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Theatrical Trade Routes

Editors
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Editorial

With this focus issue on 'Theatrical Trade Routes' the Centre for Global Theatre History at LMU Munich presents the first issue of a new online, peer-reviewed journal devoted to exploring the historical dimensions of theatre and performance from a global, transnational and transcultural perspective. The journal has grown out of a research project conducted at LMU Munich entitled 'Global Theatre Histories: Modernization, public spheres and transnational theatrical networks 1860-1960'. Sponsored by the German Research Society (DFG) within its Reinhart Koselleck programme for high-risk research this six-year project explored the emergence of theatre as a global phenomenon against the background of imperial expansion and modernization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The project linked two previously separate scholarly debates: 'global' or 'world' history and recent discussions on the emergence of a transnational public sphere. The temporal coordinates of the project parallel the acceleration of colonialism and imperialism leading ultimately to political decolonization in the early 1960s. The various doctoral and postdoctoral projects, conferences and symposia focused on hitherto under-researched phenomena: theatrical trade routes facilitating the movement of theatre artists and productions; the creation of new public spheres in situations of cross-cultural contact in multi-ethnic metropolitan centres and the dynamics of theatrical modernization in non-Western countries.

The journal presents recent research on theatre, opera, dance, and popular entertainment against the backdrop of globalization studies, transnational and transcultural processes of exchange. We encourage submissions of material covering all areas, periods, or epochs of all genres of the performing arts, but place special emphasis on the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. We expect that all articles will engage strongly with theories or research questions foregrounding the dynamics of globalization and transnational perspectives. We especially encourage research that focuses on the institutional and economic dimensions of the performing arts as well as their connection with questions of reception or the public sphere.

The editors

Christopher Balme and Nic Leonhardt

Introduction: Theatrical Trade Routes

Authors

Christopher Balme currently holds the chair in Theatre Studies at the University of Munich. He currently edits the journal Forum Modernes Theater. Recent publications include *Decolonizing the Stage: Theatrical syncretism and postcolonial drama* (Clarendon Press, 1999), *Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounter in the South Seas* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), *Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies* (Cambridge, 2008) and *The Theatrical Public Sphere* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). His current research interests focus on the legacy of modernism in the globalization of the arts; theatre and the public sphere; and the relationship between media and performance. He is director of the Global Theatre Histories project (www.global-theatre-histories.org).

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The notion of theatre as trade is a familiar one to theatre historians. Since the early modern period theatre has been carried out as a form of commercial enterprise (Henke and Nicholson, 2008). Although the operation of European theatre was until the middle of the nineteenth century strictly regulated in most countries, the operators of theatres regarded their activity as trade rather than art (although claims to the latter could often be employed to good strategic purpose). From the mid-nineteenth century on, however, the theatrical trade expands exponentially throughout Europe and the USA, and in the wake of colonial empires into most other parts of the then known world. As the colonies expanded, and the settler populations grew, so too did the demand for theatrical entertainment of many kinds. In Spanish America the trade begins earlier, as settler populations were well established by the end of the eighteenth century. Whatever the temporal coordinates, the trade was itself very much a two-way traffic, as ships bearing theatrical troupes from London, Paris, Lisbon or Madrid, often returned carrying animals and native peoples contracted to appear in a variety of entertainment and pseudoscientific formats.

Bringing together the two concepts ‘trade’ and ‘routes’ carries an interesting tautological resonance because the term ‘trade’ has its etymological roots in the Middle Low German word *trade* meaning a track or a passage. The word entered the English

language probably in the fourteenth century via Hanseatic 'traders' where, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it denoted a nautical term for the 'course or track' of a ship. It is not until the sixteenth century that the contemporary understanding of trade as a profession or commerce with its concomitant verb form became established. 'To trade' meant therefore almost invariably to move from one place to another along established, and sometimes lesser known, 'trades', to enable commerce to take place. Following this historical etymology 'theatrical trade routes' emerge roughly congruent to the semantic shift of the word 'trade' as it comes to designate a livelihood or form commerce rather than the spatial trajectory along which it is conducted.

Although the itinerant, trading theatre seems to emerge in the sixteenth century in Europe it remained by and large restricted to that continent. The purpose of this volume is to map (even quite literally), characterize and theorize this theatrical traffic beyond the confines of the Europe as it grew in intensity and density after the middle of the nineteenth century and quite literally 'globalized'. Although the bulk of the traffic was commercial in orientation, parallel to it emerged another concept of theatre that we more closely associate with modernism or even the avant-garde. Amongst colonists and local elites small groups of theatre artists sprang up and a public sphere formed dedicated to creating a new form of theatre, whether spoken, sung or danced, that was carried by artistic and ideological imperatives usually focused on questions of national identity. The papers collected here deal with a diversity of such performance genres ranging from single actor tours through to full-scale operatic productions, from dance troupes to wartime entertainers who moved between continents.

The processes outlined here are complex, intertwined and resist easy categorization, especially in terms of theatrical periodization. While recognizing there are many alternatives, in the following articles recommend one possible beginning, a starting point from which to view the following developments. Many global historians regard the period between 1850 and 1914 as a first phase or age of globalization in as much as it evinces many parallels with current uses of the term.[1] The combination of technological advancements such as the invention of the telegraph, the introduction of steamships and the growing networks of colonial trading posts and administrative centres all combined to create the prerequisites for globalization in almost the present sense. This feeling of being interconnected with the globe and its peoples was forcefully and also somewhat wistfully expressed by John Maynard Keynes in his famous account of the Treaty of Versailles, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, published in 1919, where he describes the situation on the eve of the First World War:

> The inhabitant of London could order by telephone, sipping his morning tea in bed, the various products of the whole earth, in such quantity as he might see fit, and reasonably expect their early delivery upon his doorstep; he could at the same moment and by the same means adventure his wealth in the natural resources and new enterprises of any quarter of the world, and share, without exertion or even trouble, in their prospective fruits and advantages; (…) The projects and politics of militarism and imperialism, of racial and cultural rivalries, of monopolies, restrictions, and exclusion, which were to play the serpent to this paradise, were little more than the amusements of his daily newspaper, and appeared to exercise

> almost no influence at all on the ordinary course of social and economic life, the internationalization of which was nearly complete in practice (Keynes, 1919, p. 9).

While the privileged London 'inhabitant' bears close resemblance to the author himself, the situation he describes is more general. The nearly complete 'internationalization', which Keynes observes from economic and social perspectives (he notes for instance that goods and foodstuffs were never so cheap as in the period preceding World War I), also had an impact on theatre, as it too began to internationalize or 'globalize' on an unprecedented scale. By the mid-1920s there were 2,499 permanent theatres in Europe alone. In the period post-dating 1890 over 1,500 theatres were built, most of them before 1914 (Hoffmann, 1966, p. 9). This pattern was repeated throughout many of the former and existing colonial empires, particularly in South-East Asia and Latin America. In addition to the construction of permanent theatre spaces, the same period sees a massive expansion of theatrical touring, which began to be organized on an industrial scale and brought European theatre to all those parts of the globe that could be reached by steamship or rail.

It is clear from the title that investigation of this phenomenon is primarily, at least initially, spatial in orientation. The focus on 'routes' directs our attention to connections between nodal points. We can probably safely assume that these nodal points emanated from metropolitan centres, especially those that functioned as imperial capital cities. We know from research into shipping routes, submarine telegraph trajectories, and later telephone lines, that very specific lines of communication were established and maintained primarily to service either the lines themselves or colonial towns and cities. One working hypothesis is that the theatrical trade made use of these existing routes and provided a kind of cultural superstructure to enhance living conditions in what were often entirely commercial, administrative and military centres. But it is equally important to track less obvious trajectories and routes, which probably established themselves between colonial centres, and not just between the metropolitan centre and the periphery. Preliminary research suggests that by the early twentieth century colonial centres became themselves nodal points connecting centres within a region (Frost, 2004) and some regions had trading networks that predated colonial times (Cohen, 2006).

Commodification of theatre

> In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations.[2]

With great prescience the authors of the above quoted Communist Manifesto observed an emerging inter-dependence of nations and multi-directional intercourse built around satisfying wants that transcended material commodities. This mid-nineteenth century globalization included also 'intellectual creations' leading ultimately, they supposed, to the emergence of a 'world literature'. Although Marx and Engels probably did not have theatre in mind their prediction proved accurate. Touring troupes carried theatre in its many genres to new markets and created a demand for a product that had often never been seen before in this form, although in many places other forms such as shadow plays,

Chinese opera and temple dances were of course very familiar. While touring European and American troupes did not introduce theatre per se, they did offer a new and apparently highly attractive variation of the medium. Its stories, its illusionistic scenery and special combination of spoken word, music and dance all combined to provide a new technology to accompany the telegraph, the rail and the steamship, and in fact was dependent on the latter.

Building on Tracy E. Davis's work (2000) that investigates the application of industrialisation and the dynamics of capitalist production to the theatre in nineteenth century Britain, we can ask how the new markets provided by the colonies throughout the world were harnessed by theatrical troupes and enterprises. Whether we follow the orthodox Marxist-Leninist interpretation of imperialism as a necessity for the investment of surplus capital, or more recent research which tends to focus on questions of self-regulating 'networks' and 'webs' (Potter, 2007), in the English-speaking world at least there seems little doubt that the commercial theatre model of the late nineteenth century saw in the colonies new markets and potential for profit maximisation.

If we are to understand the nature and extent of theatre on a global scale as it was produced and consumed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we have to accept that it was almost indistinguishable from other forms of economic activity designed to produce, transport and sell products on a consumer market. Following the research paradigm of consumption studies, we could define this approach by understanding consumption to be 'a cultural organization of economic transactions, legal relations, social institutions, and ideological apparatuses that continually redrew the boundaries between social classes, between public and private life, between high art and low, and between men and women.' What Bermingham and Brewer (1995, p. 15) posit for the period 1600-1800 in Great Britain pertains even more so to the period of high empire 1860-1939 and the 'first age of globalization' (Ibid.). This period saw a huge outflow of theatrical productions from metropolitan centres that brought the full gamut of performance genres from vaudeville acts to high opera to numerous towns and cities around the globe. In this economy of desire and gratification theatre was predicated on mobility and transience for its economic survival, and promised palpable connection with the metropolitan centres and ways of life. Theatre was thus a part of circulating consumer products, which need to be considered within a research paradigm that balances economic with ideological and aesthetic imperatives.

Closely related to or indeed indivisible from the capitalist model are the interrelated notions of commodification and commodity chains. If we understand the latter as Hopkins and Wallerstein suggest, as 'a network of labor and production processes whose end result is a finished commodity', then through the study of such networks, as they also suggest, 'one can monitor the constant development and transformation of the world-economy's production system' (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1994, p. 17). Although theatre and performance are far from their minds, we can still observe the same dynamics at work. A 'commodification paradigm' (Balme, 2005) can be applied to theatre history as a form of micro-analysis whereby persons, plays and productions can be followed as they move through time and space creating new forms of consumption. Commodification is thus not just a profit maximisation process, which turns a putative 'critical spectator' into a consumer, but is closely linked to ideological imperatives and discourses that inform it

and that it in turn forms. It can be investigated from diachronic, ideological and aesthetic perspectives. As Shannon Steen argues in her contribution, theatrical commodity chains did not just stretch from colonial centre to colonized periphery but were in fact multi-sited and structured around the movement of peoples in diasporic networks. They are always interconnected with other commodities. In the case of Chinese Opera for example which extended throughout South East Asia and around the Pacific Rim (Lei, 2006), the theatrical trade routes were set up to help Chinese migrants survive culturally and socially and were built on the interaction between three commodities: tea, opium, and gold.

There are good conceptual reasons for regarding theatre in terms of consumption and commodification. It's much vaunted ephemerality and seductive power place it much closer to consumables such as tea and opium than to more durable commodities like gold. To trade in the theatre, especially in distant markets far from the point of metropolitan origin, required considerable investment in knowledge, nerves and sheer entrepreneurial *chutzpa*. The important point is, however, that the theatrical trade was not independent or in some way transcendent of the material economy but inextricably implicated in it.

Circulation and mobility

As Ulf Hannerz notes in *Transnational Connnections*: 'People, meanings, and meaningful forms which travel fit badly with what have been conventional units of social and cultural thought' (Hannerz, 1996, p. 20). This has no doubt to do with the fact that the 'container' of the nation-state, as Ulrich Beck (2006) has argued, still continues to dominate research paradigms in the humanities and social sciences. Recent interest in questions of circulation and mobility are to be understood as an attempt to overcome these old patterns and restrictions. Stephen Greenblatt's manifesto on cultural mobility (Greenblatt, 2010) is a clear signal to engage in research into how the movement of ideas, peoples and institutions have influenced history. Greenblatt's call is to revise the still virulent legacy of nation-state-based cultural history by recognizing mobility and cultural exchange as the norm and not the derivative form: 'The problem is that the established analytical tools have taken for granted the stability of cultures, or at least have assumed that in their original or natural state, before they are disrupted or contaminated, cultures are properly rooted in the rich soil of blood and land and that they are virtually motionless.' (Ibid. p. 3)

It takes therefore little effort to recognise the importance of circulation and the ability; the question is rather how we can design research questions that go beyond just tracing movement (although this must also be done) and perhaps see circulation as a cultural form or structure sui generis. In an influential article Lee and Li Puma have made such a suggestion: 'circulation is a cultural process with its own forms of abstraction, evaluation, and constraint, which are created by the interactions between specific types of circulating forms and the interpretive communities built around them. It is in these structured circulations that we identify cultures of circulation' (Lee and LiPuma, 2002, p. 192). They argue that it is necessary to overcome an established dichotomy that sees performativity as the mode in which meaning is created 'whereas circulation and exchange have been seen as processes that *transmit* meanings, rather than as constitutive acts in themselves'

(Ibid.). By linking performativity with circulation it might be possible to arrive at a more legible and productive *cultural* account of economic, and we should add, theatrical processes.

If we interconnect theatrical performance (a quintessential cultural act) with trade (traditionally the prototypical form of economic exchange) we can re-examine the activities of touring troupes, itinerant performers, brokers and managers in the light of current forms of globalization as well as in the context of the historical period of early globalization. In the framework of theatrical trade routes, it is useful to see the circulation of theatre and performance not just as a relationship between two nodal points – points of origin and arrival – but also as a phenomenon sui generis. The circulating performance is no doubt subject to different codes and modes of reception than the one located within an established cultural matrix. Recent conflicts over the 'resettlement' of Roma have highlighted once again how deeply unsettling cultural practices of mobility and nomadism remain. The provocation and attraction of the 'travelling circus', once proverbial, is now receding from our cultural memory, but in the period we are looking at, such practices were still highly controversial. As we will be looking at many different cultural and regional contexts, it is rewarding to examine how notions of mobility, which encompass movement from and to inhabited cultural spaces, impacted.

Brokers and performers

The somewhat abstract concepts adumbrated above are ultimately profitless without examining the human ingenuity required to execute these processes. While there has been some work done tracking prominent performers and troupes such as Fanny Elssler, Sarah Bernhardt, Adelaide Ristori or the Meininger, a largely neglected area of activity pertains to the managers and impresarios who organized, marketed and executed the theatrical trade. Although most tended to focus on one country or even city such as the Shubert Bros in New York, J.C. Williamson in Australia, or I. W. Schlesinger in South Africa, their activities were inevitably transnational as they ceaselessly traversed the oceans between metropolitan centre and colonial periphery recruiting performers and productions. Their activities have been largely ignored by theatre historians because their talents were more focused on making money than art.[3] Yet without them, the theatre trade would have remained largely the domain of individual performers and enterprising local promoters. It would certainly never have attained the scale it did, complete with all the trappings and tactics of monopoly capitalism. To call Williamson, the Shuberts or Schlesinger 'managers' or impresarios is to understate the scale of their operations, which became almost complete monopolies, owning and leasing all vertical levels of theatrical distribution from production to ownership of buildings. While all three had a firm national base from which they conducted their transnational operations, Maurice E. Bandmann, who is studied by Christopher Balme in this special issue, constitutes a new type of 'global' theatre entrepreneur. Bandmann, born in New York in 1872 as the son of German-Jewish Shakespearian actor, Daniel Bandmann, grew up in England and Germany, but built a theatrical empire between 1900 and 1922 from a headquarters based in Calcutta. Bandmann traded in theatre along a route that stretched from Gibraltar to Yokohama. Although his product was drawn chiefly from London and his

audiences were in the first instance Europeans, his enterprise depended economically on attracting audiences from multiple cultural backgrounds. Bandmann and his ilk can thus be regarded as cultural brokers in that they guaranteed for the first time an almost unbroken supply of theatre as opposed to the prevailing model of intermittent visits from itinerant performers.

