Theatre History and Historiography

Ethics, Evidence and Truth

Edited by

Claire Cochrane

and

Jo Robinson

Theatre History and Historiography

This page intentionally left blank

Theatre History and Historiography

Ethics, Evidence and Truth

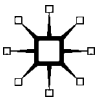
Edited by

Claire Cochrane

and

Jo Robinson

palgrave
macmillan



Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2016 978-1-137-45727-1

First published 2016 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-57879-5 ISBN 978-1-137-45728-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137457288

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Theatre history and historiography : ethics, evidence and truth / Claire Cochrane, Joanna Robinson [Introduction, selection and editorial matter].
pages cm
Based on essays presented at the a meeting of the TaPRA History and Historiography Working Group convened on the topic of "Ethics and Evidence" at Birmingham University in 2007.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Theater—Historiography—Congresses. 2. Historiography—Moral and ethical aspects—Congresses. I. Cochrane, Claire, editor. II. Robinson, Joanna, 1967–editor.
PN2115.T45 2015
792.09—dc23 2015023519

Claire
For John

Jo
For Nick and in memory of Judy T.

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Figures

Acknowledgements

This collection of essays began with a meeting of the TaPRA History and Historiography Working Group which convened on the topic of 'Ethics and Evidence' at Birmingham University in 2007. We thus owe a debt of gratitude to those who helped initiate this project and whose work contributed to what has been a very lengthy development process: in particular we would like to thank Helen Brooks, Ian Brown, Jim Davis, Jane Milling, Miriam Murtin and Katie Normington. Kate Dorney offered invaluable expertise both as a Senior Curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum and as an editor during a substantial period of the book's development, and we owe her many thanks. Paula Kennedy, who commissioned the book for Palgrave, remained a tower of strength and encouragement throughout the challenges offered by the anonymous readers of our much revised proposals; those readers, too, are thanked for their contributions to the process. We also thank Peter Cary for his practical editorial assistance and Tom Cochrane for some helpful observations on the task of thinking through the complexity of philosophical ethics.

Notes on Contributors

Editors

Claire Cochrane is Professor of Theatre Studies at the University of Worcester. She is the author of two books on the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, *Shakespeare and the Birmingham Repertory 1913–1929* (1993) and *Birmingham Rep: A City's Theatre 1962–2002* (2003). Her most recent book, *Twentieth-Century British Theatre: Industry, Art and Empire*, was published in 2011. In addition to work on the history and contemporary practice of Shakespeare in performance, she has published widely on regional British theatre with a particular focus on developments in black British and British Asian theatre.

Jo Robinson is Associate Professor in Drama and Performance at the University of Nottingham. Her broad research interests in theatre and performance focus on the relationships between performance, place, community and region. She led the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) project 'Mapping the Moment: Performance Culture in Nottingham 1857–1867', outputs from which were published in *Performance Research* and *Nineteenth-Century Theatre and Film*. Her current research, 'Changing Communities: Performance, Engagement and Place', is a major project on theatre and community in the East Midlands from the 1970s onwards: one output will be a book, *Theatre & the Rural*, to be published as part of the Palgrave series 'Theatre &' in 2016.

Contributors

Rosemarie K. Bank is a member of the College of Fellows of the American Theatre and is Professor of Theatre at Kent State University in the USA. Her articles have appeared in *Theatre Journal*, *Nineteenth-Century Theatre*, *Theatre History Studies*, *Essays in Theatre*, *Modern Drama* and others, and in a number of edited collections including *The American Stage* (ed. Ron Engle and Tice L. Miller, 1993), *Performing America: Cultural Nationalism in American Theater* (ed. Jeffery D. Mason and J. Ellen Gainor, 1999) and *Working in the Wings: New Perspectives on Theatre History and Labor* (ed. Elizabeth A. Osborne and Christine Woodworth, 2015). She is the author of *Theatre Culture in America, 1825–1860* (1997) and

co-editor (with Michal Kobialka) of *Theatre/Performance Historiography: Time, Space, Matter* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Viv Gardner is Professor Emerita in Theatre Studies at the University of Manchester. A theatre and performance historian, she focuses on gender, sexuality and spectatorship at the fin de siècle, particularly the exchange between the radical and the popular. Her book on the 5th Marquis of Anglesey is in preparation. Her recent publications include 'The Image of a Well-Ordered City: Nineteenth Century Manchester Theatre Architecture and the Urban Spectator' (in *Culture in Manchester: Institutions and Urban Change since 1850*, ed. Janet Wolff with Mike Savage, 2013), 'The Sandow Girl and her Sisters: Edwardian Musical Comedy, Cultural Transfer and the Staging of the Healthy Female Body' (in *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin: 1890 to 1939*, ed. Len Platt, Tobias Becker and David Linton, 2014) and 'The Theatre of the Flappers? Gender, Spectatorship and the "Womanisation" of Theatre 1914–1918' (in *British Theatre and the Great War, 1914–1919: New Perspectives*, ed. Andrew Maunder, 1915).

Alison Jeffers is a lecturer in Applied Theatre and Contemporary Performance at the University of Manchester. Her published work includes *Refugees, Theatre and Crisis: Performing Global Identities* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) as well as articles concerning the theatrical representation of narratives of asylum, citizenship and spectatorship in participatory refugee theatre. She is continuing this work through the Hospitality Project in Bristol, which is funded by the AHRC 'Connected Communities' scheme. Her recent research into community arts and theatre work in Northern Ireland connects with her next publication on the pioneering community artists of the 1970s and 1980s and the legacy of that work in applied theatre and participatory arts.

Katherine Newey is Professor of Theatre History at the University of Exeter and the director of the AHRC-funded project on Victorian pantomime, for which she has co-edited *Politics, Performance and Popular Culture: Theatre and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. She has published widely on nineteenth-century theatre, visual culture and women's writing, most recently on John Ruskin and the theatre (with Jeffrey Richards). Her books include *Women's Theatre Writing in Victorian Britain* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and a volume on Fanny Kemble in Pickering and Chatto's series Lives of Shakespearean Actors (2012).

David Roberts is Professor of English and Dean of the Arts, Design and Media at Birmingham City University. His recent books include *Thomas Betterton*, *Restoration Plays and Players* and an edition of the sale catalogue of Betterton's books. He has also published a novel, *The Life of Harris the Actor*, and writes programme essays for the Royal Opera House.

Heike Roms is Professor in Performance Studies at Aberystwyth University. She has published on contemporary performance, the history of performance art in a British context, performance historiography, documentation and archiving for publications such as *Performance Research*, *Contemporary Theatre Review*, *Inter*, *Maska*, *Frakcija*, *Cyfrwng*, *Live Art Magazine*, *Ballett/Tanz* and a number of collections. Her volume *Contesting Performance: Global Sites of Research* (with Jon McKenzie and C.J.W.-L. Wee) was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2010. Heike is director of the project 'What's Welsh for Performance? Locating the Early History of Performance Art' (www.performance-wales.org), which was funded by a large research grant from the AHRC (2009–11) and won the David Bradby TaPRA Award for Outstanding Research in International Theatre and Performance in 2011. She is currently working on a monograph with the working title *When Yoko Ono did not Come to Wales: Locating the Early History of Performance Art*.

Poonam Trivedi was until recently Associate Professor in English at Indraprastha College, University of Delhi, and is currently the Vice-Chair of the Asian Shakespeare Association. A graduate of the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham, she has co-edited *Re-Playing Shakespeare in Asia* (with Minami Ryuta, 2010) and *India's Shakespeare: Translation, Interpretation and Performance* (with Dennis Bartholomeusz, 2005). In addition to the production of a CD-ROM, *King Lear in India* (2006), she has published widely on Shakespeare in India in theatre and film, on women in Shakespeare and on Indian theatre.

1
Introduction

Claire Cochrane and Jo Robinson

> Historians are, of course, not responsible for what actually happened. [. . .] Historical responsibility for the past means that historians' set of norms and values is a part of the past they interpret with them. In this respect the past is a moral predetermination of the intentions of present-day activities. It is an ethical legacy, already inbuilt in the cultural framework of topical life. Historians have to pick it up in order to become aware of the cultural constitution of themselves and their world. (Rüsen 2004, 203)

The essays collected in this volume look back from the world of the early twenty-first century — and from the United States of America and India as well as the constituent parts of the United Kingdom — to a variety of pasts, stretching from the late seventeenth-century English Restoration period to the individual pasts still alive and painfully active in twenty-first-century Northern Irish collective memory. All contributors, as individual historians and historiographers, question dominant narratives of theatre history. Some take on the responsibility of representing the histories of the living, while some show the way definitions of models of theatre and performance have broadened significantly in recent years. All grapple with the ethical issues raised by the concrete demands of specific histories; and in doing so, all seek to make clear the ways in which, in Rüsen's terms, the creation of their histories is shaped by the 'cultural constitution of themselves and their world' (2004, 203).

In her essay for this volume, 'Mind the Gaps: Evidencing Performance and Performing Evidence in Performance Art History', Heike Roms argues — by way of analogy with Stephen Bottoms' critique of theatrical approaches that obscure their own representational strategies behind truth claims derived from a supposed unmediated use of 'real'

archival material — for the importance of historiographic methods that 'have the potential to make the research effort transparent' (Chapter 9). Such methods, she suggests, enable 'others to experience and evaluate the conditions under which scholarly evidence is conceived and interpreted'. All contributors to this collection similarly seek to make their research effort 'visible' to the reader: in the process, this volume highlights the importance of addressing the historiography of the histories we tell, and seeks to pay equal, critical attention to the key terms of ethics, evidence and truth in the representation of our different subjects.

To represent means variously to stand for, to speak for, to fill the place of or to embody another or others. To do this ethically in relation to past human lives demands, we would argue, painstaking attention not just to the historian's methodologies but also to her or his individual aims and objectives. Nevertheless as a re-presentation of the past, the gap between the actuality of the historical moment and the attempt to speak for it again in the historian's ensuing moment is fundamentally unbridgeable. To put it in human terms, we speak *for* the dead but we cannot speak *to* the dead and they cannot speak back to us. Even when the agents of the past are still available to bear live witness, such is the unreliability of memory and the instability of the mediating efficacy of interpersonal and intertextual exchange that the constructedeness of the historian's representation remains obstinately incontrovertible.

Such concerns are increasingly central to discussions of theatre history and historiography. In their introduction to *Representing the Past: Essays in Performance Historiography* Charlotte Canning and Thomas Postlewait explore the 'foundational' concept of representation as 'a common concern' unifying the work of the contributors to their collection (2010, 7). They acknowledge, however, that 'The historical representation seeks to be an objective image of the thing itself, yet it cannot avoid being, in some capacity, a subjective distortion of that thing.' 'The fundamental principle of historical enquiry' is, they affirm, the 'attempt to represent the past truthfully', but 'whose truth, what truth, which truth?' (2010, 11). Yet even when some kind of plausible resolution is reached about these questions, we would suggest that a further concern can be raised about the consequences of the truth, and of truth-telling. To deploy the terminology of ethical philosophy, which we will explore in more detail in the following sections of this Introduction, the deontological obligation to tell the truth foregrounded by Postlewait and Canning as the fundamental *duty* of the historian may be countered and potentially reversed by the consequentialist appraisal of the extent and utility of the likely effects. This fundamental tension between an ethics of

truth and an ethics of care lies at the heart of our approach to theatre historiography, and is central to the work of the contributors to this volume.

Published in 2010, *Representing the Past* builds on and serves as a companion volume to *Interpreting the Theatrical Past*, published in 1989 and edited jointly by Thomas Postlewait and Bruce McConachie. The enhanced depth of enquiry and scope — not least in the greater international inclusiveness — of the later volume testifies to the current strength of disciplinary confidence. The exponents of theatre history no longer have to struggle, as R.W. Vince claimed in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past*, 'for a sense of professional identity'. We are no longer uncertain 'of defining our study as an independent branch of knowledge, of professing a kind of knowledge and a kind of truth intrinsically valuable' (Vince 1989, 1). To be sure, as Rebecca Schneider has acknowledged in *Theatre & History*, some present-day theatre-makers who are focused on the 'nowness' of live performance can and do reject theatre history as 'an oxymoron', a 'time-suck' (2014, 21). But the considerable body of recent historiographically aware scholarship in a widening range of historical theatre and performance topics confirms, as David Wiles puts it, 'that history matters' and reinforces our shared desire 'to resist "presentism" which may be defined as a belief that the past is irrelevant because its inhabitants, people like us, are now irretrievably gone' (Wiles and Dymkowski 2013, 3).

Until now, however, there has been little attempt to address explicitly the historiographic challenges raised by ethical principles in theatre history. In general, as Mireia Aragay explains in her introduction to *Ethical Speculations in Contemporary British Theatre*, the academic field of theatre studies has been a latecomer to what has been dubbed the 'ethical turn' which began to gather momentum in the humanities in the late 1980s (Aragay and Monforte 2014, 3). This absence is a glaring one, for in many ways theatre is an ideal site for ethical study. Writing in *Ethics Theory and Practice*, Jacques Thiroux states that 'the most important human moral issues arise for most ethicists when human beings come together in social groups and begin to conflict with one another [...] most ethical systems meet in the social aspect' (2007, 12). As an inherently social art form, produced in the necessary presence of an audience and through the collaborative activity and enabling capacity of others, theatre is thus, arguably, the art form which provides the ultimate forum for ethical debate. For thousands of years it has enacted stories framed by the moral codes which inform human behaviour and life choices. Contractarianism, the social contract tradition of ethics, which

interrogates both the legitimacy of political authority and the moral norms established to maintain social cohesion, draws on dilemmas arising from individual self-interest (Shafer-Landau 2013, 555) which have preoccupied dramatists from Sophocles onwards: certainly the 'uneasy interactions' of participatory theatre and performance discussed by Helen Freshwater (2009, 62) and in Gareth White's *Audience Participation in Theatre: Aesthetics of the Invitation* (2013) highlight the particular potential of this bringing together of audience and performers in a shared and social space.

Aragay identifies the key publications which have addressed the relationship between theatre and ethics since the publication of Nicholas Ridout's *Theatre & Ethics* in 2009 (Aragay and Monforte 2014, 3).[1] Ridout's concise guide is particularly pertinent to our collection because it is grounded in history and chronologically structured, arguing that 'the ethical dimensions of theatrical production and spectatorship cannot be separated from the specific historical circumstances in which they take place' (2009, 7). Ridout thus emphasises that as a branch of human knowledge and understanding, ethics itself has a history. One major historiographic task is to discuss the extent to which the ethical codes and authorities of the past continue to inform the present.

In an attempt to begin to fill that gap, the essays here thus seek to explore the ways in which theatre historians apply ethical thinking to the truthful representation, recovery or re-visioning of the different ways and means by which theatre-makers in the past have enacted stories or scenarios related to human experience, and in so doing be alert to the fact, highlighted by both Ridout and Rüsen, that the ethical codes and authorities of the past continue to shape the 'cultural constitution of themselves and their world' (Rüsen 2004, 203). We would argue — albeit fully aware that this assertion has been much contested by postmodern historiography — that the primary ethical obligation of the historian is to try to tell the truth, however difficult this may be; the probity of the evidence which is adduced in support of historical truth claims is thus of equally primary importance. Hence, therefore, the dual focus of these essays is on ethics *and* evidence. But none of the concepts and strategies which will be explored is easy — not least the question of what we mean by the truth. There are no clear-cut answers, although we hope these essays will produce fresh perspectives, broadened horizons and new knowledge.

Basic facts about the identity, objectives and circumstances of theatre-makers and their audiences can seem obvious and even (sometimes) easily confirmed. But as Rosemarie K. Bank makes clear in Chapter 3

of this volume, in her essay on 'Ethics and Bias', such facts are not immutable and separate from explanations of them. What historians think they know about the past, even the recent past, may not — often does not — necessarily correspond with the 'knowledge' of those who lived that past. Our knowledge of where performances happened, how and within what kind of material conditions is constantly being adjusted in the light of fresh evidence or, perhaps more crucially, through the process of the reappraisal of existing evidence. And of course, what may be defined as 'theatre' has been challenged many times over by proponents of performance studies and, increasingly, within the field of applied theatre practice. Admitting to uncertainty is an ethical act in itself.

Beginning with Ethics

In answering the question 'what is ethics?' the explanation offered by the moral philosopher Peter Singer acknowledges a degree of ambiguity even around a definition: 'The word itself is sometimes used to refer to the set of rules, principles, or ways of thinking that guide, or claim authority to guide, the actions of a particular group; and sometimes it stands for the systematic study of reasoning about how we ought to act' (1994, 4). If we look to the first meaning should we, as a group of twenty-first-century professional historians, try to formulate a set of authoritative guidelines which direct how we should approach our work, an ethics of theatre history? Or if we move into the deeper waters of moral philosophy where 'moral' pertains to 'good' or 'bad' principles or habits of living — how we ought to act — are we openly inviting obfuscation in the practice of history as the representation of the past? As becomes rapidly obvious, the systematic study of ethics as a branch of knowledge concerned with human conduct raises many more questions than it answers. In his preface to the 2013 edition of his monumental anthology of ethical theory, Russ Shafer-Landau highlights obligatory areas for inclusion: consequentialism, deontology, contractarianism and virtue ethics — and then adds in 'separate sections on moral standing, moral responsibility, moral knowledge' before concluding with examples of work which question whether systematic ethical theory is even possible. All address, but in radically different ways, two questions 'at the heart of ethics: (1) What should I do?, and (2) What sort of person should I be?' (2013, xi). In saying that we cannot 'plausibly' answer one without making some sort of commitment to answering the other, Shafer-Landau asks also 'whether such answers are in some

way reflective only of personal opinion, or whether they might be best measured against some more objective standard' (2013, xi). This last is a question that is of particular relevance for the contributors to our collection as they consider, and articulate, their own positions in their task of representing the past.

Despite the fact that many of most influential ethical systems of the past derived from explicit alignment with, or reaction against, the doctrines of the major world religions, Peter Singer is at pains to point out that ethics has no *necessary* (our emphasis) connection with religious belief. As he puts it, 'we can understand ethics as a natural phenomenon that arises in the course of the evolution of social, intelligent, long-lived mammals who possess the capacity to recognise each other and to remember the past behaviour of others' (1994, 5): in Ridout's terms, it has a history. Untied from fixed positions or religious certainties, ethics can thus be questioned and challenged.

The collapse of confidence in Enlightenment faith in rationality and steady progress has at its most extreme provoked what the historiographer Keith Jenkins has described as 'postmodernism's celebration of the moral "undecidability" of a decision' which signals the end not just of traditional ethics but also of history (1999, 1). In a response published in her book *Historical Theory*, Mary Fulbrook sets herself to oppose not just this nihilist perspective, but also (again put at its most extreme) the proposition that 'any [historical] narrative is merely a fictive construct imposed almost arbitrarily at the whim and fancy of the historian'. Fulbrook asserts firmly that the aim to say 'something true (however limited, temporary, inadequate) about a real past (however essentially unknowable in any totalizing sense)' is still worth holding on to 'even in the wake of the postmodernist challenge' (2002, ix). The essays collected together in this volume are predicated on the understanding that telling 'something true' about the past is an ethical responsibility.

Pleasing Ourselves

While we do not doubt the centrality of ethical dilemmas to theatre as a medium concerned with enactments of human behaviour, it is worth asking about the extent to which the history of theatre has characteristics which distinguish it as a discipline from other branches of historical scholarship and thus bring wider — or different — ethical challenges. As David Wiles points out, most theatre historians practise their profession because of an emotional attachment: 'I love the theatre and I love thinking about what I love.' 'As creative beings', he argues,

'they imagine how they would love theatre better, or even better, if it were different, and at least in some respects more like the way it once was' (2013, 5). This suggestion that historians recover and represent the theatre of the past as a kind of exemplary exercise conducted for the edification of the present is highly debatable, although of course the provision in historical writing of human exempla taken from the heroic deeds or misdeeds of the past was classically a way of acquiring *virtus* for the reader. But that theatre historians in thrall to the emotional intensity generated by 'great' performances of past experience seek to recall that momentary glamour in order to recapture, pin down and account for it in terms of past audiences' aesthetic pleasure or indeed their own is certainly the case. The selection of key individuals, institutions and events for inclusion in the histories which have formed traditionally accepted historical canons or master narratives of theatre have been inextricably linked to the value judgements of individual historians. The typically combative argument which Jenkins has made, that as a 'contested discourse [...] people(s), classes and groups autobiographically construct interpretations of the past literally to please themselves' (1991, 19), resonates particularly strongly where the subject of historical analysis is cultural practice predicated on the delivery of pleasure, however broadly that is defined and whatever the values associated with that.

Debates about value are fundamental to ethical enquiry, whether it be the core meta-ethical question of what human beings consider to be of ultimate value, or the normative ethics which are deployed in the interests of establishing rules, standards or principles to guide what we do in a specific field of activity. Value as a concept also opens up meta-ethical questions about relativism and the status of human values within the systems of morality that each society constructs. If, as Russ Shafer-Landau puts it, 'the central meta-ethical question is whether moral views can be true, and, if so, whether they can be objectively true' (2013, 10), then the objectivity of the values underpinned or produced by those moral views becomes part of that central question. When the object of enquiry is art, the value placed on the process and production of art — which, within the academy especially, may be formed by aesthetic or ideological preferences — can determine the value which is placed on the histories which are written and the writers of those histories.

'Good' or successful art can make possible the success of 'good' historians whose expertise is further validated by the association with the public — popular or coterie — acclaim accorded to that art. This has implications for professional success and indeed for the economic

success of the historical product as commodity. 'Good' quite clearly here is a relative value and raises questions about why some theatre-makers or models of theatre are deemed of greater importance or value than others and thus *worthier* of the historian's attention. What were and are the criteria for what is thought to be effective theatre and how they influence the historian's interest need to be considered. If, at the historical moment of performance, the product was deemed to be ineffective or unsuccessful, why did that happen, and if the passage of time has brought about altered perspectives on that perception of effectiveness, how should the historian mediate truthfully between the values of the past and what came later to influence the present?

To use an obvious example, the priority given to the avant-garde within academic theatre studies since the Second World War has led to the recognition of the conceptual importance of formerly marginalised experiments and individuals who were disparaged and dismissed in their own time. However, as Mireia Aragay has pointed out, a consequence of this is that an increasingly dominant discourse has seen formal innovation or experimentation become 'the cornerstone for the spectator's ethical engagement [...] capable of engaging audiences "emotionally, viscerally and intellectually"' (Aragay and Monforte 2014, 6). To assume that audiences for intellectually undemanding popular performance are not capable of experiencing, in their experience of shared pleasure, what Jill Dolan has called 'utopian performatives' (2005, 5) is exclusionary and thus ethically questionable. Jacky Bratton has argued forcefully that the battles waged by the modernist radicals in the nineteenth century to raise the intellectual level of drama on the British stage created a grand narrative of British theatre which effectively obliterated the strength of the popular experience from the historical record (2003, 12–13). Indeed the recent growth of studies of popular, mass pleasure-giving theatre such as commercial theatre, variety theatre and pantomime and amateur theatre is undoubtedly the result of academic historians recognising and questioning their own criteria of value: not least because in the attempt to construct a fuller, more equitable representation of the past, something arguably much more fundamental is being tested in disciplinary practice.

The Good Historian and Epistemic Virtue

What is a good historian? What makes a good historian, where good means proficient, may also make her or him good in the ethical sense where good means morally good. At the same time, however, and this

is where the difficulty begins, practical expertise may not automatically signify good character. This is a distinction which arises in Aristotle's *The Nicomachean Ethics*, thoughts on the virtuous life articulated in the fourth century BCE, which remain some of the most influential foundational texts in Western philosophy. As the contemporary philosopher Jonathan Barnes has recently pointed out in his commentary on the *Ethics*, '*ta ēthica*', to which Aristotle refers, '*transliterates* to 'The Ethics' but *translates* rather as 'Matters to do with Character' (2004, xxv, our emphases): a definition taken up by David Roberts at the outset of his essay on theatrical biography and the case of Thomas Betterton in Chapter 2 of this volume. Aristotle's primary focus is on the ideal human being: matters to do with character are concerned with the virtuous qualities and actions which make good men. Furthermore the text as it has been transmitted through time begins with the famous statement 'Every art and every investigation, and similarly every action and pursuit is considered to aim at some good. Hence the good has been rightly defined as "that at which all things aim"' (Aristotle 2004, 3). Viewed in Aristotelian terms, then, the deliberate action of the 'good' theatre-maker or theatre historian should be the attainment of some good. Of course in the *Poetics* Aristotle explores the qualities which make dramatic poetry and action good, elevating poetry above history because of the imaginative ideals which art can express and in the process almost certainly 'answering' Plato's suspicion of its power to corrupt (1965, 43–4). However, as Barnes acknowledges, what may be inferred from Aristotle's use of the term 'good' remains slippery and potentially morally ambiguous. Ultimately, Barnes suggests, it might be more realistic to conclude that Aristotle's main aim is to produce successful human beings with the expertise to live worthwhile lives (2004, xxvi–xxviii).

However, an argument put forward recently by the historiographer Herman Paul in his essay 'Performing History: How Historical Scholarship is Shaped by Epistemic Virtues' (2011) makes a case for the ways in which the epistemic virtues necessary for the practice of 'good history' are indicative of the good character of the historian. Thus far our discussion of the values represented in theatre history has focused on their relationship with aesthetic experience. In contrast, Paul concentrates on the *ascetic* qualities necessary for the discipline — as in control and training as well as the subject area — of history (2011, 5). In so doing he is also indirectly alluding to the normative ethics, the rules and principles which guide historical scholarship. As he acknowledges, insistence on diligence, patience, accuracy and honesty and so on was central to the 'scientific' method of painstaking research pioneered by the positivist

historians of the late nineteenth century. Even now that we know, as indeed Leopold von Ranke knew as far back as 1887 (Bentley 1999, 39), that complete knowledge of what 'really' happened in the past is not possible, essentially the core rules of enquiry have not changed. In *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* Thomas Postlewait reinforces epistemic principles by challenging the weak evidential basis of commonly held assumptions about key historical phenomena and events in theatre and in so doing offers a model for the character of the 'good' historian:

> All historians, in the process of reconstructing past events, need to determine the authenticity of sources and the reliability of eyewitnesses. In turn, they must transform the artefacts into facts, develop supporting evidence for their hypotheses, place historical events in appropriate contexts, confront their own organising assumptions and categorical ideas and construct arguments based upon principles of possibility and plausibility. (2009, 1)

Herman Paul, however, citing the recent 'performative turn' in the philosophy and history of science, quotes Elin Diamond's statement that 'performance is always a doing and a thing done' and suggests a shift of the historiographic focus away from the *product* of historical scholarship to the *process* or 'doings' (Paul 2011, 4; Diamond 1996, 1). The character of the historian, her or his commitment to epistemic virtues and thus to the ethics of scholarship, becomes more dynamic, more open to reflexivity and scrutiny. Importantly it permits the entry of 'the self' of the historian and ensures that, as Paul puts it, 'epistemic virtues [. . .] are not etched in stone' (2011, 1); that individual choices can be made and seen to be made. 'Without "scholarly selves,"' Paul states, 'socialized into knowledge-seeking communities and disciplined to perform according to the standards set by those communities, scholarship is impossible' (2011, 9).

Paul's visualisation of the lived experience of scholarship, 'how historians with wrinkled eyebrows pondered causes and effects, or how at night in bed they stared at the ceiling contemplating the relative merits of alternative explanatory strategies [. . .] bending over ancient documents carefully removed from gray folders in brown archival boxes' (2011, 3), provokes a wry smile of recognition. But in considering 'vices' as well as 'virtues', his discussion encompasses other wider disciplinary, professional and indeed institutional issues. We have already noted the ways in which selective disciplinary values confirm professional success,

and that of course extends to the symbiotic relationship between academic publishers struggling with ever-increasing commercial pressures and the competitive priorities of the academy. The virtue of the knowledge-seeking community can become the vice of the hermetically sealed enclave where scholars simply talk to, and work for, each other. As Paul also makes clear in a subsequent response to a critique of his thesis (Paul 2012), even a process-driven focus on epistemic virtues must not become reductionist. To achieve Aristotle's *phronesis* (Aristotle 2004, 144–5), that is 'practical wisdom' in seeking knowledge and understanding of the past, virtue epistemology and virtue ethics must function in synergy.

Historical Responsibility

A key ethical question is: whose interests are being served in achieving knowledge of the past? Within the field of normative or prescriptive ethics, where on the spectrum of human behaviour, from self-interest (egoism) to the interests of others (altruism) or the interests of all concerned (utilitarianism), should the good historian be positioned in the negotiations between the living and the dead or indeed between the living and the living? What happens to the community of scholars when historical authority is questioned? As the German contemporary philosopher Jörn Rüsen puts it in an essay on 'Responsibility and Irresponsibility in Historical Studies', 'it belongs to the historian's responsibility to reveal not only those features of the past which fit into the self-esteem of contemporaries, but also to reveal those hidden but effective disturbances in their self-esteem' (2004, 199). What is the ultimate goal of the individual historian engaged in the process of disturbing the self-esteem of contemporaries? At what point does the scholarly search for knowledge become the pursuit of power through knowledge — the authority of present scholarship effectively assuming ownership of the past as well as power over the present?

Rüsen's essay was the product of a knowledge-seeking community of scholars who met for an international conference on the ethics of history in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1998 for what was subsequently described as 'a rare occasion of insightful reflection, eloquence, and respectful and valuable exchange of ideas'. None of the contributors, who included the three we are quoting more fully in our introduction (Rüsen, Edith Wyschogrod and Allan Megill), were prepared to settle for 'an epistemic anarchism', and all reinforced 'the need to respect the role of the subject

in history, both as historian and as historical agent' (Carr, Flynn and Makkreel 2004, viii–ix).

In 'Representation, Narrative, and the Historian's Promise' Edith Wyschogrod returned to the ancient differentiation between the philosopher and the historian and the emotional investment which the historian brings to her or his subject as an ethical imperative:

> the historian's calling is not that of the philosopher who [. . .] effects the becoming of thought through the mediation of a concept. The historian does not pluck the subjects of her narrative from a prior conceptual tradition, but rather is a passageway for the emergence of an always already partly configured past [. . .] the historian's account is not the outcome of an inert and lifeless relation to the past, but is rather the result of a double passion: an eros for the past and an ardour for the others in whose name there is a felt urgency to speak. To convey that-which-was in the light of these passions *is* to become a historian. (2004, 28)

As a Jewish philosopher of religion, Wyschogrod felt an urgency to speak on behalf of the dead whose process of dying had brought unimaginable suffering. Contemplating this is apt to provoke the feelings of inferiority which tend to go with the territory of artform history — are we as theatre historians 'real' historians? To be sure, theatre in all its forms represents death and suffering, but on the whole as historians we do not normally expect to be researching the death and suffering of its exponents, even though theatre has taken place as a means of ameliorating appalling conditions, including those in the death camps of the Holocaust. But the quotidian brings its own kinds of lived experience which should be acknowledged, and theatre is most certainly about passion — a fact which both Plato and Aristotle recognised. As Claire Cochrane's essay in our collection explores, theatre history, like any history of human endeavour, is a record of failure as well as success. When the hopes and dreams fail, suffering results. To paraphrase Wyschogrod, we cannot wipe away the tears but we can at least remember that they were shed and why.

At the same time, the historiographer Allan Megill expressed unease about an ethics of passionate engagement which *assumes* 'the patient work of historians':

> If one is to claim to make the voices of the past speak, there needs to be adequate reason for thinking that the voices have been rightly

> constituted. Otherwise, they might be merely the product of the historian's own compelling desire — whether the practical desire for such and such a supposedly beneficial political or moral outcome in the present, or the aesthetic desire for representations that are dramatic or edifying or horrible. (2004, 50)

The 'ethics of history-writing resides above all in the moment of resistance to historiographical wish fulfilment. This moment of resistance' is for Megill 'an epistemological moment' (2004, 50).

Rüsen's three temporally determined dimensions of responsibility potentially bring together both ardour and resistance. Firstly historians are responsible to their contemporaries, that is, those who share their own time, for 'the specific needs of orientation [...] Historical memory has to contribute to the validation and legitimation of the life order of today [...and] is responsible for identity, i.e. a balanced connection between the experience of the past and the expectations of the future in the relationships that persons and groups have among themselves and to others' (2004, 197–8). That responsibility, however, also includes the requirement to challenge settled perceptions of identity, offering new and potentially disruptive perspectives that not only have the capacity to change the present but also by extension shift into 'the future-relatedness' of historical thinking which is Rüsen's second dimension of responsibility.

> Historical responsibility for the future perspective of human life is guided by a value system of hopes and threats. A commitment to these values allows the historical work its practical function to disclose abilities and chances for activities by its representation of the past. It might miss this achievement if it fails to address its interpretation of historical experiences to the spontaneity of human activity, i.e., to the mental point where actions get their intentional direction. Then every element of ethical commitment would be cast off the future perspective. (2004, 200)

If, Rüsen argues, the irresponsible historian presents the past as 'a closed predestination of the future', then 'past and future are welded together in an unbroken chain of time, with no place for value-generated transformations or critical refutations of predetermined developments' (2004, 200).

The final dimension of responsibility is of course to the past itself. At its most profound it represents an ethical duty to the suffering of

the dead, albeit in the knowledge that their pain and tears cannot ever be wiped away. Paying attention to what those who lived before us experienced is a way of doing justice, offering explanations and warnings, and of ensuring that the dead are not forgotten. It also respects and acknowledges the 'value-generated transformations' of past agents from which we have benefited and just as importantly examines cultural practices which no longer correspond to the value systems of the present. Reflective and *reflexive* awareness of this responsibility prompts the understanding that the past histories on which we draw reflect the ethical values and moral and religious systems of the past in which they were written. As R.G. Collingwood pointed out as he wrote *An Autobiography* in the midst of the ethical dilemmas about human conduct provoked by the Second World War: 'ideals of personal conduct are just as impermanent as ideas of social organisation. Not only that, but what is meant by calling them ideals is subject to the same change' (1944, 47). However as Rüsen argues, a historicist approach which considers 'that the people of the past can only be evaluated according to their own value system' is problematic: 'there must be something in between the normative horizon and value system of the past and the present which mediates them in a way that justice to the dead is possible by taking their values into account as well as the values of the historians' time and life order' (2004, 203). But it is also important to recognise that history is written about the living as well as the dead; it is arguably here that issues of value and objectivity in relation to truth become most ethically pressing. Even when writing about the very recent past, as several of the contributors to this collection do, the historian can be confronted with the need to mediate between different value systems, and moreover, in measuring herself or himself against the foundational ethical questions — 'what sort of person should I be?' and 'what should I do?' — be compelled to decide what kind of historian acts in the way he or she chooses to do. In enquiring into the lives of her or his chosen 'others' in search of truth(s) which might throw light on the processes of theatre creation, or on the structures which underpin and enable that art, how far should that enquiry go and what constraints, if any, should be placed on the capacity to inflict the pain which may result?

The Other

Wyschogrod's insistence on the 'ardour for the others in whose name there is a felt urgency to speak' was, as we have already made clear, a response to the trauma of twentieth-century 'man-made mass death'

(Megill 2004, 47). The influence of the Jewish philosopher Emmanuel Levinas resonates strongly through her work, as it does through the whole of *The Ethics of History*, and has become increasingly dominant in critical thinking about the ethical component of contemporary theatre practice. Mireia Aragay explains, quoting Ridout on 'an attempt to begin the work of philosophy all over again' (Ridout 2009, 52), that Levinas's project 'lies at the basis of the emergence of a poststructuralist relational ethics which, rather than articulating a set of predetermined codes and rules of conduct, grounds itself in the very experience or event of being open to the absolute, irreducible alterity of the Other'. Jacques Derrida, who maintained a close textual and personal relationship with Levinas until the latter's death in 1995, compared the movement of Levinas's thinking to the crashing of a wave on a beach, the same wave always returning and repeating its movement with deeper insistence (Critchley 2014, 4).

As Ridout points out, the initial appeal of Levinas for theatre scholars lies in his concept of the encounter with the *face* (Ridout 2009, 51–3). Most obviously, in theatre face-to-face communication is fundamental to the physical interaction between actor and audience. For Levinas, writing as an individual whose family was almost completely wiped out by the Holocaust, 'the concept of totality which dominates Western philosophy' — which in the reality of war became the horror of political totalitarianism — must be replaced in his absolute ethics with an obligation towards the *other* represented by the idea of the face 'unavoidably' and infinitely present even before self-consciousness begins.

> Our relation with him [sic] certainly consists in wanting to understand him, but this relation exceeds the confines of understanding. Not only because, besides curiosity, knowledge of the other also demands sympathy or love, ways of being that are different from impassive contemplation, but also because in our relation to the other, the latter does not affect us by means of a concept. The other is a being and counts as such. (Levinas 2006, 5)

However, as Seán Hand explains, Levinas's *face* is not to be thought of in specifically biological, ethnic or social terms (Hand 2009, 42), and, as Ridout acknowledges, it is dangerous to appropriate Levinas's philosophy too easily in the interests of theatre (Ridout 2009, 55). Having witnessed the cowardice and evasion of artists in the midst of the reality of the Holocaust, Levinas, in an echo of Plato, mistrusted art's 'phantom essence' although he frequently quoted Shakespeare to illustrate his

thinking (Hand 2009, 63–4). But nevertheless the statement 'The other is a being and counts as such' has proved to be a powerful motif for our intentions in assembling our collection of essays. Levinas's idea 'that ethics is first philosophy, where ethics is understood as a relation of infinite responsibility to the other person', means that the other (*autrui*) is not reducible to an idea, a concept, or to a simple relation of sameness or difference to ourselves (Critchley 2002, 6).

For us as historians, our work requires an understanding that in addressing the past we are dealing with someone else's present and that in telling stories of the past we are modifying our own stories, practices and relationships with the present. But in both these tensioned relationships an engagement with Levinas's idea of the other prompts us to an understanding that the issue of ethics, of responsibility to the material relics or traces of theatre history, seems vital. The authority of the historian predicated on 'being' in terms of personal self-fulfilment has to give way to an/*other* more pressing authority. As Rüsen puts it: 'Saying that people are responsible for what they do or don't do implies an *authority* to which they feel responsible or which makes them responsible or claims their responsibility' (2004, 195). Moreover in the light of our discussion of value above, it is salutary to note Levinas's statement that 'Moral consciousness is not an experience of values "but an access to exterior being"' (Levinas 1976, 409, quoted in Critchley 2014, 5).

Virtue Ethics and Feminist Epistemology

In part another reaction to the manifest failure of more than 2,000 years of philosophical thinking about ethics to prevent the unprecedented levels of human-inflicted suffering experienced in the twentieth century, a renewed interest in Aristotle's preoccupation with what makes an individual human being innately good and virtuous — and thus capable of good and virtuous acts — has surfaced in the comparatively new field of virtue ethics. Following arguments in favour of giving greater priority to emotional understanding and moral psychology put forward by the philosopher Elisabeth Anscombe in the late 1950s, a growing number of contemporary ethical thinkers including Alasdair MacIntyre and Martha Nussbaum have entered a debate about individual responsibility considered in the light of actual concrete human experience. For what Nussbaum terms 'general algorithms and abstract rules', such as Kantian universal principles or utilitarianism which developed out of the Enlightenment confidence in 'courageous reasoning' to find ways of regulating human conduct, have proved

impossible to apply consistently to the human propensity for wrongdoing (Nussbaum 2013, 630–1). What is relevant here for the writing of theatre history is not just the reinforced incentive to engage with the specific and concrete, but also the opportunities for fresh perspectives drawn from feminist epistemology and extrapolation of virtue ethics.

In Aristotle's contemplation of the good man it is difficult to avoid the fact that 'man' in his parlance was most certainly gender-specific, not a generic term for human beings in general. In his historical moment, teaching in the Lyceum in fourth-century Athens, he was speaking to and for an elite group of young men educated in the strict hierarchy of Athenian society which not only kept slaves, but also subordinated women. Aristotelian commentary — variously asserting that women were either physically or morally defective — contributed in no small way to the intellectual legitimacy of centuries of female subjugation and marginalisation. Indeed it would take the nineteenth-century proponents of universally applied courageous reasoning such as John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor, as exemplified by their collaborative 1869 essay *The Subjection of Women*, to add rational intellectual weight to the painfully slow process of demanding equal rights for women. However, that feminist ethics, drawing on the political radicalism integral to second-wave feminism of the 1960s and 1970s, could be considered an offshoot of virtue ethics is an interesting example of the way the belief in the fundamental importance of the ancient belief in human 'flourishing' and right to be *eudaimōn* (happy) has retained its ethical resonance in the face of postmodern uncertainties (Nussbaum 2013, 631).

We hardly need to point out to our readers that all but one of the contributors to this collection are women. This was not a deliberate strategy but it is perhaps an indication of the extent to which women's voices are becoming stronger within the academy. A growing body of feminist theatre historians including Jacky Bratton, Maggie Gale, Viv Gardner, Katherine Newey and Gilli Bush-Bailey have succeeded in research which has ranged over historical periods and genres to recover the lives and creativity of neglected or actually forgotten women theatre-makers. But as Susan Bennett has recently argued, this work remains 'collectively marginal, still in the shadow of theatre history's customary archives'. It is necessary in her view 'to think about the *laws* of theatre history and what accounts for value in its archive' (Bennett 2010, 65–6, original emphasis). Is there an alternative archive, another 'body' of evidence which could suggest other 'laws' of historical writing? This possibility is explored in Diana Taylor's 2003 *The Archive and the Repertoire*, an important intervention in theatre studies which

asks 'how can we think about performance in historical terms, when the archive cannot capture and store the live event?' (Taylor 2003, xvi). Her concept of 'scenarios [...] as culturally specific imaginaries' (2003, 13) is taken up in different ways by Viv Gardner, Heike Roms and Alison Jeffers in this collection as each broadens the way in which we can view and conceptualise performance.

However, feminist epistemology and feminist ethics as branches of philosophical thinking which began to emerge in the 1980s have offered the possibility of a different way of thinking through ethical dilemmas which may also have wider implications for the study both of theatre as it is traditionally defined, and of performance in more fluid models of cultural practice. The feminist philosopher Helen Longino's introduction to feminist epistemology demonstrates the extent to which the new discourse had begun to radically inform disciplines as various as the natural sciences, sociology, political science and educational psychology by the late 1990s. She tackles head on the suggestion that 'a feminist epistemology is oxymoronic': that 'epistemology is a highly general inquiry — into the meaning of knowledge claims and attributions, into conditions for the possibility of knowledge', while 'feminism is a family of positions and inquiries characterised by some common socio-political interests'. Instead, she argues, given that 'traditional academic disciplines have rested on philosophical presuppositions that may be implicated in sexist or androcentric outcomes [...] Feminist epistemology is a necessity' (Longino 1999, 327). As James Rachels points out, 'the "male way of thinking" — the appeal to impersonal principles — has dismissed alleged "diffusion and confusion of judgement" in women's thinking' (Rachels 2003, 164). Longino draws on the work of the biologist Evelyn Keller which shows the impact of a belief in a 'master molecule' and the 'triple conjuncture of ideologies of masculinity, control over nature, and scientific knowledge' and the extent to which 'our cognitive orientation is affectively inflected' (Longino 1999, 328).

The publication in 1982 of the seminal *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* by the psychologist Carol Gilligan introduced the concept of the ethics of care — an overriding concern with relationships and responsibilities — which, derived from women's traditionally assigned role in caring and nurture, is seen as evidence of women's moral strength. Surveying the work of feminist philosophers who were influenced by Gilligan, Russ Shafer-Landau points out that there is no one simple formula that can express the core of care ethics (2013, 689), and for him (*pace* Longino et al.) the suggestion that men and women think differently needs to be treated with great caution. But this relatively new perspective calls into

question the way women's moral authority has been traditionally subordinated to that of men and thus foregrounds the legitimacy of an alternative to the dominance of rule-based ethics. This, as Katherine Newey argues in Chapter 5 of this volume, 'Feminist Historiography and Ethics: A Case Study from Victorian Britain', 'challenges monolithic views of the self, investigating the ways in which subjectivity is formed through discursive and material practices, proposing interdependence and interrelationship as the foundations for an ethical or moral world view'.

A fundamental question which has to be asked in relation to the practical application of ethical theory to human conduct concerns the point at which 'ought' becomes 'must'. This has been considered by the contemporary educationalist and philosopher Nel Noddings, a leading exponent of feminist ethics. Noddings acknowledges that Immanuel Kant's identification of the ethical as that which is done out of duty rather than love seems right. But she continues:

> an ethic built on caring strives to maintain the caring attitude and is thus dependent upon, and not superior to, natural caring. The source of ethical behaviour is, then, in twin sentiments — one that feels directly for the other and one that feels for and with that best self, who may accept and sustain the initial feeling rather than reject it. (Noddings 2003, 80)

Natural caring — the model for Noddings is the care of a mother for her child — requires, in her view, no ethical effort: 'want and ought' are indistinguishable. But there comes a point when what the individual initially wants to do becomes 'ought to do' and then finally 'must do'. In service of what Noddings calls 'one-caring', 'I must' becomes an imperative 'in response to the plight of the other and our conflicting desire to serve our own interests' (2003, 79–80).

More recently in *The Ethics of Care and Empathy* the ethicist Michael Slote has built on the work of both Gilligan and Noddings to shift care ethics away from what could at worst, be marginalised as an anti-feminist, status quo-preserving stance, or simply treated as a complement to traditional, patriarchal ethical thinking (2007, 2). For Slote empathy (as opposed to sympathy) 'involves having the feelings of another (involuntarily) aroused in ourselves, as when we see another person in pain. It is as if their pain invades us' (2007, 13). Slote argues 'that empathy and the notion of empathic caring for or about others offer us a plausible criterion of moral evaluation' (2007, 16) and indeed 'that an ethics of caring can work for the whole of ethics or morality'

(2007, 2). Gilligan's insistence on 'a new way of thinking that begins with the premise that we live not in separation but in relationship' (1993, xxvi) becomes fundamental in Slote's reading to an ethics which transcends gender boundaries.

Empathy as a concept however is slippery. As a historian in pursuit of truth Mary Fulbrook also values empathy but as 'a neutral tool'. She sees empathetic capacity as a means 'to try "to get inside" the mentalities of key protagonists in the historical situation'. But unlike sympathy, empathy is not necessarily predicated on personal identification and positive understanding. Instead, deploying Max Weber's concept, the tool of empathy produces 'interpretive understanding' (Fulbrook 2002, 167).

