942 (495). Between 1823 and 1841 William West was based at Wych Street.

[24] John William Gear, *Mr. W. J. Hammond and Miss Daly as Othello and Desdemona at the New Strand Theatre*, lithograph, 26.2 x 37 cm. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Item no: B1976.1.141.

significant for being a clear indication that theatregoers could purchase Gear's portraits in the theatre itself. Understanding the close proximity between printmakers and theatres enables us to focus on how artists' intimate knowledge of current theatrical repertory was integral to the success of both Lane and Gear as portraitists.

Intertheatrical Portraits: Buy a Broom

On 18th September 1826 Madame Vestris and John Liston performed the duet 'Buy a Broom' at the Theatre Royal Haymarket; the song had already been popularised by Vestris but this duet version gained renewed acclaim. Written by James Robinson Planché and composed by Henry R. Bishop, the subject of 'Buy a Broom' was the 'broom girl' urban type. These women were generally supposed to have travelled to London from Germany or Holland, and had a reputation for using their good looks as a ruse to sell brooms while committing acts of petty theft.[25] The account books of Richard James Lane show that the lithographer swiftly recognised that an opportunity had arisen, because he stepped into action drawing both Vestris (Fig. 13) and Liston (Fig. 14) in character. The artist made the originality of his lithographs clear on each print, which were lettered "Designed, and drawn on Stone by Richard J. Lane". The drawings were finished on 13th and 23rd November respectively and then the completed stones passed to Joseph Dickson and Charles Joseph Hullmandel for printing and publication on 24th November 1826. Lane's account books confirm his entrepreneurial zeal as the pounds, shillings and pennies tally has been left empty, instead filled with "For Self". This two-word marker signifies that these portraits were not commissioned but self-generated and is an indicator in the lithographer's confidence that these prints would find a ready audience. It is not difficult to understand Lane's certainty; both performers were already well established and celebrated. However, the

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[25] Dominic Janes, *Oscar Wilde Prefigured: Queer Fashioning and British Caricature, 1750-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 137-138.

lithographer's eager responsiveness also indicates that he had a sophisticated understanding of how the popularity of performances ebbed and flowed in the mid-nineteenth-century.

In electing to depict 'Buy a Broom' Lane was entering into an already crowded field of cross-media representations. The song had spawned copycat theatrical productions, song sheets were widely available and prior to Lane's portraits the 'Buy a Broom' imagery had already swept into the political sphere in the shape of George Cruickshank's onomastic satire of Whig barrister William Henry Brougham (Fig. 15). The widespread popularity of 'Buy a Broom' ensured audiences were already fluent in its humorous and diverse iconography, but Lane's spin was to playfully elevate its lowly content with superb lithographic technique. His portrait of Vestris is delicate but coquettish; Vestris' head is turned slightly to the side, so that she could be glancing at the ridiculous figure of Liston, wearing the identical costume to her. Undoubtedly, Lane designed the two portraits as pendants to be viewed and purchased together to understand the fullness of the joke. The lithographer's neat, precise lines contrast with the cross-dressed, pudgy-featured Liston and the Gainsborough-esque background would have been recognised by print collectors. Lane's responsiveness, and conscious decision to join the melee of 'Buy a Broom' imagery, is therefore an example of how theatrical portraits acknowledged the 'knowingness' of their viewers. Jacky Bratton has proposed the significance of 'knowing' audiences in her 'intertheatrical' approach.[26] Bratton's interpretive methodology weds the temporal moment of the theatrical performance with the longer-term understandings developed outside the frame of theatre-going. In my thesis the frame outside of theatregoing is made up of the conditions in which theatrical portraits were produced, received and reproduced in wider contemporary culture. The advantage of this methodology is that it acknowledges and probes the 'knowingness' of the audience, that is, the sophisticated visual catalogue that audiences brought viewing portraits beyond simple recognition. I suggest that a shift was occurring within the way in which

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[26] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 37.

these portraits functioned. Instead of being definitive, role-defining or fundamentally commemorative, these more swiftly-produced portraits were reactive and entered into an interdependent relationship with theatres, actors and actresses and audiences.

'Buy a Broom' permeated through layers of the national consciousness by means of mass communication in its visual, printed form and in this manner it mirrored the example of Paul Pry which had debuted just one year previously, in 1825. Only six weeks after the first night of 'Paul Pry' the *Morning Chronicle* recorded that "LISTON'S Paul Pry has attracted more graphic notoriety than most of his characters, as there is hardly a print-shop in the Metropolis that does not present that whimsical Actor in one or other scene of this ludicrous performance."[27] The term mass communication, however, unhelpfully suggests homogeneity when in fact theatrical portraiture was produced in high and low status prints. In his recent study of the figure of Paul Pry, David Vincent has accurately stated that by "the early nineteenth century prints, plays, broadsides, periodicals, and novels each had their own established genres with specialist producers, distributors, and performers working in complex subdivisions" but tempers this statement by relating the "significant overlaps between the categories."[28] These fusions were driven by the entrepreneurial tendencies of artists, booksellers, printmakers and theatre managers who would turn their hands to the production or sale of products tangential to their main line of business. The first theatre professional to take on such an entrepreneurial role with regards to his portraiture was David Garrick.[29] While on tour he had prints of himself sent out; playing at Bath in 1766 he wrote to the painter Benjamin Wilson that he was expecting the arrival of a "cargo"

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[27] Anon., *The Morning Post*, 4 November, 1825, n.p.
[28] David Vincent, *I hope I don't Intrude: Privacy and its Dilemmas in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 21.
[29] See Lance Bertelsen: "David Garrick and English Painting," *Eighteenth Century Studies,* 11 (1987): 308-324; Kalman Burnim, "Looking Upon his Like Again: Garrick and the Artist", in *British Theatre and Other Arts 1660-1800* ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1984), 182-215.

of prints of himself.[30] Shrewd promotion and marketing strategies such as these proliferated and towards the end of the nineteenth century some theatre-managers and printers had realised the potential for fuller collaboration between their two complementary businesses. A cogent example is that of David Allen, a successful Belfast-born printer, who dealt in lithography and built up entertainment contracts which allowed him to open an office in London. From there Allen and his sons grew the business until they had profits of £20,000 and family contacts in the theatre; one son, William Allen, married actress-manager Cissie Graham. They were attracted to the direction of theatre financing and eventually they owned and managed a series of theatres. However, this kind of comprehensive "forward integration" was the exception rather than the rule, and most artists and printmakers had to carefully forge relationships with theatre-managers and actors and then forcefully advertise their wares.[31]

Without the familial connections to the theatre that Gear could exploit, Lane had to cultivate his knowledge of the theatrical milieu through individual friendships. In his initial forays into the genre of theatrical portraiture he chose to depict an already celebrated performer, reproducing in lithograph eight portraits (Fig. 10) of John Philip Kemble (1757-1823) in character after portraits by John Boaden (1792/3–1839). These portraits had been exhibited at the British Institution in 1818. When Lane's lithographs were published in October 1826 they were in some respects a commemorative undertaking following John Philip Kemble's death three years earlier. Lane's portraits after Boaden must have been reasonably well-received because he completed his portraits of Madame Vestris and John Liston in short succession, his confidence in theatrical portraiture evidently growing as he moved towards depicting more performers in more contemporary roles. Like many of his artist contemporaries, Lane was a frequent theatregoer

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[30] The prints were probably from the recent engraving of Wilson's scene of Garrick in Rome and Juliet. David Garrick, *The Letters of David Garrick Volume 2*, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963). no. 400.
[31] Tracy C. Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage,* 178-179.

who could often be found at London's patent houses in the 1820s and 1830s. For the Covent Garden season of 1836 Lane was probably in attendance even more frequently than usual as his prints after Thomas Lawrence for Charles Kemble had resulted in Kemble offering the artist free admission for himself and his wife.[32] Letters from Mrs Catherine Francis Macready reveal that Lane had enjoyed the vastly successful production of the *Lady of Lyons*, which opened 15th February 1838. Indeed Lane's relationship with Macready was so close that in 1849 he drew a pencil portrait of the Macready children and presented it as a gift.[33]

It was in the mid-1830s that Lane concentrated most intensively on the creation of theatrical portraits. In this period, he was simultaneously planning and executing portraits towards his *Theatrical Sketches* series, eventually published in 1840, and planning his series of Charles Kemble. Nine of the drawings of Charles Kemble were completed by 2nd January 1837 and the series was published in 1840, with a full sixteen portraits (Fig. 16). Lane's *Theatrical Sketches* kept him up to date with the newest developments and debates in theatre; his volume contains both Willam Charles Macready and Ellen Tree in the character of Ion. This was a new play by Macready's friend the lawyer and playwright Thomas Noon Talfourd, it caused a sensation on its debut at Covent Garden in May 1836 and was an important component of Talfourd's project to reform the English drama by writing ambitious plays inflected with classical references. While Tree had initially acted opposite Macready in Ion in the female part of Clemanthe, she instead took the lead role (as a cross-dressed or breeches part) in October 1836 and gained acclaim.[34] Lane's lithograph of Tree (Fig. 17) focuses on reinforcing the Hellenic ideal. The artist has paid particular attention to Tree's solemn, dignified expression. Even though Lane produced another drawing and lithograph of Tree in a breeches part, specifically portraying her as Rosalind in 'As

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[32] RJ Lane/NPG/Correspondence/MS 63/Vol.3/Letter 23.

[33] RJ Lane/NPG/Account Book/MS 58/Page 10.

[34] A breeches role was one in which a male part was played by a female performer, typically wearing tight-fitting short trousers known as breeches. See Gilli Bush-Bailey, "Breeches role," in *The Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), accessed May 2, 2016, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199574193.001.0001/acref-9780199574193-e-548.

You Like it' (Fig. 18), the portrait as Ion does not show her legs. In order to detach any salacious connotations from the likeness Lane has depicted Tree as a nearly exact mirror to Macready, who he also depicted as Ion (Fig. 19). As they were produced around the same time Lane's lithograph of Tree as Ion does not take the Macready as a prototype, instead both draw upon the iconography of male heroic portraiture with a frontal, bust-length composition. In fact, Lane's portraits fit more closely into the "half-history picture" genre invented by Thomas Lawrence in his portraits of John Phillip Kemble. These portraits, which are discussed in greater depth in chapter two, elevated the stature of theatrical portraiture closer to that of history painting "by emphasising the salutary effect of depicting 'great men' for the edification of the viewer."[35] The sombre expressions of both Macready and Tree, their classical attire and lack of theatrical gesture mimic Lawrence's example. The application of this iconography to the portrait of a woman is unusual and perhaps demonstrates Lane's sympathy towards Talfourd's project. The lithographer's close relationships with acting professionals led him to appreciate the difficult material conditions of theatre-making in this era and particularly the financial stresses and disagreements felt by Macready. Both Lane's portraiture and correspondence suggest that he supported the project to revive English drama and instil the theatre with the politics of the age.[36] A letter dated 6th December 1837 from Macready's lawyer Talfourd states that Lane shares the "desire for the success of Mr Macready's enterprise on behalf of the actual drama".[37] Lane's fine, diligent technique accentuated the gravity and grace of his subjects, attributes that were admired and sought after by those seeking to establish serious and high-minded drama.

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[35] Shearer West, "Thomas Lawrence's 'Half-History Portraits' and the Politics of the Theatre," *Art History* Vol. 14 no. 2 (1991): 225.

[36] Edith Hall and Fiona Macintosh, *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre, 1660-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 315.

[37] RJ Lane/NPG/Correspondence/MS 61/Vol.1/Letter 52.

Studio or Stage Door: Sitting for Lane and Gear

Establishing a reputation within academic and theatrical circles gave Lane a considerable

advantage, but he still had to seek out sittings with performers. On Tuesday 25ᵗʰ February 1836

the young Clara Novello, a promising soprano from a leading musical family, wrote an

enthusiastic reply to a request made by Lane:

> My Dear Sir,
>
> On my return from Yorkshire, I heard from one of my sisters that you had kindly
>
> expressed a wish to take a likeness of me, as the light improves every day I shall have
>
> great pleasure in calling upon you any morning you may like to appoint for a first sitting,
>
> if such be still your wish, and shall be delighted with this opportunity of becoming
>
> personally acquainted with a person whose talents I have so long admired.
>
> I have the pleasure to remain dear Sir, yours very sincerely,
>
> Clara Novello.[38]

Novello's brief letter provides confirmation that Lane's economic model revolved around

making a drawing of a performer without a paid commission, but with the promise of high

profits if a performer became particularly celebrated. This was counter to Lane's non-theatrical

portrait practice, where sitters would write or approach Lane to request a portrait lithograph be

made and pay him a direct fee.

In dedicating his 1840 *Theatrical Sketches* to his friend, the actor Drinkwater Meadows, Lane

reverently thanked his sitters for their "patience and polite attention." The sitting itself would

have lasted a number of hours and his account books suggest that, like his predecessor de Wilde,

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[38] RJ Lane/NPG/Correspondence/MS 63/Vol.3/Letter 19.

Lane could complete a detailed drawing in a day.[39] From 1826 onwards, when the account books begin, Lane was able to employ additional labour to complete the background of prints. For example A. Hoffay completed the unadorned background of a lithograph of playwright James Sheridan Knowles (Fig. 20) commissioned by the artist of the original painting by Chester Harding on May 9th 1826; Hoffay was paid £4.4.0 out of a total charge of £24.4.0. The studio practice of employing less-skilled or junior hands for backgrounds and drapery while the 'master' focuses on the face of the sitter is common to all periods of artistic portrait production and Lane was no exception. Occasionally the drawings which Lane prepared for the stone were sold on immediately, such as one theatrical portrait of Charles Kemble in the character of Faulconbridge in 'King John' which was sold to a Mr Dawkins for £10.10.0.

Once the drawing had been transferred onto stone it would need to be printed. Like other British artists of his age Lane did not work in the immediate vicinity of his printers; James Duffield Harding and Henry Noel Humphreys are also documented as having worked at home or in studios and later transporting their stones to the printing press.[40] In lithography, printing is a particularly delicate and skilled process, Lane's choice of partners for printing and publication demonstrates that he took care in gaining a good result. Until steam-powered presses became more commonplace in the 1860s, the print runs were probably still relatively small. While lithographic stones, like steel plates, were much more robust than copper plates (which wore out) there is very little documentation to describe how many impressions publishers produced from each stone.

Lane collaborated with Charles Hullmandel, the leading figure in lithography and the author of a widely read manual on the subject.[41] He also worked extensively with Joseph Dickinson and[42]

[39] Geoffrey Ashton with Burnim and Wilton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club,* xxxvi.
[40] Michael Twyman, *Breaking the Mould: The First Hundred Years of Lithography* (London: British Library, 2001), 44.
[41] Michael Twyman. "Charles Joseph Hullmandel: Lithographic Printer Extraordinary," in *Lasting Impressions: Lithography as Art*, ed. Pat Gilmour (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1988), 42-90.

Michael Hanhart[43], as well as John Coindet and Jeremie Graf. Michael Hanhart, who had a close relationship with Lane, was born into a family of lithographic printers. His father Michel Hanhart (1788-1865) had trained with Godefroy Engelmann in France, joined his London company Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co in 1827, and then set up his own London premises in 1830, naming it M & N Hanhart after his sons' initials.[44] A letter in the Lane correspondence from the younger Hanhart, dated 1868, expresses the friendship between these two men over many years and Lane's "confidence in my efforts to do justice to your remarkable works."[45]A letter from the lithographic printer John Coindet dated 20th September 1828 sheds some light on Lane's publishing enterprises:

> "92 Dean St, Soho
>
> Saturday 20th Sep.bre 1828
>
> My dear Sir
>
> I am happy to see by your letter of Thursday last, that you & Mrs Lane & the little ones are quite well & enjoying your new residence; I hope you will derive from it all the benefit I wish you but if you continue to be so hard at work I fear there is no chance of your recovering; really I am tempted to scold you (If I may take the liberty) for your having completed Sir Walter's portrait [a lithograph after a portrait sketch of Sir Walter Scott by John Prescott Knight] so very soon, although I am over-anxious to receive it. Pray do not defer to send it, as it is better not to make the box too heavy, for fear of accident, & that we shall not apply to the other originals, before having a proof of the first drawing.

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[42] Joseph Dickinson was a lithographic printer with premises at 113 New Bond Street, his first recorded imprints date from 1844, see Michael Twyman, *A Directory of London Lithographic Printers, 1800-1850* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1976), 31.

[43] For the Hanharts, see Christine E. Jackson, "The Lithographic printers M & N Hanhart," 30 page typescript deposited by the author at the St Bride Library, London, 1991. Quoted in Michael Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography: Printed Colour for All* (London: The British Library, 2013), 379.

[44] Michael Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography,* 379.

[45] RJ Lane/NPG/Correspondence/MS 63/Vol.3/LQ/Letter 139

Fortunately I got back this morning the enclosed miniature, which you will like perhaps to put on stone for the album. Mansion, the artist who painted it [refers to Andre Leon Larue, known as Mansion], has the highest reputation in Paris amongst the miniature painters, & all his works have generally well succeeded with the public. If you do not like it, I will send you a water colour drawing by Hill, "a Welsh Girl at a fountain", a pretty subject, as for Landseer's Dorothea I prefer to keep it for a large print.

Your allowance of 50% on your publications is very liberal, receive my thanks for it & the assurance that I will forward the sale as much as possible; my partner, who travels in every part of Europe, will take a proofs of each, to get orders.

My best respects to Mrs Lane, & for you the assurance that I am not your <u>flatterer</u> but

Your <u>admirer</u> & sincere servant

John Coindet."[46]

Coindet's concern that the stone might break in transit illustrates the element of risk involved in the lithographic process. Even once the stones had made a safe passage to the press there was a possibility that the prints would be spoiled in the printing process, a mishap which Lane's account books occasionally record. Mapping Lane's geographic position in London is also made possible as Coindet's letter also confirms the position of Lane's new studio and home in the fashionable Regent's Park, at 24 South Bank. He eventually moved to 19 Gloucester Terrace, Campden Hill, Kensington.

This letter also provides an indication of how Lane typically split the profits on his publications and demonstrates the advantages of partnering with men such as Coindet who supplied a mechanism by which Lane's lithographs could reach a wider European audience. The

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[46] RJ Lane/NPG/Correspondence/MS 63/Vol.3/LQ/Letter 159

collaboration between Lane and Coindet reveals how different formats were considered appropriate for different subjects. Particularly, Coindet demonstrates his commercial expertise by suggesting that a print made after Charles Landseer's (1799/1800–1879) *Dorothea*, the young artist's successful Royal Academy debut of 1828 which illustrated a scene from *Don Quixote*, ought to be lithographed at a larger scale. Landseer was a high-minded, sincere artist who created detailed and highly finished romanticised history paintings and fashionable narrative pictures, the prints after which particularly appealed to affluent audiences.

Although evidence in Lane's account books provides details of how much Lane charged for portrait sittings, putting these figures into perspective with fellow theatrical portraitists of the period is not an entirely straightforward task due to the scarcity and incompleteness of comparable data. In 1815 Samuel de Wilde (bap. 1751-1832), the most successful and prominent theatrical portraitist of the early nineteenth-century, charged the relatively modest sum of £3 for a watercolour portrait. A letter from de Wilde now in the Garrick Club suggests that financial success was not secured for de Wilde; he begs the unknown correspondent to pay swiftly "as affluence and Artists are not synonymous terms."[47] The prices Lane charged for his theatrical portraits are less consistent and depended greatly on whether they were commissioned (an irregular occurrence) or speculations on the publication of a bound album or single sheet prints. The rate Lane expected for his work depended not only on the size of the lithograph but also on its complexity. For a particularly glossy and detailed double portrait of *Mr and Mrs Charles Kean as Sir Walter and Lady Amyott in Lovell's 'The Wife's Secret'* (Fig. 21) after Alfred Edward Chalon's painting, "As produced at the Theatre Royal Haymarket Jan. 10th 1848" Lane charged the high sum of £65.0.0 to Mitchell, his publisher.[48] While there were many variables at work in Lane's creation of a theatrical portrait he generally seems to have been well-remunerated for this form of work and continued to produce theatrical portraits throughout his career, alongside other

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[47] Letter in the Garrick Club, quoted in Ashton with Burnim and Wilton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club*, XXXV.
[48] RJ Lane/NPG/Account Books/MS 58/Page 6.

commissioned portraits. There is little evidence for understanding how Gear conducted his

studio sittings, but he did draw from the life. One of his theatrical portraits, of Edmund Kean as

Richard III, appeared as a wood-engraving as a plate to a series titled 'Popular Portrait Gallery'

and is lettered beneath the print 'From an original drawing, by J.W. Gear for which Mr Kean

expressly stood.'[49]

By the end of the 1830s Lane's reputation was secure. His appointment as lithographer in

ordinary to the Queen, in 1839, and to the Prince Consort, in 1840, confirmed his established

status. The royal couple had commissioned portraits from Lane during the 1830s but Queen

Victoria's enthusiasm for the theatre might have also drawn the crown towards Lane.[50] His

personal network of theatrical friends was similarly entrenched: beyond Macready and Charles

Kemble, the dedication of his *Theatrical Sketches* demonstrates the close friendship Lane enjoyed

with the comedian Drinkwater Meadows, while his social circle also included Fanny Kemble.[51]

The artist's theatrical portraiture therefore functioned reciprocally, allowing him to bolster the

fame and renown of his sitters and himself. The late 1830s were also a period of stability and

prosperity for Gear. During this time, he moved to his long-term premises at 5 Charlotte Street,

Fitzroy Square, and was described by the Theatrical Journal as having "no equal" in the line of

creating accurate theatrical portrait likenesses.[52] With the socio-economic frameworks in which

Gear and Lane operated established, this chapter will now address the functions of their

theatrical portraiture. In what follows I analyse the artists' own written statements on their work

alongside newspaper reviews to argue that the form and technique of Lane and Gear's

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[49] Lillian Arvilla Hall, *Catalogue of Dramatic Portraits in the Theatre Collection of the Harvard College Library.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), vol. 2, 354.
[50] Richard Foulkes, "Mr Macready and his Monarch,*" Proceedings of Victoria and Albert: Art and Love Symposium.* Royal Collection Trust Online Publication, 2012. https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/sites/default/files/V%20and%20A%20Art%20and%20Love%20%28Foulkes%29.pdf; Richard Schoch, *Queen Victoria and the Theatre of her Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
[51] NPG/RJ Lane/Correspondence/MS 61/Vol.1/ Letter 184.
[52] Anon., "Theatrical portraits," 58.

lithographic portraits, which were worked up from transitory sittings taken within the theatres, were profoundly shaped by the lithographic medium.

Addressing the Public

Both Lane and Gear exploited the serial possibilities of the theatrical portrait. Bound collections of prints could illustrate all the characters from a particular play, or focus on individual performers to trace their most successful roles. In addition to demonstrating the range and mastery of an actor, and providing viewers with a framework for commemorating the primary actors of the age, these bound serials gave the artist the opportunity to communicate directly with the consumer through a printed address or introduction. This is particularly valuable because, while the correspondence and diaries of painters such as Daniel Maclise and his sitters offer occasional detail, scant documentation exists to chronicle the creation of a printed theatrical portrait.[53] The page-long announcement included in the bound volume of Lane's 1840 publication *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble Esq.re Drawn from the Life by Richard J. Lane* contains revealing details of how the lithographer and actor collaborated at sittings. Entitled 'Notice in Illustration', Lane also uses this extensive description to explain what he believed a theatrical portrait should capture:

> "Mr Lane is desirous that the publication of these Drawings should be accompanied by a grateful acknowledgement of Mr Kemble's patient attention to him, and cheerful devotion of his time, to enable him to carry on his work exactly in the manner which he proposed, and with all the facilities that he desired. Early in the year 1836, the last season of Mr Kemble's theatrical engagements, Mr Lane requested him to sit for a drawing of Faulconbridge. He then proposed to make a series of Twelve Studies of characters from Shakespere [sic], explaining to Mr Kemble that he wished to represent as great a variety

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[53] The process of creating a print after Maclise's portrait of *William Charles Macready as Werner*, now in the V&A, was recorded in Macready's diary. The painting was initially exhibited at Hogarth's print shop in 1850 and then embarked on a tour of England and Scotland to gather subscriptions for an engraving. See Chapter 2.

of expression as possible, and to exhibit in each character a marked contrast to all the rest. When these were finished, he required one head of a serious and intellectual cast, to be opposed to another of assumed idiocy: and the set was completed by the addition of *the Stranger* and *Leon.* The drawings were commenced, and considerably advanced in Mr Kemble's dressing-room at Covent Garden Theatre, upon his nights of performance, that the "making up" (technically so called) of the head might be carefully imitated, and the costume in every respect accurately copied. He gave sittings either before or after the performance, and occasionally during the progress of the play; and each drawing was finished at Mr Kemble's house, where the dresses of those characters in the series which he did not perform during the last season of his acting were conveyed; and thus Mr Lane carried on his work, Mr Kemble's conversation upon his art, and critical analysis of each character of his selection, affording him the highest intellectual gratification, and his manner almost inducing an opinion that the operation of sitting for a portrait was neither tiresome not disagreeable."[54]

This notice is striking for relaying not only the circumstances of their sittings but also Lane's considerable intellectual and artistic ambition. Any analysis must acknowledge that this piece of writing has been designed to flatter both artist and sitter, but tucked away at the back of the volume after the plates, it does not only function as an advertisement. Rather Lane engineered his notice to appeal to a specific elite audience, one made up of fellow artists and stage professionals, a theory strengthened by his assertion that "the drawing of Benedick may agreeably remind his friends of the night of his last benefit and retirement from the stage."[55] Setting aside Lane's underlying philosophy of theatrical portraiture for a moment, the notice confirms a fact that is often assumed but infrequently possible to prove in assessments of theatrical portraiture; Lane definitively states that he sketched in the theatre, observed the actual

[54] Lane, *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble,* n.p.
[55] Lane, *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble,* n.p.

costumes worn closely and was present for many of Kemble's performances. The language used by the lithographer in this notice is significant as it demonstrates how thoroughly he considered the balance of roles that Kemble should be depicted in. Particularly, Lane's inclusion of so many Shakespearean roles chimes well with his interest in 'reviving' the English drama, which is discussed further below. Kemble's comments on his portrait as The Stranger (Fig. 22) highlight the expectations that both artist and sitter had for the intricate visual and cultural knowledge their audiences would bring to bear. The notice states, "In the 'Stranger', Mr Kemble was gratified by the opportunity of imitating carefully the dress and entire appearance of his Brother." Charles Kemble's celebrated brother, the actor John Phillip Kemble, had died nearly seventeen years before the publication of this set of portraits but Charles still expected viewers to recall the similarities. These visual echoes also extend to Lane's earlier oeuvre, because in 1826 Lane had also made a lithograph, after James Boaden, of John Phillip Kemble as *The Stranger* (Fig. 23). Though the earlier print is full-length rather than half-length the costumes and skyward positioning of the eyes confirm the visual continuity referred to in the notice. As the artist of both prints, Lane was able to position himself as one of the artistic guardians of the Kemble family's theatrical dynasty.

Lane carefully and methodically selected which moment from Kemble's performance to depict. In his notice he claimed, "the intention has been to represent a distinguishing trait in the character, or a particular characteristic of Mr Kemble's personation of it." The artist also inserted a narrative within the portraits themselves by designing the representations of Kemble as Macduff and Macbeth as "companion portraits". Macbeth (Fig. 24) is posed retreating from the raised sword of Macduff (Fig. 25), Lane explains that the "exulting tone and shrill emphasis with which Mr Kemble gave the word "ripp'd" might well account for the shrinking terror of Macbeth." Beneath the Macduff portrait this appropriate epigraph appears:

Despair thy charm,

And let the angel whom thou still hast served

Tell thee, Macduff was from his mother's womb

Untimely ripp'd!

This quote, which forms the paratextual content of the Macduff portrait, is a key component in the formation of a narrative between the two portraits. Reading the page of *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble Esq.re Drawn from the Life by Richard J. Lane* on which the Macduff portrait appears from top to bottom, the viewer would encounter the emotive phrase 'untimely ripp'd' before turning to reveal the cowering figure of Macbeth. The materiality of Lane's volume therefore attempted to capture the drama of emotional exchange from one character to another in its static form.

In 1833 Gear produced the first issue of a planned series titled *Portraits of the Public being Heads of Audiences, under the influence of Dramatic representation Sketched from Life & Drawn on Stone*. The 1833 issue, which sold for 3 shillings, included three lithographs of small audience groups, each accompanied by a 'characteristic description', or commentary, written by the actor and playwright John Baldwin Buckstone. The three lithographs (Figs. 26-28) show audience groups viewing *Paul Pry (Plate 1), Jane Shore (Plate 2) and Der Freischutz (Plate 3)*. Differing from Lane's *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble* in that Gear's *Portraits of the Public* represents members of the theatre audience rather than stage performers, *Portraits of the Public* is the most ambitious work that Gear made which takes theatrical figures that were not performers as its subject. Two other important examples of these non-performer portraits are his lithographs of Phil Stone, the property man at Drury Lane (Fig. 29), and his portrait of the Master of Ceremonies from Vauxhall Gardens, C.H. Simpson (Fig. 30). While Gear undoubtedly intended *Portraits of the Public* to be a longer running series, only the first issue was ever published. Prefacing the issue is Gear's address to the public. Framed as a comic apology, in this text Gear lays out his intentions:

In publishing this work, I feel it highly necessary to offer some apology to those supporters of the Drama, the Public, with whose faces I have taken so great a liberty. Portraits of the Players are as "plenty as blackberries", but where are those of the playgoers? that class of the community, without whom the actor could not exist, nor the Drama have its being. They, as players and dramatic authors and others, have presented the public with their "pictures in little", from time immemorial, is the public to be so ungrateful as not to give its many-headed resemblance in return? it cannot be so ungrateful! and I am certain, in putting forth these sketches, not only will my apology be accepted by the public, but I shall have thanks for releasing them from such a national debt of obligation.

I wish it to be distinctly understood, that the subjects are not caricatures, but faithful characteristic portraits of individuals, sketch'd in the theatre, during the time, and when under the influence of dramatic representation in all its passions; and I trust to escape the charge of vanity, in venturing to hint, that they may be found interesting to the physiognomist, and useful to young artists in studying the varieties of the human face – were they mere imaginary portraits I certainly could offer no apology for the recommendation, but as they are really sketched from the life – the unconscious life, I humbly hope to stand excused.

These sketches were originally taken without any view to publication; and the fear of giving pain to any individual, has for some time prevented me from yielding to the urgent suggestions of many friends and patrons of art, to publish them. But feeling the force of their arguments, that these are anonymous portraits, and that the most sensitive person therefore could not take offence, I have ventured upon thus publicly 'holding the mirror up to nature," and, as the "Glass curtain" was received with applause, I trust that these fragmentary reflections will not meet with disapprobation.

Should any individual happen to recognize his own features, he must endeavor not to be angry with me, but blame only "the cunning of the scene," and that chance, over which we have no control, the random mould of nature.

It is intended to publish a Number, containing Three Subjects, Monthly, and the source is so inexhaustible, it is hoped there will be found no lack of variety.

I have the honor to be,

The Public's most obedient Servant,

J.W. Gear.[56]

Gear was not the only printmaker to settle on theatrical audiences as a promising subject, but most of these artists, including Theodore Lane, presented them as outright caricatures, while Gear vociferously claimed that his were not.[57] Following Hogarth's disavowal of the caricature genre, he rooted the veracity of his portraits in the process of creation. By claiming that he executed the sketches in the theatre, apparently copying straight from the life, he could protect himself from accusations of over-exaggeration and retain his reputation as a portraitist. At the same time, his reference to the 'glass curtain' reveals his desire to tap into the vanity of his audiences, and their interest in the distorting effects of theatrical representation on their countenances. The 'glass curtain' was an actual structure premiered by the Coburg Theatre in 1822. Made up of sixty-three plates of glass, the looking-glass curtain allowed audiences to admire themselves and see the entirety of the theatre audience reflected back, though it received criticism for having a smeared and uneven surface.[58] The vision that Gear handed his audiences of themselves in the three lithographs which made up *Portraits of the Public* was calculated to

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[56] Impressions of *Portraits of the Public being Heads of Audiences, under the influence of Dramatic representation Sketched from Life & Drawn on Stone* are now extremely rare. John William Gear and Joseph Gear Drawings and Prints, 1817-1865 (MS Thr 636). Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Item no: 128.
[57] See Chapter 4 for Theodore Lane's theatrical caricatures.
[58] For a discussion of the Coburg's looking-glass curtain see Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 97-99.

amuse rather than to flatter. Plate 3 of the series (Fig. 28), shows two men and a woman reacting to the climactic casting of the seventh bullet in this German Romantic opera. Buckstone's punning commentary intimately describes the spectators and their emotional responses:

Here we see a Trio under the influence of the prevailing dramatic taste for the horrible. The scene is appalling, 'tis the Castings of the Seventh Bullet, in Der Freischutz. Who can read the stage directions in the prompter's book without a shudder? "Seven!" is the cue for the climax of horror, - "Giant spectres rise from the earth; the rocks turn into grim and ghastly faces; the stars whirl with the velocity of catherine wheels at Vauxhall; Zoology yields her most terrific specimens for the occasion; Toads play at leap frog; Adders do additional duty, and add to effect of the horrors; Bats keep up the ball; a large owl winks at the business on a rock, and little boys actually see the great saucer eyes they have so often heard of, and fall down in convulsions in the boxes. The skeleton hunt is heard in the air; a torrent turns to blood and fire; The circle of skulls emit blue flame from their eyeless sockets – burn all the hair off their heads, and begin to be cracked; an invisible demon trundles a hoop of fire across the stage; Thunder, the gong, and the crash act the principal parts. The pit is in a perspiration; the boxes turns pale, and shut themselves up; the galleries are frightened into silence; and the drop descend to an universal and asthmatic 'Oh!' – from the whole audience."

Our group is sketched during the progress of the foregoing terrors. The elderly gentle-man is alarmed and bewildered by the uproar – he can't altogether comprehend it, and is inclined to be offended at the owl in the scene, whom he considers is staring him out of countenance.

The centre auditor has started up appalled at the immense height of giant spectres – his very fingers are alarmed; he can only venture a look at the objects before him with one

eye, the other is convulsively hitched into darkness.- The sulphur of the blue fire is undoubtedly in his nose.

The lady is an unsophisticated spectator of dramatic terrors, and is really "frightened out of her wits." Her visual organs we never before discovered to be defective, but, on this occasion, one of the them, as Sir Walter Scott says of the Puritan Balfour, "skellies fearfully"- The crash has "set her teeth on edge" – She wont go again.[59]

By describing the woman and two men in Plate 3 as 'bewildered' and 'alarmed' Buckstone places the readers of his commentary on equal footing with himself as sophisticated observers of the theatre. Consumers of Gear's prints are entertained by the exaggerated emotional reactions of those depicted while being comforted with the knowledge that they would not suffer the embarrassment of such unworldly reactions. A reviewer for *The Spectator* enthusiastically received *Portraits of the Public*, praising Gear for presenting "genuine, unsophisticated, unflattered transcripts of characters and expression" while assuring the artist that the fidelity of the portraits will be accepted and he need not fear giving offence.[60] *The Athenaeum* gave a similarly enthusiastic assessment and, reviewing Gear's alongside those of Cruikshank, suggested that when readers purchased both "they will be set up for the winter season, and may give two or three parties on the strength of these humourists, and the evenings will be sure to go off well."[61]

Throughout their careers, Lane and Gear lithographed many of the same performers, but their personal fortunes had no such parity. Lane's last theatrical portraits are a valuable illustration of how technology was playing a critical, but not determinist, role in the formation of the genre. In 1861 Lane produced two composite prints, each containing five portraits of a popular performer, namely Charles Mathews (Fig. 31) and John Baldwin Buckstone (Fig. 32). Each lithographed

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[59] John William Gear and Joseph Gear Drawings and Prints, 1817-1865 (MS Thr 636). Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Item no: 60.
[60] Anon., *The Spectator*, no. 266 (6 August 1833): 721.
[61] Anon., *The Athenaeum*, no. 307 (14 September 1833): 620.

sheet displays five portraits, the central portrait not depicted in character while the other four portraits show Buckstone and Mathews fully costumed and acting. The unusual aspect of these sheets is that Lane has lithographed these likenesses after photographs, a new technological process which flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century and became commonplace for theatrical portraiture in the 1860s. Even in a photographic age, it was the ability of the lithographer to replicate fine detail, consolidate and rearrange a series of portraits that produced desirable likenesses. Of course, the colouring of lithographs gave these prints an aesthetic advantage over monochromatic photographs but it was also the process of translation, by the practised and esteemed hand of Lane, which imbued the Buckstone and Mathews portraits with the additional perceived patina of artistic veracity. However, as photography, and particularly the carte de visite, became increasingly popular for theatrical portraiture from the late 1850s, Lane looked elsewhere for employment and from 1864 taught etching and lithography at the Government School of Design. After 1852 Gear emigrated to Boston, probably following his father who had travelled there to work as a double bassist two decades beforehand.[62] Though he did continue working as a portraitist in America, Boston directories list him as a "cleaner and restorer of old ptgs" from 1857 onwards, suggesting that he was no longer able to sustain himself as an independent artist.[63] In 1866 Gear committed suicide at his father's grave in St Auburn Cemetery.

I opened this chapter by asking how artists interacted with performers in the early nineteenth-century, and with the assertion that Lane and Gear differed from their eighteenth-century theatrical printmaker forebears by sketching performers from the life for their prints. By analysing Lane's account books, correspondence and published notice to the public, I have shown that he solicited upcoming performers to come to his studio for sittings and also attended

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[62] John William Gear and Joseph Gear Drawings and Prints, 1817-1865 (MS Thr 636). Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Item no: 132.

[63] John William Gear and Joseph Gear Drawings and Prints, 1817-1865 (MS Thr 636). Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Item no: 131.

theatres and dressing rooms to meet his subjects. The same sources have shed light on the economic conditions driving his theatrical portraiture business, as I have demonstrated how he chose to split profits with his publisher and took on the initial labour of a sitting with a performer without a paid commission. Fewer archival documents are available for understanding Gear's professional and financial arrangements, but a close study of the paratextual lettering on his prints has established that he set up his premises near to the New Strand Theatre and even made his prints available for sale inside this theatre. The interactions between performers and theatrical printmakers that I have studied reveal that both men had personal relationships with theatrical performers and theatre staff. These interlocking artist-performer networks also had an impact on the appearance of theatrical portraiture as a genre in this period. In particular, the example of Gear has shown how this artist's intimate knowledge of theatregoers encouraged him to experiment with portraying theatrical audiences.

This chapter has also demonstrated that printmakers like Gear and Lane employed opposing entrepreneurial strategies to create their theatrical lithographs and suggests that well-resourced artists such as Lane were able to achieve the greatest success. Without the ability to exploit his social position to gain access to patronage and institutional memberships, Gear's ambitious and humorous experiments in reversing the traditional theatrical portrait gaze away from the stage and into the boxes and pit never got beyond the first issue. The second chapter of this thesis will concentrate more deeply on the display and circulation of theatrical portraits in public spaces. Specifically, it questions the assertion that theatrical portraiture fell from favour as a subject for exhibition, in part by tracing the commercial and celebratory display of Maclise's portrait of William Charles Macready as it trailed the actor on his farewell tour.

Chapter Two

Exhibiting Theatrical Portraits at the Royal Academy and Beyond

My focus in chapter two is on the display of portraits featuring performers who were active on stage at the time of the exhibition in which they featured. In particular, I examine the spaces that theatrical portraits occupied in London's expanding and varied exhibition culture of the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to the Royal Academy, what kinds of spaces were available for the exhibition of theatrical portraiture? To answer this question, I assess the motivations that both artists and performers had for showing portraits at venues including the Royal Academy, as well as smaller retail spaces such as Joseph Hogarth's print shop. My questions seek to establish the extent to which the display of theatrical portraits was connected to the complex broadening of theatrical culture in this period and ask whether or not theatrical portraits decreased in popularity as a subject for public exhibitions. The two case studies that follow indicate the different exhibiting models and venues then spanning the metropolis. The first study focuses on the 1838 Royal Academy annual exhibition and the appearance of two oil portraits of Charles Kean as Hamlet by Rose Myra Drummond (1816-1888) and Samuel John Stump (1778-1863). The second considers Daniel Maclise's oil portrait of Charles William Macready in the character of Werner, and explores the effects of the theatrical portrait being cast in the role of the 'painted understudy'. I use the term 'painted understudy' to describe the way in which the portrait functioned to its viewers when it was displayed in print shops while the actor was away from the stage during his farewell tour around the England and Scotland. In both case studies I ask to what extent was it possible, through repeated exhibition in a variety of venues, for a theatrical portrait to mimic the effect of a performer's tour? Answering these focused questions will contribute to an overriding concern of my thesis, which is to align the rapidly expanding theatrical sphere in London with its exhibition culture.