Although we tend not to think of mobility in connection with institutions – in fact the latter would appear to be semantically antithetical to the former –, an important but largely under-researched corollary of the theatre trade is the relocation of theatre as an institution. Whether in the form of academies, state-supported theatres or educational initiatives, we need to ask if there were direct or indirect connections between the movement of performances and performers during the high imperial/capitalist phase and the later post-independence initiatives to institutionalise this form of entertainment. The construction of buildings alone did not guarantee institutionalization as some of the examples in this volume illustrate. If the buildings survived at all, then mostly as cinemas. Only recently have local authorities and patrons begun to reinvest in the legacy of turn of the century theatre construction. It is especially necessary to trace as precisely as possible the paths of informational exchange, the migration of 'experts', the circulation of ideas, traditions, and aesthetic norms that gradually led to the implementation of globally comparable institutions.

Spheres, Routes and Contact Zones

Mobility, circulation and theatrical trading routes demand hubs where theatrical commodities are exchanged. If we assume that theatrical trade routes are connected by nodal points emanating from the metropolitan centres, then cities, theatrical venues and urban institutions can be considered hubs or contact zones for cultural entanglements where cultural goods and ideas are traded. Contact zones refer 'to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today' (Pratt, 1991). Seen from a global historical perspective, the term contact zone can help us to pinpoint real and virtual social spaces where different objects, goods, people, desires, conventions, meet and clash, where various social classes and patrons from different regions come together, and where conventional boundaries (economic, cultural, social) might be crossed. Contact zones and hubs were places where tradition and modernization as well as different regimes (scopic, economic, social, aesthetic) converged. The papers collected here address contact zones of various kinds such as theatres in colonial cities and European centres, world fairs (gathering international artists and creating exotic imaginaries), hotels and ships (temporarily bringing together diplomats, artists, and theatrical managers), department stores (creating visual spectacles and offering worldwide goods).

The articles collected here address some of these complex and for the most part under-researched questions. The editors hope that these contributions will give rise to more research on these issues, which continue to impinge on the present.

Endnotes

[1] From an economic perspective, see for example Mishkin (2006, pp. 2-3): 'The current Age of Globalization is the second great wave of globalization of international trade and capital flows. The first occurred from 1870 to 1914, when international trade grew at 4% annually, rising from 10% of global output (measured as *gross domestic product* or GDP) in 1870 to over 20% in 1914, while international flows of capital grew annually at 4.8% and increased from 7% of GDP in 1870 to close to 20% in 1914. ... This first wave of globalization was accompanied by unprecedented prosperity. Economic growth was high: from 1870 to 1914, world GDP per person grew at an annual rate of 1.3%, while from 1820 to 1870 it grew at the much smaller rate of 0.53%.'

[2] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* [*Manifesto of the Communist Party*]. February 1848.

[3] A notable exception is Marlis Schweitzer (2012 and 2015) who has examined the mobility and activities of the impresario Charles Frohmann.

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Shannon Steen

Theatrical Commodity Chains and Colonial Competition

Abstract

This essay examines forms of theatrical performance that animated California port cities like San Francisco in the 1840s to ask two sets of interrelated questions: what is the relationship between the trade routes of traditional physical commodities and cultural ones like theater, and how do multiple national projects affect the forms of locality that emerge in contested colonial sites? By looking at a single site within the colonizing world of the nineteenth century, we can more clearly see the ways theater operates as an artifact of multiple national influences, and also in its relationship to multiple physical commodities.

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In the wake of recent discussions of theatrical commodity chains, there are several tenets we might consider foundational to our analysis of modernity's theatrical trade routes. What follows is a series of recognitions that might complicate and enrich our understanding of the cultural (and intercultural) dynamics of theatrical commodity chains in the colonised world. In particular, I am interested in complicating the picture of colonisation as a single-nation process (for example that of Britain, that of France), and in trying to think about the effects of competing colonial interests or multiple national layers of colonisation within a single site on cultural commodity chains. The theatrical trade routes of modernity were both the residue and the enabling cultural material of a set of intertwined phenomena: competing colonialisms, commodity chains, and the movement of peoples across the diasporic networks put into motion by them.

Most of the essays of this volume will trace the movement of a single performer or theatrical group across an imperial network, or will look at a single nation's theatrical exports to another national site. In what follows, I offer a different structure: rather than trace the circulation of a single nation's theatrical exports, I examine single sites within what Max Weber called the colonial periphery in order to consider the impact of different national projects that operated in that space within a certain time period on the

formation of local identity and culture. Such an analysis could allow us to understand the interaction between global and local cultures in ways scholars continue to demand, but seemingly have a hard time framing, and in particular would allow us to focus on how the local is in fact an artefact of a network of multiple national influences, rather than seeing it through the lenses of nationally specific pieces that obscure, nearly literally, the forest for the trees.

Such a method offers a bit of a daunting task, as it requires us to form multiple-national competencies that are difficult to work up. For the most part, humanities scholars are trained in 'nation-period' combinations (nineteenth-century British drama, eighteenth-century German poetry, twentieth-century US racial history, and so forth) that make cross-national research very difficult to accomplish. Indeed, to undertake the method I advocate here successfully would require a basic familiarity with the cultural and political histories not only of the chosen site, but of those of all its various streams of influence. If we are to understand 'the local' in all its complexity, such an approach is surely warranted.

Some of what follows concerns methodological questions, and some takes up concerns of conceptual framework and analysis. Many of the examples here are drawn from the performance forms of California in the period prior to the US takeover in 1850, but I have included others as necessary to illustrate certain phenomena or dynamics. I am primarily interested in the role performance took in the process through which Californians in the decade prior to the US take-over of the region (in the 1840s) articulated their local identities at a time when these were especially fluid. In this period, California constituted nearly a nationless space, and as such, figures as a fascinating stage for the transnational dynamics of early modernity. In a decade that witnessed significant immigration from China (caused by the massive population displacements of the Opium Wars in Guangdong province), increasing alienation of Mexican citizens from their own national government, the first sizable wave of US settlers, and substantial imperialist pressures from Russia and Britain, California's racial and national identity was almost radically open and undetermined. In this, California of the 1840s echoed other colonial sites of the nineteenth century in which fierce international competition within a single space was the order of the day, creating an open, polyglot, cosmopolitan space. Like Malacca in Malaysia, Shanghai, Havana, and parts of Indonesia, California's port cities like San Francisco were animated by the interactions of these multiple national influences. How did regional residents of this period — who might have identified themselves through a variety of national and racial markers — use public performance forms such as popular theatre, marketplace comedy routines, and music to try to define what it meant to be Californian? How might the multinational character of the nineteenth-century port city affect the way we think about theatrical commodity chains? And how might we go about detangling the multiple threads of this complicated knot?

We might try first to understand the particular qualities of the theatrical commodity. Its primary value seems to lie in its labour, in other words its status as a service. But that service turns on the pleasures it affords its audiences, through novelty or innovation, through aesthetic values (spectacle, music, physical virtuosity of the performers), through its affective momentum (its ability to move an audience to tears, laughter, anger, or other sentiment), and through its often-cited ability to create an imagined community.

These elements are the markers of a given theatrical work's trade value. This should be obvious, but to the extent that a potential patron is willing to part with her hard-earned money, she is willing to do so (and part with more of it) to the extent that she anticipates the work will meet her expectations in this area.

A key element of theatre's commodity structure lies in its differences from traditional physical commodities, particularly a lack of centrality in the way theatre works are created, influenced by other works, and consumed by audiences. To what extent does theatre's commodity structure mirror that of other traditional commodities such as textiles (cotton, flax), comestibles (sugar, tea, coffee), industrial raw materials (metals, petroleum), luxuries (gold, tobacco) and so forth? During modernity, the commodity chains of these varied items were comprised of removal from their origins in the colonial periphery to be processed and consumed within the industrial core. By contrast, the commodity chains of theatre (as well as of other cultural products) seem to lack an extraction origin. Rather than being structured through the extraction-processing-consumption process of traditional commodities that seem primarily unidirectional, theatrical commodities seem to emanate from multiple locations and then recombine in different regions in ways similar to those Appadurai lays out in his *Modernity at Large* (1996).

We might denote these distinctions by acknowledging the differences between physical commodities and cultural ones – differences that mirror those between a commodity chain as it is generally construed and Appadurai's notion of cultural 'flow'. For Appadurai, cultural flows are the foundation for cultural practice within a given location, and are comprised by the residue of competing and often inchoate streams of finance, ideology, ethnically-distinct peoples, technology and media. These streams not only compete with one another, but often derive from multiple national origins simultaneously. These various streams, which Appadurai names 'scapes', are 'deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors' (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 31-33). These 'scapes' combine to create combinative, syncretic qualities that abound within a variety of cultural practices, including the movement of theatrical performance across various national locations.

To understand theatre's multiply national flows, I'd like to explore briefly the movement of a somewhat different commodity: that of a common comestible. The British tradition of drinking tea with milk — one of its iconic cultural practices — is a tradition of India, and not of China, from which the majority of Britain's tea was imported. In other words, not only did 'Britishness' come to be habituated through a consumption practice imported from its colonies, but through one imported from a colony that was not even the actual source of the commodity consumed. The combinative qualities of British tea consumption would at first glance seem to exemplify a distinction between the physical commodity (the tea itself) and the cultural one (the rituals and qualities associated with the act of consumption). However, the triangulated relationship between Britain, China and India with respect to the tea trade reveals how much more intertwined the physical and cultural commodity were in actuality.

British tea consumption drove the transnational routing of another physical commodity — opium — with disastrous consequences for both China and India. In

China's attempt to shore up its sovereignty in the face of increasingly aggressive European trade strategies, China began to accept only silver in exchange for goods, a practice they maintained well into the nineteenth century. The desire for tea, of which the British were the largest per capita consumers in the world by the eighteenth century (a distinction they still hold), threatened to bankrupt the British East India Company, which was dependent on trading with other nations for its silver holdings. In order to offset these losses, the East India Company began in the eighteenth century to import opium from India to China, and the instant addiction of thousands of Chinese nationals created a mass market that reversed the silver loss. The Qing government, alarmed by its economic losses and the looming spectre of a growing population of opium addicts, banned the importation and use of opium in the early eighteenth century, but Britain's use of Chinese smugglers meant that by the time a diplomatic and trade crisis erupted over the opium trade in the 1830s over 1400 tons of opium were sold in China annually despite the ban. The resulting war was devastating for China; over a half-million people were displaced by the war in Guangdong Province (the province surrounding Guangzhou, or Canton, the location for most of the military action) and when China eventually conceded defeat in 1842, she was forced to open her trade more generally, to pay indemnities to the crown, and to give Hong Kong to the British.

Given this backstory, one might note the ways cultural commodity of British tea-drinking, an iconographic practice that signalled civility, refinement and a kind of globalised sophistication linked to The Empire, was in fact founded on a history of coercive trade and military tactics that began what came to be known in China as its 'century of humiliation' (Scott, 2008). The cultural associations with tea drinking in Britain masked the violence and humiliation of the opium trade, which was intentionally and cunningly created in order to offset the potential losses induced by tea-drinking in the first place, but it also camouflaged the triangulated nature of cultural influence between Britain, China and India. The practice of drinking tea with milk was dependent on the hidden consumption of another Indian commodity, albeit a consumption whose effects and consequences for China, the country from which its tea was extracted, were largely hidden from those at the site of consumption.

The practice of tea drinking demonstrates the complicated systems of cross-cultural and economic influence at work within what seems like the simple consumption of a physical commodity — the intersection of the trade route of tea with what Appadurai might call competing ideoscapes and financescapes. The convoluted, tortuous systems of interaction and influence located in the practice of tea drinking should be familiar to theatre scholars from the ever-widening body of research on theatrical modernism's reliance on non-western forms for much of the innovation of the twentieth century. For a signal example of how theatre's commodity chain looks very much like that of British tea drinking in its multiply-directional quality of cultural influence and consumption, we could look to that chestnut of Asian American Studies, Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904). Puccini was partly inspired for the score of his opera, in particular for some of its most famous arias, by a performance of modified, western-friendly Kabuki by the actress Sada Yacco at La Scala in 1900. After seeing the Japanese actress perform, Puccini had wax discs of her singing recorded, which he then used to alter sections of his score (Havnes, 1998). Sada and her husband, actor-manager Kawakami Otojirô, had developed the performance Puccini witnessed at La Scala based on their US tour of 1899,

where they learned that the single most important element of her performance was the spectacle of Sada performing *seppuku*, the ritual Japanese suicide that provides the climax of Puccini's opera. By the time Puccini saw Sada perform at La Scala, she was killing herself four or five times onstage, as the same character within the same narrative arc.[1] Ironically, Sada and Otojirô had gone on tour to the US and Europe in order to raise money to perform *non*-Japanese performance forms at home. As early forerunners of the *shingeki* theatrical movement, the pair were interested in trying to bring the tenets of western realism to Japanese theatre, and to dispense with traditional Japanese forms such as Kabuki. In this, their work was part and parcel of larger Japanese modernisation projects of the Meiji Era (1868-1912), during which time Japanese nationals sought to create a national culture that could rival that of the major Imperial powers. Japanese audiences were slow to warm to Sada's and Otojirô's innovations, however, and so the pair travelled abroad, performing the very Japanese form from which they attempted to escape in order to raise money to perform western-style theatre at home (Berg, 1993 and 1995). Within this anecdote (which is now a familiar story within the annals of theatrical modernism), we have an iconic western theatrical piece (the most frequently performed opera within the US today) partly based on the work of Japanese actress, who performed a Japanese theatrical form modified to suit western tastes in order to raise money to perform European theatrical forms back in Japan. In other words, we have a commodity chain for which it is nearly impossible to pinpoint a cultural origin, a definitive direction of influence, or a final point of consumption. And yet the trade value of Puccini's and Sada Yacco's work undoubtedly rested on its perceived Japaneseness, on its access to the exotic, and the novelty it offered audiences. Homi Bhabha (1994, pp. 212-235) captured this quality beautifully when he noted that the circulation of cultural influence that we find in stories such as Yacco and Puccini's embodied the process through which 'newness entered the world'.

But not all newness entered the modern world via performance troupes that circulated from the colonised world into the industrialised one. With that in mind, we need to better understand the relationship between colonialism and mass migration, and the impact of this relationship on theatrical trade routes. As soon as Chinese migration began to the western US and Australia as a result of the Opium Wars, Chinese Opera troupes began to tour those regions, and their performances and theatres became a significant feature of the local theatrical landscapes (Lei, 2006; Moon, 2004). Without this migration diaspora, no Chinese theatre would have been performed in these regions. However, the Chinese diaspora was not caused directly by the colonial enterprises local to those destinations (that is those of the US or Australia), but by the British colonial practices within China itself. The initial waves of the Chinese immigration were created by the mass displacement of people in Guangdong province during the Opium Wars, in other words by political events that had nothing to do with California or Australia. The Chinese chose to migrate to those regions (to the extent that one can understand refugee status as a choice), however, because the local colonial projects of those spaces created large labour shortfalls, which the displaced Chinese stepped in to fill.

Our example of tea drinking also reveals the relationship between seemingly unconnected commodity routes. To return to the example of California, the theatrical trade routes of Chinese Opera that were set up to help Chinese migrants survive culturally and socially were built on the interaction between three commodities: tea,

opium and gold. The Chinese came to California as a direct result of the interactions between the tea and opium chains of production and trade, but were able to survive financially because of the commodity chain surrounding gold extraction and its various support industries (the same is true of Australia). The ties between the gold commodity chain and the theatrical commodity chain were so close within Chinese Opera that actors wishing to augment their status at home would advertise themselves as 'Gold Mountain' actor in reference to their time on the boards within California. As this example illustrates, important theatrical trade routes exist in the intersection between otherwise unconnected commodity chains. We should try to understand in more detail the crossover between cultural commodity networks (such as those for theatre) and commodity networks that are more commonly the object of economic scrutiny (in other words, for objects that were extracted, traded, processed and sold). In other words, how might it affect our understanding of global theatrical dynamics were we to map them with respect to global commodity chains of sugar, opium and tea, or gold? And can we understand these fully in tracing a single commodity chain at a time, or do we need to consider the interaction between multiple commodity chains?