History and Memory

At the beginning of this Introduction we referred to 'the unreliability of memory', a perhaps self-evident truth that is nonetheless key to many of the explorations of both evidence and historiographic ethics in this volume. In his *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* the historian Michael Bentley tackles 'the difficulty' of memory and the errors and imagined witnessing of events which are the product of 'the claim of memory to provide a direct link with the past or a pulling of it forward into the present' (1999, 155), citing the work on memory as a social construct which began with Maurice Halbwachs and Frederick Bartlett in the 1920s and 1930s. History, Bentley states, 'is precisely non-memory, a systematic discipline which seeks to rely on mechanisms and controls quite different from those which memory triggers and often intended to give memory the lie' (1998, 155). But equally he acknowledges the importance of oral history, and thus of individual memory, in recovering the other histories: the 'subaltern', the experience of the deeply traumatised which has evaded formal documentation, and lives within cultures where literacy has not been either universally established or prioritised (Bentley 1999, 155–6). In their essays in this volume, both Heike Roms and Claire Cochrane encounter the 'the difficulty' in different ways: Cochrane in discussing conflicted and conflicting memories of past lived experience in her exploration of the endogenous and exogenous forces surrounding the failure of the Nia Centre (Chapter 7) and Roms in her consideration of the performative necessity of orally communicated memory of consciously ephemeral performance practice (Chapter 9). Roms' approach highlights the role of performativity and creativity both in the creation of memory and in its utilisation by

historians, which Geoffrey Cubitt suggests necessarily reflects its ability 'to synthesize, to generalize, to prioritize, to select':

> Such an approach encourages us — historians included — to view memory's instances of 'unreliability' less as simple manifestations of defectiveness than as part of the more general — and always both necessary and problematic — process by which the mind creatively and pragmatically interprets and engages with its stream of experience. It encourages historians to move beyond a simple methodological concern with gauging the accuracy of specific recollections, and to develop techniques that are geared instead to comprehending the place which 'erroneous' details occupies in larger patterns of recollection, and to exploring the meaning that memories of past experience, including 'distorted' ones, may embody or articulate. (Cubitt 2007, 84–5)

However frail or disputed the memory, the imperative to retain collective memory —the moral injunction never to forget — lies at the heart of Wyschogrod's 'ardour' and is arguably, in the most extreme examples of past suffering, *the* reason why the dead must be honoured. As we hope we have shown in our discussion thus far, the traces left by the irretrievable dead continue to shape both our present and our future. Allan Megill, in his response to Wyschogrod, insists that 'When we remember, what we remember has to be something that continues to live *within our situations now* — something that we believe comes to us from the past, and may well do so, but whose primary connection is to our present' (2004, 49, original emphasis). Such an approach is at the heart of the 'social archiving' project discussed by Alison Jeffers in Chapter 8, where her exploration of what she terms 'collecting' and 're-collecting' of memory shows that however fragmented and distorted, memory functions in post-conflict Northern Ireland as a reality of the past inextricably locked into the present.

The Essays

The essays included in this volume, brought together to reflect the diversity of current scholarship in theatre history and historiography, cover the different challenges represented by the more or less traditional task of writing a canonical actor biography as opposed to constructing, as micro-history, the performative life of a wilful social outsider; an interrogation of the evidential basis for the anti-theatrical prejudice

in nineteenth-century America; Victorian women theatre practitioners whose presence in English theatre history has been occluded; amateur garrison theatre in nineteenth-century colonial India; performative strategies for exploring the history of Welsh performance art from the 1960s and 1970s; late twentieth-century black British theatre; and an applied theatre project in a post-conflict Belfast community. All contributors, as individual historians and historiographers, question dominant narratives of theatre history. Some take on the responsibility of representing the histories of the living, while some show the way in which definitions of models of theatre and performance have broadened significantly in recent years. All grapple with the ethical issues raised by the concrete demands of specific histories. All are trying to tell the truth but in the full consciousness of the conditions and constraints which that imposes, balancing an ethics of truth with an ethics of care and responsibility towards their different subjects.

As will become clear, 'conditions' vary a great deal for the individual historians who have contributed to this volume. A key 'condition' — where the word means 'a stipulation; something upon the fulfilment of which something else depends' — for the historian who wishes to uncover new truths or challenge previously accepted old truths about well-known histories is that the probity of the new evidence is shown to be as reliable as possible, as the three essays in Part I, 'Re-Writing (Master) Narratives', explore. As we have already noted, for the starting point of his essay reflecting on his approach to writing a biography of the great Restoration actor Thomas Betterton, David Roberts takes up the invitation offered by the Greek origin of the word 'ethics' as 'matters of character'. In discussing the 'character' of his enquiry into the 'character' of an actor best known through the 'characters' he played on stage, Roberts acknowledges the need to embrace his subject as 'Other', while at the same time achieving 'a reconciliation of sympathy and judgement'. Careful scrutiny of assumptions built on old evidence; the discovery, in a moment of pure positivist serendipity, of previously unknown evidence; extrapolation from surviving evidence of the fuller life lived outside the theatre — all exemplify methodologies deployed by the good historian. Roberts takes these further, however, in taking up Derrida's concept of 'circumfession', the 'narration of self through networks of friends and associates' which makes possible a positioning of the biographical subject 'amid a system of multiple Others'.

Those 'others' also include other historians whose conclusions must be challenged to make way for new readings and new or additional

truths. Both Roberts and Rosemarie K. Bank, whose essay focuses on influential assumptions about the dominance of the anti-theatrical prejudice in nineteenth-century theatre in the United States of America, engage with the other scholarly authorities who have constructed master narratives. Like Roberts, Bank looks for 'explanations of behaviour' which arise from the material circumstances — social and economic forces and institutional pressures. She does not deny the existence of the anti-theatrical prejudice as a real *historical* position, but argues that as a 'bad faith' *historiographical* position it 'reduces a construct of some complexity (prejudice) to a binary discourse foreclosing complex, ethically inflected analysis'. Her emphasis on the need for historians to eschew 'bias' grounded in inadequate scrutiny of evidential sources is a reminder of the importance of 'epistemic virtue' for the maintenance of ethical scholarship.

In the final essay of Part I, Viv Gardner recognises the challenges and temptations for the historian in constructing her or his own master narrative, utilising different registers of writing to comment on, question and undermine the apparent certainties in her understanding of the life of her subject, the 5th Marquis of Anglesey, and to make transparent her own role as academic, researcher and writer in the construction of her history. Like other writers in this volume, Gardner draws on the work of Diana Taylor in *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003). Taylor's political commitment to Latin American performance studies led her to consider the exclusionary consequences of archives consisting of written documents. If performance itself 'did not transmit knowledge, only the literate and powerful could claim social memory and identity' (Taylor 2003, xvii). Offering an exemplary case study for the micro-historiographer through a re-examination of her research into the bizarre performance career of her subject, Gardner quotes Taylor on the concept of scenario and imaginaries in the retrieval of evidence: 'we could [. . .] look to scenarios as meaning-making paradigms that structure social environments, behaviours, and potential outcomes [. . .] the scenario makes visible [. . .] what is already there: the ghosts, the images, the stereotypes' (Taylor 2003, 28). In committing herself to a historiographic process which is 'fluid, elusive and multi-layered', Gardner aims to pursue not so much truth as 'reliability' and 'trust'. Indeed in deploying what she calls 'an empathetic understanding of the complexity of the performance event', Gardner echoes Fulbrook's argument, highlighted earlier, that the historian should use empathy 'to try to "get inside" the mentalities of the key protagonists in the historical situation' (Fulbrook 2002, 167).

In the first of the essays in Part II, '"Other" Histories', Katherine Newey also grapples with a more personal threat of 'bad faith' as she considers the lives of three Victorian women — Florence Bell, Aimée Beringer and Constance Beerbohm — the evidence of whose lives as writers, theatre practioners and active members of theatre networks and families is to be found largely in the archives of others. While acknowledging the important work of second-wave feminism in uncovering and championing the work of neglected or forgotten female writers, Newey raises a specific historiographical question as to the position of the researcher when, as we have identified in our earlier discussion of Rüsen, there are differences in the normative horizon and value system of past and present. Through her consideration of the lives of these three women, Newey asks 'how, as a feminist historian, I should deal with women whose views and actions offer challenges to contemporary (twenty-first-century) feminist critical positions'. As a feminist historian, considering the lives and work of these conservative women, who eschewed overt feminism, she has to find a way of resisting the tendency of feminist scholars to 'explain' views which do not align easily with a critique of patriarchy. As Newey puts it, an alternative framework — developed through a recognition of the ethics of care — can open out feminist enquiries into the lives of women, enabling the researcher to understand and interpret the negotiations of individuals with the constraints of the social structures within which they live. If we agree with Thiroux that 'most ethical systems meet in the social aspect' then the preoccupation with 'human actions in relational and embodied contexts' (Thiroux and Krasemann 2007, 12) as a means of engagement with the central ethical questions of the historian's responsibility is shared by all the contributors to this collection.

Such relational and embodied contexts raise particular challenges for both Poonam Trivedi and Claire Cochrane, whose essays make up the remainder of Part II of this volume. Both tackle the historiographical challenges of writing the history of the other from a perspective of difference of both race and time. Levinas's other is, as we have argued earlier in this Introduction, a primordial imperative. The term, however, has now become commonplace as a way of defining the subordinate, the marginalised or the simply forgotten and as such makes more concrete ethical claims on the practical function of the historian. Edward Said's incorporation of the concept of the other into his theory of Orientalism, which frames the way the subaltern colonised is 'known' and understood through the dominance of European supremacist ideologies, is helpful for the way the empire now 'writes back' in a re-examination

of the events and sites of the relatively distant colonial past (Said 1978). Trivedi's essay, 'Garrison Theatre in Colonial India: Issues of Valuation', thus considers more broadly the way in Indian post-colonial historiography has to face the challenge of confronting the transformative impact of Western cultural practice. As Trivedi acknowledges, Indian theatre has not been 'innocent' in the history of power. For her the central ethical task which arises from her discussion of a series of archives which make possible the tracing of the English army's impact on the theatrical and performance culture of India is whether the recovery of this evidence can and should be read beyond nostalgia, or even comprador complicity, to reconfigure theatrical history in terms of the politics of location and representation, and the reversal of subject positions.

Trivedi's use of archival material itself raises historiographic and ethical challenges. Despite the influence of Taylor's concept of the repertoire as a 'non-archival system of transfer' (2003, xvii) made up of embodied practices and knowledge, which runs through several of the chapters in this volume, archives in the traditional sense remain the repository of much of the primary research materials utilised by the historian. In 'Archive Fever' Derrida, tracing the term back to the Greek *arkheson* or 'house of command' established and controlled by the *archons* or citizens who held and signified political power, puts forward a view of archives which sees them as constructs of power (Derrida 1995). Selection, preservation, disposal and rights of access are in the hands of the archivists assuming authority over the researcher. State repositories, of course, do not only hold documents directly relating to domestic 'home' interests, but may also contain materials appropriated from other weaker subaltern sources and as such represent colonial power: Trivedi confronts the all too physical conditions and constraints of such appropriations in her essay on garrison theatre in colonial India. Her research has necessitated travel outside India to the British Library in London to consult the Cuppage and Wonnacott collections of papers, which offer evidence of the way the British Army, alongside its primary function of maintaining imperial control over the subcontinent, developed a system of amateur dramatic clubs (ADCs). Not only did this provide a means of self-aggrandisement and possible career progression for British Army officers; it also had a significant impact on the theatrical and performance culture of the elite indigenous population privileged to witness the entertainment. In addition to the ideological and ethical questions that this raises for the post-colonial historian, Trivedi also points to the continuing metropolitan control of these archival materials and their consequent invisibility from the Indian intellectual sphere.

Problems of access to — or indeed the lack of existence of — archives also confront Claire Cochrane in her essay on the failure of the Nia Centre for African and Caribbean Culture, established in 1991 as the United Kingdom's first black-led arts centre. One of the greatest challenges posed by the recent past lies in the investigation of the agents involved in organisations and administrative or enabling structures where both success and failure can, in part, be attributed to personal agency. In theatre the collapse of institutions — be they theatre companies, buildings or revenue sources — almost invariably results in considerable and wide-ranging individual unhappiness in terms of failed hopes, shattered dreams, collapse of livelihood and actual suffering. Probing the reasons for these failures throws up the conflicts of interests and values within the social context. Historians have to accept that in Wyschogrod's words the 'past is irrecoverable in its vivacity' (2004, 30), but there is a growing problem that even the documentary remains recording the thoughts and words which shaped that past are shielded from view to protect the interests of the living, however culpable: the 2000 Freedom of Information Act contains exemptions for 'personal data, particularly sensitive personal data relating to racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious beliefs, membership of a trade union, physical or mental health, sexual life, (alleged) commission of any offence, court proceedings for any (alleged) offence', while the Data Protection Act 1998 stipulates that data must not be used 'in such a way that substantial damage or distress is, or is likely to be, caused to any data subject or any other person'. An important aspect of Claire Cochrane's essay, focused on the historic failure to develop and nurture resources for black British and British Asian theatre-makers, is concerned with the witness silences and archival empty spaces which might offer some insight into the contributory structural weaknesses and unexamined assumptions.

While Trivedi highlights the perhaps unexpected consequences of Western imperialism abroad, Cochrane explores more negative consequences that are still evident in the lives of twenty-first-century diasporic communities, arguing that post-colonial analysis must also be deployed in the historical investigation of the ethically compromised and fractured relationships which have characterised attempts to make the good 'at which all things aim' (Aristotle 2004, 3) available to all members of the British theatre-making community. These include those who have been officially classified as other, that is, as 'minority ethnic'. As noted earlier in this Introduction, Aristotle's society had a highly structured system of 'othering' which subordinated women

and the enslaved subaltern. It has also now been acknowledged that Western philosophy itself has until comparatively recently tended to adopt an intellectually superior position in relation to non-Western traditions such as Chinese theories of moral self-cultivation which can be traced back to the eleventh century BCE (Thiroux and Krasemann 2007, 10–11).

As Cochrane points out in her essay, recent discussion of the social and ethical dimensions of racial classification has highlighted disagreement between the 'short-term eliminativists' who, recognising (put bluntly) that there is no such thing as race, wish to put a speedy end to racial categories; and 'the long-term conservationists' who consider that there is some benefit to retaining racial identities and communities. This debate surfaces in contemporary theatre in relation to the initiatives which enable 'stories of our own value' to be told both within and outside communities of difference. In the socially and politically fraught arena of race relations, conduct-controlling rules based on a universalist categorical imperative are deemed essential for justice and equality. But probing deeper into the ethical implications of what is known as 'implicit and explicit racial bias' (Kelly, Machery and Mallon 2012) reveals more complex dilemmas which are addressed in Cochrane's essay.

Like Gardner, Heike Roms and Alison Jeffers both reference the influence of Diana Taylor's *The Archive and the Repertoire* in the essays that make up the final part of this volume, 'The Ethics of Evidence', which voice a particular concern with memory and performance as both tools and evidentiary sources for the historian. Alison Jeffers' essay, 'Recollecting and Re-Collecting: The Ethical Challenges of Social Archiving in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland', explores the potential of embodied memory in her discussion of a 'social archiving' process designed to bring healing to a damaged community, in which interpretive understanding based on a commitment to reliability and trust takes on a very specific ethical urgency. Jeffers' essay focuses on a project set up in the Mount Vernon housing estate in Belfast, where the predominantly Protestant community is far from reconciled to the outcomes of the Northern Irish peace agreement. As a historian of theatre as 'telling stories' at a grass-roots community level, she is observing theatre practitioners 'making history' out of the memories of participants. While this activity without doubt corresponds to Rüsen's three levels of historical responsibility, Jeffers also introduces Paul Ricoeur's thinking on the three constituent parts of the relationship between history and memory as a framework for her discussion (Ricoeur 2004).

The artefact at the centre of the Mount Vernon project, the crudely threatening 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' mural, functions in Jeffers' analysis as what the French historian Pierre Nora terms a 'lieu de mémoire', a place of memory, in which a residual sense of continuity remains (Nora 1996). As a historical 'trace', the mural contributes to the embodied, ongoing process of social archiving. The issue of how far this sensitive, inward-looking, recuperative activity can move out to the social arena to achieve what Ricoeur considers the ethico-political 'duty to tell' raises further questions about the ethical use of evidence derived from individual memory and what kind of 'archive' results. Rather than becoming a 'house of records', and thus potentially an instrument of state control as Derrida conceived it, could it, Jeffers suggests, become a 'community of records' developed through a Taylor-style repertoire of acts of embodied memory?

The volume concludes with an essay by Heike Roms, whose recent research — 'What's Welsh for Performance? Locating the Early History of Performance Art' — concerns the history of performance art in Wales in the 1960s and 1970s. Roms' archival research for that project has been supplemented by a series of alternative, creative performance formats — which she terms 'historio-dramaturgical' — including re-enactments of past performances and staged oral history conversations. Through a consideration of such performative strategies, Roms concludes that all evidence is itself is both performative and collaborative in nature, 'always the product of a scholarly performance, and not its pre-existing object of attention'. In her discussion of what she argues are the twofold ethical implications of recognising and acknowledging that necessary performativity and collaboration in researching and recording performance histories, Roms introduces to an English-speaking readership the work of Sybille Peters. For Peters, according to Roms, evidence is not a thing (a document or other material trace) used *as* a form of proof for performance, nor an ephemeral act of performance used *as* evidence; rather, evidence *is* itself a performative event. Thus, Roms argues, to recognise the performative quality of evidence means to acknowledge the presence or participation of others in its performance. It also calls attention to the key role played by the representational strategies employed in that performance and the ethical importance of making such strategies visible and transparent within the evidence event, reminding its audiences or recipients that history itself is a complex negotiation of past and present.

The conclusion of Roms' essay, then, brings us back to the starting point of this Introduction, where we argued for the importance both

of understanding the constructedness of the theatre and performance histories that we research and write and of making that constructedness visible to our readers. The gap between past and present — and the values and priorities of both times — may indeed be unbridgeable, but we would argue here that an ethically aware scholarship articulates the pressures of both past and present in its exploration of such histories, and seeks to develop appropriate historiographic methods for doing so. In introducing the essays in this volume, we are very conscious that these reflections on ethically aware scholarship in theatre history are only a starting point. Others, we hope, will pick up where we have left off and in particular extend the conversation to include other approaches and models of theatre practice; thus, the call in the essays collected here to reflect on both the evidence and the ethics of theatre and performance history will prove a useful spur to a reflective and questioning historiographic process.

Note

1. Aragay references Grehan 2009, Meyer-Dinkgräfe and Watt 2010 and Matthews and Torevell 2011. She also highlights the establishment of *Performing Ethos: An International Journal of Ethics and Performance* in 2011.

Part I
Re-Writing (Master) Narratives

2
Writing the Ethical Life
Theatrical Biography and the Case of Thomas Betterton

David Roberts

For a biographer hovering at the threshold of philosophical ethics, the etymology of the latter term issues an invitation to enter: 'Gr[eek]. *ēthikoʹs*, f. *éthos* usage, character, personal disposition' (Hoad 1986, 156). Might biography — a genre whose staple diet is 'character' and 'personal disposition' — be adopted as a means to explore the nature of ethical enquiry in humanistic scholarship more generally? By considering our knowledge, judgements and intuitions about a person, then scrutinising as a component of that project the 'character' of the enquiry itself, could biography even emerge as a foundational test case of the interpersonal engagement that comes of writing about the lives of others: of the *rapprochement*, in other words, between ethics and theatre history?

The least surprising response would be 'no'. Etymology disguises as much as it reveals about underlying concepts. The Greek term *ēthikoʹs* refers to virtues instantly recognisable as deficient for either good behaviour (loyalty, to take a classic example, is the life blood of criminal gangs) or good biography (assuming we do not admit to that category hagiography and histories of British Worthies). More generally, there is a healthy academic suspicion of biography as both symptom and engine of myths: of the autonomous, world-determining subject; of the continuous and organic self; of origins and of endings. People, it has often been argued by social psychologists and literary theorists alike, are too much shaped by language and situation to exhibit the consistent, inherent traits that biographers prefer to narrate. When it comes to actors, the problems multiply. They interest us first because of the other selves they professionally assume; second, for disjunctions between their performed and private characters; but never more, arguably, than when it is hard to

spot the difference. Of the latter phenomenon Laurence Olivier, already the subject of fifteen published biographies, is the prime example (Lewis 1997, x).

Whatever the discouragements, however, recent theorisations of 'life writing' press home the invitation to enter. The scepticism of structuralist and situationist thinking, fetish of a vanishing *zeitgeist*, has been replaced by a new naturalism that attends to the interpersonal observation of phenomena (Monk 2007). Philosophers have even returned to questions about moral character that resurrect a language familiar from Aristotle himself (Miller 2013). Arguably, it has never been preposterous to discern continuities between the biographer's respect for his or her subject and the privilege that Emmanuel Levinas accords to the Other as the cornerstone of ethical enquiry; and no biographer is likely to surrender to protests that Levinas had in mind the living Other, not the dead (Levinas 1981). 'Knowledge of the Other', in Levinas's writings, 'demands sympathy or love, ways of being that are different from impassive contemplation' (Levinas 2006, 5). That is a simplification, of course. Biographers have multiple 'ways of being' that exceed 'sympathy or love', and the greatest may struggle to manage aversion to or difficulty with their subject in search of its otherness. But that is precisely what makes the genre interesting in the context of philosophical ethics. Biography might be described, indeed, as a reconciliation of sympathy and judgement, of author and subject: an embrace of the Other that endeavours to keep it firmly at arm's length; an explicit writing of the Other that cannot help being a representation of Self.

The new naturalism does not necessarily solve the singular problem of actor biography, a sub-genre mired in ethical considerations since its patchy debut in the eighteenth century, when actors were generally thought not quite respectable enough to merit such attention (Wanko 2003). Multiplying selves still leave the biographer searching for a target. Against this, it is worth invoking an idea — perhaps surprisingly — from the very end of the poststructuralist movement. The key Levinasian call to represent the Other as a being rather than a concept must acknowledge that Other's relational existence: a singular being, by all means, but a radically social one. Such was the swerve commended to biographers by Jacques Derrida. Re-inventing the concept of confessional autobiography for a postmodern historiography, Derrida inflects Wittgensteinian 'connectedness' in order to light upon the term 'circumfession', or a narration of self through networks of friends and associates (Derrida 1993). In doing so he offers the reassurance that re-centring the self does not necessarily de-humanise the object of enquiry, but rather relocates it in the very milieu to which actors in particular

rightly belong: company. Like the verbal sign Derrida had described in *Of Grammatology*, the self so conceived is comprehensible only when seen amid a system of multiple Others, a system that underlines both its structuring conventions and its radical difference (Derrida 1976). No man is an island: to write a biography, it is necessary to chart the continent.

If that is the proper ground for theatrical biography it calls less for a lapse into 'love' than the application of both 'sympathy' and 'impassive contemplation' to different territory: specifically, to the daily interactions that go to make up the life of the Other. For the period 1660–1800, at least, those words re-inflect to a rather different purpose a call made by Robert D. Hume in 2007. With characteristic trenchancy, Hume castigated scholars for being 'unadventurous and unimaginative' (even 'timid') in their use of those magnificent resources, *The London Stage* and *The Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, arguing for the more 'serious, systematic use of contexts' that performance records provide (Hume 2007, 9). For Hume, the principal objective of such an enterprise was better understanding of theatrical commerce, thereby circumscribing the true business of theatre history. The result would be the most 'material' theatre history of all. Grounded in economics, in the losses or gains of particular acting days, it would explain how repertory evolved in relation to market imperatives. Trends would feature equally alongside events; theatre people would be exhibits of the strategies and tactics used by patentees, managers and shareholders to gain a competitive edge. Hume's own study of Henry Fielding and Judith Milhous's work on the managerial career of Thomas Betterton are peerless instances of that business-driven approach (Hume 1988; Milhous 1979).

Neither book could be described as a biography, yet each is invaluable to biographers. Milhous's attention to share dealings, legal disputes and management structures releases a rich flavour of Betterton's mindset. But the knowledge comes at a price. Seeking to rescue her man from the charge of poor managerial practice later in his career, Milhous succeeded in depicting — and, it must be said, applauding — him as consistently ruthless, calculating and profit-focused when it came to finance, as though he were merely a more colourful incarnation of his bitter rival, the Somerset lawyer and theatre manager Christopher Rich. So much for 'sympathy'. Milhous's densely material methodology resonates unerringly with its historical moment on the eve of Reagan's America: theatre history MBA-style.

This essay argues for less restrictive goals in the study of early modern and Enlightenment actors and managers. They were not, after all,

mere engines of profitability but social beings in three senses: first, as professional artists who flourished, were frustrated and ultimately were defined in company, by contrast with their fellows; second, as performers who embodied and inflected ideas about society; third — more simply — as people who had lives beyond the theatre. The last presents the greatest intuitive challenge to disciplinary boundaries, and it is one that Hume's 2007 call to arms appears to rule out. However, a theatrical biography mindful of the ethical imperative to respect the Otherness of its subject must sometimes downplay his or her profession; for so it is that the actor can feature, in Levinas's terms, as a being rather than a concept. And this is not just in the interest of ethics, for a richer sense of the profession results.

So what of the being as opposed to the concept who was Thomas Betterton? The attractions of the subject are as considerable as the obstacles. As the first subject of a full-fledged theatrical biography in English (Charles Gildon's 1710 *The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton, the Late Eminent Tragedian*) Betterton presents a unique opportunity to examine the way ethical questions originated and evolved in the writing of actors' lives. His prodigious achievements and a previous working association supplied the prime motive for Gildon's interest. As the foremost actor of the Restoration period as well as its most enduring and successful theatre manager, Betterton played anywhere between 183 and 264 roles (Milhous 1975; Roberts 2010). Taking joint control of the Duke's Company with Henry Harris in 1668, he led a takeover of the King's Company in 1682 and then broke away from the managers of the United Company in 1695. Friend of writers both great and less than minor (Gildon included), and a staunch advocate of the work of the first generation of female playwrights, he was almost universally liked and admired. As well as extraordinary talent, however, Gildon discerned in Betterton a pre-requisite for the first theatrical biography that has made him much less attractive to other biographers: staunch respectability. The *Life* offers no evidence of emotional conflict, of disloyalty or the taint of private squalor; it speaks glowingly of Betterton's forty-seven-year marriage. Worse still, in the haste to publish after the actor's death in April 1710, Gildon appears to represent Betterton's voice as a melange of pre-existing rhetorical texts, so threatening to place the man out of reach amid the hurried unrespectability of plagiarism (Howell 1959). As a biographical subject, Gildon's Betterton is arguably all concept and no being: a mere prototype of good living that encouraged readers to distinguish actors from thieves and pimps (Wanko 2003).

Or is it? Gildon begins the *Life* by recalling a visit to Betterton at his country house in or near Reading. They sit in the garden and the actor, semi-retired, grumbles about the state of the theatre. There are biographical facts, some of which could admittedly have been drawn from Downes's 1708 *Roscius Anglicanus* (Downes had been Betterton's prompter for over forty years), but the high point is where Betterton produces a manuscript study of 'everything necessary for the Action and Utterance of the Pulpit and Bar, as well as on the Stage' (Gildon 1710, 15). The adjacency of those professions spoke for itself in promoting the respectability of Betterton's. His reading of the manuscript — a complete guide to the gestures, voice, movement, preparation, reading and connoisseurship required of an actor — takes up the rest of the book. After W.S. Howell detected verbatim citations from *The Art of the Orator*, a translation of a French text by Michel le Faucheur, the remainder of the book fell into disrepute, according to the customary scholarly logic that it is wise to avoid an obviously unreliable source; in her *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Betterton, Milhous describes the entire *Life* as a 'pastiche' (Howell 1959; Milhous 2004).

That drastic assessment would, if followed, prevent any theatre historian from considering the plausibility of the first part of Gildon's volume, leaving aside the fact that the latter part of the *Life* is a singularly free translation of its source material, so much so that it could conceivably represent Betterton's own redaction. The two men had known one another for some time. In 1701 Gildon had acknowledged Betterton's assistance with the plot of his tragedy *Love's Victim*, staged by the so-called Actors' Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields (Gildon 1701, Preface). The *Life* is dedicated to Sir Richard Steele, who was Betterton's friend. The Reading address, for many years a nebula of Betterton's biography cited in anecdotes recorded years later, has now been verified by the discovery of an autograph letter at Longleat House which yields additional proof that the actor owned the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare (Roberts 2009). What emerges as significant about Gildon's *Life* is not, therefore, its strict veracity as testimony; rather, it is what we might call its quality as a speech act underwritten by a verifiable social circle giving credence to its claim to intimacy. It would be a mistake to claim this case as a victory for circumstantial over forensic reasoning, since it was partly the discovery of the Longleat letter — as gratifying a moment for 'positivist' research as any in this context — that lent authority to Gildon's scene-setting. What it does illustrate is the tendency of an aggressively sceptical theatre history to steer us away from sources that invite an encounter with a living,

realisable Other in a network extending beyond the confines of the theatre.

That tendency intensifies in relation to another first of theatrical writing inspired by Betterton's work. In 1740 Colley Cibber recalled Betterton's Hamlet in the first prose to merit the description 'theatre criticism' in so far as that genre aims to capture the dynamics of a particular performance (Cibber 1740, 60–3). Like Simon Forman's account of *Macbeth* at the Globe, Cibber's piece is so familiar that its omissions are as celebrated as its observations. Precisely when did he witness this Hamlet that held the London stage for a period of forty-eight years? Did the performance he presumably saw some time from the 1690s onwards resemble the one hailed by the Pepyses on 24 August 1661 as 'beyond imagination' (Pepys 1971–83)? Or was it an ossified, heritage-industry simulacrum of the original performance that blinds us to the 'exacting, physical' work of the 26-year-old whom Pepys reckoned 'the best actor in the world' (Milling 2004)?

Betterton's gout may have restricted his ability to greet the ghost as energetically *circa* 1700 as he had in 1661, but Levinas's science of 'impassive contemplation' heralds a different kind of paralysis in which scepticism about the reliability of sources becomes an end in itself, a test of critical discrimination. If we cannot really know what it was like to witness a performance, the argument goes, let us focus on what we can know, however the consequences might narrow the field of enquiry. In Betterton's case the tendency has been exacerbated by the impressive explorations of scholars into historical performance style (Roach 1985; Barnett 1987). Treat Betterton as a dying exemplar of Galenic physiology and he becomes precisely what the most clichéd theatre history makes of him: an instance of a discredited oratorical school, what I have elsewhere called 'an amalgam of redundant discourse, the thespian double of an author re-buried' (Roberts 2010, 9). Not much sign there of respect for Levinas's Other. Reading Cibber on Betterton's Hamlet, however, no one could possibly suppose the performance to have been a monument to ancient science and archaic acting. If anything, Cibber's memoir sets out the terms on which *future* actors might engage with the role as a set of subtle contradictions: it is the first testament in the language, indeed, to what we now take for a granted as a 'reading', an actor's reasoned exploration of a role based partly on the text and partly on general deductions about human behaviour. As such, it has living within it a discourse about value that cannot be consigned to an alien past.

To write about the performance in that spirit demands a recognition that is key to Levinas's Other: a quality of 'saying' rather than

merely 'said', a recognition of the performance's immersion in 'the labile character of time', not as the set of 'constative propositions' implied by over-attention to performance archaeology (Levinas 1981, 7). At its best, theatre criticism embodies such recognition, its grammatical conventions encoding the perpetual present that in Suzanne Langer's memorable formulation is the essence of drama; unlike other forms of reportage, theatre criticism favours the present tense, so making the canon of great performances appear ever present to the reader (Langer 1979; Roberts 1999). Writing about Betterton's Hamlet should not therefore be an exercise in what would conventionally count as historically informed analysis. Rather, it should seek to capture the quality Stanley Wells prescribes for theatre criticism, a quality denied to even the most accurate forms of digital record, where 'quaintness supervenes' because acting styles change: an immediacy that permits us to 'sense not simply what [performances] sounded like, or what they looked like, but what it meant to be present at them' (Wells 1997, 15).

Important though it is to capture a quality of living possibility in the canonical performance, it can hardly be to the exclusion of more obviously historical questions; indeed, an advantage of Wells's characterisation of theatre criticism is that it enables the reader to envisage what the enactment of historical consciousness might entail. For Cibber, Betterton's moderation stood in the way of a return to Jacobite excess: eschewing a lesser performer's 'rant', the actor symbolised the refined rationality we associate with the middle ground of Augustan politics. Although the dynastic affiliation had changed radically since 1661, the effect Cibber describes was not so different in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration, when audiences sought out plays of a peculiar hybridity that allowed them to re-live from a relatively safe distance the traumatic journey from regicide to Restoration (Maguire 1992). Hamlet, the prince who mourns a father killed by a ruthless politician, was a focal case; that Betterton's interpretation was held, according to his prompter John Downes, to follow 'every article' of a performance overseen by Shakespeare himself intensified the point in so far as it made theatrical heritage a matter of political necessity (Downes 1987, 73). Like Cibber, Downes has been a victim of significant scepticism. It is routine to point out that the 'Taylor' whom Shakespeare allegedly instructed did not join the King's Men until 1619, or that the originator of this performance genealogy, Sir William Davenant, was boosting his own credentials as a fount of theatrical wisdom; it is less common to extract from Downes an understanding of how oral history, with its necessary inexactness, created an agreed past to nourish present performance. In so far as such a sense of the past, of professionalised haunting, appears always to have

been an orienting force in what makes theatre companies and audiences tick, research is best served by letting scepticism breathe the air of imaginative sympathy. That the most striking feature of Betterton's Hamlet was, according to Cibber, his first encounter with the ghost points to something important not just about the impact he had in 1661, but about the profound sense of national and company heritage that suffused his life.

The actor in company: the idea seems obvious enough, but the star system that makes individual performers such attractive biographical subjects can militate against studying them as components of the public and private identities of their immediate peers. A draught of Derridean 'circumfession' is needed in terms both of acting and of daily life. Most biographies offer glimpses of the complex signification that results, particularly when two great actors share roles, as Olivier and Gielgud did in their 1935 *Romeo and Juliet* (Olivier 1982, 74–6). For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century performers this aspect of practice has been relatively neglected, yet a 'circumfessional' approach to biography is integral to the recognition of the performed and real selves that mature with and are inflected by acting. In Betterton's case, there is a class dimension to that endeavour which makes possible a more complete understanding not just of his life, or that of his peers, but of how Restoration actors were viewed by their contemporaries.

When Betterton joined the fledgling Duke's Company in the autumn of 1660 he found himself surrounded by people who shared a background in trade: weavers, cloth workers and trinket makers joined the former bookseller's boy in what Judith Milhous describes as 'a motley assortment of inexperienced actors' needing the firm hand of Sir William Davenant to shape them into 'an innovative and enterprising company' (Milhous 1979, 3). The contrast with the King's Company is well taken; Davenant's friendly rival, Thomas Killigrew, chose to work with actors who boasted pre-war pedigrees and egos to match. However, focus on the values of the individual manager rather than the group underestimates the extent to which the enterprise and the innovation needed for successful business were already part of the company psyche. They succeeded because of what they had achieved *outside* the theatre, a point that takes on extra significance when there is evidence that some actors, Betterton included, continued with other lines of business beyond the playhouse (Roberts 2010, 52 and 164–5).

Nowhere is Betterton's 'relational' stage identity clearer than in contrast with one of his closest collaborators over the first two decades of

his professional career. Henry Harris (b. 1634), a former painter, was often the romantic lead of the Duke's Company (Romeo to Betterton's Mercutio, the Christian knight Alphonso in Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* when Betterton played Solyman the Magnificent) and a major performer in the period, but theatre historians have perhaps been deflected from his trail by the fact that most of the evidence for his life is contained in diary entries by Samuel Pepys that record a series of guilty frolics with Harris around the taverns of London, most prominently the Blue Balls on 30 May 1668 (Pepys 1971–83). Scholars have long noted the episode on 22 July 1663, recorded by Pepys following information from his shoemaker, when Harris went on strike for better terms. Less well known are Pepys's other encounters with the actor and the repertory patterns that first produced and then resulted from Harris's machinations. It is only possible to see those patterns by doing the thing that Hume chastised theatre historians for failing to do: read *The London Stage* (Hume 2007, 9). They help us see something important. Between them Betterton and Harris projected staged and private identities which, while they undoubtedly fed Harris's resentment, also provided the company with a lucrative source of casting options.

Harris was a confident man about town. At ease with the 'very witty and pleasant discourse' of Dryden's circle, he seemed to Pepys, who had him round to dinner on 29 March 1668, 'extraordinary company' (Pepys 1971–83). The dignity of Betterton's stage presence, by contrast, was reflected in his private demeanour, so that the cheapest shot was to denounce him as pompous or, as Thomas Brown more kindly put it, 'majestical' (Brown 1702, 52); a French traveller praised him, devastatingly, as 'agreeable in serious Conversation' (Motraye 1723, 143). Betterton's seniority had been staged in a series of revivals before Harris downed tools in the summer of 1663: Hamlet to the other's man's Horatio, Toby Belch to his Aguecheek and so on. What happened after Harris's return to the fold towards the end of 1663 was double-edged. Following the intervention of the company's patron, James, Duke of York, Harris came back on good terms but the company ensured there was a twist to the plot. The seasonal spectacular that Davenant planned for Harris's first appearance as a performer of enhanced financial standing dramatised the consequences of disloyal greed. In Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* Harris played Wolsey, the role in which John Greenhill memorialised him in a fine portrait. Betterton played Henry, interrogating his fellow actor as to his loyalty. Harris then had to play out the psychological consequences of banishment to a far-flung province, as much a disaster for the actor as it had been for Wolsey.

Subsequent repertory kept the quarrel alive with Davenant's adaptation of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Orrery's *Henry V* and a first play by Sir George Etherege, *The Comical Revenge*, in which Harris's Sir Frederick Frollick greets his sober cousin with the line 'What, my lord, as studious as a country vicar on a Saturday in the afternoon?' only to receive the measured rebuke that Betterton is not 'studying of speeches for [his] mistress' but considering honourable actions that Harris is 'come luckily to share' (Etherege 1664, 20).

Harris's social life and career prompt a review of a new scholarly orthodoxy: that public knowledge of actors' private lives was a means of controlling the threat they presented to the genteel establishment. If gentility could be acted so convincingly, the argument goes, how could anyone tell who really had it? There had to be some way of putting actors in their place, and comparing them with prostitutes was as good as any (Dawson 2005). The argument works if its evidence is the supposed sexual misdemeanours of performers. It starts to break down at the moments not captured in *The London Stage* (that is, the ones that don't directly concern the theatre): when, for example, Pepys sees Harris holding his own with the university men (3 February 1664) or hears of the studious Betterton growing rich on his earnings (22 October 1662; Pepys 1971–83). No obvious disapproval emerges from such moments: in fact, Pepys envied the actors precisely because their private behaviour corresponded to his own aspirations. For him, understanding the status of performers in society was decidedly a matter of *ēthikós,* of good character, and he knew it when he saw it.

If there is one episode in Betterton's life that asks questions about his own good character, and with it the assumptions scholars have made in answering them, it is the 1682 union of the Duke's Company and the King's Company. In the autumn of 1681 Betterton, then co-manager of the Duke's Company, entered into negotiations with representatives of the King's, which was struggling to stay afloat. Two King's actors, Charles Hart and Edward Kynaston, agreed to a subvention from Betterton in return for a promise not to act for their own company and to persuade its owner, Charles Killigrew, that a merger was in his best interests. By May 1682 Betterton had achieved his aim and the two companies were joined under his management. The 1922 and 2004 editions of the *Dictionary of National Biography* reach different verdicts on his behaviour. Joseph Knight (1922) described the deal as 'one-sided and dishonest'; Judith Milhous (2004, 558) represented it as 'a stumbling block for various biographers' who as a result doubted Betterton's 'reputation for probity'. The business case, she argues, was self-evident: the

King's Company was badly run, the merger would improve financial performance — it did — and Betterton's conduct should be judged accordingly. Yet no one doubts that the broader consequences of the union were bad, and foreseeably so: diminished repertory, a strangling of new plays, forcible retirement first of backstage staff and then of actors, so that the next five years saw a 50 per cent cut in personnel. No one doubts either that Betterton, although he did not directly improve his own terms through an augmented managerial salary or share option, did profit substantially from the union, to the extent that his earnings in the 1680s regularly matched those of senior government officials (Milhous 1981–82).

Whatever else Betterton did, he made himself instrumental in the demise of the King's Company; in modern parlance this was not just an aggressive takeover but commercial sabotage. But 'modern parlance' is a precarious foundation. Consider the ethical judgements offered by the two *Dictionary of National Biography* contributors. Milhous deploys the discourse of the business guru; Knight, that of a scoutmaster. A broader attention to ethical context might ask whether Betterton's practice was more or less sharp for its time, or what else might have motivated it apart from greed. For theatre history to be truly 'material' in the sense envisaged by Hume, it must learn not from business studies but from the history of business, and only at that point will ethical judgements of the person in question attain real validity — the validity, that is, that attends to the biographical Other as situated amid a network of 'other practices' as well as 'Others'. In the work of the economic historian Richard Grassby we find a complex picture of business decisions taken in the context of social networks: capitalism living by the laws of feudal allegiance (Grassby 1995 and 2000). Milhous's analysis of Betterton's dealings in October 1682 assumes he dealt with Hart and Kynaston as senior professionals who were able to pressurise their own manager and whose loss would be a major blow to their company; their roles are prescribed by the financial deal in prospect. For Knight, they were pawns in a monstrous deceit. But a long-standing allegiance lay behind this choice. Betterton and Kynaston had been joint leads in John Rhodes' theatre company — and probably his bookshop — before the Restoration, with Betterton the leading man and Kynaston his lady, and there is evidence of an association between their families going back to the previous century (Roberts 2010, 51). Kynaston was, in a sense, already part of the company, not simply a phase in Betterton's arithmetic. Such principles, Grassby shows, informed many seventeenth-century business dealings that might on the surface look like hostile takeovers. What was 'family' was justification enough.

If the assessment of company is key to an appreciation of the actor as Other, in Betterton's biography it is crucial to consider the man in whose name he worked. James, Duke of York, brother to Charles II, was arguably the most controversial figure of his time: a Catholic who, assuming the throne in 1685 after protracted political resistance, fled the country three years later. Plays and playwrights, not theatre companies, have been the focus of the work that has been done on the drama that James's position prompted, with a particular concentration on the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis (Owen 1997 and 2002). What it meant to manage the company to which he gave his name — the sharp end of the theatre's engagement with politics — has been a less popular topic, but the questions are important. How did Betterton respond when a mob ransacked Dorset Garden in 1680, calling the duke a 'rascal' (*The True News* 1680)? To what extent did he promote repertory that was sympathetic to his patron? What can be deduced about the private political and religious inclinations of a man who found himself at the head of what was in effect one of the duke's most potent propaganda machines? Such questions had a daily significance for Betterton, and they gained particular force during one of the Restoration period's best-documented performances.

When John Downes recalled the 1670 royal command performance of John Caryll's comedy *Sir Salomon*, he was mainly concerned to show what had not gone according to plan. *Sir Salomon* was performed for the king and representatives of the French court (Downes 1987, 64). James Nokes, a Duke's Company comedian, was encouraged to make fun of the French by dressing in the latest Parisian fashion; a small man, he ended up tripping over his sword and long waistcoat to the mirth of the English contingent and the dismay of the French. Caryll's play was an adaptation of the greatest French comic success of the previous decade, Molière's *L'École des femmes,* which had been performed seven years before at the family home of Ambassador Colbert, present at the fateful performance of *Sir Salomon*. What had begun as a diplomatic tribute to the alliance of English and French culture ended as a piece of raucously patriotic pantomime. The context was extraordinary. Caryll was a noted Catholic apologist whose sister was an abbess near Calais. Encouraging Nokes was none other than the Duke of Monmouth, Charles II's natural son and the future spearhead of the movement designed to exclude his uncle James from the throne. The site of the performance was Dover Castle, and the court had assembled there in May 1670 so that King Charles II could sign a fake commercial treaty followed by a real agreement to convert to Catholicism, take the rest of the country with him

and call for French troops in the event of resistance: in the eyes of Parliament, an act of treachery as plain as any his father had committed. Betterton's role is darkly comic. A secretive tyrant, Sir Salomon is pilloried for his secretive wiles and his desire to rob his own family of their inheritance.

Although it is impossible to unravel completely the various machinations that lay behind this extraordinary occasion, the very secrecy of the Treaty of Dover helps clarify where the Duke's Company and its management stood. It is inconceivable that Betterton knew the real reasons for the Dover performance: only the king, his closest advisers and the French contingent did. But it is very likely that Monmouth knew something was up, and his carefully planned act of sabotage had the effect of shattering the illusion of *entente cordiale*. His father retreated from the terms of the secret treaty so rapidly that within three years he had excluded his brother from public office because of his religion. Members of the Duke's Company, meanwhile, were unwitting parties in what would become the most bitter political struggle of the late seventeenth century. We know enough about Betterton's repertory choices in the 1670s to appreciate that he was well aware of the political dimension of his company's work (witness the extravagant success of Otway's *Don Carlos*, said to be James's favourite play) but on occasion even the political issues he was acting out passed just, if only just, over his head — a sign that when it comes to questions of 'being' and politics, theatre people may be both centre stage and utterly marginal.

So described, the actor in company turns naturally into the actor as citizen. 'What do you want from me?' cries the hero of Istvan Szabo's majestic film *Mephisto*; 'I'm only an actor!' — an actor prepared to do his Nazi masters' bidding on any terms (Szabo 1982). Research into the political leanings of early modern actors — to put it more grandly, their sense of contingent public ethics — is limited by want of evidence, but where such evidence plainly exists it has been oddly neglected. For any major writer, the existence of a catalogue of personal books and pictures would be an object of prime interest to scholars. In the case of Thomas Betterton, the significance of the fact that in 1710 a bookseller called Jacob Hooke listed his hundreds of books and thousands of engravings and paintings for auction in twenty-three closely set pages has been slow to dawn on theatre historians. R.W. Lowe may not have known about it when he published his 1891 biography of Betterton, for he does not mention it; nor does Milhous's 1979 study of Betterton's managerial career, although her book is rich in observations

about his personal finances; in her 2004 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry, the same author admits that items in Hooke's catalogue may be of use as a guide to stage costuming, as though theatre historians could expect nothing else from it. Only Joseph R. Roach gives space to *Pinacotheca Bettertonaeana*, but to its subject's disadvantage: Betterton's evident interest in British history is used to implicate this Restoration black-face Othello in the ideologies of early empire (Roach 1996, 110–19).

We might feel tempted to ask what Roach wants of Betterton, since he was only an actor, but like the first readers of the catalogue Roach has particular ideas about what he hopes to find there, so that 'being' sits a long way behind the pre-established 'concept' of imperialism. The *Pinacotheca* certainly contains items that fed an interest in the way exotica might be plundered for, among other things, playhouse display — witness the many plush folios by John Ogilby: *Asia*, *Atlas Chinensis*, *Atlas Jappanensis*, *Africa* and *America* (Hooke 2013, 17–18). But there is a more immediate story. Partly because he had grown up in one, and partly because he had spent so many years of his professional life acting out their origins, conflicts and consequences, Betterton was deeply interested in civil wars. He owned more than thirty studies of them, both ancient and modern. Even remoter British history was interesting because of its connections to present controversy: Robert Howard's *Life and Reign of King Richard II* (Octavo 175; Hooke 2013, 106), published in 1681 at the height of the Exclusion Crisis, and the 1682 re-issue of Symonds D'Ewes's *Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Folio 131; Hooke 2013, 40) dangled succession in front of a public primed to be interested. As a man who wore the Duke of York's livery for much of his career, Betterton maintained, so far as professional discretion would allow later in his career, a profound ideological commitment to the Stuart cause — Dryden's 1685 *Albion and Albanius* was the ultimate, crazed sign of it — and his library bears its mark, as do his pictures. But Betterton's history is characterised by the actor's ability to grasp the significance of conflict, of opposition: to imagine the force of the dissident voice. His collection abounded in items relating to the history of Parliament, and it is no surprise to find in *Pinacotheca* items that reflect an interest in the here and now of history: volumes about the Popish Plot (which affected the Duke's Company's box office takings), about the proceedings against Henry Sacheverell (Octavo 51; Hooke 2013, 75); Edward Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia; or the Present State of England* (Octavo 102; Hooke 2013, 88). Even his religious interests moved with the times, taking in, for example, the new deism of John Toland's 1696 *Christianity Not Mysterious* (Octavo 76; Hooke 2013,

81) or Timothy Nourse's 1691 *A Discourse of Natural and Reveal'd Religion* (Books Omitted, Octavo 9; Hooke 2013, 157). He was a man of his moment, and the vast majority of his books were published after 1660.