One of the largest and best-known exhibitions of theatrical portraiture opened in May 1833 at the Queen's Bazaar on Oxford Street. However, unlike the case studies in this chapter, the theatrical portraits displayed here mostly featured bygone stars such as Thomas Betterton (1635-1710), David Garrick (1717-1779) and Frances Abington (1737-1815), whom contemporary theatregoers had never seen onstage. The nearly four hundred paintings and drawings on show belonged to the actor Charles Mathews (1776-1835), who had carefully collected portraits of performers from the Restoration stage onwards. The exhibition, for which Mathews and his son Charles James Mathews (1803-1878) wrote an extensive catalogue, was intended to allow London's public to experience a history of the theatre as told by portraits of its renowned stars, and perhaps more pressingly to find a buyer for Mathews' collection in the face of his own financial missteps.[1] The exhibition was not a great monetary success, and no buyer came forward to purchase the collection, though eventually the Garrick Club did step in to acquire Mathews' theatrical gallery for the reduced price of £1000.[2] This high-stakes episode has featured prominently in scholarship on theatrical portraiture, and the modest figure paid for Mathews' collection could be marshalled as evidence of the waning appeal of this genre in the nineteenth century, but it wholly omits the exhibition of contemporary theatrical portraits.

The appearance of theatrical portraits at the Royal Academy exhibitions has attracted several significant art-historical studies in the past three decades. Mark Hallett, Gill Perry, Geoffrey Ashton, Heather McPherson and Robyn Asleson have all turned their attention to the large-scale, lushly coloured portraits by Reynolds, Lawrence, Gainsborough and De Loutherbourg that

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[1] Ashton with Burnim and Wilton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club,* XLII; Anne Jackson Mathews, *Memoirs of Mr. Charles Mathews, Comedian* vol. 4 (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), 163-166.
[2] Ashton with Burnim and Wilton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club*, XLV.

were displayed in the eighteenth century.[3] Gill Perry has called the relationship between the

Royal Academy and the theatre symbiotic. Amongst the continuities that Perry sees in her

eighteenth-century focused study are the commercial imperatives that the patent theatres, Drury

Lane and Covent Garden, and the Royal Academy had to fulfil. Though these institutions had

been granted a royal charter, they were dependent on the sale of tickets for their operation and

this meant treading a careful line between achieving healthy box office figures, while satisfying

the serious and ambitious creative agendas of a small number of artists, playwrights, managers

and performers. The spectacle of exhibiting theatrical portraits, especially, for Perry, those of

actresses, "encapsulated this tension between the aesthetic and the commercial."[4] The proximity

of the RA's premises at New Somerset House (where the Academy was located until 1837) to

the theatrical district of Covent Garden and the timing of the annual exhibition – which opened

as the theatres' winter season ended – furthers Perry's assertion that the two spaces functioned

as extensions of and substitutes for one another (see map Fig. 33). In her book on John

Boydell's late-eighteenth-century Shakespeare Gallery, Rosie Dias suggests that theatrical

portraiture was possibly the most popular genre at the RA exhibition because it was certain "to

augment the sitter's and the artist's fame…[by] pandering to the public's insatiable appetite for

celebrity images."[5] The prominence of theatrical portraits, and portraiture in general, at the RA

provoked pushback in the wider press and in the mission of Boydell's own gallery. Boydell's

desire to create a space devoted to the encouragement of a new school of English history

painting prompted his attempt to draw a sharp line of division between theatrical portraits and

the Shakespearean scenes that he was commissioning for his special gallery. No representations

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[3] Geoffrey Ashton, "British Theatrical Portraiture c. 1800-1820: With Special Reference to George Henry Harlow and Thomas Baxter," (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 1983); Robyn Asleson, Shelley Bennett, Mark Leonard and Shearer West, *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999); Mark Hallett, "Reading the Walls: Pictorial Dialogue at the Eighteenth-Century Royal Academy," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 4 (2004): 581–604; Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations*; McPherson, *Art and Celebrity.*
[4] Gill Perry, "The Spectacle of the Muse: Exhibiting the Actress at the Royal Academy" in *Art on the Line* ed. David Solkin (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 112.
[5] Rosie Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Formation of a National Aesthetic* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 38.

from actual stage performances were displayed at the Shakespeare Gallery, and there were very few recognisable portraits of performers. However, Boydell's attempts to separate the exhibition gallery from the stage were never fully realised and his artists continued to respond to the contemporary debates over comedy and tragedy in their paintings.[6]

By the 1820s and onwards the topography of London's entertainment culture was much changed. The Royal Academy no longer held an iron grip on exhibiting spaces, and the theatrical sphere extended far beyond the patent theatres.[7] Indeed, by the late 1830s, the RA annual exhibition was only one of a great many forums for the display of modern British art which included the British Institution, the New Society for Watercolours and numerous retail spaces. That said, the RA remained an important force in the shaping of artistic careers and so provides a key starting point for understanding the place that theatrical portraits occupied in the London art world. As Sarah Monks has observed the RA was not simply "a monolithic ossifying institution from which many of the 'best' artists of the period were 'liberated'", but a critical reference point around which artists formulated ideas, relationships and artistic practices.[8] The nine case studies presented in the edited volume *Living with the Royal Academy* provide a valuable reappraisal of this institution's influence in the period it seeks to interrogate, 1768-1848. However, these case studies are unevenly weighted: the 1820s and 1830s receive no consideration, and the 1840s are explored only briefly in Jason Edwards's concluding essay. The neglect of this period in recent scholarship on the RA, and Gill Perry's suggestion that images of performers in character shown at the RA after 1792 were less ambitious than their forebears, prompts a reassessment. Perry suggests that aside from the artists Thomas Lawrence and George Henry Harlow, theatrical portraits in the early nineteenth-century were generally smaller, closer

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[6] Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness*, 178.

[7] Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*; Davis, *The Economics of the British Stage*; Davis and Emeljanow, *Reflecting the Audience: London Theatregoing*.

[8] Sarah Monks, "Introduction Life Study: Living with the Royal Academy, 1768-1848," in *Living with the Royal Academy: Artistic Ideals and Experiences in England 1768-1848* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 1.

to 'theatrical conversation pieces' than portraits and attracted less critical attention in the press.[9]

In what follows I do not suggest that theatrical portraits occupied a special or unique position at the RA exhibitions, or complain that the Hamlet portraits by Samuel John Stump or Myra Drummond have been particularly marginalised. Instead, their inclusion in the 1838 display points towards a consistent place for theatrical portraits in the cradle of London's exhibition culture, where they stood as modestly sized but numerous signifiers of the reciprocal energy that linked Drury Lane and Covent Garden to the East Wing of Trafalgar Square.

In this chapter, my focus is on portraits in oil but it is important to note that a limited selection of printed theatrical portraits did also appear at the Royal Academy exhibitions. From 1769 the Royal Academy decided that they should make provision for six engravers to join as Associate members. The Associates had the right to show two prints in each annual exhibition. However, between 1770 and 1836 only eighteen artists became Associate Engravers, meaning that the numbers of prints on display was never very high (and some of the eighteen did not regularly take up their two print allocation). This, David Alexander argues, is because by 1768, most prints were published by print-sellers such as John Boydell, and the Academicians were perhaps wary of providing advertising space for these entrepreneurial print-sellers.[10] The publication in 2018 of a new digital resource, *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle 1769-2018*, makes it possible to scrutinise the number of prints on display at the annual exhibitions as a percentage of all works exhibited. From 1820 to 1870 that percentage never reached more than 5%; in 1838 it was just 1%.[11]

[9] Perry, "The Spectacle of the Muse", 125.

[10] David Alexander, "Prints at the Royal Academy exhibitions," *Print Quarterly* XX (2003): 271-272.

[11] Mark Hallett, "1838: The Queen Expects." In *The Royal Academy of Arts Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*, edited by Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner and Jessica Feather. (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018). https://chronicle250.com/1838

Two Hamlets: The Royal Academy Exhibition of 1838

The RA exhibition of 1838 was only the second to be held at Trafalgar Square, where the Academy had moved in 1837 to share premises in the newly opened National Gallery building designed by William Wilkins RA.[12] The move from the RA's previous home at New Somerset House, in purpose built spaces designed by architect Sir William Chambers RA, was precipitated by demands on New Somerset House rooms by civil service departments also located there.[13] The National Gallery occupied the West Wing of the Trafalgar Square building and the RA took the East Wing. The East Wing contained five top-lit galleries on the main floor, and the Life School under the central dome, while the sculpture and cast galleries, a library and the Keeper's accommodation were located on the ground floor. During the spring, when the annual exhibitions were held, the five main floor galleries were no longer used by the RA Schools as spaces for artistic training and instead became dedicated display spaces, housing around 1,300 works each year.[14] The prime galleries of the exhibition were the East Room, the Middle Room and the West Room which showed paintings, while mostly drawings, miniatures, sculpture and architecture were shown in the smaller North and South Rooms (Fig. 34).[15]

At the 1838 exhibition, a young artist made her debut with a theatrical portrait depicting the rising Shakespearean actor Charles Kean as Hamlet (Fig. 35).[16] The portrait painter Rose Myra Drummond was, as the critic for the *Morning Chronicle* noted, the daughter of history painter and portraitist Samuel Drummond ARA (?1766 – 1844).[17] The review also passed judgement on the Kean portrait, calling it "the most faithful and highly finished that has hitherto appeared of

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[12] The RA would continue to occupy this space until 1868 when it relocated to its current home at Burlington House. See Cora Gilroy-Ware, "1837: Sculpture and the Classical Ideal at Trafalgar Square." In *The Royal Academy of Arts Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*, edited by Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner and Jessica Feather. (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018). https://chronicle250.com/1837

[13] MaryAnne Stevens, "The Royal Academy of Arts, 1768-1918," in *Genius and Ambition: The Royal Academy of Arts, 1768-1918* (London: Royal Academy Publications, 2014), 17.

[14] Stevens, 'The Royal Academy of Arts', 23.

[15] Sidney C. Hutchinson, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986* (London: Robert Royce, 1989), 87.

[16] Number 299 in the RA Exhibition Catalogue for 1838 – it hung in the Middle Room at the RA, which was then sited at the National Gallery in the Wilkins Building.

[17] Five of Samuel Drummond's children became artists.

him."[18] Drummond depicts Kean as an elegant and delicate figure with a cherubic face. The National Portrait Gallery holds a chalk drawing by Drummond, which is a likely study for the oil portrait exhibited in 1838 (Fig. 36).[19] Drummond's chalk drawing offers a handsome and elegant figure, though her use of chalk gives Kean's appearance more sketchy angularity. The back of the drawing holds the inscription "Chas. Kean/on his first appearance/on the stage as Douglas/Drawn by Miss Drummond." As Richard Ormond has argued, the inscription must be erroneous as though the chalk certainly shows Charles Kean, his appearance is much older than that of a boy of sixteen – the age at which he made his debut as Douglas in 1827.[20] The similarity of the pose and hair supports the identification of the chalk as a study for the 1838 oil portrait.

Elsewhere in the exhibition space another portrait of Charles Kean as Hamlet was also on display (Fig. 37), this time by the established artist Samuel John Stump. Stump trained at the Royal Academy Schools and primarily made his reputation painting portrait miniatures, many of which he exhibited at the Royal Academy.[21] Theatrical portraits were also central to Stump's practice, and he exhibited them steadily as both miniatures and larger oil portraits at the RA, from *Mrs Litchfield as Lady Macbeth* at the 1804 exhibition (RA catalogue no.426) to *Mrs Warner in the Character of Ismene in the 'Athenian Captive'* in 1841 (RA catalogue no.799). Drummond's portrait of Kean was displayed in the more prominent Middle Room at Trafalgar Square, while Stump's portrait was hung in the smaller space supposedly designated for miniatures and drawings. Some critics disapproved of the practice of mixing oils with watercolours and miniatures, but Stump's reputation as a miniaturist probably led the hanging committee to show his works there.[22]

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[18] Anon., "Royal Academy." *Morning Chronicle*, 5 May 1838.

[19] Richard Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits Catalogue* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1973), 246

[20] Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits Catalogue*, 246.

[21] Between 1802 and 1849 Stump exhibited 236 miniatures at the Royal Academy. E. Benezit and Christopher John Murray, *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, Volume 13. (Paris: Grund, 2006), 484.

[22] The critic for the Literary Gazette complained that "On entering the room professedly appropriated for drawings and miniatures, we were again disappointed in the hopes which we had entertained, that, on the removal of the Royal Academy to Trafalgar Square, care would be taken not to exhibit works in oil and works executed in water in the same apartment; an association injurious to both classes of art." Anon., *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences &c* (June 16 1838): 379.

Drummond was certainly not the only woman artist to have her work exhibited in the Middle Room, but for her to present a theatrical portrait, and particularly one that showed the character of a male tragic hero, was unusual.[23] While theatrical portraiture had been a staple of the RA exhibitions since its inception, the genre still raised problems for women. Typically, these issues were concentrated around the extent to which a theatrical portrait could constitute a 'natural' likeness because "what could be called 'natural' for an actress might be judged both artificial and immodest by contemporary standards of feminine beauty."[24] When the woman was the author of a canvas, rather than portrayed on its surface, a different but related set of concerns appeared. This is because theatrical portraiture was an explicitly public art form which conveyed none of the attributes commonly attached to feminine artistic achievement – those of domesticity, decorativeness, naturalness. Rather, Drummond's portrait carried the opposing connotations of a more masculine medium (oil), tragic Shakespearean subject matter and an imposing male figure. Stump and Drummond's treatment of Kean as Hamlet is remarkably similar in the costume, which consists of a dark doublet with a wide lace collar and a cross on a red ribbon around the neck. Kean faces to the right in Drummond's portrait but to the left in Stump's, and while both unquestionably present a romanticised heroic vision of Hamlet with curling hair, Drummond's delicate brushwork presents a gentler portrait of Kean. The full lips, smooth skin and rounded eyes evident in Drummond's portrait of Kean recall the portraiture of Flemish court painter Anthony van Dyck who became principal painter to King Charles I in 1632. Though the style of the lace collar is different to those painted by van Dyck in the seventeenth-century, Drummond has attempted to apply van Dyck's signature elegant hand gestures to imbue Kean's performance of the Danish prince with regal flair.

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[23] Other women artists exhibiting in the Middle Room: Mrs. L Goodman (Portrait of G.A. Beckett Esq), Mrs Sanders (The Saviour), Harriet Gouldsmith (A mill in Denbighshire, North Wales), Miss E Setchell (A portrait), Mrs J Robertson (Portraits of four of the children of Lord and Lady Clinton), Miss M Faulkner (Portrait of a child), Mrs Swift (Portrait of a girl at work).

[24] Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations,* 116.

The double appearance of Kean at the exhibition was a direct result of his successful debut in the part of Hamlet at Drury Lane on 8th January 1838, and Drummond's debut portrait was therefore a confident attempt to highlight herself as an artist with astute contemporary sense. The press had taken particular notice of Kean's triumph in the role of Hamlet. In a long article titled 'Mr. Charles Kean', the *Morning Chronicle* gave a detailed critique of Kean's performance style, which was "demanded by the degree of popularity which has attended Mr. Charles Kean's bold challenge of the highest honours of his art, and by the influence which his style of acting may consequently have on the public taste."[25] Other active theatrical portraitists soon followed Drummond and Stump's example by issuing prints of Kean in this role – a lithograph was made after Alfred Edward Chalon's portrait of Kean as Hamlet in 1838 and Richard James Lane published his lithograph of Kean in 1839. The double appearance of Kean as Hamlet in 1838 suggests that dramatic single figure theatrical portrait was not a dead genre at the RA. While theatrical portraits no longer constituted the largest or most remarked upon items in the exhibition – for 1838 that title belonged to Sir David Wilkie's monumental canvas *The First Council of Queen Victoria* (no.60) which measured 193.3 x 279.5 when framed – they remained a regular presence generating debate and amplifying celebrity from both ends of the Strand.

Werner(s) on Tour: Daniel Maclise and William Charles Macready

In this section I shall focus on the repeated display of a portrait of Shakespearean actor William Charles Macready in order to demonstrates how the exhibition of a theatrical portrait could become an extension of a performance. In 1849, Daniel Maclise started painting a full-length portrait of Macready in character in the title role of Bryon's play *Werner* (Fig. 38). The creation of this imposing portrait marked a culmination of Maclise's engagement with theatrical portraiture. Three decades earlier, portraying the actor discussed earlier in this chapter, Charles Kean, had

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[25] Anon., "Mr. Charles Kean." *Morning Chronicle*, 26 February, 1838, n.p.

also proved decisive for the young Maclise. In October 1827, Maclise was newly arrived to London from Cork and eager to gain commissions for portrait drawings, which would help him forge a reputation while he sought entry to the Royal Academy Schools. The actor Charles Kean was then just sixteen, and a novice to the stage, but great anticipation and intrigue surrounded his debut due to a well-publicised rift between Charles and his celebrated actor father Edmund Kean. The infidelities of Kean senior had climaxed in a spectacular criminal trial in 1825, and the great actor's financial security had faded with his personal reputation. By 1827, Charles Kean's parents had separated; with no funds to continue his education at Eton or to support his mother, the novice turned to the manager of Drury Lane for an opportunity and was offered a part in the play *Douglas*. This decision was a public rejection of his father, who had hoped that the young Kean would take up a cadetship with the East India Company rather than become an actor.

Maclise took a seat in the pit, giving him a good view of the stage, for Kean's first performance as Young Norval in *Douglas*. He had already learned that celebrity portraits, like those he had completed of Sir Walter Scott previously, could help launch his career and was perhaps also encouraged by his London advisor Thomas Croker to depict Kean.[26] From his vantage point at Drury Lane, Maclise made a sketch of Kean delivering his first lines and then worked through the night to complete the drawing to be lithographed and published, which Croker arranged the next day (regrettably, the print is now untraced).[27] While the critics were unconvinced by Kean's inexperienced performance, public interest in the Kean family feud meant that a ready audience bought up the impressions, reportedly giving Maclise "a large sum *ultra* the expenses and the profits of the publisher", and an abundance of portrait commissions.[28] Upon entering the RA schools in 1828, Maclise received artistic instruction in the tradition outlined by Joshua Reynolds

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[26] In August 1825 Maclise had made some drawings of the author Sir Walter Scott while he visited a Cork bookshop. He refined these drawings in a portrait which was lithographed in Dublin; the lithograph brought acclaim and the confidence to open his own portrait studio in Patrick Street, Cork. John Turpin, "Maclise, Daniel (*bap.* 1806, *d.* 1870)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17682

[27] W. Justin O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise, R.A.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1870), 34-35.

[28] O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise*, 35.

in his *Discourses on Art*, which had originally been delivered to students at the academy schools in

the late eighteenth century.[29] For students of painting this meant making copies of Old Masters

and of the more recent leaders of British art, including copying after Thomas Lawrence's fêted

theatrical portrait of John Philip Kemble as Hamlet.[30] This educational experience, his early

success as a theatrical portraitist, and Maclise's cultural and social networks brought him back to

theatrical subject matter throughout his career and laid the groundwork for his significant

portrait of Macready.

Maclise and Macready became acquainted in 1835 through their mutual friend John Forster.

Forster was the literary critic for *The Examiner*, but also acted as close confidante and advisor to

many prominent authors and actor-managers.[31] In his diary entry for the day of their meeting,

Macready notes that Maclise was "anxious to paint my picture", and the artist rapidly realised this

ambition by completing *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters* (Fig. 39), a Shakespearean scene featuring

Macready, shown at the RA in 1836.[32] At first glance, it is difficult to place Macready in Maclise's

composition because the glowing cauldron and three surrounding witches dominate the

foreground and occupy more than two-thirds of the picture. The actor appears in the character

of Macbeth in the background and looks down upon the witches from a distance. As Nancy

Weston has shown in her analysis of this painting, the reception of *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters*

was decidedly mixed, though Forster did purchase it after the exhibition.[33] *The Times* found

Maclise's realisation of the witches lacking in majesty; the reviewer complained that their actions

were "low and grovelling" and that they appeared more like "the withered hags of the Galtee

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[29] Robert W. Wark ed., *Discourses on Art by Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).
[30] Christie's London, *Catalogue of Sale of Daniel Maclise, RA 24 and 25 June* (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, 1870).
[31] John Forster forged friendships with Alfred Tennyson, Elizabeth Gaskell, Samuel Phelps and Robert Browning, amongst many others. Perhaps the most famous of his long-lasting friendships is the one he enjoyed with Charles Dickens. Forster's archive is preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum.
[32] W. Toynbee, ed. *The Diaries of William Charles Macready 1833-1851*, vol.1 (London: Chapman & Hall, 1912), 228.
[33] Nancy Weston, *Daniel Maclise: Irish Artist in Victorian London* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 95-96.

Mountains, cheering up the fire of a potato pot, than the poetical conceptions of Shakespeare."[34]

Macready was disappointed in the composition for different reasons. He wrote in his diary that the subject "was cut in two; the group of witches was admirably imagined and in itself a picture – the figure of Macbeth was superfluous. He [Maclise] had not poetry enough to grasp my idea."[35] From this criticism, it is possible to infer that Macready disliked being relegated to the background, especially when his portrait became an afterthought rather than the purpose of the picture. Twelve years later, in 1849, Maclise started work on the portrait cited at the beginning of this section, *Macready as Werner,* which Weston judges to be less effective than *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters.* In Weston's view, while both illustrate the Shakespearean subject effectively, only the 1836 painting is successful in conveying the nuances of Maclise's Irish identity, which she identifies in the possible Irish features of the witches' costume and the critical reaction of *The Times.* However, my argument shifts critical discussion of Maclise's *Macready as Werner* away from questions of Irish identity, and onto its status as a widely circulated and exhibited object. While Ronald Parkinson and Geoffrey Ashton have described the basic circumstances of the portrait's exhibition history, I shall argue that the mobility of Maclise's portrait, realised by mirroring Macready's theatrical tour, imbued this picture with a physically ingrained authority as a likeness.[36]

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[34] Anon., "The Exhibition of the Royal Academy," *The Times*, May 4, 1836, 5.

[35] Toynbee, *The Diaries of William Charles Macready,* 268.

[36] See Geoffrey Ashton, *Catalogue of Paintings at the Theatre Museum, London* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1992), 55; Ronald Parkinson, *Catalogue of British Oil Paintings 1820-1860* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1990), 181-82

'on the eve of his final leave taking': Painting Macready in 1849

Maclise revealed his motivations for painting *Macready as Werner* in a letter that he sent to John Forster in August 1849.[37] Maclise wrote to Forster about his concerns over *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters*, which he claimed to now loathe:

> My dear Forster
>
> I have for some time mediated making you a proposal. It is impossible for me to express to you how much I hate that picture of Macbeth, especially the part relating to the Witches, bad as is it in the last degree and utterly abhorrent to me… what I really would wish, is this, that you should let me have the picture to do what I like with, cut up or otherwise, and that I should paint for you a picture similar in many aspects…for which our admirable friend [Macready] should sit for me now on the eve of his final leave taking and into which subject I would put heart and my soul – all my heart and as much of my soul as I can boast. This last to be exhibited, and dedicated by me to you, as his friend, and as mine. Will you think of this proposal and give me your answer.[38]

Maclise's letter indicates that the production of *Macready as Werner* was precipitated by the artist's desire to retrieve *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters* and his wish to appropriately commemorate Macready as he prepared to retire. While Maclise intended the portrait to have personal resonance – to celebrate their tripartite friendship – it was explicitly designed as a public object destined for exhibition. Long before paint had touched canvas or a single sitting arranged, Maclise was thinking forward to the exhibition potential of his proposition. Consequently, *Macready as Werner* typifies an essential feature of the specificity of theatrical portraiture as an

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[37] Forster bequeathed his extensive library, including his voluminous correspondence, to the Victoria and Albert Museum (then the South Kensington Museum) when he died in 1876.
[38] Daniel Maclise to John Forster, 1st August 1849, Forster MS 44, Letter 45. National Art Library, V&A.

artistic genre: this was an object that took its subject from a carefully planned public spectacle – the play - and made with public-facing intent.

Macready began coming to Maclise's studio to pose as Werner in December 1849, and records two lengthy sittings in his diary.[39] By December Macready had already begun his drawn out retirement from the stage; his parting performances in London occurred over two seasons at the Haymarket theatre (8 October to 8 December 1849 and 28 October to 3 February 1851) and also he undertook a farewell tour of provincial theatres in these years. During this period Macready was increasingly concerned with securing an appropriate legacy, and this interest was only compounded by his involvement in the installation of a monument to Sarah Siddons at Westminster Abbey.[40] After having dinner together on December 9th 1849 Macready noted that he and Forster had discussed him giving readings or lectures after his retirement, but such a professional adjustment alarmed Macready: "I *feel* the change from the 'well graced actor' to the frigid lecturer!"[41] There is no documentation that indicates why the role of Werner was chosen to honour Macready's career, but Macready had undoubtedly made the role of this tragic hero his own. The actor made his first appearance as the eponymous protagonist in *Werner; or, The Inheritance* at the Theatre Royal Bristol in January 1830. He quickly won the approval of the audience and the press, and decided to add the play to his regular repertoire.[42] The plot of Byron's 1822 Gothic-Romantic tragedy follows the exiled Werner, as he attempts to regain wealth and status. Drury Lane hosted the London debut of the play in December 1830, and the part soon became one of Macready's most popular roles.[43] Maclise's portrait derives from Act 1 Scene I when Werner and his wife Josephine are lodging in a derelict and draughty old Palace

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[39] Toynbee, *The Diaries of William Charles Macready*, 440-441.
[40] Toynbee, *The Diaries of William Charles Macready*, 437.
[41] Toynbee, *The Diaries of William Charles Macready*, 439. Macready's allusion to the 'well graced actor' is a reference to Shakespeare's Richard II.
[42] Anon., *Bristol Mirror*, January 30, 1830.
[43] Kathleen M. D. Barker, 'The First English Performance of Byron's "Werner"', *Modern Philology* 66, no. 4 (1969): 342–44.

lamenting their poverty and the absence of their son Ulric. The painting shows the character of Werner at full-length, and Josephine seated facing away from the viewer with her face in her hands. Maclise's decision to make the figure of Josephine ancillary, with her face covered by her hands, and not a portrait of a known performer, makes the painting a celebration of Macready alone – a direct contrast earlier his composition of *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters.*

"on the track of Macready": The tour and the print

Following the completion of *Macready as Werner* around March 1850, Maclise and Forster began considering how best to publicise and exhibit the new work. Maclise wrote to Forster explaining that Samuel Cousins (who worked primarily as an etcher and stipple engraver) was a prospective engraver, but he believed that printseller and publisher Joseph Hogarth would support the production of a line engraving by C.W. Sharpe (Fig. 40). Maclise favoured Sharpe because line engraving was "more stately", and reported that he had not yet "spoken as to the sum of Copyright or whether I am to have half profits".[44] Having secured the production of a more prestigious print, Maclise then sent the portrait to be exhibited in Joseph Hogarth's print shop at 5 Haymarket.[45] To drum up subscriptions to cover the costs of the line engraving Maclise and Hogarth sent the portrait on the circuit of Macready's farewell tour around England and Scotland. He told Forster that he had put the "picture on the track of Macready to Edinburgh & Glasgow, this can be done, and yet get it back in time for the RA."[46] Arranging a touring exhibition of a portrait to attract print subscriptions was not unprecedented and a prominent example from the early nineteenth century is an oil portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte and General Louis Alexandre Berthier at the Battle of Marengo by the artists Joseph Boze and Robert Lefèvre. In 1801 a subscription for a print after the double portrait was launched at the price of

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[44] Daniel Maclise to John Forster, 1850, Forster MS 44, Letter 58. National Art Library, V&A.
[45] Jacob Simon, *British Picture Framemakers, 1630-1950. National Portrait Gallery Online Research Database* www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers
[46] Daniel Maclise to John Forster, 1850, Forster MS 44, Letter 59. National Art Library, V&A.

4 guineas and this was followed by a tour of the painting starting in London, then moving onto Bath and Bristol before returning to London to be shown once more in the summer of 1802 when the print was finally published.[47] Similarly, it was not unusual, by the middle of the nineteenth-century, for shrewd artists to send a single work to more than one exhibition venue within London in the same season in a bid to maximise its exposure.[48] However, Maclise's idea of touring a theatrical portrait alongside the living embodiment of the actor performing that role was novel.

The portrait soon arrived in Newcastle to meet Macready for his performances there. The *Newcastle Courant* carried a notice advising that the portrait could be viewed at Robert Currie's picture gallery and print shop:

WILLIAM MACREADY, AS WERNER.

ROBERT CURRIE & CO.

Have the Honour to announce that they will exhibit at their

PICTURE GALLERY, No. 15 Grey Street

A Beautiful Portrait of

WILLIAM MACREADY

IN THE CHARACTER OF WERNER

Painted by D. Maclise, R.A.

Until Saturday, the 16th instant, and respectfully invite an early inspection.

Newcastle, March 7th, 1850.[49]

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[47] Sheila O'Connell and Tim Clayton, *Bonaparte and the British: Prints and Propaganda in the Age of Napoleon* (London: The British Museum Press, 2015), 92.

[48] For examples, see Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, "Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London's Art Market", *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 3 (Autumn 2012), http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn12/fletcher-helmreich-mapping-the-london-art-market; Catherine Roach, *Pictures-within-Pictures in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 109–111.

[49] Anon., "General Hue and Cry," *The Newcastle Courant,* March 8, 1850, n.p.

Maclise wrote to Forster that thirty subscriptions for proofs and prints had been secured off the back of the tour when it arrived in Edinburgh, which the artist and Hogarth felt was a positive outcome given the hurried circumstances. In the same letter Maclise remarked that he hoped that the "melancholy apparition of himself constantly rising up before him in strange places will not drive Macready mad."[50] Maclise's musing on the uncanny doubling effect of *Macready as Werner* circulating in the same spaces as the actual man suggests actor and portrait had entered into a reciprocal relationship. Maclise invokes the language of haunting to describe the effect of the portrait upon Macready. The touring portrait functions as both ghost and 'painted understudy'. The display of the portrait allowed Macready's painted double to perform the role silently from Robert Currie's picture gallery in the hours that the Newcastle Theatre Royal was closed. As the portrait moved from city to city in Macready's wake it also drew a connecting line between the theatrical and commercial spaces of the stage and print shop/picture gallery; theatregoers could recall their recent experiences by viewing the portrait, or sample the substitute if they had missed Macready altogether.

"Nor is the figure a mere theatrical portrait": Return to London and the Royal Academy

By late March 1850 it had become apparent that the success of the tour meant that transporting the portrait back to London in time for submission to the annual RA exhibition would be challenging. The painter and highly regarded arts administrator Thomas Uwins, then Keeper of the National Gallery, RA Librarian and Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, caught wind of Maclise's inability to show the portrait at the exhibition. Uwins took the very unusual step of writing to Maclise to plead him to get *Macready as Werner* back in time to be displayed. His letter demonstrates the centrality of the exhibition to establishing a fitting legacy:

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[50] Daniel Maclise to John Forster, 21st March 18450, Forster MS 44, Letter 61. National Art Library, V&A.

My dear Sir

I should be sorry to be guilty of any impertinence, or to take any liberty with you that my position as a brother member of the Academy does not authorise. But I would most earnestly beg of you to reconsider your decision about the Portrait of Macready, and do hope you will see the propriety of sending the picture to <u>the</u> exhibition, both on account of your own reputation, the reputation of the Actor, and even for the interest of the publisher himself. The Frescoes at the House of Lords have already taken you much from the institution of which you are and must be always considered one of the main pillars; and if you allow this Portrait to be abstracted from the rooms, it will seem as if you had entirely given up your interests in a society which has alone endeavoured to maintain the dignity of the Art against all the intrigues of dealers and renegades.

Think too of the position of the Actor himself. He is quitting the Theatre where he has become one of the points which mark the age. Is it becoming that he should take his leave of the British public in the bookshop of the printseller, instead of the National Gallery where his portrait will call up all the sympathies and recollections that have accompanied his course, and his retiring will be stamped on the minds of the people as a great historical event. It is time enough for the publisher to come when this exhibition is over, and the memory of the exhibition will aid his interest twofold by any little go that he may get up for his own supposed advantage. Pray my dear I argue this view of the subject the consideration it deserves, and do, I beseech you, forgive me if the strong

feelings I have on the subject may have found one into an interference which should appear uncalled for or unbecoming.[51]

Uwins plays provocatively on Maclise's sense of duty to his Academy brethren and insinuates that failure to provide the portrait would also be construed as failure to support the Academy's mission of maintaining the "dignity of the Art". Uwins' language is deeply nationalistic in tone, and also consciously conflates the space of the theatre with that of the exhibition by suggesting that the National Gallery ought to be the space where Macready takes his final leave of the British public. In proposing that the display of the portrait will "call up all the sympathies and recollections that have accompanied his course" Uwins refers both to Macready's long and successful career, and to the farewell tour. His statement implies that on its travels the canvas is gradually acquiring the memories and experiences of those witnessing Macready's performances. The pleading letter not only indicates that the organisers of the exhibition had a sophisticated understanding of how the reputations and commercial aspirations of a celebrity sitter, artist and publisher were interlinked, but anticipates the critical reaction of exhibition visitors and hyperbolically suggests that the exhibition of a theatrical portrait could constitute "a great historical event".

Despite Uwins' wishes, the portrait did not appear at the RA in the spring of 1850. *Macready as Werner* returned from Glasgow later that year and was back on show at Hogarth's print shop in January 1851; Maclise then sent it to the 1851 RA exhibition. As a member of the RA's annual exhibition selection committee for both 1850 and 1851, Maclise would have had full confidence that his theatrical portrait would receive a favourable placement in the display in either year. Maclise may have had an additional incentive for deferring the display of *Macready as Werner* until the 1851 exhibition, as the RA's annual showing would then coincide with the 1st May opening

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[51] Thomas Uwins to Daniel Maclise, 26th March 1850, Forster MS 44, Letter 63. National Art Library, V&A.

of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. This major event had the potential to bring far greater international interest to the RA's annual show, as the *Bentley's Miscellany* explained:

> Since the first establishment of the Royal Academy, no one of the annual exhibitions of that institution has, we think, ever been opened on so important an occasion for the fame of British Art, as in this exhibition year of 1851. Among the vast congregation of foreigners assembling in London, by far the greater number have now to learn for the first time what the English School of Painting really is—have now to discover what our English artists really can do.[52]

Macready as Werner, no.644 in the exhibition catalogue, was shown in the West Room at the 1851 exhibition. Maclise also sent two other pictures to the exhibition, both of which appeared in the East Room: *Caxton's Printing Office in the Almonry of Westminster* (Fig. 41) and a *Portrait of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton*, a politician and popular novelist and dramatist who wrote *The Lady of Lyons*.[53] Maclise's history painting depicted the merchant and printer William Caxton presenting a newly printed sheet to King Edward IV. Surrounded by other members of the royal family and an elaborate printing press, Maclise's scene dramatises the cultural progress afforded by Caxton's new printing office and won plaudits from reviewers.

The RA catalogue reproduced Josephine's lines alongside the title listing for 'Mr Macready, in the Character of Werner':

> Who would read in this form
>
> The high soul of the son of a long line?

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[52] Anon., "The Exhibition of the Royal Academy," *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1851): 617.
[53] Completed in 1850, Maclise's *Portrait of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton* is now at Knebworth.

Who, in this garb, the heir of princely lands?

Who, in this sunken, sickly eye, the pride

Of rank and ancestry? In this worn cheek,

And famine hollow'd brow, the Lord of halls

Which daily feast a thousand vassels' &c[54]

Rather than depicting the exact moment when Josephine speaks, the quotation seems designed to direct exhibition-goers attention to Macready's costume and grizzled but noble face.[55] The *Art Journal* review reproduced part of the above quotation, agreeing that Macready's representation was "characterised according to the spirit of the passage" and praised the portrait for depicting Macready accurately with "much force and freedom".[56] Critical reaction to this portrait in the press was consistent in remarking the fine balance between actor and character that Maclise has struck. *The Spectator* noted that the artist had "combined a living likeness of the man with the dramatic attributes of the character."[57] However, *The Spectator* review is more significant for its attempt to emancipate *Macready as Werner* from the theatrical portrait genre altogether. The critic continues "Nor is the figure a mere theatrical portrait. The scene is invented, not copied from the stage: it is less Macready as Werner than Werner embodied in Macready... [it] is certainly the best dramatic portrait of Macready that has been made public."[58] This aggrandising language had deep roots in the history of British portraiture, and was particularly related to the actor portraits of Thomas Lawrence showing John Philip Kemble as Cato, Coriolanus, Rolla and Hamlet, which

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[54] Royal Academy, *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, MDCCCLI. The Eighty-Third* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1851), 33.

[55] Geoffrey Ashton suggests that Werner's gesture in the painting (pointing to his chest) might represent a moment in Act 1 Scene 1 in which Werner puts his hand to his bosom to search for a weapon upon hearing an unexpected knock at the door. See Geoffrey Ashton, *Catalogue of Paintings at the Theatre Museum,* 55.

[56] Anon., *Art Journal*, (1851): 160.

[57] Anon., "Werner by Maclise," *The Spectator* (18 January 1851): 9.

[58] Anon.,"Werner by Maclise," 9.

Maclise is known to have copied as a student.[59] Shearer West has argued that these paintings of

Kemble were not simply theatrical portraits, but 'half-history portraits', drawing her terminology

from a letter in which Lawrence referred to his portrait of Kemble as Coriolanus as "a sort of

half-history picture."[60] The compositional similarities between Maclise's portrayal of Macready

and Lawrence's Hamlet (Fig. 42) and Coriolanus (Fig. 43) suggest that Maclise was looking

directly to the earlier artist's example. Macready's downturned mouth and raised eyes mirror

Hamlet's expression closely, while Macready's hand is drawn across his chest in a gesture similar

to that of Kemble as Coriolanus. The repetition of these gestures also suggests that Macready

was looking to Kemble as a former star performer and deliberately imitating his expressions to

perpetuate an already established physical code of leading male tragic performance. West has

shown how Lawrence's fusion of portraiture and history painting was part of an eighteenth-

century discourse which put portraiture on the public agenda by accentuating the constructive

and edifying effects of portraying and exhibiting 'great men'.[61] The theoretical writings of Joshua

Reynolds and Jonathan Richardson underpinned this discourse. Richardson believed that

portraits could have a public role by transmitting the nobility, virtues and greatness of the sitter;

for him a portrait was "a sort of General History of the Life of the Person it represents, not only

to Him who is acquainted with it, but to Many Others".[62] Reynolds' own portraiture often

portrayed theatrical subjects in a pseudo-historical mode as he attempted to raise the position of

portraiture in the London art world's still emerging hierarchy of genres. Emboldened by

Reynolds' example Lawrence's portraits of Kemble set out to forge a new form of history

painting, one which bound together the individual specificity of portraiture with the universal

themes (also known as generality) of history painting.[63] One of the keys to achieve this aim with

a theatrical subject was invention, and both Maclise and Lawrence transcend the precise action

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[59] Christie's London, *Catalogue of Sale of Daniel Maclise, RA 24 and 25 June*.
[60] D.E. Williams, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Lawrence*, vol.1 (London, 1831), 197.
[61] West, "Thomas Lawrence's 'Half-History' Portraits", 225.
[62] Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting* (London, 1719), 35.
[63] West, "Thomas Lawrence's 'Half-History' Portraits", 232.

of the play by placing primary focus on the full-length bodies of the actors. The 1851 *Spectator* review of *Macready as Werner* emphasises Maclise's invention and explicitly uses the term embodiment to describe the relationship between Macready and the character of Werner. By following the track of Macready around the country, Maclise's portrait had greater claim to embodiment than most theatrical portraits as it had tangibly inhabited parallel spaces with the actor and passively mimicked his movements. In this manner, the associations between Lawrence and Maclise, Macready and Kemble, and the corporeal patina that the painting accrued through its tour accumulated to provide this picture with singular value as a commemorative object for viewers at the 1851 exhibition.

At the beginning of this chapter I alluded to the disappointing exhibition of Charles Mathews's theatrical portrait collection at the Queen's Bazaar on Oxford Street in 1833. Throughout this chapter I have argued that the popularity of theatrical portraiture as a subject for exhibition, and as a commemorative marker, remained steady into the second quarter of the nineteenth century. More than thirty years later, did members of the theatrical profession also still maintain an interest in collecting portraits to form a visual archive of the stage? There was certainly enthusiasm for the collection of theatrical portraits, a particularly extreme example of which is Mrs Henry Ruddell, manager and proprietor of the Theatre Royal Gravesend.[64] In 1862 the Era reported on the contents and fate of Ruddell's collection:

> Mrs Ruddell, of 68, Regent-Street, has a choice collection of Theatrical Portraits, which she has, at much trouble and great expense, been some years collecting. They comprise speaking likenesses of Oxberry, by S. Drummond, R.A.; Sheridan Knowles, by James Stewart, R.A.; Helen Faucit (Clint), Mrs. Inchbald (Cosway) Mrs. Waylett (Rothwell), Miss O'Neil (Harlow), Robert Palmer (Zoffany); Strickland, Woodward, and Foote, in

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[64] Ruddell's management of the Theatre Royal Gravesend was announced in 1853. See, Anon., "Theatre Royal Gravesend," *The Era*, 20 March, 1853, 1.

