

HOWARD AND WYNDHAM ACTOR-MANAGERS IN EDINBURGH, 1851-1894

This chapter describes the origins of the actor-management Howard and Wyndham in Edinburgh, where they became an artistically and commercially respected enterprise, developing a stock company and repertoire, managing theatres and building the foundations for commercial expansion.

R. H. (Robert Henry) Wyndham (1813-1894), founder of this management, was a skilful actor and manager from Salisbury; a man of unusual enterprise and vision. He began his career as a member of Macready's company at Covent Garden and first came to Scotland to play at the Adelphi Theatre in Glasgow. William Murray (1790-1852), long serving manager of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh, saw him perform there and brought him to join his company in Edinburgh in 1846.¹ Wyndham became Murray's last assistant manager and, on Murray's retirement, Wyndham took the lease of the Adelphi Theatre in 1851.²

From 1853 to 1859, after a short lease by the comedian W. F. Lloyd, Wyndham became the last lessee of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh (responsible for the ground rent and the theatre building itself), where he made his headquarters. A few years before he had married Rose Saker, the daughter of a low comedian. A talented actress, with a gift for training children in ballet, she became his working partner for a long and successful career. At the end of his life he could claim to have laid the foundations for what was to become, after Moss' Empires, the biggest theatre-owning, play-presenting and touring management in Britain: a chain of theatres that was run, firstly, by his son Fred and his Irish-born business partner and fellow actor, J. B. (James Brown) Howard (1841-1895),³ and then by the Cruikshanks, another father and son partnership.⁴

During his early career Wyndham had outshone Charles Kean (1811-1868) with the splendour of his productions of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In 1857 he engaged Henry Irving, straight from a debut in Sunderland, to be a juvenile lead. The future first Knight of the British theatre was given four hundred and twenty eight roles in Wyndham's Edinburgh's stock company. The business of producing theatre in Edinburgh was closely tied to winning official recognition and public approval. The Wyndhams kept a jealous eye on the credit and reputation of their company so that, for the first time in Scotland, actors were highly respected citizens. In a speech to the Edinburgh University Students' Union in 1891, Irving told its members that he "was a member of a University at Edinburgh" - Wyndham's old Theatre Royal:

I studied there for two years and a half my beautiful art, and learnt the lesson that you will learn, that: deep the oak must sink its roots in earth obscure, that hopes to lift its branches to the sky.⁵

When Murray retired, his Edinburgh monopoly was divided for a short time, with Lloyd at the Theatre Royal and Wyndham at the Adelphi Theatre. There was, rather like the Festival Theatre and King's Theatre in the 1990s, much speculation in the press as to the success of the two competing theatres. Wyndham renovated the Adelphi, adding a new stage, redecorated the auditorium, enlarged the pit, with, for the first time in Scotland, upholstered the orchestra stalls in front of the pit benches. The alterations cost him £4,000, which was recovered from profits in his first year.⁶ His opening production was *The School for Scandal* (Richard Brinsley Sheridan, 1777) in which he played Charles Surface. His wife was Lady Teazle and, keeping family ties to the fore of the company, his brother-in-law, Mr. Saker, played Moses. In order to compete with the Theatre Royal, Wyndham reduced prices. The Dress Circle was 2s.6d., pit (or orchestra stalls) 2s., pit 1s., gallery 6d., half-price (at half-time) 1s. 6d. and 1s. The prices were, on average, 6d. less than those charged by Lloyd. There were frequent clashes of repertory between the two theatres: Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Rob Roy*,⁷ and *The Corsican Brothers* (Dionysus Boucicault, 1852) could often be seen in both theatres in the same week. Despite rivalry the two managers were friendly to each other:

We were particularly gratified with the enthusiastic reception given to Mr. Wyndham, the manager of the rival theatre, whose attendance at the Theatre Royal evinced the existence of cordiality and friendship between those whose position tends to produce estrangement. The whole Theatre rose on his appearance, and for several minutes the huzzas were absolutely deafening. To these tokens of esteem and regard Mr. Wyndham feelingly responded.⁸

The short period of Lloyd's management at The Theatre Royal quickly became over-extended financially, unable to cope with the wage costs of over one hundred members of the stock company. Wyndham took over the management, reducing the payroll to thirty-five actors, until he was forced to sell the theatre in 1859 to the government, for construction of the General Post Office.⁹ He transferred operations to the Queen's Theatre and Opera House, one of the many earlier theatres on the site of the present Festival Theatre. His seasons included many revivals of the National Drama, the dramatised Waverley novels. Wyndham always lived in a flat above his theatres, and it was at the Adelphi in 1853, four days before the fire, that his son, (Frederick) F. W. P. Wyndham (1853-1930), was born.

During 1869, Wyndham senior took leave of theatrical affairs and leased the theatre to J.B. Howard for a summer season. This younger actor, who came from western Ireland, had become a star of the company, principally through playing the title role in revivals of *Rob Roy* and *Guy Mannering* (Sir Walter Scott, 1816).¹⁰ He inspired one critic, writing under the name Thalia:

Mr. Howard exhibited a superiority of acting seldom witnessed on our boards. He gave an importance and effect to *Rob Roy* Macgregor to which we were strangers....His

triumph over the audience was complete, and electrified the house with all the delicious luxury of woe, and crowned the conquest of the actor with drama's chaplet.¹¹

J. B. Howard's management of several summer seasons led him into partnership with Wyndham, until the founder retired in 1876, when a new Theatre Royal opened at the top of Leith Walk. Howard wrote in the opening night programme:

When entering on such an important undertaking as the Management of the new Edinburgh Theatre Royal, I beg to assure the inhabitants of the Capital that I do so with a due appreciation of the difficult and responsible task that lies before me. The history of the Drama in Edinburgh is an eminently brilliant one. Among its founders was Allan Ramsay, the author of the most delightful pastoral comedy in the language,¹² and when Home wrote his *Douglas* the Edinburgh theatre was already an important and flourishing institution. It is needless, today, to enumerate the long list of great names which have been associated within the present century, with the Drama in this city. In its earlier years Sir Walter Scott, Lord Jeffrey and Lord Cockburn were its steady and unfailing patrons; while, for actors, not to speak of the frequent visits of Mrs. Siddons, Edmund Kean and Charles Young, we had Mr. Murray and Mrs. Mackay, Mrs. Renaud and Miss Nicol. In our own time Mr. Wyndham and I have not lacked the support of distinguished living citizens; and if the stage has been less peculiarly national than it was when under the direction of Mr. Murray, it has least been the unfailing mirror of our time, giving back to society its own lights and shadows, its gleams of mirth and its passages of pathos. This splendid tradition it is the fond and anxious hope of my management to perpetuate and maintain. I am the more fortified in this hope by the knowledge that the Edinburgh public are ever eager to reward earnest effort, and the culture which distinguishes every class of the Modern Athenians, links them, in a peculiarly close manner, to those higher walks of the Drama with which the Theatre Royal, under my management, will be altogether identified.¹³