People acquire authors they come to dislike as well as those they never liked in the first place; auctioneers were prone to slipping in unwanted items from other sales, especially where a famous name might add extra lustre to otherwise routine fare; the rules of acquisition determined by the cultural commodity called 'a library' sometimes obscure questions of individual taste. None of this, however, dulls the distinctive colour of Betterton's collection. Indeed, some of the usual caveats about book catalogues are weaker in this case than others. Hooke's auction, very unusually, took place in its subject's old apartment in Russell Street, which means that Hooke's list is likely to reflect Betterton's own shelving arrangements, and it appears that Betterton did not collect books for the sake of it: where Greek and Latin classics were the centrepiece of the other collections Hooke sold, the Russell Street collection boasted English translations. Cibber presented Betterton's Hamlet as the outcome of reasoned deliberation — a 'reading' — and the early biographies suggest that the actor was, to use Pepys's word of 22 October 1662, 'studious' (Pepys 1971–83). His collection included literary and dramatic criticism, philosophy and a good deal of mainstream Anglican writing; there is also a significant run of Catholic texts, a Douai Bible and a Catholic icon. Unlike Pepys, he did not discard old editions when he bought a new one; like Pepys, he owned a copy of everyone's dirty reading, Millot and L'Ange's *L'École des filles* (1676; Octavo 48). There are volumes that would appeal only to a determined autodidact, so Betterton evidently set out to make up the educational deficit that his childhood as a bookseller's boy had bequeathed. To undertake that signally rare exercise that is perusal of *Pinacotheca Bettertonaeana* is to feel the Other slowly forming into view through the emerging cultural category his collection partly embodied, and which every biographer longs to delineate: taste. Not taste merely as the expression of cultural norms but as the relic of an irreducible and complex Other; that is, not of a concept but of a being that beckons across the threshold. That being may be confronted, but the door will shut on it if we set exclusive limits or burdens of proof upon what can and cannot be defined as theatre history.

3
Ethics and Bias
Historiography and Anti-Theatrical Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century America

Rosemarie K. Bank

An examination of anti-theatrical prejudice in the United States in the nineteenth century helps focus an issue at the heart of ethical concerns in present-day research, namely, the anxiety about truth-telling. For much of the nineteenth century and two thirds of the twentieth century, the ideal was to suppress point of view in the writing of history, whereas our own day recognises, perhaps even embraces, the dominance of point of view and the futility of attempts to deny its presence and performance in history writing (Reinelt and Roach 1992, 293–4). Ethical concerns are magnified in writing cultural history because performance is, by its nature, unstable. In our own day, too, where the battle is for attention in a world with many other things to look at and where every man or woman is his or her own performer, the anti-theatrical prejudice emerges, I hope to show, as a real *historical* position, but (as Mark Hodin calls it) a 'bad faith' historiographical position, one that helps obscure, rather than reveal, the historical subject (Hodin 2000, 226).

Historical propositions are embedded in the 'facts' they present and the 'facts' in them. It is as a 'fact proposition' — what Michel Foucault identifies as an 'episteme' in discourse — that we perceive propositions as explanations of historical phenomena (Foucault 1973). The proposition I want to examine here states that there was a controlling anti-theatrical prejudice in the United States during the long nineteenth century (roughly from the onset of the Revolutionary War in 1776 to the United States' entry into the First World War in 1917). My argument will not concern the 'distortion of facts', as if 'facts' were things immutable and separate from explanations of them. Rather, my argument concerns the historiographical choices that are made about how to interpret those

'facts', choices which have determined, for discoursants and for historians (and, so, their histories), how issues of class, race, gender, material production and culture are read. The long nineteenth century is particularly fertile ground for a historiographical mapping of this kind because the anti-theatrical prejudice has been repeated largely unchallenged and unexamined in theatre histories about the United States during these years (Barish 1981; Smith 1997; Johnson 2008) and has, as a result, achieved the status of a 'truth' about American theatre history.

By looking for explanations of behaviour arising from the material circumstances affecting theatre-making in the nineteenth century, such as social or economic forces, institutional pressures or aesthetic values, scholars and researchers may come not only to understand historical subjects in a less unitary way, but to scrutinise the ethics involved in history writing. The ethical concern in this is neither the reflection of a position nor that of a felt sense of 'rightness' (of which nineteenth-century American melodramas are immeasurably fond). The concern is that the constructed nature of the ethical be foregrounded in historiographical discourse so as to resist Hodin's 'bad faith economy', in which theatre is located outside the flow of those productive forces referenced earlier in this paper. So removed, the perennial abuse of American theatre and drama both constructs authority (the historian's, his or her preaching subject, art and so on) and attempts to place it outside the realm of production (the 'economy'). In this way, the ideological commitment represented by 'the anti-theatrical prejudice' as historical subject 'can authorize these commitments', Hodin observes, 'in the name of [the history's or historian's] disinterestedness', while simultaneously dehistoricising the subject (Hodin 2000, 226). In this light we can see, for example, anti-theatrical prejudice as a value held by historical subjects without assuming either that it was a dominant historiographical position or that the dislike and mistrust of theatre on ethical grounds was, in fact, what the anti-theatrical discourse was all about, no matter how often or how forcefully subjects said so. From a present-day historiographical perspective, the first assumption creates a belief in dominance where there was none, while the second reduces a construct of some complexity (prejudice) to a binary discourse foreclosing complex, ethically inflected analysis.[1]

The historiographical stakes in material perspectives of the colonial and post-colonial eras that promise a productive way to examine bias against theatre in the nineteenth century are expressed by the United States theatre historians Peter Davis and Odai Johnson. The evidence

base for the anti-theatrical prejudice in the United States in the nineteenth century, on the other hand, is embedded in Jonas Barish's examination of the prejudice in Europe and America, and in Susan H. Smith's and Claudia D. Johnson's studies of the prejudice in the United States, perspectives, I will argue, that represent a direct migration from evidence to position. I will map this discussion in what follows through an examination of the theatre-historiographical issues raised by these histories.

Few positions about the theatre have been held as tenaciously as the one maintaining that, throughout history, there has been an anti-theatrical prejudice against it. On its face, holding this position seems reasonable enough, since there is evidence (in the West, at least) from many times and places since antiquity that people have spoken against the theatre. The history of this view is ably summarised by Jonas Barish in his 1981 book, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice*. Lacking the knowledge, I cannot speak to this bias throughout time, but I would like to consider anti-theatrical prejudice in the United States in the nineteenth century as a historical position. I have in view less the contemporaneous persons who express the bias than I do the histories, contemporaneous and subsequent, that credit that prejudice as controlling.

Why is the presentation of bias against the theatre not enough to establish an anti-theatrical prejudice? Here, I want to make a distinction between what exists and what controls. In doing so, I intend to shift the ground from the historical to the historiographical, in this case to show that evidence of bias against the theatre in the United States in the nineteenth century is insufficient to establish anti-theatricalism as a controlling prejudice. In this context, the word 'controlling' means that theatres are closed and/or plays are not allowed to be published and/or no one is or specified persons are not allowed to perform for gain or hire. I make the distinction of control based upon material circumstances such as these not to reform language, but to call attention to the historiographical migration of bias against theatre from its historical sites to a position in history insisting upon an anti-theatrical prejudice in society or societies. Why does such a historiographical migration matter? First, the assumption of anti-theatrical prejudice discourages looking for or obscures other explanations of behaviour. Second, it does not encourage examination of diverse material circumstances affecting our historical subjects or the scrutiny of our own motives in historical writing. Third, a too direct migration from evidence to position suppresses examining the ethics involved in the material agencies of history-making, agencies such as social or economic forces, institutional

pressures or aesthetic values. Let us consider these matters in the context of the historical views presented and the reasons advanced for presenting them.[2]

In his 1993 article 'Puritan Mercantilism and the Politics of Anti-Theatrical Legislation in Colonial America', Peter A. Davis identified six objections to theatre and drama in the eighteenth century, none of which produced abiding anti-theatrical legislation prior to 1750 (Davis 1993). With one exception, the acts preceding 1750 'cited by modern scholars were laws designed to discourage idle behavior by forbidding "games and plays"', where 'plays' 'means gambling, not theatrical amusement' (Davis 1998, 221–2). The single early attempt specifically against 'stage plays' (1682 in Pennsylvania) was reversed in London, and though several colonies followed Massachusetts in banning theatrical performances after 1750, 'the laws were never energetically enforced', as verified by the continuation of theatrical activity in those colonies (Davis 1998, 222). Historiographically, then, identifying a controlling anti-theatrical prejudice requires one to determine whether 'play' means stage play or gaming, and to go beyond the passage of a law in the colonies to see whether it was either upheld in London or enforced in America, or both.[3]

A cluster of anti-theatrical production laws emerged after 1750: in New York and Virginia in 1752, for example, and in Pennsylvania in 1753, all of which were overturned, and in a Rhode Island law in 1762, which copied verbatim a Massachusetts law's rhetoric that theatrical entertainments 'occasion great and unnecessary expences, and discourage industry and frugality' (Davis 1998, 231; Bryan 1993). The language of the two sustained laws (Massachusetts and Rhode Island) suggests the advisability of looking at the English Board of Trade, a mix of rarely involved members of the Privy Council and an equal number of (active) wealthy London merchants, 'whose explicit purpose was the encouragement and protection of [their] trade' (Davis 1998, 230). Beginning in 1750, a sequence of restrictive trade laws pertinent to theatrical production — given that the only sustained anti-theatre laws (those of Massachusetts and Rhode Island) were unique in fronting trade-related arguments — were imposed by this board. I do not suggest that laws restricting iron in 1750 or currency in 1751, or encouraging revenue-generating sugar production in 1764, contain anti-theatrical legislation, but that Englishmen connected to the one were related through trade to Americans connected to the other. That this connection merits scrutiny is underscored by the only controlling anti-theatrical prejudice succeeding (thus far) in stopping theatrical production in America via

a national law, the 20 October 1774 resolution of the Continental Congress, stating:

> We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments. (Hewitt 1959, 30)

There is more than a little evidence, despite the departure of North America's first sustained troupe, the Hallam-Douglass Company, for Jamaica — surely to escape the looming inevitability of war rather than for fear of being unable to perform — that the 1774 Continental Congress resolution was both unenforceable and unenforced. It is also clear that colonial Americans understood the connection between English Boards of Trade and American businessmen-legislators who pushed anti-theatre laws, as witnessed by the upsurge in the later eighteenth century of American-authored plays, in the style of earlier political dialogues, concerned with economic issues. (I have in mind here the Revolutionary War-era plays of Mercy Otis Warren and John (Joseph) Leacock, such as Leacock's *The Fall of British Tyranny* in 1776.) In addition, some of those American businessmen-legislators may also have supported other of the objections to theatre that Davis offers.

Is it the case, then, that once the United States was free of England, a controlling anti-theatrical prejudice can be located in the American Republic during the long nineteenth century? Significantly, commercial theatrical activity resumed almost immediately after the Revolutionary War ended, and where managers had to appeal against standing anti-theatrical laws, it was at the city, not national, level, and their appeals were successful: Philadelphia, for example, repealed its anti-theatre law in 1789, Boston in 1793 (Hewitt 1959, 33–4, 46–7). The argument used against these laws was free trade, coupled with ability-to-pay assurances involving ties between theatres and city businessmen. Indeed, the pre-syndicate history of theatrical production in America in the nineteenth century is that of prominent entrepreneurs (Livingstons and Astors in New York, for example) incorporating to build theatres, which they leased to managers of repertory companies. So allied and as businesses, theatre was safe from being prevented or shut down by anti-theatrical prejudice (Bank 1997). After 1774 nationally and 1793 locally, then, the

answer to the question 'was there a controlling anti-theatrical prejudice in the United States during the long nineteenth century?' appears to be 'no'.

The second (and more telling) question, 'what kind of prejudice produced closures or attempts at closure of theatres in America during the long nineteenth century?', is more complex than attempts to control theatrical production by attempting to close or by closing theatres. The objections that Peter Davis cites from the colonial era include:

1. The material (that theatrical productions interfere with worker productivity and that theatre-going was a waste of time);
2. The religious (that theatrical productions encouraged immorality, corrupted the young, amounted to worshipping graven images and promulgated Roman Catholicism);
3. The political (theatres were Royalist gathering places);
4. The economic (theatre was a waste of national capital needed elsewhere); and
5. The social (that theatrical productions encouraged extravagance, dissipation, inappropriate class and gender mingling and the kind of public immorality associated with theatre personnel and with the aristocracy) (Davis 1998, 221).

To these, Susan Harris Smith's 1997 *American Drama: The Bastard Art* adds, for the early Republic, the aesthetic (prejudices against drama as literature, art, or education). Arguments against these objections were expressed even during the colonial era, most notably in the material argument that prohibiting theatrical performance was an infringement of free trade.

Odai Johnson examines four rebuttals to anti-theatre arguments carried over from the colonial into the post-colonial era in the United States in, among other works, his 1999 article 'God prevent it ever being established'. These are free trade arguments (that theatre was a business like any other and should be free to operate); public morality arguments (that rights to congregate and the separation of church and state should not be infringed); nationalist objections for or against theatre (that theatrical performances articulated patriotic — pro 'American' — sentiments, or, negatively, that performances expressed the views of political parties); and social interaction arguments (that a shared culture promoted a shared polity).

Jonas Barish's more broadly based work, Smith's work focused on drama and Claudia Johnson's examination of four objections to theatre

carried over into or articulated in the nineteenth century repeat earlier objections, but give them a nineteenth-century spin. The points of contention repeat religious objections and public morality arguments of the colonial era (for example, that theatres and theatrical productions are sinful and corrupt public morality), flesh out aesthetic objections and nationalist concerns (for example, that a quality American drama is not being produced and that what is being produced shames the nation), reprise social interaction arguments, now presented as matters of public order (for example, that theatres are gathering places for rowdy, rebellious youths, prostitutes, drunkards and thieves) and further competition and interference arguments (for example, that theatrical productions draw workers from church and edifying activities — lectures, libraries and so on — and from labours that help them 'get ahead' in business).

The anti-theatrical prejudice in America is most closely associated with British holdings during the colonial period. In his study of the prejudice in Europe since antiquity, Barish identifies the English Protestants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who set themselves against plays and playing, a text continued in Claudia Johnson's work with specific reference to the United States in the nineteenth century. Historiographically, these works (as does Smith's) situate the anti-theatrical prejudice within Hodin's 'bad faith' history writing. Religion-based anti-theatrical prejudice is prone to this kind of historical abstraction because it is perceived as ideological and, perhaps, as the most 'eternal' of the objections to theatre.

As far as the question of theatre closures is concerned, religious objections to theatre became moot in the United States after 1794. Local options against operating theatres — like other 'blue laws' — continued to be exercised, but they were either overturned in the courts or readily circumvented by theatre producers. To be sure, religion-based objections to theatre continued to be voiced during the nineteenth century (even to our own time), but their nature changed — and indeed, during the (pre-Revolutionary) eighteenth century, the combination of legislation and newspaper articles against theatre, as Odai Johnson has noted, failed to suppress the performance (albeit clandestine) of plays even in Boston, the last eastern United States city to repeal its statute prohibiting playing. After the Revolution, when attempts to suppress commerce were regarded as unpatriotic — indeed, at least one signatory of the Declaration of Independence, for example, became landlord to both brothels and a theatre in New York City in the early nineteenth century (Bank 1997, 126–7) — religious objections shifted to

the social, mirroring those concerns noted by Davis in the colonial era (minus the condemnation of aristocrats or particular focus on Roman Catholicism).

In the nineteenth century, Protestant ministers battled for social supremacy against a variety of power-diluting competing authorities. To be sure, their sway over congregations remained strong, particularly during the religious revival(s) of the earlier nineteenth century. Here, I would argue, historians need to examine the connections among organised religions and their ministers, religious festivals (often outside and/or against established churches and churchmen), temperance reform and the abolition movement. Though nominally strengthening religious positions, these movements actively diluted religious authority by diversifying it and transferring ethical concerns — and those advocating for them — to the secular realm. This shift has had a profound impact upon American society even to the present day.

Among the remaining objections describing the kind of anti-theatrical prejudice descending from the colonial era in America to the nineteenth century, the political has been the most discrete. Theatres in the United States continued to be gathering places for political sentiment in the nineteenth century. Some playhouses — for example, the 'American Theatre, Bowery' in the 1830s — campaigned for a popular (working-class) audience in the plays, prologues and speciality acts they offered, though these were often no different from the repertories that so-called 'elite' theatres offered. During the 1830s and 1840s, theatres in major American cities were often staging centres for political protest, demonstrations and riots. Until the end of the American Civil War (1865), theatres continued to showcase newsworthy visitors, for example, presidents, the Marquis de Lafayette, the prisoner-of-war Black Hawk and Indian delegations, European diplomats and the like, and to champion local causes (the Union or the Confederacy, charity benefits and so on) to the end of the century. Newspapers applauded or condemned these affiliations and usages on the basis of their own political or class allegiance (Bank 1997, 111–13). Clearly, however, prejudice against a theatre for the politics and audience it appeared to cultivate did not result in its closure, even during times when civil liberties were curtailed (as when the Alien and Sedition laws were invoked, for example, or during the Civil War). Rather, though American theatres continued to reflect the communities in which they were located, they ceased to serve as staging centres for community grievances. Indeed, after the Astor Place Riot in 1849, the informal 'contract' presumed to govern disturbances in theatres ceased to operate between theatre managers

and audiences and became the business of police, magistrates or (at the worst) the militia (Ranney 1849, 15).

The historiographical issues that emerge from the historical evidence supporting propositions about anti-theatrical prejudice evoke Hodin's idea of a 'bad faith' economy. Despite shifts in materiality, the persistence of under-dog analyses in some studies has served as a long-playing stand-in for what is omitted from the discourse (shifts of power, nationalism, transcendentalism and pragmatism, the new 'native'), and for what does not bear witness in examinations of anti-theatrical prejudice (changes in time and space). These are ethical issues not because historians are 'bad people' or historically unaware, but because the study of anti-theatrical prejudice has been binary, that is, it has accepted the statements of those expressing the prejudice as definitive and accurate, setting the parameters of the discourse in a way that can only cause prejudice to triumph as an argument.

Arguing that a controlling anti-theatrical prejudice is not synonymous with the existence of bias against theatre in the nineteenth century forces one to ask the ethical question: why does the notion persist in historical writing? To be sure, new ways of looking (frequently called postmodern or historicist) have vastly expanded the dialogue among different constructions of evidence and have pointed out the dangers in, if not wholly discouraged, tautologies — 'anti-theatrical prejudice' can be considered one of these. In addition, there are benefits that accrue to histories proclaiming anti-theatrical prejudice. In the United States, American drama has been perceived as the stepchild of literature departments (see Smith 1997) and theatre history as the least creditable part of the little-credited study of cultural history (see Barish 1981). Virtue accrues to histories (and historians) that defend theatre and allied forms of performance (for example, wild west shows, vaudeville, tableaux vivants) against the forces of exclusion, or, at least, it accrues in drama society and theatre-historical circles. Such positioning associates present excluders with narrow-minded folk of the past and has a multitude of political purposes: legitimation of theatre and drama as proper academic studies, legitimation of trespassing academic borders to achieve a broadened definition of theatre that includes many kinds of performance, justification of theatre departments in universities, defence of controversial theatre productions and so on. All these are ethical issues.

Although many social critics, domestic and foreign, have critiqued the materialism that they have perceived to be at the heart of the American character, theatre has not been viewed as a waste of national capital since the resolution of the Continental Congress in 1774, though, to

be sure, social objections to theatre in the nineteenth century continued to include the argument that theatre was a waste of a private citizen's time and money. As business, however, theatre could not in the aggregate be a waste of national capital because there was no national capital invested in it, only private money, nor did the shortness of specie fuelling this objection in the colonial era prevail once the United States government was established. Throughout the long nineteenth century, patronage and the marketplace ruled in the arts. To be sure, the merit of what was offered theatre audiences continued to be disputed, often to the economic advantage of theatre producers. Within the flow of productive forces in American theatre, however — economic, social and aesthetic — it was impossible for anti-theatrical prejudice to shut down the enterprise. Safe as a business among fellow businesses, producers were free to offer those social concessions that seemed prudent — in choice of repertory, policing of theatres, benefits for community causes, observance of religious holidays and the like (Mays 1982). Measures were taken to assure the flow of productive forces. Newspaper editors and reporters were cultivated, advertisements placed, press agents employed. Wealthy patrons were courted (mostly unsuccessfully) and popular audiences were recruited (mostly successfully). Playhouses became welcoming public places that audiences could attend in safety, with reserved, comfortable seats, often luxurious furnishings and good sightlines, and these 'economic' practices solved most of the social and aesthetic objections remaining from the anti-theatrical prejudice (Bank 1997; McConachie 1992).

Why, then, when there seems to be so little support in the 'facts' for a controlling anti-theatrical prejudice in the long nineteenth century, do scholars still dispatch it as a 'truth' about theatre in the United States? It appears that this 'bad faith economy' appeals to theatre and drama scholars who want to perceive their subject as an under-dog, as an illegitimate or 'bastard' art. While there is evidence for this position, both past and present — drama *is* marginalised in the curricula of language and literature departments today, while theatre-historical courses *do* fight for survival in craft-oriented theatre departments — these parochial arguments war with the presence of an entertainment industry that is the biggest business in the United States today, suggesting that the real 'beast' is elsewhere.

To be sure, a culturally situated theatre history embracing many forms of performance and material production is upon us, but engaging the theatre historiography of these histories has barely begun. Where the anti-theatrical prejudice is concerned, we need not only to examine the

agendas of those whose discourse it is — ministers and social critics, aestheticians, businessmen, politicians and historians — but to examine the historiography of the era within which we would locate the prejudice. To that end, at least four sites that bear on the prejudice, with respect to the United States during the long nineteenth century, suggest themselves:

1. The campaign for an 'American' literature (as opposed to a European one) asks how the sons and daughters of the Enlightenment, with its valorisation of the word, were to create an American drama and theatre that reflected 'a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all *men* [my emphasis] are created equal'. What factors determined the choices that were made, of forms, of subjects and characters, of language, of values, of the audiences sought and so on?
2. The shift from Enlightenment to transcendental to pragmatic philosophy in the course of the nineteenth century suggests other explanations than anti-theatrical prejudice for the failure of American theatre to be received as an art form, for the heroes of one generation's dramas to become the fools of another generation's plays, for forms of drama to lose currency and so on.
3. The development of the anthropological-sociological 'American' looks beyond theatre itself for explanations of the material circumstances that affect how theatre sees its subject at the human and at the national level, the social and economic issues that make subjects what they are and so on.
4. The creation of an 'American' history influences how theatre functions within American society and how history affects subjects, themes and characters. At the same time, American theatre affects American history, giving a president — to cite one example — the term 'rough Riders' to characterise American expansionist policy.

These sites concern the anti-theatrical prejudice in such matters as the relationships between individual and group performance (in respect of point 3 above), or the disdain for fantasy and the subjective authorial voice (as in point 2), or the history of 'great men' compared with environmental impulses, such as Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis of 1893 (as in point 4), or William Dunlap's view of theatre literature in the early nineteenth century compared with transcendentalism's or Henry James's (in respect of point 1). Inasmuch as prejudice is historically situated, it will not respond to the same pressures before an 'American'

drama is thought to exist (*circa* 1830), for example, as after one has been identified. Similarly, how the individual social body is identified will affect prejudices concerning representations of that body. This is the new topography that I see opening out of current mappings of the anti-theatrical prejudice in America during the long nineteenth century and the ethical issues that they raise.

Notes

1. The constructed nature of the ethical in historiographical discourse is reflected in Walter Benjamin's analysis of the collector Edward Fuchs, and in the discussions by Eelco Runia (2006) and Helge Jordheim (2012). More recently, the ethics of historiography has been considered by Timothy Brennen (2014).
2. Dictionaries (including my own) state that 'a bias may be favourable or unfavourable', while a 'prejudice implies a pre-formed judgment even more unreasoning than bias' (Barnhart 1960) and usually unfavourable. It would be useful to employ such a distinction, but, since language is not more precise than usage, a campaign to distinguish between the word 'bias' and the word 'prejudice' in the context of censorship is not likely to be successful.
3. Davis also makes a case (1998, 222) for the promotion (from the 1690s) of semi-annual fairs along the eastern seaboard by the Board of Trade, which 'knew from first-hand experience the importance of entertainment at commercial gatherings' and the 'inappropriateness' of any legislation hindering commerce.

4

In the Eye of the Beholder

Recognising and Renegotiating the Scenario in Writing Performance Histories

Viv Gardner

> Beware of willing Judges
> For truth is a black cat
> In a windowless room at midnight . . .
>
> (Bertolt Brecht,
> *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*,
> 1944, translated in Brecht 1962)[1]

In the summer of 2009, I found myself the guest of the 7th Marquis of Anglesey and his wife, Dame Shirley Paget, in their flat in Plas Newydd, the one remaining ancestral home of the Anglesey family now owned by the National Trust.[2] They were charming but discreet, helpful and hospitable. I was? — well, ingratiating is probably the best word — and not simply because I needed access to the family papers to further my research into the 5th Marquis of Anglesey. I remember telling Lord Anglesey over lunch one of the entertaining stories about the 5th Marquis I had recently discovered, how the marquis had buried sovereigns and half-sovereigns in the mansion's soot-pit and invited the young men of the district, stripped to the waist, to dive into the soot to retrieve the coins for the entertainment of his guests (*Marion Daily Star*, 17 February 1902).[3] Lord Anglesey was not entertained; I was embarrassed at my misjudgement. But I am not sure, even now, whom I had betrayed in my eagerness to please: my host and his family in reminding them of something they had collectively sought to repress? My subject, by colluding in the representation of his life as beyond the pale rather than transgressive, even heroic? Or myself, an established academic, serious researcher and seeker after 'the truth' — the left-leaning daughter of lifelong Labour Party supporters?

I have begun this chapter with this story because it encapsulates a particular cluster of ethical issues for the historian, and because in doing so I am creating 'history'. This story will enter the archive; mine and the soot-pit story will be reproduced, retold and remediated — the latter more frequently I suspect because it engages, somewhat voyeuristically, with the seductive topics of class and sexuality. The footnote will be ignored in the retelling.[4]

Looking Both Ways: The Pursuit of 'Truth'

This chapter explores the ethical issues that arise for the historian engaged in the micro-historical study of a specific performance event or performer in pursuit of 'the' or, more accurately, 'a' truth, and what the historian Mary Fulbrook identifies as the 'extent and limits of objectivity', the risks and value of empathy and 'interpretive understanding as a historical tool' (Fulbrook 2002, 180, 187). Ludmilla Jordanova, however, argues that the pursuit of 'reliability' and 'trust' is a more realistic and appropriate goal for the historian than 'truth' — especially in relation to the roles and responsibilities of historians engaged in 'public history' where the historian's 'authoritative' research creates an apparently definitive narrative that in turn is mediated and disseminated beyond the archive (Jordanova 2006, 127–47). These issues are common to all scholarly historical practice, but there are particularities and problematics of performance evidence, writing and audiences that are, arguably, peculiar to performance histories; my own experience with public media and performance arising from my research are central to my concerns about the ethics of dissemination beyond the apparently safe zone of academic publication.

The subject of my research and this essay is the 5th Marquis of Anglesey (1875–1905; see Figure 4.1). As I recall, my interest in the 5th Marquis began

> [...] with a fairly dutiful family visit to Plas Newydd, the home of the Paget family [...]. Right at the end of the tour of the house, with its stunning views of the Menai Straits and exhibits dedicated to the first Marquis who famously lost his leg at the battle of Waterloo, we suddenly came across, in a narrowish hallway near the kitchens, a series of black and white photographs of an outlandish figure — a willowy and moustachioed man in costumes covered with jewellery, posing in a variety of elegant and extravagant images — the 'Dancing Marquis'. (Gardner 2008, 26)[5]

Figure 4.1 The 5th Marquis of Anglesey as Pekoe in *Aladdin*, 1902–3. Archives and Special Collections, Pryfysgol Bangor/Bangor University

The work is a micro-historical study that engages with issues of class, sexuality and celebrity as well as the retrieval and interpretation of historical performance and spectatorship evidence. Macro-history is made up of such micro-histories. One of the pleasures — and quick-sands — for any micro-historian is to 'discover and articulate the complex nature of special events and persons', but, as Thomas Postlewait has warned, 'the challenge is to be true to both the idiosyncratic and the normal, the specific and the general' (2003, 6). He goes on to say that the 'danger is that a bizarre case may be just that, and any attempt to discover norms, typologies and *mentalitiés* in the evidence may be an exercise in over-reading' (2003, 6). In this context, the 'bizarre' performance career of the 5th Marquis of Anglesey — 'whose life and theatrical career' I initially wrote 'is extraordinary, challenging and subverting of all norms of class, gender and decorum' (Gardner 2007a, unpaginated) — offers an exemplary ethical case study for the micro-historiographer. The apparent exceptionality of the marquis's life and engagement with performance invites speculation and partiality; his obsessive collecting mirrors the obsession with detail that is the stock-in-trade of the micro-historian in pursuit of her or his subject. However, that very 'fit' between the life of the subject and the interest of the historian requires, with hindsight, a far more nuanced mediation of evidence and dissemination than I originally gave it. The responsibility of the historian is to both subject and audience, both past and present — to look both ways — not least because the growth in all forms of 'public history' (not just at museums and other heritage sites) imposes an obligation on professional historians to consider their own role in all direct or indirect engagement with not one but a number of publics, including unknowable future audiences and readers. This awareness, it is hoped, produces histories that make possible further engagement with, even reinterpretation of, both the evidence and the 'story' (Rüsen 2004, 197–8).

Within this chapter, demonstrating the 'extent and limits' of my own objectivity by foregrounding the I/eye throughout is a deliberate strategy on my part to point up my own perceptual lens within the research and dissemination process, and thereby invite active reading of 'my' material.[6]

Ways of Looking: Subject Matters

Some time after the marriage of the 6th Marquis of Anglesey to Lady Victoria Manners in 1912, 'all traces of [the 5th Marquis] were destroyed' by the new marchioness as she was 'so ashamed' by his financial, sexual

and theatrical notoriety.[7] Other papers and effects belonging to the marquis had been scattered when he was declared bankrupt in 1904 and went into 'exile' on the continent; a few business papers and theatrical artefacts are held in the Plas Newydd archive at the University of Bangor, the National Trust archive at Plas Newydd and other locations. There are no personal papers, letters or diaries extant to my knowledge, though I have several postcards sent to him at Plas Newydd and Dinard. The 5th Marquis's performance and performative lives have therefore been built up from traditional scholarly sources: newspapers, photographs and postcards, playbills, serendipitously discovered accounts in contemporary memoirs and post hoc narratives.

In 2007 I wrote confidently that:

> The known facts about Henry Cyril Paget are that he was born in Paris on June 16 1875. His 'supposed' father was Henry Paget — Earl of Uxbridge & 4th Marquis of Anglesey. His mother was Blanche Mary Curwen Boyd [...]. His parents — both widowed — had married on 2 July 1874 at the British Embassy in Paris. 'Miss Boyd' was described by one paper as 'a Parisian lady', but this appears to be an error. She died on August 14, 1877 at Boulogne-sur-Mer when the future 5th Marquis was 2. [...] On his mother's death, the child did not return to England or Wales but lived in the household of the great French actor Benoît-Constant Coquelin — who it was rumoured was his real father — in the care of Coquelin's sister. Madame Coquelin was referred to throughout his life as his aunt, but this may have been a courtesy title [...]
>
> In January, 1898 he married his cousin, Lilian Florence Maud Chetwynd in St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Sloane Street, Chelsea. It was according to the Times, a 'mixed' marriage (21 January 1898) which indeed it was but not perhaps in the way that the paper intended. The marriage was annulled two years later but that annulment was changed to legal separation in 1901. The *Times* discreetly avoids revealing the cause. [*Impotence and non-consummation*. Public Record Office J77/695.] The 5th Marquis succeeded to the title in 1898, and inherited substantial property on Anglesey and in Staffordshire with an annual income of over £110,000 a year [...] By 1904, the 5th Marquis had bankrupted the estate spending thousands and thousands of pounds on jewels, furs, cars, boats, dogs and horses on a scale unimagined even amongst the dilettante and profligate British aristocracy. Over a period of some six months everything was sold to meet his debts — down to Lot 4416 from the

> Housekeeper's Room — 'Jacko an amusing green talking parrot in an expensive brassbound cage' — and the contents of the potting shed (*North Wales Chronicle*, 19 November 1904). The Marquis 'retired' to France on an income of £3,000 a year, first to Dinan and finally to Monte Carlo where he died the following year with his 'reconciled' wife and Madame Coquelin, at his bedside. (Gardner 2007a)

There are minor inaccuracies in this account — Henry Cyril was born in London not Paris, Madame Coquelin *was* his aunt, his mother's sister, and his father was widowed but not his mother, and she did live in Paris, and it was Dinard not Dinan. Above all, I am responsible for perpetuating familial and popular myths, especially that Coquelin may have been his father and that he had lived in the Coquelin household as a child — 'facts' which were used to explain his 'otherness' by many commentators. What is missing from this early paper is the extent — and limits — of his performance activities following the conversion of the chapel at Plas Newydd into a theatre which he called the Gaiety, both as an aristocratic amateur (1898–1902) and, after 1902–03, within his own professional company (upon which much of contemporary prejudice and subsequent myths are based) which forms the core of my micro-history. The National Trust booklet on Plas Newydd at the time I began my research claims that he 'founded his own company' in 1901 supported by 'prominent actors and actresses from London' and that he 'toured the English provinces' (National Trust 1997, 71). The former assertion is a misinterpretation of a silk programme for *A Royal Divorce* performed at Anglesey Castle for four nights by a relatively minor London company in which the marquis made a guest appearance in the supporting role of Marshall Murat, King of Naples.[8] A close reading of the evidence now shows that he undertook only one real tour — that of *An Ideal Husband* over four weeks in 1903,[9] though he took other performances to local venues like the new Pwllheli Town Hall and the Prince's Theatre, Llandudno. What is true in that National Trust account is that he 'staged lavish productions in the theatre at Plas Newydd which he converted from the private chapel' and that 'admission was free and neighbours of all classes attended' (National Trust 1997, 71), though the latter part of this statement has to be qualified as it would appear that members of his own class did not attend (*Evening News*, London, 14 March 1905).

Also missing — I did not know it at the time — is the fact that the 5th Marquis's mother committed suicide. (*I had assumed a clichéd Victorian scenario of a loving mother dying early of consumption, which was not so*

unlikely given the marquis's ill-health from childhood and his early death attributed by some newspapers to consumption.) The 'truth' emerged when the Australian newspapers came online. The *West Australian Sunday Times* reported lightly that 'his mother was so happy with her husband that she committed suicide' (3 February 1901, 4).[10] Other accounts support the story, and presumably the family knew but chose not to tell, which left me with several problems: whether to honour their sensibilities, and whether the suicide of his mother had any bearing on my research or was likely to exacerbate the more sensational and partial interests in the 5th Marquis of which I was all too aware. It certainly drew me for a while into some very dubious 'pop' psychologising (*a mother's suicide, a sickly child torn from the bosom of a loving family at the age of 7 — his mother's family cared for him in Paris until the family was broken up, probably by the death of his grandfather — taken to an isolated Welsh community on Anglesey in the care of an 'aged Scotch nurse of pious life' (*Daily Dispatch*, 15 March 1905) before being sent to Eton. Scion of a 'cad' of a father who loved hunting — one of the 5th Marquis's first actions as marquis was to sell his father's hounds and buy more toy dogs (*North Wales Chronicle*, 25 February 1899) — and 'detested theatre'* (*Moore 1919, 148*), *his life becomes one of obsessive collecting, theatricality, sexual inversion and victimhood*), all of which may be true but is dangerous territory for the honest historian (Fulbrook 2002, 187).

With time, research has uncovered sufficient 'reliable' evidence — repertoire, times, dates, descriptions — to write a 'trustworthy', if incomplete, performance history but not a qualitative assessment of the 5th Marquis as a performer or a person. He can be subject, but his subjectivity remains at best speculative, more truthfully, unknowable, and the pursuit of it less appropriate for the micro-historian, whose brief must be 'to probe the definitive features of the life in order to see what the case study reveals about the time and place', than the biographer. Even when he is treated as subject, in order to 'reveal something important about the historical moment', as well as 'measure' the marquis's exceptionality within that context, it requires interpretive tools to locate the 5th Marquis's activities within the hierarchies of gender, class and theatre of his day (Postlewait 2003, 7).

Ways of Seeing: Scenarios and Imaginaries

As historians, we make choices about our interpretative process, concerning not just about where we look, but how, when to stop, and where and how to tell (Postlewait 2009), and these are determined consciously

or unconsciously by current historiographic thinking and inevitably by our own ethical perspective. Around the time that I started writing seriously on the 5th Marquis I was also, belatedly, reading Diana Taylor's *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003). Taylor's thesis on the relationship between the archive and the repertoire offered a suggestive model through which I found a way of describing the historic circumstances that may have informed the making and spectatorship of performances at the 5th Marquis's Gaiety Theatre at Plas Newydd. It is not a precise application, more a 'nudge' and a 'borrowing'. Key was Taylor's argument that instead of 'privileging texts and narratives, we could also look to scenarios as meaning-making paradigms that structure social environments, behaviours, and potential outcomes' (2003, 28). She asks what makes 'scenarios of discovery' in Latin America so consistently 'compelling' across five hundred years, how we can account for their '[e]xplanatory and affective power' and how they can be/have been 'parodied and subverted' (Taylor 2003, 28). I had to ask the same of my subject: what made the life, the career, the person of a short-lived *fin de siècle* aristocrat so compelling in his own time and for twentieth- and twenty-first-century democrats and republicans across social and educational classes and continents? For Taylor, 'the scenario makes visible, yet again, what is already there: the ghosts, the images, the stereotypes' (2003, 28). For me, if we are able to recover the possible overarching scenarios — and they are never singular but fluid, elusive and multilayered — in the past, we may also be able to recreate the 'imaginaries' in both past and present. By this I mean not just the sociological definition of imaginary (*'the creative and symbolic dimension of the social world, the dimension through which human beings create their ways of living together and their ways of representing their collective life': Thompson 1984, 6*) but the aspirational imaginary of the group(s) who made up the marquis's overlapping circles, and of the marquis himself, and the concomitant parodic and subversive potential in performance. As Postlewait has warned, this is potentially an 'exercise in over-reading' (2003, 6), but the story is in the public domain, and for an academic historian it would, it seems, be irresponsible to ignore the questions the 5th Marquis raises in both past and present, particularly in relation to performance.

For the performance historian, the writer's own and the readers' experience of performance *in the present* facilitates an interpretative relationship with the historical performer and audience in which empathy is central. Fulbrook sees 'empathy' as one of the key 'supra-paradigmatic guidelines or ground rules' for historians, a neutral tool through which they 'seek to understand but not necessarily also evaluate positively'

their subjects. She distinguishes empathy from 'sympathy', whereby the 'historian engages with a certain viewpoint or experience with a sense of personal identification and positive understanding' (Fulbrook 2002, 187, 167–8). (*In the case of the 5th Marquis the boundary between empathy and sympathy has not always been easy to police.*) Our experience as spectators gives rise to the recognition that the scenario in performance allows for ironic reading, renegotiation and subversion of the text through performance itself and spectatorship (Taylor 2003, 30–1). Retrieving the possible scenarios, subversions and imaginaries within the historical is both an obligation and a necessity for the honest micro-historian of performance if our work is to be trusted and for our own sense of integrity as aspiring 'truth-tellers'. This is not to identify with the past performer or spectator, but to make judicious use of an empathetic understanding of the complexity of the performance event. The personal, social and political context of the 5th Marquis's performances (for example, local knowledge of the grounds for his divorce, the complexities of class in the immediate and wider historical moment, contemporary understandings of gender and sexuality) would inevitably have elicited very different readings of his performance from what the immediate retrieval of facts and written 'textual evidence' — whether that is a musical comedy song, the character of Lord Goring in Wilde's *An Ideal Husband*, an image or a review — offers. It is these 'renegotiated scenarios', which are frequently occluded or obliterated by dependence on traditional and hegemonic archival sources (Taylor 2003, 28–33), that the post-positivist performance historian seeks to expose. The application of concepts of 'scenario' and 'imaginaries' in the retrieval and writing of performance histories offers me a tool that makes possible a more nuanced and open reading of the 5th Marquis. I am concerned not simply with retrieval of the facts of the 5th Marquis's life and his performances, but also to understand and recreate the historic scenario(s) and imaginaries that informed his performances — both of the individual, the 5th Marquis himself, and the collective, his audience as participants, spectators or witnesses. Such recreations are 'interpretative' strategies, some more speculative than others, but informed by an empathetic understanding of the dynamic of performance.

At the centre of this project is the knowledge that there was knowingness and agency on both sides of the footlights at the Gaiety, determined by local as well as national conditions, and social order being 'created in, as much as outside, the venues of art' and, one might add, subverted (Joyce 1991, 306). While we have no record of the level of irony in the marquis's performance, this does not preclude the possibility of

perverse readings inherent in his choice of material and in his audience's agency as spectators, and of the renegotiation of expected social relationships at Plas Newydd. His earliest performances at Anglesey Castle, as Plas Newydd was called during his occupancy, were largely traditional aristocratic private theatrical fare of tableaux vivants, song and dance and sketches, performed by himself, his household and guests. It is not always clear who the spectators were, though a letter from the Chief Constable's Office about an invitation in 1899 (Plas Newydd Papers, Bangor University, VIII 3735) suggests that this was an invited audience of local notables. From June 1901, when the refurbished Gaiety Theatre was opened 'lit by electric light' (*North Wales Chronicle*, 13 July 1901), advertisements began to appear for performances and free tickets could be obtained from Messrs Jarvis & Foster of Bangor, clearly opening up the theatre to a more general public (see Figure 4.2).

Professional players are also included in the programme. One of the earliest of these performances was of *A Runaway Boy* (or *The School Boy*, *Tatler*, 7 August 1901), in which the marquis played Guy Dudley.[11] This appears to have been a thinly disguised version of the popular musical comedy *A Runaway Girl* (Seymour Hicks and Harry Nichols, 1898), and

A Vanished Playhouse: A Bangor audience going to a matinee at Anglesey Castle

The theatre at Anglesey Castle, which was the chief hobby of the late Marquis, was formerly the Castle chapel

Figure 4.2 An audience arriving at Anglesey Castle. *The Bystander*, 22 March 1905. Author's collection

suggests an inversion of the central roles; something that he apparently considered in relation to both *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* ('McLellan v. Marquis of Anglesey', *Times*, 25 July 1903) and *The Marriage of Kitty* (*Vanity Fair*, 23 March 1905, 413). Thus the schoolgirl Winifred, running away from an arranged marriage, becomes the runaway schoolboy Guy, who is fleeing an arranged marriage and joining a band of wandering minstrels. One of the best-known songs from the musical comedy was 'I don't think that's the sort of girl I care about', which given the marquis's recent, and very public, separation from his wife cannot but have held levels of irony for both player and spectator. How far his 'effemina[cy] to the verge of tears' (*St James's Gazette*, 15 March 1905) was acknowledged in performance is again a matter of conjecture, but it is unlikely that many of his audience did not have a view on the marquis's 'marriage of convenience' to his cousin (*New York Times*, 28 October 1900 etc.), and had not heard rumours about the grounds for the judicial separation; his penchant for a form of skirt or serpentine dancing was well known and a feature of his many public performances. It would be too easy to project with 'sympathy', from a post-Wolfenden world, some sort of homosexual or queer Utopia on Anglesey in the 1900s, but this seems unlikely. However, it does suggest a level of local tolerance for the individual himself. Part of that tolerance may have derived from the inversion of the social order — the expected scenario — implicit in the free admission for all comers to performances at the Gaiety, which resulted in an audience of 'small shop-keepers and his own flunkeys' (*St James's Gazette*, 15 March 1905) or locals of all classes (National Trust 1997, 71). The 5th Marquis's motives were unlikely to have been 'democratic' — he appears to have been a member of the conservative Primrose League — and more likely to have been to avoid the trouble and expense of paying performance rights, and a wilful, possibly self-regarding, generosity.

The class make-up of the Edwardian Gaiety audience, in the theatre and beyond, was highly complex. To give one example: a newspaper in Burton-on-Trent, the industrial town closest to his other ancestral seat, Beaudesert in Staffordshire, disparagingly described the 5th Marquis in its obituary as 'flushed with pleasure at the encores' of tradesmen and servants (*Burton Evening Gazette*, 24 March 1905), unlike the North Wales papers, which tended to write positively, or with apparent neutrality, about his activities. But the scenario in Burton was different from that on Anglesey; the attitude of the Burton paper owes much to that town's problematic relationship with the marquis, who gained two thirds of his £110,000 annual income from industries in and around the town, but

visited it only twice. The contumely heaped on the marquis from Burton was that of the twentieth-century industrialised community, sinking into depression, for what they perceived to be an effete and decadent aristocrat and a sycophantic audience drawn not from his own class, but from the rural-industrial, trading and servant classes. The result on Anglesey appears to have been, despite disapproval from many sectors including the chapel, a temporary 'collective imaginary' of democracy at the Gaiety Theatre, which was perpetuated in the stories that were handed down among the local people through several generations.

It is possible that the *North Wales Chronicle*'s review of the 5th Marquis as Sir Reginald Belsize in *The Marriage of Kitty*,[12] as typifying 'a thorough gentleman of the best breeding: rather vacillating and weak, but fully determined to do the right thing in the unpleasant quandary in which he finds himself', is also an 'in-joke' drawing on local knowledge (29 August 1903). By then the marquis's individual 'imaginary' seems to have located him as a professional rather than amateur actor, as he engaged a professional actor-manager and company in the autumn of 1902. The Gaiety company enabled the marquis to indulge his appetite for applause and taste for lavish spectacle in pantomime and self-penned sketches, in which he always took the leading role and frequently danced one of his Loïe Fuller-influenced dances. He was obsessively photographed in costume, and these images were then sold or given away as postcards; he was even photographed for the *Daily Mirror* on tour with *An Ideal Husband*, playing the 'director' explaining 'how he wants a certain part to be played' (6 April 1904; see Figure 4.3). It is not clear how 'the profession' saw him. (*I note how I have slipped from active to passive in my retelling of the story, as if he has lost agency to his obsession and the forces — represented by the* Mirror *— around him, a slip perhaps from empathy to sympathy.*) Much could be made of the fact that his last production was of Wilde's *An Ideal Husband*, eight years after Wilde's disgrace, and three after his death in Paris, a place where the marquis spent much of his time.[13] (*And that Lily, Marchioness of Anglesey, was distant cousin and significant friend to Olive Custance, who married Bosie in 1902 (correspondence between Casper Wintermans and Maureen Emerson, 18 July 2003), and his stepmother was in the same circle at Versailles as Custance's lover, Nathalie Barney. To add to the mix: the 5th Marquis was also a cousin several times removed of Olive Custance. Oscar Wilde and Bosie's lover, Maurice Schwabe, was one of the Schwabe family who had lived until 1898 five miles down the coast from Plas Newydd at Glynn Garth. Schwabe was named (and his activities described) in the first Wilde trial, but remained anonymous in the following two, probably because his uncle was one of the*

Figure 4.3 The 5th Marquis as 'director' on tour. *Daily Mirror*, 6 April 1904. Author's collection

prosecuting Queen's Counsels. I am still working out what, or how much, to use of this.) The marquis's performance of Lord Goring may have 'made visible' a personal scenario; may, with his extravagant effeminacy in other performances, have made it visible for his spectatorship, but we have no contemporary evidence for either his sexuality or his immediate circle's understanding of homosexual sub-cultures. Reviews of his performance as Lord Goring, and references in the obituaries, allude to his success in playing his class; his acting of Lord Goring was 'perfectly natural' according to one Bournemouth paper: 'he had no stage mannerisms, and therefore made a good lord of the type represented' (*Bournemouth and District Amusements*, 7 December 1903, 10), and Alex Keith, his actor-manager, thought the part 'might have been written for him' (*Daily Dispatch*, 15 March 1905). There is, of course, no space for a discussion in the formal language of the obituary of an aristocrat of the period, however disgraced, of his performances as in any way transgressive. His association with the theatre is often ridiculed as inappropriate for one of his station; for example, an 'old friend' argues that he was 'not a bad actor as amateurs go [...] He might have gained some credit and some benevolent paragraphs in the society columns had he remained in the recognised groove' (*Vanity Fair*, 23 March 1905, 414). Thus his own scenario is occluded or obliterated by the hegemonic archive, for as

historians we are in large part dependent for evidence on conservative voices like newspaper accounts, and therefore we may be colluding in some way in this silencing.