The Mayor of Garratt (Zoffany); Vestris, Bannister and Parsons, the two latter in the characters of Old and Young Philpott, in *The Citizen*, with the fascinating Madame Vestris in the background; a beautiful print of Mrs. Siddons, with her son, in the Tragedy of *Isabella*; and a very clever Theatrical Portrait Gallery, arranged by J. Worth, of Lambeth. The collection is most interesting, and, upon inspection, creates pleasing thoughts of days gone by. We believe the respected and amiable owner of the above wishes to present them to some Institution worthy to be honoured with the generous and liberal gift, but at present has not decided where they shall be located, and she is greatly to be commended for her carefulness and deliberation as to their future destiny.[65]

The Ruddell collection indicates the extent to which members of the theatrical profession felt that their portraiture was of national importance. One portrait from Mrs. Ruddell's collection played a part in the ambitious plan to include a portrait gallery within the Royal Dramatic College which was planned from 1858 and opened in 1865. Situated in Woking, the College served as a respectable retirement home for actors and was supported by Dickens, Thackeray and the Prince Consort. A notice in *The Art Review* states "The Royal Dramatic College has initiated a portrait-gallery, the first contribution being Gainsborough's portrait of John Bannister, the gift of Mrs. Ruddell."[66] In electing to construct a portrait gallery the Royal Dramatic College was seeking to formalise and make tangible the historical importance and legacy of the theatrical profession. The perceived cultural status of portraiture may not have figured as highly as history painting in the traditional hierarchy of artistic genres as defined by the Academies of Arts since the late eighteenth century, but in the 1850s particularly, portraiture had become an important tool for preserving and championing British national identity. The National Portrait Gallery itself had been established in 1856 and eventually opened its doors to the public at its home at 29 Great

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[65] Anon,. "Theatrical Fine Arts," *The Era*, 22 June, 1862, 11.
[66] Anon., *The Art Review*, 13 February, 1864, 3. This portrait may now be catalogued as attributed to Gainsborough.

George Street, Westminster in 1859.[67] In aligning the theatrical profession with elite portraitists such as Gainsborough, the leaders of the Royal Dramatic College project attempted to shed the question marks which lingered over the propriety of exhibiting oneself publicly. Unfortunately, the Royal Dramatic College and its portrait gallery were never to become fully established; finances were strained from 1870 and the College eventually closed in 1877.[68]

In this chapter I have shown how the Royal Academy remained a critical venue for the display and dissemination of theatrical portraiture. Newspaper reviews of Stump and Drummond's portraits of Kean confirm the mutually amplifying relationship between theatrical debut and exhibition debut. However, as the example of Maclise's portrait of William Macready indicates, the commemorative value of a portrait could be enhanced by its display outside the metropolis and alongside its originator. The display of newly painted theatrical portraits like those of Macready and Kean connected the fleeting performances of the stage to the similarly fast-moving hub of London's exhibition culture at mid-century. However, it was the potential for repetition – through different versions of the same performer by Stump and Drummond or the touring exhibition of Maclise's *Macready as Werner* – that reinforced hierarchies of theatrical celebrity. The following third chapter of this thesis approaches the repetition of portraits of the same performer, Priscilla Horton (also known as Mrs German Reed), through a different lens. Rather than consider an individual performance, in chapter three I question the extent to which a woman performer could use portraiture to control and enhance her artistic, personal and commercial reputation.

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[67] For the foundation of the National Portrait Gallery see, David Cannadine, *National Portrait Gallery: A Brief History* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2007).
[68] Anon., "The Dramatic College," *The Era* August 5,1877, 5.

Chapter Three

Portraying Priscilla Horton: Synergies between Actress and Artists

'"The Priscilla Horton Line of business"'[1]

The actress and singer Priscilla Horton later Reed (1818-1895) began her long and varied career

as a child performer in London. By the late 1830s Horton had established herself as one of the

capital's most versatile stage performers; she sang in operas, acted in 'breeches' roles and

displayed her athleticism in aerial flights at Covent Garden. In the mid 1850s she and her

husband Thomas German Reed became the joint-proprietors of their own long-running

dramatic entertainment known as the Gallery of Illustration, situated on fashionable Regent's

Street.[2] Throughout this chapter, I shall refer to Horton by her maiden name. This choice is

made partly to avoid confusion but also to emphasise that while Horton did utilise her married

name, Mrs German Reed, in later life, contemporary newspapers frequently referred to her as

Horton and she continued using this name to advertise performances long after her marriage.[3] In

this chapter I ask: what can the iconography of one performer tell us about how much agency

onstage women had to control their public image? To what extent, and how, did performers

such as Horton collaborate with artists in the creation of their portraits? How did artists try to

communicate kinetic onstage action through the medium of the fixed single figure portrait?

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[1] Anon, "Drury Lane Theatre," *The Morning Post*, September 6, 1853, 5.

[2] On the Gallery of Illustration see Jane W. Stedman, *W.S. Gilbert: A Classic Victorian and His Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 66-68.; David Williamson, ed., *The German Reeds and Corney Grain: Records and Reminiscences.* (London: 1895); Alfred German Reed, *Mr. and Mrs. German Reed's Entertainment: A Pretty Bequest* (London: AS Mallett, 1886).

[3] In the newspaper advertisements that the couple placed in publications such as the entertainment-focused weekly *The Era*, Horton and her husband German Reed elected to use both names. In the April 6, 1856 edition of *The Era*, published twelve years after their marriage in 1844, the advertisement read "MISS P. HORTON'S POPULAR ILLUSTRATIONS.- Mr. And Mrs. T German Reed will give their NEW ENTERTAINMENT, consisting of Musical and Characteristic Illustrations, introducing a variety of amusing and interesting scenes from real life, with English, French and Italian songs, EVERY EVENING (except Saturday), at the Royal Gallery of Illustration, 14, Regent-street, commencing at Eight o'clock, and terminating at a Quarter-past Ten. Prices of admission;, 2s, 1s; Stalls 3s., which can be secured at the Gallery during the day.- A Morning performance every Saturday, at 3 o'clock, when the Free List will be suspended. No performance on Saturday Evenings." A biography in *Bow Bells* also mentions that Horton continued to use her maiden name, 'Mrs German Reed'. Anon,. "Our Portrait Gallery," *Bow Bells* (August 9 1865): 41.

In her recent study of theatrical management and marriage in London between 1830 and 1870, Jacky Bratton revised and restated the critical importance of Horton, making a case for her as a performer at the cutting edge of mid-nineteenth-century stage entertainment.[4] Bratton's study focuses on the performances that Horton and her husband put on at the Gallery of Illustration, which was first-known as 'Miss P. Horton's Entertainment', and later as 'Mr and Mrs German Reed's Entertainment'. This chapter will extend Bratton's project by considering Horton's early career alongside her later performances at the Gallery of Illustration through the specific prism of portraiture.

The relationship between theatrical portrait representations of Horton and her physical acting body is complex and predicated by a historically encoded manner of seeing. Horton's corporeal and portrayed figures are intimately related and an analysis of both provides insight into nineteenth-century responses to female agency and professionalism, and the contemporary spectacle of politics. As an art form, theatrical portraiture shares much common ground with live performance: both call for the viewer to 'look at' and 'look through' a construction of a 'real' event, while consciously acknowledging the process of remediation. Remediation – the use of ideas and meanings from previous historical models such as references to other paintings or literary adaptations – was of course commonplace and practically unavoidable, especially in the context of a theatre culture brimming with melodrama.[5] This is because, as Caroline Radcliffe has argued, burlesque, melodrama and pantomime were deliberately multi-sensory forms of performance that incorporated literary translations and adaptations alongside references to historical events and figures and snippets of operatic and popular music.[6] As such, these

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[4] Jacky Bratton, *The Making of the West End Stage Marriage, Management and the Mapping of Gender in London, 1830–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 71-78.
[5] For these reasons Caroline Radcliffe has argued that remediation was particularly important for the appeal of melodrama and sensation theatre. Caroline Radcliffe, "Remediation and Immediacy in the Theatre of Sensation," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 36, no. 2 (2009): 39.
[6] Caroline Radcliffe, "Remediation and Immediacy," 39.

productions functioned as direct critical parodies of other plays.[7] When theatre historians have turned to painted scenes and portraits as a source for information about stage performance they have often criticised their remediated form, implicitly placing greater value on the 'original'. Similarly, scholars of visual culture, including Martin Meisel, have examined earlier historical models for nineteenth-century dramatic scenes, but generally argue that the original model is superior to any remediated form, which lacks the necessary aura of authenticity.[8]

In my consideration of Priscilla Horton I wish to reframe the relationship between acting body, or original performance, and remediated portrait representation, and move away from a hierarchical model. Instead, I suggest *hyper-recognition* as a model which accounts for how the web of imagery surrounding a figure drew from static visual portraiture and the kinetic stage. *Hyper-recognition* recalls Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's concept of hypermediacy, or the overlaying of different kinds of media so that the viewer registers remediation.[9] However, *hyper-recognition* accounts more specifically for the unique portrait characteristic of images of theatrical performers and acknowledges the imaginative mode of seeing that theatrical portrait artists required of their viewers. When looking at a theatrical portrait, viewers had to simultaneously register the facial characteristics of the actor or actress, their performance style, the part being played and the style of the artist. *Hyper-recognition* also connotes the gaps filled by knowledge outside of the image, by the lettering beneath a print, familiarity with the play and the displaying context: in a newspaper, on the walls of the Royal Academy, or within the more private leaves of an autograph album. A performer's previous roles, and earlier portraiture, might have also lingered in the minds of theatregoers and further built upon that performer's image. The term suggests that more is at stake for artists than copying or recording a scene as it actually was, and viewers were conscious of the visual and temporal slippage between live performance and static

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[7] Simon Dentith, *Parody* (London: Routledge, 2000), 146.
[8] Martin Meisel, *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
[9] Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1999).

image. Put differently, I mean that the translation of a mobile, dynamic and ephemeral stage performance onto the fixed surface of paper or canvas was never unmediated and always an interpretive process.

Single figure theatrical portraits fragment the narratives of stage productions by dispensing with stage settings and dialogic interactions between characters, and confining the kinaesthetic action of performance to the stasis of a two-dimensional page. Without the surrounding connotations of setting, which may elaborate time, genre and narrative, the artist had to make careful choices to imbue these signs into pose, costume and facial expression. Priscilla Horton is a particularly valuable example of how *hyper-recognition* functioned in theatrical portraiture over the course of the mid-nineteenth-century because her career changed rapidly following her marriage and the success of the Gallery of Illustration. In 1866 the diarist Arthur Munby described his surprise in finding Horton:

> a pleasant elderly lady, of quiet and gentle manners, ladylike, selfpossest: might have been a Bishop's wife. And who was this nice old lady? Why, she was Mrs German Reed- Miss P. Horton; whose legs, as Ormsby said afterwards, used to be familiar objects, when she danced & sung at the Haymarket, years ago! Nay, she is 'entertaining' still.[10]

Munby's gendered commentary suggests both delight and mistrust when the revelation of Horton's identity provokes a moment of cognitive dissonance; indeed he was not the only commentator to find the transformation of Horton's career, along with her offstage persona, startling.[11] In her book *Hanging the Head* Marcia Pointon has commented that, "portraiture is a question of the relationship between the self *as* art and the self *in* art".[12] Arguably, theatrical portraiture concerns the self as and in arts *plural,* because it engages extra and intra theatrical

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[10] Derek Hudson, *Munby: Man of Two Worlds. The Life and Diaries of Arthur J Munby 1828-1910* (London: Abacus, 1974), entry for 6 July 1866, 227.

[11] A biographer in the Bow Bells magazine had a similar reaction. See Anon., "Our Portrait Gallery," 41.

[12] Marcia Pointon*, Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth Century*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 1.

perceptions. By considering Horton's portraiture and the web of imagery surrounding her long career through the lens of *hyper-recognition,* I demonstrate how theatrical portraiture allowed artists to address the cognitive dissonance caused by the viewer's knowledge of both public persona and stage character.

Horton's portraiture, and her association with artists that have formed the nuclei of the first and second chapters of this thesis, Richard James Lane and Daniel Maclise, supports the idea that theatrical portraiture ought to be understood as an active collaboration between visual artist and stage performer. Both Shearer West and Jim Davis have argued for a collaborative model of theatrical portrait production. Davis has asserted that in the 1810s and 1820s low comic actors observed nature and everyday behaviour to form exaggerated portraits for the stage, while also becoming art collectors and practitioners themselves, and in this manner can be understood as artists.[13] Shearer West has argued that the painter Thomas Lawrence and the theatrical Siddons family had a co-dependent relationship, which occasionally manifested itself through portraiture. For West, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were periods of gentrification in both the painterly and acting professions, but, to facilitate the "public fantasy of actors/artists and royalty/aristocracy inhabiting the same social and imaginative worlds" professionals had to present moral integrity while concealing their fragile economic positions.[14] I argue that Priscilla Horton provides a valuable case study for understanding how the collaborative mode of theatrical portraiture was adapted and repurposed between the late 1830s and the late 1860s. However, theatrical portraits do not only represent synergies between the artistic and acting professions. Instead the ways in which theatrical portraits were created, consumed and altered, across a variety of artistic registers and to a socially diverse audience demonstrates the visual sophistication of theatregoers' visual imaginations.

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[13] Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture*, 5.
[14] Shearer West, "The Professional and Personal Worlds of Artists and Actors: Thomas Lawrence and the Siddons Family," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 39, no. 1 (2012): 4-6.

This chapter explores how representations of Horton changed over time, and with the progress of her on- and off-stage career. The first section will proceed chronologically, starting with an examination of Horton in the role of Ariel, which was the role that came to define her early career and identity. In the second section I will discuss Horton's autograph book, a rich resource containing lively illustrations and letters by leading nineteenth-century artists. As a compendium of signatures and personalised sketches this book contains indexical traces of Horton's personal and professional network, and I argue, is a marker of Horton's sophisticated visual literacy. In the final part of this chapter I will return to a discussion of the Gallery of Illustration. The unique conceit of the 'Gallery' entertainment, which began in 1855, was that audience members were not attending the theatre at all. Instead, those who visited were the couple's personal guests, welcomed into the comfortable surroundings of a grand drawing room for an intimate evening with fellows of the same servant-employing classes. I will argue that, at the Gallery of Illustration, Horton continually elided her theatrical entertainments with the visual arts. By drawing on references to grand manner portraiture and Hogarth, Horton appropriated respectability and engineered her reputation for commercial and social gain.

'The Ariel of Ariels'[15]

On 13th October 1838 *The Tempest* opened at Covent Garden under William Charles Macready's management. The production, noted for being the first since the seventeenth century to return to the text of the First Folio instead of using the Dryden-Davenant adaptation, was an instant success and ran for fifty-five performances over Macready's second season of management.[16] Horton's performance as Ariel propelled her from well-liked stage regular to sought-after rising star. Both the details recorded in Macready's diaries and newspaper reviews of *The Tempest* indicate that the play contained impressive stage effects, including Priscilla Horton flying from

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[15] Anon., "Theatrical Olla," *The Era*, January 27, 1839, 213.
[16] Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare in Performance: The Tempest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 46.

wires.[17] While a minority of critics lamented the painted scenery and flight technology, calling it a "vapid spectacle", for many others Horton was a celebrated sight.[18] London's lithographers, engravers and painters wasted no time in capitalising on the striking figure of Horton wearing the alluring costume of the nymph: George Cruikshank (Fig. 44), Daniel Maclise (Fig. 45) and Richard James Lane (Fig.46) all sketched Horton in this role. The image of Priscilla Horton as Ariel is a valuable case study because portraits were produced which reach across high, low and middlebrow artistic registers, from large oil portraits on panel to one penny wood-engravings for newspapers. The visual representation of Horton as Ariel is also important because, as Geoffrey Ashton pointed out in his exhibition on *Shakespeare's Heroines*, the figure of Ariel was the most frequently depicted Shakespearean character at the Royal Academy exhibitions between 1769 and 1900.[19] This indicates that Ariel was not only popular amongst artists but also particularly familiar to nineteenth-century metropolitan gallery-goers.

The first image of Horton as Ariel to arrive on the mid-nineteenth-century print market was probably also the portrait that passed before the greatest number of contemporary eyes. After a month of frequent performances Priscilla Horton had evidently made sufficient impact to land the front-page of *Figaro in London*. This four-sheet newspaper produced opportunist ephemeral and theatrical literature aimed at furthering progressive causes, while amusing its sophisticated urban readership, and is now recognised as the "leading satirical political journal of the day".[20] *Figaro in London* ran from December 1831 until December 1838; at its highpoint the paper had a circulation of around 70,000 and it is often seen as the forerunner to *Punch*.[21] Horton's portrait appeared as a wood-engraving entitled 'Miss P. HORTON, AS ARIEL, IN THE "TEMPEST"' (Fig. 47). In this sparse and conventional composition Horton's downward cast expression is

[17] William Charles Macready, *Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from His Diaries and Letters*, ed. William Frederick Pollock (London: Macmillan & Co, 1876), 472.
[18] Anon., *John Bull*, October 21, 1838, 499.
[19] Geoffrey Ashton, *Shakespeare's Heroines in the Nineteenth Century* (Derbyshire Museum Service, 1980), 40.
[20] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, 159-160.
[21] Paul Schlicke, "À Beckett, Gilbert Abbott (1811–1856)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* ed. Lawrence Goldman, May 2009, accessed May 3, 2016, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26

demure but her pointed toes and flexed wrists are coyly posed. Another wood engraving also appeared parallel to the Horton portrait on the front page of the paper under the headline 'English Faction'. This second wood engraving (Fig. 48) is a caricature which shows a repugnant beast with nine cormorant heads and an ostrich-like body. The newspaper describes the image as a "many-headed monster, faction…labouring under a violent disease". The caricature lampoons the splintered state of English politics, imagining the key issues of the day, from slavery to reform, as bilious medicine administered by quacks. While these two wood engravings are separate images they were commissioned and arranged on the page by the paper's Editor Gilbert Abbott À Beckett and drawn by the same engraver, William Chester Walker, whose monogram is visible in Horton's shadow. By reading these two images together as a whole and by understanding the editorial context of *Figaro in London*, a hitherto under acknowledged relationship between theatrical portraiture and graphic satire in 1830s metropolitan periodicals can be discerned. While a number of recent studies have considered how the politics of the 1830s Reform movements impacted and were played out on the London stage, none have observed the link between theatrical portraiture and parliamentary disputes.[22] In the context of periodical culture, theatrical portraiture worked in concert with graphic satire to express responses to contemporary political events and thus continues to push against the now much-refuted idea that the theatre of nineteenth-century Britain is of little interest for histories of the political life of the period.[23]

It was Editor Gilbert Abbott À Beckett's interests in comic writing, theatre and the law which drove *Figaro in London's* preoccupation with illustrating political issues of the day as stage dramas. In part, this reflects À Beckett's other activities at the time which included contributing

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[22] For an overview see Katherine Newey, "Reform on the London stage," in *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780-1850*, ed. Joanna Innes and Arthur Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 238.
[23] This view was most recently proposed by Michael Booth, *Prefaces to Nineteenth-Century Theatre* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980). The many studies challenging this argument include Elaine Handley, *Melodramatic Tactics: Theatricalised Dissent in the English Marketplace, 1800-1885* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) and Peter Yeandle, Jeffrey Richards and Katherine Newey eds. *Politics, Performance and Popular Culture: Theatre and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

burlesque prose for publications such as *The Comic Almanack* (1835–53), writing plays for the

Fitzroy Theatre and training as a lawyer at Gray's Inn.[24] The À Beckett family continued to

associate with Horton in the second half of her career when, in the 1870s and 1880s, À Beckett's

son Gilbert Arthur À Beckett wrote songs, music and plays for the Gallery of Illustration.[25]

Although Gilbert Albert À Beckett gave up the editorship of *Figaro in London* to Henry Mayhew

for a short period in 1835-1836, he returned to the paper in 1836. À Beckett seems to have

wielded considerable influence over his artists, which sometimes led to disagreements such as

those that Brian Maidment has discussed between À Beckett and Robert Seymour, but also

afforded opportunities for collaboration.[26]

Collaborations between the editor and his illustrators were particularly fruitful when they

concerned theatrical content. For example, in the issue published October 21st 1837, the

illustrator and novelist Pierce James Egan provided a caricature entitled 'The Political Macbeth'

(Fig. 49) which showed Lord Melbourne and Daniel O'Connell as Macbeth and Banquo facing

Shakespeare's three witches on the heath. Below the image the editor acknowledges that the

"above scene is a political appropriation of the splendid design of Fuseli" and states that Egan's

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[24] Schlicke, "À Beckett, Gilbert Abbott".

[25] Gilbert Albert À Beckett (1837-1891) wrote the comic piece *The Two Foster Brothers* for Horton and Reed's entertainment in March 1877. 'German Reed's Entertainment', *The Musical World*, March 17 1877, 197. See Katherine Mullin, "À Beckett, Gilbert Arthur (1837–1891)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2009, accessed May 4 2016, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26

[26] The artists who contributed to *Figaro in London* did not always sign their work with a monogram. However, notices in the paper itself, and Brian Maidment's research, do allow us to identify a number of the artists who made wood engravings for it. From the founding of the paper in 1831 until August 1834, celebrated comic artist George Seymour was the primary illustrator. However, in 1834 Seymour and À Beckett had a disagreement over pay which meant that Seymour ceased contributing. Maidment has also suggested that the older Seymour was unhappy with the control that À Beckett exercised over what the artist drew. Seymour rejoined the newspaper under Mayhew's editorship in January 1835 and continued to draw for it until the artist committed suicide in April 1836. See Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, 160. After Seymour's death À Beckett struggled to find a permanent replacement for Seymour. In the final issue, no. 317, of the year 1837 À Beckett announced that "We have at least fixed on an Artist (after fruitless trials of several) who seems destined to assume the mantle of the immortal Seymour." That artist was William Newman, who would go on to be very successful at Punch. Newman had already worked for the magazine in 1837 (he drew six theatrical caricatures which appear in issue no.131, in that issue the editor called him "a young artist, who has certainly shewn considerable humour and talent in the above designs". He drew most of the caricatures until September 1838, when he ceased contributing. At this point the artist William Chester Walker took over much of the work at *Figaro in London* and drew the portrait of Priscilla Horton. From November 5th 1838 until the paper closed in December 1838, Walker supplied a theatrical portrait for the front page.

caricature has inspired *Figaro* to "do something in keeping with the design of our caricaturist."[27]

Indeed, Egan's caricature is based very closely on a now untraced painting by the Swiss-born

artist Henry Fuseli, which was probably known to Egan through engravings after it by such

printmakers such as James Heath.[28] The article that follows is a burlesque of Act 1 Scene III of

Macbeth, featuring the political characters of Egan's caricature. While it is impossible to know

whether À Beckett did in fact commission Egan's caricature in the first place, it does suggest that

the editor was fully aware of the intertextual potential of the newspaper's front page and thought

carefully about how its images and prose interacted. Further evidence of À Beckett's

understanding of the paper as an intertextual object can be detected in the publication's three-

hundredth issue, published 2nd September 1837. À Beckett commissioned six caricatures from an

unknown artist titled 'The Political Drama', which posed contentious political figures in

appropriate theatrical roles (Figs. 50-52). The Irish nationalist leader Daniel O'Connell, who the

radical newspaper approvingly called "the representative of a greater number of individuals than

any other actor than has appeared on the political stage", was cast as Brutus "in the act of

swearing revenge upon the despotism for the wounds it has inflicted on Hibernia."[29] The

caricatures also featured 'The Duke of Cumberland as Richard, the Crook-backed Tyrant',

'Burdett, as Coriolanus', 'Lyndhurst, as Sir Giles Overreach', 'Graham as the Gamester' and

'Stanley as Tom Thumb'. While *Figaro in London* was well known for its detailed and scurrilous

theatre reviews, this issue contained an abbreviated 'Theatricals' section. The editor apologised

for its brevity in a statement which read "Our Six Caricatures being somewhat Theatrical must

be an excuse to the special admirers of this department [the Theatrical section] for our summary

curtailment of it, on this occasion."[30]

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[27] *Figaro in London*, 21 October, 1837.
[28] James Heath after Henry Fuseli, *Macbeth and Banquo meet the Witches on the Heath*, etching and engraving (1804), Item no: 1863,0509.54.
[29] *Figaro in London*, 2 September, 1837.
[30] *Figaro in London*, 2 September, 1837

Similarities in format and style suggest that *Figaro in London's* illustrator was inspired by the earlier example of prominent caricaturist William Heath. In 1829 Heath published a series entitled 'Theatrical Caricatures in Ten Plates' which depicted political figures such as Sir Robert Peel and Daniel O'Connell as theatrical characters on the boards of a stage (Fig. 53) – these caricatures are explored in greater detail in chapter four.[31] À Beckett was also fully aware of the commercial allure of theatrical portraiture and had frequently given away theatrical portrait prints (usually steel engravings) as an additional incentive for consumers to buy that week's issue. For example, with issue no. 325, published on February 24th 1838, readers of *Figaro in London* also received a steel-engraved portrait of Charles Kean (Fig. 54) as Hamlet, by A.H. Brown. This proved to be an extremely successful tactic, as a notice in the following issue states, the issue sold out of at least 30,000 copies and was reprinted.

It is my argument that À Beckett's interest in conflating theatrical portraiture with political caricatures suggests that the engravings that he commissioned from William Chester Walker of Horton as Ariel and the political faction monster were deliberately juxtaposed.[32] Within the model of *hyper-recognition,* which insists upon the importance of intra and extra-theatrical knowledge, the composed image of Horton serves to accentuate the folly of the grotesque political monster and its quacks. In the previous week's issue *Figaro in London's* critic compared Horton's performance to the great theatrical dynasties of the Keans and Kembles and declared "the gem of the piece is Miss P. Horton's Ariel. She is indeed the pure, the delicate Ariel...Her singing is chaste, powerfully impressive, and divested of ornament."[33] Horton's gaze also falls directly across the page, landing on the squabbling and sycophantic figures of the satirical vignette and in this manner the portrait both oversees the caricature and leads the viewer's gaze

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[31] For a recent biography and re-evaluation of William Heath see Julie Melby, "William Heath, "the man wots got the whip hand of 'em all"", *British Art Journal* XVI no. 3 (2016): 3-19.

[32] This argument is supported by the knowledge that in the period between 1820-1840 artists who worked as illustrators, such as wood-engravers, were very dependent on commissions from individual publishers and editors. In order to survive in a competitive market they had to adapt their artistic style and ambitions to the priorities of commissioners. See Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order,* 147.

[33] *Figaro in London*, 5 November, 1838.

into the image. In Shakespeare's play Ariel is a tactful, ever-observant figure who goes unseen to all but Prospero while managing to alter the course of the play. As such, Horton's role as Ariel puts her in a position of visual dominance which the *Figaro in London* wood-engraver then plays upon to unconventionally, and comically, grant Horton's whimsically-clad Ariel the position of political observer. Other issues of *Figaro in London* featured theatrical portraits alongside politically charged graphic satires but the Horton example serves to accentuate the contemporaneity of theatrical portraiture and the way in which these images were bound into a far more biting visual marketplace.

Portraits of Horton in the role of Ariel spanned from the ephemeral to the polished. Daniel Maclise's portrait (Fig. 45) was probably painted in 1838 or 1839, shortly after *The Tempest* had successfully opened, and does not appear to have been exhibited publicly.[34] However, it is possible that the painting was intended as a gift or a mark of appreciation towards Macready, who also owned a pencil sketch by Maclise of Thomas Noon Talfourd's play Ion.[35] In the oil portrait, a golden-haired, pink-cheeked Horton glides gracefully out of the jungle with one arm raised. The outstretched wings of Horton's costume and the way in which the flowers beneath the performer's foot are being delicately flattened suggest that the character is mid-flight, though it is difficult to tell whether she is taking off or landing. Maclise has demonstrated his particular skill with colouring on the iridescent wings and the lush flora and fauna of the jungle's floor. As Adrian Poole has noted, Maclise's painting envisions Horton in a far more revealing costume than she would have actually worn.[36] In a shining golden slip cut to mid-thigh and sliding almost completely off one shoulder, Maclise's portrait seems to fit more closely *The Athenaeum's* alarmed description of Weld Taylor's lithograph of Horton in the same role, which exclaimed to see

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[34] In 1839, which would have been the closest exhibition to Macready's production, Maclise exhibited the Burletta of Midas, Second Adventure of Gil Blas and Robin Hood at the RA. He also painted his portrait of Charles Dickens, now in the National Portrait Gallery collection.

[35] William Charles Macready, *Catalogue of the Library of W. C. Macready* (London, 1873), 28.

[36] Adrian Poole, *Shakespeare And The Victorians* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), 42.

Horton "in the dripping habiliments of a sea-nymph!"[37] The transformative effects of oil paint, and the underlying hierarchies of Shakespearean scene painting into which Maclise's portrait fits, make Maclise's portrait simultaneously the most culturally prized portrait of Horton, and the most sexualised.

Despite *The Athenaeum's* exclamation, Weld Taylor's portrait of Horton as Ariel, after H. Johnston (Fig. 55), is chaste in comparison to Maclise's image. Johnston and Taylor's lithograph split opinion with *The Literary Gazette* pronouncing it "One of the best theatrical portraits of the season, and faithfully representing this clever actress in one of the numerous expression and attitudes in which she so admirably personates this part".[38] The quotation beneath the print reads:

(Prospero) "Thou hast: where was she born?

(Ariel) "Sir, in Argier"

The portrait closely follows the action of this dialogue so that the nymph is posed mid-speech, faithfully answering her master Prospero and leaning towards the viewer animatedly. The hem of the costume Horton wears falls below her knee and the dress itself is sparsely decorated with flowers and seaweed. Maclise's portrait was of course meant for a very different, and possibly more intimate, audience to that of Johnston and Taylor's lithograph. *The Athenaeum* article indicates that printed portraits were being brought into direct comparison with one another:

> Theatrical portraits would appear to be largely in request just at present, if we are to
>
> judge from the number collected round us. Mr. Lane's *Dramatic Sketches*, Parts I & II, are
>
> among the best. The two groups of witches from 'Macbeth' (as at present cast at Covent
>
> Garden) are the best things in his first number:- in his second, the gem is Farren as *Sir*

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[37] Anon., "Fine Arts," *The Athenaeum,* December 29, 1838.
[38] Anon., "Miss P Horton as Ariel," *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature Science and the Fine Arts*, (December 8 1838): 780.

Andrew Aguecheek; for Charles Kemble as *Cassio* looks somewhat stiffer than is graceful, and Miss Taylor, as *Rosalind*, stands far more rigorously upright than it has pleased Miss Taylor to stand on any occasion whatsoever, for the last ten years.[39]

Crucially, both periodicals agree that theatrical portraits were an important and regular part of the theatrical season, fully integrated and anticipated within the wider cycle of theatrical culture. Far from being purely commercial or opportunist ephemera, theatrical portraits were valued as an integral part of the theatrical ecological system which drew performances and performers beyond the theatres' doors.

'Flights of Humour'

Richard James Lane's lithograph of Horton as Ariel (Fig. 46) shuns entirely any traces of Macready's carefully planned stage setting and scenery and instead suspends Horton mid-flight as the play draws to a close in Act 5. The exact moment being depicted is again made clear by the lettering beneath the print which reads 'Tempest, Act 5, Sc last'. While removing the staging was typical of printed theatrical portraits, Horton's flight allows for a novel, diagonal portrait composition here. It is possible that by selecting the moment of Horton in flight Lane was accentuating the flight as a standalone theatrical moment. Horton's body fills the picture plane and the trailing costume heightens a sense of fluid movement. Water drips from her elaborate seaweed headdress and long hair. Lane focuses on Horton's embellished costume covered with intricate shells and coral, which are just visible when observing the lithograph closely. From 1837 to 1840 Lane focused very closely on theatrical portraits, issuing both individual prints and sets which included six or so prints.[40] Lane's lithograph of Horton reached another audience when it

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[39] Anon., "Fine Arts," *The Athenaeum*, December 29, 1838, 830.
[40] Lane's portrait of Priscilla Horton is often misattributed to Alfred Edward Chalon. Specifically, it is often catalogued as being lithographed by Lane after Chalon. However, this is not the case: Lane both drew and lithographed this print himself. This misattribution probably derives from a monogram which appears on this print and other lithographs by Lane, which have also been assumed to be after Chalon. At first glance the monogram reads AE, however, a closer examination reveals the letters L-A-N-E interlaced. The Lane identification is confirmed by the title page to Lane's publication *Dramatic Sketches*, which also features the monogram, and bears the

was displayed at the Royal Academy's annual exhibition in 1839. At the same exhibition Lane also showed portraits of Harriet Taylor as Rosalind (Fig. 56) and Charlotte Elizabeth Vandenhoff as Juliet (Fig. 57).

By February 1839 Horton's performance had been adapted for a cheap lithograph by Archibald Park (Fig. 58), who worked mostly as a publisher and engraver of affordable, toy theatre related prints.[41] Indeed, Park's portrait (or a scaled version of it) may have been intended for toy theatres. From the second decade of the nineteenth century onwards the practice of entrepreneurial publishers translating popular performances into affordable etchings or lithographs became increasingly commonplace. In an effort to appeal to the widest audience possible publishers made these theatrical prints available at a penny plain or tuppence coloured. In an aerial composition which vividly recalls Lane's earlier example, Park's lithograph is stylistically more similar to plainer toy theatre prints and includes narrative elements from *The Tempest* such as the caves and shipwreck. The figure of Horton has been simplified so that it now shows a narrow waist the width of a butterfly embellishment and an exaggerated bust. Park was the publisher of prints made for tinselling and it is highly likely that this print of Horton, much like Park's 'Mr Palmer as Richard Coeur de Lion' (Fig. 59) which was published just a month later, was intended to be coloured and embellished.[42] The image of Ariel, perhaps inspired by Horton's performance, also underwent further adaption and translation into the genre of comic graphic art. As part of the 'Tregear's Flights of Humour' series the printseller and publisher Gabriel Shire Treagear produced a print titled 'Ariel' (Fig. 60). The hand-coloured lithograph shows a long-haired, matronly woman dancing a plodding jig on the coast, tucked beneath her arm is a keg of alcohol and further attention is drawn to the Ariel's merry inebriation by her

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proclamation 'Drawn From Life/By RJ Lane/Lithographer in Ordinary to Her Majesty'. Contemporary newspaper reviews of the sketches, in which the Horton print featured, also clearly name Lane as the artist.

[41] David Powell, Jan Piggott, and Horatio Blood, *Printing the Toy Theatre* (Pollock's Toy Museum Trust, 2009).

[42] The V&A and Museum of London's collection of tinselled Park prints also supports this idea. See V&A Item no: E.120-1969, S.44-1981, S.2034-1986 and E.119-1969. See Museum of London Item no: 99.132/316, 99.132/1037 and 99.132/1049.

drink reddened cheeks and nose. The print's joke turns on the drunken Ariel's misguided belief

in her ability to fly, made clear by the multiple sandy footprints and the accompanying caption:

> Bid the discourse I will enchant thine ear
>
> Or like the fairy trip upon the green
>
> Or like a nimph with bright and flowing hair
>
> Dance on the sands and yet <u>no footing be seen.</u>

This comic print is undated and thus no clear association can be made with Priscilla Horton's

iconography in the same role. However, Tregear's lithograph must have been published after

1834 as it is known that Tregear only moved to 96 Cheapside, the location stated on the print, in

that year. Previously, Tregear had printed topical theatrical satires which sexualised the bodies of

female performers, most notably in his images of Madame Vestris' legs which appeared in the

wake of her famous performances at the Olympic.[43]

In this detailed exploration of one actress's iconography in a particular role, I have demonstrated

how portraiture allowed Horton to achieve validation and parity with her fellow actors, by being

placed alongside them in Lane's printed collections. Similarly, Horton's growing fame and

desirability were captured by Daniel Maclise's exotic and glamorous portrait, perhaps made for a

more intimate audience. More unusually, the coarsest and most widely available portraits of

Horton which featured in penny newspapers actually placed the performer in a position of

political observer and illustrate how theatrical portraiture interacted with the contemporary extra-

theatrical sphere. Horton's acting body was to be manipulated for different usages and had a

compelling effect upon her reputed persona. While the changes to Horton's iconography might

appear relatively minor, the change of emphasis from graceful line to emphatic bust would not

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[43] David Kennerley, "'Flippant Dolls' and 'Serious Artists': Professional Female Singers in Britain, c.1760-1850" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2013), 151-159.

have been lost on nineteenth-century spectators. As both Jacky Bratton and, more recently,

Catherine Hindson have argued, theatre-going audiences were sophisticated viewers, with well-

developed visual literacy.[44] While these portraits undoubtedly provide some understanding of

how Horton's identity was being culturally inscribed they have little to say about Horton's agency

and there is no documentation on her portrait sittings. In the absence of Horton's diaries and

correspondence, questions over Horton's agency and intentions will always remain; however,

there is one rich resource for understanding the performer's networks and identity: her

autograph album.

"Miss P. Horton was one of that clique"[45]

In 1837, the year that Priscilla Horton joined Macready's company at Covent Garden, she also

began detailing and documenting her own cultural milieu in the form of an autograph album.

Until 1862 she carefully collected signatures, sketches, poems and portraits in a gilt-edged blank

manuscript album, now held at the Free Public Library of Philadelphia. This type of album

originated with the *album amicorum* or "album of friends", and was made up of personal tributes

from family, friends, associates and celebrities.[46] During the mid-nineteenth-century this genre of

album was very closely associated with the young and generally unmarried woman, who filled her

album pages with individually meaningful items so that it became a document of her interests,

social connections and subjectivity.[47] My analysis of Horton's autograph album follows Samantha

Matthew's conception of the album as a signifier or substitute for the female owner's body.

Matthews argues that "when carried on the body, or kept with other intimate and private

belongings, in close physical proximity [the album] functioned as a symbolic stand-in for the

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[44] Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History*, 59.; Catherine Hindson, "Grangerizing Theatre's Histories: Spectatorship, the Theatrical Tinsel Picture and the Grangerized Book," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 42, no. 2 (2015): 195-210.

[45] Anon., "Our Portrait Gallery," 41.

[46] This type of album is distinct from the fan-compiled theatrical scrapbooks which predominated in the late nineteenth century, for these see Sharon Marcus, "The Theatrical Scrapbook", *Theatre Survey* 54 no. 2 (2013): 283-307.

[47] Samantha Matthews, "Albums, Belonging and Embodying the Feminine," in Katharina Boehm ed., *Bodies and Things in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 107.

feminine body."[48] The inscriptions in Horton's album confirm that the young performer kept her autograph book close at hand while she worked as the majority of entries include not only a signature and date but also a place, typically a theatre. The album therefore supplies a micro-geography of Horton's predictable movements around London's playhouses, from the Theatre Royal Covent Garden, to the Haymarket and the Olympic. All personalised entries in autograph albums record an unrepeatable encounter between the owner and contributor, each of these contributions signified not only their explicit content but also implied a relationship, and mutual trust, between them. Matthews has argued, specifically in relation to album verses which conventionally praised the owner's personal qualities, that as the album became the site of multiple owner-contributor encounters it, "gradually accrued not simply textual content, but affective significance. Thus...[the album] functions as an intermediate textual space for imaginative constructions of the owner's subjectivity in relation to her context and environment."[49] However, Horton's album was not only a textual space, as in addition to signatures and verses, the album is the repository of several pen, ink and pencil representations of Horton's body itself. In embellishing Horton's album with portraits of herself as Ariel the artists George Cruikshank and Richard James Lane accentuated the role of the album as a signifier of the actress's body. In the following section I argue that a close reading of Horton's autograph album provides an understanding of how the actress and her intimate circle mediated between her public and private selves. It shows the degree to which artists, performers and audiences were contributing to a theatrical mode of seeing that can be described by the term *hyper-recognition*. The multiple public and private images of Horton as Ariel demonstrate how players, observers and recorders of the stage shared a layered visual literacy.

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[48] Matthews, "Albums, Belonging and Embodying the Feminine,"107.
[49] Matthews, "Albums, Belonging and Embodying the Feminine,"111.

The opening page of the album (Fig. 61) relates Horton's relatively minor status at the start of April 1837; the famous tenor John Braham has signed his name without leaving further note while the minor poet W. McGregor Logan tersely signs and comments "Much good it may do you". The popularity of albums meant that some performers rehearsed standard 'bits' for precisely these kind of autograph interactions. For instance, William Henry Oxberry (son of William Oxberry the well-known actor and publisher) wrote the following:

W.H.O. –

Reader Who can W.H.O. be?

Some mysterious silly booby-

W.H.O. Initials only will not do /aside/

None by this can tell who's W.H.O.

I am W.H.O., but who am I

William Henry Oxberry,

The entries accumulate gradually throughout the 1837 season; it is easy to imagine Horton thrusting the album into the hands of those she met at the Haymarket or Drury Lane. Unsurprisingly however, it was with Horton's successful debut as Ariel that the number and complexity of contributions increased. The first drawing dating from this period is not of Horton at all, instead the author Charles Dickens has scrawled a doodled self-portrait (Fig. 62) beneath a light poem dedicated to Horton:

> To Ariel:
>
> Some saints there are who roar and cry,
>
> And rave and scream and bawl,
>
> To force some spirit throned on high
>
> To bless them with a call;

But though they sue on bended knee

That spirit's deaf and dumb.

