

The policy and management of Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited

The second artistic director, Clive Perry, was recruited from the Phoenix Theatre, Leicester where he had been the first director of productions from 1963. He was no stranger to theatre administration, having been a trainee director at Derby Playhouse in 1960 and then associate director at the Castle Theatre, Farnham from 1961.ⁱ At this small fortnightly non-profit repertory theatre there was no administrator and he exchanged the task with artistic director Joan Knight (1923-1996) with successive productions: whoever was not directing acted as manager. There was nothing hit-or-miss about the arrangement: in this 166-seat club theatre, they had remarkable support from 3,000 members and he developed an acute judgement and interest in the realities of organisation.ⁱⁱ When appointed to the Royal Lyceum Theatre (at the age of 29) he was therefore able, as a director, to subordinate the deliberations of the board and management to serve the theatre's artistic ambitions.



13. The second artistic director, Clive Perry

Dealing death to the directors' demands for a board play-reading committee was one of his first manoeuvres. This classic example of ambiguity in board-management relations was bypassed when Perry created the new *staff* position of literary adviser. Although William Archer and Harley Granville Barker had sanctified the importance

of dramaturgy,ⁱⁱⁱ the post had never been a deep-seated part of artistic direction in subsidised theatre until the founding of the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1960. Then, assistant director John Barton (1928-) was plays adviser and, with more likeness to subsequent shape in some repertory theatres, Sir Laurence Olivier (Baron Olivier of Brighton, 1907-1989) reinforced The National Theatre play selection processes by appointing the theatre critic Kenneth Tynan (1927–1980) to the task, in 1963. At Edinburgh, the actor Alan Brown was literary adviser from 1967 and then the playwright Stewart Conn (1936-) from 1973 to 1975. The post helped Perry to outdo the board's cumbersome imposition. The board may have brought voluntary political and commercial expertise to meetings, representing theatregoer views and providing the funding bodies with confident expectations of good financial control, but the better judgement to nominate plays rested – like other expert undertakings – in the province of theatre artists. This was especially so because the persons who would direct the plays had to *want* to do so if they were to have true feeling. Under Perry, the professionals worked well with the board, usurping their inclination to be both decision makers and doers. The redefinition of these relationships would be a never-ending task, but the company moved quickly beyond the troublesome founding phase. Moreover, it did so without losing sight of Fleming's sense of mission that inspired Edinburgh's new 'repertory ideal'.

After a second year's loss of £11,045 (£45,000), there was seven years' financial stability with small surpluses or losses. During this time, Perry – who was always a shrewd delegator – engaged a gifted team of associate directors, such as Richard Eyre (1943-), who was promoted to be director of productions in 1971 but left to run the Nottingham Playhouse in 1972. Other associate directors were Bill (William Campbell Rough) Bryden (1942-) and, later, Robert Kidd (1943-1986) and Bill Pryde (1951-). Others were part-time or honorary, such as Michael Rudman (1939-) who joined after he left the Traverse Theatre for Hampstead Theatre Club and from where he occasionally presented Royal Lyceum productions. These teams developed into a group of 'associated artists', including playwrights, designers, actors and technicians, who were responsible to Perry for artistic planning. In turn, Perry, although making the final decisions, synthesised the opinions of this inventive grouping, conveying their opinions to the board.

During this period, that began with Perry's own production of *The Devil's Disciple* (Bernard Shaw, 1899) there were – in addition to a full account of classical and contemporary plays – many exalted productions of Scottish plays. These included *The Hypocrite* (Robert McLellan, 1967, after Jean-Baptiste Poquelin Molière, 1670), *The Ha-Ha* (Richard Eyre, 1967, after Jennifer Dawson), *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (Muriel Spark, 1961, adapt. Jay Presson Allen, 1966, first British production, following premiere in New York), a revival of *The Flowers O' Edinburgh* (Robert McLellan, 1948), *The Chippit Chantie* (Victor Carin, 1968, after *The Broken Jug*, Heinrich von Kleist, 1808), *The Death and Resurrection of Mr Roche* (Richard Eyre, 1969), *Willie Rough* (Bill Bryden, 1970), *The Burning* (Stewart Conn, 1971), *The Aquarium* (Stewart Conn, 1972) and *The Bevellers* (Roddy McMillan, 1973).

Often, commissions for eleven new plays were under way, giving the directorate the best chance of selecting near-finished and favourable scripts. From these commissions – that took time to progress to full productions and were therefore most evident after Perry's first three years in harness – plays with topical issues had the prospect of reaching the stage, as with Tom Gallacher's *Prospero* (1974) about the North Sea Oil industry, or the near-local history of Bill Bryden's *Benny Lynch* (1974), recounting the career of the Glasgow boxer. Such inceptive choices were not limited to new Scottish drama, as when premieres of English plays were staged, including Anne Jellicoe's *The Giveaway* and Keith Waterhouse and Willis Hall's *Children's Day* in 1969, or John Whiting's hitherto unperformed *No More A'Rovin* – commissioned but declined by Northampton Repertory Theatre in 1960 – given in Edinburgh in 1973.^{iv} The repertoire was inspired by many other innovations as when, for the Christmas season of 1970, *Babes in the Wood* (F.W. Wyndham, 1907) was the first of a succession of Edwardian and Victorian pantomime-books exhumed from the Howard and Wyndham repertory and which were 'concluded each evening with a Harlequinade'. Indubitably, the quality of productions was revered, as testified by the British Council that organised tours of *A Man for All Seasons* (Robert Bolt, 1960) and *Look Back in Anger* (John Osborne, 1956) to West Africa and the Far East in the season of 1970-1971.

On two occasions in 1973 – a year when CORT (now renamed the Council of Regional Theatre) celebrated the accomplishments of repertory theatres with a

nationwide Festival of British Theatre^v – the company co-produced Britain-wide tours through the No.1 circuit. These were presented by Henry Sherwood Productions Limited and Triumph Productions Limited: Andrew Cruikshank (1907-1988) in *The Master Builder* (Henrik Ibsen, 1892, trans. Michael Meyer, 1959) and Margaret Lockwood (1916-1990) in *Relative Values* (Noël Coward, 1951). These pre-planned tours, which opened under the company's aegis in Edinburgh, and played seasons in London's West End, earned the Royal Lyceum £3,883^{vi} (£34,170) from royalties but were the company's only full collaborations with a London West End producer in 36 years. Although *The Ha Ha* and *The Death and Resurrection of Mr Roche* performed at Hampstead Theatre Club, *The Bevellers* at the Shaw Theatre and later productions appeared at other London theatres such as Riverside Studios, these – plus the example of *Willie Rough* that toured more extensively in Scotland as well as to the Shaw Theatre – were all in association with non-profit hosting theatres.

The infrequency of collaborations with a profit-seeking management is significant, for without these royalties, the year's small net surplus of £460 (£4,048) would have been a deficit of £3,423 (£30,122) and, had the affiliations continued, would come to reap more income. For some other subsidised regional companies, such as the Haymarket Theatre, Leicester (built 1973 to replace the Phoenix) or the 69 Theatre Company of Manchester – that affiliated frequently with West End producers on big plays or musicals with 'star' names but did not rely upon the proceeds as part of their forecasts – this practice was feared by arts councils and critics for its potential to turn a subsidised theatre into a mere try-out venue for the West End. This might not be so bad in itself – after all, before the era of subsidy, Barry Jackson had sustained the local operations of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre by transferring 47 productions to London in the decade to 1932^{vii} - but the fear was that this might turn a company towards the business theatre, at the neglect of the artistic theatre. Arts councils might also criticise an artistic director for receiving a percentage of the receipts and profits, because part of their salary was paid by the public purse and although a cut of the takings was a cheap way of rewarding them for their successes, the royalties gave them a vested interest beyond their employer's concerns. Often, the director could receive a higher percentage than the subsidised company. The subject might even be interpreted as first signal of a creeping deviation from the first purposes of subsidy; from the expression of government 'support and encouragement for the arts' to that of

‘government aid to the arts industry’. Alternatively, depending on one’s angle, it might be rendered as an early example of the now extensive and constructive cooperation between the subsidised theatre and the commercial sector. Elsewhere, though seldom in Scotland, repertories have more often exploited their government subsidy by extending the life of a new play through equal partnerships with a London manager. Thus, a subsidised company might supply playwriting, direction and design talent to stimulate the West End, reciprocated by extra money invested from London in united production budgets, and with the added bonus of actors having longer rehearsal time and extended employment.^{viii}

However, the danger of this policy is illustrated most graphically by the case of the English Stage Company at the Royal Court Theatre. With its reputation as an outlet for new drama, its success in the early 1970s made this company take for granted a royalties’ income from transferred productions of one-quarter of all turnover. Unexpectedly, the Royal Court was unable to transfer its productions in the mid-1970s because West End managers were cautious of new plays during a recession. This exposed the policy of relying too heavily on commercial partnerships without underlying subsidy or working capital, resulting in an abrupt deficit of over £150,000 (£714,000) and near bankruptcy, including the cancellation in 1975 of the Court’s planned hosting of the Royal Lyceum production of *How Mad Tulloch Was Taken Away* (John Morris, 1975).^{ix} The parallels and warnings for Royal Lyceum were obvious, even if the subject was, in the longer term, more apposite to the Traverse Theatre where more new plays have had a longer-life: a more prudent course would be to use the profits arising from tours to build reserves or spend them on discrete, occasional projects.