In addition to considering the multiple national streams of influence over a given site at a given time, we might also consider how the performance sites of theatrical trade routes are in some cases ones previously colonised by countries other than that of the dominant nation during the period under scrutiny. As such, intercultural dynamics are not necessarily ones between the current coloniser and an original indigenous culture. We should remember that the 'local' culture of a particular colonial space might not be its 'indigenous' culture. By the mid-nineteenth century, much of the colonised world had already experienced multiple waves of colonisation, producing a kind of intercultural contact between indigenous groups and prior colonial powers. For example, in Alta California of the 1840s, the local culture was no longer predominantly that of local Native American groups; rather, what existed might be charitably termed a syncretic blend of indigenous Californian, Spanish and Mexican cultures. Large portions of the Native American population of the region, which had been one of the largest, most diverse, and culturally rich of North America, had already been killed off in the Spanish mission project (which stretched roughly from the 1770s to the 1820s, and was itself prompted by competition with Russia, which had just begun its own colonising activities along the Pacific Coast of North America) (Rawls, 1984; Lind and Møller, 2002; Gibson, 1988). Those not destroyed by the introduction of European diseases (which conservatively are thought to have killed at least one-third of the regional population) were killed for refusing to convert to Christianity, or by the near slave-labour conditions the Spanish missions imposed on converts as part of their forced transition from hunter-gatherer economies to those of conventionalised agriculture. What emerged from the end of the mission period (which ended largely as a result of the Mexican war of independence from Spain) was a cultural structure unique to Alta California, characterised by a syncretic combination of the practices of the remaining indigenous peoples (most of whom no longer practiced their original cultures) and those of wealthy Mexican entrepreneurs who operated massive land ranches in the wake of the missions' collapse. By the time US or Chinese migrants began to come to California in large numbers in the 1840s, the local cultural structures were vastly different from what Spanish Missionaries had

encountered in their initial exploration of the region in the 1770s and 1780s (Paddison, 1999; McKanna, 2002).

We might note, however, that the intercultural contact that displaced indigenous tradition was not always between European colonisers and the original population; in other words, not all cross-cultural contact was determined by European colonisation. In large segments of Indonesia, for example, Dutch colonisers encountered a population that had already been affected by the spread of Islam from the Middle East through to South East Asia. While the specific forms of Islam in Indonesia were distinctive from those in other regions (particularly from those of the origin region of the Arabian Peninsula), they were in no way indigenous to Indonesia (Winet, 2010, pp. 174-195).

Perhaps most notably of all, theatrical trade routes enabled counter-nationalist formation, as well as fostered nationalist sentiment. Following Simon Potter's analysis of how communications networks helped create a sense British identity among the scattered peoples of its global holdings, we might ask whether the rituals of national formation (such as opening the daily newspaper, or attending the theatre) solidified identities for different national groupings evenly or in the same way (Potter, 2006). In 1840s California, seeing Chinese Opera performed if you were a Chinese migrant most likely animated the kind of pleasurable processes Benedict Anderson identified in his *Imagined Communities*: nostalgia for a departed homeland, connection to a network of others like you spread across the globe, and pleasurable immersion in a familiar language and familiar stories (Anderson, 1991). For Mexicans of the same period, many of whom felt a growing dissatisfaction with and alienation from their national government in Mexico City, attending a theatrical performance or catching a marketplace comic turn might have evinced the increasingly *dis*articulated nature of relations between the primary national culture and its regional outliers. Given the issues of political rivalry that roiled Alta California in the 1840s (there was active talk of seceding from Mexico within the region), what was the content of the performances on California's Mexican stages. What kinds of stories were being told? Patriotic epics? If so, how were these received? Satires of the Mexico City government? If so, how did performers — who were largely itinerant figures travelling throughout the various regions of Mexico — alter their routines for the political tastes of different audiences? In effect, this population was itself a colonialist settler group, even if the land they occupied was contiguous with the home nation. While it might be tempting to chalk such differences up to the sentiments of a migration diaspora (in which the Chinese of San Francisco and Sydney may well have been akin in affective structure to the British subjects of Calcutta and Christchurch, though they had a totally different legal, racial, and cultural status within those varied spaces) as opposed to those of regional division within a nationally contiguous space, it is worth remembering the extent to which the Mexican *ranchero* inhabitants of California had only settled in the region within a generation prior to this unrest. In this sense, they resemble the Chinese migration diaspora more closely than first glance suggests. How might we understand these differences in national, communal sentiment, both on their own, and in combination with one another?

In many ways, it has been assumed that within a colonial theatrical trade route the ability to engender an imagined community was one of a theatrical commodity's most important attributes. The primary attraction of the theatrical work within a colonial

setting, in this vein of thinking, is usually assumed (tacitly or explicitly) to be its ability to remind local labour or managerial communities of their homeland. But it seems important to ask whether or to what extent this is actually true. We need to take into account research that suggests — contrary to Anderson and Potter — that diaspora were fundamentally uneven in their dynamics, sentiments, and processes of identification. Brent Hayes Edwards (2003, p. 13) has argued that the discourses of diaspora articulate 'cultural and political linkage *only* through and across difference in full view of the risks of that endeavour…Such an unevenness or differentiation marks a constant *décalage* in the very weave of the culture, one that cannot be either dismissed or pulled out.' (ibid). This *décalage*, which Edwards defines as the constitutive gap or discrepancy fundamental to all diasporic projects, could be a feature of theatrical attendance in a number of ways: through tensions between the repertoires of theatrical troupes and the tastes of their audiences, through class pressures within the make-up of the audiences themselves, or the intrusion of regional or sectarian divisions within performance locations. For an example of these dynamics, we might look to the increasing disarticulation between national culture in China and that of its various diasporic spaces. During the Republican Era (starting in 1912), national culture in China increasingly became defined by the official Mandarin-speaking political elites of the North (particularly those of Beijing), functionally suppressing regional cultures such as that of Guangdong Province, from which the majority of Chinese diasporic inhabitants originally hailed. As cultural traditions of these regional forms were excluded from the formation of national culture over the early twentieth century — as occurred notably within Chinese Opera itself, which became increasingly codified through its Beijing variant — Guangdong audiences within the diasporic network were increasingly querulous with opera performers who stuck to repertoires they perceived as exclusionary.

It might be useful to distinguish between the various ways the term diaspora is used by ethnic studies scholars of differing racial backgrounds. Within African American Studies, the term is generally used to denote African peoples scattered by the transatlantic slave trade, who moved largely coercively. Generally speaking, these peoples often have a primary sense of affiliation with their nation of residence (the United States, Jamaica, Haiti, and so forth), even when that nation also functionally or explicitly excluded them from political and economic enfranchisement. Their sense of a felt affiliation with Africa may be highly imaginary due to the ways slave practices destroyed generational transfers of cultural knowledge and practice – because slave families were often separated during early childhood, many African Americans, for example, do not know their ancestral country of origin, let alone their tribal affiliation or the cultural practices that distinguished them. The Asian diaspora encompasses quite different characteristics, however. Due to family recording (if only orally disseminated), Asian diasporic figures generally know not only their country of origin, but usually their region of origin, even the village or city of origin within that nation. So not only are they aware of national cultural practices that are passed down generationally, they are also often aware of (and may be even contribute to) tensions between different regions of their nation of origin, class differentiations, and cultural distinctions between their co-ethnics. As a result, they have a much more precise sense of bi-national or transnational affiliation, with a very specific sense of how they relate to both their nation of origin and their nation of residence. Evelyn Hu-DeHart (1999, p. 4) describes this phenomenon somewhat

differently, calling it a 'deterritorialized' social identity: 'they identify first with their co-ethnics wherever they are rather than submit to the hegemonizing claim of exclusive citizenship demanded by a single country or nation-state.' This distinction might help us map more accurately the potential tensions within a diasporic group's theatrical practices. Knowing that the Chinese diaspora is only *sometimes* animated by a sense of national identity, and that the sense of national identity is often complicated by regional identities from within China helps to explain why, for example, Chinese American spectators of Chinese Opera (who were largely southern and Cantonese speakers) were increasingly frustrated with a Mandarin-based repertoire they understood to be dominated by Beijing. Similarly, Alta Californian Mexicans may well have embraced *carpa* performers whose repertoire mocked the political class of Mexico City.

Lastly, we might note that not everyone within a local space may identify themselves as members of that community. For example, in the early decades of Chinese migration to California, most migrants thought of themselves as temporary sojourners there simply to make enough money to send home to their families in China and fully intended to return to their nation of origin. It is not at all clear at what point Chinese migrants and their descendants thought of themselves as permanent residents, let alone 'Californians' or American. Their affiliation with China was reinforced once the US takeover of California occurred, at which point federal laws such as the Page Act of 1875 prohibited the immigration of women from China altogether. Legislation such as the Page Act prevented Chinese migrants from establishing families in California and other diasporic communities, and helped ensure that Chinese migrants thought of themselves as temporary residents, whether or not that turned out to be the case.[2] The potential identity shift from Chinese to Chinese American was unquestionably linked to generational dynamics — as early waves of migrants had families in their diasporic locations, subsequent generations came to identify with their new national home. Simultaneously however, new waves of migrants entered those diasporic spaces, people for whom 'home' was most definitely back in China. The heterogeneous nature of felt national affiliation among Chinese in California makes it nearly impossible to generalise a sense of imagined community — to do so would require us to focus on micro- or sub-groupings within a given national or ethnic or migrant population.

Endnotes

[1] Although we should note that Puccini was also influenced by David Belasco's *Madame Butterfly*, which opened in 1900, and also featured Cio-Cio San's suicide at its climax.

[2] The conditions of migration were frequently as indentured servitude, from which it was very difficult to free oneself, especially when whatever excess wages one accumulated were sent back to one's family rather than put towards purchasing one's freedom. As a result, many migrants who came to California fully intending to return to China were never able to do so, and became permanent residents of the region by economic default.

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Derek Miller

The Salve of Duty: Global Theatre at the American Border (1875-1900)

Abstract

This essay argues that national borders impede the flow of theatre around the globe. I examine nineteenth-century American disputes about tariffs on the importation of theatrical production materials as an example of theatrical protectionism. I argue that we must balance utopian visions of global theatrical culture against the real national culture industries that sometimes view international trade as a threat to their livelihoods. As these nineteenth-century tariff debates demonstrate, theatre is subject to the same pressures on the trans-national movement of goods and labour as other industries.

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> I am a theatrical Protectionist, and I care not who knows it. In my opinion, the gentlemen who are conferring and memorialising over Municipal Theatres and State Opera Houses would be at least as practically employed in promoting a Tariff Bill for Safeguarding the British dramatist against the pressure of foreign competition. A nice little impost—say ten per cent of the gross receipts on translations and fifteen per cent on adaptations in which the scene is transferred to England—would do a power of good. It would bring little enough into the exchequer (except indirectly, through the additional income-tax paid by native playwrights), but it would save managers from many a blunder, and it would make us a self-supporting, self-respecting nation in matters theatrical. (Archer, 1899, p. 39).

William Archer wrote those words, as he himself confessed, 'in jest, of course.' His plea for a theatrical tariff to stay the flow of proven, usually French, plays onto the English stage does seem comically farfetched. Although many nineteenth-century British writers deprecated the English stage's reliance on Parisian theatre—Matthew Arnold, Archer, Bernard Shaw, and Henry Arthur Jones come to mind—none actually sought to restrict such commerce itself. Yet, as Archer's joke hints, the balance between the international trade in theatre and the vitality of national drama was not exclusively aesthetic. It was also commercial and legal, particularly at international borders, where it took precisely the form imagined by the humorous Archer: a tariff.

Across the Atlantic from Archer's besieged London stages, the blossoming American theatre scene confronted its own influx of foreign drama, often from France, but almost always by way of, or directly from, Britain. Just as British theatre's proponents jealously complained of French imports, so too did many Americans bemoan the tide of British dramatic productions flowing into their country. One small levee held back, however minutely, the flood of foreign drama: a levy on imports. Not the tariff on translations or adaptations that Archer imagined, nor a tax on theatrical productions per se, but rather a duty assessed on the physical goods—costumes, scenery, properties—that make up a production.

It may seem strange to think of theatrical trade in this literal sense, but theatre receives the same scrutiny as any other industry that organises goods and people. When a theatrical trade route—that is, the path by which theatre moves from one site to another—crosses a national border, nations scrutinise the goods and people along that route. Some of that scrutiny is artistic: Is this theatre of high quality? Does it differ from our native theatre? Is it better or worse? And some of that scrutiny is economic: What is this theatre worth? To whom do its incomes accrue? Does it help or hinder the incomes of our native theatre-makers?

This essay concerns the latter form of scrutiny, tracing a series of American disputes about the importation of foreign theatrical production materials. When actors or managers brought scenery and costumes to the United States, tariff laws regulated those items. As I will detail, those laws, and how government agencies and courts interpreted them, changed over the latter part of the nineteenth century. The history of the tariff on theatrical goods falls into roughly three phases. In the first, up to 1885, theatrical properties were subject to duties on the material of which they were made, though with some notable exceptions. Between 1886 and 1894, many properties were admitted duty-free, though not without protest and occasional confusion. The final phase began with the passing of a new tariff law in 1894, under which theatrical properties received a time-limited duty-free status, subject to the payment of a bond.

The changing fortunes of the tariff on theatrical goods mark new understandings of the theatre as an industry. From the late 1870s, when records of theatrical tariff disputes first appear, to the late 1890s, the government began acknowledging theatrical professionals as professionals, recognising the role managers played as organisers of theatrical productions, and enrolling theatrical properties among the list of unique commodities scrutinised by federal revenue laws. Many American artists and artisans, meanwhile, protested the importation of foreign drama, using the tariff—or lack thereof—to critique the flow of foreign theatre into the US. In so doing, they made Archer's fantasy a reality, adopting a protectionist economic mindset towards the international trade in theatrical productions. Some scholars have seen resonances between ideologies of free trade and the theatre industry's nineteenth-century organization, or have interpreted theatrical border-crossings as opportunities to contest national or racial identities.[1] No one, however, has yet articulated the importance of tariff law (and its sibling, immigration law) to the history of theatre. As the epigraph hints, the tariff speaks most directly to the interaction between theatrical trade routes and what Loren Kruger calls the ‘national stage.’ Hitherto, most scholars examining the rise of national dramatic literatures in the US and other countries approach that process as one

of aesthetic self-definition (though writers such as Kruger have underscored the fact that national theatre cultures are industrial, as well as artistic constructs). (Kruger, 1992)[2] This essay firmly emphasizes theatre as a national industry. In so doing, it locates moments when the theatre community—the people who owned, managed, acted in, and made theatres and productions—organised itself *as* a national industry, one which existed always in relation both to other industries and to global theatrical trade.

Free Trade Ascendant

A tariff is a tax levied on imports or exports. As a practical matter, customs officers assessed tariffs based on invoices, declarations by importers, and physical inspection of goods by customs officials.[3] In the nineteenth-century US, tariff law was among the most fiercely contested categories of federal legislation, with implications for the balance of economic power among different regions of the country. Absent a federal income tax, the national government relied on tariffs as its primary source of revenue. The mid-nineteenth-century tariff debates divided mostly along party lines, with Whigs (later Republicans) supporting a high tariff to protect Northern industries by keeping their prices competitive, and Southern Democrats seeking only enough revenue to run the government. When the Civil War placed heavy demands on federal resources, a high tariff became the norm. Despite some shifting at the margins, tariffs remained high into the twentieth century.

Prior to the 1870s, there existed, as far as I have discovered, no recognition that theatrical imports were in any way unique. Rather, in the earliest disputes and controversies over theatrical goods, the Treasury Department, as the arbiter of appeals for local Customs House decisions, treated the specific materials in question without regard for their function as stage properties. In 1877, for instance, Charles F. Conant, then Acting Secretary of the Treasury, affirmed the New York Collector of Customs' decision to classify 'decorations, girdles, rosettes, diadems, and other ornaments used as parts of theatrical wardrobes, and composed of paste imitations of diamonds and other precious stones' at the thirty-percent rate levied on 'compositions of glass or paste when set.'[4] In other words, to assess the proper duty on theatrical materials, the Customs House categorized each item among like goods intended for personal use or sale. The focus was thus on the kinds of materials being imported (in this case, mock jewelry), with no regard to their use on stage.