This is where performance itself can be a conduit between the historic performance event and our present, and can offer us an alternative means of effecting 'interpretive understanding'. As theatre historians we not only look at performance in history but may also choose to involve public performance itself for, as Taylor concludes in her book, 'performance as a lens enables commentators to explore [. . .] the scenarios that make up individual and collective imaginaries' (Taylor 2003, 278).

Ways of Telling: Public Histories

The attractiveness of the 5th Marquis to a number of audiences in the present has made him the subject of several public histories. Over the past six years I have been involved in a number of these, all performative in some way (dance, film, radio documentary, exhibition and digital) and some of them ongoing. All public history is loosely 'political in that it weaves moral discourses around [the] objects displayed', and most people are aware of the fact that all 'accounts of the past are structured and gain plausibility in the same manner as other narratives' (Jordanova 2006, 137). I have not always been in control of the 'moral discourse' being 'structured' into these public performances of history, and I have not always been comfortable with the narrative generated. The balance between 'controlling' the narrative and keeping the past open and available for 'diverse purposes' is an important issue for historians engaging with public histories, as 'the past is routinely deployed for manipulative ends' (Jordanova 2006, 143). Performance and the performative are, by their nature, manipulative, and while overtly engaging, they do not always deploy Fulbrook's critical notion of empathy.

The creation of interpretive public histories of the 5th Marquis through performance was occurring in his lifetime, and not simply on the stage of the Gaiety. It was at its height following his bankruptcy in 1904. Some — like Westminster School's introduction of 'Lord Anglesey' into its 'satirical references to topics of the day' in a production of Terence's *Andria* — were blatant (*Penny Illustrated Paper*, 31 December 1904), some more subtle:

> Jerry, the auctioneer's man, was in high feather. He had to put on everything, just to show the laughing ladies and gentlemen what they looked like. At one moment he was robed in a wonderful

> Beau Brummell tight-waisted, full-skirted overcoat of a delicate, green shade. The next he was skipping about in a short cream confection which did not reach his waist. Then he appeared enveloped in an imitation silk ermine rug, lined with pink satin. 'You look like a bally Sulan [sic] Sultan!' cried the auctioneer. (*Burton Chronicle*, 1 September 1904)

It is clear from the many accounts of the seventeen Anglesey Castle bankruptcy sales that Mr Dew the auctioneer and his men, most notably 'Jerry', played with the local knowledge of the 5th Marquis in their entertainment of the 'laughing ladies and gentlemen' in their audience. The *Lichfield Mercury* reported how 'the faithful Jerry' appeared wearing a 'specially gorgeous smoking jacket [. . .] above his rough tweed trousers and heavy nailed boots', which 'afforded the auctioneer a bizarre suggestion. "Fancy that," he cried, "with the Broseley clay [pipe] and a tankard of beer by your side"' (26 August 1904). The incongruity is of course between the notorious 'womanliness' of the absent marquis, ghosted by his clothing, and the very-present masculinity of the auctioneer's man. The manipulative archness of Dew's dialogue — and possible *double entendre* in his 'Fancy that' — is replicated in newspaper accounts, many syndicated in the United Kingdom and abroad, the 'imaginaries' reproduced for wider consumption in their present and, as they constitute our evidence, our present too. (*Aside on the 'how'. In creating an argument for the longevity of public histories, I have selected and edited my sources. Entertainment sells, whether it is smoking jackets, popular papers or academic ideas, appropriately articulated; William Dew's task was to sell at the highest price but my selection excludes other narratives. Dew, at other times during the sales, elicited sympathy for the marquis. He was a member of an old family firm of auctioneers and solicitors working for the gentry in North Wales. He may have attended the marquis's events himself as a local worthy, even acquaintance. Indeed a 'Miss L. Dew — possibly a daughter — sang very prettily a song, "Down the Vale,"' at the opening of the marquis's 'new and charming little theatre' in 1901 (*North Wales Chronicle*, 13 July 1901).*)

Of the 'present' public histories, I will deal here only with those completed projects which permit some critical distance on the issues they have raised. Since I started working on the life and work of the marquis, his internet presence has burgeoned, many blogs reproducing an early article I wrote for the *Guardian* (Gardner 2007b) alongside one in the *Daily Mail* (27 October 2007), which cannibalised my article in the most professionally embarrassing fashion. Like many interested in the 5th Marquis or similar micro-historical projects, I went through a period of

missionary zeal, seeking in some way to rescue him (subject rather than object, sympathy rather than empathy) from both historical obscurity and any present-day, less 'virtuous', exposure. (*My own tardiness in 'stopping' the evidential research, and in committing myself to the 'where' and 'how' to publish what — with the necessary temporary vanity of the historian — I hope to be a/the authoritative work on the 5th Marquis, makes me daily fearful that I will be gazumped by less meticulous and scrupulous public histories*.) I positioned myself as an, if not the, authoritative 'witness' to his life and work, and in that early paper I constructed a scenario of transgression and martyrdom, due in large part to my personal history as a child of 1960s feminism and advocate of women's/gay/workers' rights. I also developed a thesis of the marquis as an asexual narcissist (see Figure 4.4), which arose from my then preoccupation with how to read historical theatrical images, coupled with a determination to seek the 'truth' before making any public statements (*and I suspect, despite my 1960s teenage-hood, a slightly prissy attitude to discussions of sex and sexuality — I blame provincial Kent and my girls' grammar school education*). I did not wish to 'out' the marquis as homosexual before I had some evidence, following Brecht's Galileo's dictum 'what we wish to find, if we do find it, we shall regard with especial distrust' (Brecht 1963, 91). The paper and the idea of the marquis as asexual narcissist led directly to my first and, I feel, most honest, engagement with public history in a collaboration with the performer Marc Rees on his dance piece 'Gloria Days' (2007–10).

Performing history, Freddie Rokem believes, 'contains a "ghostly" dimension — enabling dead heroes from the past to reappear', and he goes on to argue that on a metatheatrical level, 'repressed ghostly figures and events from that ("real") historical past can (re)appear on the stage' as well (Rokem 2000, 6). The 5th Marquis was both 'dead hero' to some and a 'repressed' ghost to all. 'Gloria Days' sought to raise the ghost of a dead protagonist if not hero. The performance made no pretence at biographical or documentary historical 'truth' but it did seek to create 'a bridge between performance [in the present] and history' (Rokem 2000, 7), and performance in the present and performance in the past.

Marc called his dance piece an 'imaginary recreation' of the 5th Marquis (Rees 2007–10). We worked in the studio from the evidence we had — images, a line or word from an obituary or newspaper article, the sales catalogues — and Marc improvised his 'interpretive understanding'. This was then choreographed by Marc with Jutta Hell and Dieter Baumann of Tanzcompanie Rubato, Berlin, into an 'abstract journey through [an] emotional landscape' (Mahoney 2007). I watched; we all

Figure 4.4 'The Powder Puff': the 5th Marquis as narcissist. Archives and Special Collections, Pryfysgol Bangor/Bangor University

talked. After two weeks I left, and they continued with the odd online contribution from me. (*It was totally absorbing and exhilarating. I have never felt so unexpectedly, concretely and immediately 'useful' as an academic.*) The audiences were as enthusiastic at the performances I saw of 'Gloria Days' as the 5th Marquis's are reported to have been at his spectacles, though we can, of course, know no more of the scenarios at work for Rees's spectators than for the historical audiences.

In my account of the collaboration with Rees for the *Guardian* (Gardner 2007b) and *Dance Theatre Journal* (Gardner 2008) I used a number of writing strategies in an attempt to transmit the experience of both process and performance graphically, faithfully and, in dealing with the 5th Marquis material, unsensationally. I inserted narrative with some 'drama' into the more conventional informational passages; a deliberate discursive strategy designed to foreground my own, non-neutral, position in the process. For example, on my first meeting with Rees:

> Kettners, Romilly Street, London 16 April 2007
>
> Marc and I met for the first time in Kettners Restaurant — the place where 'Oscar Wilde had entertained his rent boys'. The 'straight' academic in me, was somewhat nervous about what was implied by the location. I had already encountered some delightful, entertaining, 5th Marquis enthusiasts on the net — but ones whose view of Henry Cyril as an 'extremely flamboyant extrovert [. . .] an exuberant, popular and, in his own way, brave man'[14] was at odds with my view of him as a more troubled figure. I gave Marc a copy of my paper rather pompously/ironically entitled: '"I pose therefore I am": Narcissism, Performance and Postcards in the life and works of the 5th Marquis of Anglesey'. We talked and exchanged research notes. Marc had a month to withdraw his invitation for me to join him to work on the project in Berlin — he didn't. (Gardner 2008, 26)

These strategies also included the lie of 'faux' diary entries; I had not kept a detailed diary, just scribbled notes, many written some time after the event.

> Kreuzberg, Berlin, May 2007
>
> Later: Discussion inevitably turns to the Marquis's sexuality. Marc, I think, wants him to be gay. (*Marc is himself gay.*) Lots of people do. [. . .] Perhaps he was gay — we have no evidence either way. Perhaps he was a virgin when he died. I argue that I feel that when I look

> at the pictures, read the obituaries — that the only person he could love and make love to was himself because, for whatever reason, he was 'unlovable'. The classic narcissist. Marc takes the coat — a copy of the Marquis's 1,000 guinea sable overcoat 'with its twenty tails and ten head front' — and dances a dance of self-love. Absorbed by and with the fur, he spirals slowly, finally sinking to the floor. Narcissus and his pool as one. In that moment we have an exquisite 'beauty born out of its own despair', and fleetingly — in answer to Yeats's question — we know 'the dancer from the dance'. (Gardner 2008, 29–30; see Figure 4.5)

There was a danger that in using writing to create, not simply report, I would be seduced by my own prose and my primary responsibility to my subject and readership as witness and historian would be lost. (*I am still not sure about that last sentence: literary conceit or literary conceit?*) If the performance had enabled a lens through which to experience the historical imaginary of the 5th Marquis, and present imaginary of Marc Rees, I had to ask if the self-conscious artiness of my writing was in danger of obscuring the event as much as any other textual archive. Overall it seemed, and still seems, that in the absence of the performance (and the rehearsal process) my responsibility to my readers was as witness more than historian, and that distinction required a different voice.

A greater danger lay in my subject matter — even my carefully crafted *Guardian* piece was headlined by the sub-editor, 'Would you trust this man with your fortune? Eccentric, extravagant and outrageous, the 5th Marquis of Anglesey was a jewel amongst aristocrats'. Worse was to

Figure 4.5 'Absorbed by and with the fur': the 5th Marquis in his 1000-guinea fur coat and Marc Rees in 'Gloria Days' (images by Roy Campbell Moore). Archives and Special Collections, Pryfysgol Bangor/Bangor University and Marc Rees

follow when the *Daily Mail* (2007) followed up with an article headlined 'Ba Ba Black Sheep: Aristocratic "Elton John", Eat Your Heart Out Elton, Here's the Most Eccentric English Aristocrat Ever!' in which 'my' facts were recognisable but deployed with classic tabloid verve:

> Rumours abounded that his mother had strayed from the marital bed and his father was not a British milord but a flamboyant French classical actor, Benoit-Constant Coquelin. The fact that, for six years after his mother's sudden death, the young Henry Cyril was brought up in Paris by the actor's sister made the stories all the more plausible. Aged eight, Henry was brought back to live at his father's Gothic-style mansion [. . .]

This was followed by populist political analysis: 'a new aristocracy would emerge, one based on wealth from business rather than land, on achievement rather than bloodline. In time, there would be a new social order, in which plain Reg Dwight from Watford could make it to the top to become Sir Elton John' (27 October 2007).

The BBC Radio 4 2009 broadcast 'Lord of the Dance' was a far more comfortable piece for me (*though, inexplicably, it did take me at least a year before I could listen to it*). Its starting point was the presenter Sheila McClennon's own long-standing passion and curiosity about the subject. While it repeated some of the old biographical inaccuracies about the marquis being brought up in the Bohemian world of late nineteenth-century Paris among theatricals, and 'no-expenses spared tours of Europe' with a company of 'the finest actors [. . .]', the overriding effect was of a twenty-first-century sensibility fascinated by a person and a world beyond their ken. The very immediacy of McClennon's encounters with various experts, including Marc Rees, gave the portrait a sense of discovery rather than necessarily authority. There was a memorable — and useful — meeting with the theatrical costumier Tim Angel in which he and McClennon examined one of the marquis's costumes and the expert marvelled at the 'ridiculous' and excessive quality and amount of work that had gone into what was simply a theatrical costume. Even my own contribution was allowed its uncertainties and hesitations when broadcast, resisting the creation of an authoritative and apparently definitive narrative (McClennon 2009). It would be naive though to ignore the impression created of unassailable truth given by McClennon's pleasantly modulated Radio 4 voice, and the BBC's standing as a public service broadcaster as compared with Rees's impressionistic performance.[15] 'Gloria Days', 'Lord of the Dance' and my own 'performative writing' were, I believe, largely successful attempts

to use performance itself as a conduit between the historical subject and the present, using the archive, but with Fulbrook's empathetic and critical eye, in an act of 'trustworthy' public history.

Conclusion: Looking in All Directions

> I was astonished. Lord Anglesey was so extraordinarily as other men are [. . .] he wears pince-nez and brown boots, and his hair looks as if it has never seen curl-papers. (*Daily Mail*, 18 October 1904)

I no longer agree entirely with McClennon's and my own earlier conclusion that the 5th Marquis of Anglesey 'lived outside the rules' but see him as both 'idiosyncratic' *and* 'normal' within the culture of his time, bizarre *and* of his class in a time of major social transition. His story is also the story of the theatre of the time, of jobbing and touring actors, of aristocratic amateur and professional worlds, equally obscured by hegemonic narratives. The marquis offers a prism through which to explore the social and theatrical scenarios and imaginaries of the period too. My task as a micro-historian is now, as I see it, to take up Postlewait's challenge, 'to be true to both the idiosyncratic and the normal, the specific and the general', to tell these stories honestly with all the gaps, contradictions and prejudices — mine and history's 'limits of objectivity' — made visible. Despite the recent death of the 7th Marquis and the more liberal attitude of the 8th Marquis, I retain a sense of responsibility to my subject to retrieve 'him' (whoever he was) from the obscurity into which his family and conservative forces, and both the destroyed and hegemonic archive, have cast him. However, I also feel a responsibility to the present audience, readers and potential performance-makers, to write a 'reliable' history in a way that enables them to draw their own conclusions from 'my' evidence, and perhaps as importantly, to do it in such a way as to encourage them to reflect on their own practice of history.

(*In which spirit, maybe the* Mail*'s reference to Elton John — and Michael Jackson — is not so risible*.)

Notes

1. These lines are not a direct translation of the German original.
2. Marquis, as opposed to Marquess, is used throughout this essay, except where the latter is used in an original quotation. While Marquess is now the official spelling for the rank in Great Britain and Ireland, Marquis and Marquess are

still interchangeable. In his own day, Henry Cyril Paget was most frequently referred to in the press and other published sources, including court journals, as the 5th Marquis.

3. Syndicated in at least two other American newspapers. There is no corroborating evidence from UK, Australian or New Zealand papers, but British papers tended not to publish negative 'gossip' about the 5th Marquis in his lifetime whereas 'colonial' and US papers were not so inhibited or were more open to mythologising. *Vanity Fair* refers to this and other extravagant stories as 'sheer nonsense, without a particle of truth from beginning to end' (23 March 1905, 413). I find that I have added 'stripped to the waist'.
4. I have chosen the term 'footnote' advisedly. You can be a 'footnote in history', but not I think an endnote. I like footnotes. I think that it is often in footnotes that we subvert our own authority, manifest our 'eye' and sometimes our self as history-maker through comment, pointers to additional evidence, a segue into a more idiosyncratic language etc. I am less fond of endnotes, which relegate the footnote to a more easily ignored position in relation to the text. I use both endnotes (publisher's house style) and textual 'asides' within this chapter.
5. The projected title is: '"I pose therefore I am": Performance and Performativity in the Lives of the 5th Marquis of Anglesey'.
6. For a discussion of ownership of the past, see Jordanova 2006, 143–5.
7. Correspondence with the 7th Marquis of Anglesey, 23 August 2003.
8. A new booklet was published in 2011, with a much modified version of the 5th Marquis's story.
9. Ill-health, impending bankruptcy and possibly the prospect of playing in Huddersfield and Southport prevented the marquis from completing the other scheduled performances.
10. At least one other woman, Mrs Annie Whetmore, committed suicide because of his father's behaviour (*New York Times*, 7 August 1880, etc.).
11. Both titles are used in the same edition of the *North Wales Chronicle*. The paper reports: 'The Marquis of Anglesey produced with great success at his charming Little Theatre at Anglesey Castle, last week, a musical play in three acts composed by him, entitled "The School-Boy," playing the principal part himself', but advertises further performances of *A Runaway Boy* (27 July 1901). Guy Dudley is Guy Stanley in the Hicks–Nichols original.
12. Cosmo Gordon-Lennox, *The Marriage of Kitty*, Duke of York's Theatre, 19 August 1902.
13. Michael Seeney of the Oscar Wilde Society has drawn up a list of post-trial performances of Wilde's plays showing that they were more frequent than suggested by many histories.
14. Simon McAuslane, http://idler.co.uk/features/henry-cyril-paget/(accessed 14 April 2007).
15. For further discussion of institutional roles in public histories, see Jordanova 2006, 137–45.

Part II
‘Other’ Histories

5
Feminist Historiography and Ethics
A Case Study from Victorian Britain

Katherine Newey

This essay is concerned with a central historiographical issue emerging from writing feminist history within second-wave feminism, and after the 'linguistic turn'. How should the feminist historian present past women's lives and work in relation to this revolutionary movement in which she or he is situated, and which women should she or he make visible? That historiographical issue is also an ethical issue, as it is concerned with the question of what historians 'should' do. My argument is, however, that for feminist historians both the historiographical and the ethical meet in the political more often than not. My discussion works with a concept of ethics which is predicated on the central feminist principles of making women visible in history, and offering a sceptical critique of the structures within which they are positioned as historical agents or actors.

British feminist activism has always had a close relationship with history; 'We think back through our mothers', as Virginia Woolf wrote in *A Room of One's Own* (1929). This is not a recent phenomenon, as Cicely Hamilton and Edy Craig demonstrated in their *Pageant of Great Women* (1910), which brought together mythic and historic female figures in the cause of female suffrage. And, as Rohan Maitzen and Alison Booth show us, oppositional political and ideological approaches were woven into women's history writing of the nineteenth century in ways that we would label as feminist today. Maitzen introduces Julia Kavanagh as 'only one of many nineteenth-century women who sought to appropriate the public, didactic, and politically-charged role of historian' (Maitzen 1995, 371). Booth points out the 'venerable discursive practice' of women's collective biographies and histories of exemplary women

(the speciality of her subject, Anna Jameson) as a 'form of feminist intervention' (Booth 1999–2000, 258). Tracing the histories of women as fully human subjects with agency within male-dominated history and historiography is one of the ways in which feminist theory and scholarship contribute to feminist activism. The active remembering of past oppression has always been part of the drive for present action.

Earlier proto-feminist histories needed to negotiate their place within the hegemonies of patriarchy and masculine privilege, to the extent that histories of exemplary or famous women could, in Maitzen's words, 'negate the disruptive potential of [their] revisionist practice' (1995, 372). The writing of history in the nineteenth century tended — both deliberately and accidentally — to focus where the power was, and make invisible those who were to a greater or lesser extent without power or individual agency. Thomas Carlyle's histories of heroes, or Lord Acton's stories of great men, were the dominant approaches to historiography. And what we might now call 'liberal feminism' dominated Victorian feminist activism, working towards giving women equal rights with men within society as it was, rather than seeking to reshape British society altogether. That does not mean that a radical, oppositional critique of social structures as producing and maintaining gendered oppression was missing; it has been an undercurrent in British feminist writing and thinking at least since 1792 in Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, and John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor recognised the distortions produced by deeply grounded social structures and practices which produce gendered socialisation and inequality in *The Subjection of Women* (1869). They argue that patriarchy claims not only women's bodily obedience: it claims their sentiments as well:

> All the moralities tell them that it is the duty of women, and all the current sentimentalities that it is their nature, to live for others; to make complete abnegation of themselves, and to have no life but in their affections. And by their affections are meant the only ones they are allowed to have — those to the men to whom they are connected, or to the children who constitute an additional and indefeasible tie between them and a man. (Mill and Taylor 1869, 26–7)

The feminist socialism of the Women's Social and Political Union and the direct action of the 'militants' in the fight for the vote in Britain were also framed by a radical critique of heteronormativity and the cultural constructions of masculine privilege. However, it was not until

the Anglo-American Women's Liberation movement of second-wave feminism (after the Second World War) that radical feminist critiques of the structural power of patriarchy became more mainstream, and feminist scholarship started to play a central role in making visible invisible women.

As part of this politically inspired activism, feminism contributed towards a revolution in historical studies. It is perhaps too easy to forget that the much-discussed movement of social history as 'history from below', emerging from the work of scholars such as E.P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm and Christopher Hill and fora such as *History Workshop Journal*, was also a feminist movement, although hard fought for by historians such as Sally Alexander and Anna Davin (History Workshop Journal Archive 2015). As activism, and as scholarship, second-wave radical feminism was revolutionary; if in the early twenty-first century we do not live in the feminist utopia envisioned in the 1960s and 1970s, we certainly do live in a society radically changed — changed at the roots — by feminist efforts in forcing the recognition of women as fully human, through contemporary activism and politically informed historical scholarship. However, historians are still experimenting and exploring the implications and consequences of the revolutionary possibilities of feminist historiography. Clare Colebrook poses the same issue in her survey of the fundamental structures of philosophy in relation to feminist critique: 'There is a more thorough-going critique of philosophy, however, that suggests that gender might not be just one issue among others in philosophy, and that a certain feminist critique might push philosophy to its limit' (Colebrook 1997, 81). Colebrook is particularly interested in the definition of Western philosophy as universalist, disembodied and rationalist, exploring instead debates which work with the limitations of the idea of philosophy as pure truth (1997, 95–6).

Of course, history is messier than metaphysics, and most historians no longer make claims for 'pure' truth. Yet discussions about the truth claims that history can and should make continue. Joseph Donohue argues that part of the historian's task is at base an ethical one: to pay due attention and respect to the work of historians who precede us, and to deal with the documents of the past, and our contemporary readers, fairly and frankly (Donohue 1989, 196). This said, ethics and feminism do not necessarily have an easy relationship, either in the past or in the present. Ethical frameworks can embed hegemonic values, which can be risky when dealing with a set of values from the past which is in contrast with those of the present.

Historians do not always articulate explicitly the ethical dimensions of their historiography in the terms used by moral philosophers, and my concern in this chapter is a case in point. Making visible women's lives, work and relationships to power is an ethical imperative for feminist history. Cast in the language of the prevailing mode of feminist ethics, the question can be translated into one of 'care' — care for one's subject, for one's readers and for the sceptical preservation and excavation of the documents of the past; but perhaps more importantly, the ethical recognition of the 'deeper reality of human interdependency and of the need for caring relations to undergird or surround [other social] constructions' (Held 2006, 41).

Colebrook points out the ways in which feminists have focused on requiring philosophy 'to alter some of its central notions [. . .] to include others: other virtues (such as caring or other-directedness); other aspects of the self (the body); other issues (the family, women's position, sexual difference); and other methods and epistemologies (historicist or perspectival)' (1997, 81). In moral philosophy, feminist ethical thought has generally been focused on this development of an 'ethics of care'. Virginia Held traces the emergence of the ethics of care from the 'constructive turmoil' of feminist thought since the 1960s, and presents this ethical position as both universal and making possible the validation of women's experience (2006, 23). Her statement that 'Every human being has been cared for as a child or would not be alive' (2006, 3) is a bold assertion of the basis of moral theory in experience, and experience at the level of the domestic, the private and the maternal, all contexts usually absent from moral theory. The inclusion of maternal care as a philosophical and ethical subject was, Held notes, ludicrously absent from non-feminist moral theory: 'there was no philosophical acknowledgement that mothers think or reason, or that one can find moral values in this practice' (2006, 26). This ethics of care can make women's lives visible, but if not deployed analytically, and within an explicitly critical ideological framework, it can also play into oppressive stereotypes of femininity. As women's caring roles have contributed towards keeping them in the private sphere, should this be the foundation of a feminist ethics? And how might it enrich feminist history and historiography? The implications here are deep and wide-ranging: read together, Held and Colebrook suggest (and they are not the only scholars to argue this, of course) that feminist ethics require a critical revision of the assumptions of Western philosophy. This is an ambitious project, but one that can be approached through the intimate and the domestic; in other words, in the spirit of an ethics of care.

So far, I have been arguing from a materialist position, for a deep — indeed, necessary — connection between feminist activism and feminist scholarship. As Samantha Brennan asserts, 'Feminism does not exist in the academy alone and feminist intellectuals risk isolation if we reject the moral concepts that inform political debate' (Brennan 1999, 260). Feminisms over the last century have been important in recovering and reconstituting women's lost voices and presences: making the invisible visible. This is a political project as well as a historical practice, and the work has been established to the degree that we can now speak of a feminist historiography. As Lynette Felber argues, 'Fredric Jameson's call to "always historicize" must be informed by a feminist historiography, a self-conscious examination of the way gender influences the retrieval and narration of history' (Felber 2007, 12). Such work can also be viewed in the ethical framework of what historians 'should' undertake in the recognition of their subjects' differences. Joan C. Tronto summarises Carol Gilligan's foundational work on the ethics of care from the 1970s, making clear the moral imperative of the recognition of another's point of view: 'caring requires that one start from the standpoint of the one needing care or attention. It requires that we meet the other morally, adopt that person's, or group's perspective, and look at the world in those terms' (Tronto 1993, 19). But what of the negotiation between the foundation of most second-wave feminist historiography in materialist political activism and the poststructuralist critique of Enlightenment epistemology, referred to in historical studies as the 'linguistic turn'? It is to this debate that Brennan (like many other feminist and social historians) refers, and the challenges of poststructuralism cannot be glossed over. As Marie Carrière notes, contemporary Western feminist thought is in a double bind: 'Its opposition to universalist, unitary, transcendental, and exclusive conceptualizations of subjectivity seems to be in constant tension with the need to re-construct a version of subjectivity that accommodates women's rightful claims to self-affirmation, recognition, and inclusiveness in social, cultural, and political spheres' (Carrière 2006, 245). It is an important point, particularly in thinking about feminist history in the light of developments in feminist moral philosophy, such as the ethics of care, and the critical scepticism with which feminist historians and feminist moral philosophers have regarded Enlightenment concepts of reason, as summarised by Held above.

In the wake of poststructuralism, feminist historiography (like other theoretical and methodological positions) is revealed as not without its difficulties and aporia. Most feminisms place women's bodies, and

women's experiences as bodies, at the centre of activist campaigns, and feminist historiography has focused on women and women's embodied experiences and voices. Yet we find that as we establish the value of women's lives and utterances, we are told that the individual subject as author, and as the foundational place (or body) of authority, is dead. Although I start from the assumption that, as the feminist theorist Agnes Heller remarked on women writers and the death of the subject, 'Before someone is buried, they need first to be identified' (Heller 1994, 247), the problematics of examining selfhood and agency within patriarchy are obvious. Resistance to grand narratives is central to almost all varieties of feminism, and alternative histories written from this point of resistance have revolutionised historiography.

My argument in this essay is that feminist ethics can offer a meeting place between the materialist and the deconstructive approaches. The emergence of an ethics of care from feminist moral philosophy, and as a field of practice, is premised on a conception of selfhood 'premised upon a theory of the other' — drawing on Levinas as well as Luce Irigaray (Carrière 2006, 250). In common with other post-Enlightenment approaches to identity, feminist ethics challenges monolithic views of the self, investigating the ways in which subjectivity is formed through discursive and material practices, proposing interdependence and interrelationship as the foundations for an ethical or moral world view. Joan Scott's work, querying the use of experience as a central category of feminist history and historiography, but divorced from a recognition of its discursive construction, is a prominent example of the possibilities of critique offered by a poststructuralist historiography. Scott offers an important corrective to a naive understanding of history through the records of the experiences of people in the past:

> To put it another way, the evidence of experience, whether conceived through a metaphor of visibility or in any other way that takes meaning as transparent, reproduces rather than contests given ideological systems — those that assume that the facts of history speak for themselves and those that rest on notions of a natural or established opposition between, say, sexual practices and social conventions, or between homosexuality and heterosexuality. (Scott 1991, 778)

Scott's argument made waves on first publication, some more forthright than others (including the powerfully titled riposte by Laura Lee Downs, 'If "Woman" is Just an Empty Category, then Why am I Afraid to Walk Alone at Night? Identity Politics Meets the Postmodern Subject',

1993).[1] However, there are meeting points between Scott's critique of the structures of historical discourse, and her argument that the experience of difference is not foundational but produced discursively, and Colebrook's and Held's critiques of the underlying structures of moral philosophy. Drawing on Carol Gilligan's revelation of the 'different voice' of women's moral philosophy, Held argues that ethics 'has not been a search for universal, or truly human guidance, but a gender-based enterprise' (Held 2012, 776). It has been typified by a dichotomy between reason and emotion in most major schools of philosophy, reflective of patriarchal hierarchies of gender. As a consequence 'There are very good reasons for women not to want simply to be accorded entry as equals into the enterprise of morality so far developed' (Held 2012, 778). Held's feminist analysis reflects back to philosophy its own patriarchal history and charts the way in which this history has structured and framed the possibilities of moral philosophy. Held's position, however, does not reject the embodied subject positioned in specific material circumstances in the way in which Scott (and other feminist theorists) appear to (Butler and Scott 1992, *passim*). Held is attentive to the intertwining of structures of thought (discourse) and historicised embodiment (experience), in much the same way as Kathleen Canning seeks to bring the two terms into a fruitful relationship. As Canning wryly points out, 'Butler and Scott invite feminists to reinscribe concepts like subject or agency but do not suggest a rewriting of [...] poststructuralism itself' (Canning 1994, 373).

It is guided by these apparently disparate and contradictory strands of a complex debate over agency and subjectivity that I approach the historical subjects which form the case studies of this chapter: Florence Bell, Aimée Beringer and Constance Beerbohm. I am interested in placing writing women within the framework of their material circumstances, but also in considering how that framework is inflected by discursive constructions of femininity and family. While this critical framework is broad, my historiographical question is quite specific: I am interested in how, as a feminist historian, I should deal with women whose views and actions offer challenges to contemporary (twenty-first-century) feminist critical positions. I am particularly interested in the historiographical conundrum facing a feminist historian in dealing with the work of 'conservative' women, given that so much of the exciting and inspiring work of second-wave feminism has been to show us the potential or actual subversion and transgression of women writers. As Miriam Burstein notes, discussion of the history of women's history — feminist historiography — 'understandably privileges protofeminist authors'

(1999, 47). The roots of second-wave feminist literary studies too, in the work of, for example, Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (1978), Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of their Own* (1977), and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979) — to name just three formative works — told narratives of the nineteenth century structured in part by late twentieth-century feminist concerns with liberation, money, transgression and rebellion.

The politics of the problem are obvious, as is the ethical conundrum. In recognising the 'different voice' of these women a feminist historian must account for views and actions which cut across — even deny — the values underlying our recuperative work. In *Women's Theatre Writing in Victorian Britain*, I have already shown how a feminist historian can approach an anti-suffragist such as Florence Bell, pointing out Bell's often desperate negotiations of the contradictions between her public and domestic role as 'Lady Florence Bell' and her vocation and activities as a serious writer (Newey 2005, 135–6). Bell was publicly anti-suffrage, a position which caused some strain in her deep and enduring friendship and professional collaboration with the suffrage and theatre activist Elizabeth Robins. On the face of it, Bell is an unpromising subject for a feminist historian — her class advantage might be seen to place her outside of the 'other' of oppressed femininity and lack of agency which is so much a feature of Victorian gender ideology. Certainly, Catherine Wiley argues this:

> Florence Bell spent many years working with and writing about health and safety issues for factory workers, especially women, in the industrial midlands. Her experience doubtless contributes a touch of 'realism' to the script, but the gulf between her own social position (Lady Bell) and that of the women who provided the material for her work must have prevented real communication between her and her subjects. (1990, 438)

But a 'care-full' reading of Bell's correspondence with Elizabeth Robins suggests a rather different historical subject from that which Wiley offers in her fascinating reading of Bell and Robins's play *Alan's Wife*. The social and economic gulf between Florence, wife of industrialist Hugh Bell, and the women who ran the households and managed the money in the pit villages of Northumberland was indeed real. However, Bell's detailed study of the lives of these women and their families in *At the Works* and her dramatisation of their lives in *How the Money Goes* were attempts to understand the conditions of life and work through

both sociological research and the affective imaginative terms of drama. This work suggests precisely the kind of ethics of care and Levinasian recognition of 'the face of the other' discussed above, rather than a gulf in communication. Furthermore, Wiley's account is at odds with both contemporary views of Bell and her work with Robins (Robins 1932, 17) and other twentieth-century feminist critics, such as Angela John, whose biography of Elizabeth Robins is also the best biography we have of Florence Bell (John 1995). These differences in approach demonstrate not only the difficulties for second-wave feminist historians in placing conservative women in recuperative feminist history, but also the way an alternative framework — developed through a recognition of the ethics of care — can open out feminist enquiries into the lives of women. Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace pursues this issue in her study of conservative women writers in the eighteenth century as '*case studies in complicity*' (1991, 12; original emphasis); in my approach to Bell, Beringer and Beerbohm, I want to probe further assumptions of complicity, to explore the complex claims and pressures on apparently patriarchal women.

My second subject is Aimée Beringer. She is present in the historical record, but remarkably elusive. As Mrs Oscar Beringer, wife of the musician and composer, whose schemes for teaching the piano are still used today, Aimée Beringer has almost disappeared. There is no major archival source of private papers (that I have yet found). Although Beringer worked under her husband's name as Mrs Oscar Beringer, his *Memoir* does not mention his wife or five children at all, even professionally. And yet in her time, she was prominent as a theatre manager, playwright and social hostess. Records of her work as a theatre practitioner survive in her plays, reviews, press accounts of her theatre management at the Opera Comique and the Haymarket and her *Times* obituary. It has recently become possible to trace Beringer's career more easily through the digital resources now available, but there is still no overall picture of her life, apart from the *Times* obituary. This is despite the fact that Beringer took a public position in the theatre industry, speaking on behalf of women dramatists to the Playgoers' Club and as a representative of the Theatrical Ladies' Guild in 1897 (*Pall Mall Gazette* 1897). She wrote several articles on the stage as a profession for women (Beringer 1897a and 1897b), and participated in a prominent newspaper debate over the training of actors (Beringer 1968, 71–2). She was a playwright of favourably reviewed light commercial comedies, including her adaptation of Charles Dickens' Christmas story *The Holly Tree Inn* (Terry's, 1891), an adaptation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1888)

which challenged the previous practices of adaptation as piracy, a highly regarded and successful adaptation of *The Prince and the Pauper* (1890) and *A Bit of Old Chelsea* (Court Theatre, 1897). Moreover, she was part of that determined group of mostly female theatre professionals who introduced the work of new European realist dramatists and writers into the English theatre, with her adaptations from the Danish in *Tares* (Prince of Wales, 1888), *Salve* (1895) and *The Left-Handed Marriage* (a novel adapted from the Danish, 1886). She was also a social hostess, holding 'At Homes' noted in contemporary magazines; a press record of guests at her 'At Home' in June 1896 listed the industry's elite including the Bancrofts, Wilson Barrett, Forbes Robertson, Jerome K. Jerome, Genevieve Ward and the Hattons. Her public presence was such that the *Sketch* described her as 'undoubtedly one of the most popular and gracious leaders of that bright literary and artistic portion of London yclept "Bohemia"' (*Sketch* 1894, 593). In her later life, Beringer received a Civil List pension, and was notable enough for *The Times* to mark her death with an obituary, as a link with 'an old dramatic and musical world' (*The Times* 1936, 17).

From this record, Beringer held an interesting but not untypical position in the London theatre industry — except that she was female. The presence and work of women like Beringer has, argues Jacky Bratton, been obscured by 'the "masculine panic" that wrote them out of the record' (2011, 145). Unlike Constance Beerbohm, the subject of my final case study, Beringer took a very public role in promoting the position of women within her industry — the *Times* obituary noted that 'In her younger days, she had been a reasonable pioneer in most feminine social reforms', and her address to the Playgoers' Club on the subject of women playwrights received widespread publicity and response. She was also active in the long-running debates over the establishment of a subsidised National Theatre and the education and training of actors, as well as a public advocate of the theatre as a suitable profession for women. Beringer's work has slipped out of our field of vision: even more than is true for Bell, the archival traces of Beringer's life are scattered, and her work as a performer, playwright, activist and journalist has to be pieced together. Perhaps it was the apparent ease with which she met the multiple demands on her as a domestic and a public woman; notwithstanding her voice as advocate of women theatre professionals, her work was largely in the mainstream. Susan Bennett asks us to think about our historiographical strategies of inclusion of such women. Her question is as cogent for historians of the late nineteenth century as for those researching theatre of the 1950s: 'Do we ignore the

work of women who wrote for the commercial mainstream stages of the 1950s because after all, their work does not comply with a prescriptive focus on an emergent radical theatre practice?' (2010, 69–70). This is, as I have argued elsewhere (Newey 2005), where women playwrights are repeatedly caught: between patriarchal histories which overlook the work of women as aesthetically negligible, and historiographical frameworks which focus on innovative pioneers, to the detriment of understanding the broad range of theatre practice available at any particular place or time. As historians, we are still too often invested in Ezra Pound's Modernist exhortation to 'Make it new'. In the broad sweep of British theatre history, could it be that maintaining theatrical practices and traditions, rather than revolutionising them, has been regarded as the 'wifework' of the theatre? And that innovation and experiment have been gendered masculine (and therefore valuable)? Both Beringer and Bell, as actual wives, also performed metaphorical 'wifework' in their theatrical practice, mixing commerce and art in ways which — if we choose to look carefully — offer important insights into women's negotiations between work, vocation, love and duty.

Constance Beerbohm's life and work are a powerful example of the complexities of love, duty and vocation for women theatre practitioners who did not reject the expectations of middle-class Victorian femininity outright. Attention to Beerbohm's life and work requires feminist historians to work with evidence which does not allow us to shape a proto-feminist narrative of protest and activism. Beerbohm's life and work, however, demonstrate how important it is for feminist historians to challenge that model of feminist historiography. Beerbohm was part of a family of extraordinary artists, but was mostly silent (publicly at least). Yet traces of her presence are everywhere in the records of the Beerbohm family, as she facilitated and enabled their achievements. Unlike Beringer, she has left many personal papers, now collected; but like Bell's archive, this is contained largely within other people's archives. Beerbohm, like Bell, was a stalwart and dutiful support to others, and the traces of her life enact this materially (Bell's letters in Robins's archive, Beerbohm's in her brother's family archive). Beerbohm was regarded as not without talent herself, yet remains largely invisible in history. Her role could be fictionalised as another Dorothea Brooke: 'for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me [...] is half owing to the number who have lived faithfully a hidden life' (*Middlemarch*). At first reading, Eliot's words are perhaps comforting; on reflection, they are ameliorative, but hardly encouraging. But the records of Constance

Beerbohm's life suggest less a faithful hidden life than a difficult, doubting life, both physically and emotionally. Eliot's historical dramaturgy does not fit. Rather, the archival traces remaining of Beerbohm's life resonate with what Betty Friedan sixty years later was to identify as the 'feminine mystique', that group of debilitating mental, emotional and physical symptoms experienced by the womanly woman in the course of her compliance with a socially prescribed model of femininity. What is left of this life lived in a family at the centre of one of the most important theatrical cities of the world and at a time of the aesthetic and intellectual excitement of the *fin de siècle*? What are the historiographical benefits of encountering Beerbohm as the ethical other in the orthodox narrative of *fin de siècle* theatre, and of, as Tronto suggests we should do through 'care', adopting Beerbohm's perspective?

Constance Beerbohm was the daughter of Julius Ewald Beerbohm and Constantia Draper. Hers was a somewhat complicated family situation: Draper was Julius Beerbohm's first wife, and together they had four children, including Constance and Herbert; on Constantia's death, Julius Beerbohm married her sister, Eliza, with whom he had five children (three surviving). Constance was born in 1856 and died in 1938, did not marry and stayed as manager of her stepmother's home for her entire life, as well as endeavouring to earn money to keep the household afloat, often in the face of her stepmother's extravagance in entertaining. According to Max Beerbohm's biographers, Eliza Beerbohm was 'impractical' and left the housekeeping and family management to her stepdaughter (McElderry 1972, 17; Hall 2002; Cecil 1964). As Beerbohm wrote to a family confidante, 'I have to work to pay my way, & I am so ill that I often wonder how I go on from to day to day' (Beerbohm, letter, n.d., Beerbohm Tree Collection, 2.8/A3/MBTC 14). As with Beringer's 'At Homes', Beerbohm's management of the family home in London put her at the centre of interconnecting circles of artistic and literary life at the highest level. Her (half-)brother Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree and his wife Maud (to whom Constance was close) ran one of the foremost theatrical managements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and her youngest brother was the satirical essayist and cartoonist Max Beerbohm. Indeed, Beerbohm was probably responsible for kick-starting Max Beerbohm's career as a cartoonist. Hall records that it was probably to Beerbohm that Max had first shown his drawing, and that it was probably she who then used her magazine connections to show Max's drawings to the editor of the *Strand Magazine* (Hall 2002, 42). Through Max and Herbert, Beerbohm knew and entertained artists and writers such as Oscar Wilde, Mrs Patrick Campbell, Ada Leverson,

Walter Sickert (who, Beerbohm notes, was with them from before breakfast until night) and Lena Ashwell ('so kind & good)' (Beerbohm, letter, Saturday, n.d., Beerbohm Tree Collection, 2.8/A3/MBTC 14).

In published works, we have Beerbohm's short sketches, published in one volume as *The Little Book of Plays for Professional and Amateur Actors, Adapted from the French* (London: George Newnes, 1897). Records of performances of these sketches are sparse, but *He and She* was advertised as part of a 'Grand Entertainment' at a charity performance in aid of the Grosvenor Hospital (Chelsea Town Hall, 21 May 1894) and at the Midlands Rail Institute, Derby (November 1897) as part of a mixed programme. The monologue *An April Shower* was performed at a Monday afternoon recital at the Steinway Hall given by Mr and Mrs W.B. Harrison on 27 May 1895, and again as part of the French recitalist Albert Chevalier's afternoon programmes at the Queen's Hall in March 1899. The sketch *A Secret* was performed at St George's Hall on 26 June 1888 for an amateur group, the Mummers' Club. The performance was reviewed in the *Illustrated London News* only because one of the parts was played by Ellen Terry, and the afternoon's performance was the amateur stage debut of Terry's youngest daughter Ailsa Craig. And, as the review article points out, these 'trial matinées' were a manager's 'half-hearted way of backing his own opinion (*Illustrated London News* 1888, 707). This record of performances indicates Beerbohm's paradoxical position as someone well connected in London literary and social circles, but cast as an extra or a handmaiden.

The richest archival traces of Beerbohm's life and works are in her personal letters, extant in the Tree Family Archive (Beerbohm Tree Collection) at the University of Bristol Theatre Collection, the William Archer manuscripts at the British Library, the Clement Scott Papers at the University of Rochester, New York, and a single letter to Ada Leverson in the Eccles Bequest, also at the British Library. This last letter is particularly interesting in its revelation of Beerbohm's liminal, scattered presence in other people's lives. Its preservation and provenance indicate the connections and friendships Beerbohm had as a member of the Beerbohm family, while the contents of the letter seem to be a relatively unguarded expression of Beerbohm's own sense of self and position in her world. Beerbohm's letter to Leverson is to be found in a file of general correspondence, mostly to Robert Ross. Ross was a close associate (probably a lover) of Oscar Wilde's, and at the centre of literary London. Leverson regularly entertained Wilde and other *fin de siècle* aesthetes such as Aubrey Beardsley, George Moore and Beerbohm's half-brother Max. Wilde and Leverson were close; when Wilde was released

on bail during his trial in 1895, she took him in to her home, at some social cost (Speedie 2004). Beerbohm writes to Leverson with the intimacy of confidantes, although in other family letters Beerbohm is quite critical of Leverson, referring in an earlier letter to Maud Tree to 'the Leverson's dreadful set of friends' (Beerbohm, letter, n.d., Beerbohm Tree Collection, 2.8/A3/MBTC 14). Beerbohm apologises for seeming 'pettish' to Leverson, writing that 'we had had 8 people to lunch & with 1 servant it's a strain, & my mother was quite worn out' (letter to Ada Leverson, n.d., Eccles Bequest). The letter reads as if continuing a face-to-face conversation about Max and the younger generation of the Beerbohm and Leverson families. Beerbohm expresses the common enough feeling of an older adult in a family, watching children mature and settle: Max is 'very much married & we take him for granted. We love him just as much, but he has a home of his own & doesn't seem like little Max any more'. Beerbohm writes that 'we have the young people coming on & to think of & whose lives are not yet settled as his is'. Beerbohm's description of Max as 'very much married' may have been in part an attempt to smooth over the awkward situation evident from Max and Ada Leverson's relationship. Hall suggests that at the very least, Max and Ada's relationship was a passionate friendship, and could well have been more (2002, 56). It is also a prime example of Beerbohm's quasi-maternal role in the family, as her stepmother left most of the responsibility for the care of members of the household to Beerbohm.