Whilst these first affiliations between the Royal Lyceum and a West End manager were unusual in Scottish theatre, attempts to worm into favour with the Edinburgh International Festival were of more consequence but as anticipated in the discussion of the Gateway Theatre, intermittent and often fraught. During the term of Peter Diamand (1913-1999) as festival director (from 1966 to 1978) – when Prospect Productions was the most frequently presented British drama company – the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company made no appearances in 1967, 1968 and 1969. Then, in 1970, Richard Eyre’s productions of *Random Happenings in The Hebrides* (John

McGrath, 1970) and *The Changeling* (Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, 1622) appeared in repertoire, followed in 1971 by his production of *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (James Hogg, 1824, adapt. Jack Ronder, 1971). All were staged at the main theatre until, in 1973, Bill Bryden's production of [*Ane Satyre of*] *The Thrie Estaites* (Sir David Lyndsay, c.1485-1555, adapt. Tom Wright, 1973) performed at the Assembly Hall with 35 actors, in the fifth revival of this play for the International Festival. That year represented the company's largest contribution to the official festival in 36 years progress, with *The Knife* (Ian Brown, 1973) in the studio as a lunchtime production and an expanded Young Lyceum Company of twenty actors at the Assembly Hall in *Woyzeck* (Georg Büchner, 1837). Use of other 'found space' resumed in 1974, when the Young Lyceum Company appeared at the Haymarket Ice Rink in *The Fantastical Feats of Fin MacCool* (Sean McCarthy, 1974). However, it would be eighteen years before the company produced again for the official festival. Noticeably, these years were tempered by interminable on-again-off-again negotiations and other imbroglios with successive festival directors, the detail of which is surveyed in Chapter Six. Festival directors would not necessarily even see the company's productions, because until 1992 they programmed festivals from an office in London, secluding themselves from the North British city, excepting their fleeting attendance at board meetings and the August jamboree. With doubtless heartburn for the Lyceum, the festival often chose productions of British drama by English repertoires such as the Bristol Old Vic, Leeds Playhouse, Manchester Royal Exchange, Billingham Forum, Salisbury Playhouse and Nottingham Playhouse; and, with more abasement for the Royal Lyceum, Scottish contributions from the Brunton Theatre, Musselburgh, the Citizens' Theatre, Glasgow and Edinburgh's Traverse Theatre Club.

However, the question of festival productions may have weighed lighter during Clive Perry's tenure, because at other times of the year the company was shipshape, attracting ample audiences. In the three peak years for attendance, for instance, 124,227 seats sold for in-house productions in 1971-1972, 132,566 in 1972-1973 and 137,085 in 1973-1974.^x The average number of tickets sold for the twelve years of the first non-profit company was 126,006 whereas, as will be shown, during the second company's management from 1977 to 2000, the average number of seats sold for in-house productions was only 101,609.

These figures exclude those for another significant development of Clive Perry's tenure. This was the formation in 1969 of a short-lived Theatre in Education (TIE) team, operated jointly by the company and the education department of Edinburgh Corporation, directed by Brian Stanyon and, from 1971, by Sue Birtwistle. Modelled on the first such team which was at the Belgrade Theatre, Coventry, it continued only until 1973.^{xi} In the first year, for instance, five programmes were created and a team of four actor-teachers performed 155 visits to Edinburgh primary and secondary schools, involving 13,260 pupils.^{xii} Attentive to new ways of presenting the conventional curriculum in all subjects – but often dominated by social issues – the actor-teachers (plus one stage manager and no separate administration) worked with teachers to question the characteristics of learning and teaching methods. The doctrine had as much to do with company policy outwith the building and in the community, including public relations, as with precise educational policy, for the main company wanted to secure a young audience for its future. Moreover, regardless of whether TIE really had any impact on attendances at the main theatres, the team was the company's first attempt to prove its worth through events outwith conventional theatre buildings.

The first year's 'programmes' – that were never described as 'plays' – confirm the participatory process of the work that was researched and created collectively, often using local or topical issues that might appeal across the curriculum. *The Blew Blanket*, set in fifteenth-century Edinburgh, traced the conflict between merchant guilds and craft associations, set against the growth of the corporation. The team worked independently of the main company except when, occasionally, a mainstage play provoked a coordinated TIE programme as when the team devised their second offering, *There's Something About a Soldier*. Based on themes of war and recruiting, it was suggested by the full production of *Trumpets and Drums* (Bertolt Brecht, 1956, after *The Recruiting Officer*, George Farquhar, 1706). This programme was given in two parts: firstly a preparatory discussion and improvisation and secondly a documentary staging of the attitudes of soldiers compiled by the whole team from sources other than the main play. The third programme was *Mission Underground*, devised for special schools, followed by *Ticuna*, about mythology and a tribe of Amazonian Indians, for primary children. The final programme in the first year was *The Sense Olympics*, timed to coincide with schools' interest in the 1970 British

Commonwealth Games (that were staged in Edinburgh) and given as a physical education lesson at which two scientists interrupt the class to install a computer in the school. After the performance, children were encouraged to draw comparisons between the potential of men and machines.

The growth of educational drama in the school curriculum eventually made TIE expendable, although a handful of other teams – notably the Roundabout TIE at the Nottingham Playhouse – endure today along the lines of the Coventry and Edinburgh form. The Edinburgh team depended wholly on one source of subsidy and was vulnerable to external policy changes. Although the company and Scottish Arts Council believed that education work was a foundation of improving access to the arts, when Scottish Arts Council attempted to transfer financial responsibility to the reorganised education department, the shadow Lothian Regional Council declined responsibility. Teachers considered the team to be a success and the company also believed it was good way of widening access, but withdrawal of the grant of £5,000 (£44,000) was fatal.^{xiii} Perhaps the scheme had responded to imagined educational disadvantage as an obstacle to future enjoyment of theatre, rather than to any existing and explicit demand from schools. Unfamiliar with the use of drama in education, many artistic directors and local authorities became wary of the idealism of TIE and its fabled reputation (in some other teams, such as The Duke's Playhouse, Lancaster) for harbouring quackish experts. Others used the work for socialist propaganda, bolstered by their membership of the Workers' Revolutionary Party. Like some sceptics, Clive Perry may not have been a fan, for he anticipated closure in 1973 by shifting the company's educational policy to prefer plays for young people performed by young actors from drama schools, rather than actor-teachers trained in colleges of education or universities:

A service of top quality to schools must continue to be the broad policy... and it is absolutely essential to create a new company to provide documentaries, plays and a general awareness of solid theatrical experience to as large a number of schoolchildren as possible in what will be the new district of Edinburgh, also to endeavour to build this company into a group which can perform in the smaller, so far unserved theatres that exist in growing numbers in the new regions. To be able to contend with this problem and to provide what is even more important, a regular means of employment for a young Scottish company, forms one of the innovations of future policy.^{xiv}