Oh, Spirit, if you called on me,

How very soon I'd come!

The self-portrait sketch seems to show Dickens rushing to the call of Ariel and practically falling over in his eagerness. It is likely that Dickens' primary objective with these rhyming quips was humour but it does demonstrate Horton's allure and her desirability as a performer. It appears that Horton appreciated the interest that the newly-famous Dickens had shown in her because at some point she probably sketched her own portrait of the novelist and pasted it into the album (Fig. 63). The circumstances of the creation of this portrait are unknown; a note advertising the autograph book's sale after Horton's death indicates that she drew the portrait sometime before her marriage in 1844.[50] It is possible that the small sketch was drawn from the life by Horton around 1838, perhaps on the same occasion that Dickens wrote his poem to Ariel. The reverse of the image bears an inscription which reads "Charles Dickens by Priscilla Horton. The earliest picture of Dickens". While slight, the sketch shows Horton's ability to capture the immediacy of a sitter and lends credibility to a claim made in an 1865 biography in the *Bow Bells* magazine that "Mrs. German Reed has a wonderful facility for acquiring any sort of knowledge. She is a good linguist (self-taught), writes charming verses, composes songs, and takes very striking likenesses; and above all her memory is most extraordinary."[51] It is important that the qualities listed in *Bow Bells* were all recognised feminine accomplishments, appropriate for a respectable middle-class woman.

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[50] The note states: "The original album or autograph book kept by Mrs German Reed from 1837 to 1860. A most important and valuable record of her friends and acquaintances, containing two original water-colour drawings by George Cruikshank, signed. A pen and ink sketch and an unpublished poem of eight lines by Charles Dickens, signed October 26th, 1838. A very early unpublished portrait of Charles Dickens, drawn by Mrs German Reed when Priscilla Horton." My thanks to Irina Fridman, Local Studies Librarian, Medway Archives and Local Studies Centre for providing this information. The autograph book itself was purchased for £32 in July 1896 from bookseller Bertram Dodell, 77 Charing Cross Road, London.

[51] Anon., "Our Portrait Gallery," 41.

As a private image, in the lowly medium of pencil, Horton's sketch of Dickens fits into the boundaries for women's amateur art production that have been analysed and defined by Ann Bermingham in her study of the cultural history of drawing. Bermingham argues that in the early nineteenth century women could create important, commercially successful works of art, as long as the works they produced were associated with the private sphere of the domestic home. As such, women who practised craft, copying or culturally minor genres such as flower painting could flourish in decorative arts, so-called because they "involved genres which in academic terms were virtually contentless, and, second, because it indexed no subjectivity of consequence."[52] However, between the boards of her autograph book, Horton's sketch of Dickens does indicate her subjectivity. Somewhat ironically, Horton is practising traditional feminine accomplishments in the semi-public space of her autograph book, which would have been passed round and leafed through by her family, friends and theatrical associates, in an effort to reinforce her persona as a traditionally accomplished woman. As an actress, her respectability was under constant threat from accusations of impropriety.[53] The close of the *Bow Bells* biography suggests that Horton was successful: "We cannot conclude without adding that Mrs. German Reed, in private life, has so unassuming and quiet a manner, that a stranger would not for a moment suspect she was a member of a profession to which fame has attributed a *quantum suff* of natural assurance as a requisite; far less than she was the gay, off-hand actress who had amused him in the popular "Fortunio;" or the wild, sprite-like, sweet singer that had charmed him in Ariel."[54] While portrait draughtsmanship was only one skill from a range of accomplishments that Horton employed to secure respectability, the gendered language of the

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[52] Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 225.

[53] Within the theatrical profession Horton's behavior was also monitored for gender specific propriety. For example, Macready wrote in his diary on December 29 1838, "I spoke to Miss P. about her insubordinate language. She was much distressed about it". William Charles Macready, *The Journal of William Charles Macready, 1832-1851*. Edited by J. C. Trewin. (London: Longmans, 1967),129.

[54] Anon., "Our Portrait Gallery," 41.

Bow Bells biography demonstrates that such strategies were highly valuable to the socially divisive figure of the actress.

The Lane and Cruikshank portraits of Horton as Ariel in Horton's autograph book serve a different purpose to the prints which appeared for public sale at a wide variety of qualities and price points. This is because these portrait sketches were solicited and collected by Horton and then bound into a medium which the actress herself controlled access to. Cruikshank used pen, pencil and watercolours to sketch his two portraits, one of which is highly-finished and shows Horton's character prior to the opening of the play when imprisoned in a cloven pine (or tree trunk) by the witch Sycorax (Fig. 64). This portrait is unusual for making Horton appear particularly diminutive, by encasing her in the tree, while also directing attention away from the represented body. The other portrait (Fig. 44) is a tiny but animated sketch which shows Horton's character carrying her wand and with her arms outstretched. The image is situated in between George Cruikshank's large, characteristic signature and an entry by Macready which quotes some of Prospero and Ariel's most famous lines:

Do you love me master, no?

Dearly, my delicate Ariel.

Lane's pencil portraits of Horton (Fig. 65) are very faint but playful sketches which show her in the character of Ariel in seven different poses, surrounding a larger portrait of Macready as Prospero. The sketch of Horton in the centre of the composition is the pose that Lane later worked up for the lithograph discussed above (Fig. 46) and this is the one of very few working sketches for Lane's theatrical subjects in public collections.[55] These private working sketches demonstrate artists' esteem for the actress and hint at Horton's involvement in the genesis of her portraiture. As an "essential item of feminine paraphernalia" Her album provided a suitable

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[55]The Folger Library has an impression of Lane's 'Horton as Ariel' lithograph which carries date 18th December 1838, this confirms that the autograph book entries came first as they are dated to 13th November 1838. The Folger Library also contains a pencil sketch of Ellen Kean as Rosalind. Item no: number: ART Box L673 no.1 (size S).

space for the performer to display her studied understanding of art and literature.[56] A group biography of Horton, her husband and their collaborators at the Gallery of Illustration records that "one of Mrs. Reed's treasures was an autograph book enriched with many signatures of the great".[57] This anecdotal evidence reinforces the enduring attachment that she felt towards the autograph book, suggesting the personal subjectivity contained therein.

Horton's album positions her not only as a passive viewer or stage-struck naïf seeking to soak up the reflected celebrity of her milieu but as a co-orchestrator of her public image. The page of sketches by Richard James Lane shows her posing as Ariel in mostly frieze-like profile views, but the sketch that was chosen for the final lithograph (Fig. 46) is arresting in that she is posed facing the viewer directly. The editorial-style control that Horton could exercise in her autograph album made it a valuable space for ambitious experimentation. While the album is mostly made-up of contributions from those within the theatrical sphere it was also signed and handled by patrons and composers who far exceeded her in age and social standing. Horton's personalised collection of signatures of the great and the good might therefore also function as medium for expressing her moral integrity, neatly packaged into the eminently proper form of a ladies keepsake.

"Skilfully drawn, well contrasted and admirably represented"[58]

The above quotation, an extract from *The Musical World's* flattering review of Horton's 1855 entertainment titled the Gallery of Illustration at St Martin's Hall (where the illustrative entertainment began before finding a home on Regent's Street), could equally describe an artist's submission to the Royal Academy or British Institution. At their entertainment, Thomas German Reed and Horton called their plays 'illustrations' and renamed roles as 'assumptions'.

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[56] Samantha Matthews, "Album, " *Victorian Review* 34, no. 1 (2008): 13.
[57] Williamson, *The German Reeds and Corney Grain,* 14.
[58] Anon., "Miss P. Horton's Illustrative Gatherings," *The Musical World*, April 7, 1855

Jane W. Stedman has claimed that this renaming policy was implemented to ensure respectability and emphasise the "untheatrical nature of the entertainment".[59] By rebranding their plays and roles Horton and her husband also drew productively on the artistic legacy that the Gallery on Regent's Street could already lay claim to. Before it was occupied by Horton the Gallery had been filled with painted dioramas of the Crimean War, created by the artist William Telbin and the well-known scene painter Thomas Grieve.[60] Above I have argued that Priscilla Horton had a deft understanding of portraiture, gleaned through the contributions to her autograph album and by her reactions to portraits of herself in the character of Ariel. Here I will show how she and her collaborators, WS Gilbert and Thomas German Reed, turned this understanding of portraiture to her advantage at the Gallery of Illustration inventively employing the visual and verbal languages of art. Newspaper critics seemed very much persuaded by the idea of the new entertainment as "illustrations", or as a synergy of art and theatre. In newspapers Horton was continually described as forming "graphic" personages. The *Morning Chronicle* described her in performance of Mrs. Quilqucker as "another of Mrs. Reed's best bits of portraiture."[61] Similarly, *The Era* lavishly praised her "graphic vraisemblance".[62] One of the earliest pieces performed by the couple directly recalled William Hogarth by naming the piece the 'Enraged Musician' after the artist's famous 1741 etching and engraving of the same title (Fig. 66). This 'illustration' broadly followed the themes present in Hogarth's satire: a musician, here played by Thomas German Reed, is distracted from his work by a series of noisy interruptions. However, while Hogarth's print shows a violinist, Thomas German Reed played a composer trying to write an opera in the midst of continual intrusions from "a loquacious landlady, a street-organ grinder, an unsophisticated maid-of-all-work, and a French prima donna" all played by Horton.[63] The idea

[59] Jane W. Stedman, 'Reed, (Thomas) German (1817–1888)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. 2008, accessed 10 May 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23278.
[60] Thomas Grieve and J.H. Stocqueler, *The Route of the Overland to India, from Southampton to Calcutta* (London: Atchley & Co, 1852).
[61] Anon., "Miss P. Horton's Gatherings," *The Morning Chronicle*, April 11, 1855, 4.
[62] Anon., "Mrs P. Horton's Gatherings," *The Era,* April 8, 1855, 12.
[63] Anon., "Miss P. Horton," 4.

of staging a well-known painting or print was not a new one. In January 1832 the playwright Douglas William Jerrold's domestic drama *The Rent Day* opened at Drury Lane. When the curtain was raised the audience were greeted to a tableaux vivant of David Wilkie's famous painting of the same name and the actors held this pose before commencing the action.[64] The success of Jerrold's production led the Adelphi to follow suit by performing pieces based on Wilkie's 'Reading the Will' and 'The Village Politicians' but such flagrant opportunism prompted *Figaro in London* to denounce the Adelphi productions as pure plagiarism.[65] Horton's artist-inspired productions differ from those of Jerrold in that they were conceived at a much more modest scale and contained no tableaux vivants, instead reinventing the basic visual premise to suit her talent for rapidly changing from one character to the next, often in view of the audience.

This style of acting was influenced by the actor Charles Mathews (1776-1835) who had also excelled at swiftly changing from one character to the next in performances that were known as 'monopolylogues'. It is likely that Horton saw Mathews perform; his last London 'At Home' was produced at the Adelphi in 1834, when Priscilla Horton was sixteen years old and performing as part of the Victoria Theatre company. It is possible that in *Ages Ago*, the 'illustration' in which Horton and her collaborators most imaginatively explored the humorous potential of portraiture in comic drama was prefigured by one of Mathews' 'At Homes'. The 'At Homes' were plays, containing monopolylogues, in which Mathews played a wide variety of humorous characters. In 1827 he performed an 'At Home' entitled *The Home Circuit or Cockney Gleanings* which featured a monopolylogue called *Mathews' Dream or the Theatrical Gallery*. As the title suggests this monopolyogue took place on a stage set to recall Mathews' own theatrical gallery (as previously noted, the actor owned an extensive collection of theatrical portraits which became the basis for the Garrick Club collection).[66] The plot centres around Mathews falling asleep, after which "Five

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[64] Frederick Burwick, *British Drama of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 193.
[65] *Figaro in London*, March 10, 1832.
[66] Marcus Risdell is preparing a digital reconstruction of Charles Mathews' Theatrical Gallery to be hosted on the Garrick Club website.

whole length portraits of Suett, in Dicky Gossip; Kemble, in Penruddock; Incledon, as the Sailor

in the Storm; Cooke as Sir Pertinax Macsycophant; and King as Sir Peter Teazle, then become

successively animated."[67] An etching by Thomas Jones (Fig. 67) of the piece provides some

understanding of how the setting may have appeared. As the following section will detail more

closely, the plot of *Ages Ago* explores remarkably similar themes. However, rather than featuring

one actor impersonating a particular theatrical portrait, the 'illustration' at Horton's

entertainment inverted Mathews' idea to present actors impersonating portraits conscious of

their position in the canon of art history.

In November 1869 the Gallery of Illustration debuted a one-act operetta titled *Ages Ago*, written

by rising playwright WS Gilbert, with music by Frederick Clay.[68] The plot concerns the

inheritance of Cockaleekie Castle, which belongs to the self-interested Sir Ebenzer Tare at the

outset of the drama. The castle is subject to a historic curse which means that the deed changes

hands only once a century. Tare's niece Rosa has fallen in love with a virtuous but penniless

suitor whom Tare forbids her from marrying. The piece opens with a scene set in the castle's

picture gallery in which "the walls are covered with pictures but five full-length portraits are

veiled".[69]As night begins to fall at the castle the old nurse Mrs McMotherly tells Rosa the story of

the castle's title deed, and reveals that it will renewed the next day. Once the characters on stage

depart for bed moonlight streams through the window, "the clock strikes twelve, and the veil

before Lady Maud's picture is withdrawn…she descends from the frame" and sings a song

explaining that she will live and breathe for a few short hours until daybreak.[70]

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[67] Charles Mathews, *Mr Mathews Celebrated Lecture on Character, Manners and Peculiarities entitled The Home Circuit or Cockney Gleanings* (London: J. Limbird, 1827), 26-7.
[68] W.S. Gilbert wrote six entertainments for the Gallery of Illustration from 1869 to 1875: *No Cards* (29 March 1869); *Ages Ago* (22 November 1869); *Our Island Home* (20 June 1870); *A Sensation Novel* (30 January 1871); *Happy Arcadia* (28 October 1872); and *Eyes and No Eyes* (St George's Hall, 5 July 1875).
[69] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 2.
[70] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 6-7.

Lady Maud, played by Fanny Holland at the Gallery of Illustration then begins a long comic monologue in which her character reflects upon the changes to the castle's picture gallery and muses upon whether she is dead or alive before turning to her own portrait: "It was painted by Leonardo da Vinci a clever young artist, who sent it to the Royal Academy but he didn't know anyone on the hanging committee, so it didn't get in. (Goes up to the frame) Why the picture's gone – faded away – nothing left but the background. Oh it's too bad these modern painters seem quite to have lost the art of mixing colours."[71] The disparaging comment on the cliquey reputation of Royal Academy's hanging committee would have amused the entertainment's savvy metropolitan clientele, who were described in 1865 as a "very fashionable audience…celebrated men and pretty women lighted up the pleasant little gallery wonderfully."[72] While Lady Maud's comment on the mixing of colours ostensibly concerns Leonardo da Vinci the audience may have connected this comment to the more contemporary paintings featuring intensely saturated colour, such as those being produced by members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Such a connection might have appealed particularly to Gilbert who later wrote the libretto for *Patience; Or Bunthorne's Bride,* an 1881 production that satirised the style and concerns of the Aesthetic movement including figures such as William Holman Hunt and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.[73]

The scene continues with Lady Maud picking up a mirror and exclaiming, "Yes, I'm looking very well. I'm very like, quite a speaking likeness" before remarking on the technique of the next portrait in the gallery which is by "Michael Angelo"; as Lady Maud died in 1500 she is unfamiliar with the painter but considers the portrait fourth or fifth rate. Lady Maud admires the figure portrayed in the portrait, which shows Sir Cecil (played by Arthur Cecil) as particularly handsome and is alarmed when Sir Cecil too comes to life and thanks her for the compliment, the pair then embark upon a flirtatious exchange in which Sir Cecil confesses that when alive he

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[71] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 7.

[72] Anon., "Gallery of Illustration," *The Orchestra*, 25 March, 1865.

[73] Carolyn Williams, "Parody and Poetic Tradition: Gilbert and Sullivan's 'Patience,'" *Victorian Poetry* 46, no.4 (2008): 375–403.

fell in love with Lady Maud's portrait. Gilbert's comic dialogue returns continuously to the materiality of the portraits; Sir Cecil laments that a Royal Academician has poorly restored one of his hands.[74] Lady Maud is disappointed that the canvas is almost showing through the colouring of her lips and Sir Cecil admit that this is because "for ten years night and morning I was in the habit of covering them with kisses", and he excuses this behaviour because "one may do what one likes to a picture".[75] The pair grapple continually with whether a portrait is like its original and, in order to accept Sir Cecil's flirtatious comments made about her portrait, Lady Maud claims that "a portrait is not like its original".[76] Bratton has argued that the domestic setting of the Gallery, and its smaller audience, fostered the illusion of shared intimacy which took its shape in the form of "jokes about the metatheatricality of the performance, its self-referential style, its games with 'illusion' and 'reality'".[77] The art-world jibes of Gilbert's dialogue also seem specifically attuned to the context of the Gallery, and conscious of the place of the part that it will play in the visual and verbal web of imagery surrounding Horton.

The next portrait to be revealed is that of Lord Carnaby Poppytop, played by Thomas German Reed, and "painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1713". Sir Cecil, who lived during the early seventeenth century and therefore before Kneller's birth, replies "Kneller! Nobody ever heard of the name."[78] While Sir Cecil's statement is accurate within the context of the play his artistic ignorance is really an opportunity for knowing communal laughter between the sophisticated metropolitan theatregoers at the Gallery of Illustration. These audiences were very likely to have been familiar with Kneller, the leading portrait painter of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, so Sir Cecil's witlessness serves as a validation of their intellectual superiority and cultural capital. In addition to lampooning the Royal Academy, Gilbert's operetta takes aim at another art institution. As the characters squabble over which portraits belong to

[74] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 8-9.
[75] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 9.
[76] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 10.
[77] Bratton, *The Making of the West End Stage*, 77.
[78] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 11.

whom the newly awakened portrait of Dame Cherry Rosebud (who believes all the portraits belong to her), played by Priscilla Horton, threatens:

Dame Cherry: And if you refuse my course is clear, I shall sell you to the nation. You will be hung up in the National Gallery where nobody will go to see you, and you will spend an ignominious existence in the society of sham [sic] Rubens's, fictitious Raphaels & other impostors of every degree.

Lord Carnaby: But they would never take me – I'm genuine.

Dame Cherry: Don't be so sure of that. If you don't take care I'll have you so restored that there won't be a trace of the original work left and they'll snap you up directly.[79]

In light of contemporary debates over both acquisitions and restoration at the National Gallery the dialogue between Dame Cherry and Lord Carnaby would have been met with knowing laughter in the small theatre. In 1869, the same year in which *Ages Ago* was written and performed, the Director of the National Gallery William Boxall had faced controversy over his acquisition of Rembrandt's *Christ Blessing Little Children*. The attribution was not universally accepted and his connoisseurship was debated in the House of Lords; today the National Gallery attributes the picture to Nicolaes Maes.[80] The press also regularly discussed cleaning treatments undertaken by the National Gallery on its pictures, sometimes to criticise but also to support restoration decisions.[81] Of *Ages Ago*, *The Daily News* commented, "the dialogue is smart as well as polished, and contains several hits on our current town topics, none of which misses fire."[82] The witty contemporaneity of Gilbert's script, probably devised for a well-informed metropolitan clientele, particularly appealed to critics and audiences. The operetta draws to a close with the magical portraits deciding that Rosa's beloved Columbus Hebblethwaite should receive the

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[79] British Library Add MS 53080 I, 12.
[80] Susanna Avery-Quash, 'Boxall, Sir William (1800–1879)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, accessed May 11 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3095.
[81] "Rubens and Rembrandt versus Elcho and Auctioneer," *Punch*, August 31, 1867, 89.
[82] Anon., "Gallery of Illustration," *Daily News*, November 23, 1869, 2.

castle's title deed. Once the portraits retreat to their frame to sleep for another hundred years, the 'present-day' cast reappears for a happy dénouement in which Rosa and her sweetheart are permitted to marry and take possession of the castle.

One of the most prominent visual devices in *Ages Ago* is that of the picture frame. Gilbert's stage directions indicate that to stage *Ages Ago* the actors stood inside the frames, stepping out of them when they became animated. When the non-portrait characters, such as Rosa and Tare, appear onstage the pictures are covered with veils to allow the same actors to play both the portrait and non-portrait characters. A wood engraving by artist and illustrator David Henry Friston featuring the cast of *Ages Ago* appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in January 1870 shows the empty frames, with Lady Maud, Lord Carnaby, Dame Cherry and Sir Cecil engaged in a scuffle in front of them (Fig. 68). It is necessary to treat such an image with caution because while the *Illustrated London News* made claims about its illustrations being direct reportage, the artists who worked for the paper necessarily drew on caricature and other pictorial modes.[83] Friston's illustration does make clear that Horton, Reed and Gilbert were readily experimenting with potential for *hyper-recognition* offered by the premise of *Ages Ago*. Along with scholars such as Meisel, Radcliffe has observed that the effect of creating a frontal window onto the stage, with a proscenium arch or other framing device, is comparable to the 'Albertian' window of two-dimensional painting. Many dramas on the nineteenth-century stage, and particular those in the Lord Chamberlain's Collection, included onstage windows or other physical devices (created by curtain drops, flats and close-ins) which altered the spatial and temporal dimensions of the stage.[84] At the Gallery of Illustration Horton turned this idea inside out, drawing on the sophisticated visual imaginations of their viewers, and their capacity to appreciate remediation, to celebrate and poke fun at the web of theatrical imagery around them.

[83] See Peter W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the National in the Illustrated London News* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).
[84] Radcliffe, "Remediation and Immediacy", 42.

The visual representations of Horton contributed to the formation of her identity as both versatile performer and as what would now be called artistic director of the Gallery of Illustration. In *Ages Ago* Horton played both the elderly servant Mrs McMotherly and the regal, eighteenth-century Dame Cherry Rosebud. By repeatedly taking on matriarchal roles Horton showed her ability to match entertainment with respectability. At the Gallery of Illustration, and particularly in *Ages Ago*, Horton, Gilbert and husband German Reed successfully drew together the contemporaneity of their entertainment with portraiture's conventional assets, those of posterity, memory and likeness.

Priscilla Horton's wide-ranging career is a compellingly example of how present day divisions between visual culture and theatrical culture did not exist in the mid-nineteenth century, and she serves as a test case for the idea of *hyper-recognition* as an inclusive methodology for examining theatrical portraiture. Specifically, I have shown how Horton attempted to participate in the formation of her public image by soliciting and preserving portraits of herself within her autograph book. The autograph book allowed Horton to enter into a dialogue with her portraitists and to witness Lane's sketches, which later became a print exhibited at the Royal Academy. In this chapter I have also emphasised the growing significance of theatrical portraits within entertainment periodicals, which gave graphic artists the opportunity to reinvigorate political caricature with desirable celebrity figures. In chapter four I expand this line of enquiry to more deeply engage with the appearance of theatrical portraits in serial publications and explore three understudied forms: the illustrated biography, the song book and the illustrated play-text.

Chapter Four

Facing the Page: Theatrical Portraits in Serial Publications and Collections

This chapter examines the conjunction of text and theatrical portraits in three principal forms of serial publication: illustrated biographies and play-texts, songbooks, and caricatures. These publications are linked by format, content and technique, and were frequently issued by the same publishers. Despite their extensive circulation and apparent popularity throughout the mid-nineteenth-century, neither art historians nor theatre historians have provided a sustained consideration of the presence of theatrical portraits in serial publications. However, as the products of adjunct trades that fed profitably and innovatively off the popularity of London's theatrical cultures from the 1820s onwards, these illustrated works warrant further investigation. While theatre historians have gainfully mined play-texts, songbooks and playbills for a myriad of information on the performance event and repertory, the accompanying images have received more scant attention.[1] Similarly, aside from the voluminous output of acting editions by late eighteenth-century publisher John Bell, theatrical portraits in serial printed texts have generally fallen below the interest of art historians.[2] Scholarly inattention towards these portraits can be attributed to a paucity of information on the artists and techniques that made them. Additionally, because these publications exist in haphazard, short-lived or incomplete runs (they were issued in 'parts' or 'numbers' to be purchased individually on a monthly or weekly basis, but they were also bound together by the publisher to form annual volumes) it has been difficult to assess how commonplace the addition of a theatrical portrait was, or what functions the combining of text and portrait fulfilled. In some cases, rather than producing serial issues, authors and editors

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[1] Play-texts and songbooks have informed influential works of nineteenth-century theatre scholarship including: Katherine Newey, *Women's Theatre Writing in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Gilli Bush-Bailey, *Performing Herself: Autobiography and Fanny Kelly's Dramatic Recollections* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

[2] Burnim and Highfill, *John Bell, Patron of British Theatrical Portraiture;* Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor*, 51-57. Aparna Gollapudi, "Selling Celebrity: Actors' Portraits in Bell's Shakespeare and Bell's British Theatre," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 36, no. 1 (2012): 54–81. For an account of the transformation of theatrical prints into porcelain figures see Heather McPherson, "Theatrical Celebrity and the Commodification of the Actor," *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832,* eds. Julia Swindells and David F. Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 192-212

compiled disparate portraits together with text for example in *Daniel Terry's British Theatrical Gallery* (1825), which for the sake of easy categorisation, I have termed collections and which I shall also address in this chapter.

Methodologically, my approach offers a fresh perspective because close engagement with these heterogeneous, but thematically similar, printed serials has not been attempted before. I aim to trace the development of the theatrical portrait alongside theatrical texts in the mid-nineteenth century, and uncover previously unrecognised links between theatrical portraiture and caricature by asking the following questions: what effect did the addition of theatrical portraits have on the purchasers or songbook and play-texts? Could their inclusion prime audiences' perceptions of a performance, or did they create venues for the re-enactment and remediation of theatrical memories? The significance of this material lies in the multiple ways in which the inclusion of a theatrical portrait elevated serial publications from hastily produced theatrical ephemera to collectable volumes with the potential to enable re-performance in the minds of consumers. A focus on theatrical portraiture in these kinds of ephemeral and overlooked publications also encourages a reevaluation of what performances were considered worthy of visual commemoration. In this manner, portraiture appearing in swiftly printed biographies, play-texts and songbooks counters theatre history's tendency to focus on a small number of exceptionally successful productions - a trend that has been led by a focus on dominant theatres and their managers - at the expense of the majority of productions which provoked minimal critical reaction or recognition, but have left a wealth of varied printed material in their wake.[3]

As publicly visible figures who depended on both the recognition and adaptation of their physiognomy to make a living onstage, nineteenth-century actors and actresses were a prime

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[3] Anita Gonzalez suggests that visual material is a vital means to recovering the histories of underrepresented performers. Anita Gonzalez, "Aldridge in Action: Building a Visual Digital Interface," *Theatre Journal* 68, no. 4 (2016): 1-17.

subject for resourceful publishers looking to profit from a buoyant print culture. As mentioned in chapter one, it was the late eighteenth-century printer and bookseller John Bell (1745-1831) who initially popularised the publication of play-texts alongside a theatrical portrait showing an actor in role, and can therefore be considered an important originator of the serial theatrical portrait publication.[4] He started publishing his illustrated series, *Bell's British Theatre*, in 1776. Bell employed engravers such as James Roberts, Robert Dighton and Thomas Parkinson, making them successful in the process. The publishing entrepreneur started with Shakespeare's plays but soon expanded into contemporary British theatrical texts; *Bell's British Theatre* featured character prints prominently, and it appears that it was these engravings that made the publications desirable (Fig. 69). That serial publication was crucial for important developments in the history of British theatrical portraiture is demonstrated by the career of Samuel de Wilde (bap. 1751-1832). Commonly acknowledged as the most significant artist of theatrical portraits from the 1790s until the 1810s, de Wilde was catalysed into painting and drawing portraits of stage actors by his employment on Bell's *British Theatre* project.[5]

The recent interdisciplinary groundswell of interest in nineteenth-century visuality has suggested that documents such as playbills and theatre posters may be a key to understanding a new visual culture.[6] Illustrated serial publications, which also comprise intersections of image, text and performance, are equally important for the ways in which they primed audiences' perceptions of performances, while creating spaces for the re-enactment of theatrical memories, and even mediating or remaking the performances and performers on which they were based. Yet,

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[4] A useful summary of theatrical portrait prints prior to Bell is provided by Shearer West: "Theatrical portrait engravings reached their widest audience in the form of book illustration, but as such images became more popular and accessible, so their relationship with the stage tended to become more tenuous. Before the 1770s, editions of plays were usually either unillustrated, or illustrated by imaginative scenes which recreated the fictional situation rather than a specific stage performance…it was not until John Bell tried his hand at printing plays that the actor portrait became a common accompaniment to theatrical texts." West, *The Image of the Actor*, 50-51.
[5] Ian Mayes, *The de Wildes*, (Northampton: Northampton Central Art Gallery, 1971), n.p.
[6] Bratton, *The Making of the West End Stage*; Patricia Smyth, "Beyond the Picture-Frame Stage: Late Nineteenth-Century Pictorial Theatre Posters," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 37, no. 2 (1 November 2010): 4–27; Christopher B. Balme, *The Theatrical Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

illustrated biographies, play-texts and songbooks have a deeply ambiguous relationship to actual

performances, which they tend to significantly postdate, instead they partly function as a form of

publicity for the actors, plays and singers represented. Publicity too has an uncertain connection

to performance, and therefore for some theatre historians these sources lack sufficient

documentary value. As Christopher B. Balme has noted in relation to playbills, "for the scholar

in search of the real thing, the transcendent experience and enchantment that is the

'performance', playbills represent a kind of archival *ludus interruptus.*"[7] In the three preceding

chapters of this thesis I have examined portraits occasionally supplemented by text, but here the

combination of text and image is at the forefront of my inquiry. My approach is to ask what

kinds of vision illustrated serial publications engender, rather than what they might tell us about

a particular performance event. In *The Image of the Actor* Shearer West argues that looking to

theatrical portraits for specific evidence of stage design or ensemble playing is deeply

problematic due to the general exclusion of background detail or multiple figures. Instead, she

argues that theatrical portraits were produced to suggest a performance for the purposes of

commercial gain for portrait artist and market. In West's view these portraits "were coded

responses to the performances which had as much to do with prevailing tendencies in art as with

the minutiae of theatrical presentation."[8] My thesis agrees with this view, but seeks to understand

how artists producing theatrical portraiture in the nineteenth century responded to the expansion

of London's theatres. By the 1820s the predominant tendencies for theatrical portraiture in both

art and on stage had been significantly altered by an increasingly diverse and commercial London

art trade, a growing panoply of cheaper (often lithographic) printing techniques, and a plurality

of theatrical forms and (often minor) theatres. Therefore, the conditions were set for what Brian

Maidment has argued was a redefinition of the combination of text and image in print between

1820 and 1850: texts and images from very popular publications, like Pierce Egan's *Life in*

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[7] Balme, *The Theatrical Public Sphere*, 50.
[8] Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor*, 26.

London, could move beyond the page and find reiteration in other forms of cultural production, especially those which privileged performance (plays) or the visual (toy theatre figures, print, pottery figures) over the text.[9]

The Illustrated Theatrical Biographies and Play-texts

The illustrated biography, in which portraits of revered individuals are paired with congratulatory accounts of their exceptional deeds, has long been recognised as a powerful tool for the formation of collective identity and lasting renown.[10] In the 1820s publishers were experimenting widely with the conjunction of theatrical portrait and text; one such example is the *British Theatrical Gallery, A Collection of Whole Length Portraits with Biographical Notices by Daniel Terry, Esq,* published by H. Berthoud in 1825. Sold at £3 13s 6d coloured or £1 plain, it was a relatively expensive publication with an accordingly well-heeled intended readership.[11] Daniel Terry (1789-1829) was an actor and playwright who compiled the illustrated biography in collaboration with Berthoud. Rather than a serial publication, the *British Theatrical Gallery* is better described as a collection or compendium. However, a letter from Daniel Terry to actor Robert Jones indicates that a second illustrated biography may have been planned but never came to fruition: in the letter Terry requests biographical information from Jones and discusses arranging a portrait for Berthoud to publish.[12] It is likely that Terry was never able to attempt a second volume due to his financial difficulties and declining health; he died in 1829.[13]

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[9] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, 30-31.

[10] Gordon Baldwin and Judith Keller argue that Roman librarian Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC) is believed to be the first compiler of an illustrated biographical encyclopaedia. Baldwin and Keller, *Photography and Fame* (Paris and New York: Nadar Warhol, 1999), 16.

[11] Prices listed on the cover of *British Theatrical Gallery, A Collection of Whole Length Portraits with Biographical Notices by Daniel Terry, Esq* in the collection of the Yale Center for British Art. Item number: PN2597 .T47 1825+ Oversize. Samuel de Wilde was paid two guineas for his individual contributions to Daniel Terry's British Theatrical Gallery in the early 1820s, the lowest figure paid to any contributor, whereas George Clint was paid ten guineas per portrait, a part with the sum paid for each engraving. Letter, Mr Berthoud to Mr Bunn, Regent's Park, 20 July 1828, Harvard Theatre Collection quoted in Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture,* 18.

[12] Information from White Fox Rare Books online catalogue, accessed November 2016 http://www.whitefoxrarebooks.com/?page=shop/flypage&product_id=3965

[13] Joseph Knight, 'Terry, Daniel (1789–1829)', rev. Klaus Stierstorfer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online,* accessed 16 January 2017. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27147.

Terry's collection of theatrical biographies and portraits opens with an emphatic statement of its high status ambitions in the form of a stipple and line engraving showing Sarah Siddons in her iconic role as Lady Macbeth (Fig. 70). The engraving was made after the original painting by George Henry Harlow (Fig. 71) c.1813, and owned by the performer and collector Charles Mathews, who allowed Terry and Berthoud access to it for their publication.[14] As mentioned at the opening of chapter two, Charles Mathews amassed a significant collection of theatrical portraits which he exhibited in a purpose-built gallery adjoining his home, Ivy Cottage, in Highgate.[15] Mathew's collection attracted the attention of celebrity chroniclers and essayists such as Charles Lamb, who wrote articles mentioning and admiring Mathew's pictures.[16] While Terry was a family friend, Charles Mathew's wife Ann Mathews objected to his borrowing of the picture, partly because he had not disclosed that he wished to have a print engraved for commercial gain. In a letter sent to Ann in 1823, while he was touring in New York, Charles Mathews placated his wife and encouraged the reproduction of portraits by others:

> The arts would be checked, artists would be pinched, and much mischief might arise
> from a sullen determination in a collector of portraits or historical works of art, if the
> originals were refused to engravers to exercise their skill upon. I certainly never dreamed
> of making money from an engraving by an original in my gallery; therefore I am not
> injured.[17]

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[14] See chapter two for details of Mathews' art collection. "Mrs Siddons, as *Lady Macbeth*, in the sleeping Scene, after an original painting by HARLOWE, the property of Charles Mathews, Esq. to whose kindness the editor is indebted for its communication to the present work. *To face the title*." Daniel Terry, *British Theatrical Gallery, A Collection of Whole Length Portraits with Biographical Notices by Daniel Terry, Esq* (London: H. Berthoud, 1825), n.p.

[15] This collection (of 349 paintings and drawings) eventually became the foundation collection for London's Garrick Club.

[16] Charles Lamb, "The Old Actors", *London Magazine* VI (October 1822): 347.

[17] Charles Mathews, *Memoirs of Charles Mathews, Comedian*, III (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), 374-375.

Mathews' letter suggests that as a collector he had a duty to allow artistic engagement with and the dissemination of his collection. In the formation of their gallery of the British stage Terry and Berthoud were concerned with projecting an image of London theatre as varied and cosmopolitan. To that end British, Irish, Italian and French performers were all included, and the publication spanned tragedians, low comedians, dancers and opera singers. Terry and Berthoud structured the *British Theatrical Gallery* with a mind to which figures were most likely to capture the public interest, for that reason the *Gallery* opened with the abovementioned likeness and biography of uncontested queen of the British stage, Sarah Siddons. However, as author Terry was concerned that audiences might have reached saturation point with the life of Siddons:

It appears almost needless to detail once more the often repeated biography of Mrs. Siddons; every one, the least conversant in theatrical matters, is thoroughly acquainted with the history of a family to whom the British stage owes its brightest ornaments. The most minute circumstances, too petty indeed for record, have been raked out of the recesses of violated privacy, and published in every theatrical work, from the first appearance of this unequalled and wonderful actress, to her final departure from the stage. Those, however, who may chance to open these pages, might complain were the usual biographical notices omitted, even on such a plea, although memoirs have been multiplied and criticism exhausted, till an additional life seems an attempt both useless and impertinent…[18]

Terry's statement on the biographical effluvia stimulated by Sarah Siddons shows a keen understanding of how celebrity was operating upon the quality and quantity of theatrical

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[18] Daniel Terry, *British Theatrical Gallery,* n.p.

publications available.[19] The strategy employed by Terry and Berthoud was then to hedge their bets in terms of content by featuring the biographies of both well-known and more obscure stage figures, and to particularly trumpet the range and superiority of their accompanying portraits.

As the image was foremost, Berthoud and Terry chose to feature actors and actresses who already had extant portraits by relatively prominent artists such as George Clint, as is shown by this print after a portrait of Harriet Smithson in "Wives as They Were, and Maids as They Are" (Fig. 72 and Fig. 73). Clint was active as a painter of theatrical scenes and portraits until the mid-1830s, and produced portraits of popular stars such as Charles Mathews and Maria Foote.[20] From 1820, Harriet Smithson was a permanent member of the company at Drury Lane under the management of Robert Elliston, so Terry's decision to include this portrait suggests an aspiration to continue an association between his publication and the higher status productions of a patent theatre. Conveniently, using Clint's painting also meant that the publisher did not need to commission an entirely new likeness, but it is also worth noting that Terry's text frequently refers to the portraits, and comments on how accurately the artist has captured the performer's particular style and theatrical line of business. For instance, in the short biography dedicated to Mr James Pimbury Wilkinson (Fig. 74), a low comedian, Terry writes "the annexed portrait of him exhibits most accurately the fitness of his features and general appearance for such parts."[21] In this judgment Terry expresses the belief that physical appearance was definitive to acting ability for comedians.

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[19] Siddons was the subject of numerous biographical essays and memoirs before and after her death. She collaborated with two of her biographers: J. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs Siddons*, 2 vols. (1827); T. Campbell, *Life of Mrs Siddons*, 2 vols. (1834).

[20] For Clint see Archibald Nisbit, 'George Clint (1770-1854) Theatrical Painter', (PhD diss., Birkbeck, University of London, 2001).

[21] Terry, *British Theatrical Gallery,* n.p.

The link between comic acting and performers' physical characteristics stems from the theories of physiognomy that had been popularised by Johann Caspar Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* (1789-98). Lavater proposed that an individual's personality could be explained by analysing their facial and bodily features.[22] Terry's commentary on a portrait of Mr Gattie as Monsieur Morbleu in *Monsieur Tonson* (Fig. 75) shows that stressing a character's eccentric attributes was an effective way to express Gattie's comedic skill in print, and this often meant relying on particular stereotypes. Terry claims, "The spirit and fidelity with which our artists have given his likeness in the annexed plate convey the strongest and happiest impression of Mr. Gattie's appearance, and manner, in the poor simple persecuted foreigner, whose humour and miseries he represented with so much ability and success, as to insure the nightly repetition of the farce throughout the whole season."[23] In the farce *Monsieur Tonson* Gattie played a put-upon French perruquier, a comic character that artist M.W. Sharpe and engraver Robert Cooper effectively stereotyped by depicting Gattie with a snub nose and extravagantly raised eyebrows which visually mirrored the hairdresser's distinctive curled perruque (hairpiece). The exaggerated perruque stood as recognisable signifier for French vanity and folly, so by organising Gattie's facial features to follow the shape of the hairpiece Sharpe's portrait created a familiar stereotype.

On the one hand, the *British Theatrical Gallery* fits neatly and usefully into the connected history of celebrity and print culture that has been defined by the growing field of celebrity studies. For scholars such as Simon Morgan the conditions that enable celebrity culture have been in position since the late eighteenth century, when "a highly developed commodity culture, a wide range of technologies for the large-scale reproduction of images of the famous, a burgeoning print culture and an increasingly large pool of literate consumers to take advantage of it all" first co-existed.[24]

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[22] Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, trans. T. Holloway, 5 vols. (London: 1789-98). For the influence of Lavater on John Bell, Samuel de Wilde and other artists of the stage see West, *Image of the Actor*, 139.
[23] Terry, *British Theatrical Gallery,* n.p.
[24] Simon Morgan, "Celebrity: Academic "Pseudo-Event" or a Useful Concept for Historians?," *Cultural and Social History*, 8.1 (2011): 98.