This period was an era of great prosperity for legitimate theatre in Edinburgh, before being challenged on all sides by other forms of live, popular entertainment such as minstrel shows and variety acts. Despite the negative influence of the Theatres' Licensing Act of 1737, which had confirmed the restriction of legitimate theatre performances to two patent houses in London, the legislation had encouraged pressure for the theatre's artistic and social development outside London. Edinburgh had long theatrical traditions dating back to medieval times. Because it was a capital city it regarded itself, as did Dublin, as less provincial than other cities of comparable size. Edinburgh was the first city outside London to win protection for its theatre, by a Royal Patent in 1767, which repealed the Licensing Act of 1737. The work of William Murray (1790-1852), manager of the Theatre Royal for thirty-six years to 1851, had established a good climate for expansion. This manager had won the theatre public approval, largely overcoming a vigorous anti-theatrical prejudice prevalent in Scotland. Wyndham continued to run his theatres with a stock company, exercising discipline to maintain its social respectability, as distinct from the many more haphazard and irregular strolling companies. He was the first manager in Scotland to employ all actors on a salaried basis (usually starting at 3s. per week) rather than the share scheme used by Murray, but continuing to engage them according to "lines of business" to

play particular ranges of parts, such as walking gentleman, leading lady, low comedian or Harlequin. The “stock” was the standard range of plays that Wyndham had in repertory, to be played whenever required, often at short notice and with little rehearsal. The main “business” of the play was traditionally stereotyped and when an outside “star” actor of the play was engaged, he looked after himself, only giving a few instructions to the company on arrival in Edinburgh. All the plays and the casting of them were recorded in the “Stock Book”, which was a vital tool for forward planning.

Many future luminaries served their apprenticeship in this system under Wyndham: the actress and pioneering manager, Lady Bancroft, *née* Marie Wilton (1839-1921), the international star John Laurence Toole (1830-1906), the actor-manager Edward Compton (1852-1918) and playwright Sir Arthur Wing Pinero (1855-1934).¹⁴ The company used the same actors for a year or more of different productions. It was a self-sufficient ensemble, capable of producing old and new plays with the same nucleus of actors, augmented in many weeks by a visiting star. Wyndham was often the leading man, and travelled as talent scout to recruit new actors. Toole wrote of his debut with Wyndham’s company:

I was with Dillon in Dublin where Mr. Robert Wyndham, of the Edinburgh Theatre, saw me and offered me an engagement at 3s. a week, which I accepted. On the 9th of July 1853, I made my first appearance on the Edinburgh stage as ‘Hector Timid’ in the play *The Dead Shot*. I had travelled from Dublin to Edinburgh in the afternoon, very tired and weary. I put up at Milne’s Hotel in Leigh Street, and after a rehearsal went to bed, fairly worn out. I left instructions with the landlady to call me and bring me a cup of tea at a certain hour, which would give me plenty of time to get to the Adelphi Theatre; but she forgot her instructions, and I was still sleeping soundly when a messenger arrived from the theatre to inquire for me. The curtain was up. I was in a terrible fright. I sprang out of bed, dressed, rushed to the theatre, and was just in time to scramble upon the stage and take up my cue from Wyndham! In entering, I stumbled over a mat and fell on the manager, and this so worried and upset me that throughout the whole piece I was nervous and wretched. Next day, however, I was agreeably surprised to find the critics unanimous in their praise of my acting, specially pointing out how ‘appropriate to the character of “Hector Timid” was the uneasy manner and faltering gait of the young comedian.’ Everything, you see, had happened for the best, even the carelessness of my landlady, my accident, my nervousness, all my disasters and the forgiveness of Robert Wyndham.¹⁵

A characteristic of Howard and Wyndham’s management in this period was decentralisation. Their Theatre Royal was run as an independent entity, for under the stock company system with its own company of actors, albeit with occasional visiting stars, there was little inducement for the actor-managers to establish business relationships with other theatres beyond Edinburgh. Having its own, permanent, resident producing company meant that they had nothing to gain from alliances with other theatres or other producing companies and, in turn, these had nothing to offer Howard and Wyndham. It was entirely self-sufficient. They had their own actors and were under their own management, both in administration and production. They owned their

sets, properties and wardrobe. They did not even have to look for plays to produce, for besides the standard classical Scottish and English dramas that were in the repertoire, they could, in the absence of adequate copyright legislation, readily obtain, at low cost, pirated versions of newer successes.

As “manager”, R. H. Wyndham’s work encompassed a great deal more than his late-twentieth century successors. He was primarily an actor, whose duties included play selection, casting, directing (at least to the extent that directing existed in those days), designing, publicity, building management and looking after finances - all functions which, especially with the advent of subsidy, have today become specialised and individualised. His supremacy was won by playing the great Shakespearean roles, but unlike the actor-managers in London who chose mainly plays that fitted their personality, Wyndham was not jealous of his standing, and engaged stars from London who were often other actor-managers. Nonetheless, he was so popular and able a performer that he was able to dictate the policy of the theatre, whereas his counterpart today has often relinquished the business and promotion functions to administrators:

We all know that the effect of the actor-manager system at the Theatre Royal is to impose on every author who wishes to have his work produced in first-rate style, the condition that there shall be a good part for Messrs. Howard or Wyndham in it. This is not in the least due to the vanity and jealousy of our actor-managers: it is due to their popularity. The strongest fascination at a theatre is the fascination of the actor or actress, not of the author. More people go the Theatre Royal to see Mr. Howard or Mr. Wyndham than to see the plays. If Mr. Wyndham were to produce a tragedy, or Mr. Howard a comedy, in which they were cast as walking gentlemen, the public would stay away; and the author would have reason to curse the self-denial of the actor-managers.¹⁶

Wyndham and Howard, operating as actor-managers without subsidy or the regular private backing of “angels”, ran a theatre sustained by a tension between “art” and “commerce”, and these extremes were to continue through their successors’ work, up to the closure of the company a century later. This is illustrated in a variety of ways, from the small dramas of the mid-nineteenth century compared with the spectacular melodramas of the same period, to the subsidised theatre’s prejudice against the popular theatre of writers such as Noël Coward and Terence Rattigan, whom Howard and Wyndham presented in revivals up to the 1970s. Managers have always been forced into a stance where they must negotiate this tension in order to survive. Since even relatively successful regional theatres today are only able to earn approximately 50 per cent of their expenses at the box office, new funding strategies are constantly being tested in order to ensure that “art” has a “commercial” market to appeal to the government funding bodies. The uneasy landscape between art and commerce characterised much of the repertoire in Edinburgh, as suggested by their five hours’ bills which mixed serious drama with sketches, addresses, musical interludes and excerpts from other favourite plays.