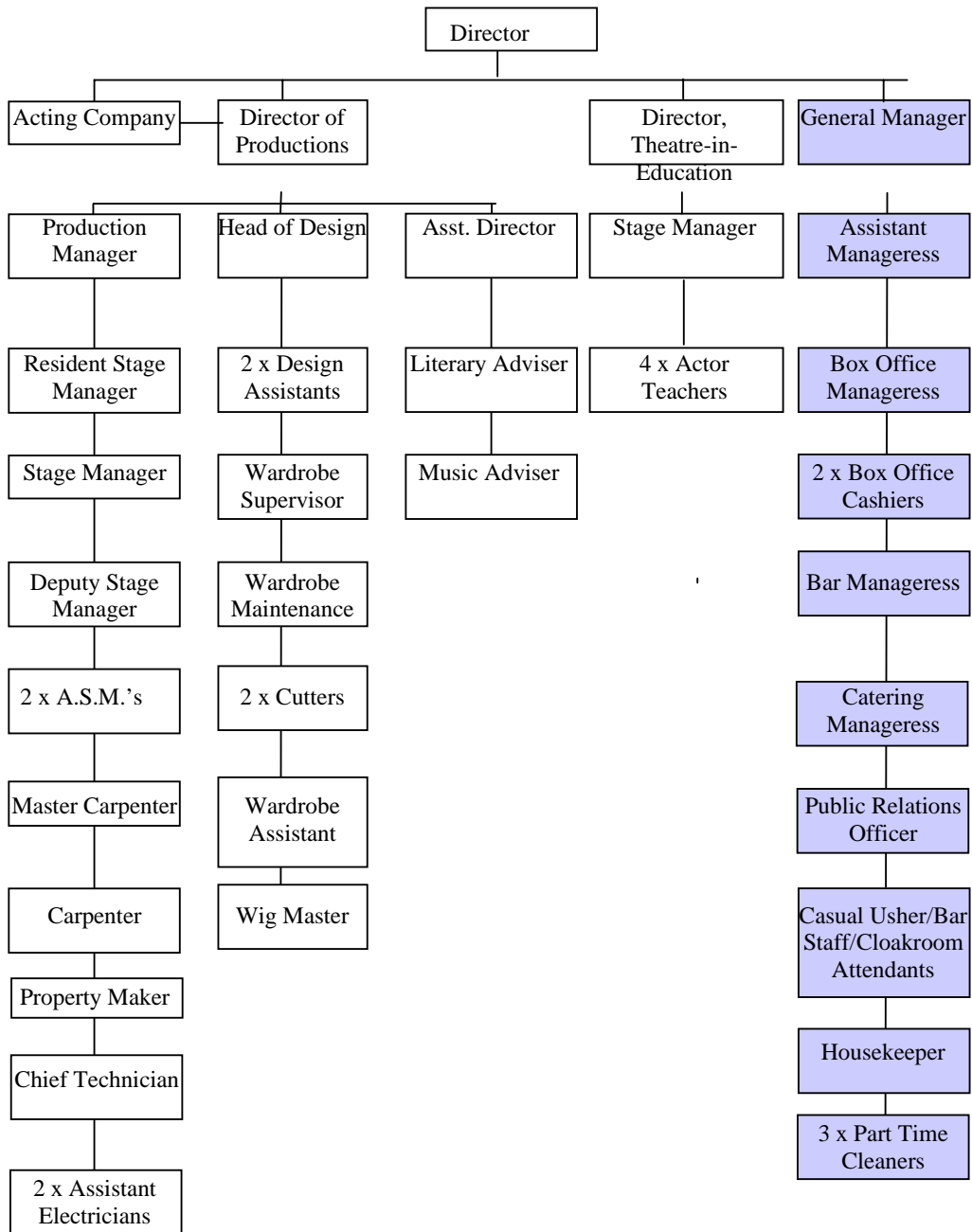
Perry's more intentional youth audience policy – that can be seen as grappling with the balance and uncertainties of 'excellence' and 'access' – led to the formation of the Young Lyceum Company that, as discussed, performed in the studio theatre for evening productions as well as in association with the Pool Theatre Club for short lunchtime productions and, infrequently, in schools. For where an educational framework had at first driven the company's youth policy, this was substituted by a tighter alignment to the aims of public relations and marketing, seeking to identify with young people through young actors in conventional productions. The pursuit of this future youth audience on which the company would be dependent in the longer term has since taken different directions – as will be demonstrated in Chapter Six – but efforts to specify policy and establish a fundamental position for 'access', 'outreach', 'education', 'youth' and 'community' work have always been a difficult undertaking, for this company. Less institutional frameworks for community and youth theatres have often gained the ground, even when they collaborated with the Royal Lyceum, such as Craigmillar Festival Society (1960), Theatre Workshop (re-formed at Stockbridge premises in 1976), Scottish Youth Theatre (1976) and the Scottish International Children's Theatre Festival, Edinburgh (1991, now a promotion of the year-round children's theatre work of 'Imaginate').

Supporting the artistic direction in these prolific activities was a simple internal organisation. In 1971, for instance, 40 members of staff were employed full-time, excluding the acting company and with few freelance professionals. Eight members of staff were administrative: the company employed only one administrator for every five production staff members. Although the external environment had become more complex with increased subsidy, the behaviour of the Scottish Arts Council and local authority towards the internal organisation was supportive and predictable, playing a secondary role to the board and artistic direction. In turn, this stable situation meant that Perry and the small management team of director of productions, general manager, production manager and director of theatre-in-education could get on with their jobs without undue intervention from the funding bodies. For the institution, the cardinal issues were to run the theatre and create the productions efficiently. As a structure for this style of 1970s resolute organisation, staffing may be represented as a diagram (Box 5.6).

The ability of the company to operate well depended on this structure of authority and representation of their bureaucracy reveals a lot, as well as pointing to differences today, thereby offering insights for later evaluation as when, during the 1990s, it depicted organisation in a myriad of formal and more structurally complex blueprints. The system operating in the 1970s suggests a theatre company where small teams could interact and communicate easily with one another. Any organisation chart shows who reported to whom, but the vertical hierarchies at the Royal Lyceum tended to be taller than today because with fewer managers the number of staffs reporting to each manager was larger. With a lean administration supporting the production of more plays than today, there was more interplay between a small number of administrators and a more highly motivated production staff.

**BOX 5.6 EDINBURGH CIVIC THEATRE TRUST LIMITED
RECONSTRUCTED STAFF ORGANISATION CHART 1971**

Administrative staff: colour coded

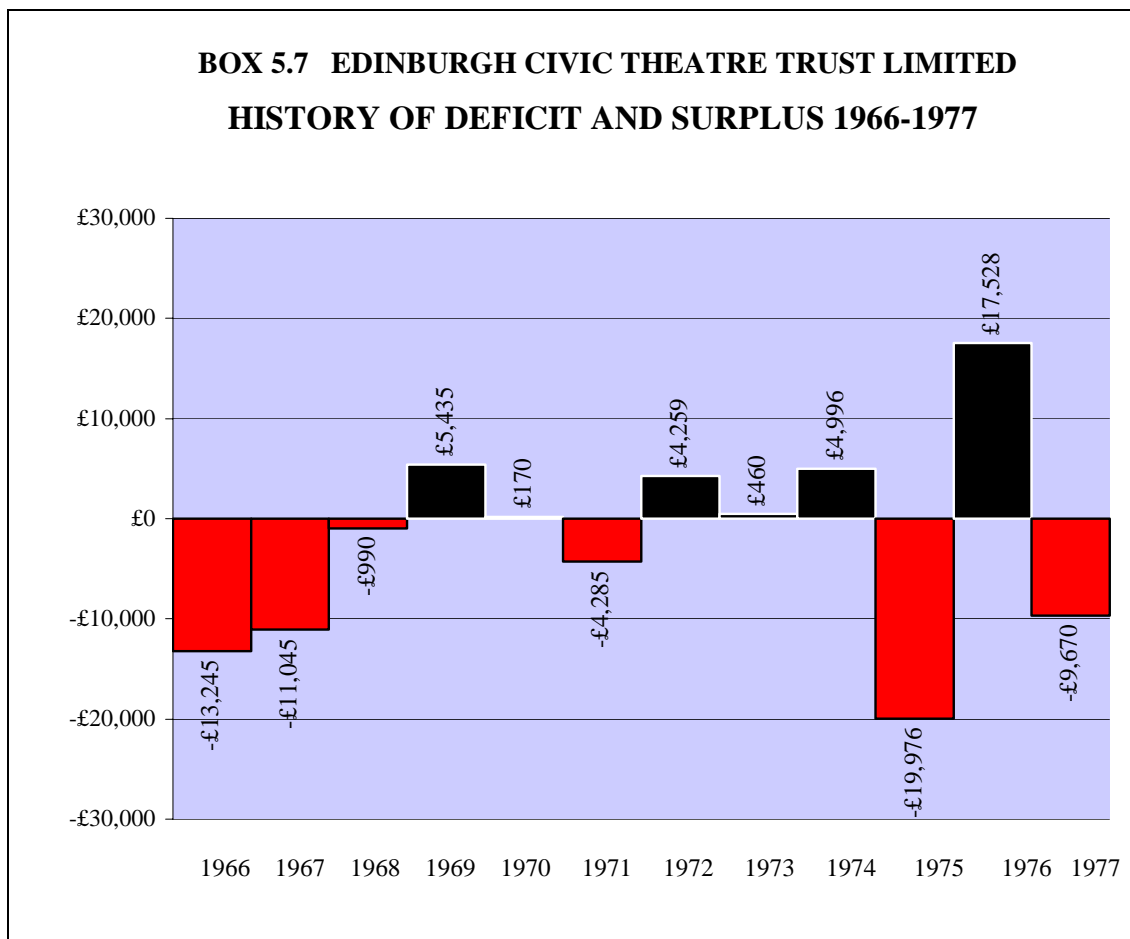


Administrative efficiency was not more important than the creation of productions and, to compensate for less expertise in the principles of formal management, finance