The burden and responsibility of Beerbohm's care and facilitation of others' domestic and working lives are prominent in her many letters to Maud Tree, Herbert's wife. These letters (at the time of reading largely uncatalogued) are preserved in the Tree Family Archive at the University of Bristol Theatre Collection. They are rarely dated by Beerbohm or the archivists, and sometimes only a page from a much longer letter has survived. The impression from reading the letters is of a constant stream of discussion and consultation about family and domestic matters, even though the Trees lived separately from the Beerbohm family home. From Beerbohm's letters, it is clear that it was a to and fro conversation, even when she takes Maud to task emphatically and directly for her selfishness and risky behaviour in taking too many grains of a sleeping drug. Eliza Beerbohm is a constant source of concern, and it was clearly a difficult relationship, but one which Beerbohm accepted and tried to make work. But in her letters to Maud she unburdens herself, and the clash between Beerbohm's sense of her duty and her own vocation is often acute:

> Poor mamma. Her return [from holiday] seems to bring a sort of apprehension of things to come, and a sort of unrest. I can't describe, — an atmosphere of care. That week with Max [their mother absent from London . . .] was such repose — We saw no one, no callers, & sat quite still in odd attitudes on sofas. No bells, & no mysterious notes — Only articles written — in my bad style & his good style. He is doing a really beautiful, rather deep essay for 'The Pageant' Be it Cosiness. (Beerbohm, letter, n.d. [archivist suggestion 1897], Beerbohm Tree Collection, 2.8/A3/MBTC 14)

Or:

> Mamma was too exhausted. It took her days to recover [from] the theatre. Aggie [Beerbohm's sister] had sent her there, thinking to relieve me of strain on my writing day; but the strain was worse afterwards. It is awful to see her suffer so at her age. It is pitiful. It is all about money — but it quite distracts her. Her nights are dreadful she wanders about not knowing where she is. (Beerbohm, letter, Tuesday [no further date], Beerbohm Tree Collection, 2.8/A3/MBTC 14)

While reading Beerbohm's letters to Maud is like reading one half of a conversation of domestic intimacy, her letters to William Archer offer a different view of Beerbohm: knowledgeable about the theatre business, yet submissive to the eminent critic. She introduces herself to Archer via her brother, and then goes on to take issue with her fellow critic Clement Scott's criticism of the Beerbohm Tree company, calling it a 'vulgar almost brutal onslaught' (letter to Archer, n.d., Archer, 1877–1924, fol. 190). A further letter to Archer rebuts his criticism of Mrs Patrick Campbell's vocal method:

> I am sure you haven't the least idea how well she could act if only she wasn't so terribly in earnest about all sorts of methods. One day at the theatre when I was alone with her & my brother, she did some absurd scene on the spur of the moment, & quite forgot Art, — or any nonsense of that sort —, & you couldn't believe how superb she was, & what her humour can be. (Letter to Archer, n.d., Archer 1877–1924, fol. 205)

Despite the casual reference to being 'at the theatre' with two of the foremost figures in the theatre industry, Beerbohm's tone overall is anxious,

almost desperate. She ends each letter with admonitions that Archer not answer her, but she extends the correspondence. It is a curious example of someone in a theatrical family and household with a need to find another correspondent, an outlet for her ideas and a kind of hero worship of the critic.

On the evidence of her letters, it would be easy to dismiss Beerbohm as 'neurotic' or 'hysteric': those terms which are still too easily applied to women who express strong and difficult opinions or emotions. However, her published journalism suggests a competent professional writer, able to compose engaging prose in profiles for magazines such as her article on Madame Albani, where the 'colour' writing of a celebrity interview is underpinned by solid and extensive knowledge, not just of Albani's work as a singer, but of the musical environment and heritage within which Albani is a star (Beerbohm 1894, 12). Beerbohm regularly published similar articles in various journals, including several in the *Hour Glass*, the *Englishwoman*, *Tinsley's Magazine* and the *English Illustrated Magazine*, writing a journalistic mix of travel, music biography and interviews of celebrities at home.

None of this is easy reading for a feminist historian. What emerges from these 'scraps, orts, and fragments' is the picture of a life lived within the constraints of single femininity, and a family home which was a place of anxiety rather than peace. Beerbohm seems painfully caught between the discursive construction of the Victorian family and the Victorian daughter, and her lived reality. The desperation and signs of ill-health can be read as the playing out of these contradictions. Beerbohm's letters also show evidence of the burdens of care for male 'genius' such as her brothers Max and Herbert, and the tyrannies of maternal care. The striking thing about the documentary record here is that although Beerbohm lived in an age in which we assume there were ongoing revolutions in taste and lifestyles — the era of the Naturalist revolution on stage, and the Decadent challenge to Victorian lifestyles off stage — the domestic arrangements and burdens of women were little changed. Looking at the world in Beerbohm's terms is not always a pleasant experience. Perhaps there is a clue to Beerbohm's own sense of contradictions in her 'Necessitous Ladies' Holiday Fund', a charitable appeal on behalf of working 'ladies' in positions such as governesses, clerks, teachers and actresses — whom Beerbohm calls the 'Broken Women' — to afford holidays. But despite living in a world which watched Nora slam the door on her dolls' house, and Hedda refuse to live within the expectations of bourgeois femininity, Beerbohm remained willingly trapped by love and duty.

The women I mention here demonstrate some of the ethical issues of feminist recuperative history, and offer examples of the need to think self-reflectively — or, we might say, historiographically — in doing such recovery work. Historiographic reflexivity is also an ethical activity: how should we approach the lives and work of these women (and many like them)? How does an 'ethics of care' require us to research and write with a feminist historical imagination open to different voices, particularly those voices which appear to cut across the political project of liberation, and who appear, at first glance, to occupy positions of relative privilege? Like Florence Bell, Constance Beerbohm and Aimée Beringer were respectable 'ladies', although, in the complexities of the British class system, they each occupied different positions within that broad spectrum of respectability, in terms of background ('birth'), affluence, professional connection and location. But each has largely disappeared from theatre history. One might easily argue that this is not a great injustice: none of these women was a memorable writer or theatre practitioner, although all had clear merit. They are representative of the many professionals whose work has always been the staple of the theatre industry. It could be argued that I focus on them only because they are women, and that a focus on their male colleagues would reveal similar kinds of neglect, and oversight, in the construction of larger narratives of British theatre. That argument, however, works only if one assumes that these women worked and lived under the same conditions as their male equivalents — an assumption which even the most cursory study of the conditions of the Victorian theatre industry, literary markets, and legal and financial structures would quickly dispel. That argument works only if one does not start from the political and ethical standpoint that for a woman to write was a revolutionary act.

We have limited historiographical tools for dealing with historical subjects like Bell, Beringer or Beerbohm, and even more limited ways of incorporating their stories into extant historical narratives. If, as Hayden White has so influentially argued, historiography has proceeded through literary forms (White 1973), the narrative models we have for women like these are almost non-existent. Beerbohm and Bell remain 'relative creatures' (to use Françoise Basch's term), stuck in domestic narratives (Basch 1974). And Beringer — the most public woman of the three — while conforming to a familiar model of liberated femininity, has been invisible even in recuperative feminist histories.

That the inclusion of women in any historical narrative is an ethical position goes without saying now. The questions in this essay have been about what we should do next. I have suggested one strategy: a careful

consideration of the lives and work of female theatre practitioners who are mainstream, aesthetically and ideologically conservative, as well as those who reflect back to us our own stories and models of liberation and equality. These examples of almost-vanished women offer different ways of approaching one of the most interesting, but challenging, tasks for the politically engaged historian: understanding and interpreting the negotiations of individuals with the constraints of the social structures within which they live. For a feminist historian, this is an investigation into the opportunities for women in patriarchy to develop autonomous and realised selves, and the extent to which they were able to do so (or not). Using evidence from scattered archives starts to reveal the kinds of agency these women had, and how they were able to use forms of social and cultural capital to pursue self-actualisation. This is an ethical question about meeting the other of past subjectivity, and understanding and making visible the political as well as epistemological terms in which selfhood was constructed.

Note

1. For a summary of the debate and references to the participants, I have found the following essays useful: Canning (1994) and Clark (1998). Michael Pickering's *History, Experience and Cultural Studies* (1997) is a sustained, book-length refutation of Scott's position.

6
Garrison Theatre in Colonial India
Issues of Valuation

Poonam Trivedi

Reconstructing the theatrical past has never been more challenging: the terms 'history' and 'theatre' have both seen a vast expansion of meaning and reference. Debates in historiography have questioned the nature of key aspects like evidence, narrative and objectivity. History of the theatre, which examines the ephemeral along with the material, has become more complex. And though the ambit of both the historical and theatrical has expanded, grand narratives have become suspect and it is the delimited micro-histories which seem to catch the essence. It is the fragments, painstakingly assembled, which often provide the insight to define the whole. While the search for the complete picture of the past may be chimerical, a search for it nevertheless becomes imperative, particularly in post-colonial societies where there will be many competing aspects and points of view of the whole. Events and evidences thus acquire a dual nature, and facts accumulate their significance and value according to how they are marshalled. Hence an ethical discrimination and duty towards the several players concerned becomes incumbent upon post-colonial theatre historiography, which needs more than the usual deftness and sensitivity.

In India, theatre historiography is faced with the additional challenge of confronting the transformative impact of contact with the West. Its task is not just to unravel the different strands of the imported from the indigenous, but also to explore and expose the contexts of these transformations and to negotiate between hegemonic impositions and cultural formations. Hence the narration of the theatrical past forces a reckoning and valuation of this past, that is, of what evidences we wish to bring into the public domain, why and how; it imposes an intellectual and ethical responsibility to recover and recoup the whole picture,

warts and all, because in the contradictions of colonialism are often to be found the impulses of new developments. For instance, it is least suspected that the British Army in colonial India, which was initially stationed to guard and police the trading bases in the three colonial cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and which later became the instrument of conquest, would have anything to do with entertainment and theatre, the rough and tough world of soldiering being commonly assumed to be far removed from the refinement of the performative arts. But this institution of oppression, paradoxically, had a cultural dimension which, indirectly at first and then more immediately, proved instrumental in the development of modern theatre in India. It is this unlikely role of the army in the early theatre history of the colonial period in India that this essay will foreground through the evidences of published memoirs, unpublished personal papers and a collection of programmes and playbills of the theatrical activity of the personnel of the English army in India. Through this micro-narrative it will fill critical gaps in the larger understanding of the genesis and development of the modern playing culture in India. In doing so, it will also address the ethical questions prompted in the process of writing a history of the colonisers from a post-colonial perspective.

Theatre history in India is a comparatively underexplored as well as a deeply contested terrain. Among the literary genres, Indian drama has received the least attention; as a performative art, too, it has not been subject to much critical discourse. Though the past decade has seen the publication of a number of studies, these are mainly devoted to the development of the post-colonial theatre in India (Dharwadkar 2005; Dalmia 2006; Bhatia 2009). Those who examine the Western colonial influences necessarily do so selectively, leaving many areas of contact and influence, in various geographical locations, relatively unexamined. Historiography of the theatre has also not been helped by the continuation of an ideological contestation, a politics between what is seen as a revivalist nationalist perspective which would erase the impact of the West in favour of an idealised indigenous continuity of theatre forms, and the purveyors of modernity who ignore the ancient past and see only irreversible transformation in them. Rakesh Solomon in a critical survey of Indian theatre history and historiography posits three major phases in the genealogy of the writing of Indian theatre history: the earliest, colonial Orientalist writings beginning in the late eighteenth century, the colonial nationalist beginning in the 1920s and the post-colonialist from 1947 onwards. Yet at the end he concludes that this is only a beginning and that theatre historians need to do much more to

have a more nuanced view of Indian theatre across chronology, regional and linguistic boundaries and to see Indian theatre as a larger, plural whole. Further, he observes that 'historians of Indian theatre also need to reflect on their own principles and methods as theatre historians and to be self-aware of the unspoken assumptions and values underlying their writing' (Solomon 2006, 29).

Most histories of modern Indian theatre, for instance, while acknowledging the transformative influence of early English theatre on the Indian subcontinent from the late eighteenth century onwards, devote little effort to detailing its contexts and processes and quickly move on to their main interest, the Indian theatres. Sushil Mukherjee's informative *The Story of the Calcutta Theatres: 1753–1980* (1982) has only a short introductory chapter in comparison with the length of his volume, and Shanta Gokhale's *Playwright at the Centre: Marathi Drama from 1843 to the Present* (2000) does not feel the need to detail English theatre except as influence in a few particular cases.[1] Although English/Western theatre began in the mid-eighteenth century in India, was adopted by Indians by around the 1830s and created a paradigm shift in staging practices, there is, surprisingly, still no monograph on English theatre in colonial India and its continuing legacy.[2] There are some essays and journal articles but they are restricted to particular places or events (for example see Forbes 2008; Dutt 2009). The history of colonial theatre therefore emerges in bits and pieces: the studies by Indians are either eulogising or summary, and those by the English, anecdotal and nostalgic. Admittedly, the lack of access to primary materials by Indian scholars, with personal papers of the expatriate English of the colonial period available mainly in the British archives, has been a deterrent to further research, but other factors, of attitudes and mentalities too, have prevented a fuller engagement and analysis. The post-colonial thrust in all intellectual fields has been largely to recoup and assert the indigenous, to revive that which was repressed. Hence the seeming lack of interest in further investigating the modes and areas of influence and transformation under colonialism is not, as is sometimes seen, a cultural amnesia, or an unwillingness to fully acknowledge and document what modern Indian theatre is heir to. A post-colonial confidence and awareness too are needed in order to step back, shift stance and modulate the oppositional drive of post-colonial theory to interrogate the very tendencies which brought us to this position.

Indian theatre has its own complex and unusual development. It began with Sanskrit drama, which flourished from around 200 BCE to 1000 CE and was followed by a period of folk theatres, mainly

in the oral and mythological traditions — performed outdoors, non-illusionistic with song and dance — many of which were also concurrent with later stages of Sanskrit drama. With the influence of the West, beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing right through the nineteenth, a completely new theatre modelled on Western norms developed which remains the dominant form in the urban areas today. However, the traditional folk theatres continue to be performed all around the country, though largely in the rural areas. Sanskrit drama, which is one of the strengths of Indian classical literature, is also often performed, though usually in translation. Thus the growth of Indian theatre does not show a historically verifiable linearity, but instead throws up several different lines of development which run concurrently, with considerable overlap and co-mingling between them. Further, differing performative styles and aesthetics can and do exist simultaneously. Yet Western theatre practice has resulted in an 'othering' of the indigenous Indian theatrical culture, introducing practices and conventions which are now themselves challenged in Western performance (such as the proscenium stage). A politics of location and representation and a reversal of subject positions are to be found. Negotiating this layered but fraught terrain is further complicated when the 'us and them' and 'self and other' positions are reversed in today's context. The post-colonial Indian theatre critic is particularly challenged with a responsibility towards knowing the 'other', in this case the English amateur actor in colonial India. Here the 'other' is not the subordinated native, but a representative of the ruling power, who is to be subjected to re-examination from a post-colonial perspective. This is not merely a question of reversing the 'gaze', as it were, of 'provincialising' English theatre history, but is rather to attend closely to the knottedness and the many interstices in this cultural formation. Moreover, amateur theatre has been a neglected field in many theatre histories. In the Indian context it involves a double intellectual responsibility, of not just giving the evidences of the past their due, but also investigating the significance of this past in our sense of the Indian present. In short, it complicates what Jörn Rüsen (2004) sees as an 'ethical responsibility' for the recovery of the past for the satisfaction of the contemporary as well as the future needs.

English Garrison Theatre

Within the larger span of colonial theatre as a whole, English garrison theatre is an entirely neglected micro-area in Indian theatre history; it

remains one of the least acknowledged and theorised theatres of the colonial period. It is little known that it was the English army and its officers who were largely responsible for introducing and popularising amateur Western theatre and entertainment in India; this unlikely source of the spread of theatricals has also not been documented in histories of the theatre and the larger empire.[3] Given its foundational role, the ethical obligation to recoup the history of garrison theatre becomes imperative. Before detailing this narrative, however, it is necessary to briefly recapitulate the role of the English army in India and the contexts within which the garrison theatre developed.

From the beginning, some troops along with armaments were shipped across by the East India Company (henceforth EIC) to guard their trading bases in India (first in Surat, 1607), and for 150 years the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras continued to maintain European troops for their security. Around 1740, with the threat of the Anglo-French rivalry, the EIC established a military arm and started recruiting Indians in both infantry and cavalry battalions. The officers were however always English. After 1770, when territorial expansion became part of British policy, these presidency armies were further expanded and fought several battles of annexation, with troops from the British Army in England loaned to the EIC to assist in this process. The turning point came with the 1857 Mutiny — a rebellion started by the Indian soldiers of the Bengal army which quickly spread among local people and militia across north and central India and which required over a year, additional British troops from the Crimea and severe brutality to finally subdue. After this, from 1860 onwards, the EIC armies were absorbed into the British Army, its numbers were greatly expanded, and the subcontinent was ruled directly by the Crown. After the Mutiny, the role of the army was largely confined to policing and maintaining order, except in the north-west during the Anglo-Afghan wars of 1878–80. British Army units, of both officers and soldiers, continued to be sent on 'tours of duty' to India often lasting several years, moving from town to town and being required for active service, ceremonial or training purposes or even civilian duties. It is estimated that up to 20,000 British troops were stationed in India at any one time during the early period, though there would be only between seven and twelve officers per regiment.[4]

In 1895 the several units of the army were unified into the 'Indian army'. The Indian army is said to have had a total strength of 155,423 in 1914; it was increased and deployed at many fronts as part of the British Army and numbered 573,484 by the time of the Armistice in 1918.

In 1921 another reorganisation took place, this time initiating an intermingling of British and Indian troops in the same units. In 1939, on the eve of the Second World War, the Indian army numbered 352,213, with only 63,469 British men and officers. It is said to have become the largest volunteer army in the world by 1945, numbering a total of 2,647,017 (figures from Bhatia 1977; see also Roy 2012).

Thus it is clear that the army was the chief instrument of imperial power, creating and maintaining the empire in India. It was the largest employer and cost 30 per cent of the income of the Raj to maintain in the last years. Like theatre history, military history too is a relatively underdeveloped field in Indian history, and while we do get accounts of the scope and organisation, the battles fought, the weaponry, the economics and the class and caste compositions of the regiments, we have virtually nothing on the social life of the army. The day-to-day experience of the army and its diverse groups of people is mainly to be discerned in memoirs, personal accounts and some stories and novels. Music and bands have traditionally been associated with armies, and even deployed for a martial purpose, but amateur theatricals by the army personnel were unique to the British. Theatrical performances became one of the essential leisure activities, not just a pastime but also a vital source of entertainment for the expatriate community, both a duty and a diversion. As the evidence of the hitherto unexplored archives of personal papers, the Wonnacott and Cuppage collections (located in the British Library), reveals, the army played a singular, and as yet unsung, role, in establishing the earliest theatres, maintaining them, running the amateur dramatics clubs (ADCs), organising and performing shows and circulating them through a string of cantonment towns stretching across the country. These archives also show how the army in India, along with its given functions, developed a well-established programme for generating entertainment: a cadetship could be had if theatrical talent was proved. ADCs were encouraged and full-fledged plays, sketches, revues, concerts and recitals were performed by the English army officers along with the civilians and their families. Lord Baden-Powell (1857–1941) recalls in his *Indian Memories* that one of the first questions asked of him upon joining his regiment, the 13th Hussars, in 1876, was 'Can you act, or sing, or scene paint?' (Baden-Powell 1915, 93). He went on to become a star performer in the army amateur theatricals. Since from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century the main function of the army was control and surveillance, and even though there were many civilian duties imposed on the personnel, there was more leisure than before and some of it was given over to theatricals.

The role of the army as a crucible for theatre and spectacle, creating particular kinds of playing spaces, repertoires and performative aesthetics, is huge, and its impact on the growth of modern Indian theatre has not been investigated.

However, in addition to the task of recovering this neglected history, the historian of these garrison theatres faces essential ethical questions about how to frame and report their activities. For this theatrical practice was not divorced from its imperialist subordinating purpose. 'Play' in the proscenium and 'play' on the sports field were the 'other' softer hegemonies of social control. New and alternative modes of leisure, culture and sociability were being promoted, to the covert and sometimes overt denigration of indigenous practices. Tensions developed when Indians tried to emulate the master's performative practice. But emulate they did, and Western theatre remains a permanent legacy in modern India. Hence the narrative of garrison theatre in colonial India is fraught with twists and turns and requires a balancing out to get all sides of the picture. Recouping and writing theatre history therefore may be seen as acts of self-reflexive 'witnessing' (Hutcheon 1988) in which the several dimensions, the conflictual and the beneficial, of the colonial situation need to be revisited and recorded in order to move towards a fuller and more nuanced understanding of the whole. This revisiting and recording is the task of the next sections of this essay.

The Early Years

The earliest Western theatres in India were built in the three English settlements: in Calcutta about 1753, in Bombay in 1776 and in Madras in 1780. Although they were set up by the members of the EIC, officers from the army were equally involved in them. In 1775 Colonel Gilbert Ironside wrote to David Garrick to thank him for help in setting up theatrical entertainment at Fort William, Calcutta (Trivedi and Bartholomeusz 2005, 14). The army was more influential in the smaller settlements of Bombay and Madras, and hence their theatres were more dependent on the energies of the officers of the army. The need for entertainment was urgent in the expatriate context, and soon army cantonments opened their own theatres, for example the Dum Dum Theatre near Calcutta and one at Matoonga, the army camp near Bombay.

The *Memoirs* (1873) of Joachim Hayward Stocqueler (1801–1886), actor, soldier and journalist, offer detailed first-hand accounts of the growth and development of army theatricals in Bombay and Calcutta

as well as of the persons involved and their motivations. Stocqueler enlisted in the army as a soldier after failing to obtain a cadetship and arrived in Bombay in 1819. He notes in his *Memoirs* that soldiers had no recourse to libraries in those days, so for them 'the most popular form of entertainment was the theatre', and provides evidence of the ingenuity expended by the soldiers for its provision.

> A pretty little edifice had been raised by the officers out of the slender material available at Matoonga [where the regiment was garrisoned]. Bamboo walls, columns of the cocoa-nut palm, a thatched roof composed of the leaves of that useful tree, the whole of the edifice excepting the outer roof being either whitewashed or its simple substances connected by pink and white calico tastefully disposed, presented a beautiful interior. The building was oblong, and divided into boxes — in reality stalls — and rows of seats behind them without backs or cushions; there was an orchestra, a classical proscenium, and a stage 15 feet broad by 20 feet deep. We acted farces. (Stocqueler 1873, 38)

He further lets us glimpse the larger attractions of the theatre:

> The performances on the whole were not bad, and were loudly applauded by the audience, which consisted of the *élite* of [British] Bombay society — the staff and civilians — who readily accepted invitations to the theatre, because the entertainment was invariably supplemented by a ball and supper in the mess-room of the officers. The band was a very good one, and the caterer for the mess understood his *métier*. (1873, 40)

Hence, he goes on to observe, there was 'a good deal of competition among the gunners for engagements in dramatic recreations' — since they would be retained at Matoonga as clerks and not sent up country. 'Two sources of advancement were open to steady soldiers', Stocqueler announces, 'to be a Scotchman or an actor insured a man promotion' (1873, 40). His own theatre upbringing and education stood him in good stead and he rose steadily through the ranks.

Stocqueler's memoirs also tell us about the kind of plays that were being staged. When he moved to Calcutta in 1833, as editor of *The Englishman*, he played Cassius, Iago, Falstaff and Tartuffe along with other lighter roles. Stocqueler was a rare amateur who performed in the presidencies of both Bombay and Calcutta. When the flourishing

Chowringhee theatre in Calcutta burnt down in 1839, he took the initiative to raise subscriptions and to arrange for some actresses, 'general utility' actors and a scene-painter from England to set up the new Sans Souci theatre in 1841. Thus there is clear evidence that the English army in India was not only instrumental in beginning and organising theatre for recreation, but also became a conduit for its further development.

Stocqueler's *Memoirs* further recount how the army served as a virtual nursery for histrionic talent. The most well-known and gifted actress of this period, Esther Leach, was the daughter of an English soldier, Mr Flatman, born (1809) and bred in India. She was married to a non-commissioned officer, John Leach, a widower. Stocqueler tells us that her scholastic training, from Corporal Paddy Flinn, the regimental pedagogue (who could only have qualified for a degree in the manufacture of whisky punch!) at Berhampore, may not have been of a high order, but that it developed her 'natural aptitude for getting pieces by heart'. She had distinguished herself as a child in *Tom Thumb* and *Little Pickel* in army shows, and so charmed were the officers that they presented her with a copy of Shakespeare. This was a turning point for her, remarks Stocqueler:

> She became a devotee of the mighty bard, and thenceforth devoured everything in the shape of dramatic poetry and prose which happily came in her way. Her fame travelled to Calcutta, and she, nothing loth, accepted an engagement at the Chowringhee theatre. This necessitated her husband's transfer to Fort William as garrison serjeant-major. He was not the first man who owed his advancement to his wife. (1873, 91–2)

Esther Leach, we are told, was

> singularly gifted. Extremely pretty, very intelligent, modest, and amiable, possessing a musical voice and good taste, she adapted herself to all the requirements of the drama. The *ingénue* and the *soubrette*, the leading parts in such plays as *Othello*, the *Wife*, the *Hunchback*, and the *Lady of Lyons*, the highest flights in comedy, the pantomimic action [...] were all alike to this clever child of nature. (Stocqueler 1873, 91)

Esther Leach can be seen as the first professional actress of colonial India. The peak period of the Chowringhee theatre (1826–38) did not just coincide with her term there; it was largely created by her. For

eleven years she was the acknowledged queen of the 'Calcutta Drury', the cachet legitimating her as a serious histrionic talent. Critics also called her the 'Siddons of Bengal', and while the sobriquet underlines the close replication of metropolitan London entertainment in peripheral Calcutta, in this particular case it is important to point out that unlike Stocqueler, who grew up watching from the wings in Drury Lane, London (his grandmother was an opera singer), this talent was entirely 'home grown' in Bengal, India, and came to the stage via the English army. The career of Esther Leach, born, bred and wedded into the English army stationed in Bengal, is critical in the estimation of garrison theatre; with her undoubted charm and talent she enhanced the popularity and the prestige of the early English theatre in Calcutta, and paved the way for its professionalisation. Significantly, her successes also cleared the way for Indian actresses to follow.

The army further played a crucial part in what may be seen as the most significant event of amateur theatricals in Calcutta, the staging of *Othello* with an Indian actor, Baishnav Charan Auddy, in the leading role, playing opposite Mrs Anderson, daughter of Esther Leach, as Desdemona in 1848. All of Calcutta was 'agog', to quote the *Calcutta Star*, to see 'a real unpainted nigger' (Raha 1980, 10) perform in the English theatre for the first time. The opening night, however, was aborted when many of the players, lieutenants from the brigade at Dum Dum, failed to report for the show because, as was learned later, their commanding officer forbade them to leave the station, not relishing the novelty of an Indian actor performing with a white actress. The play was ultimately staged but without the army amateur actors. Some of them, however, made their presence felt, as reported by the *The Bengal Harkaru* (19 August 1848, 193–4), by booing and disrupting the performance.[5] English education (offered since 1817 with the founding of Hindu College) and the presence of amateur theatricals had created a taste for theatre and performance among the Indian elite. They had established their own private theatres and had put on productions, for example in 1831 at the residence of Prasanna Kumar Tagore. Baishnav Charan Auddy's *Othello* at the Sans Souci was however the first and last known instance of Indians and the English performing together.

The early phase of English theatricals in India ends with professionalisation, with more paid than amateur performers. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, visiting companies become more frequent and a number of new theatres were built in Calcutta to accommodate them. Entertainment by professionals thus became the rule rather than the exception, especially in the three colonial cities of Calcutta, Bombay

and Madras. After this amateur theatricals are to be found more in the smaller towns, again facilitated through the army.

The Spread of English Theatre

After the 1857 war of independence (called the Sepoy Mutiny in colonial history) and the subsequent increase in the strength of the army, many more cantonments were built to house its regiments, especially in several towns of north India. And with these, theatres for the entertainment of the troops were also built in every town or cantonment. Beginning from Calcutta, spreading right along the Gangetic Plain, up to the north as far as Umballa and stretching to Mhow in the west, a string of theatres were founded, which provided an excellent touring circuit for the travelling companies of players too. The south was also dotted with new army camps with their mandatory theatres. The coming of the railways beginning in 1853, with the Calcutta–Bombay connection established in 1870 and lines in many parts of the country from 1880, further facilitated the spread of Western-style entertainment beyond the three major cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.[6]

Clear evidence of the army garrisons continuing to serve as generators of theatre and entertainment during the later phase of colonisation is to be found in the Wonnacott collection of personal papers (British Library, IOL MSS Eur C 376/3). William Wonnacott was a schoolmaster with the King's Regiment who was posted in north India from 1871 to 1878. He could speak French and had a talent for singing too; hence he was put in charge of organising the entertainments for the regiment. His letters home have an autobiographical candidness and give a detailed and felt account of his activities. Stationed at Cawnpore from about November 1872 to September 1873, he tells us about the many theatrical performances he organised and took part in along with officers and their 'ladies', and how enjoyable and pleasurable they were. When the regiment marched up to Chakrata in the hills, there too he took part in concerts and performances, even going to other hill-stations like Mussoorie to perform in concerts. He was also given the additional responsibility of leading the regimental band practice. A letter of 3 May 1875 notes his increasing burdens in the entertainment sphere:

> We got up a theatrical performance to amuse him [the general on annual inspection]. The work of these affairs devolves upon me and I have often to be artist, author, player, costumier and general manager in one. This work is no part of my duty, but I undertake it to please

> the Colonel, who fancies there is no one in the Regiment who can do these things as I do.

When the regiment moved further north to Peshawar in 1876 and the viceroy, Lord Lytton, was expected to visit the station, we are told that

> The Quarter Master General here has asked me to take part in a theatrical performance to be given before his Excellency. I am to do 'Cox' in the operetta of 'Cox and Box', an old farce set to some capital music by Arthur Sullivan. Captain Lindsay, of the 8th Bengal Cavalry, is to play 'Box' to my 'Cox'. (Letter, 30 October 1876)

After the performance, we hear (12 December 1876): 'We were complimented generally in a telegram to the *Pioneer* [...] I was so personally when Sir F.P. Haines visited my school. [...] The Commander in Chief asked us to play again; he was so delighted with the performance.' In 1877 the regiment had moved east to Kasauli, another hill-station, but Wonnacott's labours continued. In September 1877 he got together a superior class of show, 'Musical and Reading Entertainment', at the Depot Theatre in which parts of *Hamlet* were read along with solo, chorus, glee and trio singing from Rossini, Verdi, Sullivan, Schubert and others. On the way back to England, the ship camped at Aden and again he organised concerts and entertained with his singing. 'I was in capital voice and sang "Sweethearts" quite to please myself [...] The Colonel was very pleased and wishes for another already' (letter, 10 March 1878). The Wonnacott collection is thus one of those rare archives of army life in colonial India which allows a glimpse of the inner life in the army; in doing so it reveals the engagement with theatre in the army to be not just for entertainment but also a duty and means of social advancement whereby the officers proved themselves to their superiors. Performance must also have been a solace for William, whose wife had died in 1871 in childbirth at Nuseerabad and who then had to send his young son away to England. He himself died at sea on the boat when returning home in October 1878.

The Cuppage collection (British Library, IOL MSS Eur B418) of programmes, broadsides and newspaper cuttings of concerts, variety entertainments and theatricals engaged in by Mrs Cuppage and Major Willie Adam Cuppage of the army, posted in India from 1881 to 1905, is more substantial and is entirely concerned with performative activities. It provides material evidence of the many towns and theatres in which these events were held, allowing us to trace and locate a performative arc

across north India which has been largely forgotten. Since many of these shows, we can note, took place not only in army precincts but in civilian areas and were witnessed not only by other Europeans but also by elite Indians, they acquire a larger critical significance in documenting exposure to Western staging practice for Indians. From 1890 up to 1904 fifty-two programmes are collected of shows, in most of which the Cuppages were the leading participants. They were a talented duo gifted with singing and musical abilities and hence were much in demand. They participated in a range of shows: concerts with solo or group singing, variety entertainments, operettas like *Cox and Box* and *San Toy* — the evergreen favourites — comedies, farces, melodramas and musical burlesques. Their performances were listed as taking place in a large number of what are now bustling towns of the north, providing an invaluable record of the locations for performance, which are almost all pulled down. They performed at the South Wales Borderers Theatre, Ranikhet, on 20 June 1890 and at the St John in the Wilderness Church at Nainital, in the hills, on 17 July 1890. In Lucknow a number of performances were held: at Chutter Manzil on 28 November, 11 December and 20 December 1890 and 12 March 1891; at Mahomed Bagh Theatre on 19 March, 22 June and 20 August 1891 and 18 January, 16 February and 27 November 1892; at the Scottish Rifles Theatre on 6 October 1891 and at the Station Library on 5 January 1892. The Cuppages also performed at the Railway Institute, Allahabad, on 4 and 29 November 1892 and at Station Theatre, Sangor, on 22 June 1894. The largest record is of the several places of performance in Simla: Lawries Hotel, 13 August 1894, Town Hall, 21 February and 17 June 1895, Yates Place, 28 June 1895, and Gaiety Theatre, 15 March–September 1895, May–June 1898 and July 1899. Performances at other smaller towns with a significant military presence are also recorded, for instance at the R.A. Theatre, Roorkee, in December 1901 and at Meerut in 1904. The Rink Theatre in Mussoorie, another hill-station for the summer retreat, saw performances from May to September 1904. These shows were promoted by colourful and ornate triple folded programmes, showing that the playgoing habit had caught on by now and the ADCs were not starved of funds.

The Cuppages made their debut in a production at the Gaiety in Simla, the acme of the amateur English actor in India, in 1894–95 in the play *Women's Wrongs*. Their thespian status and success were further confirmed with their inclusion in the one and only Shakespeare play performed there, albeit a burlesque, *The Merry Merchant of Venice*, in June 1898 at the Gaiety, with the then Captain Cuppage playing Lorenzo and

Mrs Cuppage, Nerissa (see Trivedi 2012). Mrs Cuppage attained greater heights when she played the lead in *San Toy* at the Rink, Mussoorie, on 9–14 September 1904 and was complimented with a gift by no less than the Maharajah of Kapurthala. The whole collection comprises an invaluable record of amateur theatricals under the aegis of the army at the high noon of the empire, their schedules, repertoires and successes. It forms a prism through which the full scope and value of theatre in the socio-political spectrum of the colonial period is revealed. A little-known theatre archaeology is recovered: apart from the Gaiety in Simla, most of these theatres, in all these many towns, have either been demolished or converted into cinemas. Though the Cuppage collection is related only to towns in north India, it is possible to extrapolate the existence of similar theatrical activity in cantonments all around the country.

The apotheosis of garrison theatre, however, is indeed the Gaiety Theatre in Simla, the summer capital of the Raj. Built in 1887, after the Gaiety Bombay (1879) and as part of the larger superstructure of the Town Hall, which also housed a library, reading rooms, a ballroom and a police station, it was a symbol of civic authority and imperial pride. Theatrical activity had begun in Simla as early as 1838, first at the residences of the viceroy and commander in chief and then in a makeshift kind of theatre at the Royal Hotel. Since this was situated in a distinctly lower middle-class *Indian* section of the town, special effort was made to include a new theatre in the development of the Town Hall complex. With its own custom-built theatre the ADC flourished; in 1888 it was instituted as a kind of joint stock company with twenty members, which grew to 300 by 1936 (Denyer 1937, 18).

More than anywhere else in British India, theatricals came to occupy a seminal role in this small hill resort founded as a home away from home, a British town in the Himalayas, the 'other' — summer — capital of India. It rapidly grew to become the social capital of British India too. The need to devise amusements was all the more intense here; it was a place where 'work and play were inextricably mixed up' (*The Statesman*, 13 July 1913). It is no surprise then to find that Simla was called 'the Mecca of amateur actors in the East' (Newnham-Davis 1898, 221) and its ADC was considered 'the most famous, the oldest and best equipped amateur club in the world' (Denyer 1937, 19). The peak was reached in 1896 when twenty-six plays were performed in the season, with a new play each week. The repertoire, incidentally, was mainly musical comedy, melodrama, farce and burlesque, with little serious drama and only one Shakespeare play, that too in a burlesque adaptation.

Here the army had a far closer involvement with the theatre than at any other location in India. Not only did the aides-de-camp and the captains perform enthusiastically; the commander general patronised and (in the case of General Morton) occasionally performed, and during the time of the Afghan wars (1878–80), when theatre activity was at a low and two years' rent was due, Lord Bailey Beresford, military secretary to the viceroy, took on the burden of running the theatre (Buck 1904, 138). The connection with the army continued thereafter; indeed, after independence in 1947 the theatre and its premises were handed over to the independent Indian army. The lounge of the Gaiety, after elaborate restoration, is today maintained as a select club called the 'The Greenroom'; the theatre is under the entertainment wing of the army, which has elected to keep the name 'Simla ADC', and it continues to be let out for performances and musical nights. The Gaiety and the Simla ADC hold the record not just for the longest surviving English theatre in India, but also for an unbroken continuity of performance.

The theatre in British India was largely supported by officialdom, though some like Lord Cornwallis frowned upon it, and an occasional tirade against this 'satanic' pastime was also heard from the church. It was consciously promoted not only as entertainment but also as a site of showcasing culture and therefore a means of education for the Indians. In a speech made at the opening of the Sans Souci theatre on 6 March 1841, Sir John Peter Grant, judge of the Supreme Court, remarked that he attended the theatre as much from 'a sense of public duty as from the motives of private entertainment' and that he looked upon drama in a well-organised stage as 'a great instrument of civilization and refinement and hoped that this new theatre would prove much benefit to the society at large' (*Asiatic Journal*, May 1841). Even though some elite Indians and later clerks and students learning English would be part of the audiences in Calcutta, theatre was largely an English preserve; at the Simla Gaiety, under the patronage of the viceroy, it was doubly so. However, as noted earlier, middle-class Indians were attracted to and immensely influenced by 'play acting' of the realist Western style right from the beginning and aspired to start their own theatres in imitation of the English, opening them in Calcutta (1873) and Bombay (1846). Officialdom in Simla encouraged amateur theatre among the Indian officers of the civil service, but in their *own* dramatic clubs. Such was the passion for theatre that within the three years up to 1926 ten Indian ADCs were established in Simla. Conflict arose when they all wanted legitimation in the exclusive performative space of the Gaiety. The denial of rehearsal and

performance at the Gaiety for Indian groups created political tension in Simla and was settled only by a municipal diktat in 1927 (see Trivedi 2007a). In contrast to the earlier moment of Indian–English face-off during the 1848 *Othello* production at Calcutta, the ADC of the Gaiety in Simla was forced to cede to Indian demands — a sign of the growing freedom movement. Theatre, like all art, has the potential to subvert from within.

Colonial Pasts and Post-Colonial Futures: Assessing the Value of Early English Theatre in India

This brief narrative of the people and places associated with the English army in colonial India was undertaken not only to recover bare facts but to also try to enter into the historical imaginaries of the players and performers involved. But it would not receive its full shape without my pointing out that most writing about English theatre in the colonial period, especially by Westerners, is marked by the invisibility of the local. Further, there is a polarisation of perspective: both Indian critics (as referred to at the start of this chapter) and Western critics speak from a narrowly defined, isolating, subjective position. While Indian histories of theatre give short shrift to the abiding impact of Western staging practice, Western accounts display a disregard for and an ignorance of the Indian contexts. The theatre, the army, the government secretariat, the very homes were supported by a vast staff of Indian workers, conscripts, clerks and servants who were essential to their existence. As Pamela Kanwar, in her history of Simla, has pointed out, 'it required, even in the nineteenth century, a total Indian population of over 85% (29,048 of 33,174 in 1898) to sustain the British illusion [...] of Simla [...] as a miniscule England' (Kanwar 1990, 2). English accounts of early Western theatre in India eulogise the narrow superstructure but ignore the wide base.

As shown in this essay, the Indian middle class were so deeply influenced by the theatrical activities of the English army that a new modern Indian theatre and practice were developed, based almost entirely on the Western model with proscenium, scenery, lights, curtain, acting, make-up and costuming styles, strong characterisation and five-act structure, in direct contrast to traditional theatre forms. Deserted by the aristocracy and the middle class, traditional Indian theatre declined and lost its skills. Today, the traditional practitioners are supported by some governmental subsidy, but, as has been repeatedly proved in theatre history, theatre loses its vibrancy when its audience diminishes.

As to why this 'craze' for Western theatricals developed, there may be several answers. G.P. Deshpande, playwright and post-colonial critic, has argued that apart from imperial hegemony and mimicry, the interest displayed by Indians in English literature and theatre was compensatory for their loss of political power: that colonialism provoked a contradictory spectrum of responses and that through literature and theatre, Indians were trying to find an identity and assert themselves (Deshpande 2006, 11–36). Hence it was never a slavish mimicry; rather it should be seen as an appropriation of an alternate mode of being and role-playing. Modern Indian drama and theatre practice have always incorporated aspects of the indigenous with the Western, for example song and dance in realist drama — something which has become a trademark, being transferred to Bollywood films. The new realist theatre was also deployed as a vehicle of political protest: many of the earliest plays written and performed in several Indian languages were protest plays speaking out overtly or covertly against colonial oppression. When the protest became openly satirical the British government had to promulgate the Dramatic Performances Act in 1876 to institute censorship of the stage — a law which continues to exist even today, giving a handle to political powers to control and subdue free expression on stage. Tobias Becker's recent article 'Entertaining the Empire: Theatrical Touring Companies and Amateur Theatricals in Colonial India' rightly points out how theatre in the imperial context provided a means of contact and consolidation for the expatriate communities, enhancing their sense of identity and even unifying the empire. He also notes how most Indians were excluded from this theatre but appropriated its practices to create their own. However, his final assessment of theatre in colonial India, 'Rather than bridging the divides between cultures, it was a way to express and to perform them' (Becker 2014, 725), stops short and seems like a throwback into a colonialist position. It is, at best, only partially tenable because it is based on select evidence which eschews the indigenous sphere. It does not go beyond the immediate to evaluate the continuing impact of Western theatre in India — like cricket and English literature too — as a permanent legacy of the colonial encounter. Shanta Gokhale has stated the double-edgedness of the situation succinctly: 'English theatre thus occupies the dialectical position of being both the impulse and the repulse — a model to be both emulated and abjured' (Gokhale 1995, 209).

Thus the army and its affiliates during the colonial period had a foundational role in creating and promoting playing and play-going culture of the Western kind, especially through the setting up of theatres in

small towns all over India. Amateur performance, again a Western form, the popularisation of which was greatly facilitated by the army, continues to form the backbone of interest in theatre in India today. Given the lack of a professional theatre in most areas (it is found mainly in Mumbai), most actors function under the category of 'amateur professionals': those who do not earn their living by theatre, but devote all their spare time to it. Post-colonial theatre historiography needs to be alert to the layered complexity of a culture wherein colonial pasts and post-colonial futures are connected by a history of power in which the theatre is not innocent.

Notes

1. Hemendra Nath Das Gupta's compendious *The Indian Stage* (2002, first published 1944–46) devotes one volume out of four to English theatre but contains little analysis. Sudipto Chatterjee's 2007 *The Colonial Staged: Theatre in Colonial Calcutta* has a chapter and discussion on English theatres, but is confined to Bengal.
2. The first known performance by Indians (apart from students) of a Western play in Western style was of scenes from *Julius Caesar* in English by Prasanna Kumar Tagore in 1831.
3. For example see Bratton (1991); Gainor (1995). Michael Dobson's *Shakespeare and Amateur Performance: A Cultural History* (2011) has a section on amateur performance by servicemen.
4. For the British Indian army see Duckers (2003) and Heathcote (1995) among many others.
5. See my essay '"Haply, for I am Black": The Colour of Indian Re-Visions of *Othello*' (unpublished).
6. One of the earliest and longest-performing entertainers was Dave Carson, who utilised this touring circuit to its full capacity with his troupe of black-face minstrels. See Trivedi (2007b).

7

Facing the Face of the Other

The Case of the Nia Centre

Claire Cochrane

In 1991 the Nia Centre for African and Caribbean Culture opened in Manchester, in the inner city area of Hulme. Not only was it exceptional as the first large-scale, black-led arts centre in Europe; it was also notable that such an ambitious artistic venture linked to a black community should come to fruition in a regional city rather than in London. Nia was established in a refurbished Grade II-listed Edwardian theatre, where the contemporary structural features and striking colour scheme of the interior design harmonised with the historic origins of the building to produce a dynamic and celebratory visual expression of African cultural heritage. Created to present and promote performances by black artists of national and international repute, the project was the result of £1.3 million investment and twenty years of local community activity. Within six years, however, the good will and optimism which had driven the founding vision proved unequal to rapidly emerging obstacles to success. The dream collapsed. Nia ceased trading and closed its doors in 1997.

The building which housed Nia still stands, and traces of what happened are retained in living memory. But such is the paucity of accessible documentation and testimony that an institution set up to engender a stronger sense of collective identity and self-worth in the context of wider marginalisation and negative perceptions has effectively vanished from history. What, judged by the aesthetic and social values implicit in my brief opening account, was a historical event of some importance has been reduced to little more than a handful of passing references to a now obscure name. In trying, albeit tentatively, to construct a more substantive history for Nia I have embarked on what I consider to be an ethical act of recovery. My 'ardour', to quote Edith

Wyschogrod, 'for those others in whose name there is a felt urgency to speak' (2004, 28) has to become the more moderate historian's empathy. But I would also have to argue that that empathy — feeling the pain of the past — has to be further constrained in order to achieve the interpretive understanding necessary to achieve at least some purchase on the truth of what happened.

In the case of failure there are very particular challenges. Does, for example, identifying the causes of failure carry the responsibility or indeed 'duty' to attribute blame? What are the consequences of that both for the putative culpable individuals and authorities *and* for the historian? My task in this essay is to mediate between multiple subject positions and navigate a path through sparsely preserved documents and personal recollections which tell partial truths, often from radically different perspectives. Silence and absence — especially that imposed through such deontological rule-based constraints as those represented by data protection legislation — make the speculation necessary for any act of historical recovery more than usually risky. Interpretive understanding deployed to shape evidence may still emerge as bias. A consequentialist viewpoint might well decide that if truth brings more pain it is better left unsaid. Indeed witnesses, here as elsewhere, can shift uneasily between egoism and altruism as they contemplate damage to the interests of either themselves or those associated with them. The historian needs the trust of her or his interlocutors. At the same time, however, it is ethically necessary to be aware of Allan Megill's warning that 'In history, as in any enterprise of truth-seeking, we are dealing with a work, an *ergon* [original emphasis], that is not reducible to an interest-serving machine' (Megill 2004, 63).

In seeking to clarify, but, he emphasises, not simplify the tasks of historical enquiry (Postlewait 2009, 225) Thomas Postlewait distinguishes between the 'endogenous features of a theatrical event' and 'the encompassing or exogenous conditions that directly and indirectly contributed to the event's manifest identity and intelligibility' (2009, 233). Thinking in these terms about the establishment of Nia as an 'event' which but for a complex and ultimately debilitating set of factors might have gone on to make a significant intervention in the ecology of regional black arts provision offers some assistance in the process of interpretive understanding. The evidential sources for the endogenous may be found in oral testimony, which itself varies from the anecdotal to more conscious witness statements, brief academic summaries, newspaper-generated recollections and commentary, a limited selection of community arts and Nia-specific programmes and even more

sparse formal business records: small pieces in a puzzle that can never be whole. The exogenous, however, contributes larger factors which, imbricated with the endogenous, permit a measured speculation on causation and the actions of individual agents: the broader national and local socio-political context which impacted on economic conditions and urban planning; institutional power structures within the arts; intercultural relations both historically and in the immediate moment of Nia's inception; perhaps above all the assumptions and misconceptions arising from the discourse of difference. For me as a historian this raises the overriding ethical dilemma which concerns the lived reality of the concept of the 'other'.