In addition to the tension between high art and low art, there was also a tension between what theatre was staged in Scotland and what was happening in London. In the eighteenth century, John Home's *Douglas* (1756) had entered the London repertoire, whilst in the nineteenth century, the National Drama was occasionally exported to Covent Garden and Drury Lane at the two Theatres Royal, but after these stage adaptations of Sir Walter Scott's novels, examples of Scottish written work transferred to London were few and far between. Edinburgh became, under Wyndham, mainly an extended English stock company circuit, built into the big business of a touring theatre chain by his successors. Historically, theatre in Britain has been perceived largely as a history of the London stage, despite the fact that there was a vast amount of activity elsewhere. The tension of London domination versus the provincial supplicant, or West End versus the "regions" as they are known today, is illustrated by Howard and Wyndham's use of visiting stars from London, engaged at their Theatre Royal stock company in the fashion begun in the 1790s. However, the company was one of the few that did not have to depend on stars exclusively, for the managers were local stars in their own right. The rivalry between London and Scotland, and between London and the English provinces, continued between stock companies and touring companies and this tension led eventually to the move of Howard and Wyndham's headquarters from Edinburgh to London. The founding actor-managers had settled for kingship in Scotland, whereas their business manager successors made London the summit of their ambition.

Provincial theatres were used by the profession as the natural places to obtain the training and the experience needed to work in London. Wyndham's contribution to the training of actors before the advent of drama schools was acknowledged by Irving:

In a country where there is no Academy, the only professors of acting are the actors, and the only true school of acting is a well-conducted playhouse. For the first years of my early stage life, I was engaged by Mr. Wyndham at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, an actor who took pleasure in imparting to the younger members of the company, as well as circumstances permitted, much of his own knowledge and the rudiments of his art. I then spent some years in another theatre, under the management of a proprietor not an actor. During the whole of these later years I missed grievously the kind advice of my old actor-manager, Mr. Wyndham, and I had to grope my way as well as I could without his counsel and friendship. Such was my own experience of the system in Edinburgh and I owe him a lasting debt of gratitude. I make no attempt to argue the question as to the right and proper people to become the managers of theatres. This is a matter which the public decide for themselves. I speak from an experience of over thirty years, and of this country only; and I can say, without hesitation, that the managements which have benefited and advanced our calling and added vastly to the intellectual recreation of the people have been those of actors.¹⁷

John Laurence Toole, foremost low comedian of the nineteenth century's last decades, also acknowledged his training in Edinburgh:

Mr. and Mrs. Wyndham were for many years two of the most indefatigable workers in the theatre profession. Both of them excellent actors, they managed together the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, with a thorough knowledge of their profession. Many distinguished actors began their careers under their management, who have in their retirement the great satisfaction of receiving and being received by ladies and gentlemen who, mere beginners in their Theatre, are now in the foremost ranks of the profession, more than one or two having won a world-wide celebrity. Edinburgh was hard school in the good old days of stock companies; it paid small salaries and it exacted laborious service, but its discipline and its traditions made or marred theatrical reputations; it was a school in which the fittest survived and the incapable came to grief.¹⁸

Wyndham was entertained at a banquet at the Balmoral Hotel in 1879, to mark his achievements "in the community, during a long career as a theatrical manager in Edinburgh". Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of Edinburgh University, presided and, in response to his complimentary speech, Wyndham said:

My earliest theatrical aspiration was directed towards Edinburgh, and in order to prepare myself for any contingency that might arise, I thought that the proper thing to do under the circumstances was to study the character of 'Young Norval' in the tragedy of *Douglas*, which I accordingly did, and selected at the same time a wide field for the operation, for I committed the words to memory among the cloisters of Stonehenge, in the middle of Salisbury Plain. I think it was somewhere about the years 1836 or 1837 that I first made my appearance in the good old town of Salisbury; but I was not very successful, for the local critic of the day stated that he did not think the young gentlemen who appeared last night in the character of 'Young Norval' was ever destined to set the Thames on fire. This was very severe, considering, as Sir Alexander has stated, that I paid the manager 20s. for the right to make a fool of myself for one night. I, however, worked steadily on, undergoing at times all the vicissitudes inseparable from the early career of most professional men, till after many years of probation, I found myself announced to appear in Birmingham in the character of 'Romeo' to the 'Juliet' of Miss Ellen Tree, afterwards Mrs. Charles Kean. This was perhaps the most successful engagement I ever played in my life, for it was there that I first met my wife. Subsequently I had the honour of appearing before Louis Philippe at the theatre in the Tuilleries in the comedietta of *A Day after the Wedding*. At length my time came for appearing in Edinburgh, and never shall I forget the impression made upon me when I first beheld this magnificent city. Coming as I did from Glasgow, where it sometimes rains, I could scarcely fail to be impressed by the sight before me. The castle, with its green slopes, the Scott Monument, Calton Hill in the distance, with the fine old town, as it were, keeping watch and ward, felicitously illumined with a spring sunshine, filled me at once with admiration at the brilliant sights before me, and with awe to think that I was soon to appear before an Edinburgh audience, distinguished at once for its high culture, great intellectual refinement, and critical acumen. I made my first appearance on a rather ominous day - the 1st of April in the year 1845, which date counts so far back that my friends frequently joked me, and said I was out in the '45 - the character which I played being 'Sir Thomas Clifford' to the Julia of Miss Helen Faucit, in Sheridan Knowles' play of *The Hunchback*, and I believe that on the whole I was tolerably successful. I then laboured hard in my vocation, and upon the secession of Mr. Murray and Mr. Lloyd from the Theatre Royal some friends insisted, against my will, that I should undertake the management of the Theatre Royal, assisting me at the time not only with money, but what was, if possible, of equal importance, their hearty goodwill and co-operation. Since then their kindness has known no bounds. They have presented me with everything the heart of man could

wish for, and now as culmination of that kindness they have invited me to this grand banquet, so that now I fear there is nothing left to present me with unless the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council should come to my rescue and present me with the freedom of the city.¹⁹

One month later, Wyndham was indeed given the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh, the first actor to receive the accolade and the last, until Sean Connery in 1991.