and marketing from outwith the theatre industry, all Royal Lyceum managers had to be more knowledgeable and enthusiastic about the theatre than future generations need be. Possibly, the senior managers exploited staffs, unable to offer them many rewards or opportunities for professional growth and training, other than the personal satisfaction of hard work in an enterprising theatre that offered a 'family' working atmosphere in which they 'lived and breathed' the company. With few administrators, the artistic director and general manager retained more individual authority and responsibility than their successors, now so overwhelmed with rules, new conditions of subsidy and standardised working methods imposed by the funding authorities, that delegation, consensus-working and a more horizontal hierarchical structure has been adopted (Chapter Seven, Box 7.11). The lissom administrative dimension to Perry's overall direction seemed to work well, setting a framework that lasted until the 1980s. It helped to apply the greater part of box-office income and subsidy to the costs of artists and productions. However, by 1996, when the structure was no longer dictated by an artistic director or effectively and independently moderated by the board of directors, Perry's corporate culture was unrecognisable. Then, a Scottish Arts Council investigation omitted any recollection of these historical proficiencies. It might have observed that although the full-time staffs had risen in 25 years from 40 to 52, the number of administrators had swollen from 8 to 26. Of course, some of these – such as front of house attendants – are always essential, but their number did not increase; rather the expansion occurred in the offices. Where the company was now horrendously over-managed, production staffs – who might anyway be supposed to be fewer because of new technologies and working on the creation of fewer productions – reduced from 32 to 26.^{xv} Progress towards this bloated ratio of one administrator for every direct production staff member, together with the company's frequent replacement of jobs, revised roles and quickly changed accountabilities applied in a chaotic and unpredictable manner, will be observed in Chapter Six. The blatant contrast between the efficacy of the 1970s organisation structure and today suggests that Perry's system might now be seen even to have the same weight as recollection of the company's other, specifically theatrical accomplishments.

Stability, expansion and the company's finances in perspective

This organisational structure served to underpin the company's financial stability for the seven years to 1974, with production capabilities, funding and audience tastes finding the best equilibrium in the company's entire 36 years' progress: an assertion that is largely supported by the financial records summarised in the following charts. However, in the three years from 1975, results oscillate markedly from a deficit of £19,976 (£95,085) to a surplus of £17,528 (£83,433) and a deficit of £9,670 (£46,029):



Latterly, Royal Lyceum's former director of productions Richard Eyre has argued that every company's artistic vigour is circumscribed by time. Perhaps prompted by his own Edinburgh experience – as well as later work as director of the Royal National

Theatre (from 1988 to 1997) – he suggests that this is rarely maintained beyond seven years and that:

While theatre will remain inextinguishable, its survival won't depend on the institutions that have been established for the needs and aspirations of different generations. Buildings can be changed and replaced; institutions can evolve. The large theatre companies....which emerged from a particular time and imperative, must adapt. Any theatre will dwindle that does not allow for the luck of genius and possess the will to accommodate it.^{xvi}

Although no two-theatre life cycles are identical, Eyre's conviction can be seen, in passing, to mirror the theories of the influential sociologist, management guru and model-builder Max Weber (1864-1920), who asserted that leadership of any organisation proceeds through a sequence of turning points. Hence, in any theatre an entrepreneurial artistic director might become increasingly formal and expansionist over time, as he worked to sustain the company. At Edinburgh, from a life cycle perspective, the activities of the first non-profit company certainly vouch for this desire for expansion and, if the Eyre and Weber standpoints are correct, these desires were embodied in the ambitions of Clive Perry. After seven years of stability, the years from 1974 stick out as a telling time of organisational change, with the emerging profession of subsidised arts administration, particularly at the Scottish Arts Council, displaying a first flush of enthusiastic collaborator in matters strategic. For the Royal Lyceum, angling for new status and prestige was fostered by response to a series of overlapping factors.

The first of these expansionist factors concerned a merger with the King's Theatre. The corporation had acquired the freehold of the King's Theatre from Howard and Wyndham in 1969 and then managed it directly for four years but, in 1973, when the council supposed that shared management would lead to savings, Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust took over artistic and administrative responsibilities at the King's. This is the first example in Britain of an attempt to fuse a repertory theatre and a touring house into one theatre management and, following several other local authorities' purchase of No.1 theatres, is only the second example of a civic touring theatre being managed at arms-length through the intermediary of a non-profit company. For this new operation, Perry was promoted to be director of theatres, with Charles Tripp supervising John Robertson and Stewart O. Murray, the resident managers at each

theatre. Council awarded the trust an annual guarantee against loss of £20,000 (£95,200) and a grant of £4,000 (£19,040) towards the director of theatres' salary, whilst charging a rent of £20,000 (£95,200).^{xvii} In the first year of merger, the guarantee went unclaimed and the King's made an ample net surplus of £8,815 (£41,871). In the second year, the trust made a small deficit of £1,434 (£6,825)^{xviii} and then, because of several closed weeks caused by scarcity of productions from the profit-seeking London impresarios, there were upsetting losses of £33,589 (£159,883)^{xix} in 1975 and £54,794 (£260,819) in 1976.^{xx} Even so, these shortfalls were far less than the deficits incurred when the King's Theatre reverted to direct council management after 1977. In the years to 1997, the year from when the King's was managed for a second-time by a non-profit trust, the losses exceeded £500,000 for ten years running. However, the four years of joint-Lyceum management might also be deemed a successful expansionist strategy for the company, for other reasons. For public enjoyment, the quality of pantomimes was improved by new productions created by the trust, including a return to Edinburgh of the famous dame, Stanley Baxter (1926-). Pantomimes also fed an enduring arrangement with the Empire Theatre, Sunderland and the King's Theatre, Glasgow whereby production costs could be amortised through rotation of the Christmas shows to the other cities. However, after local government reorganisation in 1976 – that was occasioned by The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 – this effective experiment to centralise resources proved of no interest to either the new Royal Lyceum Theatre Company or the new Edinburgh District Council. Joint-management was discontinued, despite the apparent advantages of pooling certain responsibilities such as scheduling, finance, box-office operations, maintenance, production workshops and publicity as well as the easier avoidance of programme clashes. Abandoning the consolidation of the two theatres was also surprising, because the repertory company benefited from control over a larger, competing theatre. This gave managers access to information about a larger audience at the King's Theatre, as well as keeping them in touch with profit-seeking producers that might be useful in future negotiations, as when the company co-produced West End productions and tours with Henry Sherwood and Triumph Productions.

Ultimately, the differing outlooks of a repertory company and a touring theatre – incarnate in the discordant interests of many artistic directors and managers today, if

not in their boards of directors – meant that since then the systems have almost never cooperated in any city. Indeed, after Edinburgh the only other initiatives have been arrangements in Sheffield and Northampton. At Sheffield in 1990, the rehabilitation of the Lyceum Theatre (built 1893) as a No.1 touring house prompted the formation of two non-profit trusts under one chief executive, Stephen Barry (1945-2000) and the redundancies of the long-serving Crucible Theatre artistic director Clare Venables (1939-) and general manager Geoffrey Rowe (1947-). From 1992, these two non-profit companies amalgamated fully as Sheffield Theatres Limited, since when the arrangement has seen out four artistic directors. At Northampton, the Sheffield experience served as a blueprint for a full-merger of the non-profit repertory company at the Royal Theatre with that of the council-managed and adjacent Derngate Theatre (built 1980), creating Northampton Theatres Trust Limited in 2000. As with the theatres in Sheffield, the scheme led to the departure of an accomplished artistic director and general manager from the repertory company, made redundant in favour of a chief executive promoted from the touring house and the arrival of a new ‘artistic producer’ who resigned after only one season. The Royal Lyceum–King’s Theatre model at least demonstrates that the demarcation need not be as unworkable as is often imagined, but the others demonstrate a bewildering turnover of leaders.^{xxi}

A second expansion factor in Edinburgh had roots in the company’s artistic (and potentially bureaucratic) ambition to be a national theatre or at least to stage larger productions as ‘the major drama company for Scotland’. This ill-defined aspiration – that henceforward simmers through the progress of the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company as a distraction from its core mission – had a lot to do with the institution’s hankering for reputation, supremacy, indispensability and self-preservation, as well as suspicion of competition. Arguably, these are defining features of the wider Edinburgh Establishment’s mentality: part and parcel of a dreamed-up, elevated status for a small capital city. Even so, theatres and companies anywhere often believe that their infrastructure stagnates if it is not expanding: that they cannot keep the kettle boiling without empire-building and being a ‘major’ theatre or even the ‘jewel in the crown’.