However, as an early nineteenth-century consumer of the *British Theatrical Gallery* paged through its entries is it likely that those featured became increasingly unfamiliar. Terry's biographies become thinner and he instead has to rely on underwhelming excerpts from secondary sources. In the biographical sketch that accompanies the engraving after George Clint's portrait of Harriet Smithson, Terry weakly surmises that "Miss Smithson, as her portrait exhibits, possesses great personal qualifications for her profession, and she is described in an account published in the *Lady's Magazine* that appears both authentic and impartial, as a most improving actress, but that youth and her extreme timidity, at present deprive her of the self-possession which is necessary to give firmness and precision to her efforts, and which alone can enable her fully to develop the powers she evidently possesses."[25] This, once again, shifts the primary selling point of the volume firmly onto the visual content. Of the twenty performers featured in the volume, seven are women, and five are described as hailing from outside of England.[26] Some of the performers, including Sarah Siddons, were no longer active on stage by the time the *Gallery* was published in 1825. Berthoud and Terry's cross-section of the London stage is therefore a historically commemorative volume, as well as one which encourages a view of London's theatre as cosmopolitan and professional.

In 1859 publisher Henry Lea of 22 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row inaugurated *Lea's Illustrated British Drama and Theatrical Portrait Gallery*, which he published weekly for 45 numbers and then monthly until around 1860. Each weekly issue consisted of a decorated title page, a wood-engraved theatrical portrait, a biography or memoir of the performer depicted in the portrait, and the text of one or two plays, often preceded by one or two pages of critical remarks and performance history. For his weekly issues Lea charged two pence, while the collected volumes

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[25] Terry, *British Theatrical Gallery,* n.p.

[26] Sarah Siddons (British), Mrs. Bland ('daughter of an Italian Jewess'), Miss Sarah Booth (British), Miss Smithson (Irish), Miss Copeland (British), Melle. Noblet (French), Mlle. Felicite Hullin (French). Kean (British), Charles Mayne Young (British), John Pritt Harley (British), Knight (British), Gattie (British) Dowton (British), James Pimbury Wilkinson (British), Mr Fitzwilliam (British), Mr Cooper (British), George Smith (British), Mr Simmons (British), Giuseppe de Begnis (Italian), Monsieur le Blond (French).

(which consisted of five wood-engraved portraits, associated biographies for each figure and around ten plays with accompanying critical remarks) sold for 2s in boards or 2s 6d in cloth bound covers with gilt. In the second volume, which probably covered the period between January and March of 1860, of *Lea's British Drama and Theatrical Portrait Gallery* Lea increased the number of plays to fourteen and added a summary of recent theatrical events for each month, titling these pages a 'Dramatic Register for the Month'. The portraits featured by Lea were simple and linear, and only occasionally included details of the artist or engraver. The name C.P. Nicholls is legible on the portrait of Mr F Robson (Fig. 76), but no details of the artists are included on Lea's title pages.[27] An inscription beneath the portrait of Mr Robson reads 'Gratis with No. 1 of "Lea's Illustrated British Drama"', suggesting that the portraits were probably conceived as an additional marketing ploy, rather than the principal objective of the volume, as had been the case in Terry's *British Theatrical Gallery*. The varied plethora of theatrical information offered by Lea's *Gallery* suggests that publishers' priorities, always driven by the need to serve their consumers, had shifted substantially since Terry's day. The addition of a monthly 'Dramatic Register' allowed Lea to introduce a note of contemporaneity into the publication of comedies and tragedies, many of which were not new plays and had first appeared in the eighteenth century. The practice of giving theatrical portraits away free with publications was not exclusive to periodicals that dealt with theatrical material. As noted in the third chapter of this thesis, the satirical weekly periodical *Figaro in London* had given away a portrait of Charles Kean as Macbeth in 1838. Similarly, the general comic interest periodical *The Fly*, offered a portrait of Ellen Tree as Ion 'Designed for & Presented GRATIS with No. 125 of THE FLY'.[28] The practice of giving away free portraits with periodicals was made possible by the reduced costs of printing, but it also points to a widening understanding of celebrity marketing tactics. The fusion of text and portraits in *Lea's Illustrated Drama* and the *British Theatrical Gallery* invited forms of audience

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[27] This print is taken from a photograph (Thomas) Frederick Robson by Herbert Watkins, albumen ptint, late 1850s, item no: NPG P301(132).
[28] Miss Ellen Tree, as Ion by W. Clerk. Hand-colored lithograph. 202 High Holburn; London: Published by Glover & Co.

engagement that privileged knowledge of the performer's personal background (through the biography), making fandom possible for even the lesser-known players of London's stage.

Songbooks

Recent scholarship has shown that a wealth of evidence can be gleaned from nineteenth-century songbooks. In particular, Oskar Cox Jensen's study of Napoleon and British song has demonstrated that the lyrics, meter and tune of early nineteenth-century songs can provide valuable material for nuanced and wide-ranging readings of national sentiment and cultural reaction.[29] My aim in this section is to reconsider a different neglected aspect of songbooks and play-texts: the theatrical portraits that typically adorned them as frontispieces or foldout prints. The integration of theatrical portraits into texts that were ostensibly for public or domestic performances raises a number of important questions: what was the purpose of illustrations such as vignettes and full-length portraits within songbooks? Were they intended to recall prior evenings' entertainment or to provide ideas for domestic performance? Songbooks including *The London Singer's Magazine and Reciter's Album* and *Hodgson's London Songbook for 1833* will be considered as publications which negotiated between private consumption and public performance. Many of the illustrations to serial theatrical biographies and songbooks were produced quickly and relatively crudely, and often by the same artists who were producing caricatures or comic 'scraps' for the periodical press. Print historian Brian Maidment has published the most comprehensive assessment of visual material found within songbooks between 1820 and 1850. Maidment argues that "there is strong evidence from the song books themselves that their popularity and commercial success was often dependent on their use of visual material, and that the comic vignette wood engraving that illustrated many of the song books and reciters' anthologies were an important factor in the development of a commercial

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[29] Oskar Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

marketplace for visual culture during this period."[30] My focus here is specifically on the presence of the theatrical portrait within these publications, and in what follows I will argue that through the addition of a portrait, editors and compilers transformed the quotidian appearance of their ephemeral and swiftly produced wares. With the addition of a theatrical portrait, songbooks became collectable, aspirational objects that gave consumers both words and a visual model to encourage imaginative re-performances.

The London Singer's Magazine (also called *The London Singer's Magazine and Reciter's Album*) appeared from 1835(?), and was initially edited by writer and playwright Thomas Peckett Prest. This penny weekly sold itself as a "collection of all the most celebrated and popular songs as sung at the London theatres, public and private concerts" and gave particularly detailed information on the origins of the songs it included. For example, in No. 3 of *The London Singer's Magazine* a song titled 'The Outlaw' is noted to have been sung 'by Mr Ransford at the Theatres Royal'. By providing the reader with the performer of the song, its lyrics, the venue in which it was performed and sometimes a portrait of the singer on stage, song books provided a structure for geographically and temporally removed audiences to relive and remake the performance as a fragmentary trace. In a similar way to Terry's *British Theatrical Gallery*, the inclusion of performers from patent theatres gave the publication additional authority. Short notices preceding other songs note that the accompanying music for some songs (*The London Singer's Magazine* printed only lyrics) was sold 'by John Duncombe and Co. 10, Middle Row, Holborn', the same publisher as the magazine itself. *The London Singer's Magazine* also included wood engravings by Cruikshank and Thomas Jones. These wood engravings were not theatrical portraits; rather they were imaginative interpretations of the content of the first song in that week's edition of the magazine. However, when the individual magazines were gathered together into a volume, a

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[30] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order,* 62.

portrait of Mr Ransford singing in character was appended (Fig. 77). Similarly, in No. 59 of the magazine an advertisement was posted claiming:

> A beautiful portrait of MISS ROMER, Engraved on Steel expressly by Page, will embellish No. I of the NEW VOLUME of the LONDON SINGER'S MAGAZINE, which will be much improved in the general getting up of the Work, the Engravings, the Paper &c. and will form one of the HANDSOMEST volumes the Lyric Muse ever offered to tke [sic] Public.

While the individual issues of *The London Singer's Magazine* were able to act as nodes in a linked up network of theatrical commercialism, the publisher felt that a portrait must be appended to entice consumers to purchase the thick volume of songs en masse.

Annual publications such as *Hodgson's London Songbook for 1833* necessarily contained disparate content which spanned theatres, genres and performers despite its geographical organisation around the capital. The artist employed to create visual material to accompany these volumes came up with increasingly diverse ways to represent and celebrate the wide variety of content on offer. *Hodgson's London Songbook for 1833* contains a striking multi-panel etching (Fig. 78) which folds out to show seven scenes from popular plays and songs enclosed in a decorative proscenium arch. The etching is anonymous, though the lettering beneath the image does state that it was published on 18th January 1830 by 'Bernard Hodgson & Co, 8 Queen Square, Aldersgate Street.' While the theatrical scenes in the etching do relate to the songs printed in *Hodgson's London Songbook for 1833,* the 1830 date makes it plain that this etching was an attractive and generic selection of popular songs suitable for reuse in different song book annual editions, rather than specially commissioned for 1833. Hodgson chose to illustrate the enduringly popular characters and songs of well known performers already mentioned in this thesis: John Liston as

Paul Pry, Miss Love as a Broom Girl and Madame Vestris singing her popular ballad 'Rise, gentle moon'. The folding etching unsurprisingly resembles toy theatre prints and penny theatrical portraits. The publisher, Bernard Hodgson, may have been related to William Hodgson who had run a print publishing business specialising in theatrical subjects called Hodgson & Co in collaboration with William Cole in the early 1820s.[31] Another Hodgson, named Orlando, also worked as a publisher and is likely to have been William Hodgson's son. While Orlando Hodgson specialised in satirical and comic prints and song books, Bernard Hodgson's output was more various and included song books and dream books.[32] Both Orlando and Bernard Hodgson held premises at Cloth Fair, Smithfield in the 1830s (in addition to Bernard Hodgson's premises at Aldersgate Street) and it is possible that they too were related.[33] The Hodgson business is a useful one for understanding how the adjunct trades of London's theatres, and particularly the publication of song books, theatrical portrait prints, biographies and play-texts, were often the products of the same publishers. Furthermore, it was these same publishers who also produced caricatures.[34] The multifaceted Hodgson business also demonstrates how entrepreneurial publishers exploited the popularity of theatrical figures by seeking to insert them into as many formats as possible.

Theatrical Caricatures

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[31] 'Hodgson & Co: Biographical Details' *British Museum Collection Online*, accessed 8 November 2017 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=120985
[32] Dream books claimed to provide their purchasers with accurate interpretations of their dreams. *Hodgson's Fashionable Dream Book; or, the Book of Destiny Laid Open* (5 Cloth Fair, London: Bernard Hodgson, ?1830).
[33] On the title page of *Hodgson's Fashionable Song Book for 1833*, Bernard Hodgon's address is listed as 5 Cloth Fair, West Smithfield. The London Metropolitan Archives: City of London hold a record for the insurance of Bernard Hogdson and Co, 8 Queen Square Aldersgate Street, booksellers, printsellers and stationers. Other property listed includes 5 Cloth Square, West Smithfield. 23 February 1830. MS 11936/523/1103875. http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/03693cd1-c245-482a-a1ec-c2205a09f65d. For Orlando Hodgson see Alistair Allen and Joan Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps* (London: New Cavendish Books, 1983), 141 and 153.
[34] The interconnections in this area of publishing have been recorded by Brian Maidment, who shows that publishers of comic graphic works like T. Duncombe and John Fairburn were also putting out song books. Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order,* 62-5.

In composing a theatrical portrait print, particularly one of a comic actor, artists often relied upon the use of a recognisable, exaggerated pose to make the celebrated subject readily identifiable and denote their comedic ability.[35] The convention of bodily inflation and contortion is only one commonality between theatrical portraiture and caricature: comic art has often drawn on the theatre for content and aesthetic effect. Indeed Heather McPherson and Dorothy George, amongst other scholars, have observed that stage scenes and performers became increasingly popular as subjects for caricature for the 1780s onwards.[36] The art form now commonly referred to as caricature appeared in England in the mid-eighteenth century, ushered in by the designs of Pier Leone Ghezzi published by Arthur Pond in 1742.[37] By the 1780s the faces of stage performers had became pervasive in comic prints. An etching published by William Holland in 1786, and (Fig. 79) tellingly titled 'The Caricaturer's Stock in Trade', featured both Sarah Siddons and Frances Abington, crowned as 'Queen Rant' and 'Queen Scrub' respectively, alongside the present ruling monarchs and political figures, who were also targeted by caricaturists. Caricature is particularly effective when applied to tragic or dramatic theatrical subjects because, as McPherson notes in relation to the parody of Sarah Siddons's tragic style which appeared as a caricature titled 'How to Harrow up the Soul' (Fig. 80) in *The Attic Miscellany* of 1790, with just a few exaggerations an artist can tip the balance from the sublime to the ridiculous.[38] In this section I consider the ways in which caricaturists exploited the comic potential of the histrionics of acting through portraiture by examining the works of printmakers Theodore Lane (no relation to Richard James Lane), William Heath and William Newman in the 1820s and 1830s. These three artists produced frontispieces, book illustrations, comic 'scraps' and caricatures series which indicate that the pathways of influence between caricature and

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[35] West, *Image of the Actor*, 132.

[36] Heather McPherson, "Painting, Politics and the Stage in the Age of Caricature," in *Notorious Muse: The Actress in British Art and Culture 1776-1812*, ed. Robyn Asleson (Yale University Press, 2003), 175-192; M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (New York: Viking, 1967), 107.

[37] Timothy Clayton, "The London Printsellers and the Export of English Graphic Prints," in *Loyal Subversion? Caricatures from the Personal Union between England and Hanover* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 150.

[38] McPherson, "Painting, Politics and the Stage in the Age of Caricature," 175. For a fuller examination of the theatrical portraits included in *The Attic Miscellany* see Hope Laska, "Staging the Page: Graphic Caricature in Eighteenth-Century England," (PhD diss., Brown University, 2009), 78-139.

portraiture were reciprocal for the representation of performers. I argue that the layered

meanings forged by these caricatures, frequently through devices such as pictures-within-

pictures, were particularly effective for the communication of nineteenth-century visuality.

Before analysing theatrical caricature more closely, it is useful to establish what kinds of

consumers were purchasing and engaging with theatrical caricature towards the middle of the

nineteenth-century. Many questions over the popularity of single-sheet caricatures, and the ways

in which they were consumed, and by whom, remain unresolved for historians of the late-

Georgian and Regency periods. Some print scholars maintain that caricatures were popular and

reached a wide social audience, despite their considerable expense at prices ranging from one

shilling to one guinea, because folios could be rented for an evening rather than bought. This

populist argument also maintains that the free displays created by the print shop window meant

that an even greater range of society might engage with prints.[39] The range of material discussed

below points to a competitive and diversifying marketplace that aimed to appeal to the widest

range of purchasers who might be interested in their products.

Historically caricaturists have found the subject of theatre audiences, and therefore the

opportunity to represent substantial crowds of physically heterogeneous individuals, a more

appealing subject than single figure theatrical portraits. In the 1730s Hogarth produced a number

of different states for his print 'The Laughing Audience',[40] while Carrington Bowles published

'The Pit Door/La Porte du Parterre' after Robert Dighton in 1784.[41] A rash of prints depicting

unruly audiences also accompanied the protest spectacle of the OP Riots at Covent Garden in

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[39] Many scholars have debated the popularity of caricatures. See Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature. Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); Eirwen Nicholson, "Consumers and Spectators: the Public and the Political Print in Eighteenth Century England," *History* 81.261 (1996): 5-21; David Bindman, "Francis Klingender and British Art," in Andrew Hemingway ed. *Marxism and the History of Art: From William Morris to the New Left* (London: Pluto, 2006).

[40] See William Hogarth, 'The Laughing Audience', (1733-1737) British Museum, item number: 1868,0822.1514.

[41] After Robert Dighton 'The Pit Door/La Porte du Parterre' (1784) British Museum, item number: 1860,0623.100.

1809, including Isaac and George Cruikshank's famous 'Killing no Murder' (Fig. 81).[42] The

interest in depicting humorous theatrical audiences persisted into the 1820s and 1830s, with

Theodore Lane producing his 'Theatrical Pleasures' series of six plates in 1821 (Fig. 82). Lane's

'Theatrical Pleasures' were popular enough to warrant reissue by publisher Thomas McLean in

1830.[43] In what follows the works of Lane, Heath and Newman respond to and reinterpret the

conventions of theatrical portraiture for comic effect, and reveal wider cultural reactions to the

profession of acting, and to individual performers.

Theodore Lane's Theatrical Meta-Pictures

"Valk up! Valk up!

The players! the players! the players are here!"[44]

In 1825 the comic author and influential sporting journalist Pierce Egan (1772–1849) published a

new novel entitled *The Life of an Actor, Peregrine Proteus*. While Egan was a writer, not an artist, his

work with artists such as George and Robert Cruikshank was crucial to the development of the

illustrated novel as a successful genre in the nineteenth century. The majority of scholarship

concerned with Egan and visual culture addresses his vastly successful novel, *Life in London*

(1821), a book which charts the contrasting high and low London capers of his two protagonists

Corinthian Tom and Jerry Hawthorne.[45] *Life in London* was swiftly adapted for the stage and

pirated throughout the nineteenth century. *The Life of an Actor* has so far not received close

critical attention, but the humorous theatrical fiction, charting the sometimes-faltering rise of a

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[42] James Baker, "The OP War, Libertarian Communication and Graphic Reportage in Georgian London," *European Comic Art* 4:1 (2011): 81-104; James Baker, "Jewishness and the Covent Garden OP War: Satiric Perceptions of John Philip Kemble," *Nineteenth-Century Theatre and Film* 40:1 (2013): 36-57.

[43] See volume of Theodore Lane's 'Theatrical Pleasures' at the Yale Center for British Art. Item number: PN2085 .L36 1830+ Oversize

[44] Pierce Egan, *The Show Folks! Embellished with nine ... designs on wood by T. Lane, engraved by J. Thompson. To which is added, a sketch of the Life of T. Lane.* (London: 1831).

[45] In recent years this publication and the images by brothers Robert and George Cruikshank have received considerable critical attention from scholars, see Gregory Dart, "'Flash Style": Pierce Egan and Literary London 1820-28'. *History Workshop Journal*, no. 51 (2001): 180–205; Gregory Dart, *Metropolitan Art and Literature, 1810-1840: Cockney Adventures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

stage struck hero named Peregrine Proteus was illustrated with an important series of theatrical prints.

The Life of an Actor was "embellished with twenty-seven characteristic scenes, etched by Theodore Lane; enriched also with several original designs on wood, executed by Mr. Thompson". The thirty-six comic images designed by Theodore Lane (1800–1828), also the artist of 'Theatrical Pleasures', dominate the text. Indeed, if Egan's own statement in the book's dedication to Edmund Kean is to be believed, the entire project was "written principally to introduce the Artist to the notice of the Public".[46] After Theodore Lane's early death aged 28 Egan wrote a biographical sketch of the artist, in which he recounts that Lane came to him with six of the designs for *The Life of An Actor* already drafted, and asked the author to write a text to fit them. Egan initially refused the offer as he was engaged with other projects, but eventually Lane secured an agreement with the publisher C.S. Arnold of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden (the same street in which the period's principal theatrical portraitist, Samuel de Wilde, had his studio) and Egan relented.[47] According to Egan, for this work Mr. Arnold paid Lane the sum of "one hundred and fifty pounds, fifteen shillings".[48] At this point in his career the painter and etcher Theodore Lane was increasingly recognised as a forerunner in the field of caricature, and he took a particular interest in theatrical subjects. Prior to this, at the start of the 1820s, the young artist was principally known for his watercolour portraits and miniatures, which he had exhibited at the Royal Academy's annual exhibitions.[49]

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[46] Pierce Egan, *The Life of An Actor, Dedicated to Edmund Kean, Esq. The Poetical Descriptions by T. Greenwood. Embellished with Twenty-Seven Characteristic Scenes, Etched by Theodore Lane' enriched also with several original designs of wood, executed by Mr. Thompson.* (London: C.S. Arnold, 1825), iv.

[47] Pierce Egan, *The Show Folks! Embellished with 9 characteristic designs on wood, by the late Mr. Theodore Lane, and engraved by Mr. John Thompson. To which is added, a biographical sketch of the life of Mr. Theodore Lane* (London: M. Arnold, and Simpkin and Marshall, 1831), 35-39.

[48] Egan, *The Show Folks,* 39.

[49] F. M. O'Donoghue, 'Lane, Theodore (*c.*1800–1828)', rev. Greg Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online,* accessed 5 November 2016. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15999

Pictures-within-pictures are practically ubiquitous in the caricature and graphic satire of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lane's etchings and wood engravings for *The Life of An Actor* use this device, though his plates are neither typical portraits, nor standard caricatures. This is because they do not exaggerate the figure's physiognomy, in the way that is archetypal for caricature. Furthermore, while Lane's designs show generic or representative theatrical 'types' (i.e. not portraits of named stage actors), some nevertheless include allusions or more specific visual references to actual theatrical portraits, through the device of the picture-within-picture. Lane's wood engraving showing the stage struck hero, Peregrine Proteus, rehearsing Othello (Fig. 83) is of particular interest to understanding the intersection of character, portraiture and caricature in Egan and Lane's publication. It is possible that the character Peregrine Proteus was loosely modeled on Edmund Kean himself, as both share unruly dark hair and a furrowed brow, and Kean was known for his youthful recitations of Shakespeare. The image shows the young Proteus in his father's house just as the household is retiring to bed. Proteus, however, has been reading Shakespeare and stands half-undressed in the drawing room, "roaring out lustily as if he had actually been playing the part of Othello-".[50] In the theatrical fervor of reciting Othello's "Lo! I have a weapon" speech he has taken hold of a bootjack and raised it like a sword. Though the amateur's legs are powerfully splayed in a pose of valiant action, the inclusion of the bootjack makes the scene ridiculous. Lane's caricature functions not through the distortion of the bodily, but instead through the transformation of objects from the heroic (sword) into the quotidian (bootjack). The other objects in this room are of further interest as beyond the signs of early nineteenth-century gentility (the patterned carpet, richly decorated clock and top hat resting on a chair) are three prominently positioned works of art. The two paintings, or potentially prints, though they are impressively framed, and one wall-mounted sculpture are all clearly theatrical in nature. All three announce themselves as pointed visual references through the frame or plinth, which sets them apart from the rest of the composition. The most prominent image is a

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[50] Pierce Egan, *The Life of An Actor,* 36.

reproduction of Thomas Lawrence's portrait of John Philip Kemble as Hamlet, the original of which is now in the Tate collection and was initially exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1801(Fig. 42).[51] Next to the larger Lawrence hangs a smaller image, perhaps Edmund Kean as Richard III but surely a crowned Shakespearean actor. Finally, a small figurine of Shakespeare occupies the corbel, perhaps in porcelain. It seems likely that Lane copied the Shakespeare likeness from a nineteenth century copy or print which ultimately derives from the monument designed by William Kent and executed by Peter Scheemakers in 1740 (Fig. 84). In his biographical sketch of Lane, Egan reports that Lane was a frequent visitor to the theatres, where he could study costumes and draperies. Lane particularly admired Charles Kean, William Charles Macready, and Charles Kemble. Of the comedic actors it was John Reeve and John Liston who appealed to Lane, the artist even planned a series of prints around Liston's personification of Paul Pry, but it was never completed due to Lane's early death in 1828.[52] This context, and the novel's dedication to Edmund Kean, suggests that Lane and his intended audience were deeply knowledgeable about the theatrical world. A further drawing (and later print) by Lane (Fig. 85), originally intended for *The Life of An Actor* but which did not appear in the eventual publication, stresses the artist's knowledge of his visually and theatrically sophisticated audience. Here, Peregrine Proteus and his fellow actors are in various states of undress and disarray as the curtain is unexpectedly lifted to the delight of a lively audience; with the stage acting as a threshold or mirror it is not difficult to draw the parallel between the depicted audience and the image's intended spectators.

What did the visual recognition in Theodore Lane's image mean to nineteenth-century readers and viewers? In her recent book on the subject, the art historian Catherine Roach calls nineteenth-century pictures-within-pictures "recognisable recreations of pre-existing works of art

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[51] Lawrence made a number of smaller and half-length versions of the painting, and other artists made copies after it too. See Garrick Club item number: G1022.
[52] Egan, *The Show Folks,* 44.

that assert claims to artistic lineage and court audience recognition."[53] Roach's succinct description pertains specifically to oil paintings depicted within oil paintings; however, Lane's images transpose painted and sculpted images into wood engraving. This means that his pictures-within-pictures are further complicated by the intermedial transformation of paint into ink, and by the issue of authorship because it was not Lane, but master engraver John Thompson (1775?–1864), who cut the lines of Lane's design into the boxwood. Lane's theatrical portraits-within-caricature are physically reduced, denied their artistic facture and put into service for a comedic purpose. I suggest that Lane is not only claiming an artistic lineage with Lawrence or Scheemakers here, but is gently mocking the amateur hero by the presence of elevated Shakespearean forebears. The inclusion of the face of his exasperated genetic forbear, his father, framed in the doorway like an additional picture-within-picture, further adds to this affectionate caricature of impassioned stage ambition. By framing the reaction of an audience within his theatrical caricature Lane continued a tradition which was established by eighteenth-century portrait satires. In 1786 Robert Sayer published a satirical portrait (Fig. 86) in response to the news that fashionable actress Frances Abington would take on the unlikely role of Scrub, the simple-minded servant from the *Beaux Stratagem*. In the etching Abington's distinguishing trait, a squint, is unflatteringly emphasised and Sayer makes clear the negative public reaction to the casting by including a bust of the playwright George Farquhar glaring down in disgust. Sayer has also etched a frame in the background with the figure of Thomas Watson, a famous actor who had played Scrub is the 1760s, shouting 'Murder!' at Abington's efforts. Lane's print for the *Life of an Actor* is a valuable example of how theatrical portraiture was utilised by artists to encode meanings, re-enact theatrical memories and reinforce hierarchies between the amateur and the professional. The wood engraving is only one of a series in *The Life of an Actor* but the publisher

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[53] Roach, *Pictures-within-Pictures in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 3.

may have felt this wood engraving was particularly engaging too, as a copy bound in original

boards with printed paper covers features that print prominently beneath the title.[54]

Scraps and Signatures: William Heath

William Heath (1794/5–1840) was one of London's leading caricaturists during the 1820s,

specialising in both social and political satires. Recent research on Heath's life and oeuvre by

Julie Mellby has demonstrated that the artist returned to theatrical subject matter throughout his

career; he published non-caricature theatrical portrait prints with S. Knight in his younger years

and more complex politico-theatrical satires in his later career. Heath also designed theatrical

scenes, hasty and off-the-cuff audience satires and commented on wider theatrical events such as

the OP Riots.[55] In a competitive and changing marketplace for caricature, in which single sheet

prints were no longer the dominant format, Heath brought theatrical sayings, terminology and

gestures into quotidian scenes in his comic scraps publication titled *Studies from the Stage, or the*

Vicissitudes of Life (1823). Scraps were etched, engraved or lithographed images made for use in

scrapbooks or albums. The production of scraps in the 1820s and 1830s was stimulated by

publishers and printmakers searching for a wider and more profitable market for their wares.[56]

Heath's 'Studies from the Stage' fits into a sub-genre of graphic satire that also flourished in this

period and is typified by humorous encounters between contrasting stereotypical figures and

titles.[57] So, a characteristic image from Heath's *Studies from the Stage* would be 'The Iron Chest'

(Fig. 87), which juxtaposes the title of George Colman's successful play with a woman pushing a

man (perhaps her lover) into a literal iron chest. The jokes made by Heath in his scraps are

relatively crude and opportunistic, but his later theatrical work was much more ambitious and

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[54] Pierce Egan, *The Life of An Actor.* Item number: PN2095 .E4 1825, Yale Center for British Art.

[55] See Julie Mellby, "'The man wots got the whip hand of 'em all!,'" 3-19.

[56] Allen and Hoverstadt, *The History of Printed Scraps,* and Brian Maidment, "Scraps and Sketches: Miscellaneity, Commodity Culture and Comic Prints, 1820-40,"*19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 5 (2007) DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.462

[57] Richard Pound, "'Catching Follies as They Fly': C.J. Grant and the Market for English Political Caricature in the 1830s' in Richard Pound, ed. *C.J. Grant's Political Drama. A Radical Satirist Rediscovered.* (London: University College London, 1998), 54.

sophisticated. A series of prints titled *Theatrical Caricatures* (1829) envisions well-known political figures in the roles of stock characters and theatre professionals. The ten plates show: George IV as the manager (Fig. 88), John Scott 1st Earl of Eldon as the old woman, James Scarlett as Paul Pry, Daniel O'Connell (not as a particular character but bursting through a curtain onto a stage), Elizabeth Conyngham as the prima donna, Baron Lyndhurst as the scene painter and property man, Robert Peel as Harlequin, Thomas Buckler Letherbridge as a donkey-headed Grimaldi and the Duke of Wellington as a stage manager and prompter. *Theatrical Caricatures* focuses more explicitly on the recent political actions and scandals surrounding these figures, which have been explained fully in Dorothy George's *Catalogue of Personal and Political Satires*, and uses the stock theatrical guises as mocking shorthand. By conflating the theatrical with the political, Heath made the simple but authentic argument that public life relied upon the performative techniques of the stage. Heath's theatrical caricatures provided a model for linking the stage and political gossip that, as has been shown in chapter three, was developed and intensified by *Figaro in London.*

Most intriguing and noteworthy of all Heath's experimentations with theatrical subject matter is his adoption of a theatrical portrait as his signature to appear at the bottom of many of his prints. Instead of signing his name, he drew a sketchy but recognisable portrait of the actor John Liston in the role of Paul Pry, the lead character from an eponymous play which had debuted in 1825 to great acclaim (Fig. 89). The adoption of Paul Pry as his signature may have been driven by Heath's need to establish himself on his return to London after a stint in Scotland in May 1826.[58] As David Vincent has noted, the benefits of using the Paul Pry insignia were twofold: it allowed Heath to capitalise on Paul Pry's ascendant popularity and "enhanced the impact of the

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[58] Simon Heneage, 'Heath, William [Paul Pry] (1794/5–1840)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online,* accessed 19 January 2017 https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66123; George, *Catalogue*, vol.XI, xliv-xlv; Mark Bryan and Simon Heanage, *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists, 1730-1980* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), 107.

satirical commentary".[59] Paul Pry was an especially appropriate emblem for Heath as Liston's character was associated with intrusively (but always amusingly) unmasking private actions and truths, much like the caricaturist. Vincent argues that Heath saw an affinity between his practice and Paul Pry due to the similarity between John Liston's exaggerated enactment of the character on stage, and Heath's striking distortions of the human figure.[60] However, Heath's effective self-association with Paul Pry is also an important indicator of the rising significance of theatrical portraiture in the second quarter of the nineteenth century in London. This is because it was not simply John Liston's personation of the character of Paul Pry that Heath was interested in appropriating, but the *image* complete with umbrella, boots and top hat. To put it another way, Heath's pictorial pseudonym places a theatrical portrait in the position of the artist. Looking out from outside of the image's frame, Heath's miniature theatrical portrait acts as a waggish critic overseeing and sometimes remarking (in a speech bubble) on the content of the print itself (Fig. 90). Paul Pry was an exceptionally successful character for Liston and thanks to a print by Heath of July 1829 we know that the Pry signature proved a great success for the printmaker too. Published on 6th July 1829 the print entitled 'P-Pry's Address to the Public' responded to a spate of forgeries which also used the Paul Pry signature in an attempt to exploit Heath's popularity. For his Paul Pry signed prints Heath had worked with the publisher Thomas McLean, but a competing publisher named S. Gans had issued prints which claimed himself as the exclusive publisher.[61] Conceding that using the Pry signature was no longer viable a speech bubble in 'P-Pry's Address to the Public' explained:

The Public is most respectfully inform'd –in consequence of the number of PIRATED COPIES selling with the Signature of P.Pry, the Artist will for the future insert his real

[59] Paul Vincent, *I Hope I Don't Intrude: Privacy and its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 142.
[60] Vincent, *I Hope I Don't Intrude,* 145.
[61] For an example of a Gans forgery see, 'Attorney in General to the Parish/Parish Characters' (1 June 1829). British Museum Satires item no.1935,0522.3.114.

name, *William Heath*, to all his Caricatures & that Thomas McLean 26 Haymarket is the only Publisher of his *WORKS*. It is ernestly [sic] requested purchasers will look for the names of the ARTIST & PUBLISHER – without, none can be Original.

The dispute over Heath's Paul Pry signature demonstrates the cultural and commercial cachet that a particularly familiar theatrical portrait could carry on London's print market. It also indicates how pointedly portraits circulated between the capital's theatres and artists as the content of a performance or character was adapted for the purposes of caricature.

In the preceding sections of this chapter I have argued for a wider conception of theatrical portraiture and for a closer consideration of this genre as it appears within and enmeshed with caricature. In refuting the strict demarcations between portraiture and caricature for images of theatrical performers, the significance and ubiquity of portraits which acted as frontispieces, featured on the boards or wrappers of books or were inserted to face the title-page of biographies, songbooks and play-texts becomes clear. To conclude, I consider another short-lived but suggestive form of comic print which thrived in the mid-1830s: the satirical periodical title-page. The artist who conceived of this original and effective format was probably CJ Grant, and both Grant and William Newman produced several examples between 1832 and 1835.[62] These periodical title-pages are essentially parodies which mock the style, content and aims of periodicals or magazines such as *The Penny Magazine*. Their form consists of a bold title and multiple panels containing images linked with a coherent theme. As a whole, these title-page parodies are characteristic of the volatile and shifting print market of the 1830s, in which artists were made to experiment with fleeting fads that might appeal to a wide audience dominated by the middling and professional classes after the traditional, genteel market for single-sheet

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[62] Pound, "'Catching Follies as They Fly'," 64.

Regency caricature contracted.[63] An example, probably by William Newman, titled 'Frontispiece to Cumberland's British Theatre' (Fig. 91), and cautiously dated to 1835 by the Lewis Walpole catalogue, satirises the long-running Cumberland series which printed play-texts, critical remarks and biographical details about actors alongside a theatrical portrait.[64] The title-page uses a proscenium as a framing device to create panels resembling theatre boxes divided by columns and a stage curtain. In this example the vignettes within the panels function in a similar way to scraps - as visual and verbal puns. Taken individually these vignettes are coarse – at top left a tear in a voluminous lady's skirt is captioned 'A BAD OPENING' – but together they form a light-hearted but sustained criticism of nearly every aspect of theatrical production. Newman's caricatured title-page makes fun of the serious-minded ambitions of Cumberland's publication, which was aimed at a professional and leisured readership keen to acquire proper theatrical knowledge, and mocks readers, performers and theatrical jargon in equal measure. That there is little original or cutting in the individual jokes and puns gathered together by Newman in his title-page does not repudiate the cultural significance of these theatrical caricatures. On the contrary, the assimilation of these easily re-useable tropes into the visual humour of the 1830s foregrounds the importance of printed theatrical products accompanied by portraits – be they play-texts, biographies or songbooks – into the wider realm of comic graphic art.

By studying publications of varying artistic quality and longevity, I have brought to light the previously overlooked presence of theatrical portraits in the disparate publications which functioned as adjunct trades to London's theatrical cultures. My examination of these serial and collective publications has demonstrated the hitherto under-acknowledged role that theatrical portraiture took in the commercially driven shift from single sheet prints to bound serials from the 1830s onwards. The case studies have shown that theatrical portraiture was both a desirable

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[63] Brian Maidment, "Subversive Supplements: Satirical Title Pages of the Periodical Press in the 1830s," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 43 no.2 (2010): 133-148.
[64] Maidment, "Subversive Supplements," 148.

addition to publications related to the directly stage, like *Lea's Illustrated British Drama and Theatrical Portrait Gallery* and to general entertainment periodicals. The portraits contained within these volumes had a specific purpose as exemplars for the imaginative re-performance of familiar songs or plays. Within the increasingly competitive market for comic printed images, the varied physiognomy and celebrity status of performers provided ideal subject matter for caricatures. Finally, taking the examples of Theodore Lane and William Newman, my argument has shown how innovations in the century's graphic visual culture repeatedly took theatrical portraiture as its subject matter. In the following final chapter I further develop the themes of serialisation and experimentation with a focus on group photography. Specifically I examine the 1860 arrival in Britain of an affordable photographic form, the carte de visite, to explore portraiture's utility in the formation of collective celebrity identity.

Chapter Five

Almost Infinite Reproducibility: Celebrity and Early Theatrical Photography

On a slight piece of card measuring three and a half inches by two and a quarter inches the faces and bodies of twenty-five actresses have been carefully assembled in five neat rows enclosed by a decorative border (Fig. 92). Unlike the majority of images examined in this thesis, the faces in this diminutive group portrait were not created by the lithographer's crayon or engraver's burin, but by the lens of the camera. To be more accurate, in this composite carte de visite photograph, the once individual portraits of actresses were created by the lenses of many cameras over a period of almost ten years. In June 1863 the Irish photographer Frederick Holland Mares, based at 79 Grafton Street in Dublin, collected, arranged and re-photographed the twenty-four already extant portraits (one of which shows two actresses) to create a new composite carte de visite which he titled 'Popular Actresses'.[1] Mares's photograph was just one example of this new widespread and important medium for the production of nineteenth-century theatrical portraiture. In this chapter I shall ask to what extent could the amalgamated or composite portrait, in which multiple performers appear in a series, or in a photographic grid, forge collective identity? How did artists apply the new technological potential of photography to the conventions of the theatrical portrait genre? These pocket-sized images did not wholly supersede printed portraits of actors and actresses, but their widespread proliferation and affordability did provide a different, and I will argue more physically intimate, way for nineteenth-century consumers to engage with the likenesses of stage performers.

The small-scale photograph known as the carte arrived in England from France in 1857. Originally patented in Paris by André-Adolphe Diséri in 1854, in England cartes de visite did not

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[1] Mares registered the photographic copyright with the Stationers' Company on 15 June 1863. See Stationers' Company Register. 'Photographs and artworks registered at the Stationer's Company 1 April - 30 June 1863.' Frederick Holland Mares, National Archives Kew. http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15145848.

achieve their enormous popularity, a phenomenon sometimes known as cartomania, until the

end of 1859. The carte boom lasted until around 1864.[2] Cartes de visite photographs were

albumen prints pasted onto mounts; full-length portraits were overwhelmingly the most popular

subject matter for this photographic method. The camera used to make cartes de visite

photographs usually had multiple lenses that allowed several pictures to be taken simultaneously,

though it was also possible to use a single lens camera to take successive images on the same

photographic plate. To create a carte, the photographer would use a full-plate, collodion-on-glass

negative divided into eight parts, which was then exposed in a four-lens camera. This process

produced eight very small prints, thereby lowering the price of photographic portraits.[3] Cartes de

visite were black and white, but could be hand-coloured. The popularity of collecting cartes also

spurred demand for tooled and decorated cartes de visite albums with specifically-sized apertures

that allowed purchasers to organise and preserve their carte collections.

This chapter is divided into two main sections. Following an outline of some of the historical

links between carte de visite photography and theatre, the first section provides a detailed

analysis of 'Popular Actresses'. Historians of nineteenth-century art and photography have paid

limited attention to composite cartes de visite, often characterising them as opportunist

commercial novelties.[4] However, the pantheon of women on stage presented in 'Popular

Actresses' implies that there was more at stake in this carte than ephemeral popularity and profit,

instead this photograph can be read as part of a wider movement in which groups of individuals

from a variety of occupations received professional and cultural validation. The copyright

records of the Stationer's Hall show that Holland Mares made 69 composite cartes de visite

during his career (see Appendix 1). Not all of these cartes contained portraits; many were scenic

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[2] Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegorie* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 71.
[3] Elizabeth Anne McCauley. "Disdéri, André-Adolphe-Eugène." *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed May 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T022877.
[4] Robin Wichard and Carol Wichard, *Victorian Cartes de Visite* (Princes Riseborough: Shire, 1999), 37.

views of Ireland and Scotland. However, of the 69 composite cartes registered to Holland Mares, 19 contained theatrical portraits. The Stationer's Hall records came into existence following the amended copyright bill of 29th July 1862, which was initiated by growing concerns over piracy of celebrity carte de visite.[5] The bill provided protection when a new photograph was registered at Stationer's Hall for the cost of one shilling; registration recorded both the proprietor of the copyright and the author of the work (typically the photographer was listed at both). As Holland Mares was based in Dublin, and Stationer's Hall was in London, he used his photographic publishers the Ashford Brothers to register the copyrights on his behalf where they signed as 'authorised agents'. While the change to the law was welcomed by the photographic industry by no means did it eradicate piracy – the many prosecutions which took place throughout the 1860s show that some unscrupulous studios simply re-photographed popular cartes so that they could be printed without the photographer's name of the reverse.[6]

In the second part of this chapter I focus on the theatrical portrait images created by noteworthy nineteenth-century photographer (George) Herbert Watkins (1828-1916). Watkins produced both cartes de visite and larger format albumen print photographs of prominent public figures including many stage performers. While his photographs of artists and writers such as Charles Dickens and John Everett Millais have received considerable scholarly attention, the same treatment has not been extended to his theatrical images.[7] Yet Watkins was an important photographic innovator and the record he compiled of his own works, now Album P301 at the National Portrait Gallery, shows how Watkins experimented with pose and cropping to better express the performing styles of his theatrical subjects. Album P301, or the Watkins Album,

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[5] John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography,* (London: Routledge, 2008), 610.
[6] John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria – First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 156.
[7] See Gertrude Mae Prescott, "Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900," (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1985), 101-124. See also Carol Blackett-Ord, 'Sir George Everett Millais by (George) Herbert Watkins', *Later Victorian Portraits Catalogue: Online Database,* National Portrait Gallery. http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitExtended/mw09148/Sir-John-Everett-Millais-1st-Bt?LinkID=mp03083&role=sit&rNo=3

dates from the late 1850s and houses albumen prints of distinguished contemporary figures.