When the revolutionary political, social and artistic changes in Scotland brought about a loss of homegrown stock companies in the 1880s, theatregoing assumed a class division with the escalation of urbanisation. Music halls began and managers could make big money on smaller outlays in variety theatre. The new railway network brought entire touring companies into Scotland, making the stock companies redundant and London dominant. Touring began to break the traditions of Wyndham (senior) and Howard. The breakdown of their stock company system and its replacement by touring changed the character of theatre management as completely as the advent of power machinery and the evolution of the factory system had changed the character of manufacturing industry. It is, therefore, possible to speak of an "industrial revolution" in the theatre, since this term suggests all that is implied by the shift from stock to touring. Howard and Wyndham fought on, with a resident company at the Theatre Royal and, later, at the Lyceum, with summer seasons by the Howard and Wyndham Players. The backbone of the repertoire continued to be the Waverley dramas, often new versions commissioned from members of the company such as Robert Buchanan and Charles Webb. Edward Moss began business in a music hall in Chambers Street, Edinburgh and was later to build his chain of Empire Palaces. The most Scottish aspect of the theatre became the pantomime, when casts often exceeded 250 people.

In 1883 Howard severed his connection with the Theatre Royal, and brought Wyndham out of retirement²⁰ to share the building of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh. Wyndham wrote to Henry Irving in March 1883:

Notwithstanding the increasing prosperity of the drama for several seasons past, and many hopeful and new prospects for the future, which now began to show themselves, I will not return to my charge of manager without feelings of the deepest anxiety. A long and hard service in the acting line, aided by the generous approbation of the Edinburgh public, has elevated me to a respectable rank in that department, notwithstanding it has been pursued with occasional disadvantages of rivalry. Many of the difficulties, incident to our course, have driven me to retirement from so thorny a path. A gleam of hope would urge me on, and a feeling of honest pride forbade me to withdraw under any circumstance which might give to my retirement the least aspect, either to myself, Rose, J.B.H. or the public, of my having withdrawn in any way defeated. I hoped that a point of respectable mediocrity might be confessedly attained, when a graceful retirement from the profession could be affected. So gradual was a progress to this point, that I actually reached my humble wish before I perceived it. When I did, a new delightful feeling of the possibility of fame, in addition to pecuniary

advantages, has combined to beckon me in a pursuit of a new theatre for Edinburgh and a return to the stage for which I have never felt any romantic partiality. I will now return to the career of management, and surely no aspirant, excepting you, ever entered upon this duty with fairer prospects, public or private.²¹

Wyndham's son as the junior partner soon joined Howard. Edinburgh born and bred, he was, like Howard and the elder Wyndham, an actor who had played all over Britain, including London. Acting, however, was not his forte. Whereas Howard was an actor who knew how to manage, Wyndham junior was a manager who could be relied on to give a competent performance when required. In the years that lay ahead, it was primarily F. W. P. Wyndham who laid the foundations of the Howard and Wyndham empire. Nonetheless, he was never simply a businessperson, but rather an artist whose art was theatre management, and was the third actor-manager of the business. His first major business transaction was to become, with Howard, joint lessee of the Theatre Royal, Newcastle, in May 1883.²² This theatre held £200 at ordinary prices.²³ The famous male impersonator of the music-hall, Lady de Frece, *née* Vesta Tilley (1864-1952), recalled working with the company in Newcastle as a principal boy:

Very happy, too, were the several pantomime engagements I played at the Theatre Royal with Messrs Howard and Wyndham; the biggest theatre proprietors in Scotland. Both were very charming men to work for, and they were also very popular actors, touring their own theatres with plays of mostly Scottish appeal. I saw them in *The Lady of the Lake*, in which Mrs. Howard also appeared, and a very fine show it was. Howard played Roderick Dhu and Wyndham Marmaduke, and their broadsword combat was a thing to be remembered.²⁴

As lessees, Howard and Wyndham maintained a delicate and strained relationship with the Newcastle landlords. The Theatre Royal was in need of technical refurbishment to cope with the bigger touring companies, which needed greater earnings. The financial capacity of the box-office was of crucial importance and the success of the Scottish lessees led to demands for this theatre to be seen as more prestigious. Licensing authorities, anxious to prevent fires, too, now demanded safety requirements. Insurance premiums were high and proprietors could no longer fall back on the monopoly to maintain their position in what was now a highly competitive business. The basic conditions of the lease related to the use of the building in exchange for rent. If the proprietors wanted to increase the rent, or if the lessee wanted an improvement in the working conditions or box office capacity, a difficult negotiation ensued. Such a situation occurred in 1894. Despite a renovation of the Theatre Royal in 1867, it had remained virtually unchanged since construction in 1837. Howard and Wyndham were playing newer theatres in Scotland and they could not make ends meet in a dilapidated theatre. The proprietors declined their request for renovation and so in 1895 they took over the larger Tyne Theatre and Opera House instead.²⁵ The Theatre Royal was, meanwhile, leased to their former Glasgow staff member, Robert Arthur. Both Mr. and Mrs. Howard²⁶ and Mr. and Mrs. Wyndham appeared

frequently on stage in Newcastle and produced their own pantomimes that were rotated in successive years to Edinburgh and Glasgow.²⁷ That year, perhaps out of spite to the Theatre Royal, Howard announced, from the stage, that the subject of the forthcoming pantomime at the Tyne Theatre would be *Aladdin*:

Singularly enough, Mr. Arthur had fixed upon the same subject for the Royal. While it would be wiser for one or other of the rival managers to give way in the choice of subject, not only for their own interests but also for the sake of the public it will, nevertheless, be interesting when *Aladdin* is produced at both houses to witness the different treatment adopted. Apropos the Tyne Theatre engagements for the season as announced by Mr. Howard, who, I am glad to say has recovered from his nervous attack, it is to be said that every company of first class note is on the list. Mr. Arthur will have to hurry up at the opposition house in Grey Street to keep pace with the formidable combination against him at the Tyne. It is just as well that we have healthy competition in the way of theatrical management, for without it, the manager is predominant; with it, the public call the tune, as they ought always to do as the payers.²⁸