The Scottish Arts Council, because of the paucity of suitable touring productions for the No.1 theatres, believed that a bigger drama company should exist to create

productions as a close relation to Scottish Opera and Scottish Ballet, and they had excited this wish.^{xxii} Recommendations for attaining the physical aspects needed to match the production scales of the lyric companies included the company acquiring (by leasehold) the long-coveted production workshop premises, in the suburb of Murrayfield in 1974. These workshops were seen as 'having potential for refurbishment and expansion for the well-being of theatre throughout Scotland, in the construction and making of sets and costumes for big touring productions as well as in the event of a Scottish national theatre based in Edinburgh'.^{xxiii} Furthermore, the ongoing dream of building an opera house adjacent to the Royal Lyceum encouraged the notion that the lyric companies might even move base from Glasgow to Edinburgh, cooperating with an expanded Royal Lyceum Theatre Company to give seasons of integrated repertoire. The scheme for an opera house might animate the local authority to either substantially refurbish the Royal Lyceum or construct a new drama theatre to replace it.

Meanwhile, the only large British drama companies touring intermittently in Scotland were the National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company, together with more sustained visits from Prospect Theatre Company that, in addition to performing at the Edinburgh International Festival, showed interest in relocation to Edinburgh under its Scottish directors, Toby Robertson (1928-) and Iain Mackintosh (1938-). These three companies performed at the King's Theatre. Perhaps Perry was suspicious of Scottish Arts Council preference for the establishment of the separate Scottish Theatre Company (eventually begun in 1980). He appointed Robertson a part-time associate director, with the intention of a closer alliance with Prospect and to reassure the funding bodies that the Royal Lyceum had the expertise to develop into a national theatre, instead of starting a new company from scratch. Thus, at the 1974 annual general meeting Perry declared a change of policy:

The existing Lyceum Company will develop into a new ensemble to present to audiences in Edinburgh, elsewhere in Scotland, England and abroad, an international repertoire at the highest standard. Within this new concept we will develop new Scottish theatrical traditions, providing greater opportunities for Scottish playwrights, players and directors. The programme of expansion marks the return of a resident company performing in repertoire for part of the year and a concentration of product within the Royal Lyceum Theatre together with a new commitment to touring. There will be two main seasons of repertoire of

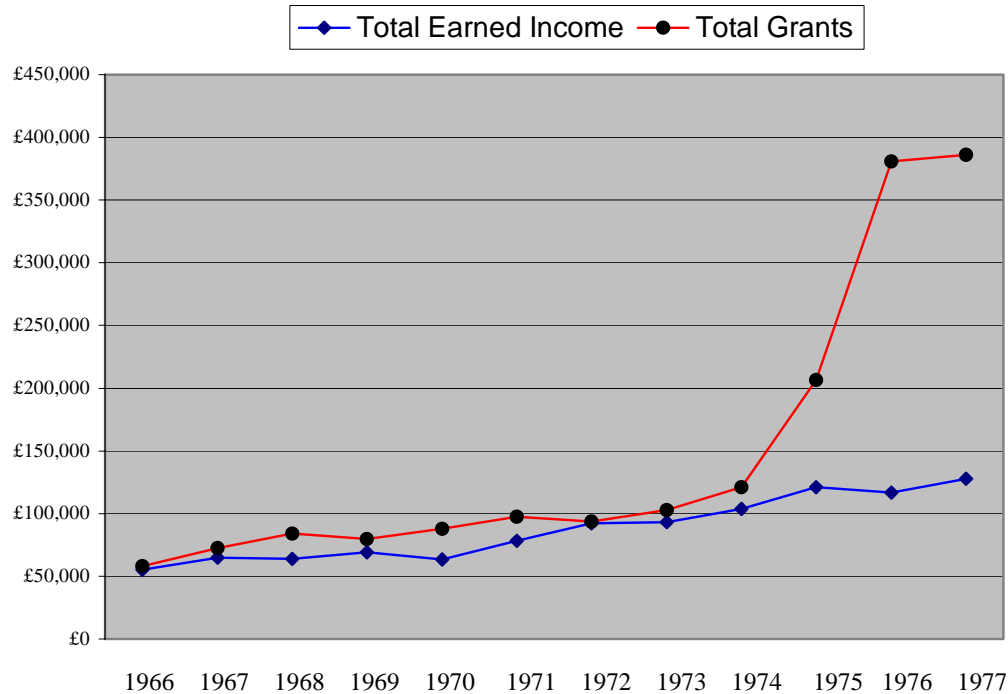
eleven weeks each in the autumn and spring of each year and three productions running in sequence for Christmas and the New Year. For these purposes, we will develop a resident company of 25 actors and the Young Lyceum Company will expand to 12 resident actors to present three seasons of plays. Each production will be given a minimum rehearsal period of four and a half weeks and in the first repertoire season when five productions will rotate in the space of eleven weeks, the number of performances of each play will vary from four to seventeen.... It is hoped that we can work in partnership with the Scottish Arts Council towards the goal of building up a major National Theatre.^{xxiv}

These pronouncements can be rendered as not only a policy change but also a bid to fulfil Tom Fleming's expectations as first artistic director. However, on this occasion the promise of expansion and repertoire elicited even higher-flown support from the funding authorities, with the revenue grant from Scottish Arts Council more than doubling, from £71,475 (£340,221) in 1973-1974 to £155,923 (£742,193) in 1975, climbing to £220,052 (£1,047,448) in 1977. Increases from the corporation soon followed, with Edinburgh's grant almost doubling, from £46,450 (£221,100) to £94,000 (£447,740). However, the following schedules reveal that subsidy was unmatched by corresponding proportionate increases in box-office income:

BOX 5.8 EDINBURGH CIVIC THEATRE TRUST LIMITED												
SCHEDULE OF EARNED INCOME AND SUBSIDY, 1966-1977^{xxv}												
	Box Office Income	Other Earned Income	Donors Income	Total Earned Income	SAC Main Grant	SAC Other Grant	SAC Total Grants	Local Auth Grants	Other Local Auth	Local Auth Total	Total Grants Income	Total Income
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1966	50,580	3,453	1,000	55,033	16,540	0	16,540	41,439	0	41,439	57,979	113,012
1967	53,679	11,093	0	64,772	32,000	8,325	40,325	32,000	0	32,000	72,325	137,097
1968	50,422	13,623	0	64,045	43,000	8,898	51,898	32,000	0	32,000	83,898	147,943
1969	54,454	14,500	0	68,954	43,000	4,830	47,830	32,000	0	32,000	79,830	148,784
1970	50,052	12,897	336	63,285	45,000	9,660	54,660	32,000	1,000	33,000	87,660	150,945
1971	58,428	19,921	0	78,349	46,000	17,686	63,686	32,000	2,000	34,000	97,686	176,035
1972	70,665	21,590	194	92,449	51,520	8,831	60,351	33,500	0	33,500	93,851	186,300
1973	74,379	18,906	50	93,335	56,700	11,254	67,954	35,011	0	35,011	102,965	196,300
1974	84,877	18,619	22	103,518	62,000	9,475	71,475	45,333	4,000	49,333	120,808	224,326
1975	87,194	34,068	0	121,262	155,923	0	155,923	46,450	4,000	50,450	206,373	327,635
1976	89,721	27,062	0	116,783	187,267	0	187,267	94,000	*99,493	193,493	380,760	497,543
1977	98,200	29,552	100	127,852	220,052	0	220,052	80,000	*85,940	165,940	385,992	513,844