The tariff laws of the period, however, exempted an important category from this strict regime of duties: 'wearing apparel in actual use, and other personal effects, (not merchandise,) professional books, implements, instruments, and tools of trade, occupation or employment of persons arriving in the United States.'[5] In 1880, a number of artists asserted this provision to exempt their goods from the usual rates. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury H. F. French refused, however, to construe the law to apply to 'properties owned by managers of theatres to be used by actors or actresses in their employ,' insisting on the goods' 'personal use' by the importing party.[6]

Individual performers had more success in claiming the 'professional implements' clause's exemption. When Sarah Bernhardt arrived in the US on the *Amérique* on 27 October 1880, she brought forty-two trunks packed with 350 gloves, 'enough shoes to

stock a store, dozens of bonnets,' and expensive gowns to be worn in *La Dame aux Camélias*, *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, *Phèdre*, and *Hernani*. *The New York Times* valued her stage wardrobe at $20,000.[7] Though customs officials permitted her trunks to be removed to the Booth Theatre, where she was to perform, rather than to a warehouse, officials inspected the trunks at the Booth, as Bernhardt wrote in her memoir. (Bernhardt, 1907, p. 387) Recalling a 'jealous' inspection by dressmakers brought in to appraise her wardrobe, Bernhardt remembers their 'asking for "justice" against foreign invasion.' (Bernhardt, 1907, p. 388)[8] To the dressmakers/appraisers, Bernhardt's wardrobe represented a clear threat, undermining the value of their native work. The $1,560 duty customs officials levied on Bernhardt acknowledged, however meagerly, the protectionist interests of native dressmakers and other American theatrical workers.

Bernhardt, however, appealed the duty, on the grounds that her costumes served only her personal use on stage. Assistant Secretary French, who had denied a manager's 'tools of trade' plea a few months earlier, granted Bernhardt's wardrobe that status. Her dresses, hats, shoes, and other clothes were 'professional implements,' and Bernhardt 'intended in good faith' to use them in her capacity as an actress. The wardrobe was therefore not dutiable, and the customs collector was ordered to remit to Bernhardt the full amount of the tax.[9]

The jealous American dressmakers were not the only theatrical labourers who used the tariff to oppose 'foreign invasion.' Even when Customs Houses did assess duties on theatrical properties, workers challenged the self-reported value of imported goods, urging customs officials to levy a higher tax. If successful, this strategy would effectively increase the cost of a foreigner's doing business in the US and, even if unsuccessful, hassled alien managers.

Although Bernhardt's appraisers ultimately caused little harm, a New York theatrical supplier named Wolf Dazian managed to disrupt the Savoy Opera Company's US premiere of *Iolanthe* in 1882.[10] Correspondence by Helen Lenoir, then Richard D'Oyly Carte's representative in the US, with the Customs House and Treasury reveals her extreme irritation at the extra government scrutiny stirred up by the tariff dispute. In brief, the disaffected Dazian, engaged by Lenoir on previous occasions to provide 'materials for costumes, trimmings, etc.,' informed customs officers that Lenoir had severely underreported to the Customs House the value of *Iolanthe*'s costumes. As Lenoir complained to the Collector of the Port of New York, Dazian, the informer, was the very man selected by local customs inspectors to reappraise the imports' value, which he put at £1,627 (or $7,923.49, at an exchange rate of $4.87 to the pound sterling).[11] Lenoir countered with her own expert, a Mr. Godchaux. Examining all the items and estimating 'the number of yards of material and trimming, the labour etc in it,' Godchaux calculated $4,151.67 as the value of the costumes.[12] What impact, if any, this investigation had on the production of *Iolanthe* is unclear. New York papers, however, reported the fraud accusations against Carte's company and noted an investigation by a special customs agent. So harmful did Lenoir feel these reports to be that, when the government's appraisers upheld the original, smaller invoices, Lenoir published a letter explaining the outcome in *The New York Herald* on 25 February 1883. Her correspondence reveals a strong sense of outrage at the effect the investigation and its reporting had on her and Carte's reputations for upright behaviour.[13]

Lenoir's *Herald* letter also hinted that, in her view, the costumes were best construed as a theatrical manager's 'tools of trade,' and as such, ought to be duty-free. In other words, she and likeminded foreign managers sought recognition that theatrical managers themselves were professionals whose 'implements' and 'tools' were the costumes and scenery on which the law currently levied duties. Such a ruling would have overturned the Treasury's interpretation cited above, in which costumes intended to be worn by employees did not fit the law's definition of 'personal use' by the importer.

Contesting this interpretation fell to Colonel James Henry Mapleson, the British opera impresario, who successfully established duty-free rights for producers. Mapleson's name first appears in connection with the tariff in the same *New York Times* article announcing Bernhardt's arrival. In that context, the *Times* noted that the Customs House, contrary to the Treasury Department's rulings noted above, used to permit scenery and properties free entry. According to the article, the 'tools of trade' clause existed to permit immigrants 'to bring with them their household effects and trade tools.' Over the years, customs officials expanded its interpretation to include any professionally useful goods, including theatrical properties. Such leniency, however, led to abuse. Performers gained a reputation for bringing extra 'costumes' and selling them to fashion-conscious clients eager for the latest European styles. In 1875, a French dressmaker was convicted of smuggling dresses for private customers under the pretense of their being theatrical costumes.[14] These abuses led to a customs crackdown. Taxed under the newly stringent regime, Mapleson set out to establish a firm precedent granting producers duty-free import privileges.

One strategy Mapleson pursued to avoid paying duties was to assign individual costumes to the performers who used them. Under the interpretation that permitted Bernhardt to import her large store of dresses, all actors were entitled to bring their personal wardrobes duty-free. Logistically, this procedure proved complicated. Arriving from London with a large collection of wigs that had been refurbished there, Mapleson found himself taxed by customs officials who insisted that, if Mapleson's chorus members did indeed own the renovated wigs, the performers' luggage, rather than the company's trunks, should have transported them. Newspaper reports of the incident do not mention the outcome of Mapleson's appeal, but he promised a reporter 'a procession of 54 dark-visaged Italians down to the custom house to swear that their wigs are tools of their trade.'[15] Richard D'Oyly Carte used a similar tactic when he brought his expensive *Mikado* costumes into the US in 1885. His actors each 'individually made oath that his or her flowing silk robes and other rich apparel in his or her trunk were his or her personal property, and belonged to no one else. On such declarations all the packages and contents were passed free of duty.'[16]

Asking actors to declare costumes their own property, however, was no panacea. So, in 1882, Mapleson sued, urging courts to recognize costumes, scenery, and other properties as his 'tools of trade.' After numerous judicial delays, in December, 1885, Mapleson won. A jury agreed with Mapleson that parsing the difference between actors and managers in the interpretation of customs laws was unworkable.[17] In response, the Treasury Department reversed its official policy, accepted the jury's decision, and refunded Mapleson the money in question.[18]

Protectionism Strikes Back

Officially, the US government now recognised theatrical properties as a manager's professional implements just as personal costume wardrobes were an actor's tools, and passed all such items free of duty. Yet the new practice remained unsettling to the Treasury Department, as well as to many in the American theatre industry. The government's discomfort became clear almost immediately. An 1886 report on tariff law from the Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives listed 'theatrical scenery' among the problematic dutiable materials demanding a legislative solution.[19]

The theatre industry appears to have responded somewhat more slowly and with poor organization. In 1888, Louis Aldrich, later President of the Actors' Fund, joined other actors in asking Congress to restrict the immigration of foreign performers.[20] Available evidence suggests that actors formed a far more coherent lobbying force than wardrobe- or scenery-makers. Although the Aldrich complaint focused on immigration, not tariffs, it provides the most thorough piece of evidence available about how native theatre artists regarded the problem of foreign imports. I recognise that immigration regulations and tariff laws are not identical: the former restricts the flow of people, the latter, of goods. But the actors' plea provides an excellent case study for two reasons. First, immigration speaks directly to the question of labour at the heart of all tariff disputes. (That is, even the most dyed-in-the-wool protectionist does not really care whether the sheep that produced the wool be native or foreign, what matters is the nationality of the farmer, sheep-shearer, dye-maker, etc.) Secondly, the actors themselves recognised the relationship between their complaint and that of producers of material goods. Thus, I read the Aldrich protest as evidence of a nativist theatrical economics because both immigration and tariff laws draw from the same well of nationalism in which cultural, racial, and economic concerns commingle.

When Aldrich and his peers demanded a halt to foreign performers, they spoke against a virtually unimpeded flow of immigrant actors. Most performers who arrived in the US came as 'contract laborers.' (An 1885 immigration law exempted such workers from a general prohibition against immigration for the express purpose of labouring in the country).[21] Their constant arrival, while perhaps irritating to native actors, likely had a limited effect on the labour market in the antebellum and Reconstruction years. During the Gilded Age, however, the number of professional performers exploded: censuses in 1870 and then in 1890 reveal a nearly fivefold increase in the number of citizens claiming acting as their profession over that period. (Watermeier, 1999, p. 446.) To this substantial and growing body of native talent, foreign performers, particularly of average quality (as most actors, by definition, are), posed a serious impediment to employment.[22] In other words, the 1888 protest against immigrant foreign actors arose from precisely the same economic concerns that gave rise to disruptions over the tariff, namely anxiety about the viability of native theatrical labour.

Although opposed to the wholesale immigration of foreign performers, Aldrich and his colleagues recognised that the labour economy among actors was unevenly distributed between stars (who are, conceptually, rentiers, able to charge more for their unique skills) and other actors, who are wage-labourers. Thus Aldrich supported a continued exemption for star performers ('Irving, Coquelin, Patti and others'). But Aldrich and his

colleagues loudly protested the influx of run-of-the-mill foreign performers, particularly whole companies at a time. Interviewed in the newspaper, the complainants underlined that with the alien actors came duty-free 'wardrobes, scenery and other properties of the companies.'[23] Under current policies, then, a manager who produced a play locally, with American-made materials and American actors, was at a distinct disadvantage. The combination of lower labour costs for British actors and duty-free importation of scenery and costumes was simply too lucrative for producers to resist.[24] As a result, the American stage became a prosperous after-thought for English and European companies. Aldrich told the reporter that these practices cast American theatre artists as 'provincials' and turned New York into 'Oshkosh.' Indifference from legislators and opposition to immigration restrictions from theatre owners seem to have sunk Aldrich's efforts at the time.[25]

Yet the battle over theatrical goods continued, moving from Congress back to the Customs House. In August, 1889, a committee from the Actors' Fund appealed in person to the Collector of Customs at New York 'not to admit free of duty the scenery and properties' for a Richard Mansfield production of *Richard III*. The Collector turned them away, citing the Mapleson precedent.[26] The actor Wilson Barrett was less fortunate than Mansfield. A Boston Collector levied a duty on 'several tons of theatrical scenery' he imported. (As one newspaper noted, while 'the "barn storming" stage strutters are in high glee on account of this latest "protection" freak,' the result would likely be higher ticket prices for Barrett's performances, a transfer of the tariff's cost onto the American consumer.)[27] Upon appeal, the Treasury Department ordered the duties refunded to Barrett, but not before a New York protest against Barrett's properties.[28] As *The New York Times* noted, although the Collector denied this petition, as he had the Mansfield protest, the 'extravagant' duty-free importation of theatrical goods had become 'more and more objectionable in the eyes of certain "members of the profession" on this side of the water. They are therefore apparently determined to make it an unprofitable proceeding for the English actors.'[29]

While such protests led to no official change in government policy, Customs House scrutiny seems to have increased in the following years. In 1890, ballerinas of the Madison Square Garden Company each arrived with a trunk full of costumes that they testified to be their own individual property. Of course, the clothes belonged to the company. Alerted to this discrepancy, customs officers confiscated the 240 dresses, which one paper valued at $10,000.[30] Although the Treasury Department eventually ordered the costumes released, officials levied a fine equal to the duties that would have been assessed on each costume if not exempt, plus $100 per item, coming to $7,356.[31] While the law would have permitted the importation of the costumes by the producer, his attempt to pass them off as the private property of the performers gave the government an excuse to tax the goods.[32]

A similarly close interpretation of the law drove a kerfuffle over costumes for Fanny Davenport's production of *Cleopatra* by Victorien Sardou. Benjamin Stern, who had arrived with the costumes as Davenport's representative, had declared the costumes to be his personal property and exempt as his tools of trade. Chief Special Agent Wilbur of the Customs House called Stern's claim 'perjury,' given that the clothes belonged in fact to Davenport, who had purchased them herself in London. Because she travelled separately

from her costumes, Davenport owed the government, according to Wilbur, forty-five percent on the estimated $15,000 value of the items.[33] In the event, a fire at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, where Davenport was performing, destroyed almost everything, though whether she paid the tax or no remains unclear.

Perhaps anxious over these disruptive precedents, in 1891 Sarah Bernhardt's attorneys preemptively sought a definitive statement about theatrical goods from the Treasury Department. The Treasury responded to the petition not by affirming the Mapleson precedent, but by 'suggest[ing] that the duty should be levied on such scenery, property, and costumes' and the matter should be settled through the protest and appeal process.[34] Not Bernhardt, but another foreign star, Agnes Huntington, ended up inspiring the capstone legal interpretation of the duty-free era. Huntington arrived in 1891 with a set of costumes for which she was charged duties. When the Board of General Appraisers reversed the Collector's assessment of a tax, the Treasury Department appealed to the Federal Courts. Huntington won at both the circuit and appellate courts. In the lawsuits, the government relied on a small change to the law's discussion of 'professional implements.' An 1890 revision of the tariff explicitly excluded from the exemption any articles imported 'for any other person or persons, or for sale.'[35] The government argued that this clause meant that costumes brought into the US for use by employees or other actors were dutiable. But the court determined that the new clause applied only to 'voluntary transfers' of goods. As a Treasury Department letter summarized, 'the use of the implements of a profession by the servants of the importer, she retaining the title to and controlling them, was an importation for herself so far as to bring such implements within the exemption' for professional implements.[36]

Despite this clear interpretation in favour of exempting managers' goods, the Customs House continued rigidly to interpret the law. In 1893, the Kiralfy Company imported theatrical effects for the Columbus Spectacular Exhibition, under the auspices of Barnum & Bailey at Madison Square Garden. The cash-poor Kiralfy troupe relied, however, on Barnum & Bailey's funds and had purchased the goods in the larger troupe's name. The Kiralfy Company expected to transfer title to themselves after earning sufficient money at the Exhibition to repay Barnum & Bailey. Because Barnum & Bailey, not Kiralfy Company, was the registered owner of the goods, the Customs House refused to admit the items free of duty.[37] Even when admitting theatrical goods, customs officials found ways to harass foreign managers. The unlucky Wilson Barrett found himself paying duties on a 'carpenter's chest, brace and bit, sewing machine, and towels' that he included among his theatrical tools. While conceding that such items might be 'useful and necessary' for play production, the appraiser determined them 'not a feature of, or directly connected with, a stage exhibition,' and thus dutiable.[38]

Compromise

The tensions between the official interpretation of tariffs on theatrical goods and the practice of customs officials demanded a legislative solution. In 1894, the solution arrived: a compromise that permitted foreign managers to import theatrical materials while preventing those materials from lingering in the US past their usefulness for the stage.[39] Why Congress passed this particular revision my research has not discovered.[40] The Senate Committee on Finance, which had held extensive hearings on all aspects of

the bill, recommended the clause's insertion.[41] The 1894 tariff act revised the law's 'professional implements' section. The new law included a specific provision for theatrical goods, stating that the 'professional implements' exemption shall not

> be construed to include theatrical scenery, properties, or apparel, but such articles brought by proprietors or managers of theatrical exhibitions arriving from abroad for temporary use by them in such exhibitions and not for any other persons and not for sale and which have been used by them abroad shall be admitted free of duty under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; but bonds shall be given for the payment to the United States of such duties as may be imposed by law upon any and all such articles as shall not be exported within six months after such importation: Provided, That the Secretary of the Treasury may in his discretion extend such period for a further term of six months in case application shall be made therefor.[42]

The new clause struck a balance between protectionism and free trade. First and foremost, the clause officially excluded theatrical materials from the ordinary class of professional items. On the one hand, by placing the theatrical goods provision within the professional implements exemption, Congress implies that, ordinarily, theatrical goods would be professional implements, thus confirming the professional status of theatre artists. Yet by explicitly excluding theatrical scenery from the exemption applied to other professional tools, the law also affirmatively marks out theatrical goods for review, acknowledging the concerns of native theatre-makers.[43] Second, the law exempted only materials that had 'been used by [managers] abroad,' thus preventing the importation of items produced cheaply overseas solely for use in American productions.[44] Third, the personal relationship between the immigrant manager and the imported goods was now made explicit ('brought by proprietors or managers [...] not for any other persons'). And, finally, a clear appraisal, backed by a bond, occurred upon importation, assuring native producers that, should any funny business arise, the offender would have already paid the duty. From the foreign manager's perspective, the new clause helpfully enshrined the exemption then semi-officially in place, while leaving plenty of leeway to support a long, successful tour.