This reporter touched upon key issues in theatrical management: the manager's relationship to the public, competition and buildings. The company's experiences in Newcastle suggest that "bricks and mortar" or "real estate" management was becoming, from an economic point of view, the dominant factor in their business. At various times in the history of theatre management the balance of power shifts between the bricks and mortar interests and those of the producer. Without attempting to indicate an order of their importance, the reasons for this are pertinent at this point in the evolution of the company. The first reason why bricks and mortar may be the dominant interest is that a theatre building is relatively permanent while the production is of very short duration. Theatres do not, of course, last forever (and, as has been noted, frequently burnt down in the 1800s), but they usually remained in existence for perhaps thirty years, on average, and in many instances a much longer time. On the other hand, a year was a long life for a touring production, and longer runs in London have always meant an exceptional old age. Occasional instances of revivals do not count, because each revival is, essentially, a new production from a manager's standpoint. In short the stability of the theatre is, as against the instability of the production, the first factor in favour of bricks and mortar. When Howard and Wyndham's stock company system finished, the relative security and continuity of a resident company was replaced by a new focus on theatre buildings. The second reason is concentration of control: the new Howard and Wyndham circuit was attractive to investors and threw the balance of control in their favour as the circuit expanded. A No. 1 theatre in a big city called for a large investment of capital, while a big production required a relatively small amount of investment. A theatre building was considered to be a more stable investment than production, and for that reason attracted capital more readily, but there were counteracting factors to steer capital to productions. In the first place, a production held out the promise of a tremendous profit in

relation to the investment. After the Copyright Act in 1911, and the rise of cinema, live theatre held out the possibility of picture rights, foreign rights and overseas touring rights in addition to the profit of the original production. Big successes were rare, but they were always possibilities to lure the investor. Moreover, it has always been the production and not the theatre building, which holds the glamour. The natural tendency for buildings to dominate the theatre business is, however, often interrupted by market conditions. Howard and Wyndham had to be careful to check an over-supply of theatres in relation to the supply of productions, for there might then be not enough good (meaning popular) attractions to fill all their theatres. A theatre that is dark is like a factory that stands idle. It brings no profit to the owner and runs at a loss. The theatre manager is, consequently, always anxious to have a production in the building, even if it only brings a little more than the additional costs of a theatre when it is occupied. In the 1880s and 1890s, Howard and Wyndham could hold the whip hand over producers and the balance lie in their favour for building new theatres.

It was in this context, therefore, that Howard and Wyndham commissioned the architect C. J. Phipps, the first of the great Victorian theatre specialists, to build the Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, for £17,000: he had remodelled the Theatre Royal, Dumfries, in 1876, rebuilt the second Theatre Royal, Edinburgh and had recently rebuilt the third Theatre Royal, Hope Street, Glasgow (1880). The isolation of each part of the building was a special feature: the proscenium opening of the Lyceum contained the “first iron curtain that has been erected in any theatre in the United Kingdom, constructed of boiler plate iron in two distinct screens, raised by hydraulic power”.²⁹ The new building illustrated the trend towards greater care in design and construction: it was the most sophisticated theatre yet built in Scotland. It was named to echo Irving’s Lyceum in London. Howard and Wyndham brought Ellen Terry and Henry Irving to open the theatre as Beatrice and Benedick in Shakespeare’s *Much Ado About Nothing* - with Irving’s own company from the Lyceum Theatre in London, for twelve nights. The performance played to 2,500 people on opening night, 10 September 1883, and held £209 at ordinary prices.³⁰ Irving appeared in all twelve performances. His repertoire also included Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet* and *The Bells* (Leopold Davis Lewis, 1871). He gave a donation of £1,000 towards the cost of the new theatre. Howard and Wyndham were now the star entrepreneurs of theatre in Scotland: their partnership had created a strong team that was to dominate the legitimate touring circuit for nearly a century: soon after opening the Lyceum they began expansion beyond Edinburgh by taking the lease of the 2,000 seat Royalty Theatre, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow in 1884 (built in 1876), which held £170.³¹

Prologues and epilogues given at opening performances on special occasions were by now written as addresses, declaimed by the pair as duologues to cement the bond between the actor-managers and city, management and

community, as on the opening night of the Royal Lyceum Theatre. Theatres have always had unpredictable personalities, reflecting the popularity of the current attractions playing in them. The reputation of a theatre, like that of the actors who performed in it, was subject to change without notice, and Howard and Wyndham's natural intention was to earn a lucky reputation for their new house. The following ornamental prologue invested it with magic and a sense of theatre history, whilst communicating directly to the first-night audience:

Mr. Howard: The spell is wrought - my chafing is all spent -
 "Now is the winter of my discontent
 Made glorious summer" by the sunshine here
 Of faces well remembered, now more dear.
 Welcome, kind friends; my heart is brimming o'er,
 For in your smiles and laughter, as of yore,
 I read the words that grace the good old song -
 "Rue, true is the liking that likes for long;"
 There's something good in everything that's old,
 An old acquaintance never can grow cold.
 'Twas Shakespeare in his keen and witty way,
 Who asked "what's in a name?" - To say him nay
 Were rude, but in a loved and honoured name
 Is sorcery - a hostage 'tis to fame -
 And in its own deep melody is charm
 To keep traditions in our heart more warm.
 It was a wise philosophy that knew
 The groves of *Lyceum* old³²; but in the new,
 From out whose shrine we steal Promethean fire
 The ancient Thespis³³ with new life t'inspire,
 A wizard hand has writ in letters golden -
 *Mankind to our loved heart is more beholden
 Than to philosophy!* Irving, 'tis thine
 To shed new magic over Shakespeare's line,
 And with the wit that genius can devise
 Conjure up worlds before a world's proud eyes.
 "What's in a name?" The *Lyceum* lives for aye,
 For 'neath its shade art grew to deathless day,
 Tended, when fading from th' ungrateful light,
 By these bright souls we gladly greet to-night.
 This is the *prologue* to the chapter new
 Of our own fortunes; and the aim is true, -
 To flood with rosier colours all our part,
 To picture out fresh glories, and to cast
 A brighter sunshine o'er our Scottish stage
 That boasts its thousand heroes; every age
 Is thronged with mem'ries, braver groan with years,
 While rivalry with generous fire appears
 To feed the sacred flame. Proud of our prize,
 One in the fight before your very eyes,
 Brighter garland still we'd fain disclose: -
 Our own endeavours are thy green, the rose
 Is *Wyndham*, while forget-me-nots entwine
 For old acquaintance sake; with trophies fine
 As these, I see a vista spreading bright

Down through the future's forest, and the light
 Is ever in your smiles. Irving we've here,
 Loved of two worlds, with Ellen Terry, dear
 To every pulsing heart; Toole soon will yield
 His mirthful wand, to which all sorrows yield,
 While Clarke,³⁴ as *Wellington de Boots* will come,
 To prove himself the Toole³⁵ of Yankeedom,
 And merrier than of old; Ristori,³⁶ too,
 Will on these boards make us for ever rue
 Macbeth's foul deed: anon Miss Wallis³⁷ sweet
 And gracious in her presence we shall greet,
 While Wilson Barrett bears a New Year's gift,
 A new-born play,³⁸ that will his name uplift
 To honours fresh; again in Protean guise
 Old Pantomime will dance before your eyes,
 Taking his cue amid his merry fits
 From woman's lips and woman's happier wits -
 At Mrs. Howard's nod chanting with glee
Red Riding Hood's immortal history.