* = Lothian Regional Council general grant

**BOX 5.9 EDINBURGH CIVIC THEATRE TRUST LIMITED
EARNED INCOME AND GRANTS: 31 March 1966 – 31 March 1977**



Unlike Fleming’s repertoire experiments, Perry’s play choices and scheduling - that was weekly changeover of plays rather than nightly – did at the least hold the audience. The choices for repertoire comprised *Twelfth Night* (William Shakespeare, 1594-1601), *Good is Good* (Sean McCarthy, 1974), *Jumpers* (Tom Stoppard, 1972), *Major Barbara* (Bernard Shaw, 1905) and *The Iceman Cometh* (Eugene O’Neill, 1939). Then, after two Christmas attractions, the next rotating season added the much-revived production of *The Flowers O’Edinburgh* (Robert McLellan, 1948), with McCarthy’s new play enjoying intermittent scheduling of eleven weeks over the next two years, an exceptional number of performances for a new play in Edinburgh. The second new play was *How Mad Tulloch Was Taken Away* (John Morris, 1975), joined in repertoire by *The Apple Cart* (Bernard Shaw, 1929), *The Government Inspector* (Nikolai Vasilivich Gogol, 1836) and *A Month in the Country* (Ivan Turgenev, 1850). Several productions toured Scotland but, more importantly for the company’s impact

on Edinburgh, their revival in succeeding years (and hence lengthier runs) confirms that, even if annualised receipts did not noticeably climb, audiences were excited.

On the other hand, the financial upshot of expansion is underscored by the charts. After nine years' near-equilibrium between earned income and subsidy, extra grants obtained for repertoire staunchly a yawning divide between them. Thus, where in 1966 earned income was 49 per cent and subsidies 51 per cent of total income, by the last year of the first company these proportions were 25 and 75. The consequence of this alteration harboured implications for the staff workload: more time spent on predicting, pursuing and attempting to stabilise high subsidy ratios would be unavoidable and could easily outrival efforts to increase earned income. Nevertheless, despite these liabilities, it is extraordinary to observe – when turning to the expenditure side – the company managing to keep a tight reign on non-artistic costs, so that during these years the proportions spent on administrative wages never exceeded 20 per cent of the payroll, and those on overheads never exceeded 18 per cent:

**BOX 5.10 EDINBURGH CIVIC THEATRE TRUST LIMITED
SCHEDULE OF EXPENDITURE 1966-1975**

Administration and Overheads: Colour Coded

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
<i>Payroll</i>										
Actors & Musicians	29,492	40,886	45,505	41,107	44,439	43,217	47,214	47,346	67,279	96,661
Production Staff	27,100	30,943	27,962	30,018	27,137	34,893	38,259	40,926	49,733	61,208
Total Artistic Wages	56,592	71,829	73,468	71,425	71,486	78,105	85,473	88,276	117,012	157,869
Administration	11,403	22,489	24,348	25,379	25,867	23,252	23,436	27,574	30,392	34,889
Total Payroll	67,995	88,682	90,701	89,169	89,297	95,250	103,478	106,492	147,404	192,758
% Payroll spent on Administration	17%	19%	19%	19%	20%	18%	17%	17%	20%	18%
<i>Production Costs</i>	23,744	17,138	27,384	19,823	19,758	38,670	37,236	41,686	81,997	68,000
<i>Overheads</i>	17,143	21,432	19,637	24,934	25,740	22,544	25,880	27,636	32,440	56,122
<i>Marketing</i>	10,990	7,365	6,711	6,873	7,329	5,919	6,585	7,290	7,257	11,333
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	119,872	134,617	144,433	140,799	142,124	162,383	173,179	183,104	269,098	328,213
% Total Costs spent on Overheads	14%	16%	14%	18%	18%	14%	15%	15%	12%	17%

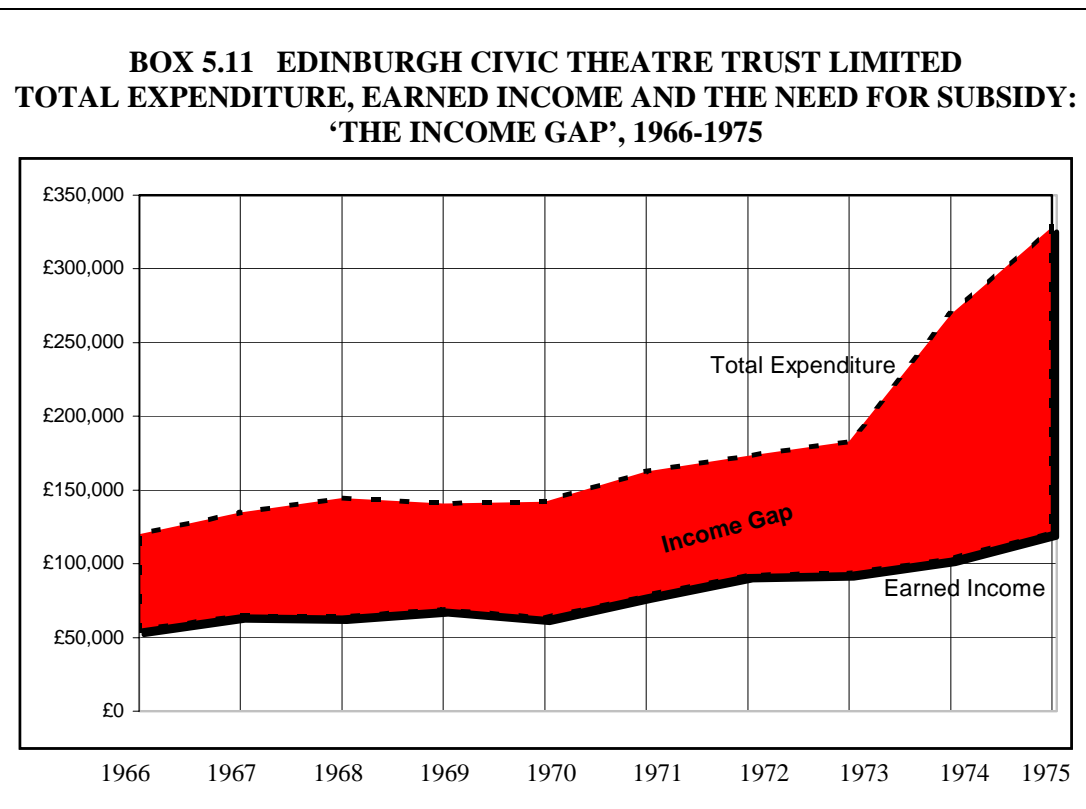
*Source: Annual Accounts of the Company, 31 March 1966-31 March 1975
(Full accounts for 1976 and 1977 were not lodged with statutory accounts).*

Acquaintance with these ratios, that are approximate to Granville Barker's 1930 'benchmark' as well as to the 1940s expenditure profiles of other companies discussed in Chapter Three, suggests that the origins of the impending rise of bureaucracy in the second Royal Lyceum company do not stem from the 1970s, even with the trust's steadily increasing production costs. These factors of organisational complexity had been in force from the beginnings of the repertory movement when, for instance, an enduring interdependence of artistic vision and business performance was set by the Liverpool Playhouse partnerships of Maud Carpenter and her several

artistic directors. At the Royal Lyceum, the company repeated these resourceful management styles in the combination of Clive Perry and Charles Tripp, who brought a blend of subsidised and commercial theatre experience.