Unfortunately, given the current limitations of the archive, one can but hazard a guess as to why the revised clause took the form it did. Given that the clause is a compromise, we must conjecture pressure from lobbyists who supported greater restriction on imports than the clause finally allowed and, against them, lobbyists opposed to any duties. The question then remains: who would these lobbyists be? I hazard that the former group might be the Actors' Fund, the Actors' Order of Friendship, or a similar group, acting in conjunction with the Dramatists Guild. Bronson Howard, the latter group's President, petitioned Congress that same year for new legislation regarding performance rights laws, which eventually passed in 1897.[45] Opponents to the theatrical tariff seem harder to pin down. While foreign actors and performers may have attempted to put in their oars, Congress was unlikely to listen to alien pleas regarding a bill that, after all, was fundamentally protectionist in its mindset. The most likely opponents of a theatrical tariff are theatre owners. To them, a foreign success from an established company represented as sure a proposition as one could hope for in the theatre. If such companies had to pay duties, the companies' revenues would be diminished, encouraging the company managers to negotiate for a higher percentage of the returns from the theatre

owners. Those owners, in turn, could either accept a smaller percentage of a show's income or raise ticket prices, in which case they would be less competitive vis-à-vis other theatres, particularly those featuring native productions. Thus, among the native theatrical community, theatre owners (as well as booking agents and similar industry professionals) had the most to gain financially from a low tariff, and thus seem most likely to have boosted the new clause. While such conjecture must remain merely that, this reasoning demonstrates how finely one must parse economic motivations to understand who stands to benefit from legislation that alters the flow of capital in the entertainment industry.

Whether jubilation or dismay ultimately attended the new clause I have not been able to discover. Regardless, the new law neither fully accounted for the nature of international theatrical production nor entirely assuaged protectionists. One writer, for instance, complained that American managers remained at a disadvantage. If they mounted a show abroad, they had to pay the duty outright, as their materials would remain in the US past six months. The same author laughed at the absurdity of Henry Irving's paying duties on those of his materials that could not fit on the same boat in which Irving himself crossed the Atlantic, while passing duty-free those items on Irving's vessel: the former were not, under one customs house's interpretation, in Irving's 'possession,' and thus dutiable.[46] When Mapleson's opera company went bankrupt in Boston in 1897, creditors had difficulty managing the sale of his properties, as the goods' remaining in the US past six months would require the payment of customs duties.[47] Such problems reveal the ongoing tensions between the desire for free international trade in theatrical art and the need to ensure a viable national culture industry. While the 1894 Tariff Act established clear statutory guidelines for theatrical goods, the refined law still failed to account for the complexity of late-nineteenth-century theatrical commerce.

The tariff was one means among many of negotiating the rise of international theatre in an era of growing national feeling. And although William Archer's humorous fantasy in the epigraph remained unrealised, his jest was not entirely absurd. As this history of the American tariff demonstrates, the flow of theatre across national borders ensured that theatre would find itself enmeshed in debates about protectionism and trade. Concern over the health of national drama was not merely an aesthetic, cultural problem, propounded in an Arnoldian vocabulary that blended criticism with nationalist fervour. Rather, the quality of domestic theatre was always related to the status of domestic play production as an industry. Thus when Arnold—and, in his wake, Archer, Henry Arthur Jones, and Harley Granville Barker—appealed for a national British theatre, they simultaneously derided the French drama exported to Britain while praising the structure and operation of the Comédie Française. (Gay, 2007, pp. 59-87)[48] Published plays, too, became battlegrounds for national identity. When the US finally passed an international copyright law in 1891, Congress explicitly excluded musical and dramatic works from a protectionist manufacturing clause. Many courts and legal observers, however, interpreted the exclusion to apply only to play productions, suggesting that printed dramas literally had to be made in the USA. (Miller, 2013, pp. 363-369) Together, these examples expose a profound gulf between the global yearnings of the late-nineteenth-century theatre and the realities of that period's modes of theatrical production. Absent consensus about the flow of the goods, people, and plays that populate the stage—without, that is, an international understanding of how art and

commerce work together—a global, free-flowing theatrical culture remained (and remains) a pipe dream.

The story of the American theatrical tariff demonstrates that, in imagining a nineteenth-century theatrical trade route, we must attend to theatre as something nations literally trade. Such trade is, and always has been, subject to transaction costs, some of them imposed to gratify a protectionist impulse. These costs underline that theatre (or, more evanescently, performance) was not immune to ideologies of international commerce, but rather was subject to precisely the same pressures on goods and labour as other industries.[49] Reporting on the actors' plea for Congress to restrict the immigration of foreign performers and materials, one newspaper noted that they 'tell the same story that miners, mechanics and others have told of being supplanted by cheap labour under contract. Like the artisans, they want protection.'[50] Modes of theatrical production, like all modes of production, were subject to national and international debates about trade. Theatre's movement across borders, far from an unimpeded flow, dammed up at the Customs House. The reservoir created there formed a swirling eddy of aesthetic, economic, and nationalist ideologies that no utopian transnationalism can navigate in complete safety.

Endnotes

[1] Tracy C. Davis (2000) draws numerous parallels between the growth of the Victorian theatre and free trade ideologies. Davis also reads some instances of theatrical censorship as a way to protect British national culture from foreign influence. In the 1990s, the casting of British actor Jonathan Pryce to star in *Miss Saigon* on Broadway drew attention to the immigration of actors. Scholarly assessments of that incident focus, however, not on immigration policy, but on the choice of a white performer to play a half-French, half-Vietnamese character. See, for instance, Angela Pao (1992) and Karen Shimakawa (2002).

[2] See also Marvin Carlson (1961) for a comparative analysis of the free theatre movement as both an artistic and an industrial movement.

[3] Customs forms are still in use today, and customs officers rely on the same combination of testimony, documentation, and physical examination.

[4] *Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts*, No. 3099, 3 February, 1877.

[5] *United States Statutes at Large*, Act of March, 2, 1861, ch. 68, 12 *Stat*. 196. The clause, in more or less the same form, dates from the first protectionist tariff, Act of April 27, 1816, ch. 107, 3 *Stat*. 313.

[6] *Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts*, No 4686, 19 October 1880. This decision was reaffirmed in No 4773, 14 February 1881.

[7] *The New York Times*, 28 October 1880. Another paper reported only sixteen trunks, containing 'some thirty dresses, 300 pairs of thirty-button gloves, 180 pairs of shoes and other articles of wear in proportion.' *The New York Herald*, 28 October 1880.

[8] According to Bernhardt, one dressmaker estimated her *La Dame aux Camélias* gown, embroidered with pearls, at $10,000.

[9] *Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts*, No 4721, 10 December 1880. The letter from French to the Collector of Customs at New York was reprinted in *The New York Tribune* two days later.

[10] Dazian's continues to conduct business today as one of the largest suppliers of theatrical draperies. Dazian founded the firm in 1842. For a brief history of that firm, see Timothy R. White's (2015, pp. 52-54) history of theatre workshops.

[11] *Lenoir to Robertson*, 15 January 1885, p. 115. The exchange rate comes per Lawrence H. Officer (2013). Lenoir puts the conversion at $8,095 later in the same letter (ibid., p. 120).

[12] Ibid., p. 117. Lenoir goes on to explain that even Godchaux's estimate was likely high, as British labour was much cheaper than Americn labour. That, of course, was part of the reason for the dispute: at such disparate labour costs, only a high duty gave American workers any chance at earning business from foreign—or even domestic—clients. Lenoir also explains that workers simultaneously fabricated Savoy costumes for multiple productions in Britain and the US, a practice that further drove down costs. The only reason Carte had the work done in England, Lenoir insists, was so Gilbert and Sullivan themselves could supervise the costumes' construction.

[13] Carte, however, celebrated the Custom House's zeal when brought to bear on a competitor. During the race to premiere *The Mikado* before an unauthorized production by James C. Duff, Carte wrote happily to Lenoir that Duff's imported 'costumes have been seized by the Collector at New York. You will understand how this has occurred. I hope they will keep them for a month.' (*D'Oyly Carte to Lenoir*, 26 June 1885, p. 417)

[14] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 18 February 1875.

[15] *The Musical Visitor*, December 1884, p. 326.

[16] *The Sun*, 22 August 1885. See also *The Morning Journal*, 22 August 1885.

[17] *The New York Times*, 8 December 1885.

[18] The Treasury's letter to the Collector of Customs at New York confusingly suggests that the verdict for Mapleson was 'in accordance with the Department's previous rulings in somewhat similar cases.' *Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts*, No. 7321, 19 January 1886.

[19] *United States Public Documents*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 68, p. 6.

[20] Aldrich appeared alongside Harley Merry and Louis M. Sanger, representing the Actors' Order of Friendship, a secret charitable association founded in Philadelphia in 1849. The New York chapter, named after Edwin Forrest, was founded in 1888. (Bordman and Hischak, 2004).

[21] *United States Statutes at Large*, Act of February 26, 1885, ch. 164, 23 Stat. 332. The law prohibited paying to transport foreigners for labour and voided any contracts for alien labour. The exemption applied 'to professional actors, artists, lecturers, or singers, [and] to persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants'.

[22] Interviewed about the actors' protest, one producer, Bolossy Kiralfy, declared that he had ceased importing foreign actors 'six or seven years ago.' He declared American actors to be both as talented as their foreign counterparts and less risky, as one could fire them with ease if they proved unsatisfactory. Kiralfy claimed that foreign female dancers, however, did not 'compete with American labour' because 'there is no school or market for them in America.' (*The New York Herald*, 14 December 1888)

[23] *The New York Herald*, 14 December 1888.

[24] See *Jackson Daily Citizen* (30 July 1894), for a similar complaint about the unequal position of American and foreign managers.

[25] *The New York Herald* (19 December 1888) reports planned testimony from leading entertainment lawyer, Judge A. J. Dittenhoefer, who would speak on behalf of New York theatre owners against any immigration restriction.

[26] *The New York Times*, 29 August 1889.

[27] *Patriot*, 3 October 1889.

[28] *Springfield Republican*, 22 November 1889.

[29] *The New York Times*, 5 October 1889. Customs officers again seized and released Barrett's goods in 1892. (*The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 November 1892)

[30] *The New York Herald*, 13 May 1890.

[31] *The New York Herald*, 18 May 1890.

[32] For similar confusion over personal and company property, see *Idaho Daily Statesman* (22 March 1893).

[33] *The New York Herald*, 24 December 1890.

[34] *The New York Times*, 24 January 1891; As another paper noted, 'the duty, if collected, will be a substantial item in Mme. Sarah's American expenses.' (*The Sunday Oregonian*, 25 January 1891) Later that year, a gathering of appraisers divided over the dutiability of 'oil-painted theatrical scenery' from Australia that arrived with Bernhardt in San Francisco. Five appraisers (New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, San Francisco) voted to tax the canvases at fifteen percent, against two (Boston and Detroit) who supported the canvas's exemption as a tool of trade. (*Treasury Department*, 1891, pp. 7-8) After a protest, the decision to assess a duty on the scenery was reversed (*Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts,* No. 13796, 4 February 1893).

[35] *United States Statutes at Large*, Act of October 1, 1890, ch. 1244, 26 Stat. 609.

[36] *Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts*, No. 13632, 7 January 1893. The Appraiser's decision, appended to the letter just cited, discusses the rationale by which theatrical costumes are tools of trade. Almost simultaneously with this decision, the General Appraisers, and then the Circuit Court, ruled that one could not import professional implements on behalf of a corporate entity, in this case, the American Extravaganza Company owned by Wemyss and David Henderson. (*ibid.* 13789, 2 February 1893) Two years later, the Second Circuit Court overturned that interpretation on appeal. (*Henderson v. United States*, 1895)

[37] *Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts*, No. 13811, 8 February 1893. In 1895, an appellate court affirmed that the actual owner must arrive with the goods to claim the exemption. *Ibid.*, No. 15762, 14 March 1895, reporting *Rosenfeld v. United States* (1895).

[38] *Synopsis of Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Tariff and other Acts*, No. 14049, 18 April 1893.

[39] As a general proposition, the 1894 tariff act made 'no deep-reaching change in the character of our tariff legislation', as a contemporary economist observed. 'We have simply a moderation of the protective duties. A slice is taken off here, a shaving there; but the essentially protective character remains. [...] As far as it goes, it begins a policy of lower duties; but most of the steps in this direction are feeble and faltering.' (Taussig, 1894, pp. 590-591)

[40] Despite voluminous records of testimony to Congress on virtually every aspect of the law (for example, six pages of detailed explanation and figures about glove manufacturing), no mention appears of the extremely explicit exemption made for theatrical goods. See *Senate Reports* (1893).

[41] *United States Congressional Record*, 26 Cong. Rec. 6528, 19 June 1894.

[42] *United States Statutes at Large*, Act of August 27, 1894, ch. 349, 28 Stat. 543.

[43] An analogy: I could say that I dislike foods with coconut, eel, or rosemary. Or, I could say that I dislike coconut and eel, and I like all herbs, except rosemary. The latter version both points up rosemary's status as an herb and singles out its value relative to herbs as a class.

[44] This clause was added due to a last-minute floor amendment from Arkansas Senator James Kimbrough Jones. (*Congr. Rec.* 1894)

[45] *The Washington Post* (8 May 1894) reports Howard's lobbying. *The New York Times* (21 June 1894) notes testimony to Congress by Dittenhoefer, the entertainment lawyer, on behalf of Howard and the Dramatists' Guild. The 1897 law is Act of January 6, 1897, ch. 4, 29 *Stat.* 481.

[46] 'Every custom house seems to have a different understanding of the law', complained the writer. (*The Daily Inter Ocean*, 19 September 1895)

[47] *The New York Times*, 13 January 1897.

[48] Archer, from his first exegesis of a possible national theatre (Archer, 1886) to *A National Theatre Scheme & Estimates* (Archer, 1907) co-authored with Barker, thought carefully about the French and German models of theatre-making.

[49] For the most thorough situation of the theatre industry within a national economic culture see Davis (2000).

[50] *The New York Herald*, 14 December 1888.

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Christopher Balme

Maurice E. Bandmann and the Beginnings of a Global Theatre Trade

Abstract

This essay outlines the remarkable but today largely forgotten career of the Anglo-American actor and theatre manager Maurice E. Bandmann (1872-1922). In the course of a thirty-year career Bandmann established a theatrical circuit that extended from the Mediterranean to the Far East. It argues that Bandmann refined theatrical management from an actor-centred to a manager-centred enterprise which enabled him to move several troupes performing various genres around the circuit on a carefully calibrated rotation system. The essay explores how Bandmann created a successful theatrical product that could cater to a highly diverse theatrical public. It argues that the theatrical trade routes established by Bandmann worked on a principle of repetition, whereby troupes sustained a culture of promise and expectation that transcended a specific work or performer.