Mr. Wyndham - (advancing, addresses Mr. Howard).

As Falstaff says - "Fine words, brave words,"³⁹ my friend!
 And to their fairness can I nothing lend
 (To audience) - Saving in this - I am my father's son;
 If rugged Time from out your hearts has won
 The treasures of the Past, for me 'tis full
 Of dreams and mem'ries sweet; yours was the school
 Where first I strutted on the mimic scene -
 Alas, poor boards, we say that they have *been*
 And are not! - 'Auld lang syne' is here to-night;
 The sunshine of the olden days is bright
 Upon our hearts as when my father played;
 I' sooth these happy times can never fade -
 They'll prove to us a never-failing guide
 Upon you affections!

Mr. Howard -

Our hearts are wide,
 And, like our pockets, gaping for your love,
 Which to entice, this merry plan we've wove.
 Mercy is yours, ye critics when your wrath
 Flashes its lightning o'er our smiling path;
 Be to us tutors kind, e'en wen severe,
 And may your lightnings quicken, never sear!
 Thus with your cheers ringing a happy chime,
 In loving answer to our limping rhyme,
 We crave the boon that friends must ever crave,
 Forbear when we have trespassed; we'll enslave
 Our very will that all our thoughts may sing
 In perfect music with your own; everything
 Smiles on us now, and of your own sweet grace
 Smooth all the furrows in Dame Fortune's face,
 That *Lyceum* still may prove another name,
 For what is best - of wit, success, and fame!⁴⁰

Despite its conversational and witty tone, this prologue was clearly designed to bolster the mystique and wonder of live theatre, without which it might lack personality: latter-day municipal theatre proprietors have usually ignored such colour and soul. The Elizabethans through the Chorus had used these introductory poems in the theatre since Euripides, and later. Together with an epilogue, the authors of plays at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, frequently used them during Murray's management, often conveying information about the setting of the plays before the advent of scenery. They began to disappear with the five hours' bills of curtain raiser, play and afterpiece.⁴¹ Where Howard and Wyndham were increasingly occupied with responsibilities of bricks and mortar, the theatres were home to the ghosts of the past and spirits of the future. Although the buildings were secular, they promoted their theatres as if they were sacred. Matters had to be less romantic back-stage, where the theatre would be run according to a strict set of rules. The comparatively ad hoc and laissez-faire method of doing business during Howard and Wyndham's early years was changing:

The DISCIPLINE that governs every *first class theatre*, will be observed in this establishment, and the co-operation therein of ALL employed is most earnestly solicited.⁴²

Discipline for Howard and Wyndham included the exercise of good staff relations and they embraced the Victorian ethos of self-help and charity. Following the initiatives of the Royal General Theatrical Fund in London and the Edinburgh Theatrical Fund in Scotland, they staged occasional charity matinees to help members of the profession in distress, as well as helping other local charities with fund-raising banquets. These were enlivened with after-dinner speeches, as reported in Glasgow:

With J. B. Howard, of Messrs. Howard and Wyndham, as chairman, the joint staffs of the Royal and Royalty Theatres in Glasgow sat down to supper in the Alexandra Hotel, Bath Street. About 100 ladies and gentlemen were present. The chairman was supported by ex-Bailie Simon, Councillor Angus Campbell, Mr. Osmond Tearle, Mr. Edgar, at present fulfilling an engagement in *Faust* at the Royalty Theatre, Dr Brodie, Mr B. Simons, Mr S. Simons, Mr Frank Sephton, Mr H Cowlard, Mr J. T. Fyfe &c. After supper, the chairman proposed the usual loyal toasts, which were duly honoured. Councillor Campbell submitted "The Drama", remarking that in Mr Osmond Tearle they had an ideal tragedian, who, more than anyone he knew, could dispose with the adjuncts of the stage, the services of the stage carpenter, &c. Mr. Tearle, in replying, spoke of the advances which the drama, and those who were engaged in it, had made in public appreciation within recent years. He proposed "the Staff" and in so doing spoke of the highly effective service in which they and Mr. Howard rendered putting plays upon the stage, for Glasgow. Mr. Sephton replied briefly, and ex-Bailie Simons afterwards proposed the toast of "Howard and Wyndham", which was suitably acknowledged by Mr. Howard, chairman. Dancing was afterwards engaged in. The dinner raised £120 for Glasgow charities.⁴³

The theatre has always offered a precarious livelihood to those who work in it, though Howard and Wyndham had become wealthy individuals from their work as actor-managers. Their assistance to colleagues and charities would

have been a dignified professional duty, and the presence of civic fathers at this dinner points to the elevated social status and professionalism of Howard and Wyndham's management by 1891.

In this chapter, the genesis of Howard and Wyndham at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, has been traced, charting their rise as a family business run by actor-managers who were so able and popular as performers that they were able to dictate the policy of their theatre and expand to other theatres in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Newcastle. They won their reputations by playing leading roles in their own stock company which was self-sufficient and decentralised, training new actors and presenting a repertoire across a broad spectrum of "high" art and "low" art, from classical plays to pantomimes. They helped to escalate the movement towards stardom by importing visiting luminaries from the London stage. The nexus between manager and theatre architecture has been discussed, especially the construction of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, and the new responsibilities and opportunities of multiple theatre ownership, together with the concurrent closure of the stock company in favour of touring companies. Touring was brought about by the access of the railways, which helped to secure the dominance of London over provincial theatre, rather than by the machinations of business people, and by the audience tiring of seeing the same faces in a limited number of productions. Touring changed the character of theatre management, destroying Scottish isolation and independence and bringing about the separation of the function of theatre owning from that of play producing.

¹See William Charles Macready, *The Diaries of William Charles Macready*, ed. William Toynbee, Chapman and Hall, London, 1912. Vol.II, p.327.

²Confusion with an unrelated theatrical Wyndham family should be avoided, especially Sir Charles Wyndham (actor, manager and playwright, (1837-1919). Wyndham was his *nom du théâtre*, real surname Culverwell); and Howard Wyndham (manager, born 4 April 1865, son of Sir Charles) for many years associated with the Criterion, Wyndham's and New Theatres, London. See *Who's Who in the Theatre*, Eighth Edition, Pitman, London, 1934, p.1655: 'Hereditary Theatrical Families: The Wyndham Family', and Wendy Trewin, *All on Stage: Charles Wyndham and the Albery's*, Harrap, London 1980. The J.B.Howard of Howard and Wyndham should not be confused with J.B. (John Bannister) Howard (1867-1946), general manager for Ben Greet's No.2 touring companies, lessee and manager of the Crystal Palace Theatre, proprietor of Comic Operas (1915) Limited and manager of summer seasons on the Isle of Wight, but who was no relation of J.B.Howard. See *Who's Who in the Theatre*, Sixth Edition, Pitman, London, 1930, p.516. J.B.Howard's first son, W.Howard, was first violinist at the Edinburgh Theatre Royal resident orchestra, and promoter of concerts at the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh. See J.C. Dibdin, *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, op.cit., p.502. Confusion should also be avoided with Bronson Howard, dramatist, (1843-1908) and G.B.Howard, dramatist (1884-1922). See 'Theatrical Obituaries', *Who's Who in The Theatre*, Sixth Edition, 1936, p.1426.