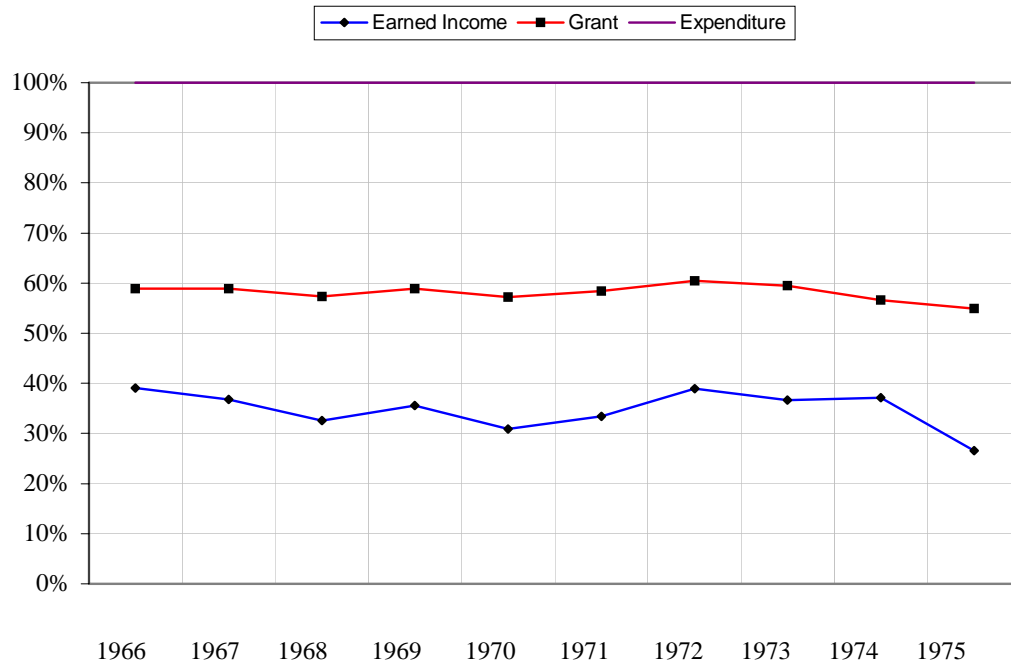
Like the pioneers, Edinburgh's artistic director and manager were leaders in theatre policy matters, and the Scottish Arts Council reacted to *their* vision for the company: the means to the link between the audience and the art on stage being, at this time, a company's organisation rather than government arts policy. At the same time, they were able to explain their use of subsidy but in addition to elementary grant applications, financial returns and annual reports, they dealt with accountability informally; and in return, the Scottish Arts Council stood beside the company, not above it. The management brought board members to meet and excite the officers and members of the Scottish Arts Council at first nights, introducing them to the actors and actresses in the dressing rooms and enjoying confidential discussions and hospitality in Tripp's office. Because influential politicians and other powerful individuals from the Edinburgh Establishment controlled the company's board membership, they could also negotiate easily with the more formally structured world of the Scottish Arts Council, the club-like links to which were strengthened by board member John B. Rankin's simultaneous membership of its council and drama committee. A change in management practice germinated in many other repertories during the 1970s, as the graduates of arts administration courses approached the age to hold general management positions. The new managers had less often been play directors or actors and might not always have served apprenticeships in stage management or been seconded to experienced managers or artistic directors. They might even prefer first employment as counterparts at an arts council drama department or a local authority recreation department. The new mode of theatre management, with its demands for fastidious accountabilities, put a premium on the employment of managers who were adept at – and might actually enjoy – responding to the inextricable policies and tortuous evaluations of the funding bodies. But for the Royal Lyceum, the influence of these new professionals would await the departure of Perry and Tripp, whereupon the next manager, in a sure sign of future change, chose the title of 'administrative director'.

Meanwhile, although artists were clearly the nerve centre of the company, the financial results for the seven years of stability are all the more noteworthy, because these years coincided with intensifying inflation, when control of costs was formidable. On the income side, inflation might be counteracted by occasional ticket price increases, but the imposition of value added tax on theatre tickets from 1973 – in the midst of a nationwide recession from 1972 to 1975 that included the problems of a three-day working week – made net price increases a sensitive issue. To underscore this overview, the total annual earned income (Box 5.8) can now be set against the general upward trend in annual total expenditure. Box 5.11 traces the first decade of consolidation and solid artistic achievements, when there was – up to 1973 – an overall correspondence between increases in earned income and expenditure. Box 5.12 demonstrates how subsidy remained generally constant as a percentage of the company’s expenditure, and in the same way earned income varied little in these years as a percentage of total expenditure. The last year, that points to the declining ratio of earned income to expenditure, marks the beginning of an almost perennial state of financial crisis. Henceforward, and as will be shown in Chapter Six, progress is accompanied by unremitting anxiety and struggle for survival.



Source: Annual Accounts of the Company, 31 March 1966-31 March 1975
(Full accounts for 1976 and 1977 were not lodged with statutory accounts).

**BOX 5.12 EDINBURGH CIVIC THEATRE TRUST LIMITED
EARNED INCOME AND GRANT INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
EXPENDITURE, 1965-1975**



Summary and the transition to the second non-profit company

Having led the company for ten years and with its artistic reputation and public confidence at a peak, the much-respected Perry left in 1976 to be the second artistic director of the new Birmingham Repertory Theatre (built 1971). For Edinburgh, he had been an enterprising director, adept at recruiting teams of inventive associate directors, with a natural bent for attracting leading actors and for spotting and nurturing new talent whilst, as a manager with a sure step, he balanced the dissimilar expectations of theatregoers, artists, local government and the Scottish Arts Council. Unlike some later artistic directors, he was also financially astute and responsible. Without wishing to over-personalise this contribution, Perry was the only one of the six artistic directors allowed to be, throughout his term, the most influential participant in the company's affairs for, like the repertory pioneers, he embodied the institution as an individual. Later, the combination of political duress and intensifying

competition for Scottish Arts Council subsidy meant that the character of the job changed; no artistic director's values were recognised by the board and funding bodies as something to support with maximum enthusiasm. This would be especially so at the Scottish Arts Council, because after it became a 'development agency', its administrators championed their own agendas and several new 'specialist services for improving the quality and range of Scotland's theatre'.

There was probably no direct relationship between Perry's resignation and the 1976-1977 deficit, but that year was also the end of an organisational cycle. For someone who previously had the security of knowing what was going on with the funding bodies – and being able to instigate the company's expansion – local government reorganisation would be discouraging, pointing to uncertainty and a loss of control, with two local authorities for Perry to deal with. Despite hopes to the contrary, the expansionist plans had to be curtailed after the local authorities announced that recently increased subsidy would suddenly be reduced. Whereas combined city and regional assistance totalled £193,493 (£921,026) in 1975, local government reorganisation and economies forced each council to reduce their subsidy by a combined 14 per cent to £165,940 (£789,874), with the warning that in 1976-1977, the new Edinburgh District Council would withdraw their main grant entirely, whilst continuing ownership of the theatre building. Theirs was not a capricious decision, because whilst other areas of local government reorganisation were undertaken relatively smoothly, the government had ordered no clear apportionment of obligations between the new regions and districts councils, for the arts. At first, the cutbacks were substituted by temporary rescue from Scottish Arts Council, that increased their main grant but with advance notice that in 1977 they too would decrease subsidy: from £220,052 (£1,047,447) to £200,000 (£952,000).

At this time, there was neither security of three-year funding agreements nor any intended formula or ratio of subsidy agreed between the three backers and, although the company might assume entitlement and renewal, the situation remained volatile for two years. Thus, the Royal Lyceum had reached the biggest turning point since aborting the courageous 'international' policy of Tom Fleming's foundational season. Against the internal atmosphere of artistic exploration, optimism and heady excitement, the artistic consequence of subsidy reduction would be impending

abandonment of plays given in repertoire (and a fragmentation of the concomitant acting ensemble), as well as the temporary adjournment of the quest for national theatre status that was, in any event, at cross purposes with the localism of a municipally owned and controlled theatre. The administrative consequence would be a new accent on the Lothian Regional Council, with its recently elected politicians. After much confusion, it was agreed that they would be the larger provider of the two councils, the Edinburgh District Council awarding only spasmodic project grants. Therefore, Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, being a creature of the old corporation, was renamed Edinburgh and Lothian Theatre Trust Limited on 13 May 1975. At board level, this made little numerical difference: it continued to be a 'controlled' trust, with ten out of fifteen directors nominated by the councils, and five directors from each. Although there were several changes to membership – and therefore some loss of continuity – the chair, who had been a director since incorporation of the first company and led it from 1968, continued to be Councillor John Millar, now also Lord Provost.^{xxvi} However, with state subsidy now markedly outpacing that from local government – with the Scottish Arts Council becoming an even stronger stakeholder – the existing political composition of the board would no longer mirror its financial husbandry. Therefore, a second, more meaningful adjustment occurred in 1977. This was incorporation of a brand new firm: The Royal Lyceum Theatre Company Limited.

The new company was modelled on the pre-1960s structure for non-profit theatre whereby a local authority 'influenced' the board via minority board membership, rather than the 'controlled' trust dominated by councillors. Although equally based on the ethos of repertory-as-municipal service, with the board and management needing to remain politically responsive and accountable to local government as well as to the Scottish Arts Council, the intention was a stronger element of business, educational, artistic and other community involvement, from people whose first boardroom responsibility would be to the theatre. This more autonomous company might find it easier to maintain an arms-length relationship without party-political leadership. With over-dependence on proportionately higher subsidy from multiple sources and, like its predecessor, no financial reserves, it would be just as vulnerable to u-turns in municipal and government arts policy, but an independent company would deal better with these influences. However, to do so it would spend money on

new layers of internal bureaucracy. Image-building managers would be employed, who were hopefully trained in arts administration and who would be confident of manoeuvring amongst their confreres at city chambers and the Scottish Arts Council, so as to handle the future impositions of external theatre policies.