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When Maurice E. Bandmann died in Gibraltar in 1922 aged forty-nine of typhoid fever, the only obituaries published were in Eastern newspapers: in India, the Straits Settlements, Rangoon, and beyond. The obituaries were unanimous in their admiration for his achievement. As an impresario, theatre owner and manager he had contributed significantly to the provision of professional theatrical and cinematic entertainment along a chain of theatres stretching from Gibraltar to Yokohama. An erstwhile actor turned theatre manager, in his heyday Bandmann was recognised by his audiences as a trademark, a 'guinea stamp among itinerant theatrical circles'[1]. The name Maurice E. Bandmann stood for the presentation of professional large-scale productions of mainly musical comedy but also of Shakespeare, contemporary drama, vaudeville and even, on occasion, grand Opera. As the sole possessor of the rights to George Edwardes and of the Gaiety Theatre productions in the British colonies, Bandmann became a purveyor of fine Edwardian froth to the furthest flung reaches of the British Empire and beyond. While the colonial settlements were his main ports of call, they by no means limited his reach, which at different periods of an incessantly peripatetic career also included South America, the West Indies as well as Canada, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and Japan. Although a household name for over twenty years, the name Maurice Bandmann quickly disappeared from collective memory and the theatre-historical record. Today his

legacy can only be reconstructed from scattered traces in newspapers and private collections.[2]

Maurice Edward Bandmann was born in New York in 1872, as the son of the famous German-Jewish tragedian, Daniel Bandmann and his second wife Millicent Bandmann-Palmer. After his parents separated, he was educated in England and Germany. Following in his parents' footsteps, Maurice became an actor in England in the early 1890s playing alongside his mother. By the mid-1890s he had already become proprietor of two theatrical companies known as the 'North' and the 'South' Manxmann Companies working the English provinces. As an actor he was best known for the roles Svengali in *Trilby*, Pete in *The Manxman* and as Marcus Superbus in *The Sign of the Cross*. In the late 1890s he began touring in the Mediterranean on a circuit, which included Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria and Cairo. Around the turn of the century he visited South America, the West Indies and Canada. His first foray into India was in 1901, which coincided unfortunately with the death of Queen Victoria and a temporary lack of interest in musical comedy. In 1905 he resumed operations there and made Calcutta his headquarters. He rapidly established a circuit, which by his own account took in 'Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, India, Burmah, with the Malay States, the Straits Settlements, China, Japan, Java and Philippine Islands.'[3] In 1908 he built a large modern theatre in Calcutta, The Empire. This was followed in 1911 by the construction of the Royal Opera House in Bombay, which after a chequered history of closure, refurbishment as a cinema, and impending demolition is currently being restored back to its original state as an opera house.[4] He owned or leased many theatres along his circuit, thus extending commercial control over all aspects of theatre production and reception. In India he was also instrumental in establishing early cinema, projecting films in his theatres when theatre troupes were not available. A stranger to modesty, an expert in self-advertisement and ruthlessly litigious, for almost twenty years the name Bandmann stood for high quality theatrical entertainment aimed at European and local audiences alike. On his death in 1922 he left two registered public companies in India, a considerable fortune,[5] an estranged, disinherited wife, three daughters in the care of a nurse, and a secretary to whom he bequeathed a quarter of his estate. Despite his death his companies continued to operate and it was not until the late 1930s that the Bandman Eastern Circuit and its attendant companies finally closed down.

What can this rather brief and now almost entirely forgotten career tell us about theatrical trade routes? Or help us understand how they functioned and what cultural and economic impact they had? Paradoxically, Bandmann's disappearance from the theatre-historical archive highlights the necessity for a fresh perspective, which can only be termed global-historical. As Bandmann was evidently a household name, 'a guinea-stamp' east of Gibraltar – the many obituaries emphasize unisono his considerable impact and importance for the establishment of high quality theatrical entertainment throughout the region – we need to examine how a theatrical practice functioned that by definition spanned half the globe and performed successfully for audiences from Cairo to Shanghai. The answer to these questions will follow two main trajectories which themselves provide the framework for the wider question of accounting for his historiographical evanescence. Bandmann's theatre was organised as a business, with commercial exigencies trumping artistic imperatives, although the latter were not unknown to him. Secondly, the very mobility of the enterprise, its indifference to a

specific national or municipal locale, needs to be examined as its *differentia specifica* and assessed as such. Above all, it is necessary to examine the theatre-historiographical implications of a theatre model predicated on mobility and circulation?

In many periods of European theatre history, the provision of performance was entirely reliant on itinerant troupes. Once we move outside the major metropolitan centres, we can observe a practice of visiting companies rather than permanent ensembles, the latter being, even today, outside Central Europe, the exception rather than the rule. And with the exception of the Italian commedia dell'arte companies, these practices have been little studied in comparison to the metropolitan theatrical cultures. A case in point is the comparatively little research available on the itinerant Elizabethan companies active compared to their Italian compatriots.

The itinerant theatre is by definition primarily commercial in orientation, and less motivated by the imperatives of community or nation. Theatre on the move leaves few traces: some playbills, newspaper advertisements, the occasional article and review, and perhaps a scrapbook here or there. But when one considers that all professional theatre in the English-speaking world in the period under consideration was commercial, then the itinerant variety represents the geographical extension of a norm, not the exception. While mobility and commerce certainly condition one another – no movement, no trade – their mutual entanglement result in almost total theatre-historiographical amnesia. Mobility and commercial orientation combine to exclude such theatre from serious scholarly examination.

The Bandmann Circuit: From Actor-Manager to Public Company

Bandmann's theatrical enterprises provided a quality although heterogeneous product to a geographically and culturally dispersed market. The special quality and features of his manifold undertakings must be understood in the light of this particular economic configuration. Tracy Davis (2000) has studied in great detail the financial workings and ideological implications of the industrial model of theatre production in late nineteenth-century Great Britain and its subsequent export to far-flung colonies and markets: 'changes in the logistics of [theatrical] touring carry significant implications for the entrenchment of imperialism throughout the English-speaking and Anglo-colonized world along the routes of British maritime trade, they also help forecast the cultural capital of the arts undergoing globalization' (Ibid., p. 336). According to Davis, touring, whether national or international, was designed to maximize profit by capitalizing on investment. A successful West End run could generate a large amount of 'cultural capital' as well as quite literally an economic capital investment. The most profitable markets for British theatrical product were the USA and the British colonies, although the costs were in fact quite high and 'cost-benefit ratio in going to distant lands was often marginal at best' (Ibid., p. 337).

A central cost factor was the travel itself, as it implied both cost and lack of income: except for occasional performances on board ships, travel time was invariably 'down time' (Ibid., p. 338). Despite these risks on the margins of economic viability, touring was an essential component of the late-Victorian and Edwardian theatre industry as it

became increasingly integrated into the whole imperial system of open markets, low tariffs and comparative ease of transportation.

Like his father and mother, Bandmann's understanding of theatre was synonymous with touring and its usual rhythm of not performing for not more than a week at any one place. A professional actor at eighteen and manager of his first company at twenty-three, Bandmann's touring and managerial skills were honed between 1890 and 1900 when he travelled throughout the British provinces in a variety of companies. Bandmann was part of a substantial industry of itinerant and competing troupes employing thousands of performers and staff in companies that usually numbered between twenty and forty people. Hundreds of towns and cities in Great Britain had by the end of the nineteenth century performance venues that could be used and were indeed frequented by such troupes. While most remained in the British isles, Bandmann, perhaps inspired by his father's peregrinations that led him literally around the world, extended his operations.[6] In 1899 he founded the Bandmann Comedy and Dramatic Company and made his first foray into the Mediterranean, using the British enclave of Gibraltar as his base. A year later he was calling himself 'Governing Director of the Mediterranean Entertainment Syndicate, Ltd', which had no office, just a postal address care of the *The Era*, the most widely read theatrical trade paper in Great Britain.[7] The degree of diversification which was to become Bandmann's hallmark was already apparent, however, as only a few months earlier in August and September he had been touring the English provinces with his local company performing *The Three Musketeers*, *Little Christopher Columbus* as well as hardy annuals such as the *The Manxmann* and *David Garrick*. Although the Mediterranean enterprise was short-lived – by 1902 he was engaged in a legal dispute with the syndicate now featuring the expanded moniker of the 'Mediterranean and the East Entertainment Syndicate' –, he had now practically left the British Isles to concentrate entirely on foreign touring.[8]

In the early years of the new century Bandmann's company seems to have travelled extensively around the American continent in both hemispheres. In September 1901 *The Times* announced plans for a forty-strong Light Opera Company under Bandmann's direction to visit Jamaica and the West Indies. The enterprise stood in direct connection with the 'new direct mail line of steamers' running from Avonmouth, Bristol.[9] We find traces of him as Svengali in *Trilby* in Buenos Aires in 1902. In January 1903 *The Acadian Recorder*, a weekly published in Halifax, Nova Scotia outlined in some detail Bandmann's itinerary of the previous year:

> They left England on their present trip last February, and went to the Mediterranean, Gibraltar and Malta. From there they went to Marseilles, then to Buenos Ayres [sic!] where they performed for seven weeks, and other places in the Argentine Republic, then to Montevideo, round the straits of Magellan to Valparaiso in Chile, then to Santiago, the capital of Chile, afterwards to Iquique then to Lima in Peru and then on to Jamaica via Panama and Colon. Mr. Bandmann has entered into an arrangement with George Edwardes of London, for the rights of his operas for a number of years. The majority of the members of the company have now been together for nearly three years and during that time they have travelled 50,000 miles.[10]

When the company finally arrived in Halifax in August 1903 to perform at The Academy, their arrival was heralded by advance publicity that was a trademark of Bandmann's operations. Not only were the names of prominent prima donnas highlighted: 'Marie Elba (from Covent Garden Theatre, London), Florence Wilton (from Gaiety Theatre, London), Annie Roberts (from the Savoy Theatre, London)', but details of scenery, and costumes together with their designers were explicitly mentioned: 'Each opera and play will be presented under the personal direction of Maurice E. Bandmann. They will be presented with new scenery by Signor Fantini, H. L. Lee and Albert May; modern dresses by Worth, Madames Elise and Vernon, and naval and military uniforms by J. Hyman & Co.'[11]

The mention of 'an arrangement' with George Edwardes alludes to one of the economic foundations of the Bandmann enterprise, which was predicated on a close cooperation with Edwardes and the Gaiety Company in London.[12] Edwardes, who practically invented the genre of musical comedy and produced numerous hit productions over a thirty-year period, entered into an agreement with Bandmann around 1903 with the result that the latter obtained sole rights for the British colonies of the Gaiety works. Bandmann toured not only the latest London hits and talks of the town but also many of the performers associated with them. His publicity material is replete with references to his performers' recent London accomplishments. His artistic capital consisted therefore not only of valuable copyrighted material but also of the human capital required to perform it.

The question of performance rights was crucial in determining where the Bandmann enterprises operated. It is one reason we do not find him at all in the USA, the country of his birth, because other companies such as the Shubert Bros and Erlanger & Klaw had already secured the rights to the successive London hits. Outside the transatlantic and Australasian circuit, where J.C. Williamson reigned supreme, and later South Africa, which was to be dominated by the monopolist Isidore Schlesinger's African Theatres Trust, the world was effectively Maurice Bandmann's theatrical oyster.

Bandmann was a master of generating journalistic buzz both before and after his visits. He employed, as did most itinerant troupes, advance agents who arrived several days before the troupe to make not only practical arrangements but also to give interviews to the press. These well rehearsed exercises in self-praise followed a familiar routine. Particular emphasis was placed on the size of the company. The fact that complete scenery was being transported, the size of the repertoire and even the physical weight of the baggage ('Forty Tons of Magnificent Scenery') - presumably the greater the weight, the greater the artistic impact – were enumerated in exact detail.[13] This pre-performance puff invariably emphasised the previous sell-out successes achieved by the company as well as the next ports of call, which extended into geographical infinity.

Although theatrical touring in itself was nothing new, Bandmann seems to have introduced a new economy of scale. His operations represent a significant shift from the older actor-manager model represented and practiced by his parents and many other itinerant theatre troupes. The actor-manager was, however, an almost pre-modern business activity in as much as at the close of the nineteenth century it did not differ greatly from the touring English or Italian troupes of the late-sixteenth and early

seventeenth century. Its features were strong familial ties, often a husband and wife as the lead performers and business managers supported by about a dozen performers. Economically, the actor-manager was an extremely precarious business model because capitalization was minimal and the companies could only absorb a limited number of poor houses before bankruptcy loomed.

Bandmann's approach was different in as much as he was not only satisfied with one troupe being on the road, but at the height of his activities, he had several, moving around the globe in a rotating chain of changing genres and programs. He had begun this practice on a small scale in England in the 1890s with his two Manxman companies. In an interview given in 1906, by which time he had relocated the centre of his operations to Calcutta, he described in detail his new rotation system. He planned to keep companies 'going in regular rotation, working to and from London via the Mediterranean and Cairo to India and then up the Far East, and returning by the route that his present company is doing i.e. Burmah, Calcutta, Ceylon, and Bombay.' He also intended to have quick changes once the system became fully functional so that 'during the next two years Calcutta will never be without some theatrical entertainments':

> '[my dramatic repertoire company] will play a week's season, and that will carry us well on into January. In February my new musical comedy company arrives, and I shall open with them at the Theatre Royal on 1 February 1907, with an entirely new repertoire. I shall play in Calcutta seven weeks, with two changes a week. (…) At the end of the seven weeks there will be another company on the road, and in May and June, 1907, you will have my Gilbert and Sullivan repertoire company. In July the dramatic company will be on its way back from the Far East, and will play in Calcutta for about a month, and in its turn make room for the musical comedy company. I shall probably reorganise and play the cold weather season with one of my companies in Calcutta.'[14]

What is astounding from an economic perspective, is the size of the companies. The dramatic repertoire company consisted of twenty-two actors, the musical comedy company including musicians and stagehands numbered fifty to sixty. A repertoire could consist of up to a dozen different works performed in one locale over the course of a week to ten days.

Generic diversification was another special feature of the Bandmann enterprises. Each genre had its own company so that at different times he managed under the umbrella company Bandman Eastern Circuit Ltd, companies such as the Bandman Varieties Limited Calcutta, The Bandman Opera Co., The Bandman Comedy Co., The Bandman Concert Party Pierrot Pie, a Gilbert & Sullivan Opera Co, The Bandman Farcical Comedy Company. By this time genre specification had become a defining feature of a highly diversified theatrical culture that was sustained beyond the domain of the large metropolitan centres where it emerged and from whence it was artistically sustained.

Bandmann was a purveyor of fine entertainment, whatever the genre. It is therefore not surprising that he developed a profitable sideline in the new medium of cinematography. By 1908 he was presenting cinema programs parallel to the visits of the companies. Initially, the showings seem to have been integrated into the theatrical

performances, but very quickly they became autonomous. The centre of his operations was Calcutta, and more widely, India, where he developed a chain of projection venues, many of which were theatres of which he was the lessee. In both Calcutta and Bombay the venues were located at the respective *Maidan*, large urban parks, which also hosted many other outdoor recreations. In both cities tent cinemas were erected which quickly became permanent fixtures. By 1910 authorities on both cities decided to phase out the tent shows for safety reasons. In 1909 the public works department in Bombay asked Bandmann to move his operations elsewhere.[15] In Calcutta, he was already using his own theatres.

When the First World War broke out, Bandmann entered an agreement to become the sole distributor of British official war films in the East. He thereby obtained a monopoly on this highly sought after commodity, for which he later garnered criticism in the local press. In 1917 a Singapore newspaper carried a report criticising Bandmann's Eastern management: 'there have been general complaints respecting the heavy percentages of the receipts from the shows which he has demanded. The terms are alleged to have been so unreasonable that the films have not been exhibited so widely or so well as they might have been, though as valuable means of war propaganda it is important that they should be used to the best advantage.'[16] Clearly, Bandmann's patriotic contribution to the war effort was not without considerable financial benefit to himself.[17]

Although the name Bandmann rapidly became a 'guinea stamp' of artistic quality of a particular kind, the operations were frequently conducted through various artistic partnerships. Sometimes he would simply act as an impresario for another company, for example the Shakespearean tours of Matheson Lang (later of Mr Wu fame) and the Lang-Holloway company, or the famous American magician of The Great Raymonde. The most important of these partnerships was with the American actor-manager Henry Dallas, the stage name of James Ryder (1866-1917). Dallas made his name in English theatre in the early 1890s and seems to have first pioneered the touring circuit that Bandmann came to dominate. Initially the partnership ran from 1904-1906 under the heading Bandmann-Dallas Company until the two directors fell out and engaged in litigation. In 1908 Dallas resumed his partnership with Bandmann but in a more subservient role.

Shortly before the First World War Bandmann entertained a partnership with the Australian-based impresario Harry Rickard in order to include music hall and vaudeville performances on his Eastern circuit, a genre that he had hitherto avoided. An article in the *Bombay Gazette* of 1914 outlines this plan:

> The idea is to run regular music hall performances with a change of program weekly in Calcutta, Bombay and perhaps other cities in India and the East with companies which will work from England to Australia, calling in Egypt and then running through India and East to Australia. These companies will include stars of the music hall at home, and the idea of the combine will be to give to India pucca music hall shows after the fashion of the Empire programmes at Home. The Empire Theatre at Calcutta is to be converted into a music hall for the greater portion of the year as is also one theatre in Bombay.[18]

By late 1914 The Empire Theatre in Calcutta was indeed offering variety shows to a mixed-race public. Although it might appear doubtful whether Indian audiences were particularly inclined towards 'pucca music hall shows', especially since on an earlier occasion Bandmann had emphasised their insistence on unexpurgated versions of Shakespeare and a disinclination towards variety show structures, this did not deter him from advertising in Bengali newspapers such as *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*. An advertisement from October 1914 shows that Bandmann had renamed his flagship theatre as a 'Palace of Varieties', and was showing a mixture of films and live acts. The advertising specifically frames the Empire as a 'House for refined Vaudeville', targeting Indian audiences. [19] The matinee at 6pm was 'specially organised for the Indian gentlemen' and an additional note emphasizes the 'Special Arrangement for Zenana Ladies', which refers to a deliberate attempt to attract higher class Muslim spectators by providing segregated seating.[20]

Of particular interest and importance are the partnerships Bandmann entered into in Bombay and Calcutta where his operations were centred. In Calcutta he owned two large theatres, the Empire and the Theatre Royal, which he was able to finance thanks to a partnership with a, by his own account, 'rich Armenian', Mr Arratoon Stephen (1861-1927). In order to build the Royal Opera House in Bombay in 1911 at a cost of approximately £33,000, he formed a partnership with a Parsi coal merchant and entrepreneur, Jehangir Framji Karaka. Later he joined forces with the Calcutta-based Parsi businessman Jamshedji Framji Madan (1857-1923), who was also expanding his operations with local theatrical performances and was in the process of establishing the foundations of a local film industry. Certainly indirectly and perhaps directly, there is a connection between Bandmann and the beginnings of Bollywood.