The Face

In his 1983 essay 'From the One to the Other: Transcendence and Time', Emmanuel Levinas sets out how 'the facing of the face of the other', which is necessary in order to repair the harm caused by the Enlightenment preoccupation with the fulfilment of the self, has to begin from before the personal experience of time. It is:

> accepting a past that cannot be reduced to the present, that seems to signify in the ethical antecedence of responsibility-for-another-person, without reference to my identity guaranteed its right. Here I am, in this rejected responsibility thrown back toward someone who has never been in my power, or in my freedom, toward someone who doesn't come into my memory. An ethical significance of a past which concerns me, which 'has to do with' me, which is 'my business' outside all reminiscence, all retention, all representation, all reference to a recalled presence. A significance in ethics of a pure past irreducible to my present, and thus, of an originating past. (Levinas 2006, 129)

To deal ethically with the other, then, is to encounter a past that does not offer the reassurance of legitimising constructs within which successive generations of human society have given the self its sense of identity. The face 'signifying from the outset from beyond the plastic forms which do not cease covering it like a mask' (Levinas 2006, 125) is anterior to the signifiers of physical difference.

Such a profound appeal to 'an ethics beyond all ethics' challenges at the most fundamental level any rationale for social organisation based on difference. However, as a Lithuanian-born Jew whose family was

decimated in the Nazi Holocaust, Levinas was well aware of the universal atavistic desire to marginalise or subjugate those others whose existence constitutes an apparent deviation from, or threat to, the sense of identity authorised by the dominant group. When 'otherness' is predicated on theories of racial difference, such as the nineteenth-century scientifically developed hierarchies of 'natural' superiority or inferiority, then it becomes the means by which imperial ambition and colonial appropriation may be legitimised. In the British context in the late twentieth century and now in the twenty-first century, the visible legacy of what was a global empire could be seen in the rapidly expanding communities of British citizens 'of colour', each embodying historic memories of abduction, slavery and subjugation. The human face with its differently pigmented skin tones is at all times physically present.

Levinas conceived of a 'face' behind the 'mask' of physical facial features. But as the Martinique-born psychiatrist Frantz Fanon memorably demonstrated in his 1951 essay 'The Fact of Blackness' with its chilling opening '"Dirty Nigger!" Or simply, "Look, a Negro"' (1952, 82):

> not only must the black man be black, he must be black in relation to the white man [...] The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man [...] His metaphysics, or less pretentiously, his customs and the sources on which they were based, were wiped out because they were in conflict with a civilization that he did not know and that imposed itself on him. (Fanon 1952, 83)

As I have emphasised elsewhere, the imposition and wiping-out process have, until comparatively recently in performance history, resulted in making the all-too-visible effectively invisible in the historical record (Cochrane 2011, 224). By and large, general surveys of British theatre simply omitted to mention the attempts by black artists to establish a strong, creative presence within the theatre industry. A great deal has changed in the past decade, with a growing number of scholars working to redress the balance.[1] But the methodological obstacles remain daunting, especially in relation to the untold stories of regional, community-oriented activity, where there is a scarcity of even basic archival documentation. What survives deep in emotional memory has left little in the way of surviving physical relics, apart, perhaps, from the human participants. And if the ultimate goal is to tell the truth about failure, the human agents can fall silent.

However, the ethical challenge in recovering this history goes deeper than that, and it concerns my own position as a researcher and teller

of this tale. The pigmentation of my skin is 'white'. In relation to skin colour as a marker of identity I am therefore, as the sociologist Salman Sayyid puts it, 'unmarked', 'colourless', and as a result have a biologically indelible advantage when self-identifying (Sayyid 2004, 149). Sayyid argues that ethnic minorities of colour cannot choose their designation: they cannot have a self-ascribed identity. It is thus futile to point out, as does Bhikhu Parekh, that white ethnicity is far from homogeneous (2000, xxiii): that in the British context, its 'indigenous' citizens such as myself are products of multiple migratory waves embodying many different 'ethnicities' or cultural traditions. In 2000 Stuart Hall bitterly asked when 'Britishness' as a category has '*ever* [my emphasis] connoted anything but "whiteness"' (2000, 222).

Hall's rhetorical question appears in the conclusion which he wrote to a collection of essays edited by the sociologist Barnor Hesse which, under the title *Un/settled Multiculturalisms*, reconsidered the social, political and intellectual meanings of multiculturalism in the West, especially in Britain. While even now, fifteen years later, Hall's exegesis still has powerful relevance for continuing debates, in 2000, the year in which Nia legally ceased to exist, the mentalité he interrogated formed, I would argue, a key component in the exogenous conditions which encompassed the Nia project.

Hall disentangles and elucidates the contested meanings of 'race' and 'ethnicity', beginning with the categorical statement that 'conceptually "race" is not a scientific category':

> 'Race' is a political and social construct. It is the organizing discursive category around which has been constructed a system of socio-economic power, exploitation and exclusion — i.e. racism. However, as a discursive practice, racism has its own 'logic' [...] It claims to ground the social and cultural differences which legitimate racialized exclusion in genetic and biological differences: i.e. in Nature. (Hall 2000, 222–3)

'Ethnicity' however 'generates a discourse where difference is grounded in *cultural and religious* features' (Hall 2000, 223, original emphasis). But Hall warns against a simplistic binary opposition which assumes that concepts of cultural difference mitigate against the deterministic and unchangeable rigidities of race. 'Biological racism privileges markers like skin colour, but those signifiers have always been used by discursive extension, to connote social and cultural differences [...] those who are stigmatized on ethnic grounds, because they are "culturally different"

and therefore inferior, are often *also* characterized as physically different in significant ways' (2000, 223, original emphasis). He goes on to list the differences associated with 'blackness', which include laziness, lower intellectual capacity, lack of self-control, propensity for violence and so on. If this is the case then notwithstanding the rejection of race as a fixed biological category, the cultural assumptions produce deterministic effects: lethal effects when more generalised social inequality and economic deprivation are factored in. But even when liberally modified, these assumptions can mean that the power relations between 'white' and 'black' become 'naturally' skewed. Moreover very recent scholarship on what has been termed 'the racial empathy gap' has presented evidence which calls into question the extent to which the white liberal empathetic capacity is sufficient to comprehend the lived experience inside the black skin (Gutsell and Inzlicht 2012; Trawalter, Hoffman and Waytz 2012; Silverstein 2013). The psychological trauma described by Frantz Fanon more than sixty years ago was undoubtedly felt by the black migrant families who settled in British cities in the 1950s and 1960s. It was the continuing effects of this, especially on second and third generations, which the founders of Nia sought to mitigate through their engagement with culturally specific art forms. I am writing this essay in 2015, at a time when widely publicised reports of discriminatory actions ranging from white-on-black physical brutality and racist abuse to more subtle forms of exclusionary behaviour in sport and the arts have been prominent in the public sphere on both sides of the Atlantic and within Europe. Seen in this light, examining the history of Nia becomes an ethical responsibility for those who share my own time. I am, to put it in Jörn Rüsen's terms, 'responsible for identity, i.e. a balanced connection between the experience of the past and the expectations of the future in the relationships that persons and groups have among themselves and to others' (2004, 197–8).

The Purpose

The Nia Centre was located in Hulme, on the border of Manchester's Moss Side area. A brief entry in the *Companion to Contemporary Black British Culture* states that the name 'Nia' was taken from the Ki-Swahili word meaning 'purpose' (Warner 2002, 220). The entry emphasises the aspirational complexity of the term 'Nia', which denotes one of a set of seven principles known as 'Ngusa Saba' which expound the virtues of purpose, unity, self-determination, work and responsibility, economics, faith and creativity. The plan was to create a versatile performance space

offering a range of art forms where these virtues could be embodied and practised. The Grade II-listed Hulme Playhouse adapted for this purpose had first opened in 1902 as the Hulme Hippodrome and was physically connected to the 1901 Grand Junction Theatre and Floral Hall, which later (and confusingly) was renamed the Hippodrome (Earl and Sell 2000, 154). Between 1956 and 1987 the Playhouse was used by the BBC for recording radio and television shows with live audiences. At this point the BBC, as owners looking for an alternative recording base, offered the Playhouse to the Nia Group, which had been formed in 1985 from members of the Moss Side Arts Group (Bennett 1987, 11).

The architectural designs for the Nia refurbishment aimed to create a high-quality flexible venue which simultaneously preserved the building's listed status and provided a modern structure at the back of the stage for office space and meeting and workshop facilities. With a potential audience capacity of 1000, fixed seating on the upper two levels of the auditorium overlooked the ground floor that could be opened up as a dance floor and where seating could be fixed or arranged in club style. There were three bars and African and Caribbean catering included 'silver service' for club nights. The diversity of artistic product was reflected in the first season, launched in April 1991, which also firmly aligned black British music, dance and theatre with exponents of African and African-American art and culture. Sally Mugabe from the Zimbabwean High Commission officiated at the opening ceremony. Later in the launch week an 'Expressions of Black Woman'-themed evening brought together the celebrated African-American singer Nina Simone and Marta Vega, the Puerto Rican-heritage founder of the Caribbean Cultural Centre in New York, with the three black British members of 'The Women's Troop', an offshoot of the Black Mime Company, performing their first play *Mothers*.[2]

Nia provided a touring venue for black theatre companies — Talawa Theatre Company, Black Theatre Co-operative, Blue Mountain Theatre, African Peoples Theatre, African Players, Open Door Theatre, Umoja Theatre — but it was about more than theatre. Established as an arts centre where theatre was to be experienced in synergy with other art forms, it joined what had become an extensive, UK-wide model of building-based performance provision which could combine professional and amateur, participatory and audience-driven policies. As I have suggested elsewhere, at the grass-roots level, theatre performance within this cross-art-form model could potentially adapt more readily to a greater range of environmental circumstances (Cochrane 2011, 249–50). It could also be more flexibly inclusive of popular performance practice

that aligned more comfortably with established community preferences, with facilities for classes and workshops in a range of art forms. The white spaces of British theatre venues were not seen as hospitable. Indeed one feature of white-led managerial attempts to entice black audiences to attend culturally specific arts product during this period was the visible reluctance of the target communities to respond (Cochrane 2006, 157).

The financial problems came early. As a limited company, Nia was technically insolvent by the end of the first year,[3] but survived with relatively high levels of grant aid from the Arts Council of Great Britain, the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities and the regional arts board, North West Arts. In 1995 it closed temporarily before reopening with a broader multicultural remit. In 1997, however, the company was put into liquidation, and it was formally dissolved in 2000. The original conjoined theatres still stand, the larger Hippodrome in a particularly bad state of internal repair, while what was Nia, its distinctive red, black and green (pan-African colours) signage painted over, was rescued in 2012 by the Fountain Gate Chapel for Christian worship. Where there was once a car park for the centre there is now the endearingly ramshackle Hulme Community Garden Centre (see Figure 7.1). The bus stop outside the garden centre still bears the name of Nia.

Figure 7.1 The site of the Nia Centre, 2014. Author's photograph

Apart from the entry in *Companion to Contemporary Black British Culture*, which is just over 200 words long, there is one other account readily available in the public domain. This is on the website 'Acts of Achievement', flagged as Manchester's first online Black History trail and intended 'to be simply a journey of remembrance' through significant locations of importance in black community culture. Nia is marked on a simple sketch map of Hulme. Recorded as created 'through the determination of local people', it was intended to inaugurate a 'new era of showcasing the global culture of Black people through the performing arts'. The reasons given for the withdrawal of public funding and eventual closure identify pressures to cease operating caused by the regeneration of Hulme itself. This included the building of a new housing estate in close proximity ('Acts of Achievement: Hulme Black History Trail' n.d.).

Pawlet Warner, who wrote the entry for the *Companion* and, as I subsequently discovered, was as a young graduate employed as the marketing manager for Nia, gives other reasons which serve to 'thicken' causation. There was, she argues in that entry, 'negative propaganda of the media about the Moss Side and Hulme areas of Manchester' which created recruitment, programming and funding problems. But she also links this failure to others. 'Like most black arts organisations, it was doomed to a series of crisis situations due to the project growing faster than the development of the board of directors and professional staff at its disposal' (Warner 2002, 220). So while these two black perspectives on Nia both stress the exogenous factors of the unfavourable conditions created by the external environment, Warner's *Companion* entry seems also to suggest that — in the 1990s at least — an attempt to develop a model of autonomous black-led arts provision was 'doomed' because of some sort of *inherent* collective weakness which fatally disabled organisational capacity.

Subaltern Homes

My work on Nia has its origins in research conducted in 2006 on the opportunities for black British and British Asian theatre-makers in my home city of Birmingham, which perhaps points to wider exogenous institutional factors across the UK theatre sector. In 2006 I went to Handsworth and Lozells in the old manufacturing northern side of the city, where I had been brought up. From the 1950s onwards the demographic transformation of the area had led, as it had in Manchester, Liverpool, Nottingham and London, to episodes of violent urban unrest. In 1981 communities in both Moss Side and Handsworth erupted in

protest against social and economic deprivation aligned to racism. Much of my grass-roots enquiry concerned the background to the establishment of the Drum, then promoted as the UK's only black-led arts centre. Unlike Nia, which had been a refurbishment of an existing theatre, the Drum had been purpose-built on the site of the 1908 Aston Hippodrome. Launched as part of a high-profile social and economic regeneration initiative in an area officially considered as having some of the highest levels of deprivation and educational underachievement in the country, the project had received funding of £1.4 million. The Drum had a turbulent history: since the proposed 1995 opening was delayed, the venue had been opened and closed three times. But despite complaints about inefficient management and the generalised disparagement echoed by other arts providers in the city, it had kept going and indeed, as I write, is still going. It was late in the writing-up process that I was told about Nia (Cochrane 2006, 153–73).

In her 2007 *Staging Black Feminisms*, Lynette Goddard makes a passing reference to The Cave (the Birmingham precursor to the Drum) and the Nia Centre as she outlines the largely thwarted attempts dating back to the 1970s to establish designated black-led performance venues (mostly in London) where work could be produced that was 'not determined by white theatrical standards' (2007, 22–4). By that time Nia had been closed for a decade and the most recent metropolitan disappointment had been the withdrawal by Arts Council England (ACE) of promised funding for Talawa Theatre Company's campaign to build a high-profile venue on the site of the Westminster Theatre in central London. In 2005 ACE had lost faith in Talawa's capacity to deliver the project despite the fact that well over £7 million had been raised towards a final estimated capital cost of £8,875,000. Internal company conflict had provoked a series of senior management and board member resignations. Talawa retained its ACE revenue funding, but lost the opportunity to create its own building (Goddard 2007, 22–4).

As Goddard explains, all this took place in the context of ongoing debates about the possible negative effects of the 'ghettoisation of black theatre' (2007, 22). As she acknowledges, there was no doubt that more inclusive policies in mainstream venues both in London and in the regions had contributed to the rising visibility of black theatre, but as a black feminist scholar, Goddard is at pains to point out that the empowering of a black feminist aesthetic within theatre had been predominantly under the control of white, and in 2007 mostly male, managers and directors (2007, 22). What emerges from this brief survey is a clearly unresolved tension between the necessity of identifying

and foregrounding a culturally and aesthetically specific art which is potentially at odds with another materially dominant culture, and the fear that the already marginalised could inadvertently contribute to still greater marginalisation. Both play out within an overarching societal framework that assumes the subaltern status of the black artist.

It is also possible, retrospectively, to see a further national level of exogenous factors. The particular historical moment of the Nia project was located in the period between the launch in 1986 of the Arts Council's Arts and Ethnic Minorities Action Plan, which was a direct, if patchily applied, response to the social divisions exposed by the 1985 urban riots (Cochrane 2006, 163), and the publication in 1999 of the Macpherson report into the murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993, which introduced the term 'institutional racism' into public consciousness. In 2001, the year after Nia was finally dissolved as a company, the Eclipse conference held at Nottingham Playhouse, which brought together black practitioners from across the UK, declared British theatre institutionally racist (Cochrane 2010, 132–3).

It is clear from the published proceedings of the conference that the opportunity to share distressing personal stories about individual racist disparagement and exclusion provoked powerful emotions. One immediate practical outcome was the setting up of Eclipse Theatre, a company dedicated to the production of black theatre product that could be toured to a consortium of regional middle-scale venues. Again this was to be a black-led company but dependent on the co-operation of white-managed theatres (Cochrane 2010, 133–5). Eclipse, now officially designated an ACE National Portfolio Organisation, continues its modestly funded work as a production company from within the shelter of the Crucible Theatre in Sheffield (Eclipse Theatre Company 2015). The structural inequality of power relations has been retained.

In 2006, the ACE-commissioned *Whose Theatre . . . ? Report on the Sustained Theatre Consultation* acknowledged the successes within 'The Sector' such as Eclipse,[4] but again with just a passing reference to the collapse of Nia set out 'to make a case for buildings' while highlighting 'the particularly damning effect of the burden of expectation that is placed on any such building and the intense scrutiny it endures' (Arts Council England 2006, 7).

Identity and Power

More recent philosophical debate about the social and ethical dimensions of racial classification has highlighted disagreement between the

'short-term eliminativists' who insist that there is no such thing as race and thus wish once and for all to put a speedy end to racial categories and 'the long-term conservationists' who consider that there is some benefit to retaining racial identities and communities (Kelly, Machery and Mallon 2012, 433–66). Certainly where there is an absence of documented history which is culturally specific, skewed power relations become very difficult to rebalance and internalised acceptance of socially constructed hierarchies stunts growth and development.

As the naming of Nia suggests, the project grew out of an attempt to nurture a strong consciousness of cultural identity as a means of empowerment. In its origins Nia *celebrated* difference to counter the markers that denied the possibility of self-ascribed identity. Initiatives such as the online Black History trail have been part of efforts to document significant sites and lives which are seen to be representative of collective memory. Held in Manchester Central Library, for example, are tapes recording interviews with Kath Locke, a much-respected black community activist whose name is now physically commemorated in Hulme in the Kath Locke healthcare centre. She was born in Manchester in 1928 of a white mother and a black Nigerian seaman, and her recollections of her childhood continue to resonate in the memories of subsequent generations:

> Well school was very painful to me and I was a very very bright child and the brighter the children the more resentful they were because you didn't fit into the stereotype. We was always told to get back to our own country. Teachers connived with other pupils. At those times you used to have a scholarship and it was interesting when you had this scholarship — you had to sit 4 papers and I'd sat all 4 papers and I was expecting to go to a grammar school but at that time all you got was your education, you had to provide books, uniforms, there was no such thing as grants. I didn't get that. They said they'd allocated it because we couldn't afford it. It wasn't that the British don't lie, but they never tell the truth. What it was, it was because I was black.[5]

Unexamined or unconscious racism within institutions had continuing consequences for young black people — especially the routine designation, based on pseudo-scientific assumptions of lower intellectual capacity, of children as 'SEN', that is, as having special educational needs. Reflecting thirty years on from the 1981 Moss Side disturbances which saw the area literally erupting in flames, the educational campaigner and social analyst Gus John, born in Grenada, who had

previously worked in Handsworth, recalled not only the overt and organised National Front racism which deliberately provoked violence and relentless petty harassment from the police, but also instances of what he characterised as 'systemic structural and structured exclusion of black people within the society'. Young 'bright' people whom he encountered while teaching in prisons had what he called 'arrested growth' with 'horrendous stories about their schooling' (Bowman 2011).

However, the anger fuelled by systematic exclusion could also be channelled into community cohesion, creating what Gus John on arrival in Moss Side in 1971 noted as an organisational vibrancy. As far back as 1953, the 'affinity groups' representing migrant groups from different Caribbean islands joined together in what eventually became the West Indian Organisations Coordinating Committee (WIOCC). As a key figure in the Moss Side Defence Committee, Gus John could be identified with other dynamic community leaders, most notably Beresford (Berry) Edwards, who arrived from Guyana in 1960, and his wife Elouise Edwards. As warden of one of two West Indian Centres established by the WIOCC, Berry Edwards oversaw a resource that offered both educational opportunities and practical legal and social information and assistance. In 1966 he established one of the first Supplementary Saturday Schools for African Caribbean children in the UK (Wilkinson and Wainwright 2003).

The Supplementary Saturday Schools that Kath Locke refers to in her interview became a way of tackling under-achievement and nurturing a stronger sense of cultural identity. Initiatives such as these laid the foundations for the community activity which prepared for Nia. Elouise Edwards, who was to become the first chair of Nia's board of directors, worked as community development officer at the core of the organisational vibrancy noted by Gus John.[6] The Alexandra Park Carnival, launched in 1972, regularly attracted thousands of spectators. It was estimated that several thousand also attended a range of cultural events presented during the West Indian Culture Week held in the Carmoor Road West Indian Centre. In 1977 persistent lobbying of south Manchester schools by Elouise Edwards succeeded in overcoming initial resistance to the idea of an annual 'Roots' festival focused on the history of 'foreparents'.[7] Over thirteen years, the festivals explored a range of themes through music, dance, drama, art and sports dedicated to interracial harmony. 'Roots 86' for example, held during the UK's 'Caribbean Focus' year, included in the printed programme a map and outline history of the Caribbean explaining the complexity of waves of migration and colonisation which had made the islands a melting pot of different

cultural traditions. 'Roots 88' took the themes of three generations of local history which emphasised multiple heritage. Exhibitions included displays of Jewish, Sikh and Chinese settlements combined with the Roots Family History Project, which had attempted to record local memories of life both at home and overseas. There was also 'Spotlight on Hulme', billed as an exhibition 'in picture and writing of real life histories in Hulme' (Horn 1995, 196, 186). The histories of the 'Hulmanoids', as some of the residents dubbed themselves, were displayed as a means of mitigating some of the entrenched negativity associated with the historic reputation of the area (Horn 1995, 325).

Place and the Histories of Hulme

'Place', suggests the social and cultural geographer Tim Cresswell, 'is how we make the world meaningful and the way we experience the world' (2004, 12). The place of Nia within the communities imagined by the project leaders was to lay claim to rights of habitation within an environment where those rights had been persistently challenged. It was both a confirmation of local rootedness and an affirmation of meaningful rootedness in shared historic origins elsewhere. But there were other histories at play which had shaped the wider environment of Hulme itself and, by extension, the exogenous conditions which impacted on Nia's prospects for success.

Citing the work of the geographer David Harvey, Cresswell points out that 'places don't just exist but [...] they are always and continually being socially constructed by powerful institutional forces in society' (2004, 57). Place is never stable; it can never offer permanence. As Harvey puts it 'the 'permanences — no matter how solid they may seem — are not eternal but always subject to time as "perpetual perishing". They are contingent on processes of creation, sustenance and dissolution' (Harvey 1996, 261). From the nineteenth century onwards Hulme was blighted by overcrowded living conditions, which resulted in the slums typical of early twentieth-century poverty and, as the century wore on, the wholesale demolitions characteristic of desperate local authority rehousing policies. In the 1960s what was thought to be the largest public housing development in Europe saw the building of the Hulme Crescents, non-traditional mass communal housing designed on the wholly inappropriate model of an elegant eighteenth-century crescent, but with disastrous so-called 'streets in the sky' which were concrete decks accessible from the streets and frequently the cause of fatal accidents. By the 1980s they were acknowledged as a social engineering disaster ('The Hulme Crescents' n.d.).

Repeated demolitions and rehousing from the 1960s onwards had led to overall population decline. Those who were left behind, or subsequently effectively dumped there, were stigmatised as difficult anti-social 'deviants'. Hulme, it was alleged, had become 'a horrible lawless place' — an image cultivated by adverse media coverage which exacerbated adverse perceptions of the incoming black population. Gus John, however, drawing parallels with other industrial cities where old manufacturing areas had suffered economic decline, suggested that:

> black people from the Caribbean, especially, were coming to find employment in areas where there was already an established working class, a neglected working class. So the quality of the accommodation that local whites had was pretty poor anyway. As is typical of these situations, and not just in this country, the incoming black people were blamed for the squalor that had existed for generations. (Bowman 2011)

Elouise Edwards, having experienced at first hand the violence and abuse threatened by National Front activists coming into Moss Side, found herself helping white as well as black victims of the 1981 disturbances.[8]

As adjacent electoral wards, Moss Side and Hulme were regularly subjected to the same negative scrutiny but again there were differences. Much of the early organisational strength in Moss Side derived from battles with the local authority over draconian redevelopment and repossession policies. While the combination of older property demolition and new high-density housing had scattered former residents and created the kind of concrete bleakness represented by the Alexandra estate, as a whole the area had been spared the radical brutalism of the Hulme Crescents. Moss Side groups protecting black collective interests were larger and more firmly established, often drawing in members from Hulme.

Chance and the Hulmanoids

Thus far, in starting to construct a version of a written Black History trail by singling out key moments in the battle to achieve self-ascribed identity which led up to the opening of Nia, I have effectively created a teleological narrative composed of endogenous features of determination and resilience. Postlewait warns, however, that:

> in the case of complex events the historical agents may not have shared a specific aim. Their actions, distributed through the

> documentation, may seem random, incomplete, or contradictory. Historians in an attempt to create a unified event — for we do not believe that history is only the story of chaos and meaningless actions — gather together the evidence for the meanings of the events and actions. (2009, 226)

It will already have become clear that the exogenous conditions represented what by any standards would have proved a challenging physical environment for the creation of a new building-based enterprise. But that did not necessarily presage failure. There were other contributory elements, and in particular, as Postlewait is also at pains to point out, the fact that 'chance and necessity coexist in human relations' (2009, 236). The decision to locate Nia in Hulme arose from a combination of chance and necessity that may ultimately have predetermined the outcome.

As the feasibility study produced in January 1987 by Oliver Bennett, then head of arts administration at Leicester Polytechnic, makes clear, the BBC Playhouse site had not been the first option. The architectural consultants employed by the Nia Group since 1984 had originally investigated the adaptability of an impressive 1930 art deco cinema, latterly used as a bingo hall, which was situated in Whalley Range, on the edge of Moss Side and quite close to Alexandra Park, where the popular annual carnival was held. After this idea proved unviable, the chance to acquire the Hulme Playhouse arose when the BBC expressed the wish to remove its live recording operation elsewhere (Bennett 1987, 11). With the building for sale on the open market and subject to competition, the feasibility study had to be researched and written very rapidly to ensure a speedy resolution to the plan (Bennett 1987, 2). Addressing the decision to establish a high-profile Afro-Caribbean centre in Moss Side, Bennett noted that anxiety about audience reluctance to attend performances at the Playhouse had contributed to the BBC managers' decision to vacate the venue (1987, 19). But the project was associated with a wish to help in the reversal of negative perceptions of the area. Most importantly Moss Side was 'closely identified with the Black community, for the simple reason that Moss Side is the centre of Manchester's Black population' (Bennett 1987, 18).

Except that in Hulme the phenomenon of 'perpetual perishing' identified by Harvey appears to have had more extreme effects. A doctoral study by a long-term resident of Hulme, completed in 1995 and researched and written from within a theoretical framework drawn from the social sciences, aimed to examine the processes of 'adaptation,

resistance and political development' that had evolved among groups of people living under very difficult circumstances. The author, Julia Horn, had lived in Hulme and Moss Side since 1978, first as a young tenant, then as secretary to one of the tenants' associations and finally as an estate management officer for Manchester City Council. Rather than being the 'wild' area depicted in press and other media commentary, Hulme, Horn argued, 'was actually both ordinary and orderly. The day-to-day interactions were intelligent ways of coping with an impossible set of problems: reputation, poverty, bad housing, unemployment and chaotic housing management' (Horn 1995, 6).

Notwithstanding the presence of long-term older residents who had not joined the general exodus of the 1960s and substantial numbers who had lived in Hulme for more than six years, the dominant impression was of a young, constantly shifting population. While many lived with the year-on-year pressures of unemployment, squatting was an accepted solution to homelessness, and students had taken up short-term opportunities to live in the vacant Crescents flats. Normal daytime structures were altered by unemployment. The local economy was based on shared resources and illegal exchange. The sale of drugs was the 'cornerstone' of the economy (Horn 1995, 87–8, 244, 250). The Hulme of the late 1980s was noisy: 'traffic noise, people shouting' or 'messing about'; 'Blues parties or shebeens, bands practising and neighbour noise'. A 'Hulmanoid' could be 'black or white working or not, the catalogue kid, or hippy punk'. What they all had in common, it was declared, was 'that this is their area' (Horn 1995, 325–6). That allegiance to Hulme as a personally meaningful place had produced a strong network of tenants' associations that had been active since the late 1970s, representing a range of different interests and personal politics. But as Horn points out, no one association was fully representative of the black population, hence the tendency to gravitate towards Moss Side organisations. All, however, appear to have been united in contempt for city council policies which, it was alleged, veered from incompetence and chronic neglect of basic housing resources to sledgehammer solutions which saw more wholesale demolitions without regard to local preferences as the easiest solution to chronic problems (Horn 1995, 303, 341, 88–93).

As the Nia Group embarked on fund-raising and preparations to convert the BBC Playhouse — in principle fully supported by key local organisations and powerful individuals, including local MPs and the chief constable of Manchester Police, James Anderton (Bennett 1987, 43–52) — simultaneously plans were evolving to physically transform the immediate environs. After the failure of the high-rise Crescents and

the walkways in the sky, the emphasis would be on more traditional low-rise residential developments. Thus, even as Nia regained full solvency after its first year and began to see a growth in audience-generated income, the area surrounding it was turned into a building site. The Crescents were demolished in 1994 and the expectations of the occupants of the new housing now located very close to the centre were by no means sympathetic to the noisy exuberance emanating from Nia, especially at night.

Insider/Outsider

To consider more specifically the endogenous features of the Nia event is to become painfully aware of what the sociologist Yasmin Gunaratnam, challenging 'the discursive opposition between 'racialized "commonality" and "difference"', calls 'the messy work' of researching across difference. Discussing the advantages and disadvantages of 'insider' and/or 'outsider positioning within the research process — especially in interpersonal exchange — she argues for 'a move from a naturalized commonality to a worked-for connectivity' (2003, 79–80). Alleged commonality often masks other signifiers of difference such as class, education and gender which can still produce unequal power relations. Connectivity based on the recognition of differences of lived experience might more effectively lead to interpretive understanding.

Insider voices attributing blame to external factors resonate powerfully from the writers of the two documents about Nia already cited and align with others united in a common oppositional experience. It is difficult not to link Kath Locke's bitter remark about the effects of unacknowledged racism — 'It wasn't that the British don't lie, but they never tell the truth' — with a statement made to me in an interview with a black film maker, Tony Reeves, who filmed creative workshops in Nia and recalled the impact of the new housing development. Nia, he said, 'was not meant to last'; 'we black people [have] never been able to settle'. There was always a 'reason to unsettle us'.[9] In 1995 the *Manchester Evening News* reported the voice of a local resident following a financially disastrous city council ruling compelling the centre to close an hour earlier at night: 'There have been times when I've been greatly distressed. You can hear the car doors slamming and every single word from the DJ' (Brown 1995). When Nia finally admitted defeat in 1997, the city council representative on the Nia board offered assurances of a continuing commitment to 'multi-cultural arts events in the city [...] but it will take place elsewhere' (Haile 1997). Nia had lost its place.

One strong voice of advocacy emerges from the very few Nia-related documents preserved in the Arts Council of Great Britain archive, now held in the Victoria and Albert Theatre Collection. This is the voice of a white insider, Liz Mayne, whose involvement with the project began as an arts officer with North West Arts and who then as development director for Nia was one of only two white staff members. In an account published in anticipation of a November 1990 opening, she stresses the 'five arduous, frustrating and determined years' of decision-making and fund-raising for an initiative 'rooted in the rich diversity of talent developing within African and Caribbean communities throughout the UK over the past decade or more, against a background of shoddy and inadequate facilities' (Mayne n.d). More recently she has described the calculated risk taken in signing the building contract before the capital funds were fully in place. Such was the negative stereotyping associated with black projects and 'this will never happen' assumptions that only when building work was actually begun were additional funds made available.[10]

Effectively embodying worked-for connectivity, Liz Mayne functioned as the white insider within the Nia enterprise but also as an insider familiar with the constantly shifting policy structures of national and regional arts funding. In that role she worked alongside Morenga Bambata, the African-American outsider-insider who was appointed as Nia's cultural director nine months before the opening. Dubbed a 'unique individual' by Mayne, charismatic, highly skilled and with excellent leadership qualities, Bambata had a personal history that had been shaped by the black consciousness-raising objectives of pan-Africanism as formulated within the American context. Rejecting, as was not unusual, his birth 'slave name' of Louis Hunt,[11] he had been associated earlier in the 1980s with black political activism in the London borough of Hackney (OoCities.org 2009). Bambata had a capacity for achieving relaxed, non-confrontational relationships with staff and official funders alike. At high-profile public events, including meetings with Prince Charles as the founder and figurehead for the north-west-based Business in the Community, who visited Nia prior to its opening, Mayne gave the speeches while Bambata contributed his persuasive charm to the smiling white liberals.[12]

Mayne's recollections nearly twenty-five years later of an 'incredibly ambitious' venture provide powerful testimony, not least to what Nia achieved in terms of contracts and opportunities for local black-run businesses and aspiring arts workers. As an outsider historian, however, I have found myself reflecting on the concept of naturalised

commonality and the extent to which the complexity of African and Caribbean heritage was recognised in the not uncontroversial appointment of the black American outsider. Mayne insists that Bambata very consciously put aside his pan-African politics in the interests of Nia. But perhaps ambivalent black British national allegiances further shaped by the 'perishing' histories of Hulme and Moss Side required a more locally nuanced understanding. Or, given that Bambata is remembered as saying 'it's not if but when they close us down',[13] his bleak prognostication should perhaps be placed beside Kath Locke's and Tony Reeves's pessimism about the inevitable outcome of skewed black-white power relations.

Insider/outsider inevitably became even more complex given that a liberally endorsed showcase venue had been established within a milieu routinely subjected to external observation and commentary on social problems. Julia Horn's 1995 thesis confirms the exasperation felt about relentless coverage, ranging from high-minded *Guardian*-style case studies to the more lurid local press focus on criminality, recalling the 'intense scrutiny' highlighted in *Whose Theatre . . . ?* in relation to black-led arts ventures earlier in this essay. Nia was promoted as one of the safest venues in Manchester, with security very carefully controlled. A one-off relaxation of internally managed safeguards with a toured-in company led to the 'tragedy' of a gun let off in the building, and of course any adverse publicity would undermine the organisation as a business in need of financial stability.[14] Even in the week when Nia opened, a short *Manchester Evening News* feature about the launch foregrounded the 'hitches' before the realisation of the dream. The well-known British reggae group Aswad was found to be committed to a US tour rather than a launch-night appearance. More controversially, the Manchester hip-hop group the Ruthless Rap Assassins withdrew over an argument about high ticket prices (Taylor 1991). Originally Hulme and Moss Side insiders, they were familiar with local poverty, and their objections were perhaps an ominous portent of the financially crippling disjunction between high-profile plant and product expense and community expectations of a readily accessible resource.

The Pursuit of Truth and the Future of Change

At the beginning of this chapter I considered the consequences of truth-telling and the ways in which testimony is modified and/or withheld to protect against possible harm, and I end here with a consideration of these tensions as they play out in the complex dynamics of telling the truth of change and causality in Nia's history. Financial crises,

insolvency, periods of closure, deficit management and so on are, as I have described in great detail elsewhere, a regular feature of building-based organisations, especially new ventures (Cochrane 2011, 197–8). Nia was not exceptional in that respect, but by early 1996 was beginning to show signs of surplus-generating capacity, albeit with restricted activity. However, my examination of the directors' reports and financial statements submitted annually to Companies House shows a less usual feature, in that from the outset auditors were stating that there was inadequate control of cash received from both box office and bar and that cash expenditure was not properly recorded.

At this point, 'fact' and opinion begin to blur, as other and contradictory voices encountered during my research suggest different explanations for these problems, perhaps derived from the social pressures of environmental poverty.[15] While one respondent stated that those pressures included giving way to locals who wanted to come in free of charge, enjoy free drinks and 'smoke', another argued that high levels of attendance were regularly improperly recorded as low box office takings and that there was theft of technical equipment. My ethical 'duty' as a researcher means that I have to respect the wishes of speakers not to be identified. But whatever the truth of such allegations, I would argue that the more profound failure was in the duty of care on the part of both insider and outsider agents of control and enablement: the blind-eye-turning (to extend the physical metaphor) was the result of failure to face the face of the other in all its social, cultural and economic complexity. Probing into the ethical implications of what is designated 'explicit and implicit racial bias' reveals multiple dilemmas about unexamined assumptions, which takes me back to Stuart Hall and his preoccupation with deterministic effects.

Responding in 2013 to my questions about Nia, the Manchester-based, Jamaica-born actor and director Wyllie Longmore stated that 'black-led arts organisations are rare and difficult to sustain'. He wrote:

> There are individuals and organisations (especially those that provide funding) who think black people haven't got the acumen, the intelligence nor the business experience to run an arts organisation. And historically, black people have not had the employment opportunities that would have given them the training necessary to assume positions of authority and influence.[16]

In crux 10 of his primer with twelve cruxes, Postlewait considers the ideas of change, asking whether the search for 'the procedures of change in history is misguided, especially if history confronts us with

discontinuities, disjunctions, contradictions and improbabilities rather than with any dialectical, evolutionary, or teleological order' (2009, 257). Viewed specifically and thus simplistically, but also in the light of Longmore's comments, the story of Nia confronts us both with the thwarting and lingering obstacles to change, and with the ethical necessity of that change. In Birmingham, where my research began, the successor to Nia is now in its fourth consecutive year of surplus. The black chief executive of the Drum, Charles Small, has acumen, business experience, an MBA and plans to remedy and enlarge the limitations of his building.[17] Pawlet Warner (now Brookes), with a record of successful venue management behind her, is now the chief executive of the successful diversity-led arts promotion company Serendipity.[18]

Clearly then there has been a process of positive change, albeit slow and halting, and seeds planted in Nia have rooted more firmly elsewhere. In that respect I have not deliberately imposed an evolutionary order on my narrative. But while conscious of Wyschogrod's assertion that the 'past is irrecoverable in its vivacity' (2004, 30) I must also acknowledge the changes wrought by my process of recovery towards something less bleak, less focused on failure and now more aware of what may be a further ethical responsibility to restore a greater sense of the felt life of Nia. That requires another story.

Notes

My thanks to Dan Aris, Pawlet Brookes, Ian Brown, Josephine Burns, Eloise Edwards, Alison Jeffers, Wyllie Longmore, Liz Mayne, Judith Moore, Iain Reid, Charles Small.

1. The most recent of a growing number of scholarly publications include Chambers (2011) and Brewer, Goddard and Osborne (2015).
2. Details of the internal layout of Nia were supplied by Liz Mayne in personal correspondence sent on 17 May 2015. All information about Nia programming comes from a small collection of season brochures held in Special Collections of Manchester Archives and Local Studies, TH 792.094273HU.
3. Liz Mayne, interview with the author, 25 July 2014.
4. The report compiled by the arts consultant Lola Young chooses not to use standard terminology such as 'minority ethnic' or to identify groups by skin colour. 'The Sector' is employed as a collective term throughout.
5. Transcript of an interview with Kath Locke conducted by Paul Okojie in 1992. The interview appears on an archival film made by Paul Okojie (1995), 'We are Born to Survive: A Political Biography of Kath Locke, an Activist for Women's and Black Rights who was Based in Manchester' (Manchester: Manchester University and Kath Locke Educational Trust), Special Collections of Manchester Archives and Local Studies, MAN/WO.2/OKO.
6. For information on Elouise Edwards see Manchester Central Library 2013.

7. Elouise Edwards, interview with the author, 3 October 2014. I am grateful to Elouise Edwards for the gift of a small selection of programmes related to pre-Nia community arts activity.
8. Elouise Edwards, interview with the author, 3 October 2014.
9. Tony Reeves, interview with the author, 23 October 2014.
10. Liz Mayne, correspondence, 17 May 2015.
11. Liz Mayne, interview with the author, 25 July 2014.
12. Liz Mayne, correspondence, 17 May 2015. Elouise Edwards recalled Prince Charles's enthusiasm for the project with immense pride.
13. Liz Mayne, correspondence, 17 May 2015.
14. Liz Mayne, interview with the author, 25 July 2014.
15. This suggestion was made to me in the course of a telephone interview conducted on 19 June 2013 with Josephine Burns, who worked for North West Arts for twelve years from 1979 and was director for two years until she stepped down in March 1991. This was on the major reorganisation of regional arts associations, which proved deleterious for the local subsidised arts sector and may well have contributed another exogenous factor in the demise of Nia.
16. Wyllie Longmore, email to the author, 19 June 2013.
17. Charles Small, interview with the author, 14 November 2014.
18. http://www.serendipity-uk.com 2015 [accessed 25 February 2015].

Part III
The Ethics of Evidence

8

Recollecting and Re-Collecting

The Ethical Challenges of Social Archiving in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland

Alison Jeffers

> Archives, viewed as active and interactive tools for the construction of sustained identities, are important vehicles for building the capacity to aspire among groups who need it most. (Appadurai 2003, 25)

The ethical dimensions of remembering might usefully be thought of through the activity of *recollection* in both its contemporary connection to remembering and its archaic sense of *re-collection*. Since the function of memory turned to principles of what Aleida Assmann calls 'reactivation, reformulation and reinterpretation' (2011, 80) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, recollecting is mostly taken to mean remembering. However, equally important is its archaic pre-sixteenth-century usage in the sense of *re-collecting*, which, in addition to meaning 'recalling to memory', had the implication of summoning up one's spirits or courage, of gathering together after some kind of dispersal. This chapter will explore the acts of *recollecting* in the sense of remembering and *re-collecting*, of gathering and reassembling depleted resources and energies, to explore the significance and consider the ethical implications of memory following the violence of a protracted conflict. *Recollection* is necessary to work out appropriate ways to remember the dead of the conflict as well as how to pay attention to the continuing impact on those who remain. *Re-collection* is also essential in the sense of taking stock, creating an emotional inventory of capacity, strength and the desire to rebuild.

To analyse these ideas I will examine the social archiving project on Mount Vernon, a housing estate in north Belfast, to show how a social archiving project there enabled the community that took part

Figure 8.1 The mural of two hooded gunmen with the logos of the north Belfast paramilitary organisations clearly on display. Photograph by Ian Jeffers

to examine its collective archive through recollection: how they used this to re-collect and expand what Diana Taylor calls the 'repertoire' available to them (2003). In this process the mural shown in Figure 8.1 became a marker or touchstone of identity by absorbing and reflecting back the range of choices open to the community for its future. Part of the focus of this chapter is on the ethics of asking participants to remember or revisit a difficult and troubled past when some would argue that it would be more profitable to forget and to move on. However, this chapter argues that it is essential to undertake the kind of memory work outlined here in order to recollect or to make sense of the past and to re-collect or create a space for the new identity formations and views of history that will be needed to move away from conflict. In both of these senses the emphasis is on activity, remembering and gathering, and the key to understanding social archiving lies in thinking of it as a process of archiving rather than placing undue emphasis on the archive itself: to use Appadurai's terminology above, archiving as an active or interactive tool.

Within theatre scholarship social archiving would most usually be associated with applied theatre but in practice would more accurately be

allied to community arts, a multi-arts activity where drama and theatre work is likely to take place alongside music and film making, public art works, writing and photography. Community arts methods have been used as part of a community development approach, intended to open up discussion, to consult with communities and to generate ideas and encourage self-reliance. This was the process used in the social archiving project on Mount Vernon, whereby personal memories were brought into a social arena through discussion exercises, guided imagery and personal and social history mapping before being turned into a document designed to generate wider discussion.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of the political and cultural context within which the social archiving project was located before introducing the activity in detail and discussing some of the ethical challenges inherent in setting up and organising this project as well as using it as a site for research. This is followed by a discussion of Paul Ricoeur's three levels of memory that he uses to set up the possibility of thinking about the ethics of memory, which functions here as a prelude to exploring recollecting as a collective act which is necessary to enable communities to move away from conflict. The chapter then considers the practice of re-collecting, using Pierre Nora's notion of *lieux de mémoire* and Diana Taylor's interpretation of that within the scenario of the social archiving project. Finally, Aleida Assmann's ideas of cultural memory lead back to Arjun Appadurai's ideas about the functions of creating an archive and the value that has emerged from archiving an ethically troubling piece of public art.

The 'Troubles', Mount Vernon and Political Murals

The 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland are usually dated from the late 1960s to the signing of the Belfast, or Good Friday, Agreement (GFA) in 1998. The human cost of the Troubles has been immense, with an estimated 3700 people killed[1] and tens of thousands of people directly affected through mass displacement as areas have been 'made safe' along what Shirlow calls 'ethno-sectarian' lines, often by intimidation and forced removals (2006, 105).[2] It is broadly understood that the roots of the conflict, and the apparently slow process of moving on, despite political agreement, lie in what Neuheiser and Wolff call 'two incompatible conceptions of national belonging' (2003, 1). Over-simplified binary pairings of Protestants and Catholics, loyalists and republicans, unionists and nationalists are often used to describe the religious, political and ethnic divisions that have become entrenched around these

incompatible national imaginaries.[3] The post-conflict situation has been described as one where a 'slow and sullen peace [exists], in which people are glad to emerge from the past but deeply sceptical of the future' (Morrow 2006, 74). One way to measure opinions on the changes wrought since the GFA is through the political murals found in Belfast (Jarman 1998, 2005; Rolston 1987, 1998, 2003b, 2010, 2013) and, to a lesser extent, Derry (Woods 1995), where they are traditionally painted on the gable ends of the terraced housing characteristic of those cities. Historically they are associated with unionism (Hill and White 2012; Jarman 1992, 1997; McCormick and Jarman 2005; Rolston 2012, 2003a; Vannais 2001), with the first one dating from the early twentieth century when murals were painted to coincide with celebrations for 12 July, the annual Protestant commemoration of William's defeat of the Catholic King James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Republican murals began to appear in the early 1980s, when depictions of the 1981 hunger strikes were painted in nationalist areas.

Many commentators perceive a post-GFA 'softening' of the imagery in republican murals, arguing that they are moving away from overt depictions of violence and paramilitary activity towards images emphasising political activity, community organisation and remembrance. Rolston, who has made an extensive study, reports that there was an agreement among the republican mural painters that the only guns to be depicted would be those from historic conflicts (2013, ii). This is in direct contrast with many loyalist murals, like the one on Mount Vernon, which have become more belligerent and more 'threatening and chilling in their effect' (Vannais 2001, 142) since 1998. Rolston suggests that this may be because loyalism feels under siege, so that the murals have become a 'form of posturing from a people who are deeply insecure' (2003a, 9). This is corroborated by Vannais (2001), who sees the more strident loyalist murals representing a crisis of confidence among disillusioned Protestant working-class communities who are, as Rolston suggests, under the impression that 'republicans [are] benefiting much more from peace than the loyalists' (Rolston 2013, ii). It was against this background of continued volatility and uncertainty, especially in loyalist communities, that the social archiving project took place on Mount Vernon.

On the edge of the city centre, Mount Vernon is known as a 'Protestant' estate, if not a loyalist one. Located on the side of the Cave Hill, which dominates the landscape as it sweeps down one side of Belfast Lough, it has been described as 'looking like a broken-down fortress' from the outside (McKay 2005, 20). Mount Vernon is classed as an area of economic deprivation by Belfast City Council and has a reputation

for having a strong presence of the loyalist paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). Furthermore, the approach to the estate is dominated by a well-known mural showing the insignia of the North Belfast Battalion of the UVF and two masked gunmen alongside the slogan 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' (see Figure 8.1). Painted *after* the signing of the GFA, this mural could be seen as a chilling performance of extreme ambivalence about the 'peace process' on the part of the loyalist paramilitaries who painted it.