In the next chapter, a detailed examination of the new company's record will be offered. This observes to a larger extent the 'influence' of this new board that is led by a succession of five 'independent' chairmen who, being more detached from local authority entanglements and conflicts of interest could, when dealing with political machinations, act as a calm mediator. For the second Royal Lyceum Theatre Company, the task of the first chairman, Ludovic Kennedy (1919-), was especially placatory because the Lothian Regional Council was Labour and the Edinburgh District Council Conservative. Although not an elected politician himself, Kennedy was a member of the Liberal Party and, as in other spheres, members of the centre party were reputed for their resolute helmsmanship when dealing with clashes between politicians from the other parties. This would be an essential skill, especially because, at first, council-nominee directors mirrored only their council's political control, without the inter-party cooperation that became a feature from 1990. Thus, the relationships of theatre company to local government now formed an even more important ingredient of the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company organisation, even though councils' involvement in the arts was, after local government reorganisation in Scotland (and unlike England), no longer a discretionary matter but their statutory obligation.

ⁱ *Who's Who in Scotland 1999*, Irvine, Carrick Media, 1999, p.424.

ⁱⁱ For an overview of organisation at the Castle Theatre and the early career of the repertory director Joan Knight, see 'A Woman Artistic Director' in Joan Llewelyn Owens, *Working in The Theatre*, London, The Bodley Head, 1964, pp. 21-25.

ⁱⁱⁱ William Archer and H. Granville Barker, *A National Theatre, Scheme and Estimates*, op.cit, p.13.

^{iv} For analysis and further discussion of the progress of new writing at the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company, especially problems of classification, see Ian Brown, 'The Royal Lyceum Theatre and the programming of new writing, 1966-1979: the impact of second and visiting productions', *International Journal of Scottish Theatre*, Edinburgh, Queen Margaret University College, Forthcoming, 2002.

^v In a partnership with Equity, the Arts Councils, English Regional Arts Associations, drama schools and independent television companies, CORT formed a non-profit company for the event (17 September to 13 October 1973). The Royal Lyceum contributions were *Much Ado About Nothing* (William Shakespeare, 1610) and *Mary Queen of Scots* (Ian Brown, 1973, world premiere). See Vin Harrop (ed.), *The Festival of British Theatre*, Colchester, Festival of British Theatre on behalf of the Council of Regional Theatre, 1973, pp.18-19.

^{vi} Arthur Young McClelland Moores & Co., *Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, Statement of Accounts for the period from 26 March 1972 to 31 March 1973*, Edinburgh, 28 May 1973, p.7.

^{vii} G.W. Bishop, *Barry Jackson and the London Theatre*, London, Arthur Barker, 1933, pp. 151-205.

^{viii} For synchronous discussion of this topic, see Arts Council of Great Britain, *The Theatre Today in England and Wales: The Report of the Arts Council Theatre Enquiry, 1970*, London, Arts Council of Great Britain, London, 1970, p.31.

^{ix} Philip Roberts, *The Royal Court Theatre and the Modern Stage*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 154.

^x Clive Perry, *Report by the Director of Theatres to the Annual General Meeting*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, 22 June 1973, p.2.

^{xi} Dominic Shellard, *British Theatre Since The War*, London and New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997, p.87, notes that although the Belgrade Theatre team set the form for Edinburgh – as well as similar groups in Leeds and Bolton - the first in the field were the Pear Tree Players (1945) led by Peter Slade, Tom Clarke's Compass Players (1944-1952), Caryl Jenner's England Children's Theatre and Unicorn Theatre, from 1948 and Theatre Centre, London from 1954. The latter was founded by Brian Way and is the only one of these to survive today. In Scotland, the first professional theatre for children was Bertha Waddell's Children's Theatre (1927). TIE was revived in Glasgow, where the former Citizens' Theatre for Youth was re-born as TAG in 1967. Two other TIE teams of similar vintage were unwedded to repertory theatres: Theatremakers at the MacRobert Arts Centre, Stirling and TIE-Up in Inverness. The Highland team, that lasted only three years to 1978, was a trial run for adult repertory at the new Eden Court Theatre (built 1976). For more detailed discussion of a once upstanding practice, see Tony Jackson, 'Education or theatre? The development of TIE in Britain', in Tony Jackson (ed.), *Learning Through Theatre: New perspectives on theatre in education*, London, Routledge, 1993, pp. 17-38 and Tony Coult, 'Theatre-in-Education', in Sandy Craig, (ed.), *Dreams and Deconstructions. Alternative theatre in Britain*, Ambergate, Amber Lane Press, 1980, pp. 76-85. For the funding authority perspectives at the time of the Royal Lyceum TIE, see Hugh Willatt, et al, *The Provision of Theatre for Young People in Great Britain*, London, Arts Council of Great Britain, 1966. For the most telling historical perspective of the subject, up to the time of contemporary theatre in education companies, see 'The Children's Theatre' in Philip A Coggin, *Drama and Education, An Historical survey from Ancient Greece to the present day*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1956, pp. 260-271.

^{xii} 'Theatre in Education', *Report of the Director to the Annual General Meeting*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, 19 June 1970, p.4.

^{xiii} Arthur Young McClelland Moores & Co., *Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, Statement of Accounts for the period from 26 March 1973 to 31 March 1974*, p.5.

^{xiv} 'Theatre in Education', *Report of the Director to the Annual General Meeting*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, 23 June 1972, p.6.

^{xv} The 1995 Staff Organisation Chart is reproduced in Chapter Seven (Box 7.12).

^{xvi} Richard Eyre and Nicholas Wright, *Changing Stages. A View of the British Theatre in the Twentieth Century*, London, Bloomsbury, 2000, p.378.

^{xvii} Arthur Young McClelland Moores & Co, *Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, King's Theatre Revenue Account for the Year to 30 March 1974*, Edinburgh, 30 May 1974, p.4. The accounts show King's Theatre details as a separable 'department' and, for the purposes of this study about the repertory company, I have excluded them from all summaries and charts of Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited.

^{xviii} Arthur Young McClelland Moores & Co, *Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, King's Theatre Revenue Account for the Year to 29 March 1975*, Edinburgh, 8 June 1975, p.2.

^{xix} Arthur Young McClelland Moores & Co, *Edinburgh and Lothian Theatre Trust Limited, King's Theatre Revenue Account for the Year to 27 March 1976*, Edinburgh, 2 July 1976, p.5.

^{xx} Arthur Young McClelland Moores & Co, *Edinburgh and Lothian Theatre Trust Limited, King's Theatre Revenue Account for the Year to 31 May 1977*, Edinburgh, 31 August 1977, p.2.

^{xxi} These examples of mergers exclude the residency that a touring repertory theatre might have with a touring house, as when the Meadow Players Limited was closely associated with the Oxford Playhouse from 1956 to 1971, Candida Plays Limited with the Theatre Royal, Bury St Edmunds from 1965 or Cambridge Theatre Company Limited's association with the Arts Theatre of Cambridge from 1970. However, these companies (that are no more), kept their organisational distance as separate entities, as is also the case in opera and ballet where Opera North resides *in* the Leeds Grand Theatre or Birmingham Royal Ballet *in* the Birmingham Hippodrome. In each instance, the repertory company and the theatre espoused, at the outset, the centralising of certain management, production and marketing functions, but perhaps because the theatres promote other attractions that compete with seasons of the 'resident' company — and negotiate over rent and standing charges — the parties often come to see themselves as competitors and are hung-up about the sharing of services.

^{xxii} See for instance Scottish Arts Council, *Options for Expansion of the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company*, Edinburgh, Scottish Arts Council, 7 July 1972.

^{xxiii} Clive Perry, *Report by the Director of Theatres to the Annual General Meeting*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, 21 June 1974, pp.1-2.

^{xxiv} Clive Perry, *Report by the Director of Theatres to the Annual General Meeting*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Civic Theatre Trust Limited, 21 June 1974, p.3.

^{xxv} Source: Annual Accounts of the Companies, 31 March 1966-31 March 1977.

^{xxvi} John Miller and Jack Kane, *Report of the Directors to the Annual General Meeting*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh and Lothian Theatre Trust Limited, 30 June 1975, p.2.