Around thirty of Watkins' photographs (which appear in the Watkins Album) were produced to

accompany printed biographies in Herbert Fry's *National Gallery of Photographic Portraits* (1857-58)

publication series. Absent from the Watkins Album are the photographer's experimental cartes

de visite caricatures, which melded large photographed heads with drawn and printed bodies.

Though these cartes de visite caricatures have been displayed, this chapter provides the first

scholarly analysis of the Watkins' experimental photographic form. In my examination of

Watkins' caricatures I show how his collaged photographs of male performers expressed and

animated the comedic abilities of figures like Frederick Robson, which were difficult to capture

in standard carte photography. As a whole, the chapter explores the extent to which cartes made

performers more recognisable to their London publics as members of a profession, and suggest

that photographic experiments such as the composite carte de visite aimed to combat the

banality and standardisation which threated to merge theatrical celebrity into the masse of carte

production. Finally, at a broader level, this chapter joins a now substantial body of scholarship

which has promoted an understanding of photography based on its associations with the

commercial and domestic spheres, rather than lauding forms of photographic production which

link the practice with either aesthetic achievement or mass communication media.[8]

Watkins' multimedia caricatures add further credence to the idea, as posited by Geoffrey Batchen

and Lara Perry, that nineteenth-century audiences considered cartes to be insufficiently

referential in their resemblance to the sitter.[9] The fact that portrait photographs are produced via

a mechanical process which mirrors the basic operation of the eye means that the resultant

images are often considered to be adequately referential, or accurate, in their presentation of the

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[8] The tendency for histories of photography to disregard the value of images as their commercial availability and function increases is summarised in Patrizia di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 16-17.

[9] Geoffrey Batchen, "Dreams of ordinary life: Carte de visite and the bourgeois imagination," in *Image and Imagination* ed. Martha Landford (London: 2005), 68-74; Lara Perry, "The Carte de Visite in the 1860s and the Serial Dynamic of Photographic Likeness" *Art History* 35 no. 4 (2012): 728-749.

sitter. Indeed, some scholars of nineteenth-century media, including John Plunkett, have argued that compared to engravings and lithographs "the realism of the camera proffered a more authentic and affective relationship with the distinguished sitters" in cartes.[10] However, in her article, Perry shows that photographers active in the 1850s and 1860s such as Lake Price actually had a stable of manipulating techniques and "extensive machinations required of the photographer and sitter in order to obtain a good portrait: the background, accessories, lighting, expression and pose all needed to be thoroughly worked over to obtain a good and 'refined' image."[11] In my study of Watkins' caricatures of burlesque actor Frederick Robson, I develop Batchen and Perry's argument on the insufficient likeness of cartes to argue that Watkins' collaged caricatures enabled the photographer to insert the pastiche nature of the burlesque genre into the materiality of Robson's portrait.

Frederick Holland Mares's Composite Cartes

How did carte de visite photography capitalise on the popular interest in actresses, and what effects did these small photographic cards have on public perceptions of the theatrical profession? As mentioned above, cartes de visite were often inserted and arranged into carefully kept albums, but the form of the carte was also closely linked to that of the visiting card. The materiality, shape and size of the carte de visite mimic the formal visiting card and therefore draw their power from a model of aristocratic leisure which was unattainable for many of those able to spend a shilling on a carte. Much recent work on nineteenth-century photography has centred on photographic albums as sites of personal expression, self-fashioning and network making.[12] Patrizia di Bello's 2007 book *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England* opened up the field of album studies by persuasively arguing for a reconsideration of albums as

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[10] John Plunkett, "Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte-de-Visite*" Journal of Victorian Culture* 8 (2003): 57.
[11] Perry, "The Carte de Visite in the 1860s",732.
[12] di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography.*

spaces in which photographic meaning was created and disseminated, often far from the gaze or intentions of the original photographer. Throughout, di Bello emphasises the significance of the relationship between the tactile and the visual in the act of album-making; collecting, cutting, arranging and marking photographs allowed Victorian women to "give materiality to their own culturally and socially specific desires and pleasures."[13] Crucially, in many of these albums celebrity cartes of favoured performers appeared alongside those of friends and family. This blurred established public/private dynamics and suggested, if only latently, that non-theatrical carte sitters could participate in the public realm of London's West End. However, unlike the exchange of visiting cards (which occurred when calling at the domestic home) a carte portrait could enter the home or album through commercial means, by being bought in a shop, or through personal gift exchange as a sign or friendship or esteem. This brought creeping ambiguity to owning a carte of a famous person: did it imply an actual meeting, an intimate friendship or just a purchase? Di Bello sees this ambiguity as one of the carte's primary attractions as it turned the perusal of albums into a game in which participants gauged the social ties of the album owner; weighing up the probability of a personal interaction with a celebrity was part of the amusement. At the same time, appearing in illustrious company on the pages of an album or perhaps in the photographer's shop gave sitting for a carte portrait the frisson of fame.[14] For theatrical performers, the carte provided a site for even more complex public/private sphere negotiations. Might an off-stage portrait of a celebrated actress in private dress imply a personal friendship more than a portrait of that same actress in character? As composite cartes featured many portraits and were fixed and arranged by professional photographers, the potential for intimate exchange with one particular figure was certainly diminished. However, the grouping of various individuals on one surface encouraged viewers to make aesthetic and cultural judgements at the level of the theatrical professional as a whole. In so doing, composite cartes

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[13] di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography*, 5.
[14] di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography*, 110.

influenced the public understanding of actresses not simply as individuals but as members of an industry with its own traditions of comedy, tragedy, burlesque and farce which were articulated through the variety of poses and costumes on show in Holland Mares's carte.

Photography and theatre have been closely associated since the time of photography's invention. The process of sitting for a photographic portrait required the use of props and carefully chosen costumes (selected to express the idea of a particular persona or status) in ways that mirrored the fundaments of theatre. The very architecture of the photographic studio has also been compared to theatres by Laurence Senelick, who cites the presence of a painted backdrop and the studio's confined space to argue that studios were "a reduced model of the proscenium stage."[15] As the carte process became popular in the 1860s, photographers are also said to have lined their studios with cartes of actors and actresses, not to impress potential clients with their star-studded credentials (though that may have also been a motivation), but to provide new sitters with an example to imitate.[16] That cartes de visite photographers often had sittings with actors and actresses at the outset of their careers is demonstrated by the lucrative career of Camille Silvy. Upon moving to London in 1859, French photographer Camille Silvy took around two hundred carte portraits of performers without charging, an astute move that allowed him to build up saleable inventory for his new business venture while providing performers with flattering portraits that might be used for publicity.[17] Fashionable nineteenth-century theatrical forms including the tableau vivant and realisation of 'theatrical pictures' common in melodrama further lent themselves to the stilled aesthetics of photography.[18] However, while the tableau vivant breathed life into an originally still (often painted) image by performing it with live actors,

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[15] Laurence Senelick, "Eroticism in Early Theatrical Photography," *Theatre History Studies* 11 (1991): 1.

[16] Shelley Rice, "Inverted Odysseys," in *Inverted Odysseys: Claude Cahun, Maya Deren and Cindy Sherman* ed. Shelley Rice (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), 13-14.

[17] Mark Haworth-Booth, *Camille Silvy: Photographer of Modern Life* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2010), 64.

[18] For more on these forms see Michael Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1900* (Boston: Routledge, 1981); Sue Zemka, *Time and the Moment in Victorian Literature and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Carolyn Williams, "Moving Pictures: George Eliot and Melodrama," in *Compassion: The Culture and Politics of an Emotion* ed. Lauren Berlant (New York: Routledge, 2001), 105-44.

photographs suspended motion. Nineteenth-century audiences colluded in the creation of both spectacles. They accepted that a tableaux vivant was both a representation of a famous painting, and a group of strained, gently respiring actors. In a similar way, those purchasing a theatrical carte de visite at a stationers' shop implicitly acknowledged that they now owned both a carefully posed portrait of their favoured stage star, and an albumen print pasted on card.

At this time in the development of the technology it was not possible to take photographs within theatres. David Mayer states that it was not until 1893 in New York that Joseph Byron came up with a method for taking photographs in theatre, but these were taken in the rehearsal period rather than during performance.[19] In discussions of the interplay between theatre and the camera scholars have also pointed to the significant presence of photographs and photographers in the plays written for and performed in nineteenth-century theatres. Most prominent are discussions of the fictitious photographer Salem Scudder, who appears in Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon* (first performed in New York in 1859; London 1861), but Daniel A. Novak points out that the first play to be performed on a London stage featuring photography was N.H. Harrington and Edmund Yeates' *Your Likeness – One Shilling* (Strand Theatre, 1858).[20] Novak's study concludes that, in Victorian theatre, "photography is bound up with and ultimately defined by movement, action and change...these plays remind us of the diversity of attitudes toward and uses of photography in Victorian culture."[21] Though my interest in this chapter lies in photographs of players, rather than in plays featuring photographers, I do seek to develop Novak's argument that photography allowed nineteenth-century artists and performers to push the boundaries of how theatrical movement could be depicted off-stage.

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[19] David Mayer, "The Actress as Photographic Icon," 79-80.

[20] Daniel A. Novak, "Caught in the Act: Photography on the Victorian Stage," *Victorian Studies*, 59, no. 1 (2016): 60, n.17. For *The Octoroon* see also Adam Sonestegard, "Performing Remediation: The Minstrel, The Camera, and The Octoroon," *Criticism* 48. No.3 (2006): 375-95.

[21] Novak, "Caught in the Act," 58.

Theatrical performers too employed photography for a range of purposes, including efforts to secure the legacies and financial futures of members of the profession. In 1858 the actor Charles Kean, along with a committee of fellow theatre professionals, mooted the idea of founding a Royal Dramatic College. This institution, which I introduced in the second chapter of this thesis, was planned to provide almshouses for retired actresses and actors, but the ambitious project required a considerable fundraising effort. To establish a Royal Dramatic College fund the committee organised a series of charity fetes at venues such as Crystal Palace at which stalls and activities led by performers were available. Theatrical cartes were an important component of these events – Camille Silvy sold 800 of his cartes of actors and actresses at the first fete in June 1860.[22] Here, actresses took on the role of shopkeeper and sold images of themselves:

> The Fancy Fair was presided over by the following distinguished members of the profession, who had kindly tendered their valuable services:- Mrs. Stirling, Miss Amy Sedgwick, Mrs. Alfred Mellon, Mrs. Billington, Miss Kate Kelly, Miss Henrietta Sims, Miss E. Thorne, Mrs. Frank Matthews, Miss Murray, Miss Wyndham, Miss Katharine Hickson, Mrs. Fitzwilliam, Mrs. Charles Young, Miss Oliver, Miss Marie Wilton, Miss Bufton, Miss Charlotte Saunders, Miss Herbert, Miss Marton, Mrs. Leigh Murray, and Miss Neville. Over the stall which Mrs. Stirling occupied was suspended the motto "'Twere good you do somewhat for charity," and the principle seemed thoroughly understood by the purchasers, who were invited by the winning ways and irresistible smiles of the fair traders to exchange the goodly coin of the realm for every variety of fancy merchandise, from pincushions to photographs. Autographs, with occasional mottoes of the most celebrated men and women of the age, and the photographic portraits from the studios of Messrs. Clarkington, Silvy and Herbert Watkins, were in great request, and realized sums which might be considered to make them expensive

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[22] Haworth-Booth, *Camille Silvy: Photographer of Modern Life*, 64.

articles, but for the many pleasant looks and kind words that the buyers had generously thrown into the bargain. To these ladies, who displayed unvarying energy, wit, grace and good humour in fulfilling the onerous character assigned them, the greatest credit is due.[23]

The success of actresses selling images of themselves is confirmed by the *Glasgow Herald's* report of the second fete:

> An interesting and highly attractive *fete* and fancy fair took place on Saturday at the Crystal Palace, on behalf of the funds of the Royal Dramatic College. As in the previous *fete*, the great feature of attraction was the charming and elegant ladies who officiated at the stalls – these fascinating saleswomen being the principal actresses of the London theatres. Their stalls, tastefully fitted up with pink and white drapery, were placed in the garden side of the transept; they were ten in number, and were occupied by Mrs. Stirling, Miss Amy Sedgwick...The light and elegant wares which these ladies had to dispose of were eagerly purchased. The photographs of the actresses themselves, by Messrs. Clarkington, Silvy and Herbert Watkins, each bearing the autographs of the originals, were sold in large numbers...Notwithstanding that the weather was unfavourable, the visitors to the Palace during the day numbered 12,731.[24]

Both newspaper reports suggest that purchasing a portrait directly from the portrayed added a supplementary layer of intimacy and desirability, further conferred by the literally inscribed trace of the autograph. Catherine Hindson has charted the development of theatrical charity from the Crystal Palace fetes of the 1860s (which fundraised for exclusively theatrical causes), to much grander celebrity appearances at spectacular bazaars (for the benefits of hospitals and other non-stage related campaigns). Of the Royal Dramatic College fetes Hindson argues that "details and

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[23] Anon., "Laying the Foundation Stone of the Royal Dramatic College," *The Era*, June 3, 1860, 12.
[24] Anon., "Actors off the Stage," *Glasgow Herald*, July 25, 1860, 6.

accounts of the earlier fetes convey a strong sense that the theatre profession was faced with the need to present and emphasise an image of respectability and gentility in its fundraising events: one that countered dominant impressions of the stage and its workers."[25] In this manner, the 'principal actresses' of the day, framed in stalls swathed with pink and white drapery, were the lived performance of the 'Popular Actresses' composite carte itself.

Mrs Charles Kean (1805–1880), Adelaide Ristori (1822–1906), Rachel (1821–1858), Helen Faucit (1814–1898): the women named in Frederick Holland Mares's photograph form a pantheon of the period's stage. The concentrated star-power of those depicted in Holland Mares's 'Popular Actresses' made it a 'sure card' - the photographic trade term for celebrity cartes that offered certain profit.[26] As outlined above, the production of a composite carte de visite involved the direct and indirect collaboration of many hands. In 'Popular Actresses', or indeed 'Operatic Prima Donnas' (Fig. 93), the work of a number of photographers has been collated together. To create 'Popular Actresses' Holland Mares collected the twenty-four cartes, which were originally taken by at least ten different photographers, and cut them out. The trimmed cartes were then carefully arranged, glued to a new sheet of board and re-photographed.[27] He then contacted the photographic publishing firm Ashford Brothers, who acted as the photographer's agent in London, and used them to print, sell and distribute the finished product to stationers and other retailers. Theatrical cartes unsurprisingly appeared in the shop windows of photographers, and they could also be found stocked in specialist theatrical booksellers such as Thomas Hailes Lacy's shop, allowing consumers to purchase photographs in concert with play scripts for private use.[28] The network of photographic contacts that Holland Mares drew upon to create his composite cartes had been established by his earlier partnership with Michael Burr (probably

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[25] Catherine Hindson, "'Gratuitous Assistance'? The West End Theatre Industry, Late Victorian Charity, and Patterns of Theatrical Fundraising," *New Theatre Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (2014): 25-26.
[26] Wichard and Wichard, *Victorian Carte de Visite*, 37.
[27] Alma Davenport, *The History of Photography: An Overview* (Boston and London: Focal, 1991), 164.
[28] Juliet Hacking, "Camille Silvy's Repertory: The Carte-de-Visite and the London Theatre" *Art History* (2010): 871.

Holland Mares's brother-in-law) of Ladywood Lane in Birmingham.[29] Burr specialised in comic stereoscopic photography; Burr and Holland Mares's partnership in Birmingham was dissolved in 1860 due to bankruptcy.[30] Holland Mares then moved to Dublin and set up his own studio. The Ashford Brothers also acted as Burr's London agents. The partnerships and family ties between photographers were further extended by the Ashford Brothers as Henry Ashford had previously been in a business partnership with his brother-in-law, Robert Boning. Ashford and Boning parted ways in 1861 when Henry Ashford went into business with his older brother Thomas.[31] However, all parties seem to have kept a close eye on what sort of content each was producing because Robert Boning also registered a composite theatrical carte showing seven actresses titled 'French Theatricals' on June 24th 1863.

This section is initially concerned with two elements of identity which can be conveyed by portraiture: likeness and recognisability, but composite cartes also provide a fragmentary account of the performed self. In using the term performed self I invoke the widely accepted idea that portrait photographs cannot convey a total view of the intrinsic self. Rather, portrait photographs offer complex explorations of identity as staged, masked and continually mediating between psychological interiority and outward-facing social self-presentation.[32] Historians of photography have defined the aesthetics of the carte de visite in terms of standardisation; this idea was first articulated by Elizabeth Anne McCauley in her pioneering conception of cartes as a mechanism for the "insidious transformation of the individual into a malleable commodity".[33] It

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[29] Russell Norton with contributions by Paula Fleming, "Michael Burr: England's Most Prolific 'Comic' Narrative Stereoview Studio", accessed 12 June 2017 http://stereoworld.org/burr-intro/

[30] "Local Bankruptcies, Insolvencies etc." *Birmingham Daily Post*, October 8, 1860.

[31] Photo History Sussex, "Robert Boning - Photographer and Dealer in Stereoscopic Photographs (1856-1862)," accessed 12 June, 2017
http://www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/HastingsPhotgrsBoning.htm

[32] Many studies of historic and contemporary photography have centred on the representational disjunction between versions of the self and socially constructed performance, see for example Abilgail Solomon-Godeau, "The Legs of the Countess," *October* 39 (1986): 65–108; Sarah Howgate and Dawn Ades, *Gillian Wearing and Claude Cahun: Behind the Mask, Another Mask* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2017).

[33] Elizabeth Ann McCauley, *A.A.E. Disderi and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 224.

is often asserted that the wider significance of carte portraiture as a medium was its enfranchisement, due to cheapness, of populations typically excluded from portrait representation. However, such teleological arguments have been refuted and augmented by McCauley and Juliet Hacking, who argue that some photographers, such as Camille Silvy, actually marketed the carte to elite members of society by taking many photographs of titled sitters.[34]

Meanwhile, John Plunkett has suggested that cartes de visite not only aesthetically equalise sitters but made possible a collective identity which encapsulated both ordinary citizens and celebrities.[35] While this chapter is informed by these discourses on commodity culture and standardisation, I propose that the significance of repetitive imagery for composite cartes was to suggest the diversity and professionalism of the actress's art. Perry has argued that cartes do not function as individual images, instead suggesting that the likeness preserved by a carte was inscribed by the relationship between the sitter and the photographic image *and* from the "relation between the carte and other cartes", primarily within photographic albums.[36] I propose that meaning, function and portrait likeness in the composite carte de visite was facilitated by a similar serial dynamic. Theatrical photographs such as 'Popular Actresses' were significant tools in the construction of celebrity reputations and perceived likenesses, but not just because they were widely and cheaply available. Instead, the matrix created when cartes were co-displayed in the windows of stationers and photographic studios or in the magnified template of the composite carte itself, was equally important.

The bordered, grid-like design, or matrix, of 'Popular Actresses' provided an appealing way for geographically, and even temporally, remote performers to come together on a single surface. The grid created visual equilibrium and allowed the vivacious burlesque dancer Lydia Thompson to share the same imaginative space as legendary (and deceased) classical French actress Rachel.

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[34] Hacking, "Camille Silvy's Repetory", 858.
[35] Plunkett, "Celebrity and Community," 55-79.
[36] Perry, "The Carte de Visite in the 1860s," 731.

Zooming into the centre of the carte demonstrates that some of these images were around five years old by the time the Holland Mares made his photograph in June 1863 (Fig. 94). The original carte of Italian actress Adelaide Ristori in the role of Medea was taken around 1858 by the patentee of the carte de visite, French photographer Adolphe Disderi (Fig. 95). Holland Mares's reproduction of the Disderi-Ristori carte in his composite carte would not have been the first time that the Disderi-Ristori image was available in London. This is because Ristori had started performing as Medea in London in 1856, to great acclaim. No doubt once the Disderi carte had been produced in 1858 it would have been sent from Paris to London to profit from the actress's popularity on both sides of the channel. One of the key attributes of the carte de visite as a visual type is its uniform appearance and the grid format serves to emphasise the actresses' aesthetic parity, while encouraging the viewer to note their differences. The facilitation of close comparison was particularly important for showcasing the diversity of theatre in which actresses participated, while also giving Holland Mares the opportunity for humorous contrast. The image of Ristori in Medea, a Greek tragedy, is positioned next to that of comic singer and actress Mrs German Reed, the subject of the second chapter of this thesis. Typically, a portrait carte shows the figure standing at full-length in a photographic studio decorated with domestic objects such as desks, chairs, and in a pictorial reversion to the traditions of painted portraiture, a classical column. Theatrical portraiture can break abruptly with these conventions. In Ristori's portrait the usual trappings of the photographic studio – the backdrop and well-to-do domestic furniture – have been omitted. Ristori regards the camera as she would her audience and refuses to look at it directly, instead arranging her face and body so that they best express Medea's rage and despair. While the carte de visite camera was capable of photographing a wide variety of movements, figures and moods, propriety demanded that women only exhibit themselves in modest poses, with closed mouths and in decorous afternoon visiting dress, unless that woman was a performer.[37] Holland Mares's composite carte confidently mixes portraits in private dress

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[37] McCauley, *A.A.E. Disderi and the Carte de Visite*, 91.

with representations of actresses in role – here women wag fingers, smile coquettishly and clasp hands dramatically. The full-length format of cartes ensured a long depth of field; in the *Quarterly Review* Robert Cecil wrote that cartes de visite provided "a kind of panoramic view of your friend, and gives a prominence to his best coat and trousers, which cast his features into the shade."[38] For performers the panoramic capabilities of the carte were particularly valuable, as this gave purchasers a valuable unobstructed view of actors who performed in theatres which were often large and unevenly lit.

To some degree composite cartes can be considered analogous to albums, as they allow viewers to construct and articulate similar understandings about the interrelationships between the figures represented. These interrelationships are heightened and formulated by the miniaturised scale on which composites cartes operate. The diminutive size of each portrait means mid-nineteenth-century viewers of composite cartes de visite would have found it challenging to easily read the expressions and text which are possible to discern on the vastly magnified digital images available in museum databases. The seeming illegibility of the composite carte therefore encourages two kinds of vision: the close and the distant. Photographic publishers, including Holland Mares's collaborators the Ashford Brothers, advised purchasers of their composite cartes that "With a hand-magnifying glass, every portrait will be seen perfect".[39] This implies that photographers expected their customers to pore over their cartes with intense curiosity, as well as admiring the photograph as a whole. In the first chapter of this thesis I argued that one of the critical attractions of theatrical portrait prints in the first half of the nineteenth century was that they allowed consumers to look closely at the faces and gestures of stage performers in a period of growing theatre size and reduced stage visibility. Here, the composite theatrical carte carries out a similar function, while going one better than what was possible on stage because famed

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[38] Robert Cecil, "Photography," *Quarterly Review* 116 (1864): 516.
[39] The inscription is visible on 'Upwards of five hundred photographic portraits of the most celebrated personages of the age' Item no: NPG x139661.

actresses both live and deceased, retired and recently debuted could be beheld together. To examine and appreciate the detail of 'Popular Actresses', the photograph would need to be handled, perhaps placed on a table or supported in the palm of a hand while being subjected to the intent gaze of the unassisted or magnified eye. Linda Williams and Elizabeth Edwards have emphasised the extent to which photographs are particularly prone to being touched, pocketed, caressed, folded and otherwise handled in ways that are generally unfeasible for paintings, or even larger scale prints.[40] On the one hand a tactile, three-dimensional mode of viewing (made so widely available by the affordable carte) tangibly engendered the public intimacy that was so crucial for nineteenth-century performers trying to achieve success and celebrity: each portrait is ensconced in a shaped frame with a stark white border that provides a mechanism for focusing on the individual figure. On the other hand, an intimate viewer of the 'Popular Actresses' carte had their eye drawn vertically and horizontally around the whole image by the white border. At the point of purchase a consumer in a photographic studio or stationer might not have had the time to slowly examine the carte in detail which suggests that consumers had adequate familiarity with the faces, bodies and distinguishing poses of at least some of the actresses depicted to make them recognisable at tiny scale. The significance of this dual vision is important, because the composite carte format effectively allows for visual comparison and therefore the generation of a visible network or hierarchy in the minds of those engaging with the composite carte. I will therefore reconsider theatrical composite cartes as miniature portrait galleries containing their own careful hierarchy, one which was expressed by adjacency, costume, pose and facial expression.

In the third chapter of this thesis I argued that the theatrical portraits appearing in the *Figaro in London* newspaper should be interpreted alongside the surrounding articles and masthead. Here, I

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[40] Linda Williams, "Corporealized Observers," *Fugitive Images*, ed. Patrice Petro (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1995), 3-41; Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," in *Material Memories* ed. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford and New York, 1999), 221-36.

employ the same methodology of considering an amalgamated image, in this case the composite carte, as a whole. It is important to note that there are plenty of continuities between composite cartes and others forms of compound portraiture. For instance Richard James Lane, John Fairburn and William Thomas Fry (Figs. 96-98) all produced multipart portraits which ranged from affordable prints for colouring-in to more elaborate engraved busts and profiles. The essential differences between these prints and the composite carte are medium and scale, as 'Popular Actresses' could fit many more miniaturised faces onto its small surface. So, was a composite carte de visite just a convenient way for the astute nineteenth-century consumer to get more than their usual shillings' worth? I suggest that novelty and affordability were only partial motivators for purchasers and producers of composite cartes. Instead, this form of portraiture was a means of expressing a collective professional celebrity identity and an attempt by photographers to impose order and regularity on an art form which sometimes encouraged unruly comparison by placing portraits of women from a range of social and professional strata alongside one another in shop windows. I suggest that the matrix of the composite carte de visite, both within the borders of the image itself and beyond, could reflect positively on the reputations of represented performers. However, the proximity of cartes to one another could also have troubling effects. The concern for nineteenth-century commentators was that adjacency, particularly in the shop windows of print-sellers or photographers could be highly inappropriate. In the *Daily Telegraph* one writer complained that "in almost every shop window devoted to the sale of photographic prints there are exhibited, side by side with the portraits of bishops, barristers, duchesses, Ritualistic clergymen, forgers, favorite comedians, and the personages of the Tichbourne drama, a swarm of carte de visite of tenth-rate actresses and fifth-rate ballet girls in an extreme state of dishabille".[41] The illustrators of *Punch* took to the comic potential of such improper juxtapositions with gusto and produced a number of cartoons on the subject such as 'Self Respect' and 'Things One Would Rather Have Left Unsaid' (Figs. 99 and

[41] The Daily Telegraph, excerpted in "More Indecent Photographs," *PN*, (November 21, 1873): 556.

100). As di Bello has demonstrated, women were particularly susceptible to accusations of poor taste and overexposure in this forum; in the 1860s and 1870s gossip magazines such as *Town Talk* noted disapprovingly that the socialite Mrs Patsy Cornwallis West allowed her portrait photographs to be shown 'in our fashionable shop windows…side by side with the portraitures of half-naked actresses and entirely naked Zulu women.'[42] The author of the *Town Talk* article was writing in 1879, many years after the 1863 publication of 'Popular Actresses' which suggests that photographs of actresses were persistently dogged by accusations of impropriety. It may not have been Holland Mares's intention, but by issuing a series of cartes which linked actresses with other luminaries of the church and operatic composers, he contributed to efforts in the profession itself which aimed to quash negative connotations of prostitution and bolster a reputation for greater respectability.

Holland Mares was forming a series of composite carte de visite at the time when 'Popular Actresses' was made. Stationers' Hall records show that the earliest composite carte de visite registered by the photographer was his 'Photograph giving portraits of royal family of England with Prince of Russia, Prince Louis of Hesse and Princess of Denmark' on 21st October 1862. As Appendix 1 shows, Holland Mares made 69 composite cartes overall; 41 portraits and 28 topographical or architectural views. Many of these topographical views were explicitly intended as keepsakes for holidaymakers and were given titles such as 'Ireland, the Tourists Souvenir'. The number and variety of composite cartes produced by Holland Mares, detailed for the first time in Appendix 1, provides evidence for this form of photography as a key part of his output. While the focus of this study is on Holland Mares's theatrical cartes, the long list of photographs in Appendix 1 demonstrates that the composite carte is a photographic form significant to both the

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42 Anon., "Mrs Cornwallis West at Home," *Town Talk* 4 October 1879 as reprinted in Anon., "Charges of Libel," *The Times*, 13 October 1879, 11; and Anon., "Central Criminal Court," *The Times*, 27 October 1879, 4. For a full account of the legal case surrounding Mrs Cornwallis West's portraiture see Patrizia Di Bello, 'Elizabeth Thompson and "Patsy" Cornwallis West as Carte-de-Visite Celebrities," *History of Photography* 35 no. 3 (2011): 240–49.

history of celebrity and the history of tourism. Of the 41 portraits 19 were composite cartes featuring theatrical or musical performers. The first composite carte that he made featuring actors and actresses was titled 'Photograph giving portraits of living celebrities' and included performers like Carlotta Leclercq alongside famous politicians, clergymen and authors. The photographer seems to have become increasingly aware that grouping professions together was more effective than using the all encompassing title 'celebrities'. This marketing strategy allowed him to issue a greater variety of cartes. So, rather than a 'Photograph of a miscellaneous group of eminent persons, about 500 in number', Holland Mares produced 'Photograph of group of Bishops and Deans of the Church of England', or 'Photograph of popular operatic composers of the day'. Holland Mares sometimes gave theatrical composite cartes enticing, marketable titles such as 'Grace, Mirth and Beauty' rather than 'Popular Actresses' which has led to them being overlooked as portraits. However, 'Grace, Mirth and Beauty' (Fig. 101) shows thirteen portraits of actresses and dances, many of whom were known for performing in burlesques such as Miss Louise Leclerq.

In mixing character portraits with offstage portraits 'Popular Actresses' provides evidence against a distinction which has been promoted by some theatre historians, notably David Mayer. Mayer suggests that less attention ought to be paid to offstage portraiture which can be no more than "a pictorial likeness of an attractive well-gowned woman."[43] Helen Margaret Walter and Gill Perry have countered this view by emphasising the importance of offstage portraits in allowing performers to construct professional identities and bolster perceptions of their social status.[44] Walter's interest in the male offstage portrait specifically leads her to dismiss the intermingling of character and offstage portraits. Her study addresses a similar composite image of male actors titled 'Group of 29 Actors' (Fig. 102), a woodburytype dated c.1876 which probably circulated as

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[43] David Mayer, "The Actress as Photographic Icon," 79-80.
[44] Perry, *The First Actresses: Nell Gwynn to Sarah Siddons*, 16, 21; Helen Margaret Walter, "Artist, Professional, Gentleman: The Actor's Offstage Portrait 1875-95," *Visual Culture in Britain*, 16 no. 3 (2015): 270-71.

a supplement to *The Saturday Programme and Sketch Book*. 'Group of 29 Actors' shows all the male performers offstage, in the private dress of homogenising lounge suits. The same publication also produced an equivalent photograph of women performers, costumed and in character, which to Walter suggests "that this presentation of a professional front was a quintessentially male issue."[45] In the 1860s however, this argument does not hold because Holland Mares produced an equivalent male carte 'Popular Actors' (Fig. 103) which similarly mixes character portraits with offstage portraits. As a visual representation of professional collectivity composite cartes also played a role in displaying the diversity of a number of different models of feminine performer propriety. Turning to the bottom of 'Popular Actresses' the idea of the serial reappears as it is marked 'No. 1' (Fig. 104), therefore indicating that more editions of 'Popular Actresses' were planned. Indeed, after 'Popular Actresses' Holland Mares produced 'Grace, Mirth and Beauty', 'Principal American Actresses', and 'Grace, Mirth and Beauty No.2'. This indicates the substantial marketability of actresses, but the composite format had its limitations. Not only did the time-consuming production of these photographs require Holland Mares to source the original photographs, but the composite carte was part of the craze for carte de visite. By the end of 1863 cartomania was reaching its peak and Holland Mares appears to have exhausted its possibilities as he shifted his attention to topographical views of Ireland.[46]

Staging the Card Basket

To the right of Ristori's portrait in the 'Popular Actresses' is the mischievous figure of Priscilla Horton (Fig. 94), also known as Mrs German Reed, whose career and iconography has been considered in detail in chapter three. In the carte portrait Horton wears a very distinctive polka dot dress with a corresponding mantle. Those who had attended the Gallery of Illustration

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[45] Walter, "Artist, Professional, Gentleman," 274.

[46] It is impossible to know exactly what prompted the shift in Mares' photographic output, but it is possible that he foresaw difficulties in securing copyright of other photographers' cartes. The National Library of Ireland holds substantial collections of Mares' topographical work, see for example Mares, F. H. (1865). *[Giant's Causeway Album].* Item no: ALB283 http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000286667#page/1/mode/1up

theatre might recognise that this photograph shows Horton in role as one of the Sisters Pry.[47]

The Sisters Pry was an 'illustration' or sketch which formed part a popular play put on by the

Reeds called *Our Card Basket*, written by author and *Punch* editor Shirley Brooks.[48] It was

performed from April 1861 onwards, very much in the midst of the carte de visite's popularity.

The Morning Post offers a succinct summary of *Our Card Baskets'* plot:

> the main subject is the complaint of an amiable couple (Mr. and Mrs. Candytuft) at the
>
> neglect with which they are treated by the society in their neighbourhood (Richmond).
>
> By an ingenious plan (which is confided in strict secrecy to her husband), Mrs. Reed
>
> contrives to surmount the difficulty for her friends the Candytufts, and the card basket,
>
> which has stood as empty as the Ancient Mariner's 'silly buckets', begins to be filled by
>
> visitors' attracted to the house by rumours and curiosity….the group which will
>
> distinguish this production from its predecessors will be 'The Graces' [or The Sisters
>
> Pry]– not Canova's, it is true, but admirable enough in their way.[49]

This particular portrait of Horton comes from a series shot by the photographer Charles

Clarkington around 1861, which also featured an image of the three sisters together, played by

Horton, her husband German Reed and their close collaborator John Parry (Fig. 105). Each

'sister' holds a visiting card in their hand, which they are about to deposit into the card basket

held by Horton. As noted in chapter three, performances at the 'Gallery of Illustration' thrived

on the appropriation and remediation of one artistic form into another; indeed the very premise

of the venue was that it was a private domestic entertainment, not a theatre (despite the fact that

spectators were charged for entry). We have seen that here theatre took on the language of the

visual arts: Horton and her husband called their plays 'illustrations' and in the early years of the

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[47]A writer in *The Standard* noted these distinctive costumes. "'Three Graces,' with their quaint uniformity of costume, and their distinctive characteristics, and amusingly embodied by Mrs. Reed, Mr. John Parry and Mr. Reed, seems to improve upon each repetition, and yield more and more as they are touched up and elaborated by the clever trio who personate the 'sisters three'." *The Standard* Friday, October 18, 1861; pg. 6; Issue 11603.

[48] The script is held in the British Library's Lord Chamberlain's Collection, Add. Mss 53003 B.

[49] Anon., "Gallery of Illustration," *The Morning Post,* April 4, 1861, 5.

theatre adapted stage sketches from the graphic works of William Hogarth. It seems fitting that images from *Our Card Basket*, a play with a comic centre created by the social aspiration and exasperation caused by visiting cards should be translated into a carte de visite.

One of the most important functions of the visiting card basket was to suggest the social milieu of its owner. When coming to call at someone's house in the morning a visitor might have to wait for the master or mistress of the house to greet them, in the meantime the visitor would wait in the drawing room, with enough time to peruse the contents of the house's (carefully prepared) card basket. However, cartes de visite had the potential to collapse the usual boundaries for social intimacy, introducing an element of ambiguity to typical exchanges of visiting cards, which unlike cartes, could not be anonymously purchased and had to be gifted. An often quoted article from *Once A Week* demonstrates the corresponding but unsettling position of these new carte albums:

> Those albums are fast taking the place and doing the work of the long-cherished [visiting] card basket. That institution has had a long swing of it. It was a good thing to leave on the table that your morning-caller while waiting in the drawing-room till you were presentable, might see what distinguished people were in the habit of coming to call on you. But the card-basket was not comparable to the album as an advertisement of your claims to gentility. The card of Mrs Brown of Peckham would well to the surface at times from the depths to which you had consigned it, and overlay that of your favourite countess or millionaire. Besides, you could not in so many words call attention to your card-basket as you can to your album. You place it in your friend's hands, saying, 'This only contains my special favourites, mind,' and there is her ladyship staring them in the

face the next moment. 'Who is this sweet person?' says the visitor. 'Oh, that is dead Lady
Puddicome,' you reply carelessly. Delicious moment![50]

In making a carte de visite which portrays Horton as the character of a card-basket-fingering
social busybody, the actress exploited the cross-media comic potential of the carte as aesthetic
form, her leading play, and her drawing room-styled theatre itself. The adaption and reuse of
Charles Clarkington's photographs continued into the next decade of Horton's career. A poster
(Fig. 106) for an 1876 revival of 'The Sisters Pry' uses the Clarkington photograph as the model
for its graphic illustration. While the recycling of this image suggests the importance of cartes for
the promotion of celebrity, the poster also hints at the instability or inconsequence of
photographic likenesses. After all, the photograph shows two actors who were not advertised as
participating in this production because German Reed has been replaced by his son Alfred and
John Parry has been replaced by Corney Grain. The distinctive costumes and convenience of a
well-known image took precedence. This suggests that it was not the complete cast that made
the production a long-standing success but the formation of distinctive, resonant imagery which
could carry across a number of decades. The 1876 revival of 'The Sisters Pry' shows that visiting
cards remained a site of social interest and comedy beyond the moment of 1860s cartomania.[51]

Photographer Frederick Holland Mares was also interested in the potential that the carte de visite
format had for presenting a multi-part view of a performer. His composite carte showing
American actress Kate Josephine Bateman as the eponymous character in *Leah, the Forsaken*
brings six portraits together (Fig. 107). Following a successful debut in Boston in 1862 *Leah, the
Forsaken* was first performed in London at the Adelphi Theatre in 1863, with Bateman again
taking the starring role. Set in an Austrian town in the eighteenth century, *Leah, the Forsaken* was

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[50] Anon., "The Carte de Visite," *All the Year Round*, 26 April 1862, 165.
[51] A carte de visite portrait of Horton from later in her life shows her as a respectably dressed woman, elbow resting
on a table topped by a carte de visite album. Henry Squire & Co, Priscilla Horton, 1860s, enamel process carte de
visite, item no: NPG Ax25078. National Portrait Gallery, London.

an American adaption and translation of the German play *Deborah* (1850) by Salomon Hermann

Mosenthal. The play's central theme is anti-Semitism and the tragic plot offered Bateman the

opportunity to pose in a range of emotive positions embracing a child or holding her head in her

hands.[52] Not all audience members warmed to the play; George Henry Lewes and George Eliot

attended an 1864 performance at the Adelphi which Lewes noted in his diary for the "badness of

the piece".[53] Despite this, *Leah, the Forsaken* was a commercial success in London and spurred

Holland Mares into acquiring a number of photographs by American photographer Charles D.

Fredericks which Holland Mares used to make his composite carte de visite. By arranging the six

portraits in a circular pattern the Holland Mares carte showcases Bateman's range and suggests

the tragedy's narrative arc by putting the portraits showing Leah in distress (with a furrowed

brow or slumped on the floor) at the bottom of the carte or end of the circle. While the

composite photograph of Bateman in no way attempts a straightforward freeze frame or comic

strip style retelling of *Leah, the Forsaken*, Holland Mares's image does imply that the carte was an

effective stimulus for re-enacting theatrical memories. Holland Mares was not the only

photographer to attempt the use of photographic manipulation techniques to express theatrical

narratives in the carte de visite form. The photographers Heath & Beau, who had a studio at 283

Regent Street, cut, pasted and retouched four portraits of the actor Charles Fechter into the

same carte (Fig. 108) registered at Stationer's Hall on 11th May 1863. The carte therefore shows

the four different costumes that Fechter wore in *The Duke's Motto* standing together; the four

retouched Fechters interact and lean on one another in ways that again defy what is possible in

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[52] The play follows the Jewish protagonist Leah and her lover Rudolf who is a Christian farmer. Their relationship contravenes the law and an apostate Jew named Nathan reports them to the authorities. Shortly after, all Jews are threatened with expulsion from the village unless they keep Leah away from her lover. Rudolf is tricked into believing that Leah has left him for a financial reward. Giving up all hope, Rudolf then decides to marry a fellow Christian woman, Madelena. Despite fulfilling their promise to separate Leah and Rudolf, the Jews are then ordered to leave the village. An announcement immediately before their departure reveals that the religious law against the Jews has been repealed, but it is too late for Rudolf and Leah. He has already had a child with his new wife by the time he learns that Leah stayed loyal and never accepted payment to betray him. The play ends with Rudolf pleading for Leah's forgiveness as she dies. Gerald Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak. "Leah, the Forsaken," in *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195169867.001.0001/acref-9780195169867-e-1805.
[53] George Henry Lewes's Journal, London, February 8, 1864, reprinted *in The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight, vol. 4 (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954-78) 132.

nature. The carte format here flouts the indexical relationship between time, self and representation that is sometimes considered inherent in the photographic medium. The chemical and optical processes that create a photograph operate without the intervention of the human hand, which arguably gives the relationship between sitter and resultant photograph a pure, untouched dynamic. Yet, in this carte of Fechter the agency and involvement of the photographers is foregrounded, and as the following section will demonstrate, photographic experimentation was utilised by other photographers to explore the boundaries of likeness and veracity for theatrical portrait subjects.