The social archiving project was set up in response to the political and social possibilities that had opened up since the signing of the GFA in 1998 and the official cessation of conflict in Northern Ireland. It emerged from discussions between the Mount Vernon Community Development Forum (MVCDF), a voluntary group of local people living on the estate, and William Mitchell, a researcher and practitioner in restorative justice.[4] They invited Gerri Moriarty and Jo Egan, community arts workers with wide experience of working on community theatre projects in Northern Ireland and beyond, to join them, using their facilitation skills to run the workshops.[5] Moriarty and Egan invited me to observe the process because of our links through community theatre practice and because they thought I would be interested in how arts facilitation skills were being used to facilitate discussion and memory work in this project. Over the period of about a year this group developed the process of 'social archiving', emphasising not *the archive* as an object or place so much as *archiving*, an activity or process by which the organisers hoped that those involved, and by implication the wider community, might come to new understandings about the past and a changed sense of the possibilities for the future. Billy Hutchinson, the community development worker on Mount Vernon, talked about archiving as a way to understand and interpret change both for the ex-paramilitaries living there and for the wider community:

> Whatever we do is about change and people need to understand that change and what it is [...] for instance, the stuff that we've been doing with what we would call the ex-combatants is that anything they do, they must do it for a reason, and they must understand why they're doing it. As well as understanding why they're doing it presently, they also need to understand why they did it in the past. And we need to archive that in some way.[6]

Two arts-based community consultation projects preceded and led to the social archiving project: a participatory consultation exercise called

the 'Big Weekend' in 2006 and *Cinderella Does Community Consultation*, a community pantomime in 2007. The first event involved creative writing and photography workshops, a tea dance, video vox pops, outdoor art installations and a sports quiz, all designed to involve local people who might not have participated in more traditional community consultation processes. The community pantomime used a performance of the well-known story to ask important questions about the future of the estate in a light-hearted and accessible way.[7] In creating social memory the listening role is 'performed by multiple figures, including historians, public intellectuals, [...] politicians and educators' (Hoskins 2007, 245). In the context of the social archiving project the MVCDF and the arts facilitators took on this role, setting up the framework which facilitated individual memories and encouraging participants to place these within a wider social, political and historical frame. In the workshops it was possible to observe an easy sense of familiarity where participants operated in a space (the local youth centre on Mount Vernon) with which they seemed comfortable and familiar. There was very little obvious sense of demarcation between the facilitators, organisers and participants, and a strong sense of collective activity and mutual understanding. Tea and biscuits were produced from the small kitchen by members of MVCDF throughout the workshop, and children and adults came into the space and left at will, creating a casual, homely feel to the activities. Nevertheless it seemed as though being looked after and listened to as a group was important and meaningful.

In the first stage of the social archiving workshops the facilitators worked with a range of groups including children from the primary school, young people, adults (including ex-combatants), a women's group and an elderly people's group. They took participants through a series of exercises using guided imagery and photographs of local places, including some of the 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' mural (see Figure 8.1) and two smaller murals on the side of a block of flats (see Figure 8.2). Participants produced a 'history map' which explored what individuals were doing in the 1960s, the decade in which the Troubles began, and what was happening within their social group, community and wider society using mind-mapping techniques to make links between them.

The second stage of the social archiving process used this material to produce an open question that was designed to generate a narrative response: 'As a resident, or someone associated with Mount Vernon, tell us of your past and present experiences and how you would want these to influence Mount Vernon's future relationship with the outside

Figure 8.2 Two smaller murals on the side of a block of flats at the entrance to Mount Vernon. The 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' mural can be seen in the background. Photograph by Ian Jeffers

world' (Moriarty 2009). This question was put to twelve individuals who had attended the workshops, and their narrative was recorded on film. The resulting footage was edited into a twenty-minute film called *Mount Vernon: More than Just a Mural*, which contained extracts from the participants' interviews interspersed with footage from the workshops and with contextual material emphasising the political violence of the last thirty years in Northern Ireland. This video was given a public screening on Mount Vernon after the social archiving project was completed and has been included in a formal bid to Belfast City Council for the redevelopment of the area.

I will return to the activity of social archiving below, but first it is important to outline some of the ethical challenges that the project revealed and in particular to understand the role of the facilitators (and the researcher) in this complex network of relationships. We did not escape our own involvement in the place and its politics because we had a stake in the project; all the facilitators were connected to Northern Ireland and the conflict there in multiple ways. While it might be considered unethical to outline any one individual's background, it is helpful to know that some identity markers of the facilitators and the researcher included patterns of leaving Northern Ireland and returning; having been born outside Northern Ireland; having shades of a number of religious affiliations and none; and having undergone periods of imprisonment for paramilitary activity.[8] Offering a space in which to discuss the past in a community that is emerging from thirty years

of conflict presented a number of particular ethical challenges. These included the facilitators' responsibility for the personal safety of participants who spoke out openly to air views on the history of the area, and of politics more generally, that may not be popularly held. The initiators of the social archiving project had to face the challenge of bringing together people who may have believed in, and even carried out, violence with those who have rejected violence as a way forward for communities in Northern Ireland. They also had to ensure the representation of the voices of those sometimes drowned out by more dominant figures in traditional political discourse.

Two main ethical challenges presented themselves to this researcher. The first concerned whether and how this material might reach a wider audience. The participants and organisers of the social archiving project wanted to use the process to create political and social change: they might legitimately question the efficacy of bringing this process to wider public attention through an academic volume on theatre history. Its status as a document, an example of what Diana Taylor would call the privileging of writing over embodied experience (2003, 8), means that this essay might be seen as an end to dialogue rather than another step on the path to improving mutual understanding between people. Secondly, I do not have the luxury of remaining 'hidden' as a researcher as some of my colleagues in this book who are dealing with more distant histories are able to do: I have to be held to account as an academic researcher *and* as a native of Belfast who left Northern Ireland in the early 1980s. Like Taylor, whose work on the archive and the repertoire I will return to below, I am compelled to take on a role of a social actor in my own scenarios (Taylor 2003, xvi). The workshop participants and facilitators would have been able to read, in my audible markers of place and class, an anglicised Belfast accent, an account of the educational and cultural capital which enabled me to leave Northern Ireland in a planned way, thus further increasing my privilege by pursuing an academic degree. The fact that I did not have to endure a further eighteen years of political violence also has to enter into the documentation and discussion of the ethics of this project and its outcomes.

Recollection: Memory Work

The workshops for the social archiving project used techniques introduced by Mitchell, whose research involves interviews with ex-combatants to ascertain their motives for using violence during the conflict.[9] Based on Wengraf's Biographic Narrative Interpretive Methods

(BNIM), the work involves using 'semi-structured depth interviews' where interviewees are 'asked to tell a story [or] produce a narrative of some sort regarding all or part of their own life-experience' (Wengraf 2001, 75). An important feature of this technique is that interviewees are not under any pressure to produce a coherent chronological account and can freely associate and move between different memories, work in different time frames and switch location in their story as their thoughts occur. BNIM interview techniques frame the interviewer as an active listener who intervenes as little as possible to allow the interviewee a high degree of control over the direction of their testimony. Wengraf relates this to the free-association technique of listening more often associated with psychoanalytical processes, though he is at pains to stress that 'therapy is definitely not the concern of the BNIM researcher' (Wengraf 2001, 125). Neither did the artists and community workers involved see themselves in a therapeutic relationship with the participants; indeed, it would have been unethical to do so. However, thinking through Paul Ricoeur's ideas about how best to 'broach the problems of the ethics of memory' (1999, 6) in relation to the formation of *collective* identities is a helpful step in understanding what may have been taking place in the social archiving project.

Ricoeur suggests three levels of memory, the understanding of which precedes thinking about the ethics of memory; he emphasises that they are not stages and can overlap with each other and exist out of sequence. The first level, 'pathological/therapeutic', is heavily influenced by Freud's work. At this level the subject repeats an action that bars them from making 'any progress towards recollection, or towards a reconstruction of an acceptable and understandable past' (Ricoeur 1999, 6). The way beyond repetition is active remembering, a long process characterised by Freud as 'working through', or what Ricoeur calls 'the work of memory' (1999, 6). Part of this working through involves mourning or reconciliation with loss which, on a social level, might be the loss of 'fatherland, freedom — ideals of all kinds' (Ricoeur 1999, 7). Mourning and working through are brought together in the 'fight for the acceptability of memories' because 'memories have not only to be understandable, they have to be acceptable' (Ricoeur 1999, 7) in order to move on.

In Ricoeur's account the second level of memory is 'pragmatic', and it is here that abuses can occur because of the links between memory and identity. Memory locks the subject (singular and collective) into certain identities where the other is seen as a threat which, in turn, becomes linked to 'humiliations, real or imaginary [. . .] when this threat

is felt as a wound which leaves scars' (Ricoeur 1999, 8). Memory then becomes 'a kind of storage' of these wounds, and the only way out of this impasse is narrative because 'that is where the education of memory has to start' and through editing and plotting narrative 'a certain healing of memory may begin' (Ricoeur 1999, 9). 'Letting others tell their own history, especially the founding events' (Ricoeur 1999, 9) becomes a helpful space in which collective memory-making renders the story useful for the future. In Ricoeur's final 'ethico-political' level there is a duty to move the story back out into the wider social arena through telling 'as a means to fight the erosion of traces' (1999, 10). At this level there is an ethical imperative to use the narrative for the benefit of the wider group and society.

This reading of Ricoeur's three levels of memory work in building collective identities helps to explain why the stress on recollecting in the social archiving project was a fundamentally ethical gesture. On the first, 'therapeutic' level it is possible to see that the social archiving project offered a literal space which initiated active remembering or 'working through' in an attempt to reconcile people to a sense of mourning or loss. Sometimes this was loss on a personal level where participants had lost friends and family in the conflict. There was also, echoing Rolston's ideas about the fragility of Protestant loyalist identity, a sense of the loss of identity as a community in the aftermath of the conflict and a need to address this. On Ricoeur's second or 'pragmatic' level the workshops allowed participants to discuss their own individual 'founding myths' before placing them in relation to the founding myths of Mount Vernon and, by implication, to Protestant working-class identities generally. Participants were enabled to create a narrative through the timelines that saw their own personal histories mapped onto the wider socio-political history in which they had grown up. Finally, on the 'ethico-political' level, the duty to speak out beyond the group might be said to have been fulfilled by the film, which represents the collective narrativations of the individual work begun in the social archiving workshops. The film begins with an introductory narrative voice-over by Maura, one of the residents, as she explains the social archiving workshops: 'The discussions we had encouraged us to look closely at ourselves.'[10] This suggests a sense of 'working through', echoing Ricoeur's first stage of memory work, and the subsequent speakers in the film hint at this process of collective self-examination.

Although the film covers many aspects of living on Mount Vernon, when the subject of the 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' mural comes up opinions are divided. For Hughie keeping the mural in its present

space could prove educational, and he says at one point, 'I think the mural should be kept to remind [young people] of their past [long pause] and not to go down that route again.' For him the mural acts as a cautionary object which evokes a dark past that should not be repeated. Maura suggests that the mural as an object is no longer relevant to the residents of Mount Vernon but that 'The *history* of the mural has to be kept because it was out there at a time when a lot of people thought that it was right to be there but I think that time is now gone.' She recognises that the message on the mural might be outdated but that the sentiment behind it is still an important cultural memory that needs to be preserved. By examining a range of reactions to the mural and thinking about its possible future the video serves to bring these questions to a wider public. It asks its audience to question the role of the mural, its history and its future but, in asking this, what the film is really presenting is a series of ethical questions about Mount Vernon itself: to what extent is the community content to be defined by a history of violence? What is the way forward for this community if violence is rejected? How does it work towards this future? The mural then could be seen to act as a touchstone, or as a way to store memory, as important for its symbolic qualities as for its materiality.

Re-Collecting and *Lieux de Mémoire*

Edna Longley describes Northern Ireland as a *lieu de mémoire* or 'ethnic site where religion, politics and history powerfully fuse', making it a 'territory marked outwardly by competing symbols, inwardly by communal understandings of history' (Longley and Kiberd 2001, 35). Briefly, Pierre Nora suggests that *lieux de mémoire* are 'external props or necessary reminders' (1996, 8) in a world where our *milieu de mémoire* — living embodied memory — is being eroded and replaced by 'the acceleration of history' (1996, 1) with its tendency for 'sifting and sorting' (1996, 2). *Lieux de memoire* 'arise out of a sense that there is no such thing as spontaneous memory', meaning that we are forced to create 'archives, mark anniversaries, organize celebrations' (Nora 1996, 7) in these sites, which are described as 'hybrid places [. . .] endless rounds of the collective and the individual' (Nora 1996, 15). The 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' mural could be conceived of as a *lieu de mémoire*, acting as a site, both literal and metaphorical, in which the residents of Mount Vernon could focus their collective memory of the conflict. It was brought into existence because it was thought necessary at the time, and the fact that its future existence was able to be discussed through the process of the

social archiving project could be seen as evidence of changing attitudes and a developing sense of confidence on the part of the community that produced it. In this sense the mural can be seen as acting as evidence in two ways: through its own materiality and through attitudes towards it.

This can perhaps be best investigated through Diana Taylor's work when she picks up on Nora's ideas, likening *milieux de mémoire* to what she calls the repertoire, a 'non-archival system of transfer' (2003, xvii) made up of embodied practices and knowledge. In describing the repertoire she quotes from Nora's description of *milieux de mémoire* as being made up of 'gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body's inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories' (Taylor 2003, 22). The repertoire is set against the archive, which is characterised by 'documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archaeological remains, bones, videos, films, CDs, all those items seemingly resistant to change' (Taylor 2003, 19). While the archive is more closely associated with *lieux de mémoire* Taylor suggests that it is not helpful to polarise *lieux* and *milieux de mémoire* or the archive and the repertoire, or history and memory, as it is too easy to read the written archive as constituting hegemonic power while seeing the repertoire as providing an 'anti-hegemonic challenge' (2003, 22): instead the two interact with and are dependent on each other.

Conceptualising the 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' mural as a *lieu de mémoire*, as part of the archive, might seem extravagant, a rather exaggerated claim made on behalf of a crudely painted mural which threatens violence if the desired outcome of a political settlement is not realised to the satisfaction of the mural's sponsors. Would it not be more ethical to simply shun its violent imagery? However, understanding the social archiving project as part of what Taylor calls a 'scenario' shows how important it was to place the mural at its heart. The scenario is a methodological tool by which we can study and understand the repertoire as a 'meaning-making paradigm that structure[s] social environments, behaviours and potential outcomes' (Taylor 2003, 28). The scenario is multi-faceted, allowing us to draw from both the archive and the repertoire. Rather than trying to translate between embodied and linguistic expression, for example, the key is to 'recognise the strengths and limitations of each system' (Taylor 2003, 32). It is too simple to consign the mural to the archive while possibly over-valorising the social archiving process. The *lieu de mémoire* was imbricated in the *milieu de mémoire*; the archive and the repertoire can be read together within the scenario of the social archiving project. For the instigators and facilitators of the social archiving project it was important to give

participants permission and space to discuss their relationship with the mural and to come to an understanding of why it seemed to be such an important part of their community. As Hutchinson says in his interview:

> I don't want people taking murals down for the sake of taking them down [...] the point is it needs to be interpreted [...] it's about change. And the whole point of having these discussions at public meetings was not to get people to talk about the mural but to give people the opportunity to talk about whatever they wanted to talk about. And if the mural was talked about, fine.

Aleida Assmann's conception of political and cultural memory completes the theoretical framework through which we can understand the ethical dimensions of social archiving in the highly charged political situation in Northern Ireland.[11] *Political memory* is 'group related, selective, normative and future-oriented' (Assmann 2006, 213). Often associated with the text and with hegemonic impulses involved in nation building, it 'relies on effective symbols and rites that enhance emotions of empathy and identification' (Assmann 2006, 216) and so can be said to be more closely tied to the archive in Taylor's terms. *Cultural memory* is more like 'a memory of past memories' (Assmann 2011, 124) in that it is latent and its function is to act as a potential reservoir or a '*repertoire* of missed opportunities, alternative options and unused material' (2011, 127, my emphasis) from which communities can draw in order to craft or shape identities. In the film Hughie makes a startling claim for the social archiving project, seeming to sense the political and ethical potential of the process of generating and sharing cultural memory: 'If this had happened maybe when we were growing up we might not have had these Troubles. We might not have had thirty years of conflict.' This is the key to the social archiving process in which participants were asked to re-collect or create a kind of inventory of their individual and collective past using the kind of memory work or recollection outlined above. Sharing these memories involved plotting them into a series of narratives by which the participants were enabled to expand their repertoire, to see which parts of their history were useful and which were preventing them from moving on. Finally, the film allowed the participants to take these narratives to a wider audience and into the 'ethico-political' arena, through which they asked the wider community what memories should be kept and which discarded, thus potentially extending and expanding their repertoire.

What Kind of Archive? What Kind of Repertoire?

The original conception of the archive shows that it was conceived of as a shelter or house for those who made the law and who were accorded the 'hermeneutic right and competence' (Derrida 1995, 10) to interpret the law. But the wall on which the mural is painted has, literally, proved a false shelter. In the film Maura describes how the original mural was painted on another wall in a different part of the estate, on the gable end of a house which was due for demolition to make way for a block of flats. In a deal with the architects the original mural was demolished, along with the house, in return for the resources to paint a new mural on the current site. The wall on which the current mural is located is a fake wall, built at the suggestion of the architects to resemble the gable end of a house but with only open ground behind it. Despite, or maybe because of, the irony that the wall on which the mural was painted is a false one, the mural itself has fulfilled an important function. Its role in the scenario of the social archiving project facilitated the move away from seeing the archive as a 'house of records' (Derrida 1995, 9–11) towards what Jeanette Bastian calls a 'community of records' where the people themselves are both the producers of records and the holders of the 'memory frame that contextualises the records it creates' (2003, 3). In conceptualising the mural as a storage place for wounds, to return to Ricoeur's terminology (1999, 8), its falsehood is important because it deprives the mural of some of its symbolic power, perhaps encouraging the residents to question their relationship to it and what it symbolises. In the process of archiving the mural the participants have displaced and de-centred it, taking greater control of its meaning and role within the community and beyond. Even if they cannot control the political memory in which they are enmeshed, by extending their repertoire residents both keep and transform 'choreographies of meaning' (Taylor 2003, 20), exerting a degree of control over what is included, or not, in their cultural memory. They have regained the choice to select from the repertoire such memories as are useful and given themselves permission to leave others behind, possibly for re-circulation but maybe to be relegated to the most 'inaccessible' parts of the archive, to slip out of the repertoire altogether and be forgotten.

For Appadurai, whose words opened this chapter, the traditional conception of the archive as an empty box waiting to be filled, 'a neutral, or even ethically benign tool', disappeared when Foucault 'destroyed the innocence of the archive' (Appadurai 2003, 15, 16). Appadurai is interested in the possibilities of thinking about the archive as a collective tool by developing popular archives which are less an empty container

waiting to be filled and more the 'site of a deliberate project' (Appadurai 2003, 24). In looking at the archive as a tool or social process we can see it as an important site of aspiration and a 'conscious site of debate and desire' (Appadurai 2003, 24). The 'aspiration' that has emerged from this re-collection of collective identity may be seen in the recent removal of two smaller murals situated on the side of a block of flats on Mount Vernon in January 2014 (UTV News 2014; see Figure 8.2). Described by the local press as the outcome of 'three years of dialogue and groundwork', in which the social archiving project played a vital part, the removal of these smaller murals is thought to have paved the way for the possible removal of the larger 'Prepared for Peace Ready for War' mural considered here.

Rather than dismissing the mural as a bellicose piece of paramilitary posturing, it has proved more fruitful to investigate its role in social archiving, in the formation of identities and in gesturing to a future beyond conflict. Working with the residents of Mount Vernon has allowed for the construction of a kind of archive where 'voices that have as yet played no part in forming traditions of the collected memory and that, with their different experiences and buried hopes, run counter to the framework of the established tradition' (Assmann 2011, 132) can be heard. Using the mural as part of an active process of social archiving has been a valuable way for participants to understand the new political realities within which they are now operating. It has allowed them to recollect in a social forum some of the perceived injustices of the past and to re-collect, in the sense of gathering energy and summoning up the courage to face the future. The power of the mural has been shown to lie not in its warlike message of defiance but in the way it has held the possibilities inherent in discussing its role past and present, and its importance, or lack of it, in a possible future. Considering how the residents wanted the mural to be archived, remembered, forgotten, dismissed or ignored through the scenario of the social archiving project has extended their repertoire. The ostensibly more ethical gesture of removing a piece of public art that might be deemed 'offensive' by some has turned out not to be the most efficacious one. In absorbing the disappointments and aspirations of the residents on Mount Vernon the mural has played a valuable role as an archive and as the generator of an extended range of possibilities for future repertoires.

Notes

1. See McKittrick et al. (2012) for an account of all lives lost in the Troubles.
2. See Poole (1997) for discussion of the ethnic dimensions of the conflict.

3. This is a necessary over-simplification of a complex set of political circumstances. See Shirlow and Murtagh (2006) and McKittrick and McVea (2012) for further discussion.
4. I will call this group the 'facilitators' for ease of reference.
5. Readers who are interested can read about their community theatre work in Boon and Plastow (2004).
6. Interview with the author, 13 September 2010.
7. Gerri Moriarty, one of the arts facilitators, interview with the author, 14 January 2014.
8. Readers who are interested in the role that some loyalist ex-paramilitaries are playing in post-conflict Northern Ireland should consult Graham (2008).
9. William Mitchell, one of the facilitators, telephone interview with the author, 19 July 2010.
10. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from the voice-over and interviews in the film.
11. Assmann later seems to identify political memory as functional (or inhabited) memory and cultural memory as storage (or inhabited) memory (2011) but, although these terms may be more recent, I will use the ideas of political and cultural memory as they are clearer in this context.

9

Mind the Gaps

Evidencing Performance and Performing Evidence in Performance Art History

Heike Roms

October 2006. An audience of about a hundred gathered at a venue in Cardiff, Wales, on the occasion of the first in a series of conversations — under the title 'An Oral History of Performance Art in Wales' — for which I invited artists to revisit key moments in Wales's post-war neo-avant-garde past.[1] On a small stage in front of a screen I sat with Ivor Davies, one of the country's foremost painters and in the 1960s a protagonist of event-structured 'Destruction in Art', to talk about his *Adam on St Agnes's Eve*, staged in Swansea in 1968 as an early Welsh example of a multi-medial Happening-style work, which featured the artist's trademark explosives.[2] During our conversation we made repeated reference to documentation selected from Davies's archive, which was projected onto the screen behind us as both illustration and memory prompt (see Figure 9.1). Among the documents was a detailed score for the piece and a five-minute-long, silent, black-and-white film of its Swansea realisation:

> Ivor Davies [ID] I've kept all sorts of things from that event, even the tickets, an obsessive sort of collection of things. [*Points to a hand-written score that he holds in his hands*.] Here is a score which lists the sound, the cues, the explosions and the timing of the explosions, the lighting, the projections, the performers, the actions and props, other objects that were used, and then times it exactly. [. . .] [*Turns to the screen, on which a black-and-white film appears*.] I wonder if it would work if I said what was happening in the film while we are watching it, oh yes . . . This is the beginning. 7.30. Recording of bird-song, which I'd taken from the Ornithological Society, and red and

green spotlights on the floor, which give this feeling of a forest. [*A performer appears on screen, naked and covered in paint.*] I really don't remember inviting him . . . [*Laughter from the audience.*]

Heike Roms [HR] Who was he, do you know?

ID I don't know who he was.

HR But is he in it? I mean, he's naked and painted.

ID Well he's in it, yes, but I didn't ask him to do it. That kept happening — when you tried to organise something very precisely, things like that happened. [*Laughter from the audience.*][3]

For the past ten years all my research efforts have been devoted to tracking the emergence and early development in the 1960s and 1970s in Wales of those art practices that we have come to call — with a catch-all term — performance art: Happenings, Fluxus, body art, action art, destruction in art and many other performance-structured forms like them. 'What's Welsh for Performance? Locating the Early History of Performance Art' (the overall title of the project) examines how widely such practices impacted on art making at the time, 'even' within comparatively marginal cultural contexts such as that of Wales.[4] To this end I have searched for relevant materials in over fifty-five archives and

Figure 9.1 Ivor Davies in conversation with Heike Roms, 'An Oral History of Performance Art in Wales', 2006. Photograph by Phil Babot

private collections, ranging from the climate-controlled reading room of the Tate to a damp corner of an artist's attic. I have digitised over 4500 documents in the process — mostly of hitherto unsorted and uncatalogued material that comprises photographs, notebooks, reviews, score and other ephemera — relating to nearly 700 performance art events made in Wales between 1965 and 1979. And from the outset, the archival research has gone hand in hand with a range of other methods: I have staged oral history conversations in public; taken artists, technicians and organisers on guided tours back to locations of particular importance to their past work; re-enacted historical performances; and created interactive installations with which to gather the memories of audience members.[5] These different undertakings were motivated by a wish to expand the relatively scarce archived evidentiary material on which I was able to draw, in order to understand more of what may have occurred, under what conditions, with what intention and to what effect. But these approaches, all of which are themselves performance-structured in kind, were also my attempt — as someone with no art or theatre-historical training and whose previous scholarship was entirely devoted to contemporary performance work that I had witnessed in person — to investigate what methods might be most generative with regard to researching an art practice that had been fleeting, carried out in the main by solo artists who often placed the same value on ideas as on their actuation, took place in many sites but rarely attached itself to a venue for long, was ignored by art criticism and ridiculed by the popular press, was frequently only glimpsed out of the corner of one's eye by an involuntary audience — and, most importantly, of which I had no personal experience. As such, my project has also been historiographic in attention — or, more accurately perhaps, 'historio-dramaturgical', as it focuses not so much on how performance history is written but on how it is performed in my various research undertakings. It shares this attention with many current artistic projects that use performance formats (re-enactments, guided tours or installation displays) as ways to engage with histories of the art form, but also with an increasing amount of theatre-historical scholarship that employs performative methods such as walking, mapping and restagings of many kinds. I will suggest in the following that such formats are ways of establishing, evaluating and disseminating evidence that may be different in conduct from more traditional forms of scholarship but not in the essence of their relationship to evidence. Rather, they point us to the performative nature of any research activity — by which I refer not just to the performance structure of the act, but to research as an iterative, mediated and generative

practice, whether sitting in an archive searching through files or stage-managing elaborate restagings. Evidence, I argue here, is always the product of a scholarly performance, and not its pre-existing object of attention.

Similarly, while the ethical challenges that are posed by explicitly performance-based historical research methods have specific features, they also help to shed light on ethical issues in historical research more generally. In this essay, I wish to discuss in more detail two ethical matters of concern to my research that I believe have implications that reach beyond the specificities of my work, and which are both related to ethics as situational praxis rather than procedural framework.[6] They may be a little crudely summarised as the 'who' and 'how' — or, in performance terms, of the performer(s) and the performance — of the constitution of evidence within the context of performance art research. The first ethical implication concerns one of the keystones of research ethics, the ideal of the 'researcher's independence'.[7] As any scholar of the recent past who draws on the testimony (or even just on the support) of others in gathering evidence for events that occurred in living memory knows, the constitution of evidence in such contexts is often the effect of complex interpersonal negotiations, even collaborations, which challenges the assumption that research is able to be detached objectively from either researcher or 'researched'. The second ethical matter of importance to my project in reference to its engagement with evidence is more oblique and involves a consideration of evidence itself. Here I will outline an understanding of evidence, drawing on recent German scholarship on the topic, that not only concerns itself with how to establish proof for a past event such as historical performance art, but also regards the establishment of such evidence itself as a performative event. The ethical dimension of this understanding relates to another cornerstone of research ethics, that of the researcher's obligation to make transparent how she or he has arrived at a piece of evidence.[8] I will contend that performance forms help make evident how evidence is produced, examined and shared through research, reminding its audiences or recipients that history itself is a complex negotiation of past and present.

While the issue of transparency may at first glance be unrelated to that of interpersonal collaboration in research, I propose that the these two matters are linked through the fact that both of their central aspects, ethics and evidence, are here approached through a performative lens: evidence is not a thing but an event that is situated and mediated, and which relies on the co-creative presence of others. Such others also, crucially, include not only the subjects of the research but those whose

stake in the performance of evidence is less obvious: the listener to a conversation, the audience at a re-enactment or the reader of an essay. It is in their eye or ear or thoughts that something shown, demonstrated or argued becomes plausible, persuasive, evident.

Performative Ethics

> Ivor Davies I really don't remember inviting him . . . [*Laughter from the audience*.]
> HR Who was he, do you know?
> ID I don't know who he was.
> HR But is he in it? I mean, he's naked and painted.
> ID Well he's in it, yes, but I didn't ask him to do it. That kept happening — when you tried to organise something very precisely, things like that happened. [. . .]

Historians of performance art currently find themselves at an interesting temporal cusp: the generation of innovators of the art form in the 1960s and 1970s has now reached retirement age (and some of its leading figures have already passed away). Little wonder therefore that a growing number of research projects have devoted themselves to recording the memories of these artists.[9] The sentiments of rescue, recovery and revisionism that motivate such projects have always been among the prime drivers for oral history work (Abrams 2010, 5). There is the attempt to rescue evidence for past events as captured in living memory before that memory disappears with its holders. This is frequently coupled with the desire to recover new evidence that could not be retrieved from other historical sources, a history from below, a counter-narrative to mainstream accounts, unavailable in or even deliberately excluded from the official archives. That the critical-political and ethical imperatives that thus often attach themselves to oral history practice would appeal to the historians of an art form that used to tie itself closely to countercultural and sub-cultural developments is therefore quite apparent. But there is a further aspect to oral history as method that increasingly draws performance art scholars to it. It is the recognition that the evidence obtained from oral interviews may not just be different in content but also different in kind, with that difference being located within the performative character of memory and its narrative retrieval. As Rebecca Schneider suggests, '[b]ecause oral history and its performance practices are always decidedly repeated, oral history practices are always reconstructive, always incomplete [. . .]. In performance

as memory, the pristine self-sameness of an "original", an artifact so valued by the archive, is rendered impossible' (Schneider 2011, 100, original emphasis). What has tended to hinder the acceptance of oral history as methodology among traditional historians and social scientists, namely the contingent and mutable nature of memory as evidence, is here turned into an asset that allows performance (to borrow a phrase used by Schneider, 2001, 105), to 'remain differently' from the relative stability of documents: a form of evidence that is not unchanging 'stuff' thrown up by the past that awaits the interpretation of the scholar, but evidence as a complex ongoing negotiation between past and present.[10] There is a further aspect that is important to this performance-inflected approach to evidence, and that is its interpersonal quality. This quality is, of course, central to oral history, 'floating as it does' — writes one of oral history's pioneers, Alessandro Portelli — 'in time between the present and an ever-changing past, oscillating in the dialogue between the narrator and the interviewer, and melting and coalescing in the no-man's land from orality to writing and back' (Portelli 1991, vii). Oral historians have long examined the intersubjective collaborative dynamics of the interview, during which 'the participants cooperate to create a shared narrative' (Abrams 2010, 54). Such a (unconscious) co-operation is also clearly at work in the dialogue between Ivor Davies and me, as our back and forth of questions and answers helps to produce the artist's humorous performance of supposed forgetting.

It is this intersubjective collaborative dynamics of the oral history conversation that makes it a kind of *ur*-scene of ethical exchange, manifested in the form of a face-to-face encounter between a researcher and her 'historical subject'. In *Relating Narratives*, the philosopher Adriana Cavarero has described the particularity of this scene as one in which our unique sense of selfhood is in fact dependent on our narration to another: 'I will tell you my story in order to make you capable of telling it to me' (Cavarero 2000, 114). For Cavarero 'it is the other [...] who is the only one who can realize such a narration' (2000, 56). There is a strong affective dimension to such an ethical scenario, as the vulnerability that ensues when we hand our story to another to be realised requires reciprocation within an ethics of care. I have written elsewhere (Roms 2013) about how, in research projects that deal with the legacy of contemporary artists, such an ethics of care often becomes a joint effort that ties the researcher emotionally to the artist, their family or even their archival custodian.

For my current purpose, though, I want to consider another aspect of this scenario, which is more specifically concerned with the nature and

form of the evidence it produces. It relates not to the position of the interviewee and interviewer as Cavareroean 'unique existents' (Cavarero 2000, 20)[11] but rather as culturally defined figures or roles, which are often invested with a specific kind of authority: in this case the figure of the professional artist and that of the art historian. The performance theorist Adrian Heathfield, himself involved in several conversation-based research enquiries, has recently described the capacity of what he calls 'dialogic discourse' in terms of a 'dismantling of the cultural and critical powers' (Heathfield 2012, 436) of both these figures. For the scholar in particular, such dialogic discourse, says Heathfield, encourages him or her to 'attend less to interpretation, speculation, placement, and narration, and more to the kinds of knowing that emerge through doing' (2012, 437). This suggests that the evidence produced in such dialogical settings is of a different kind from the one that a historian may acquire from the study of documents. To return to my conversation with Ivor Davies: while the differences between Davies's conceptual ideas as represented by the score and their realisation as represented by the film could have been identified through a careful comparative reading of the two documents, it was through the conversation that I acquired a sympathetic understanding of how the complex relationships between intention and effect impacted on the artist's work. Most importantly, Heathfield's proposition implies that this knowing (as a process rather than as a fixed notion of knowledge) does not belong to either the artist or the art historian, but is instead generated in a dialogue between them.

The collaborative and co-creative nature of oral history as performative research method therefore requires a different way of thinking about ethical praxis from that prescribed by the ideal of 'researcher independence', which governs many institutional research frameworks. Such an ideal implies a model of subjectivity that assumes an autonomous sense of self, and which makes ethics the sole responsibility of the scholar vis-à-vis the object of her or his scholarly interest. It also presumes that in any research exchange the researcher is a figure of institutionalised power and prestige while the 'researched' is placed in a position of vulnerability. While this may hold true in some cases, when it comes to interviewing professional artists, who are often highly experienced at accounting for their live and work as part of their art practice, control over the conversational exchange and authority over what gets said and how tends to shift back and forth between interviewer and interviewee. In recent years, a range of alternative ethical approaches have emerged that have aimed to account for such forms of interpersonal connectedness in research exchanges, among them

'dialogic', 'collaborative' or 'relational' ethical models.[12] These have also been taken up by researchers of performance. Fiona Bannon (2012) has adopted a relational perspective in order to situate ethical action explicitly within the intercorporeal relationships (especially those of touch) that define practice-based research work in dance, while Chris Bannerman (in Bannerman and McLaughlin 2009) has used a model of collaborative ethics to acknowledge co-creation and inter-authorship in devised performance practice. Both writers are primarily interested in those set-ups in which research is undertaken collaboratively by a group of researchers. But the underlying notion of ethical practice as an interpersonal negotiation between two 'consenting' professionals (Bannerman in Bannerman and McLaughlin 2009), who each take responsibility for creating evidence in a performative research setting, is equally valuable in considering the exchanges between researcher and 'researched' in oral history work with artists. Consent, I would like to stress at this point, does not imply consensus; I have worked extensively with witness-seminar-style group interviews, during which participants often disagree over their remembered version of events. Consent here means a mutual willingness to engage in these exchanges, swapping agreements or disagreements and making those part of the labour of establishing evidence.

Oral history research is, of course, a very obviously interpersonal method, which brings researchers and 'researched' into direct, face-to-face contact. But issues pertaining to relational and collaborative ethics also concern other performance-based research methods such as re-enactments or participatory installations, for example. They do so in a different way, however: straddling the fuzzy border between scholarly and artistic research, such methods address themselves (almost always) intentionally to a public or publics. They thus feature interpersonal exchanges between the researcher and others who have some sort of presence in the research, but one that is less clearly defined. In the case of my own research project, many of the oral history interviews I conducted were staged in front of a live audience. The presence of the audience was intended to highlight that oral history narrations are always forms of public utterance (see Abrams 2010, 131) even if carried out in a private setting. More importantly, though, this set-up allowed an interested group of people to witness my undertaking of the research, rather than later being offered the insights I had drawn from it through other forms of publication, making research itself an act undertaken in public. Subsequently, in some of my other performance-based research efforts, audience members took on a more active role by

Figure 9.2 'Mapping Performance Art in Cardiff', 2008. Photograph by Daniel Ladnar

participating in re-enactments of past works or by adding their memories of performances in interactive installation set-ups (such as my 'Mapping Performance Art in Cardiff'; see Figure 9.2).[13] The researcher here becomes a kind of 'historio-dramaturg', staging situations where communicative exchanges related to historical enquiries can occur.[14] However, a public's presence in such research situations is not adequately covered by what research ethics usually handles under the rubric of 'informed consent'. Members of the audience here were not addressed as informants. Rather, they were invited to be co-researchers

of sorts, admittedly with much less control and authority over the process than I had, but nonetheless invested and always aware that they were contributing to a process of establishing and performing evidence.

Performative Evidence

> Ivor Davies I've kept all sorts of things from that event, even the tickets, an obsessive sort of collection of things. Here is a score which lists the sound, the cues, the explosions and the timing of the explosions, the lighting, the projections, the performers, the actions and props, other objects that were used, and then times it exactly. [...] I wonder if it would work if I said what was happening in the film while we are watching it, oh yes... This is the beginning. 7.30. Recording of birdsong, which I'd taken from the Ornithological Society, and red and green spotlights on the floor, which give this feeling of a forest. [...]

Having looked in the previous section at the key role of interpersonal negotiations and collaboration in the constitution of evidence, I would now like to examine a little more closely the performative nature of evidence itself, and the ethical implications of recognising and acknowledging that performativity in researching and recording performance histories. My disciplinary affiliations are located in performance studies, a field in which 'evidence' is not a term that has received much explicit critical attention or application. Nonetheless, some of the key questions associated with the term and its ethical dimension — How is knowledge generated, presented, applied and exploited? By whom, for whom and for what purpose? — underscore debates that have been central to the field. Most notable among these is the long-running discussion about the reproducibility of performance through forms of documentation (see for example Auslander 1999 and 2006; Jones 1997 and 1998; Pearson and Shanks 2001; Phelan 1993 and 1997) and the related, but differently nuanced discourse on performance, historical transmission and the archive (Muñoz 1996; Roach 1996; Schneider 2001 and 2011; Taylor 2003). I would like to offer an (admittedly somewhat crude) orientation here. The former discussion has focused above all on the *ontological* dimension of evidence, that is on the question of how a piece of documentation may serve as a proof that (and how) a performance event has occurred, or rather on the problematics thereof. A document either is 'something other' than performance (Phelan 1993) or shares with performance its mutual supplementarity (Jones 1997),

or performs itself in a phenomenological encounter with the viewer (Auslander 2006) or (in consideration of its hermeneutic effects) provides material for the continual play of interpretation and creative re-use (Pearson and Shanks 2001). The debate on archiving, on the other hand, has been concerned mainly with its *epistemological* implications, with the issue of how performance itself (and not just the archival document it produces) can serve as a form of evidence for events that precede or cultural formations that exceed its present, and to what extent it might therefore offer an alternative modus of knowledge production. Building on Roach's (1996) and Muñoz's (1996) critical attention to how ephemeral practices serve as evidence for certain lived experiences that have been marginalised or ruptured, Taylor (2003) and Schneider (2001, 2011) both contrast the 'archive' as the realm of 'supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones)' (Taylor 2003, 19) with an embodied, performative manner of historical transmission ('i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual': Taylor 2003, 19) — what Taylor usefully terms 'the repertoire'. All of these positions are, of course, steeped in poststructuralist doubt in the certainty of proof. Yet to suggest an alternative conception of evidence is not really their concern[15] — rather, reflections on the evidentiary properties of documentation and archiving serve mostly as a foil for identifying the qualities and political potentialities of performance practice. There are also strong ethical implications that run through these debates. From Phelan's definition of performance as an inherently critical force in an advanced capitalist economy based on the principle of reproduction, to Roach's and Taylor's investment in performance practices as a means to acknowledge violently disrupted or disappeared experiences, performance is associated with the ethics of evidencing minor, subaltern histories.

A more sustained engagement with the concept of evidence and its performative quality that offers a different path into addressing its ethical dimension has been developed by recent German literature in the field, especially by the performance scholar Sibylle Peters, who has published a number of essays and books on the topic (e.g. Peters 2006; Peters 2007; Peters 2011; Peters and Schäfer 2006). For Peters, evidence is not a thing (a document or other material trace) used *as* a form of proof for performance, nor an ephemeral act of performance used *as* evidence; rather, evidence *is* itself a performative event. To paraphrase Peters' formulation, evidence is the event of a synchronisation between showing and understanding that is experienced (or experienceable) as the presence of that which is to be shown (Peters 2007, 38).[16]

Peters argues persuasively that performance is therefore already inherent in the very concept of evidence within Western epistemologies, at least since the eighteenth century, when ideas of epistemological certainty were first called into question and evidence shifted from something given to something constructed. She dates this 'performative turn' to the publication of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (*Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781) (see Peters 2006). Prior to Kant, in what Peters calls the 'epoch of evidence' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[17] knowledge was considered to result primarily from the operations of the mind. Such operations were deemed by Descartes and others to join insight and its verbal expression in a manner that was universal and coherent. For Kant, however, the unity of what he termed *Anschauung* (intuition; literally: 'envisagement') and *Begriff* (concept; literally: grasp) could no longer be merely presumed, according to Peters: instead insight (*Erkenntnis*) could only be experienced as an effect produced by the successful operations of reasoning and scientific demonstration. After Kant, Peters argues, a 'crisis' of evidence production became foundational to modern conceptions of knowledge, within which evidence has come to be regarded as something performance-structured, processual, temporally deferred and always contingent.

Peters' interest in thus historicising conceptions of evidence and tracking them across Western philosophical traditions and cultural formations is connected to her wider research project, in which she analyses the format of the lecture and its history through a performance lens. This project takes her from 1800 and the ideal of the freely delivered lecture, around which the modern research university was conceived, through experimental demonstrations and magic lantern shows in the nineteenth century, to a discussion of contemporary PowerPoint® presentations and online lecture formats such as TED talks. For Peters, these changing lecture formats form a series of historical knowledge 'scenarios', each of which is characterised by the distinct way in which it produces and presents evidence. To understand the workings of these scenarios, Peters also calls explicitly on the traditions of rhetoric. In rhetoric, as Halliwell has pointed out, the term *evidentia* has enjoyed a separate history from its genealogy in philosophy, denoting 'compelling verbal vividness (a quality of quasi-actuality)' (Halliwell 1999, 87; see also Ginzburg 1994 and Lévy and Pernot 1997) rather than epistemological certainty. It is as a result of its twin roots in philosophy and rhetoric that 'evidence' has emerged as an ambiguous term, sliding as it does between a thing done and a thing doing, or between reference to the production of knowledge and to its presentation: while as a noun

'evidence' is commonly associated with proof, as a verb 'to evidence' is also synonymous with 'to show' or 'to demonstrate'. We may call this evidence's performative conundrum: in order for something to serve as a proof it needs to be presented or, we might say, performed as such. But the act of performing evidence — whether that be carrying out a scientific demonstration, laying out one's finding in a conference paper or composing a written argument — exposes that any proof, however rigorously conceived, is never a given certainty but rather the product of (often complex) actions of construction, representation and persuasion. For Peters, however, the two sides are inseparable: knowledge is performative as it becomes knowledge only in the moment in which it is made present, not just through rhetorical means but through intermedial forms of performance, theatrical mise-en-scène, visualisation or mediatisation. There is therefore no essential distinction between 'primary' evidence — as, for example, the oral history interview or archival document — and its 'secondary' representation in statements made in an academic lecture or in an essay such as this one: both play different parts in evidence's overall performance.

Important for Peters' conception of the performance of evidence in the setting of a knowledge scenario such as the academic lecture (or the science demonstration, the art-historical slide show, the online presentation and so on) is that here non-discursive and discursive elements — showing something and saying something — work hand in hand. Together 'show and tell' produce a 'figuration of evidence' (after Peters 2006, 206),[18] as a consequence of which something third performatively 'shows itself' (after Peters 2006, 209),[19] namely the presence in the audience's understanding of that which is to be evidenced. The distinctive figurations of discursive and non-discursive elements — the different constellations of 'show' and 'tell' — that define the respective lecture scenarios are for Peters historically contingent and variously mediated. Challenging the common assumption that such material factors as the setting, the demeanour of the speaker or the visual quality of technical aids have no bearing on the content of a lecture, Peters applies a performance analytical optic to her case studies in order to reveal how significantly in fact such factors impact on the evidence they produce. However, central to her argument is that such a figuration of evidence is always accompanied by a defiguration. The reason for this can be located in the performative paradox at the heart of evidence-constitution I outlined above: in order to make something evident, the lecturer or writer uses his or her performance of lecturing or writing to make it present for the listener; but the more vividly present in the telling, the more

its referential function to the absent object of the tale pales in comparison (Peters 2011, 61). Peters' response, though, is not to prevent or disavow the performance of evidence (as that performance is always at work even when 'dissimulated'), but instead to propose that figuration must be accompanied by defiguration, attention by diversion, a kind of de-synchronisation of the 'show' and 'tell': it is in the moments when the performance is interrupted (through a stumble over words, a broken projector, a too complex sentence) that we experience the performative, contingent and temporal nature of the evidence presented and become aware of the process by which our own understanding of it comes into being.

I would like to illustrate this again by returning briefly to my interview with Ivor Davies. As I have shown elsewhere (Roms 2008a), in our exchange Davies calls upon the material richness of his archive — what he terms an 'obsessive collection of things' — to open up points of access to his past work. But these access points are also immediately revealed as problematic. As Davies suggests, between the score and its performative execution a gap opens which allows for things to happen that are as yet unpredictable, but this also opens up a kind of evidence gap, as it delimits the score's potential to act as proof for what occurred in the event of performing it. On the other hand, the film recording of the event is clearly equally limited in its ability to serve as a record: the silent, black-and-white recording is in stark contrast to the work's colours and sounds as recounted by the artist. Yet Davies's narrative performance reminds us that memory too is a complex evidentiary tool. Whether or not we believe him that he really did forget one of the key performers in his work is not really the point here. Rather, the moment of forgetting interrupts the performance of evidence — temporarily 'defigures' it to use Peters' term — and thus makes us become aware of its contingent nature. Furthermore, I want to suggest, the mutual deficiencies of memory and documentation (score and film) are here made productive. Instead of these being considered as a gap in or lack of evidence, the gap itself is transformed through the performance of the conversation into evidence for the work in question.