At different times of this career Bandmann owned, leased or even built a total of fifty theatres along his trade route. This meant that he also controlled the growing entertainment industry, which developed very rapidly after 1900, although its beginnings predate the turn-of-the-century. When he was not actually performing or showing films in the theatres, he was renting them out to other touring troupes and local groups, so that the buildings generated regular income.

If, in 1905, a visit to Singapore by a Bandmann company was a major and almost singular social occasion, by 1912, there had developed a small entertainment industry, with travelling and local groups competing with each other and the new cinematic medium. For example, in the week beginning 6 March 1912, newspapers advertised the following programs:

> Alhambra: Thuness Kovarick and His Violin in conjunction with the pick of the production of: Pathé, American Kinema etc.
>
> Harima Hall cinematograph offering 'Gaumont's Greatest Graphic'
>
> Victoria Theatre: Bandmann Opera Company; Chinese New Year entertainment: Part I 'After the battle'; Part II 'Mustapha'

> Theatre Royal: the Dutch and Malay variety entertainers. PRINCE KOBAT SHARIL: Come and see: charming actresses, clever actors, competent orchestra, comfortable theatre
>
> Teutonia Club: Kilkare Koncert Kompany.[21]

Significant here is the mixture of cultural offerings, professional and amateur, catering for Singapore's cosmopolitan population. But this time the population of the important port city amounted to approximately 250,000 inhabitants, 165,000 of whom were of Chinese descent. The European and Eurasian population comprised little more than 8000.[22] The performance of the Chinese New Year play in two parts in aid of the Chinese Red Cross Society, written by two local authors, and presented in the high temple of colonial representation, the Victoria Theatre, which had been converted from the town hall into a functional theatrical performance space, documents a growing interpenetration of performance cultures. While the local Chinese opera continued to flourish in it's own venues, the special performance was clearly designed by its venue as the demonstration of cultural occupation and perhaps even of a certain degree of social mobility in an otherwise highly stratified colonial settlement.

Circulation, mobility and rhythms of return

The present interest in concepts and metaphors such as 'circulation' and 'mobility' – as articulated for example in Stephen Greenblatt's recent manifesto on cultural mobility (2010) – should give us pause to reflect on what they might mean or what surplus meaning they might generate when applied to a phenomenon such as Bandmann and his various enterprises. It is clear from the above-described business model based on a rotation principle that circulation and mobility were the norm of theatrical production and reception along the colonial trade routes. A fourteen-week season in Calcutta with its population of over one million was the longest period that a Bandmann company remained in one place. A normal sojourn in most cities comprised a week to ten days at the most. A travelling company of the high colonial era could therefore most certainly be considered a form of structured circulation of capital, not just of financial but also of the human and material variety.

The perpetuum mobile of the Bandmann rotation system meant not only theatrical trade on an almost non-stop temporal basis, but also a spatial imaginary that connected points together stretching halfway around the globe. The itineraries become themselves ways of mapping a newly globalised world. They form a structured route interconnecting distant towns and cities, which then become related to one another by virtue of sharing in the theatrical experiences provided by the companies. The newspaper reports demonstrate very clearly that the papers observed not just the latest theatrical fashions in London, but also the activities in the next colonial settlements. In many ways the activities in Calcutta and Rangoon are more relevant to Singapore than London is. The newspapers themselves incessantly quote and reprint from each other and construct a kind of interrelated colonial public sphere independent of the metropolitan centre.

The theatrical trade routes established by Bandmann represent therefore not just an abstract principle of continual movement but a structured itinerary of set points chosen

for economic reasons. While the common factors included location as a port city, presence of a European population and/or access by rail (Bandmann's companies were active all over the Indian subcontinent from Calcutta to Simla, from Mussorie to Karachi), they were by no means limited and restricted to the British Empire. We need to think of theatrical trade routes such as those established by Bandmann in terms of 'rhythms of return': troupes sustained a culture of promise and expectation; they brought with them the experience of their previous port of call and carried messages to the next. Such visits were predicated on a delicate dialectic, balancing the strange and the familiar. An itinerant theatre company always bears with it a moment of the strange and incommensurable: it inserts itself into a patterned social fabric for a short period, bringing glamour, and behaviours not fully controllable by the local. By virtue of its repetitive nature, however, the visits were also familiar and conformed to a broadly predictable pattern of events and behaviours. And as the obituary in *The Straits Times* stated, the impact of his tours was as much social as artistic:

> One of the difficulties of our theatrical manager bringing out companies of good looking artists, both musical and comedy, is the danger of losing them through marriage. In the seventeen years that he has been furnishing entertainment for the public in the East Mr. Bandman has lost many of the members of his company that way. Many of his old artistes now happily married in India, Burma and other parts of the East will receive the news of his death with great regret. So will everyone who remembers how much Mr. Bandman did to make time pass pleasantly for those whose lives have had to be lived here.[23]

If we attach premium value to those activities and products that issue from or reflect bounded geopolitical entities – the village, the town, community or nation – then mobile, circulating products or people are by definition difficult to map onto our scholarly and evaluative templates. This observation has a number of theatre-historiographical implications. Firstly, from a long-term historical perspective a theatre of mobility was as much a norm as the rooted, sedentary variety. Mobility does not necessarily imply ephemerality as the structured rotation system clearly demonstrates. Secondly, while the commercial orientation has helped to obscure the artistic impact of the performances this scholarly disinterest is not just due to the fact of mobility. It would seem to mirror more the problems theatre scholarship has with the whole tradition of late Victorian and Edwardian theatre. As Thomas Postlewait has noted about British musical comedy: 'with rare exceptions theatre historians have shown little interest in this popular form of entertainment. It has remained marginal to our histories of modern British theatre' (2007: 81). Nevertheless over a twenty-year period Bandmann effectively extended the range of the London repertoire around the world: the musical and light comedies, variety and Shakespeare. Not to engage with it means to not engage with British theatre over a period of two decades, although much removed from its place of origin.

Conclusion

The theatrical trade routes established by Maurice Bandmann and their disappearance from the theatre historiographical record require a revaluation of certain concepts of theatre history. Although theatre is never just trade, it is also that in a cultural world far removed from any notion of state support for the theatrical arts. To move large theatrical

troupes across half the globe on a regular basis required a precise calibration of shipping and rail timetables, hotel and theatre bookings, costs and contracts, and above all an estimation of audience tastes on a circuit that extended from the Mediterranean to Japan. Although Bandmann's enterprises were unique in terms of scale, they were by no means unusual during this period. The globe, or at least large sections of it, was regularly crisscrossed by theatrical touring troupes plying their trade. While we are well-informed about certain tours by prominent artists such as Sarah Bernhardt or the Ballets Russes, the vast majority of this theatre remains obscure. Although so much of this theatrical activity evidently remains below the threshold of most aesthetic benchmarks, a reappraisal of Bandmann and his multifarious enterprises should give us cause and pause to ask what cultural work theatre really performs beyond the two or three hours traffic of the stage. Between providing wives for the colonial establishment and constructing landmark buildings of turn-of-the-century Calcutta and Bombay, Maurice Bandmann's theatrical circuit clearly fulfilled an astonishing range of needs, the full scope of which still needs to be ascertained.

Endnotes

[1] *The Eastern Daily Mail* (Singapore) 16 February 1906, p. 2.

[2] As far as I can ascertain, there has been no scholarly interest in Bandmann whatsoever, apart from fleeting references in a few scattered footnotes. The most detailed coverage of his career can be found on private website devoted to one of Bandmann's actors and managers, Stephen Lopez. See http://www.joydiv.org/familygoingback/career.htm, date accessed 30 March 2016. For a detailed discussion of his circuit, see Balme (2015a).

[3] *Weekly Sun* (Singapore), 30 September 1911, p.12.

[4] See www.expressindia.com/latest-news/glorious-days-set-to-return-for-royal-opera-house/313442/, date accessed 30 March 2016.

[5] Bandmann's will totalled £33,057, which translates into just under £1 million in today's currency.

[6] Daniel Bandmann published an account of his five-year tour of Australasia and the Far East in *An Actor's Tour, or Seventy Thousand Miles with Shakespeare* (1885).

[7] *The Era*, 29 December 1900, issue 3249, p.5.

[8] It is unclear what the dispute was about, but *The Times* records under the chancery division of its law notices a 'short cause' featuring Bandmann against the Syndicate, 1 February 1902, p.5.

[9] *The Times*, 13 September 1901, p.7. The repertoire included *La Cigale, La Poupée, Little Christopher Columbus, The Geisha, The Belle of New York,* and *The Casino Girl*.

[10] *The Acadian Recorder*, 6 January 1903.

[11] *The Acadian Recorder*, 25 July 1903.

[12] See the article by Thomas Postlewait (2007).

[13] *The New York Clipper* carried a report from St John, Canada, detailing the actual logistics: 'The companies carry complete scenery for each piece and their repertory includes something like 40 plays and operas. The scenery is made principally of a heavy paper that permits of packing for shipment, and some idea may be obtained of the quantity carried from the total weight of the baggage, which is about 12 tons.' 25 February 1905, p.25.

[14] *Eastern Daily Mail*, 29 September 1906, p. 5.

[15] See Bhaumik (2011), here p. 47.

[16] *The Singapore Free Press,* 28 September 1917, p. 8.

[17] The controversy revolved around the film *Britain Prepared* (directed by Charles Urban) for which Bandmann had secured sole distribution rights on his theatrical circuit. His exclusive rights were disputed by his Bengali competitor in the cinema business, Jamshedji Framji Madan. The dispute is documented in the 'Proceedings of the Home Department, Delhi, 1916, Part B. Nos. 168-181, National Archives of India. For a discussion of this controversy, see Balme (2015b).

[18] Reprinted in the *Singapore Free Press*, 3 February 1914, p. 7.

[19] *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 12 October 1914, p. 3.

[20] *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5 April 1914, p. 3.

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Stanca Scholz-Cionca

Japanesque Shows for Western Markets: Loïe Fuller and Japanese Theatre Tours Through Europe (1900-08)

Abstract

The hype of Japanese theatre in Europe during the first decade of the twentieth century has received much scholarly attention focused on the global stars it produced: Sada Yakko, and Hanako. This article, starting from the assumption of a strong western angency in circulating Japanese products during the heyday of *japonisme*, highlights the decisive contribution of their western impresaria, Loïe Fuller, to the success of the Japanese tours. In a period marked by a strong professionalisation of theatre brokers, Fuller – a cross-over artist and cultural mediator *sui generis* – is an eccentric apparition, a belated example of artist-impresaria, who cumulated sundry functions in the process and reshaped the Japanese shows, by multiple acts of translation and mediation, into a global theatre brand.

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Prelude

The emergence of Japanese theatre in Europe started with a momentous event that catapulted it right into the focus of public attention: the guest performances of Kawakami Otojirô, starring his wife, Sada Yacco, at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 in Paris. Their run of 369 shows performed up to three times a day from June through October was the sensation of the exposition.[1] They were not the first Japanese to perform abroad. Before them, hundreds of artists, acrobats, geishas, teahouse girls and artisans had displayed their exotic bodies in various venues, including international fairs,[2] which emphatically celebrated technological progress and colonialist expansion. But Kawakami and his troupe were probably the first *theatre actors* abroad (albeit not belonging to the establishment),[3] and they were offered a new frame, which ensured excellent visibility and press coverage. Set apart from the oriental bazaar with its typical display of exotic performers,[4] and also from cabaret and other minor showbiz genres – to say nothing of

the circus, where Japanese usually performed – Kawakami's actors played in a stylish theatre pavilion in the centre of the Exposition and were welcomed as ambassadors of a refined and sophisticated theatre culture.

Several factors concurred in this brilliant start. One was the craze for things Japanese that swept Europe towards the end of the century. Thus, a *japonisme* at its peak put its mark upon the whole Exposition, preparing the ground for the actors. Embedded in a ubiquitous Art Nouveau scene pervaded by Japanese elements, their shows reinforced the commercial success of the Fair, even setting new trends in fashion.[5] From the start, theatre interacted with other commodity chains, such as arts and handicrafts, domains where Japan had already gained an international reputation. However, with these performances the audiences' responses to exotic Japan shifted from superficial reaction – as aroused by hits such as *The Mikado* or *The Geisha*[6]– to a more serious interest in Japanese stage art, which could provide European theatre with fresh impulses, just as the woodblock prints had inspired Western artists.

A second factor was the palatability of the product brought by the Kawakamis to Paris. During their preceding American tour – a haphazard enterprise, which lasted several months, alternating triumph with catastrophe – the troupe had heavily adapted its practice to Western tastes.[7] They had started one year before as an all-male group of nineteen actors to show 'modern' Japanese theatre mixed with pseudo-Kabuki extracts and arrived in Paris with fourteen male actors grouped around a female star, with a modified repertoire and adapted acting styles. All in all, the repertoire in Paris included four melodramas, featuring stock heroes of almost archetypal simplicity involved in intricate imbroglios in plots loosely patched together by Otojirô from Kabuki hits.[8] Noisy battle scenes, madness, murder and suicide alternated with elaborate dances, in which the former geisha, Sada Yacco, excelled. Bringing an actress onto the stage was the greatest concession to Western tastes and it proved the key to success. After several months of stage practice in America and London, a self-made actress Sada Yacco reached Paris radiating the composure and self-confidence of a Western diva – an excellent prerequisite to conquer the European market.

However, the decisive factor in the breakthrough was their encounter with the dancer Loïe Fuller, then the most famous American in Paris, who became their manager. The agency of this prominent 'cultural mobilizer' (Greenblatt, 2010, p. 251) in what may be considered an early commodification of Japanese shows in Europe will be the focus of the present paper, which argues that besides hosting the troupe at her own theatre and subsequently moving it throughout Europe at her own risks, Fuller also reshaped the shows and even expanded her agency when moving a second Japanese troupe and its star, Hanako, throughout Europe between 1905-08, when she authored the plays, finally leaving her personal mark on the Western perception of Japanese theatre during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Moreover, Fuller's role is traceable in the Japanese perception of European theatre as well: in the famous adaptations of European classics staged by the couple Kawakami – Sada Yacco after their return from Europe, during the first decade of the century, to say nothing of Fuller's impact on the emergence of Japanese modern dance, where the spirit of her serpentine dances haunts the Butoh stage to the present day.[9]

Metamorphoses of a star: Loïe Fuller as cultural translator, mediator, impresaria

Several circumstances predestined Loïe Fuller for this role. She was a self-made dancer who came from America in 1893[10] with one single asset – the invention of a 'Serpentine dance', based on a combination of whirling textiles and lighting effects, which she patented, refined and multiplied in infinite varieties – and had a spectacular career in Paris, albeit begun on cabaret and variety stages.[11] With her new concept of dancing, discarding narrative and the gestural vocabulary of ballet in favour of abstract shows based on striking visual effects and new technologies (electrical lighting, but also radium experiments), she won fame as a ground-breaking, avant-garde innovator, a creator of powerful visions that echoed the *Zeitgeist*. Dubbed *la fée lumière* and, around 1900, *la fée éléctricité,* she united in her persona the aspirations and dreams of the turbulent age that would nostalgically be remembered as *la belle époque*. Moreover, she commodified this powerful image on a large scale.[12]

Loïe's persona and aesthetic concept went hand in hand with the ideological programme of the Exposition, which stressed the fascination with science and technology blended with a deep desire for the exotic. The Fair actually staged an apotheosis of Loïe Fuller, not only by exhibiting her multiple images – plaster statues and masks on prominent buildings, or tiny bibelots for sale –, but also by reflecting her visions in the overall dramaturgy of the event. A contemporary journalist pointedly notes: 'Loïe Fuller… seemed to epitomize the spirit of the exhibition' (quoted in Garelick, 2007, p. 78).