Herbert Watkins, Scale and Experimentation in Theatrical Photographs

> Who has not longed to know what [Alfred] Wigan, or [Frederick] Robson, or Miss [Jenny] Marston, or Miss [Charlotte] Cushman are like off the stage? Here they are, thanks to Mr. Watkins, and no mistake!" And so are other celebrities – Sterling Coyne, Ernest Read, Albert Smith, Heraud, &c.[54]

In this glowing appraisal of his portraits at the Photographic Society's exhibition, the *Saturday Review* judged (George) Herbert Watkins' images to be accurate in the rendering of his sitters, and refreshing in the "breadth of treatment and variety of *pose*".[55] Tellingly, the reviewer directly articulates that significant demand for information about the off stage personalities and lives of theatrical performers was present, distinct from interest in other kinds of celebrities, and could be gleaned from photographic likenesses. In the late 1850s and 1860s (George) Herbert Watkins operated a successful photographic studio, first at no. 179 Regent Street and then several doors down at no. 215 from 1858. In 1861 Watkins employed five boys to assist him in the studio and an apprentice named George Morgan, and by 1862 he had also established a secondary studio

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[54] Anon., "The Photographic Society's Exhibition," *Saturday Review* 3 (January 1857), 77.
[55] Anon., "The Photographic Society's Exhibition," 77.

based at Torriano Avenue in Camden for 'Equestrian & Instantaneous Photography.'[56] Watkins'

best known works are his photographs of the author Charles Dickens writing at his desk, and

interest in these images from the Dickens scholar Leon Litvack has produced a detailed account

of Watkins' life and photographic style, while also bringing to light the photographer's close,

playful relationship with the novelist between 1858 and 1862.[57] The most substantial collection

of photographs by Watkins is now held by the National Portrait Gallery, mostly in the form of a

bound album, known as the Watkins album (NPG P301) which holds more than 140 large

format albumen prints. As fifty-one of the portraits in the album show actors and actresses (and

there are more of singers, instrumentalists, playwrights, composers and visual artists that this

chapter will not address), the album forms a valuable record of one artist's innovative

development of theatrical portraiture as a photographic genre. This section will explore the

theatrical entries of the album in detail and consider how Watkins and his sitters experimented

with the norms for photographic portraiture.

Of the fifty-one theatrical portraits in the Watkins album twenty-seven feature women and

twenty-three show men; the remaining photograph shows the married American performers

Barney Williams and Maria Williams posing together. It is possible that the photographer's

interest in making portraits featuring celebrity figures was galvanised by his involvement with

Herbert Fry's serial publication *National Gallery of Photographic Portraits* (1857-1858). As Gertude

Mae Prescott has demonstrated in her meticulous study of *National Gallery of Photographic Portraits,*

Fry's collection of letters and proofs relating to the serial, which are preserved in an album that

Fry compiled now held by the National Portrait Gallery (NPG Album 39), means that it is

possible to understand the roles of the sitters and photographers, aims of the compiler and some

sense of the organisation behind it. Financial dealings, however, and the reasons for the short

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[56] See Leon Litvack, "Posing for Posterity: The Photographs of Herbert Watkins," *Dickens Quarterly* 34 no. 2 (2017): 151.
[57] Litvack, "Posing for Posterity," 96-158.

lifespan of the publication remain opaque.[58] The publication featured a whole-plate sized portrait

of a prominent figure alongside a biography for the price of four shillings. In the end, only

sixteen numbers of the serial publication ever appeared, but Fry approached many more public

figures as the correspondence in Album 39 attests. Watkins was commissioned by Fry to take the

photographs of the celebrity (though not theatrical) figures, including Lord Palmerston, and

gained further public exposure as Fry submitted Watkins' photographs to the Manchester Art

Treasures Exhibition of 1857 where they were favourably received.[59]

The contemporary correspondence kept by Fry in Album 39 from stage performers shows that

the correlation between theatrical portraiture and enhancing celebrity through promotion was

not definite. Actress Helen Faucit Martin (1814-1898) complained that all photographic portraits

of her had 'singularly failed' when she refused to sit for a portrait for Herbert Fry's *National

Gallery of Photographic Portraits*, surmising that she had 'come to the conclusion never to undergo

the ordeal [of a photographic sitting] again'.[60] However, another performer replied warmly to

Fry's entreaties to sit for Watkins. William Charles Macready was immediately enthusiastic when

he responded to Fry's request in November 1856, but had at this point withdrawn from the stage

to spend his retirement at Sherborne House in Dorset and was therefore not in London to be

photographed.[61] It was not until November 1859 that Macready wrote to Fry to say that he had

visited Watkins' studio and that the photographer now "possess the best photographs of me that

have yet (in the opinion of my friends) been taken of me… Mr Watkins is certainly the best I

know of."[62] But by 1859 the *National Gallery of Photographic Portraits* project had collapsed and

Watkins was no longer working closely with Fry. Watkins' portrait of Macready (Fig. 109) shows

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[58] Prescott, "Fame and Photography," 101-124.

[59] Anon., "Manchester Art Treasures," *The Atheneum*, 9 May, 1857, 598.

[60] National Portrait Gallery Photographic Collections, NPG Album 39, pasted in letter from Helen Faucit Martin date unknown (291).

[61] National Portrait Gallery Photographic Collections, NPG Album 39, pasted in letter from William Charles Macready, November 13 1856 (269).

[62] National Portrait Gallery Photographic Collections, NPG Album 39, pasted in letter from William Charles Macready, November 30 1859 (277).

him at half-length, cropped into an oval and looking out animatedly. This photograph represents Macready as a well-dressed, self-assured gentleman; his expression is inscrutable while his faintly lined face and white tufts of hair suggest debonair experience. Macready's encounters with photography had not always been so successful. Two years earlier, in January 1857 Charles Dickens had written to Macready about a photograph he had seen of the actor at the home of their mutual friend:

> We dined yesterday at Frederick Pollock's. I begged an amazing Photograph of you, and brought it away. It strikes me as one of the most ludicrous things I ever saw in my life. I think of taking a Public-House, and having it copied large, for the Sign. You may remember it? Very square and big – the Saracen's Head with its hair cut – and in modern gear? Staring very much? – As your particular friend I would not part with it on any consideration. I could never get such a wooden head again.[63]

The slow deliberations and negotiations that Prescott untangles in her study of Fry's publication suggest that persuading some public figures to pose for a photographic portrait was a protracted process. So, for Watkins there were considerable benefits to be had in finding an amenable theatrical sitter who he could photograph in a number of roles. The prevalence of portraits of Adelaide Ristori and comic actor Thomas Robson suggests that he found just that in these two sitters. The Watkins album features fourteen portraits of Ristori, and three of Robson. Ristori's talent for manipulating the camera has been noted earlier in this chapter, and the leading actress continued to emphasise the emotional content of her performances through Watkins' photographs. Two photographs (Figs. 110 and 111) show Ristori in the character of Lady Macbeth, which she first played in London in 1857. These images ably demonstrate Ristori's strategy for invoking the psychological interiority of her characters through photography by again treating the camera as audience. Ristori communicated Lady Macbeth's troubled state

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[63] Graham Storey et al (eds.) *The Letters of Charles Dickens.* vol.8 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965-2002), 270.

during the sleepwalking scene in both photographs by avoiding eye contact with the camera. One photograph (Fig. 111) shows a directly discernible moment in Act 5, Scene 1, when Lady Macbeth enters touching and pointing to her hand with the line 'Yet here's a spot'. Watkins has carefully composed and retouched this photograph of Ristori so that her face and hand are in sharp focus, while the bottom of her white nightgown is blurred into ghostly soft focus. The edge of her white gown is cut from the frame, which heightens the sense that the actress is moving across the space as she sleepwalks. Watkins' choices successfully promote the illusion of being in the audience of a theatrical performance.

These same techniques could be applied for comic effect, and Watkins was happy to follow the contemporary enthusiasm for burlesquing classical and tragic imagery and drama by parodying his own images. A portrait of travesty specialist Thomas Robson in the Watkins album shows Robson in the character of Medea (Fig. 112). Watkins' portraits of Ristori and Robson are linked by Robson's appearance in a burlesque of Medea written by Robert Brough and titled *Medea; or, the Best of Mothers, with Brute of a Husband*, first performed to great acclaim at the Royal Olympic Theatre on 14th July 1856. Brough's burlesque followed the success of a production of Ernest Legouve's *Medea* starring Ristori, initially in Paris in April 1856 and then in June 1856 at London's Lyceum Theatre.[64] The photographs of Ristori as Medea by French photographer Disderi already mentioned in this chapter are likely to have been circulating in London in the late 1850s, and the great success of the production meant that the Italian tragedienne's elegant performance was renowned. Watkins' photograph of Robson as Medea, or more properly Robson-as-Ristori-as-Medea, perfectly imitates Ristori's refusal to look at the camera and appearance of haughty dignity expressed by a raised chin. Laudatory newspaper reviews and the praise of Charles Dickens make it easy to establish the success of Robson in Brough's *Medea*, but

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[64] Laura Monros-Gaspar, *Victorian Classical Burlesque: A Critical* Anthology (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 23-26.

it is less straightforward to ascertain the success of the Watkins' photographs of Robson.[65] However, a positive indicator can be found in the reproduction of a Watkins portrait of Robson as Ristori's Medea on a music sheet. 'Robson's Medea Quadrilles' were published by the Musical Treasury and featured a chromolithograph of a Watkins photograph (Fig. 113), once more showing the male comic looking away from the camera with a caricatured expression of grief.[66]

Watkins' experiments with exaggeration, distortion and mockery were further extended in his photographic caricatures of politicians, statesmen and performers. These collages merged photographic and printed elements to play with likeness, veracity and humour; in essence he pioneered mixed media photo-caricature in the carte format. In the late 1850s Watkins made a caricature of Robson which cleverly mixes his on- and offstage personas (Figs. 114 and 115). The photographic element of the carte is the head, which is derived from an earlier portrait in private dress taken by Watkins. To this Watkins has added a diminutive drawn body which shows a formal suit, but with comically short trousers and hands tucked into pockets in a gesture of school-boyish cheek. Watkins unquestionably aimed to achieve comic effects by contrasting the actor's unsmiling head with a cartoonish body, but his photographic experiment also suggests that the original, un-caricatured portrait of Robson was somehow incomplete. Paradoxically, to better express Robson's character the indexical power of the photograph needed to be supplemented by drawn elements. As a performer who specialised in comedic burlesque, Robson was reliant on his audience having some prior knowledge of the actor or play which he was sending up. Robson was also reliant on his audiences' recognition of exaggerated costume, gestures and tone. A photographer wishing to make a celebrity carte of Robson while not in character was then faced with the difficult task of making Robson's talents for mockery and irreverence recognisable, in a format that tended towards visual uniformity. It was here that collage provided a fitting aesthetic of playful imitation. The juxtaposition of photographic and

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[65] Storey, *The Letters of Charles Dickens,* 170.
[66] The original photograph, from which the chromolithograph was produced, is untraced.

drawn elements in Watkins' portrait of Robson forms a photographic pastiche; the faux-bashful hands-in-pockets pose is visual shorthand for a character up to no good, but pretending otherwise. At the same time, the photographed head of Robson is overly serious – the severely downturned mouth suggests a figure mimicking the stiff stoicism common to the carte de visite as a photographic genre. These elements connect the carte to the genre of theatrical burlesque itself, which derived much of its humour from the quotation and pastiche of dialogue or music from the original production. It is this knowing stance that makes Watkins' photo-caricature effective and that closely connects it to Robson's physically exaggerated performance style.

Throughout this thesis I have argued that theatrical portraiture brought the bodies of stage performers into closer contact with disparate audiences. The miniaturised scale, tactility and portability of the carte de visite made it possible for representations of bodies (theatrical or not) to be carried, folded and tucked into pockets with greater ease and at a lower price than any previous reproductive technology. However, the market response to lifting individual likenesses out of the lithographed series or a grangerised book was to re-contextualise them within the newly ambiguous social hierarchies of the photographic album or the composite cartes de visite. Theatrical portraits needed to convey elements seemingly antithetical to a still portrait: narrative, irreverence, pastiche. Yet, whereas cartes de visite have repeatedly been cast as aesthetically uniform, standardised and commodified, this chapter has sought to emphasise their potential as a form which provided Watkins and Holland Mares with material for experimentation. Holland Mares was a particularly prolific producer of composite cartes de visite in the 1860s, but Richard Burton (of 2 Crampton Quay), George Williams (of Phoebe Place Holloway) and David Combe (of 88 Cheapside), also registered composites of other distinguished groups of celebrity figures, from the Royal family to American generals and officers of the London Rifle Brigade. In making composite groups these photographers realised entrepreneurial opportunities in a lucrative

market, but they also marked these groups, in which theatrical subjects featured prominently, as authoritative and deserving of commemoration.

In this chapter I have shown how a new form of portrait photography could signify the development of collective professional theatrical identities. My examination of the composite cartes de visite produced by Frederick Holland Mares develops the methodology of the amalgamated or *hyper-recognisable* image introduced in chapter three. I have demonstrated how composite cartes created a matrix or hierarchy around which performers and audiences could organise their perceptions of the position, particularly of women, in the wider theatrical profession. In my examinations of composite cartes and (George) Herbert Watkins' experimental photo-caricatures I have established the limitations of photography as a medium to produce theatrical likeness. Photographic entrepreneurs such as Mares and Watkins continually looked to new technical processes, or to mixing new technologies with older printmaking techniques, to inject the essential but fugitive aspects of theatrical performance, especially movements, into their miniature portraits.

Conclusion

I opened this thesis with a description of the backstage portrait sittings that took place between actor Charles Kemble and lithographer Richard James Lane at Covent Garden Theatre in 1836. When these portraits were finally printed in 1840, Lane remembered their sittings as mutually rewarding occasions of exchange on questions of art and character that gave him "the highest intellectual gratification".[1] The codependent artist-performer network represented by the example of Lane and Kemble characterises the reciprocal relationships that my thesis has identified and sought to analyse. By asking how theatrical portraits were brought to market by printers, performers and artists, and what effects the availability of new printmaking techniques and formats had on the appearance and materiality of theatrical portraits, I have demonstrated that the production of these portraits in the mid-nineteenth-century was experimental, entrepreneurial and practiced at a greater variety of scales than in previous periods.

This thesis makes three principal contributions to knowledge in the disciplines of art and theatre history. Firstly, by challenging the imbalance in current scholarship on theatrical portraiture, which has focused primarily on the eighteenth-century, my thesis has addressed an important omission in the history of British portraiture. I have focused on the period beginning in 1820 as this moment marked a distinct shift in the production of British theatrical portraiture. Following John Philip Kemble's retirement in 1817 and Sarah Siddons's final stage appearance in June 1819 London's theatres lost two of its most frequently portrayed stars. Similarly, with the deaths of the city's most prolific theatrical portrait painters - Johan Zoffany, Thomas Lawrence and Samuel de Wilde in 1810, 1830 and 1832 respectively - London's performers and printmakers had to seek out different modes of portrait production. My research has shown the extent to which theatrical portraiture became an adjunct trade to London's expanding theatrical cultures.

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[1] Richard James Lane, *Sixteen Portraits of Charles Kemble Esq.re Drawn from the Life* (London: Colnaghi and Puckle, 1840), n.p.

A focus on the period between 1820 and 1870 has established that these portraits not only appeared in the Royal Academy rooms, single-sheet prints and illustrated play-texts identified in the earlier scholarship of Shearer West, Heather McPherson and Gill Perry, but also in comic general interest periodicals, song sheets and miniature cartes de visite photographs. My arguments situate theatrical portraiture as a cross-medial phenomenon and it is for this reason that I have extended my study to include the appearance of composite photographs. Though the composite carte de visite reached its peak of popularity in the 1860s, the amalgamated mode of viewing that it engenders can trace its roots back to the early lithography of the 1820s.

Secondly, the case studies that I have presented recover and identify an untapped body of visual material, generated by artists and performers such as John William Gear and Priscilla Horton who had significant contemporary reputations, but have received limited scholarly attention. By engaging with the materiality and scale of the disparate visual forms in which portraits of actors and actresses circulated I have sought to demarcate a more inclusive field of material for further investigation of theatrical celebrity, in which caricatures, scraps and composite images are incorporated into the definition of theatrical portraiture. In particular, I have shown that the audience caricature flourished into the early 1820s and 1830s with Theodore Lane's *Theatrical Pleasures* and John William Gear's *Heads of the Audience* building on the tradition established by William Hogarth and the Cruikshanks. Though these new forms of theatrical portraiture may have been printed on poor quality paper and survive in incomplete runs, they were not marginal forms in their own time. My examination of the movement of theatrical portraiture has confirmed that the genre did not fall from favour as a subject for public exhibition. Rather, the dramatic cross-country tour of Daniel Maclise's portrait of Macready in the character of Werner, documented by letters between Maclise, John Forster and Thomas Uwins, demonstrated the affective potential of theatrical portraiture. I have argued that the Werner portrait became a painted understudy for Macready as it trailed his farewell tour, eventually accumulating so many

traces of this performance that institutional figures such as Uwins considered its display at the annual exhibition to be a 'great historical event' of import to both the 'dignity of Art' and the history of British theatre.

Thirdly, I have advanced a new model for defining how theatrical portraiture drew from the web of imagery surrounding a performer to imbue the static portrait image with the effects of the kinetic stage: *hyper-recognition*. My model rested on the example of Priscilla Horton, an actress and singer whose portraiture can be used to track a successful trajectory from ingénue to manager. My argument, which applied Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's concept of *hypermediacy* to the burlesque theatre of nineteenth-century London, stated that when looking at a theatrical portrait, viewers had to simultaneously register the facial characteristics of the actor or actress, their performance style, the part being played and the style of the artist. An important addition to the *hyper-recognition* model is that it also registers the gaps filled by knowledge outside of the image, by the lettering beneath a print, familiarity with the play and the displaying context: in a newspaper, on the walls of the Royal Academy, or within the more private leaves of an autograph album. In chapter three I therefore suggested that more is at stake for artists than copying or recording a scene from the stage as it actually was, and viewers were conscious of the visual and temporal slippage between live performance and static image. Put differently, I showed that the translation of a mobile, dynamic and ephemeral stage performance onto the fixed surface of paper or canvas was never unmediated and always an interpretive process.

My thesis is significant in being the first study of mid-nineteenth-century theatrical portraiture to address the art form across a variety of scale and media, and from the viewpoints of producers, subjects and consumers. My cross-disciplinary approach provides a framework for understanding the vast amount of extant portrait material and thereby counters the tendency in both art and theatre history to focus on a small number of exceptionally successful productions or artworks.

This tendency has been led by a focus on dominant artists, theatres and their managers at the expense of the majority of productions which provoked modest critical reaction or recognition, but have left a wealth of varied printed material in their wake. Following McPherson's definition of celebrity as a "dynamic sociocultural phenomenon produced by a multidirectional matrix of factors", the case studies that I have presented in this thesis have shown how the formation of celebrity was democratised and made available to even inexperienced performers by the development of nineteenth-century reproductive printmaking techniques.[2]

The varied field of theatrical portrait material that I have identified in the chapters of this thesis raises a number questions that deserve further scholarly investigation if the significance of this genre to the development of nineteenth-century art and theatre history is to be more fully understood. The scope of my thesis has predominantly considered the circulation of theatrical portraiture within the context of London and the touring theatre circuit, but a wider study would consider the impact of international circulation and exchange. In particular, my examination of John William Gear's theatrical audience prints has identified a rich and varied theatrical print sub-genre. It would be valuable to explore the theatrical audience print in greater detail and to understand their appearance and proliferation in Europe. Similarly, the variation on the tableaux vivant performed by Priscilla Horton in WS Gilbert's *Ages Ago*, and the variety of ways it could be translated into portraiture, raises questions over the prevalence of this developing theatrical form that would benefit from further study.

One important avenue for future research is a study of the reciprocal relationships between painters and theatrical printmakers that would collate and analyse the appearance of theatrical prints within paintings. A prominent example of this is Emily Mary Osborn's 1857 painting *Nameless and Friendless* (Fig. 116), which features a painted representation of a ballerina, likely to

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[2] McPherson, *Art and Celebrity,* 7.

be the famous dancer Marie Taglioni. Indeed, Taglioni featured in lithographs by Richard James Lane, though further investigation is necessary to confirm whether Osborn was looking to Lane's example for her painting. Osborn's genre painting *Nameless and Friendless* depicts a young female artist (presumed by her black dress to be an orphan) attempting to sell her works to a sneering art dealer. A much younger boy, apparently a brother now dependent on the artist, stands close by clutching a marbled portfolio filled with his sister's efforts. In the background two gentlemen dressed in top hats stare rakishly at the young woman, momentarily distracted from the print of the ballet dancer that the seated man holds up from his lap. Art historians Deborah Cherry and Alison Smith have noted that the juxtaposition of the vulnerable, penniless young woman artist with the revealing costume of the ballerina indicates the limited options facing creative women in the sexualised spaces of consumption and exchange in the modern city.[3] It would be valuable to reconsider this work within the theatrical context of 1857 and to trace other paintings, especially those by women artists such as Osborn, that take theatrical prints as indicators of morality, class and professional opportunity. A further potential strand of research lies in focusing on how theatrical themes and subjects travelled from the West End into Pre-Raphaelitism, the premier avant-garde art movement of 1850s Britain. For instance, John Everett Millais's painting *The Proscribed Royalist, 1651* was loosely based on the plot of an opera, Vicenzo Bellini's 'I Puritani', which Millais could have seen at Covent Garden in the 1850s.[4] Again, 'I Puritani' was an opera that Richard James Lane lithographed characters from in 1836 (Fig. 9). Of great benefit to this research project would be the recent release of the digitised catalogues of the Royal Academy's annual exhibitions. This rich new resource makes it possible to track, at scale, the opening of new plays with the appearance of theatrical portraits at the

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[3] Alison Smith, "Emily Mary Osborn: Nameless and Friendless. 'The rich man's wealth is his strong city, etc.' - Proverbs, x, 15," *Tate Website*, October 2015. https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/osborn-nameless-and-friendless-the-rich-mans-wealth-is-his-strong-city-etc-proverbs-x-15-t12936; Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture in Britain, 1850–1900* (London: Routledge, 2000).
[4] Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith, *Millais* (London: Tate Publishing, 2007), 96.

annual exhibition in order to identify possible trends and correlations.[5] Such a project would benefit from the *hyper-recognition* model that I have proposed in this thesis as a flexible framework for analysing the translation of dynamic and ephemeral stage performances into fixed works of art. The importance of bringing together art and theatre history to understand the interaction of visual culture and theatrical spectacle has been recognised by the start of a new AHRC-funded collaborative research project based at the Universities of Warwick and Exeter (October 2018-September 2021). Led by Jim Davis, Kate Newey, Patricia Smyth and Kate Holmes 'Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century' will examine theatre as an integrated part of nineteenth-century visual culture. The project will focus on "how the nineteenth century ushered in a revolution in the way people looked and were looked at and how theatrical spectacle was both a facet and reflection of modernity in Britain (with France providing a comparative study)."[6] Accompanied by a programme of exhibitions, academic conferences and public engagement activities, this project will provide a stimulus for development in the areas for further research that I have identified.

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[5] Hallett, Mark, Sarah Victoria Turner, Jessica Feather, Baillie Card, Tom Scutt, and Maisoon Rehani, eds. *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*. London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018. https://www.chronicle250.com
[6] 'Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century' AHRC Project Website https://theatreandvisualculture19.wordpress.com/

Appendix 1

Composite Carte De Visite Photographs Registered At Stationers' Hall by Photographic Agents 'Ashford Brothers & Co' On Behalf of Frederick Holland Mares

The copyright records of the Stationers' Hall are now held by the National Archives under the reference COPY 1.

*Photographs marked with an asterisk contain no theatrical portraits

** Photographs marked with two asterisks contain no theatrical portraits and include images after photographs (i.e. photographs of engravings)

National Archives Reference Number	Photograph Title	Date registered at Stationer's Hall
*COPY 1/1/185	'Photograph giving portraits of royal family of England with Prince of Russia, Prince Louis of Hesse and Princess of Denmark'.	21/10/1862
*COPY 1/1/184	'Photograph giving portraits of living celebrities'.	21/10/1862
*COPY 1/1/254	'Twelve Dublin Views', a photograph'.	08/11/1862
*COPY 1/1/255	'Twelve Killarney Views', a photograph'.	08/11/1862
*COPY 1/1/262	'Twelve views in Westminster Abbey and Houses of Parliament', a photograph'	11/11/1862
*COPY 1/1/263	'Twelve views in country of Windsor' a photograph'.	11/11/1862
*COPY 1/1/297	'Twelve views at and near the Giant's Causeway Country Antrim', a photograph'.	26/11/1862

**COPY 1/2/45	'Photograph of five medallion portraits, 'Scott, Moore, Byron, Southey, Shelley".	01/01/1863
*COPY 1/2/37	'Photograph of Italy's 'Friends and Foes'. Seven medallion portraits'.	02/01/1863
COPY 1/2/127	'Photograph of a miscellaneous group of eminent persons, about 500 in number'.	27/01/1863
*COPY 1/2/132	'Photograph of twelve instantaneous views in London'.	30/01/1863
*COPY 1/2/131	'Photograph of group of Wesleyan celebrities'.	30/01/1863
**COPY 1/2/150	'Photograph of "The Heroes of Waterloo".	04/02/1863
**COPY 1/2/191	'Photograph of statesmen and generals of the American civil war'.	11/02/1863
COPY 1/2/222	'Photograph of 'Many a fellah ith a fool and doth'nt know it'. Five portraits of Lord Dundreary'. [Edward Askew Southern as Lord Dundreary]	13/02/1863
*COPY 1/2/399	'Photograph of group of Bishops and Deans of the Church of England'.	14/03/1863
*COPY 1/2/491	'A photograph, 'Twelve Views in Scotland'.	26/03/1863
*COPY 1/2/490	'A photograph, 'Reigning Sovereigns and principle Royal personages of the day"	26/03/1863

*COPY 1/3/105	'Photograph of Her Majesty and the Chief Ministers of State'.	23/04/1863
*COPY 1/3/285	'Photograph of group of Her Majesty and the chief Officers of State'.	14/05/1863
*COPY 1/3/300	'Photograph of twelve interiors of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle'.	15/05/1863
*COPY 1/3/420	'Photograph of twelve views in north Wales'.	30/05/1863
*COPY 1/3/421	'Photograph of interiors of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, and portraits of the Royal Family of Great Britain'.	30/05/1863
**COPY 1/3/433	'Photograph of the Distinguished Gorilla Family of France'.	04/06/1863
COPY 1/3/434	'Photograph of "The Pet of the Public'.	04/06/1863
*COPY 1/3/432	'Photograph of the Imperial Family of France'.	04/06/1863
*COPY 1/3/431	'Photograph of the Ex-Royal Family of France'.	04/06/1863
*COPY 1/3/463	'Photograph of the Russian Imperial Family'.	09/06/1863
**COPY 1/3/488	'Photograph of Mozart, Mendelssohn, Hayden and Handel'.	10/06/1863
**COPY 1/3/490	'Photograph of political gamblers contending for the public's purse'.	10/06/1863
COPY 1/3/489	'Photograph of operatic prima donnas (No 1)'.	10/06/1863

COPY 1/3/520	'Photograph of popular actresses No 1'.	15/06/1863
**COPY 1/3/521	'Photograph of St Peter and the rulers of Rome'.	15/06/1863
COPY 1/3/524	'Photograph. Musical and vocal celebrities' [all male].	16/06/1863
*COPY 1/3/557	'Photograph of Dignitaries and Ministers of the Church of England'.	19/06/1863
**COPY 1/3/561	'Photograph of the English Martyrs'.	19/06/1863
**COPY 1/3/559	'Photograph of Ecclesiastical Reformers'.	19/06/1863
COPY 1/3/558	'Photograph of "The Patti Souvenir".	19/06/1863
**COPY 1/3/560	'Photograph of Dramatic Poets (No 1)'.	19/06/1863
COPY 1/3/601	'Photograph of popular operatic composers of the day'.	23/06/1863
COPY 1/3/658	'Photograph of 'Pets of the Ballet".	30/06/1863
COPY 1/4/4	'Photograph of popular actors (No 1)'.	02/07/1863
COPY 1/4/126	'Photograph 'Grace, Mirth and Beauty"	16/07/1863
COPY 1/4/175	'Photograph "The Favourites of the Ballet".	24/07/1863
COPY 1/4/176	'Photograph. 'Principal American Actresses".	24/07/1863
COPY 1/4/180	'Photograph of one thousand living and historical celebrities'.	27/07/1863

COPY 1/4/181	'Photograph entitled 'Principal American Actors".	27/07/1863
*COPY 1/4/230	'Photograph 'Ireland, the Tourists Souvenir".	04/08/1863
*COPY 1/5/19	'Photograph of six views of Killarney'.	06/10/1863
*COPY 1/5/292	'Photograph entitled 'Gems of Scottish Scenery No 3"	24/11/1863
*COPY 1/5/287	'Photograph entitled 'Six views in Belfast No 1"	24/11/1863
**COPY 1/5/294	'Photograph entitled 'Renowned Women No 1".	24/11/1863
*COPY 1/5/286	'Photograph entitled 'Six views of ruined castles of Ireland".	24/11/1863
*COPY 1/5/285	'Photograph entitled 'Six views of Armagh Cathedral".	24/11/1863

*COPY 1/5/289	'Photograph entitled 'Six views of Edinburgh".	24/11/1863
*COPY 1/5/288	'Photograph entitled 'Six views near Belfast No 1".	24/11/1863
COPY 1/5/295	'Photograph entitled 'Our American Cousins".	24/11/1863
COPY 1/5/293	'Photograph entitled 'Grace, Mirth and Beauty No 2".	24/11/1863
*COPY 1/5/290	'Photograph entitled 'Gems of Scottish Scenery No 1".	24/11/1863
**COPY 1/5/296	Photograph entitled 'Little Gems from Great Masters. No 1'	24/11/1863

*COPY 1/5/291	'Photograph entitled 'Gems of Scottish Scenary No 2".	24/11/1863
*COPY 1/5/430	'Photograph entitled "The Great Churches of Rome".	02/12/1863
COPY 1/5/452	'Photograph entitled: 'Miss Bateman as Leah' in five positions'.	08/12/1863
COPY 1/5/569	'Photograph entitled 'Lord Dundreary in Five Positions".	15/12/1863
*COPY 1/5/665	'Photograph entitled 'Six Views in Cork".	21/12/1863
**COPY 1/5/667	'Photograph entitled 'Views of Ancient Rome".	21/12/1863
*COPY 1/5/666	'Photograph entitled 'Views in Modern Rome".	21/12/1863
*COPY 1/5/663	'Photograph entitled 'Renowned Pugilists".	21/12/1863

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Reproducing Celebrity: Painted, Printed and Photographic Theatrical Portraiture in London, c.1820-1870

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History of Art

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VOLUME 2: Illustrations

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts

Fig. 1 Richard James Lane, *Charles Albert Fechter as Hamlet in 'Hamlet'*, 1861, lithograph, 57.2 cm x 38.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 2 Anon after Paine of Islington, *Samuel Phelps and Isabella Glyn in 'Hamlet'*, 1850, engraving after a daguerreotype by Paine of Islington, 25.7 x 18 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 3 Daniel J. Pound after John H. Fitzgibbon, *George Vaughn Brooke as Hamlet*, 1840, engraving after a daguerreotype by John H. Fitzgibbon, 30.6 x 23.9 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 4 Richard Doyle, *A Journal Kept by Richard Doyle in the Year 1840 – View outside Delaporte's Shop*, 1885, lithograph published by Smith, Elder & Co, 28.4 x 22.4 cm, British Library, London.

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Fig. 6 George Cruickshank, *Outside of a Humble Print Shop*, 1828, etching, 15.5 x 22.5 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 7 Richard James Lane, *Studies of figures, selected from the sketch books of the late Thomas Gainsborough,* 1825, tinted lithograph printed by Charles Hullmandel and published by J. Dickinson, 18.3 x 15.5 cm, British Museum, London.
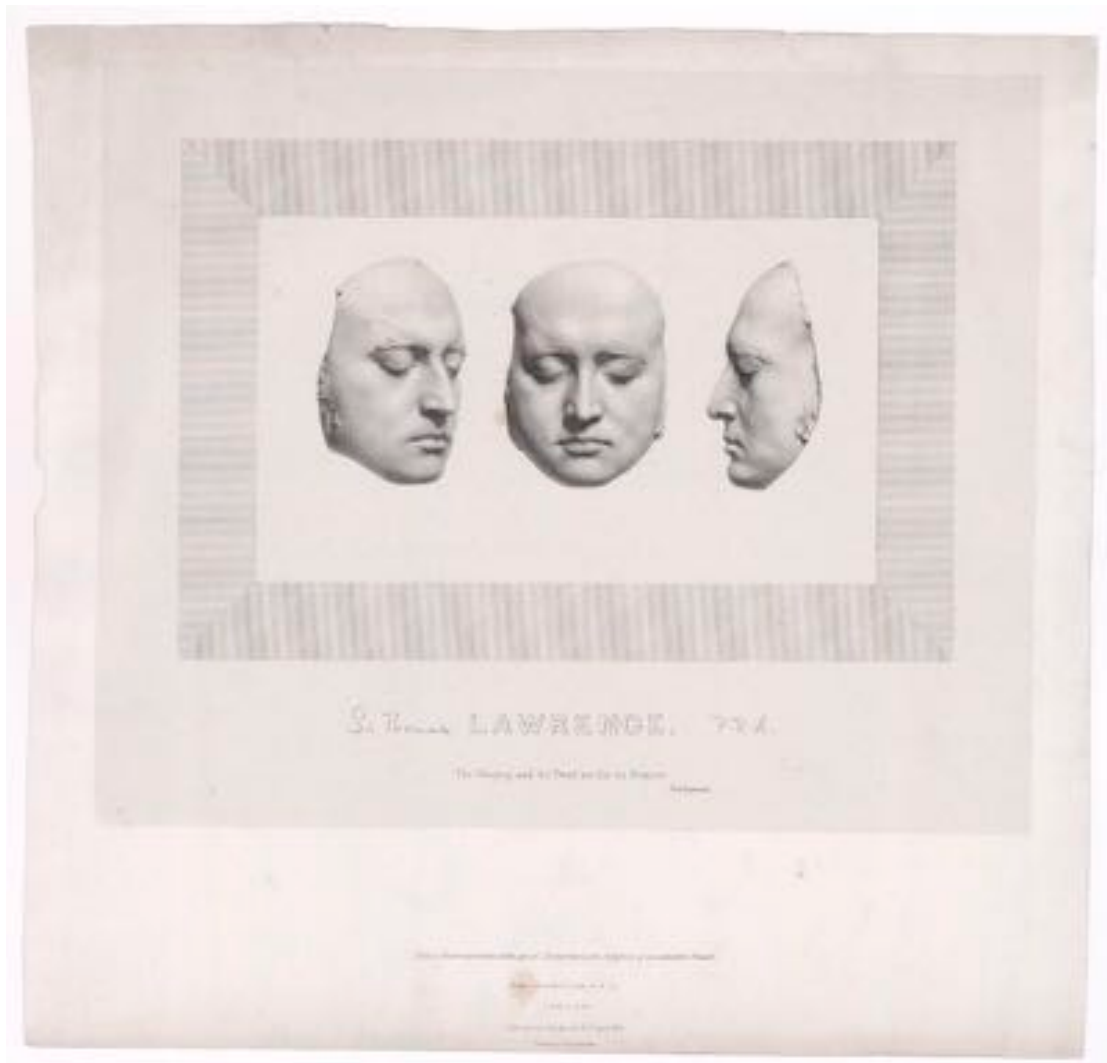
Fig. 8 Richard James Lane, *Sir Thomas Lawrence,* 1830, lithograph printed by Charles Joseph Hullmandel and published by Colnaghi, Son & Co, 33 cm x 34.2 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 9 Richard James Lane after Alfred Edward Chalon, *Giulia Grisi as Elvira; Luigi Lablache as Sir Georgio in Bellini's 'I Puritani',* 1836, coloured lithograph, published by John Mitchell, 48.4 x 36.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.
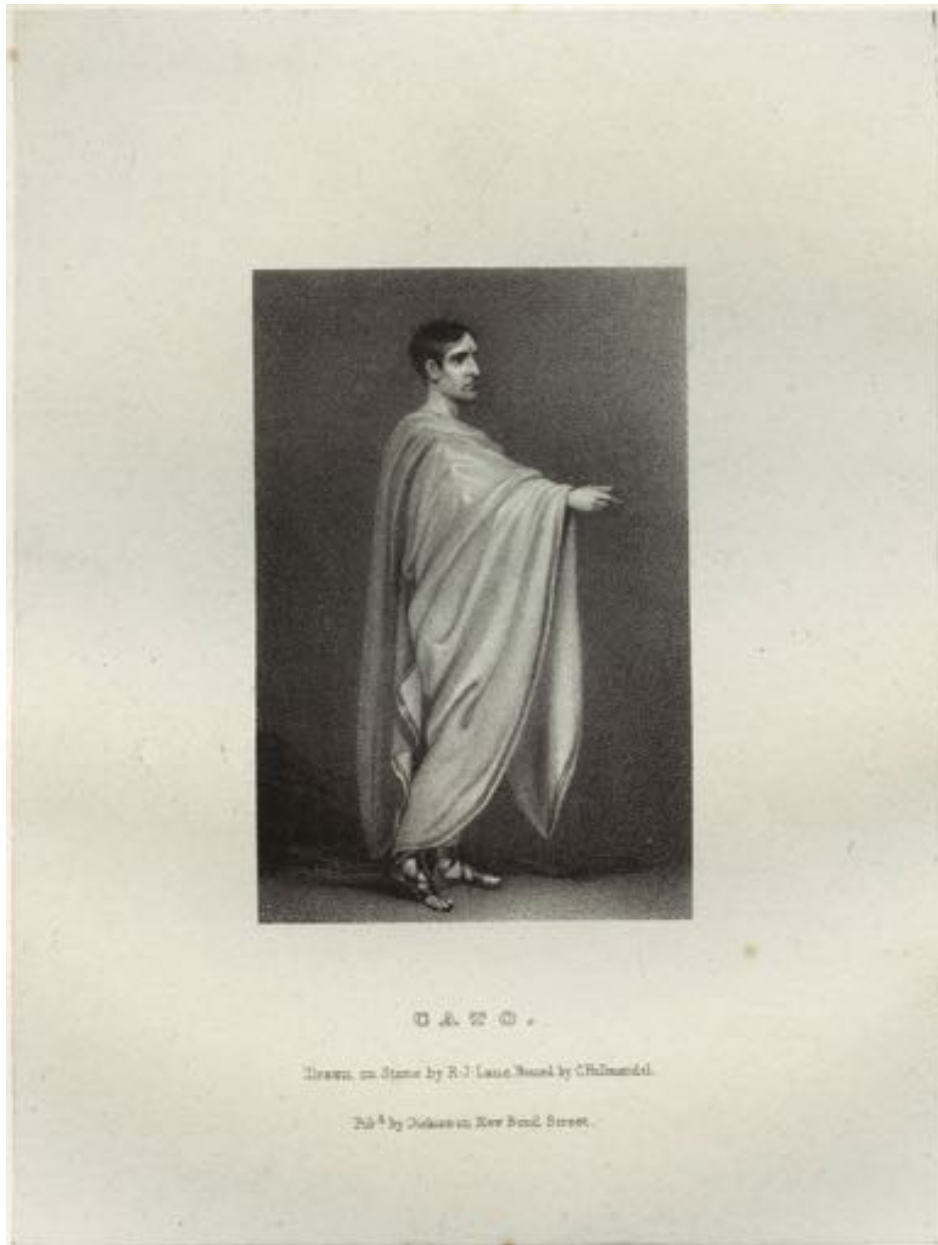
Fig. 10 Richard James Lane after John Boaden, *John Philip Kemble as Cato*, 1826, lithograph, printed by Charles Hullmandel and published by J. Dickinson, 16 x 12 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 11 Map Source: Charles Booth, *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty*, 1898-9
https://booth.lse.ac.uk/ Public Domain.
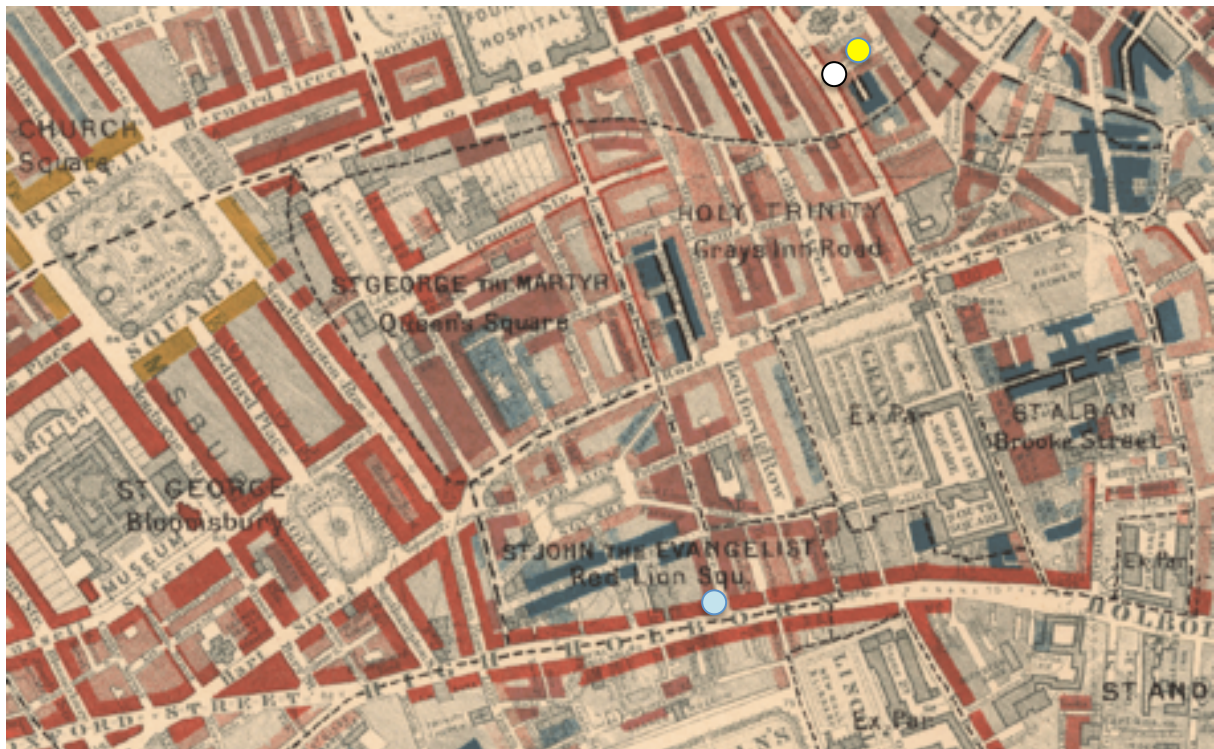
⚪	Premises of John William Gear, 1823-25 (6 Wilson Street)
🟡	B.M. De Burson's Theatrical Print Warehouse (10 Wilson Street)
🔵	W. Clarke's Theatrical Print Warehouse (265 High Holborn)

Fig. 12 Map Source: Charles Booth, *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty*, 1898-9
https://booth.lse.ac.uk/ Public Domain.