The ethical dimension that is attached to such a model of evidence as event is twofold. Firstly, Peters' model of an eventful evidence is again essentially intersubjective. The performance of evidence does not occur in the moment of its creation, but rather in the moment of its reception. If and how something becomes evident is decided, writes Peters, 'in the eye of the beholder' (Peters 2011, 14).[20] Evidence occurs in the

moment when what is being shown (demonstrated, argued, performed) becomes evident in the understanding of the reader or listener. Thus to recognise the performative quality of evidence means to acknowledge the presence or participation of others in its performance. It also calls attention to the key role played by the representational strategies employed in that performance and the ethical importance of making such strategies visible and transparent within the evidence event. In a critical engagement with documentary and verbatim theatre — performance forms that make extensive use of documentary material — Stephen Bottoms (2006) has critiqued those theatrical approaches that obscure their own representational strategies behind truth claims associated with their supposed unmediated use of 'real' archival material. He juxtaposes these with a form of self-reflexive theatricality that calls attention to the way it handles documents, encouraging 'spectators to think for themselves about the processes of representation involved' and 'reminding audiences that history itself is necessarily complex, uncertain, and always already theatricalized' (Bottoms 2006, 68). A similar distinction could be drawn in relation to performance-based research methods that build their authority on documentary material or eyewitness accounts. In relation to the latter, Amelia Jones has warned in a recent essay on the history of performance art in Los Angeles, for which she conducted many interviews, that '[i]nterviewing these artists now perhaps gives a false sense of an "unmediated" history "without delay", even though clearly their recollections re-present acts that occurred long ago' (Jones 2012, 146). Jones here cites one of Derrida's propositions in his 'Archive Fever' that one yearns for the '[l]ive, without mediation and without delay. Without even the memory of a translation', encouraging us to efface the 'laborious deciphering of the archive' (Derrida 1995, 58) in a desire to return to an unmediated point of origin. Similarly, there are forms of re-enactment that are presented as reconstructive, as allegedly capturing past performances 'as they really were'. But there are also others that are conscious reinventions which interrogate and make apparent the specific conditions of their reconstructions. In my own re-enactment in 2008 of a Fluxusconcert event that took place in Aberystwyth in 1968, of which no audio-visual documentary material has survived but for which there are scores and plans available, the performers and I utilised our own interpretation of the scores to highlight the gaps in our knowledge of 'what was' and explore instead 'what might have been', displaying our decision-making process as parallel to but not the same as that of the artists

Figure 9.3 *Aberystwyth in Flux* — re-enacting the Aberystwyth Fluxconcert 1968, 2008. Photograph by Daniel Ladnar

who engaged with the same scores in the same location forty years previously (see Figure 9.3).[21] In my oral history work too, as shown in the conversation with Ivor Davies to which I have turned throughout this essay, seemingly factual evidence — remaining audio-visual documentation or the surviving architectures of former sites of performance — was confronted with the memories of eyewitnesses, not in order to reveal one as more truthful than the other, but in order to explore their mutual contingency, the manner in which over the succeeding years certain meanings and values have become attached to them, and to present the historian's interpretations of them as a heuristic process that is never complete and is itself highly contingent, situated and mediated. The oral history conversation is presented as an 'always incomplete' (Schneider 2011, 100) practice, in which the performance of evidence is staged as a form of 'laborious deciphering' (Derrida 1995, 58). The juxtaposing of reminiscence and document helps, to use Peters' terms, to synchronise and de-synchronise 'tell' and 'show'. Performance-based methods, such as re-enactments, participatory installations or interviews conducted in public or at location, have the potential to make the research effort transparent in this way, allowing others to experience and evaluate the conditions under which scholarly evidence is conceived and interpreted.

Coda: Whose Evidence?

> Ivor Davies I really don't remember inviting him . . . [*laughter from the audience*] [. . .] That kept happening — when you tried to organise something very precisely, things like that happened [*laughter from the audience*]

Both previous sections of this essay end at the same point, at which I acknowledge the dependency on the active, participatory presence of others in the performance of ethics and the performance of evidence. There is currently undoubtedly a strong desire for 'participation' that cuts across scholarship (encapsulated in the requirement for 'impact') and artistic practice (widely debated under the terms of 'relational aesthetics' or 'socially engaged art').[22] This desire frequently aims to anchor ethical stances in the textures and structures of the work itself: the research or artwork is assumed to be already ethically sound as it facilitates the participation of others. Such an assumption, however, often masks complex ethical issues around ownership and too often reinforces rather than challenges the authorial authority of the artist or scholar over 'their' work. I am aware that my project too falls foul of this all too often — despite its dialogical nature, it is, after all, my name that is attached to this research, my professional reputation that has been tied to it, I who am publishing from it. However, there are moments when the participation of others in the act of research, as I have claimed performative formats of enquiry allow, is being taken further, leading others to carry out some of the research on their own accord and in contexts that are not controlled by the researcher. I keep coming across websites, social networking platforms or actual physical reunions at which groups of artists or audience members who were put in contact again after forty years or so through my research endeavours are now engaging collaboratively, independent of me and often unbeknownst to me, in constructing their own versions of the history of performance art in Wales.[23]

Notes

1. Funded by a grant from the Arts Council of Wales and the National Lottery Fund. For more information see Roms 2008b and 'What's Welsh for Performance? Beth yw "performance" yn Gymraeg?' website (2011), http://www.performance-wales.org [accessed 1 May 2015].
2. Ivor Davies, *Adam on St Agnes Eve*, Swansea University Arts Festival, 21 January 1968.

3. For an edited transcript see Roms 2008b; a video extract of the interview is available at http://www.performance-wales.org/it-was-40-years-ago-today/interviews/40_Davies.htm [accessed 1 May 2015].
4. The research was supported in 2009–11 by a large research grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) under the title 'It was Forty Years Ago Today — Locating the Early History of Performance Art in Wales, 1965–1979'. See www.ahrc.ac.uk [accessed 1 May 2015]. The research assistant on the project was Dr Rebecca Edwards.
5. For more information and documentation see www.performance-wales.org [accessed 1 May 2015]; see also Roms and Edwards (2011).
6. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) distinguish 'procedural ethics' (those required of a research project by a research committee, for example) from a situational 'ethics in practice (microethics)', which deals with the 'ethically important moments' or the 'difficult, often subtle, and usually unpredictable situations that arise in the practice of doing research' (Guillemin and Gillam 2004, 262).
7. See, for example, the UK's Economic and Social Research Council's *Framework for Research Ethics*, which lists 'the independence of research' as one of its six key principles (ESRC 2015, 4).
8. See again the ESRC's ethical framework: 'Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured' (ESRC 2015, 4).
9. Among them are the European Live Art Archive (ELAA), featuring over fifty interviews with European performance artists (www.liveartarchive.eu [accessed 1 May 2015]); *Performance Saga*, a series of interviews with 'women pioneers' of performance art (www.performancesaga.ch [accessed 1 May 2015]); Unfinished Histories, a project devoted to Alternative Theatre and Performance in the UK (www.unfinishedhistories.com [accessed 1 May 2015]); and Johnson 2015.
10. I should add here though that oral history is not located outside the archive; when we speak of oral history we often refer to the recordings and transcripts that are held in archival collections rather than the event of the conversation itself. Taylor's (2003) notion of the interdependence of archival and repertoire practices offers a more differentiated understanding for oral history's relationship to the archive.
11. Cavarero here draws on Hannah Arendt's notion of the unique individual.
12. Building on Gilligan's 'ethics of care' and models of dialogical and feminist ethics, Ellis describes 'relational ethics' as ethics that 'acknowledge our interpersonal bonds to others, and initiate and maintain conversations' (Ellis 2006, 3).
13. Audience members were invited to share their memories of performance work in Cardiff by locating them on a walkable map of the city, which had been installed for the duration of a full day at Chapter Arts Centre (2008); see http://www.performance-wales.org/events/mappingcf.html [accessed 1 May 2015].
14. The idea of a 'historio-dramaturg' references Victor Turner's notion of an 'ethnodramaturg', 'a kind of producer or provider of occasions where significant communicative events happen' (Fabian 2007, 36).
15. With the exception of Muñoz's brief essay (1996).

16. 'Evidenz meint dabei [. . .] ein Ereignis der Synchronisation zwischen Zeigen und Auffassen, das als Präsenz dessen, was gezeigt werden soll, erfahrbar wird.' (Peters 2007, 38; English translation by H.Roms.)
17. Peters here builds on the work on evidence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the literary theorist Rüdiger Campe.
18. 'Figuration von Evidenz' (Peters 2006, 206; English translation by H. Roms).
19. 'Wenn im Vortrag also etwas passieren soll, dann dadurch, das Sagen und Zeigen so kombiniert werden, dass sich dabei etwas von selbst zeigt, etwas Drittes.' (Peters 2006, 209.)
20. 'Hier wie dort steht nicht nur in Frage, ob etwas gezeigt und entsprechend benannt werden kann, sondern vor allem, ob es sich zeigt, ob es einleuchtet. Ob Evidenz sich ereignet, entscheidet sich im Auge des Betrachters.' (Peters 2011, 14; English translation by H. Roms.)
21. http://www.performance-wales.org/events/aberystwythinflux.html [accessed 1 May 2015].
22. See, for example, Claire Bishop, who in *Artificial Hells* questions the 'ethical turn' in contemporary art and criticism after 'which the difficulty of describing the artistic value of participator projects is resolved by resorting to ethical criteria' (2012, 19).
23. Examples include reunion performance events, such as the memorial for the artist Ian Hinchliffe at London's Beaconsfield Gallery, 2011, and the subsequent documentary *Hinch* (2014), both produced by Roger Ely and Dave Stephens; the creative re-exhibition of performance documentation, for example by Ivor Davies in London in 2013; the commissioning of younger artists in commemoration of past performers, for example the John Gingell Award, sponsored by the family of the artist in collaboration with gallery g39 in 2012–13; and a number of new artists' websites and various Facebook exchanges between former students of Cardiff College of Art identifying pieces of performance documentation.

Bibliography

Abrams, Lynn (2010) *Oral History Theory*. London and New York: Routledge.

'Acts of Achievement: Hulme Black History Trail' (n.d.) http://www.actsofachievement.org.uk/blackhistorytrail/hulmeprint.php [accessed 28 July 2015].

Appadurai, Arjun (2003) 'Archive and Aspiration'. In Joke Brouwer and Arjen Mulder (eds), *Information is Alive: Art and Theory on Archiving and Retrieving Data*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, pp. 17–25.

Aragay, Mireia, and Enric Monforte (eds) (2014) *Ethical Speculations in Contemporary British Theatre*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Archer, William (1877–1924) Correspondence, British Library, Add. MS 45290.

Aristotle (1965) 'On the Art of Poetry'. In *Classical Literary Criticism: Aristotle/Horace/Longinus*. Trans. T.S. Dorsch. London: Penguin, pp. 1–75.

—— (2004) *The Nicomachean Ethics*. Trans. Hugh Tredennick. London: Penguin.

Arts and Humanities Research Council (2015) http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/ [accessed 1 May 2015].

Arts Council England (2006) *Whose Theatre . . . ? Report on the Sustained Theatre Consultation*. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/documents/publications/whosetheatre_phpB7dYie.pdf [accessed 4 April 2015].

Assmann, Aleida (2006) 'Memory, Individual and Collective'. In Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 210–24.

—— (2011) *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Arts of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Auslander, Philip (1999) *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.

—— (2006) 'The Performativity of Performance Documentation', *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art*, 28.3, 1–10.

Baden-Powell, Robert (1915) *Indian Memories:Recollections of Soldiering, Sport, etc*. London: H. Jenkins.

Bank, Rosemarie K. (1997) *Theatre Culture in America, 1825–1860*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bannerman, Christopher, and Cahal McLaughlin (2009) 'Collaborative Ethics in Practice-as-Research'. In Ludivine Fuschini, Simon Jones, Baz Kershaw and Angela Piccini (eds), *Practice-as-Research in Performance and Screen*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 64–81.

Bannon, Fiona (2012) *Relational Ethics: Dance, Touch and Learning*. York: The Higher Education Academy.

Barish, Jonas (1981) *The Antitheatrical Prejudice*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Barnes, Jonathan (2004) 'Introduction' to Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*. Trans. Hugh Tredennick. London: Penguin, pp. ix–xli.

Barnett, Dene (1987) *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of Eighteenth-Century Acting*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätverlag.

Barnhart, C.L. (ed.) (1960) *The American College Dictionary*. New York: Random House.

Basch, Françoise (1974) *Relative Creatures: Victorian Women in Society and the Novel, 1837–67*. London: Allen Lane.

Bastian, Jeanette Allis (2003) *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost its Archives and Found its History*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Becker, Tobias (2014) 'Entertaining the Empire: Theatrical Touring Companies and Amateur Theatricals in Colonial India', *Historical Journal*, 57.3, September, 699–725.

Beerbohm, Constance (1894) 'Illustrated Interview: Madame Albani', *The Woman at Home: Annie Swan's Magazine*, September, 12–20.

—— (n.d.) Letter to Ada Leverson, Eccles Bequest, General Correspondence, British Library, Add. MSS 81747.

Beerbohm Tree Collection, Maud Beerbohm Tree Collection 14: Letters to Maud Tree from Constance Beerbohm, University of Bristol Theatre Collection.

Bennett, Oliver (1987) 'The Nia Cultural Centre: A Feasibility Study on the Housing and Management of a Black Cultural Centre in the BBC Playhouse, Hulme Manchester. Part One: Consultant's Report'. Unpublished report, Leicester Polytechnic.

Bennett, Susan (2010) 'The Making of Theatre History'. In Charlotte Canning and Thomas Postlewait (eds), *Representing the Past: Essays in Performance Historiography*. Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, pp. 63–83.

Bentley, Michael (1999) *Modern Historiography: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

Beringer, Aimée (1897a) 'Women Playwrights', *The Era*, 6 November, 14.

—— (1897b) 'Women Playwrights', *The Era*, 20 November, 13.

—— (1968) '"The Stage as a Profession": An 1897 Controversy', *The Shaw Review*, 11.2, 52–78.

Bhatia, H.S. (1977) *Military History of India 1607–1947*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

Bhatia, Nandi (ed.) (2009) *Modern Indian Theatre: A Reader*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Bishop, Claire (2012) *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*. London: Verso.

Boon, Richard, and Jane Plastow (eds) (2004) *Theatre and Empowerment: Community Drama on the World Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Booth, Alison (1999–2000) 'The Lessons of the Medusa: Anna Jameson and Collective Biographies of Women', *Victorian Studies*, 42.2, 257–88.

Bottoms, Stephen (2006) 'Putting the Document into Documentary: An Unwelcome Corrective?', *TDR: The Drama Review*, 50.3, 56–68.

Bowman, Andy (2011) '"A violent eruption of protest": Reflections on the 1981 Moss Side "Riots"', *MULE*, 15 August. http://manchestermule.com/article/%E2%80%98a-violent-eruption-of-protest%E2%80%99-reflections-on-the-1981-moss-side-%E2%80%98riots%E2%80%99-part-one [accessed 10 December 2014].

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

—— (2011) *The Making of the West End Stage: Marriage, Management and the Mapping of Gender in London, 1830–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bratton, Jacqueline S. (ed.) (1991) *Acts of Supremacy: The British Empire and the Stage, 1790–1930*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Brecht, Bertolt (1962) *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*. Trans. James and Tania Stern, with W.H. Auden. London: Methuen.

—— (1963) *The Life of Galileo*. Trans. Desmond I. Vesey. London: Methuen.

Brennan, Samantha (1999) 'Reconciling Feminist Politics and Feminist Ethics on the Issue of Rights', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 30.2, 260–75.

Brennen, Timothy (2014) *Borrowed Light: Vico, Hegel, and the Colonies*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Brewer, Mary F., Lynette Goddard and Deirdre Osborne (2015) *Modern and Contemporary Black British Drama*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brown, Gerald (1995) 'Clamp "may kill centre"', *Manchester Evening News*, 26 July.

Brown, Thomas (1702) *Amusements Serious and Comical*. London.

Bryan, George B. (1993) *American Theatrical Regulation, 1607–1900: Conspectus and Texts*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1993.

Buck, Edward J. (1904) *Simla Past and Present*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co.

Burstein, Miriam Elizabeth (1999) 'From Good Looks to Good Thoughts: Popular Women's History and the Invention of Modernity, ca. 1830–1870', *Modern Philology*, 97.1, 46–75.

Butler, Judith, and Joan Scott (eds) (1992) *Feminists Theorize the Political*. New York and London: Routledge.

Canning, Charlotte M., and Thomas Postlewait (eds) (2010) *Representing the Past: Essays in Performance Historiography*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Canning, Kathleen (1994) 'Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience', *Signs*, 19.2, 368–404.

Carr, David, Thomas R. Flynn and Rudolf A. Makkreel (eds) (2004) *The Ethics of History*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Carrière, Marie (2006) 'Feminism as a Radical Ethics? Questions for Feminist Researchers in the Humanities', *Journal of Academic Ethics*, 4, 245–60.

Cavarero, Adriana (2000) *Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood*. Trans. and with an introduction by Paul A. Kottman. Warwick Studies in European Philosophy. London and New York: Routledge.

Cecil, David (1964) *Max: A Biography*. London: Constable.

Chambers, Colin (2011) *Black and Asian Theatre in Britain: A History*. London: Routledge.

Chatterjee, Sudipto (2007) *The Colonial Staged: Theatre in Colonial Calcutta*. London: Seagull Books.

Cibber, Colley (1740) *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*. London.

Clark, Elizabeth A. (1998) 'The Lady Vanishes: Dilemmas of a Feminist Historian after the "Linguistic Turn"', *Church History*, 67.1, 1–31.

Cochrane, Claire (2006) '"A Local Habitation and a Name": The Development of Black and Asian Theatre in Birmingham since the 1970s'. In Dimple Godiwala (ed.), *Alternatives within the Mainstream British Black and Asian Theatres*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, pp. 153–73.

—— (2010) 'Opening Up the Garden: A Comparison of Strategies for Developing Intercultural Access to Theatre in Birmingham and Nottingham'. In Kate

Dorney and Ros Merkin (eds), *The Glory of the Garden: English Regional Theatre and the Arts Council 1984–2009*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 125–38.

—— (2011) *Twentieth-Century British Theatre: Industry, Art and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Colebrook, Clare (1997) 'Feminist Philosophy and the Philosophy of Feminism: Irigaray and the History of Western Metaphysics', *Hypatia*, 12.1, 79–98.

Collingwood, R.G. (1944) *An Autobiography*. London: Pelican Books.

Cresswell, Tim (2004) *Place: A Short Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Critchley, Simon (2002) 'Introduction'. In Simon Critchley and Robert Bernasconi (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Levinas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–32.

—— (2014) *The Ethics of Deconstruction: Derrida and Levinas*, 3rd edn. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Cubitt, Geoffrey (2007) *History and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Daily Mail (2007) 'Ba Ba Black Sheep: Aristocratic "Elton John", Henry Cyril Paget, 5th Marquess of Anglesey', 27 October.

Dalmia, Vasudha (2006) *Poetics, Plays and Performances: The Politics of Modern Indian Theatre*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Davis, Peter A. (1993) 'Puritan Mercantilism and the Politics of Anti-Theatrical Legislation in America'. In Ron Engle and Tice L. Miller (eds), *The American Stage*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 18–29.

—— (1998) 'Plays and Playwrights to 1800'. In Don B. Wilmeth and Christopher Bigsby (eds), *The Cambridge History of American Theatre*, vol. 1. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 216–49.

Dawson, Mark S. (2005) *Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Denyer, P.H. (1937) *The Centenarian, being a Summary of the History of Simla Amateur Theatricals during the Past 100 Years*. Simla: Liddells.

Derrida, Jacques (1976) *Of Grammatology*. Trans. Alan Bass. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

—— (1993) 'Circumfession'. In Jacques Derrida and Geoffrey Bennington, *Jacques Derrida*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 3–315.

—— (1995) 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression'. Trans. Eric Prenowitz, *Diacritics*, 25.2, 9–63.

Deshpande, G.P. (2006) *Dialectics of Defeat: The Problems of Culture in Postcolonial India*. Calcutta: Seagull.

Dharwadkar, Aparna Bhargava (2005) *Theatres of Independence: Drama, Theory, and Urban Performance in India since 1947*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Diamond, Elin (1996) 'Introduction'. In Elin Diamond (ed.), *Performance and Cultural Politics*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1–12.

Dobson, Michael (2011) *Shakespeare and Amateur Performance: A Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dolan, Jill (2005) *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope in the Theatr*e. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.

Donohue, Joseph (1989) 'Evidence and Documentation'. In Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie (eds), *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, pp. 177–97.

Downes, John (1987) *Roscius Anglicanus*. Ed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume. London: Society for Theatre Research.

Downs, Laura Lee (1993) 'If "Woman" is Just an Empty Category, then Why am I Afraid to Walk Alone at Night? Identity Politics Meets the Postmodern Subject', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35.2, 414–37.

Duckers, Peter (2003) *The British Indian Army 1860–1914*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications.

Dutt, Bishnupriya (2009) 'Historicising Actress Stories: English Actresses in India (1789–1842)'. In Lata Singh (ed.), *Theatre in Colonial India: Play-House of Power*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 313–39.

Earl, John, and Michael Sell (2000) *The Theatres Trust Guide to British Theatres 1750–1950: A Gazetteer*. London: A. & C. Black.

Eclipse Theatre Company (2015) 'About Us'. http://eclipsetheatre.org.uk/about-us [accessed 4 April 2015].

Ellis, Carolyn (2007) 'Telling Secrets, Revealing Lives — Relational Ethics in Research with Intimate Others', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13.1, 3–29.

ESRC (2015) *Framework for Research Ethics*, updated January 2015. http://www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc/information/framework-for-research-ethics/ [accessed 1 May 2015].

Etherege, George (1664) *The Comical Revenge, or Love in a Tub*. London.

European Live Art Archive (2010) http://www.liveartarchive.eu/ [accessed 1 May 2015].

Fabian, Johannes (2007) *Memory against Culture: Arguments and Reminders*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Fanon, Frantz (1952) *Black Skin White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.

Felber, Lynette (2007) 'Introduction: British Women Making History, 1790–1899'. In Lynette Felber (ed.), *Clio's Daughters: British Women Making History, 1790–1899*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, pp. 11–26.

Forbes, Derek (2008) 'Simla: The Amateur Capital of the Raj', *Theatre Notebook*, 62, 77–120.

Foucault, Michel (1973) *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.

Freshwater, Helen (2009) *Theatre & Audience*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fulbrook, Mary (2002) *Historical Theory*. London: Routledge.

Gainor, J. Ellen (ed.) (1995) *Imperialism and Theatre: Essays on World Theatre, Drama and Performance*. London: Routledge.

Gardner, Viv (2007a) '"I pose therefore I am": Narcissism, Performance and Postcards in the Life and Works of the 5th Marquis of Anglesey'. Unpublished lecture, Society for Theatre Research, 16 April.

—— (2007b) 'Would you Trust this Man with your Fortune?', *Guardian*, 10 October, 34–6.

—— (2008) 'Dancing with the Dead', *Dance Theatre Journal*, 22.4, 25–31.

Gilbert, Sandra, and Susan Gubar (1979) *The Madwoman in the Attic*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gildon, Charles (1701) *Love's Victim*. London.

—— (1710) *The Life of Mr Thomas Betterton*. London.

Gilligan, Carol (1993) *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, 2nd edn. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press.

Ginzburg, Carlo (1994) 'Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian'. In James Chandler, Arnold I. Davidson and Harry Harootunian (eds), *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion across the Disciplines*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 290–303.

Goddard, Lynette (2007) *Staging Black Feminisms: Identity, Politics, Performance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gokhale, Shanta (1995) 'Rich Theatre, Poor Theatre'. In Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner (eds), *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*. Bombay: Oxford University Press, pp. 194–209.

—— (2000) *Playwright at the Centre: Marathi Drama from 1843 to the Present*. Calcutta: Seagull Books.

Graham, Brian (2008) 'Containment and the Politics of Loyalist Based Conflict Transformation'. In Mervyn Busteed, Frank Neal and Jonathan Tonge (eds), *Irish Protestant Identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 334–46.

Grassby, Richard (1995) *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—— (2000) *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580–1740*. New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Grehan, Helena (2009) *Performance, Ethics and Spectatorship in a Global Age*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guillemin, Marilys, and Lynn Gillam (2004) 'Ethics, Reflexivity, and "Ethically Important Moments" in Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10.2, 261–80.

Gunaratnam, Yasmin (2003) *Researching Race and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power*. London: Sage Publications.

Gupta, Hemendra Nath Das (2002) *The Indian Stage*, reprint. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Gutsell, Jennifer N., and Michael Inzlicht (2012) 'Intergroup Differences in the Sharing of Emotive States: Neural Evidence of an Empathy Gap', *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, 7.5, 596–603.

Haile, Deborah (1997) 'Arts Centre Closes', *Manchester Evening News*, 10 October.

Hall, N. John (2002) *Max Beerbohm: A Kind of Life*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Hall, Stuart (2000) 'Conclusion: The Multi-Cultural Question'. In Barnor Hesse (ed.), *Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions*. London: Zed Books, pp. 209–41.

Halliwell, Stephen (1999) 'Evidentia', *Classical Review*, 49.1, 87–8.

Hand, Seán (2009) *Emmanuel Levinas*. London: Routledge.

Harvey, David (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Heathcote, T.A. (1995) *The Military in British India: The Development of British Land Forces in South Asia, 1600–1947*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Heathfield, Adrian (2012) 'Introduction'. In Amelia Jones and Adrian Heathfield (eds), *Perform, Repeat, Record*. Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, pp. 435–40.

Held, Virginia (2006) *The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political, and Global*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—— (2012) 'Feminist Transformation of Moral Theory'. In Steven M. Cahn and Peter Markie (eds), *Ethics: History, Theory, and Contemporary Issues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 775–90. First published in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 50, Supplement, Autumn 1990, 321–44.

Heller, Agnes (1994) 'Death of the Subject?' In Anthony Giddens, David Held, Don Hubert, Debbie Seymour and John Thompson (eds), *The Polity Reader in Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 247–57.
Hewitt, Barnard (1959). *Theatre USA: 1665 to 1957*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
Hill, Andrew, and Andrew White (2012) 'Painting Peace? Murals and the Northern Ireland Peace Process', *Irish Political Studies*, 27.1, 71–88.
History Workshop Journal Archive (2015) http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-history-of-history-workshop/ [accessed March 2015].
Hoad, T.F. (1986) *The Oxford Dictionary of Etymology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hodin, Mark (2000) 'The Disavowal of Ethnicity: Legitimate Theatre and the Social Construction of Literary Value in Turn-of-the-Century America', *Theatre Journal*, 52.2, 211–26.
Hooke, Jacob (2013) *Pinacotheca Bettertonaeana*. Ed. David Roberts. London: Society for Theatre Research.
Horn, Julia K. (1995) 'Managing Hulme: Survival, Adaptation and Reputation'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester.
Hoskins, Gregory (2007) 'The Politics of Memory and the World Trade Center Memorial Site', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 38.2, 242–54.
Howell, W.S. (1959) 'Sources of the Elocutionary Movement in England, 1700–1748', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 45, 1–18.
'The Hulme Crescents' (n.d.) http://manchesterhistory.net/manchester/gone/crescents.html [accessed 10 January 2015].
Hume, Robert D. (1988) *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre, 1728–1737*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— (2007) 'Theatre History, 1660–1800: Aims, Materials, Methodology'. In Michael Cordner and Peter Holland (eds), *Players, Playwrights, Playhouses: Investigating Performance, 1660–1800*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 9–44.
Hutcheon, Linda (1988) *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. London and New York: Routledge.
Hyde, H. Montgomery (1970) *The Love that Dared not Speak its Name*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
Illustrated London News (1888) 'The Playhouses', 30 June, 707.
Jarman, Neil (1992) 'Troubled Images', *Critique of Anthropology*, 12.2, 133–65.
—— (1997) *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland*. Oxford and New York: Berg.
—— (1998) 'Painting Landscapes: The Place of Murals in the Symbolic Construction of Urban Space'. In Anthony Buckley (ed.), *Symbols in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, pp. 81–98.
—— (2005) 'Painting Landscapes: The Place of Murals in the Symbolic Construction of Urban Space'. In Michael E. Geisler (ed.), *National Symbols, Fractured Identities: Contesting the National Narrative*. Middlebury, VT: Middlebury College Press, pp. 172–91.
Jenkins, Keith (1991) *Rethinking History*. London: Routledge.
—— (1999) *Why History? Ethics and Postmodernity*. London: Routledge.
John, Angela (1995) *Elizabeth Robins: Staging a Life, 1862–1952*. London and New York: Routledge.
Johnson, Claudia Durst (2008) *Church and Stage: The Theatre as Target of Religious Condemnation in Nineteenth Century America*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Johnson, Dominic (2015) *The Art of Living: An Oral History of Performance Art*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
Johnson, Odai (1999) '"God prevent it ever being established": The Campaign against Theatre in Colonial Boston Newspapers', *New England Theatre Journal*, 10, 13–25.
Jones, Amelia (1997) '"Presence" in Absentia: Experiencing Performance as Documentation', *Art Journal*, 56.4, 11–18.
—— (1998) *Body Art / Performing the Subject*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
—— (2012) 'Lost Bodies: Early 1970s Los Angeles Performance Art in Art History'. In Peggy Phelan (ed.), *Live Art in LA: Performance in Southern California, 1970–1983*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 115–84.
Jordanova, Ludmilla (2006) *History in Practice*. London: Hodder Arnold.
Jordheim, Helge (2012) 'Against Periodization: Koselleck's Theory of Multiple Temporalities', *History and Theory*, 51.2, 151–71.
Joyce, Patrick (1991) *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kanwar, Pamela (1990) *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Kelly, Daniel, Edouard Machery and Ron Mallon (2012) 'Race and Racial Cognition'. In John M. Doris and the Moral Psychology Research Group (eds), *The Moral Psychology Handbook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 433–66.
Knight, Joseph (1922) 'Thomas Betterton'. In Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth (1991) *Their Fathers' Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Langer, Suzanne (1979) *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art*. London: Routledge.
Levinas, Emmanuel (1976) *Difficile liberté*. Paris: Albin Michel.
—— (1981) *Otherwise than Being, or Beyond Essence*. Trans. Alphonso Lingis. The Hague, Boston and London: Martinus Nijhoff.
—— (2006) *Entre-nous: Thinking-of-the-Other*. Trans. Michael B. Smith and Barbara Harshav. London and New York: Continuum.
Lévy, Carlos, and Laurent Pernot (eds) (1997) *Dire l'évidence (philosophie et rhétorique antiques)*. Cahiers de Philosophie de l'Université de Paris XII, 2. Paris and Montreal: Harmattan.
Lewis, Roger (1997) *The Secret Life of Laurence Olivier*. New York and London: Applause Books.
Longino, Helen E. (1999) 'Feminist Epistemology'. In John Greco and Ernest Sosa (eds), *The Blackwell Guide to Epistemology*. Malden, MA, and Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 327–53.
Longley, Edna, and Declan Kiberd (2001) *Multi-Culturalism: The View from the Two Irelands*. Cork: Cork University Press.
Lowe, R.W. (1891) *Thomas Betterton*. London.
Maguire, Nancy Klein (1992) *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660–1671*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mahoney, Elizabeth (2007) 'Gloria Days', *Guardian*, 20 October.
Maitzen, Rohan (1995) '"This Feminine Preserve": Historical Biographies by Victorian Women', *Victorian Studies*, 38.3, 371–93.

Manchester Central Library (2013) 'Archives+: African-Caribbean-Community'. http://www.archivesplus.org/history/afro-caribbean-community/ [accessed 7 August 2015].

Matthews, John, and David Torevell (2011) *A Life of Ethics and Performance*. Liverpool Hope University Studies in Ethics. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Mayne, Liz (n.d.) 'The Nia Initiative', unidentified, undated clipping, Arts Council of Great Britain archive, Theatre Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, ACGB/117/67.

Mays, David D. (1982) 'The Achievements of the Douglass Company in North America: 1758–1774', *Theatre Survey*, 23.2, 141–9.

McClennon, Sheila (presenter) (2009) 'Lord of the Dance', produced by Geoff Rose, BBC Radio 4, 20 August.

McConachie, Bruce A. (1992) *Melodramatic Formations: American Theatre and Society, 1820–1870*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

McCormick, Jonathan, and Neil Jarman (2005) 'Death of a Mural', *Journal of Material Culture*, 10.1, 49–71.

McElderry, Bruce (1972) *Max Beerbohm*. New York: Twayne Publishers.

McKay, Susan (2005) *Northern Protestants: An Unsettled People*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press.

McKittrick, David, and David McVea (2012) *Making Sense of the Troubles: A History of the Northern Ireland Conflict*. London: Penguin.

McKittrick, David, Seamus Kelters, Brian Feeney, Chris Thornton and David McVea (2012) *Lost Lives: The Stories of the Men, Women and Children who Died as a Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

Megill, Allan (2004) 'Some Aspects of the Ethics of History-Writing: Reflections on Edith Wyschogrod's *An Ethics of Remembering*'. In David Carr, Thomas R. Flynn and Rudolf A. Makkreel (eds), *The Ethics of History*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, pp. 45–75.

Meyer-Dinkgräfe, Daniel, and Daniel Watt (2010) *Ethical Encounters: Boundaries of Theatre, Performance and Philosophy*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Milhous, Judith M. (1975) 'An Annotated Census of Thomas Betterton's Roles, 1659–1710', *Theatre Notebook*, 29, 33–45 (part 1) and 85–94 (part 2).

—— (1979) *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695–1708*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

—— (1981–82) 'United Company Finances, 1682–1692', *Theatre Research International*, 7.1, 37–53.

——- (2004) 'Thomas Betterton (*bap*. 1635, *d*. 1710)'. Rev. in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online edn, September 2010. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2311 [accessed 4 August 2015].

Mill, John Stuart, and Harriet Taylor (1869) *The Subjection of Women*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.

Miller, Christian B. (2013) *Moral Character: An Empirical Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Milling, Jane (2004) 'Thomas Betterton and the Art of Acting'. In Martin Banham and Jane Milling (eds), *Extraordinary Actors: Essays on Popular Performers. Essays Presented to Peter Thomson*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, pp. 21–35.

Moers, Ellen (1978) *Literary Women*. London: Women's Press.
Monk, Ray (2007) 'Life without Theory: Biography as an Exemplar of Philosophical Understanding', *Poetics Today*, 28.3, 527–70.
Moore, Greville (1919) *Memories of an Old Etonian, 1860–1912*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
Moriarty, Gerri (2009) 'Social Archive Proposal for Mount Vernon: More than Just a Mural?' Unpublished manuscript.
Morrow, Duncan (2006) 'Sustainability in a Divided Society: Applying Social Capital Theory to Northern Ireland', *Shared Space: A Research Journal on Peace, Conflict and Community Relations in Northern Ireland*, 2, May, 63–79.
Motraye, Aubrey de la (1723) *Travels through Europe*. London.
Mukherjee, Sushil (1982) *The Story of the Calcutta Theatres: 1753–1980*. Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi.
Muñoz, José Esteban (1996) 'Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts', *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory*, 8.2, 5–16.
National Trust (1997) *Plas Newydd, Isle of Anglesey*. London: National Trust Enterprises.
Neuheiser, Jorg, and Stefan Wolff (eds) (2003) *Peace at Last? The Impact of the Good Friday Agreement on Northern Ireland*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
Newey, Katherine (2005) *Women's Theatre Writing in Victorian Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Newnham-Davis, Lt. Col. (1898) 'Amateurs in Foreign Parts'. In W.G. Elliot (ed.), *Amateur Clubs and Actors*. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 221–46.
Noddings, Nel (2003) *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics & Moral Education*, 2nd edn. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Nora, Pierre (1996) 'Between Memory and History'. In Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (eds), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. 1. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 1–20.
Nussbaum, Martha C. (2013) 'Non-Relative Virtues: An Aristotelian Approach'. In Russ Shafer-Landau (ed.), *Ethical Theory: An Anthology*, 2nd edn. Malden, MA, and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 630–44.
Okojie, Paul (1995) 'We are Born to Survive: A Political Biography of Kath Locke, an Activist for Women's and Black Rights who was Based in Manchester'. Film, Manchester: Manchester University and Kath Locke Educational Trust. Special Collections of Manchester Archives and Local Studies, MAN/WO.2/OKO.
Olivier, Laurence (1982) *Confessions of an Actor.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
OoCities.org (2009) 'A Brief History of the Hackney Black Peoples Association'. http://www.oocities.org/hackney_black_people/page6.htm [accessed 14 April 2015].
Owen, Susan J. (1997) *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— (2002) *Perspectives on Restoration Drama*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Pall Mall Gazette (1897) 'Theatrical Ladies at the Lyceum', 27 November.
Parekh, Bhikhu (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*. Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, chair: Bhikhu Parekh. London: Profile Books.
Paul, Herman (2011) 'Performing History: How Historical Scholarship is Shaped by Epistemic Virtues', *History and Theory*, 50.1, 1–19.

—— (2012) 'Virtue Ethics and/or Virtue Epistemology: A Response to Anton Froeyman', *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, 6.3, 432–46.

Pearson, Mike, and Michael Shanks (2001) *Theatre / Archaeology*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pepys, Samuel (1971–83) *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Ed. R.C. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols. London: Bell and Hyman.

Performance Saga: Encounters with Women Pioneers of Performance Art (2012) http://www.performancesaga.ch [accessed 1 May 2015].

Peters, Sibylle (2006) 'Von der Kunst des Demonstrierens: Zur Figuration von Evidenz in der Performance des Vortrags'. In Sibylle Peters and Martin Jörg Schäfer (eds), *Figurationen von Evidenz zwischen Kunst und Wissen*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, pp. 201–22.

—— (2007) 'Über Ablenkung in der Präsentation von Wissen: Freier Vortrag, Lichtbild-Vortrag und Powerpoint-Präsentation — ein Vergleich'. In Bernd Schnettler and Hubert Knoblauch (eds), *Powerpoint-Präsentationen: Neue Formen der gesellschaftlichen Kommunikation von Wissen*. Konstanz: UVK, pp. 37–52.

—— (2011) *Der Vortrag als Performance*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Peters, Sibylle, and Martin Jörg Schäfer (eds) (2006) *Figurationen von Evidenz zwischen Kunst und Wissen*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Phelan, Peggy (1993) *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*. London and New York: Routledge.

—— (1997) *Mourning Sex: Performing Public Memories*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pickering, Michael (1997) *History, Experience and Cultural Studies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Plas Newydd Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Pryfysgol Bangor/Bangor University.

Poole, Michael, A. (1997) 'In Search of Ethnicity in Ireland'. In Brian Graham (ed.), *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 128–47.

Portelli, Alessandro (1991) *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Postlewait, Thomas (2003) 'Microhistory and the Writing of Theatre History Today', unpublished paper, Historiography Working Group, International Federation for Theatre Research/Fédération internationale pour la recherche théâtrale, Worcester University.

—— (2009) *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rachels, James (2003) *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, 4th edn. Boston and London: McGraw-Hill.

Raha, Kironmoy (1980) *Bengali Theatre*. New Delhi: National Book Trust.

Ranney, H.M. (1849) *Account of the Terrific and Fatal Riot at the New-York Opera House, on the Night of May 19th*. New York: H.M. Ranney.

Rees, Marc (2007–10) 'Gloria Days'. Première, Taliesin Centre, Swansea, 18 October 2007.

Reinelt, Janelle G., and Joseph R. Roach (eds) (1992) *Critical Theory and Performance*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Ricoeur, Paul (1999) 'Memory and Forgetting'. In Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley (eds), *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 5–11.

—— (2004) *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
Ridout, Nicholas (2009) *Theatre & Ethics*. London and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Roach, Joseph R. (1985) *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting*. Newark: Princeton University Press.
—— (1996) *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Roberts, David (1999) 'Making the Words Count: Towards an Analytic Database of Theatre Reviews', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 15.4, 332–8.
—— (2009) '"I Think No Ill One": A Letter from Thomas Betterton Sheds New Light on the Chandos Portrait', *Times Literary Supplement*, 1550, 14 August, 13–15.
—— (2010) *Thomas Betterton: The Greatest Actor of the Restoration Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Robins, Elizabeth (1932) *Theatre and Friendship: Some Henry James Letters with a Commentary*. London: Jonathan Cape.
Rokem, Freddie (2000) *Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
Rolston, Bill (1987) 'Politics, Paintings and Popular Culture: The Political Wall Murals of Northern Ireland', *Media Culture and Society*, 9.1, 5–28.
—— (1998) *Drawing Support 2: Murals of War and Peace*. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.
—— (2003a) 'Changing the Political Landscape: Murals and Transition in Northern Ireland', *Irish Studies Review*, 11.1, 3–16.
—— (2003b) *Drawing Support 3: Murals and Transition in the North of Ireland*. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.
—— (2010) *Drawing Support: Murals in the North of Ireland*. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.
—— (2012) 'Re-Imaging: Mural Painting and the State in Northern Ireland', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15.5, 447–66.
—— (2013) *Drawing Support 4: Murals and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.
Roms, Heike (2008a) 'Eventful Evidence: Historicizing Performance Art', *Maska*, 117–18 ('History — Experience — Archive'), 69–77.
—— (2008b) *What's Welsh for Performance? Beth yw 'performance' yn Gymraeg?*, vol. 1. Cardiff: Samizdat Press.
—— (2013) 'Archiving Legacies: Who Cares for Performance Remains?' In Gunhild Borggreen and Rune Gade (eds), *Performing Archives / Archives of Performance*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, pp. 35–52.
Roms, Heike, and Rebecca Edwards (2011) 'Oral History as Site-Specific Practice: Locating the History of Performance Art in Wales'. In Shelley Trower (ed.), *Place, Writing and Voice in Oral History*. Studies in Oral History. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 171–91.
Roy, Kaushik (ed.) (2012) *The Indian Army in the Two World Wars*. History of Warfare, 70. Leiden: Brill.
Runia, Eelco (2006) 'Presence', *History and Theory*, 45.1, 1–29.
Rüsen, Jörn (2004) 'Responsibility and Irresponsibility in Historical Studies: A Critical Dimension in the Historian's Work'. In David Carr, Thomas R. Flynn and Rudolf A. Makkreel (eds), *The Ethics of History*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, pp. 195–213.

Said, Edward (1978) *Orientalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Sayyid, Salman (2004) 'Slippery People: The Immigrant Imaginary and the Grammar of Colours'. In Ian Law, Deborah Phillips and Laura Turney (eds), *Institutional Racism in Higher Education*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books, pp. 149–59.
Schneider, Rebecca (2001) 'Performance Remains', *Performance Research*, 6.2, 100–8.
—— (2011) *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment*. London and New York: Routledge.
—— (2014) *Theatre & History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Scott, Joan (1991) 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17.4, 773–97.
Shafer-Landau, Russ (ed.) (2013) *Ethical Theory: An Anthology*, 2nd edn. Malden, MA, and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Shirlow, Peter (2006) 'Belfast: The "Post-Conflict" City', *Space and Polity*, 10.2, 99–107.
Shirlow, Peter, and Brendan Murtagh (2006) *Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City*. London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.
Showalter, Elaine (1977) *A Literature of their Own*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Silverstein, Jason (2013) 'I Don't Feel Your Pain', *Slate*, 27 June. http://www.slate.com/articles/health_and_science/science/2013/06/racial_empathy_gap_people_don_t_perceive_pain_in_other_races.html [accessed 4 August 2015].
Singer, Peter (ed.) (1994) *Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Sketch (1894) 'Mrs Oscar Beringer at Home', 24 October, 593.
Slote, Michael (2007) *The Ethics of Care and Empathy*. London and New York: Routledge.
Smith, Susan Harris (1997) *American Drama: The Bastard Art*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
Solomon, Rakesh (2006) 'Towards a Genealogy of Indian Theatre Historiography'. In Nandi Bhatia (ed.), *Modern Indian Theatre: A Reader*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–30.
Speedie, J.W. (2004) 'Leverson, Ada Esther (1862–1933)'. Rev. in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online edn, October 2009. http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.lib.exeter.ac.uk/view/article/37669 [accessed 21 October 2014].
Stocqueler, Joachim Hayward (1873) *Memoirs*. Bombay: Times of India.
Szabo, Istvan (director) (1982) *Mephisto*. Film, Berlin: Hessischer Rundfunk et al.
Taylor, Diana (2003) *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press.
Taylor, Paul (1991) 'Price Row Group Snub Centre', *Manchester Evening News*, 26 April.
Thiroux, Jacques P., with Keith W. Krasemann (2007) *Ethics Theory and Practice*, 9th edn. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.
Thompson, John B. (1984) *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
The Times (1936) 'Mrs. Oscar Beringer', 18 February, 17.
Trawalter, Sophie, Kelly M. Hoffman and Adam Waytz (2012) 'Racial Bias in Perceptions of Others' Pain', *PLoS ONE*, 7.11, 1–8.

Trivedi, Poonam (2007a) 'Imperial Simla and the Contest for Performative Space: The *Gaiety* and the *Kali Bari* Theatres'. In Somdutta Mandal (ed.), *The Indian ImagiNation: Colonial and Postcolonial Culture*. New Delhi: Creative, pp. 231–41.

——- (2007b) 'Performing the Nation: Dave Carson and the Bengali Babu'. In Harish Trivedi, Meenakshi Mukherjee, C. Vijayasree and Vijay Kumar (eds), *The Nation across the World: Postcolonial Literary Representations*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 246–69.

—— (2012) 'Impudent Imperialists: Burlesque and the Bard in Nineteenth Century India'. In Tom Bishop, Alexa Huang and Sukanta Chaudhuri (eds), *Shakespearean International Yearbook*, 12: *Special Section: Shakespeare in India*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 7–27.

Trivedi, Poonam, and Dennis Bartholomeusz (2005) *India's Shakespeare: Translation, Interpretation and Performance*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Tronto, Joan C. (1993) *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. London: Routledge.

The True News (1680) *The True News; or Mercurius Anglicanus,* 4–7 February 1679/80.

Unfinished Histories: Recording the History of Alternative Theatre (2010) http://www.unfinishedhistories.com/ [accessed 1 May 2015].

UTV News (2014) 'Two Murals Removed in Mount Vernon', 15 January. www.u.tv/News/2014/01/15/Two-murals-removed-in-Mount-Vernon-7208 [accessed 23 July 2015].

Vannais, Judy (2001) 'Postcards from the Edge: Reading Political Murals in the North of Ireland', *Irish Political Studies*, 16.1, 133–60.

Vince, R.W. (1989) 'Theatre History as an Academic Discipline'. In Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie (eds), *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, pp. 1–18.

Wanko, Cheryl (2003) *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press.

Warner, Pawlet (2002) 'Nia Centre for African and Caribbean Culture'. In Alison Donnell (ed.), *Companion to Contemporary Black British Culture*. London: Routledge, p. 220.

Wells, Stanley (1997) *Shakespeare in the Theatre: An Anthology of Criticism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wengraf, Tom (2001) *Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage.

'What's Welsh for Performance? Beth yw "performance" yn Gymraeg?' (2011) http://www.performance-wales.org [accessed 1 May 2015].

White, Gareth (2013) *Audience Participation in Theatre: Aesthetics of the Invitation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

White, Hayden (1973) *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wiles, David (2013) 'Why Theatre History?' In David Wiles and Christine Dymkowski (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Theatre History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3–6.

Wiles, David, and Christine Dymkowski (eds) (2013) *The Cambridge Companion to Theatre History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiley, Catherine (1990) 'Staging Infanticide: The Refusal of Representation in Elizabeth Robins's *Alan's Wife*', *Theatre Journal*, 42.4, 435–50.

Wilkinson, Vincent, and Martin Wainwright (2003) 'Obituary: Beresford Edwards'. *Guardian*, 3 April. http://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/apr/03/guardianobituaries.race [accessed 14 April 2015].

Woods, Oona (1995) *Seeing is Believing? Murals in Derry*. Derry: Guildhall Press.

Wyschogrod, Edith (2004) 'Representation, Narrative, and the Historian's Promise'. In David Carr, Thomas R. Flynn and Rudolf A. Makkreel (eds), *The Ethics of History*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, pp. 28–44.

Index