³J.B.Howard was the stage name of Michael Hoban. He was married to the actress Sara Lewis (d.1912), whose second husband was the actor William Morgan; his brother was J.H.Slater (actor) - whose sons were Stanley Hoban (scene painter) and Lilian Hoban (actress). These relatives were all members of the company at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, and are listed in Dibdin. Several other actors descended from the marriages, including Henry Kendall and

William Kendall. See 'The J.B.Howard Group' in 'Hereditary Theatrical Families', John Parker (ed.), *Who's Who in The Theatre*, Eleventh Edition, Pitman, London, 1952, p.1574.

⁴Wyndham could also claim to have had four Scottish theatres burned under him, a record for a theatre manager in Scotland. Fire was a constant hazard for nineteenth century theatre managers. The Adelphi, where R.H.Wyndham made his Scottish debut in 1844 in *The Hunchback* scorched in 1853; the second Edinburgh Theatre Royal also burnt but was re-built in 1865, only to burn again in 1875; The Queen's Theatre and Opera House, Edinburgh, which he ran from 1857, also burnt in 1865. A list of theatre conflagrations to 1879 appears in Percy Fitzgerald, *The World Behind The Scenes*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1881, pp.30-34. Six theatres burnt in Edinburgh between 1853 and 1879; eleven theatres burnt in Glasgow between 1780 and 1870. The fire at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh killed six people backstage, started when lighting gas battens. Wyndham was in London at the time, and had sub-leased the theatre to his brother-in-law, Edward Saker. See also John Earl and John Middlebrook, 'Death in the Audience', *Theatrephile*, Vol.3 No.9, p.30, Cheshire and McCarthy, London 1984 and Edwin O. Sachs and A.E.Ernest Wodrow, *Modern Opera Houses and Theatres*, Vol. III, Supplement II, 'Record of Fires', Batsford, London, 1898, pp.87-119.

⁵See William Archer, *Henry Irving: Actor and Manager*, Adams & Co., Hamilton, 1883.

⁶See J.C.Dibdin, *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, op.cit., p.434.

⁷There were at least five stage adaptations of Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Rob Roy*, in the 1800s. The playwrights are generally unknown because theatres often employed hack playwrights, there being little or no copyright protection. In 1833 a Copyright Act was passed, giving some protection to writers, though it needed a second Bill in 1842 to enforce this. Novelists could not protect their work, without resort to complex means, until The Copyright Act of 1911. Most playbills of the 1800s do not credit the playwright and Wyndham would not have paid royalties to authors. See Bernard Weller, *Stage Copyright at Home and Abroad*, The Stage, London 1912 and, particularly, Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Late Nineteenth Century Drama, 1800-1850*, Cambridge University Press, 1946, Vol.II, 'A Handlist of Plays Produced', p.518. Nicoll lists the first staging of *Rob Roy* at the Pantheon, Edinburgh, in 1818, three more versions at the Caledonian Theatre, Edinburgh, and further productions in London. See also Philip H. Bolton, *Scott Dramatized*, Mansell, London, 1993. This work lists 970 distinct productions of *Rob Roy* between 1810 and 1900, accounting for one-fifth of Scott's work on stage, excluding *Rob Roy MacGregor; or Auld Lang Syne* (1818), another version with songs and lyrics by Scott, Burns and Wordsworth also revived by Wyndham. This version was by Isaac Pocock with music by J. Davy. (Nicoll, op.cit., p.372). The second most popular Scott work listed by Bolton is *Guy Mannering*, with 860 productions; eighteen are listed in Edinburgh during Wyndham's management.

⁸*The Theatre*, 25 November, 1851.

⁹Wyndham experienced considerable difficulty in negotiating a price to be paid by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works to the Trustees for the proprietors of the Theatre Royal. At the time of purchase Wyndham was paying £1,000 annual rent. Dibdin reports that "the Crown offered £25,871 10s. for the theatre, being £9,000 less than paid by the owners to John Jackson's estate. The owners wanted £49,600, in addition to 50 per cent for the sale being a compulsory purchase, making in all nearly £75,000", p.469. They were forced to accept £30,000.

¹⁰See Nicoll, op.cit. p.387. Although Nicoll lists this adaptation as written by Scott, it is doubtful whether he dramatised any of his novels.

¹¹*The Companion*, 4 September 1852, Edinburgh, p.4.

¹²*The Gentle Shepherd*, (1725).

¹³See *Re-opening of the Old House*: pamphlet, Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, 27 January 1876. This was the first Howard and Wyndham commission to the architect C.J. Phipps (1835-1897), whose first work in Scotland had been to design the Tivoli Theatre, Aberdeen (1872). This Theatre Royal stood at the top of Leith Walk and Broughton Street and was a complete re-build, after fire, of the 1873 Theatre Royal. It held 2,300 persons.

¹⁴Sir Arthur Wing Pinero, dramatist, (*The Magistrate*, *Trelawny of the "Wells"*, *The Second Mrs.Tanqueray* etc.) joined Wyndham's company in Edinburgh at the age of nineteen, making his stage debut in *The Woman in White* on 22 June 1874. He was a company member for seven

months, playing in *Grimshaw, Bradshaw and Bradshaw-Bradshaw*, Stephen in *The Hunchback*, John in *If I Had £1,000 a Year*, Lord Lumley in *Lord Darnley* and Count Tiptopa in *Jack and the Beanstalk*. The next reference to Pinero playing in Edinburgh is with Henry Irving's Lyceum Theatre company at Wyndham's third Theatre Royal and at the Royal Lyceum Theatre. He made several visits in 1888, as Claudius in *Hamlet*, Doctor Zimmer in *The Bells*, Oliver le Dain in *Louis XI* and as Baradas in *Richlieu*. His play, *Trelawny of the "Wells"* (1898) can perhaps be criticised as being a charming if sentimental picture of the mid-Victorian theatre, but its theatrical characters can be interpreted as drawn from Sadler's Wells Theatre and, possibly, his first experiences in Wyndham's company. See *The Weekly Scotsman*, 14 August 1947: H.M.Parker, 'Stars of Theatre and Concert Hall' and Theatre Royal playbills in the Edinburgh Room collection, Edinburgh City Libraries.