○	Premises of John William Gear, 166 Strand	
●	William West's Theatrical Print Warehouse, 57 Wych Street	
●	The Olympic Theatre, Strand	
●	New Strand Theatre	
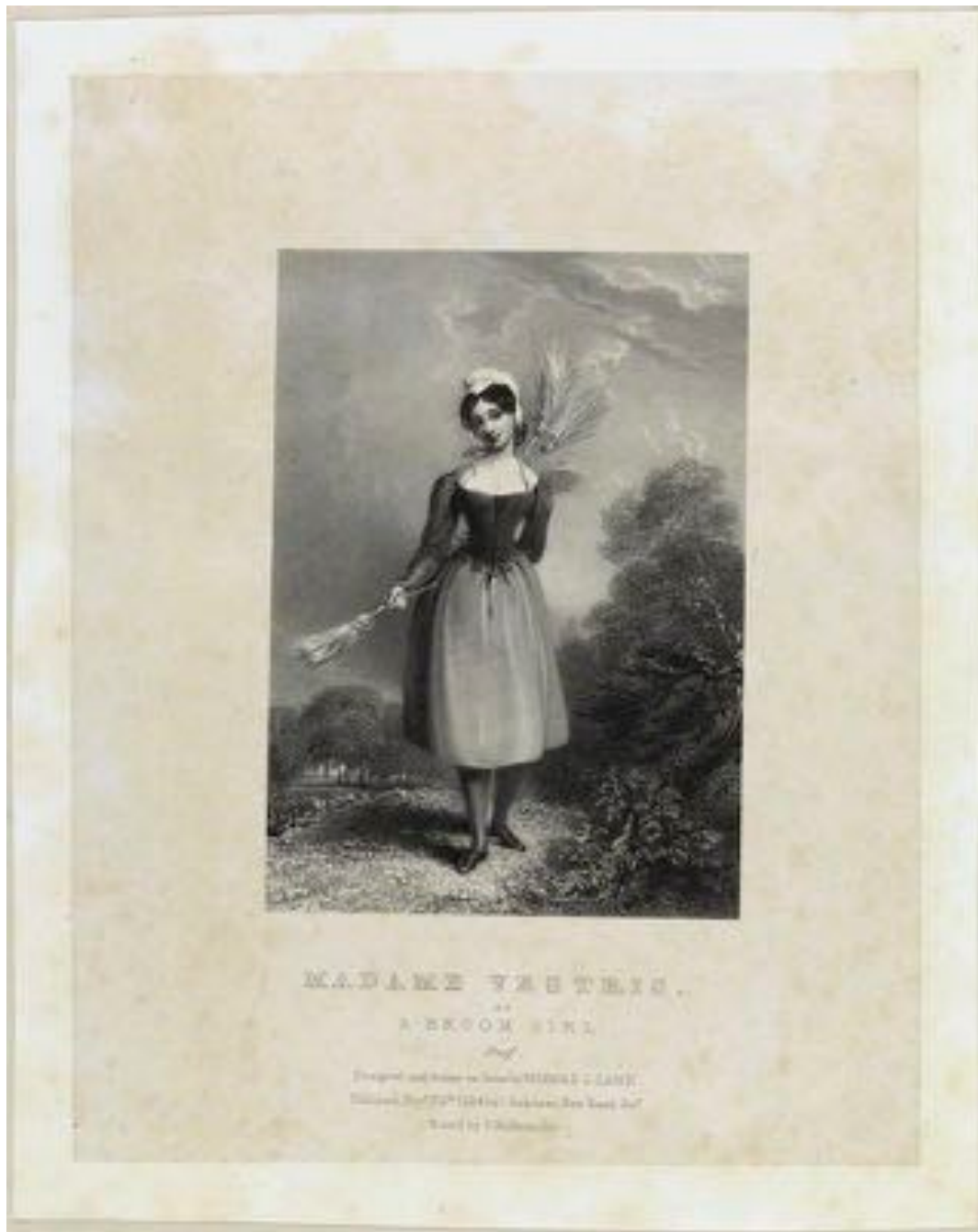
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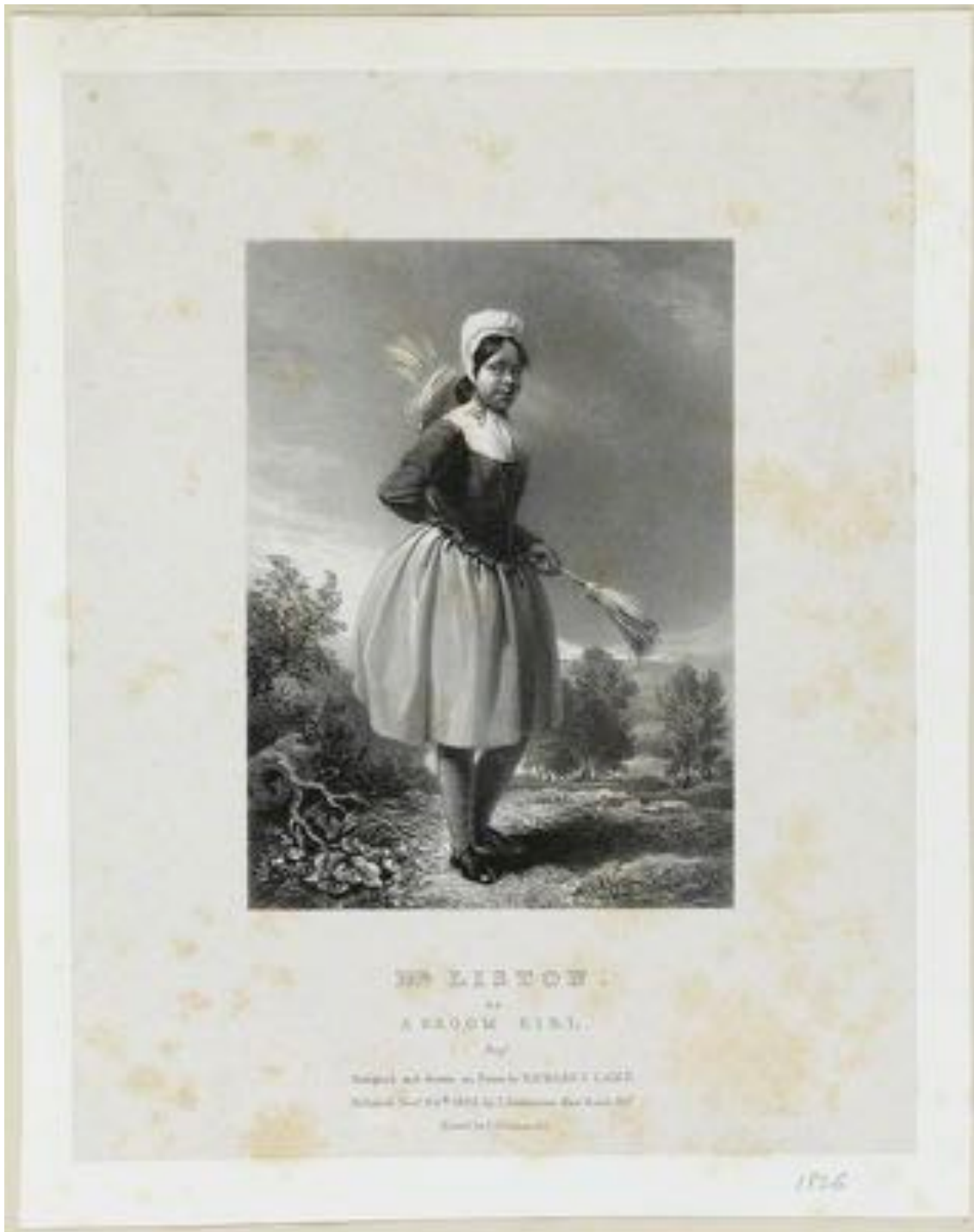
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Fig. 18 Richard James Lane, *Ellen Tree as Rosalind in 'As You Like It'*, 1836, pencil drawing, 33.6 x 23.0 cm, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.

Fig. 19 Richard James Lane, *William Charles Macready as Ion,* 1839, hand-coloured lithograph, 34.8 x 24.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.
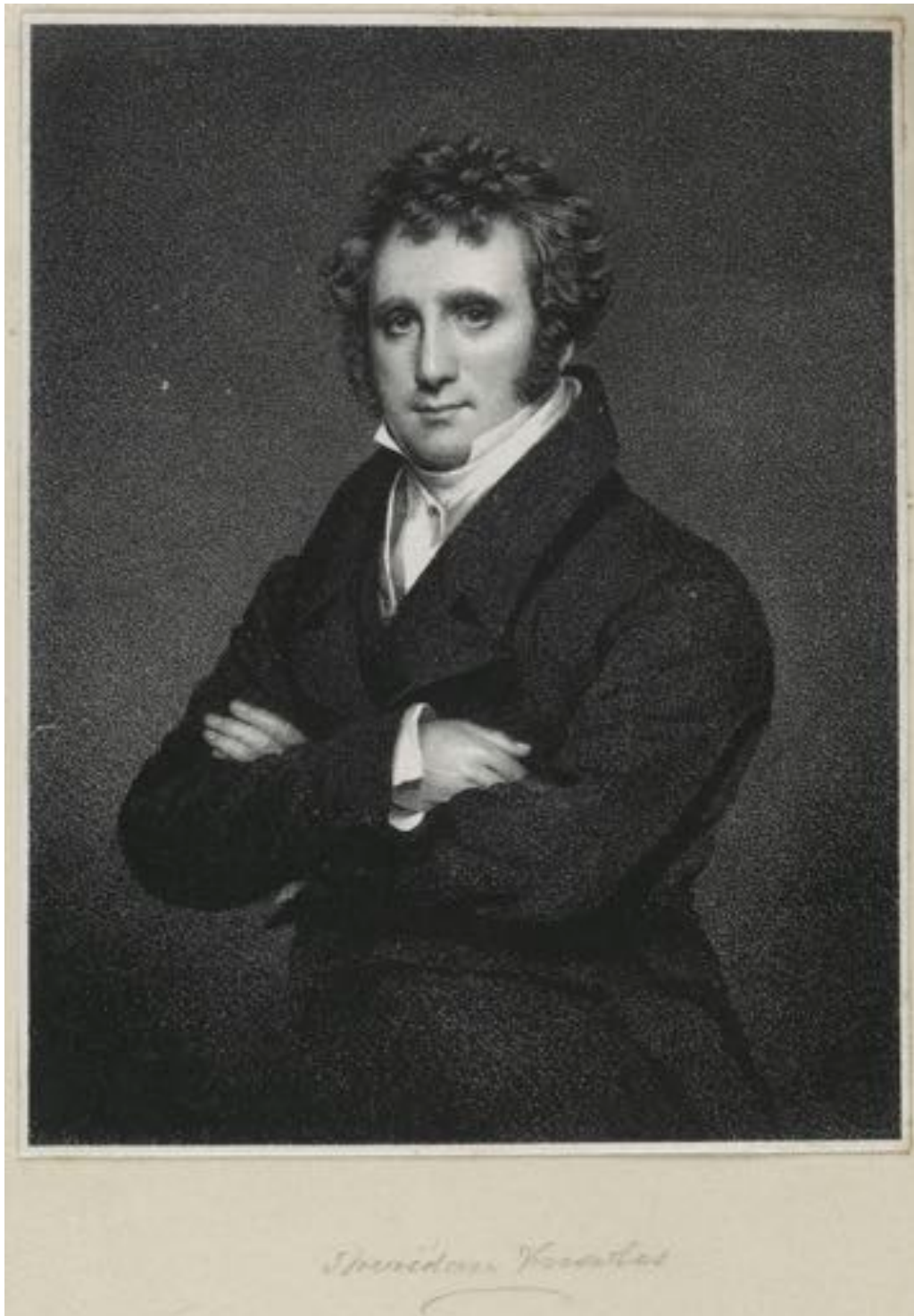
Fig. 20 Richard James Lane after Chester Harding, *James Sheridan Knowles,* 1826, lithograph, 28.6 x 20.7 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.
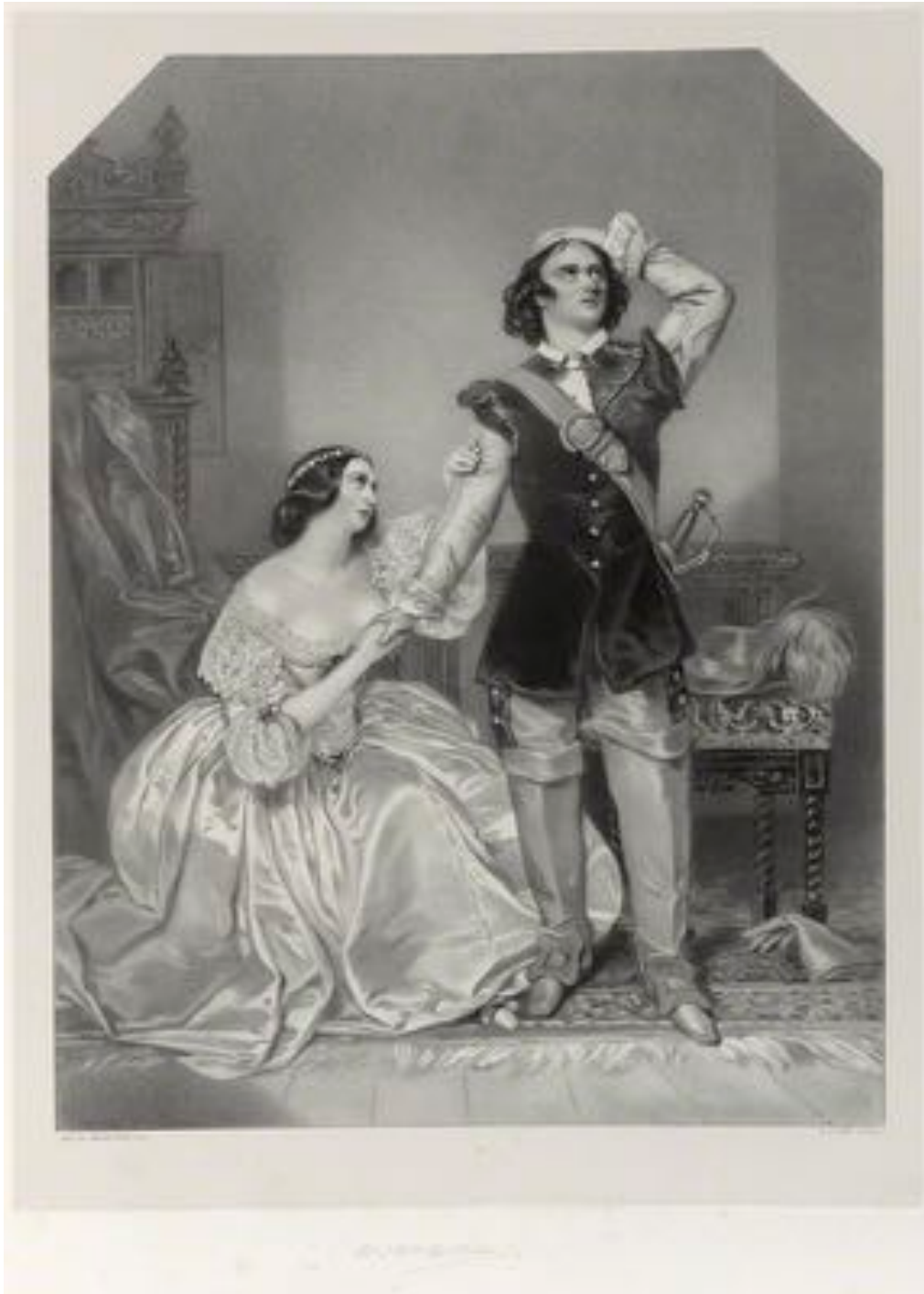
Fig. 21 Richard James Lane after Alfred Edward Chalon, *Charles Kean and Ellen Kean as Sir Walter and Lady Amyott in Lovell's 'The Wife's Secret'*, 1848, lithograph, 46.8 x 35.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 22 Richard James Lane, *Charles Kemble as 'The Stranger'*, 1840, lithograph, 51.2 x 36.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 23 Richard James Lane after James Boaden, *John Phillip Kemble as 'The Stranger'*, 1st October 1826, lithograph, 16 x 20 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 24 Richard James Lane, *Charles Kemble as Macduff*, May 1840, lithograph, 51.1 x 36.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 25 Richard James Lane, *Charles Kemble as Macbeth,* May 1840, lithograph, 51.1 x 36.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 26 John William Gear, *Paul Pry (Plate 1 of Portraits of the Public being Heads of Audiences, under the influence of Dramatic representation),* 1833, lithograph with pasted pencil drawing, 16 x 18.5 cm, Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Fig. 27 John William Gear, *Jane Shore (Plate 2 of Portraits of the Public being Heads of Audiences, under the influence of Dramatic representation)*, 1833, lithograph, 16 x 18.5 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 28 John William Gear, *Der Freischutz (Plate 3 of Portraits of the Public being Heads of Audiences, under the influence of Dramatic representation),* 1833, lithograph with pasted pencil drawing and letterpress notice, dimensions unknown, Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Fig. 29 John William Gear, *The Last Stone of Drury Lane Theatre, not ELLISTONE, nor WINSTONE but PHIL-STONE*, c.1828, lithograph, 23.4 x 17.9 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 30 John William Gear, *C.H. Simpson Esqre, Thirty Four Years Master of the Ceremonies at the Royal Gardens, Vauxhall,* c.1831, lithograph, 22.8 x 17.3 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 31 Richard James Lane after Charles Watkins and H.B. Lee, *Charles Mathews as four characters in 'Patter versus Clatter'*, 1861, coloured lithograph, 49.9 x 26.9 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 32 Richard James Lane after George Herbert Watkins, *John Baldwin Buckstone of the Theatre Royal Haymarket,* 1861, lithograph, 56.9 x 38 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 33 Map Source: Charles Booth, *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty*, 1898-9 https://booth.lse.ac.uk/ Public Domain.

🔵	New Somerset House (location of Royal Academy of Arts until 1837)	⚪	Joseph Hogarth's Print Shop, 5 Haymarket
🟠	Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	🔵	The Gallery of Illustration, 14 Regent Street
🟣	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	🟢	National Gallery (location of Royal Academy of Arts from 1837 – 1868)
🟡	Theatre Royal, Haymarket		

Fig. 34 William Wilkins, *Plan of the National Gallery and Royal Academy Published in the Report on Art and Design*, 1836, 19.1 x 31.8cm, British Library, London.

Fig. 35 Rose Myra Drummond, *Charles Kean as Hamlet*, 1838, oil on canvas, current whereabouts unknown and dimensions unknown, Collection of S. Sandra in 1929. Photo: Heinz Library and Archive, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 36 Rose Myra Drummond, *Sketch of Charles Kean as Hamlet*, c. 1838, chalk on paper, 31.1 x 26 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 37 Samuel John Stump, *Charles Kean as Hamlet*, 1838, oil on canvas, 92.3 x 72.6, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 38 Daniel Maclise, *Macready as Werner*, 1849-1850, oil on canvas,
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Fig. 39 Daniel Maclise, *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters*, 1836, oil on canvas, 174 x 224 cm, South African National Gallery, Cape Town.

Fig. 40 Charles William Sharpe after Daniel Maclise, *William Charles Macready as Werner*, 1852, line engraving, 56.8 x 40. cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 41 Daniel Maclise, *Caxton's Printing Press, 1851*, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Knebworth House, Hertfordshire, UK.

Fig. 42 Thomas Lawrence, *John Philip Kemble as Hamlet*, 1801, oil on canvas, 306.1 x 198.1 cm, Tate, London.

Fig. 43 Thomas Lawrence, *John Philip Kemble as Coriolanus*, 1789, oil on canvas, 287 x 177.8 cm, Guildhall Art Gallery, London.

Fig. 44 George Cruikshank, *Priscilla Horton's autograph album*, *Portrait of Priscilla Horton as Ariel*, c.1838, pencil, watercolour and ink on paper, the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.

Fig. 45 Daniel Maclise, *Priscilla Horton as Ariel,* c.1838, oil on panel, 67.5 cm x 54.5 cm, Royal Shakespeare Company Collection, Stratford-upon-Avon.

Fig. 46 Richard James Lane, *Priscilla Horton as Ariel*, 17 December 1838, hand-coloured lithograph published by J. Mitchell, 28.8 x 22 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 47 William Chester Walker, *Priscilla Horton as Ariel*, 12 November 1838, wood engraving *Figaro in London*, Published by James Turner, British Library, London.

Fig. 48 William Chester Walker, *Front Page*, 12 November 1838, wood engraving and letterpress, *Figaro in London*, published by James Turner, British Library, London.

Fig. 49 Pierce James Egan, *Front Page*, 21 October 1837, wood engraving and letterpress, *Figaro in London*, published by William Strange, British Library, London.

Fig. 50 Anon., *The Political Drama*, 2 September 1837, wood engraving and letterpress, *Figaro in London*, published by William Strange, British Library, London.
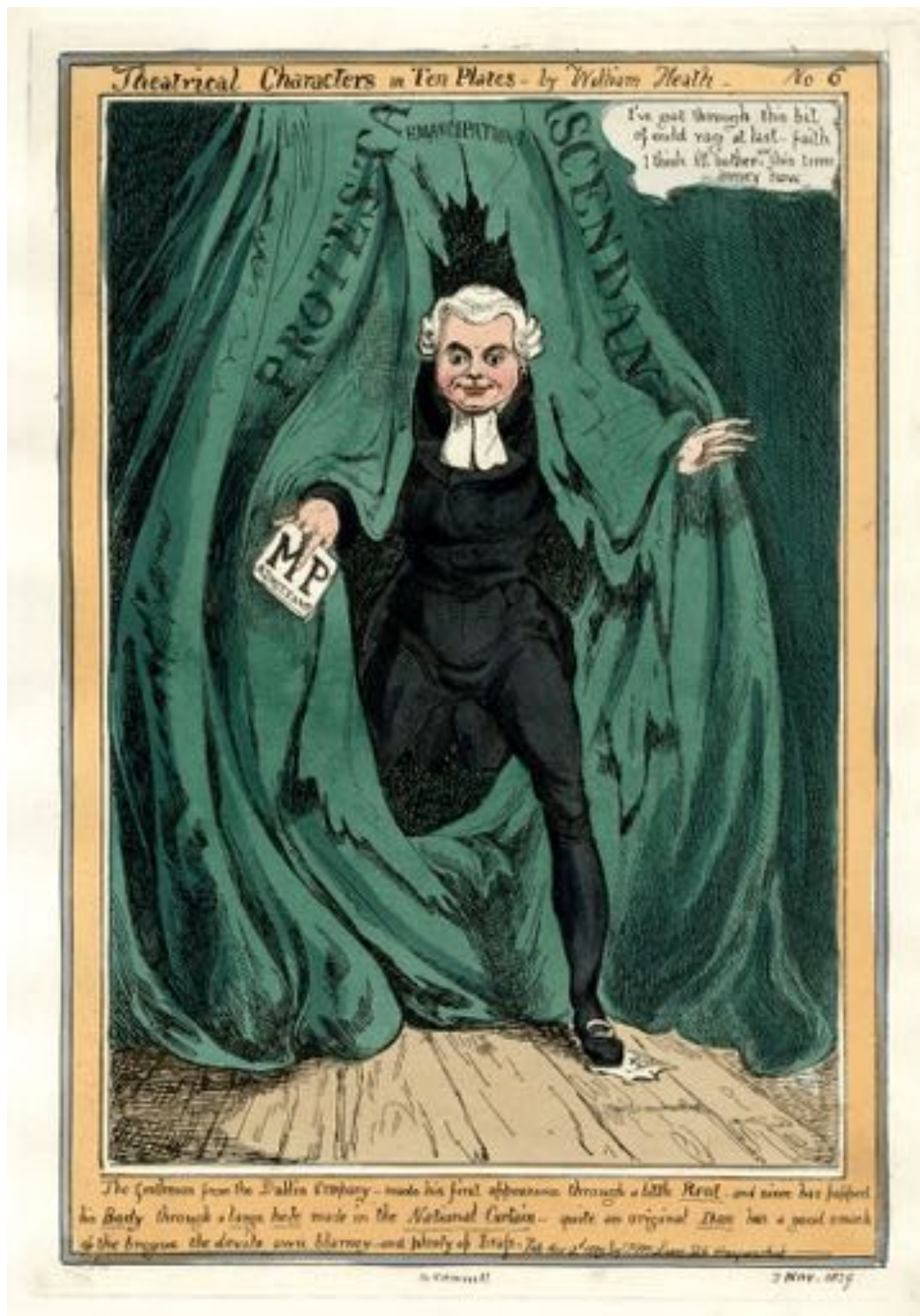
Fig. 51 Anon., *The Political Drama*, 2 September 1837, wood-engraving and letterpress, *Figaro in London*, published by W. Strange, British Library, London.

Fig. 52 Anon., *The Political Drama*, 2 September 1837, wood-engraving and letterpress, *Figaro in London*, published by W. Strange, British Library, London.

Fig. 53 William Heath, *Theatrical Characters in Ten Plates No.6 (Daniel O'Connell),* 1829, hand-coloured etching, 37.1 x 25.9 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 54 A.H. Brown, *Charles Ken as Hamlet* inserted into *Figaro in London*, February 24 1838, steel-engraving, dimensions unknown, British Library, London.

Fig. 55 Weld Taylor after H. Johnston, *Priscilla Horton as Ariel*,
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Thomas McLean, 45.9 cm x 32.2 cm, Victoria & Albert
Museum, London.

Fig. 56 Richard James Lane, *Harriet Taylor as Rosalind*, 1 December 1838, hand-coloured lithograph published by J. Mitchell, 28.8 x 22 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 57 Richard James Lane, *Charlotte Elizabeth Vandenhoff as Juliet*, 1838, hand-coloured lithograph published by J. Mitchell, 34.8 x 24.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 58 Anon., *Priscilla Horton as Ariel*, 11 February 1839, hand-coloured lithograph published by Archibald Park, dimensions unknown. John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Fig. 59 Anonymous. *Mr Palmer as Richard Coeur de Lion.* Published by Archibald Park, March 4 1839. Hand-coloured etching, tinselled by J.C. Elgood. British Museum, London.

Fig. 60 Anon., *Ariel from Tregear's Flights of Humour,* undated, hand-coloured published by Gabriel Shire Tregear, 33 x 24.3 cm, Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington.

Fig. 61 *Priscilla Horton's autograph album signed by John Braham and others*, 14 April 1838, ink on paper, the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.

Fig. 62 Charles Dickens, *Priscilla Horton's autograph album sketch and poem*, 26 October 1838, ink on Paper, the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.

Fig. 63 Priscilla Horton, *Priscilla Horton's autograph album portrait of Charles Dickens*, c.1838, pencil on Paper, the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.

Fig. 64 George Cruikshank, *Priscilla Horton's autograph album portrait of Priscilla Horton as Ariel*, 1838, pencil, watercolour and ink on paper, the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.

Fig. 65 Richard James Lane, *Priscilla Horton's autograph album portrait of Priscilla Horton as Ariel and Macready as Prospero*, 13 November 1838, pencil on paper, the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.

Fig. 66 William Hogarth, *The Enraged Musician*, 1741, etching and engraving, 33.2 x 40.5 cm, Tate, London.

Fig. 67 Thomas Jones, *'Mathew-orama for 1827, or, Cockney Gleanings, ain't that a good un now?'*, 1827, aquatint, 28.5 x 40.2 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

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Fig. 68 David Henry Friston, *Scene from 'Ages Ago' at The Gallery of Illustration,* 15 January 1870, *The London Illustrated News*, wood engraving, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 69 J. Thornthwaite after J. Roberts, *Miss Abington as Miss Prue*,
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Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 70 Robert Cooper after George Henry Harlow, *Mrs Siddons as Lady Macbeth*, 1825, hand-coloured etching published by H. Berthoud 1822 republished in Daniel Terry's British Theatrical Gallery, 34.7 x 23.6 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 71 George Henry Harlow, *Mrs Siddons as Lady Macbeth*, c.1813, oil on canvas, 64 x 39.4 cm, Garrick Club Collection, London.

Fig. 72 George Clint, *Harriet Smithson as Miss Dorillon in Wives as They Were, and Maids as They Are by Elizabeth Inchbald*, ca. 1822, oil on panel, 44.5 x 31.1 cm, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven.

Fig. 73 Robert Cooper after George Clint, *Harriet Smithson as Miss Dorillon, in Wives as They Were, and Maids as They Are by Elizabeth Inchbald*, 1822, stipple and etching published by H. Berthoud in *British Theatrical Gallery 1825*. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Fig. 74 Robert Cooper after George Clint. *James Pimbury Wilkinson as Michael in Free and Easy*, 1882, stipple and etching published by H. Berthoud later republished in Daniel Terry's *British Theatrical Gallery 1825*, 34.1 x 23.7 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 75 Robert Cooper after M.W. Sharpe, *Mr Gattie as Monsieur Morbleu in Monsieur Tonson*, 1822, stipple and etching published by H. Berthoud later republished in Daniel Terry's *British Theatrical Gallery 1825*, 35.4 x 23.5 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 76 C.P. Nicholls, *Mr F Robson as Jem Baggs*, c.1860, wood engraving published by Henry Lea in *Lea's British Drama and Theatrical Portrait Gallery,* 19 x 12 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 77 Anon., *Mr Ransford singing The Sea! The Sea!,* c.1835, etching published by J Duncombe, 24 x 14.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 78 Anon., *Hodgson's Fashionable Song Book*, 1830, etching published by Bernard Hodgson. British Library, London.

Fig. 79 Anon., *The Caricaturer's Stock in Trade,* 1786, etching and acquaint published by William Humphrey, 17.2 x 16 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 80 Annibal Scratch, *How to Harrow Up the Soul*, August 1790, etching published by Bentley & Co, 17.1 x 11.8 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 81 Isaac and Robert Cruikshank, *Killing no Murder as Performed at the Grand National Theatre*, 1809, hand-coloured etching, 25 x 34.7 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 82 Theodore Lane, *Plate 3 from 'Theatrical Pleasures' – 'Snug in the Gallery',* 1820, hand-coloured etching, 35 x 24.9 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 83 John Thompson after Theodore Lane, *Peregrine Proteus rehearsing Othello*, 1825, wood engraving published in Pierce Egan's *The Life of An Actor. Dedicated to Edmund Kean, Esq. The Poetical Descriptions by T. Greenwood* (London: C.S. Arnold), Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Fig. 84 Peter Scheemakers after William Kent, *Monument to William Shakespeare*, 1740, Marble. Westminster Abbey.

Fig. 85 Theodore Lane, *Print study showing actors [Peregrine Proteus] dressing for the stage*, ca.1825, pen and grey ink with grey wash, 11.1 x 18.3 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 86 James Sayers, *Mrs Abington as Scrub*, 1786, etching published by Thomas Cornell, 27.6 cm x 20.1, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 87 William Heath, *'The Iron Chest' in Studies from the Stage, or the Viccitudes of Life*, 1823, etching published by W. Sams, 25 x 34 cm. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Fig. 88 William Heath, *'The Manager' – Plate 1 of Theatrical Caricatures,* 1829, hand-coloured etching published by Thomas McLean, 36.8 cm x 25.7 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 89 William Heath, *'Much Ado About Nothing!!!'*, 1828, hand-coloured etching published by Thomas McLean, 36.1 cm x 25 cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 90 William Heath (with signature as figure of Paul Pry), *Mermaids at Brighton,* c.1829, hand-coloured-etching published by Thomas McLean, 25 x 36.8 cm, British Museum, London.

The Paul Pry signature is saying: 'Bless me – I hope I don't intrude'.

Fig. 91 CJ Grant or William Newman, *Frontispiece to 'Cumberland's British Theatre'*, c.1835, lithograph, 27 x 19.7 cm, Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington.

Fig. 92 Frederick Holland Mares, *Popular Actresses No1,* 1863, albumen carte de visite published by Ashford Brothers & Co, after Alexander Bassano, and Clarkington & Co (Charles Clarkington), and Joseph Richard James, and Horatio Nelson King, and Camille Silvy, and possibly Leonida Caldesi, and Adolphe Paul Auguste Beau, and Thomas Cranfield, 8.8 x 5.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 93 Frederick Holland Mares, *Operatic Prima Donnas*, 1863, albumen carte de visite published by Ashford Brothers & Co, after Henry Hering, and Mayer Brothers, and Richard Burton & Co, and Disdéri, and Camille Silvy, and probably William Edward Kilburn, and Southwell Brothers, and John Burton, and Clarkington & Co (Charles Clarkington), 9.7 x 6.4 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig 94. Detail of Fig. 92 showing *Adelaide Ristori and
Priscilla Horton (Mrs German Reed)*.

Fig. 95 A. A. E. Disdéri. *Adelaide Ristori
in Medée,* c.1858, albumen carte de
visite, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Fig. 96 Richard James Lane, *Henry Vincent James Kemble; Fanny Kemble; Charles Kemble; Adelaide Kemble; John Mitchell Kemble,* 1841, lithograph, 45.2 x 35.7 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 97 John Fairburn, *Fairburn's Novelties: Miss
Vincent as Fairy of the Coral Shells, Mrs Honey as
Fairy of the Silver Lake, Miss E.Tree as Ion and
Mrs Fitzwilliams as Poll the Pet,* 1828-1840, wood
engraving, Museum of London, London.

Fig. 98 William Thomas Fry after Thomas Charles Wageman, *Catherine Capell-Coningsby (née Stephens), Countess of Essex; William Dowton; Robert William Elliston; Charles Mayne Young; Richard Jones; John Braham; Mary Ann Davenport (née Harvey),* 1825, engraving, 22.5 x 14 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 99 Charles Keene, *'Self-Respect' Almanack in Punch*,
1 January 1867, Punch Historical Archive.

Fig. 100 Anon., *'Things One Would Rather Have Left Unsaid' in Punch*, 5 May 1888: 214. Punch Historical Archive.

Fig. 101 Frederick Holland Mares, *Grace Mirth and Beauty,*
1863, albumen carte de visite published by Ashford Brothers
& Co, 8.8 x 5.6 cm. National Archives, Kew.

Fig. 102 After Lock & Whitfield, and Elliott & Fry, and Fradelle & Marshall, and Pierre Petit, and Louis Bertin, and Unknown photographers, *Group of 29 actors*, late 1870s, woodburytype, 19.4 x 22.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 103 Frederick Holland Mares, *Popular Actors,* 1863, albumen carte de visite published by Ashford Brothers & Co, after Herbert Watkins and other unknown photographers, 8.8 mm x 5.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 104 Detail of Fig. 92 *Popular Actresses No.1*

Fig. 105 Charles Clarkington, *Mr German Reed, Mrs Priscilla Reed and John Parry as 'The Sisters Pry' in 'Our Card Basket',* ca.1861, albumen carte de visite, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
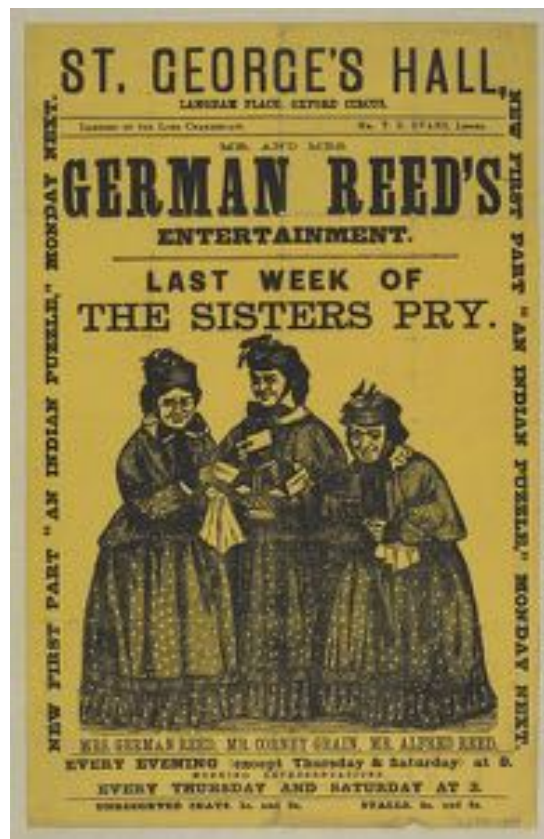
Fig. 106 Anon. *Poster for Mr Alfred Reed, Mrs Priscilla Reed and Mr Corney Grain as 'The Sisters Pry',* ca.1876, letterpress, 46.2 x 29.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 107 Frederick Holland Mares, *'Josephine Kate Bateman as Leah in Leah, the Forsaken'*, 1863, albumen carte de visite published by Ashford Brothers & Co, 9.2 mm x 5.8 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 108 Heath and Beau, *Charles Albert Fechter in 'The Duke's Motto',* 1863, albumen carte-de-visite, 8.6 x 5.6 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 109 (George) Herbert Watkins, *William Charles Macready*, late 1850s, albumen print, 19.1 mm x 14.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 110 (George) Herbert Watkins, *Adelaide Ristori as Lady Macbeth in the Watkins Album, late 1850s,* albumen print, 20.2 x 14.9 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 111 (George) Herbert Watkins, *Adelaide Ristori as Lady Macbeth in the Watkins Album,* late 1850s, albumen print, 20.2 mm x 14.9 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 112 (George) Herbert Watkins, *Frederick Robson as Medea in the Watkins Album*, late 1850s, albumen print, 18.8 x 13.7 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 113 S. Rosenthal after George Herbert Watkins, '*Robson's Medea Quadrilles' with a portrait of Frederick Robson in the Character of Medea*, undated, chromolithograph, 34.4 x 24.2 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 114 (George) Herbert Watkins, *Frederick Robson Photo-Caricature*, 1855-1865, albumen carte de visite, 8.8 x 5.7 cm, Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 115 (George) Herbert Watkins, *Frederick Robson in the Watkins Album*, late 1850s, albumen print, 19.1 x 15.2 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 116 Emily Mary Osborn, *Nameless and Friendless "The rich man's wealth is his strong city, etc." - Proverbs, x, 15,* 1857, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 103.8 cm, Tate, London.