¹⁵Joseph Hatton, *Reminiscences of J.L.Toole, Related by Himself*, Vol.I., Hurst and Blackett, London, 1889, p.157. Toole was a friend of Henry Irving: the famous friendship began in Edinburgh in 1857 when Toole played the Artful Dodger and Irving Monks in an adaptation of Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, at the Theatre Royal.

¹⁶*The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, 8 November 1871, p.4.

¹⁷Henry Irving, *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol.27, Chatto and Windus, 1890, pp.1040-1058. In the nineteenth-century, training for actors was usually obtained within a working theatre company, where newcomers learnt their craft by the example of older actors, sometimes augmented by private tuition. Herbert Beerbohm Tree founded the Academy of Dramatic Art, London, in 1905 and Elsie Fogarty founded the Central School of Speech and Drama, London, in 1908. See Michael Sanderson, *From Irving to Olivier: A Social History of the Acting Profession, 1880-1983*, Athlone Press, London, 1984. This book contains a chapter on 'The Training of the Actor Before 1914'. Scottish actors often developed their careers in London rather than by staying in Edinburgh or Glasgow. The first vocational training for actors in Scotland did not begin until the College of Dramatic Art was founded in 1950 as an integral part of the Scottish Educational Department; this merged with the Royal Scottish Academy of Music in 1968, to become the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama. See also Michael Baker, *The Rise of the Victorian Actor*, Corm Helm, London, 1978 and Adrian Cairns, *The Making of the Professional Actor: A History, an Analysis and a Prediction*, Peter Own, London, 1996.

¹⁸Quoted in *Reminiscences of J.L.Toole*, op.cit., p.167.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, reproduced in pp.170-171.

²⁰R.H.Wyndham died in 1894, leaving £56,460 in his will. See 'Theatrical Wills' in John Parker (ed.), *Who's Who in the Theatre*, Eleventh Edition, Pitman, London, 1952, p.2008.

²¹Letter by R.H.Wyndham to Henry Irving, 4 March 1883. See file on Howard & Wyndham Limited in possession of The Theatre Museum, London.

²²See Harold Oswald, *The Theatres Royal in Newcastle Upon Tyne: Desultory Notes Relating to the Drama and its Homes in that Place*, Northumberland Press, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1936, p.124.

²³See C.S. Cheltnam (ed.), *The Dramatic Year Book and Stage Directory for the United Kingdom*, Trischler, London, 1892, p.434. 'Held' meant the cash capacity of the auditorium.

²⁴Quoted in Lady de Frece, *Recollections of Vesta Tilley*, Hutchinson, London, 1934, p.178.

²⁵This theatre held 3,000 persons (licensed for 1,150 seats in 1997); the Theatre Royal, Newcastle, held 2,200 persons (1,292 in 1997).

²⁶After Howard's death in 1895, his widow married William Morgan who was resident librettist for Howard and Wyndham pantomimes. Unlike many nineteenth century actresses and despite being financially advantaged, she did not succeed to her husband's managerial role. She died in 1912. Vesta Tilley (quoted in Lady De Frece, op.cit.) wrote:

Mrs. Howard was a splendid business woman and ruled the theatres with a rod of iron. She was most kind to me, and I frequently visited her after she had retired, on her husband's death, and came to reside in London.

²⁷Their pantomime circuit (Newcastle, Edinburgh and Glasgow), became a Howard and Wyndham legacy and continued after local authorities purchased the theatres: it continued until 1994, when Newcastle and Glasgow withdrew from the agreement led by Edinburgh

District Council, because of the other cities' perceived decline in production values at Edinburgh.

²⁸J.B.Radcliffe, 'Stage, Land and Strand', article in *Tyneside*, Newcastle, March 1895, p.94.

²⁹See 'Opening Announcement' in the programme, Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, 10 September 1883. Editorial, other than cast lists and credits, was rare in nineteenth century theatre programmes but was invariably written to coincide with openings of new theatres or refurbishments. The claim about the safety curtain in Phipps' Lyceum Theatre is exaggerated, for he had installed an identical double screen iron at his Gaiety Theatre, Dublin (then part of the United Kingdom), in 1871.

³⁰C.S.Cheltnam (ed.), *The Dramatic Year Book and Stage Directory, 1892*, op.cit., p.496.

³¹*Ibid.*, p.411.

³²Refers to the Lyceum Theatre, London, the theatre linked with Henry Irving.

³³Refers to the semi-legendary Attican dramatist who won the Dionysian contest, 534 BC.

³⁴John S. Clarke, an American actor, born in Baltimore, who appeared in London with great success in 1867 as Major Wellington de Boots: "an exuberant militia major, a sort of English Tartarin - which he had acted in America over a thousand times." Quoted in Frederic Whyte, *Actors of the Century*, George Bell, London, 1898, p.156.

³⁵Since working in Wyndham's company, John Laurence Toole had gained an international reputation, especially on tour in America.

³⁶Adelaide Ristori (1822-1906), an Italian actress who toured to the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, as Lady Macbeth in the opening season, before her retirement in 1885.

³⁷Played Juliet in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in the opening season.

³⁸Wilson Barrett's *The Silver King* (1882), a domestic melodrama in which he starred as Wilfred Denver as well as directing himself: the production toured to the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, February 1884.

³⁹In Shakespeare, *Henry IV Part One*, Act III, Scene 3, line 112 Falstaff actually says "Rare words! Brave world!" but the line was changed in Henry Irving's acting edition used at this time.

⁴⁰Opening night programme, Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, 10 September, 1883.

⁴¹Dibdin, *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, op.cit., includes the Prologue for the opening of the first Theatre Royal, Edinburgh on 9 December 1769, written by James Boswell, an address by Mrs. Siddons on 4 November 1828, a farewell address by Sir Walter Scott spoken by Mrs H. Siddons on her farewell benefit on 29 March 1830 and the valedictory sketch delivered by R.H.Wyndham at the closing of the Theatre Royal on 25 May 1859. See pp .493-494 and 467-8.

⁴²See *Royal Lyceum Theatre: Rules and Regulations*, Howard and Wyndham, Edinburgh, 1883.

⁴³See *The Professional Gazette and Advertiser*, Glasgow, 7 March 1891. In 1854, shortly after becoming manager of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, Wyndham senior had opened unsuccessful negotiations for the Edinburgh Theatrical Fund, of which he was Patron, to merge with the Royal General Theatrical Fund, London, (founded in 1839). The Scottish fund was famous for its anniversary dinner in 1827, when the authorship of the Waverley Novels, which had been an open secret, was officially revealed by Sir Walter Scott. These funds were also used as pension schemes for contributing artistes.