Ironically, Loïe herself remained notoriously absent from the stage. Too busy to perform in the Palais de la Danse (though her plaster image adorned the front of the building), she had to be replaced there by a double. She preferred to open her own pavilion in the very heart of the Exposition: the *Théâtre Loïe Fuller*, hastily designed under her own supervision in flamboyant Art Nouveau style, topped by a plaster sculpture of herself, the roof decorated with masks bearing her features, and exhibiting within images and figurines of the dancer. Erected at incredible speed within six weeks, the theatre pavilion absorbed Loïe's energies and mobilized her managerial talents. According to one biographer, she acted concomitantly as architectural designer, coordinator and construction supervisor, technician, electrician, and subsequently as stage designer, choreographer, entrepreneur, and (incidentally) dancer (Lista, 2006, pp. 299-327).

Notwithstanding this hyper-activism, Fuller took the momentous decision to host the Japanese troupe in her theatre. Years later she would remember the step as an altruistic project: 'Everything coming from Japan had always captivated me. It is easy to imagine how happy I was to contact Sada Yacco. I did not hesitate to assume financial responsibility for her shows when she decided to come to Europe with all her retinue.' Fuller's expectations were not disappointed, as 'Sada Yacco wasn't a success, she was a furor' (Fuller, 2002, p. 113). However, part of the triumph must be credited to Fuller herself, who had greatly interfered with the dramaturgy and stage design, in ways that affected both the acting styles and audience perception, as will be discussed below. Under her management, the Japanese shows attracted *tout Paris*, from commoners looking for thrilling sensations to highbrow guests, including the arts and letters *bohème*. The news

of the Japanese triumph, trumpeted by influential journalists and enhanced by prominent spectators (among them Gordon Craig, Adolphe Appia, Rodin, Gide, Debussy, the dancer Ruth St. Denis, Picasso and many others) spread quickly throughout Europe. At the Exposition in Paris a new product was created, a hybrid and fashionable concoction for which the demand of European markets seemed secure. Loïe, then 38 (a critical age for a dancer), jumped at the chance to trade it on a wide scale, thus adding to her multifarious activities the demanding role of impresaria.

Organisation and logistics of the first Japanese tour (1901-02)

The shows at the Exposition were but a prelude for more ambitious undertakings. In an impetuous rush to collaborate, the two partners, Fuller and Kawakami, planned a daring project: a one year tour (to start in June 1901) along trade routes, which connected urban centres between places as distant as London and Moscow (initially planned to end at Vladivostok!). The agreement signed on 30 November 1900 in Paris in the presence of the Japanese consul, bore the handwriting of the impresaria. Fuller insisted on stronger female participation (the number of actresses was actually increased to five) but in exchange she was ready to bear the full risk of the tour, thus guaranteeing the Japanese a regular income.[13] After the haphazard tour to America, where the actors had led a destitute life that drove them to the brink of starvation, the contract with Loïe must have seemed a haven of security. A tough businessman himself, Otojirô jumped to capitalise on the European project: on his return to Japan, he used the preparation time to run a home tour to five cities, staging improvised melodramas based on episodes from the adventurous American trip.[14] Supported by the rumours of their triumph in Paris, the group played to full houses in Osaka, Tokyo and the other cities in spite of brazenly high ticket prices (Otojirô charged 16 yen per *sajiki* box as against 13 yen paid for performances featuring the greatest Kabuki star, Danjûrô!).

The European tour started in June 1901 from London (Criterion and Shaftsbury Theatre), proceeding through Brussels and Paris (where this time they played in the large hall of the Théâtre de l'Athénée) and went on, via Cologne, to Berlin for a one-month stay at three venues (Zentraltheater, Metropol, and Wolzogen's Buntes Theater), following on through more German and Austrian cities, reaching Vienna (for a two-week stay) in February, then heading for Prague, Budapest, and further east, almost to the Black Sea, then again north, through Lemberg (Lviv) and Breslau (Wroclaw) to St Petersburg and Moscow. In April 1902 they played in Rome, Florence and Milan (where Puccini was inspired by Sada Yacco), crossing over to Barcelona and reaching Lisbon.

Even in that age of feverish acceleration, which witnessed a spectacular increase in theatre touring all over the world, Fuller's undertaking was impressive, both in terms of velocity and geographic extension. In a dense succession of shifts to different places, the tour drafts a detailed map of commercial and cultural routes, anchored in a homogenous theatre infrastructure in nodal points of the railway network.[15] To give just one example from the distant southeast of Europe: in the territory of today's Romania, theatres in four cities – Temesvar (Timisoara), Bucharest, Galati, Iassy (Iasi) – were visited, all performances being preceded by press announcements and appraised in more or less detailed reviews in the local press. In Bucharest, the royal family (Crown Prince

Ferdinand, Princess Maria and their children) waited for hours in their boxes for the belated performers to arrive,[16] and attended the show until its end long after midnight.

Echoing the tempo and the haphazard risks typical of the large industrial projects, which marked that period of rapid globalisation, the tour would overstrain both the financial and human resources of the protagonists and drive them – actors and impresaria alike – to utter exhaustion. An impulsive and tough businesswoman, Fuller would often delay or even skip the payment to the actors; she would demand amendments of the agreement, such as reducing the remuneration in hard periods (from $1000 to $700 per week) or inserting additional matinees on Sundays to maximise profits. As she had often done before during her long career, she did not shun litigation with her partners and matters were brought to court at least twice, in Munich and Budapest (Pantzer, 2005, pp. LX-LXI).

In spite of the agreement, the tour was chronically under-financed. Unlike most professional impresarios of the day, Fuller did not have at her disposal (or was not willing to invest) substantial capital to make up for occasional box-office losses, but relied instead on her fame and public relations to evade the debtors.[17] Nevertheless, moving the Japanese all around Europe proved a risky enterprise, with triumph and fiasco, profit and loss, with frequent financial embarrassment and some imponderable occurrences: thus, a theatre director in Vienna broke the contract; three actors left the company ahead of time due to the exhausting program, which stipulated no days off (actually they performed the whole year, except for five days); besides, only three out of initially five actresses stayed on till the end of the tour. Changes in the program and routes were often decided on the spot, such as offering extra performances, or leaving a city earlier than expected. However, most surprisingly, in spite of being overloaded, the schedule was kept, delays being caused either by a train accident (in Breslau), missed connections (in Budapest and Temesvar) or train delay (in Bucharest). Flexibility was often demanded: thus, when a strike in Triest hindered the performance, the actors moved on to Zagreb to give a show on the same day and make up for the loss.

Fuller's tactic of choosing large auditoriums (most theatres seated 700-1000 or more) and demanding high ticket prices – a tactic agreed upon with local impresarios and theatre directors, who also took their cut of the profits – meant risking playing to empty houses. 'We had such an elite, that half of the places remained unoccupied', a Berlin journalist ironically commented, whereas other reviewers protested against the inflated prices, responsible for 'impressively empty' houses (Pantzer, 2005, p. 231). Even price cuts could not always fill the halls, and at times Fuller had to steal away from the hotel, leaving her luggage behind as a mortgage – unless royals would agree to pay her bill, as was the case in Bucharest, where the royal household financed the further transportation of her luggage, which weighed in Fuller's own words 'several thousands of kilograms' (Fuller, 2002, p. 90).

Public relations and advertising

Notwithstanding chronic fatigue and embarrassing finances, the impresaria never neglected publicity, or shunned any efforts to ensure ample promotion of the tour. All along the route, there was good press coverage, with ample announcement of the shows,

detailed reviews, cover shots (mostly of Sada Yacco), and interviews. As usual, the bold advertisements combined bombastic circus rhetoric with the vocabulary of highbrow theatre to reach wide audiences, the aim being to raise desires for exotic bodies but also appeal to cultivated theatregoers. The posters promised strong sensations à la Grand Guignol, but also the delectations of a subtle and refined theatre art. They suggested traditionalism and authenticity (enhanced by temporal and geographic distance) but also titillating novelty (in parts of Europe, Loïe's electric dances could still pass as 'the latest sensation in Paris'), thus conjuring the vision of a unique attraction. The Japanese shows were promoted as unique entertainment, both traditional and brand-new: a border-crossing, global product.

In advertising, it seemed important to suggest the authority of a mainstream art form, which had to appear as a legitimate ambassador of the Far Eastern culture. Besides, raising the actors' status to bourgeois respectability was the cherished dream of upstarts like Fuller and Otojirô, who were both used to balancing between fame and a desolate existence, and were often haunted by financial adversity. One poster, derided by a Berlin reviewer as trashy, announced in a braggart tone 'The Ensemble of the Tokyo Imperial Court, presenting Mrs. Sada Yacco and Mr. O. Kawakami along with 30 original Japanese' (Pantzer, 2005, p. 460). Exaggeration and pretence were part of the business and Loïe was ready to use hyperbole, spicy details and anecdotes to push her point: expanding the size of the troupe (which had actually only 14 actors, instead of 30); mentioning the enormous expenses (1000 metres of textiles allegedly used for her own dance costume); alluding to fabulous fees – 'one million francs' supposedly earned by Otojirô at the Paris Fair; stressing the huge transportation costs (375,000 francs) and insurance sums (200,000 francs). Loïe added exotic details, such as the story about the carriage filled with Japanese delicacies, which had to be attached to every train; and she readily invoked her own innumerable trunks. All in all, it had to be a tour of superlatives!

When addressing more refined audiences, the Japanese star, Sada Yacco, was compared with European celebrities and dubbed 'the Japanese Duse', 'Sarah Bernhardt', or 'Agnes Sorma', whereas her husband, troupe leader Otojirô, was credited with intellectual feats such as an alleged translation of Victor Hugo's *Hernani* (Pantzer, 2005, p. 193).[18] A more subtle innuendo is found in the anecdote about Sada Yacco owing her permission to appear on stage to the personal intervention of Queen Victoria with the Emperor of Japan – a permission allegedly obtained by an exchange of cable messages between the two sovereigns (Pantzer, 2005, p. 458). The anecdote not only implies a double imperial protection for the actors, but also suggests familiar connections between crowned heads, facilitated by technological progress (cable communication).

Fuller did her best to increase the visibility of her actors, choosing for herself and the two leading stars the best hotels along the route, organising frequent interviews and photograph sessions in elegant hotel lobbies, press conferences (where Loïe herself 'translated' comments from the Japanese and back!) and occasionally special performances for invited guests – from the aristocracy and the diplomatic corps, but also actors and art critics. Her frenzied activism finally strained her relations with the actors. Exhausted and appalled by the demands of her impresaria, Sada Yacco even refused to give an additional show for the Viennese theatre community, whereas the young Isadora Duncan (whom Loïe also tried to promote while on the tour) stole away, leaving her

protector with a nervous breakdown in Budapest (Lista, 2006, p. 412). However, Fuller´s aggressive promotion assured the Japanese troupe a high amount of attention and VIP treatment all along the route. Thus, when Otojirô and his wife headed for the wrong train station in Budapest, while the other actors together with stage sets and costumes were already departed, the desperate stars obtained a special train, which enabled them to reach the evening performance in Temesvar (Timisoara) almost on schedule.

Shaping the Japanesque: Loïe Fuller's translating acts

However strong her pecuniary appetite, Fuller was not led solely by commercial interest. Moving the Japanese troupe along European routes was just one part of her business. In her autobiographic essay, she quotes from one of Rodin's letters to a friend: 'She revealed to us the brilliant Ancient times, by bringing to life Tanagra sculptures [...] She has even been able [...] to make us understand the Far East' (Fuller, 2002, p. 74). Expanding horizons in time and space was a common vision and cherished dream of the colonialist period, and Loïe felt predestined to revive lost dance traditions of ancient Greece (as suggested by the Tanagra clay figures), just as she was attracted by geographically distant dance cultures. Deeply convinced of her vocation as a mediator in various fields, Fuller saw herself as a reinforcer of synergies, a translator between cultures, and she tried to realise this vision both in her dances and her impresaria role. Throughout her career, La Loïe felt entitled to bridge gaps: between lowbrow and highbrow culture; between arts and science (experimenting with electricity and radium); between the arts (a critic observed: 'She makes music pictorial'); between past and present ('recreating' on stage ancient Egyptian or Greek dances); and, last but not least, between Orient and Occident. Her self-confidence went so far as to 'translate' the Japanese discourses of her partners on various occasions and publicly, forgetting that she knew no Japanese at all and little French. Actually, her 'translations' – in the French Academy, where she introduced Kawakami to Victorien Sardou, or with interviews given by Sada Yacco during the tour – prove an assertiveness typical for a self-made showbiz diva.

For Fuller, introducing Oriental theatre to western audiences seemed a huge task, which implied repeated acts of translation and transfer, adaptation and appropriation. Loïe used her position of impresaria to mould the Japanese shows according to her visions of the Far East and to the demands of the market. From the start – during the shows at the Paris Exposition – she forced on her Japanese guests 'improvements' in the dramaturgy of the plays and the acting style. A 'shrewd reader of audiences' (Scott Miller, 1997, p. 226), she bowed to the recent craze for horror (fuelled, among others, by the vogue of the Grand Guignol), and insisted emphatically on the expansion of the bloody scenes. Loïe stipulated at least one gory suicide per show, thus supporting a first 'harakiri craze' in Paris.[19]

Moreover, Fuller herself provided the lighting and colour effects for the shows, and occasionally designed costumes for the Japanese performers. Otojirô, who had an upstart career in Japan as a bold innovator of the stage, and won fame for his wild appropriations of western elements,[20] readily complied with Fuller's extravagant wishes, no matter how absurd they appeared to Japanese eyes (such as performing ritual self-disembowelment in a standing position, or letting a samurai commit suicide because of a woman, both unthinkable in Japan). Ironically, it was precisely the visuality of the

Japanese shows that some of the critics perceived as typically Japanese. The painter Edmund Edel, for instance, praised in highest tones the charming harmonies of lighting and colours, the assorted hues of the backdrops and costumes (Pantzer, 2005, p. 210), details that were rather due to Fuller's influence. The inclination to kitsch did not go unobserved either, and occasionally there appeared in the press ironical remarks on Loïe's 'lamplighter imagination' (Pantzer, 2005, pp. 168ff, 604). Fuller's interference with the Japanese shows was so notorious that she was even mistakenly credited with inducing the Japanese actors to create a wild adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* (which Otojirô had authored and put on stage in America): 'This lapse of taste must be blamed on the impresario Miss Loïe Fuller, who may certainly handle the serpentine dance with great mastery, but appears to have little grasp of dramatic literature.'[21]

Both Otojirô and Loïe actually disregarded literary drama in favour of physical theatricality, and in this respect they approached avant-garde positions. Loïe's visual imagination melted away the asperities of cultural clashes, encouraging the juxtaposition and combination of heterogeneous elements on stage. Many of her daring innovations violated the viewing habits of the audience and directed the perception of the acting: the spotlight projected on Sada Yacco's face during the death scenes directed the audience's gaze on one small part of the body, leaving the rest in darkness. This technical innovation certainly had a blowup effect, imposing a new regime of the spectatorial gaze. In a certain sense, Loïe's lighting effects prefigurated cinematic perception and Sada Yacco's facial movements created an aura comparable to that of later movie stars.

Fuller seems to have cherished an overarching vision of a theatre style capable of transcending East-West polarities: after all, the hybrid shows, which featured Japanese plays along with Fuller's own serpentine dances inserted either between the scenes or appended at the end of the show were a form of *japonisme*.[22] Such braided composition did not simply rely on juxtaposition, but rather on a dialectic of contrasts – the exotic show versus Parisian variété numbers, the archaic grotesque versus futurist innovation, dramatic narrative versus the abstract vision, bloody 'primitive' theatre versus 'spiritual cleansing', as a French critic put it. Parisian commentators dwelled on the tension between the Japanese shows with their mixture of love and battles, blood and death, and Fuller's abstract dances as basic contrasts in the fabric of the performance. One hundred years later, we easily recognise in this strategy an Orientalist innuendo with its underlying binaries – dark vs light; primitive vs modern; physicality vs spirituality and so on – and may identify even echoes of internal tensions that underlied Loïe's own dances (Garelick, 2007, pp. 104-05). By imposing such a fusion upon European audiences, Fuller instinctively performed an act of cultural appropriation: she domesticated an exotic art and turned it into an accessible product, a hybrid commodity to be traded on a modern global market.

Authoring Japanesque Theatre: Fuller manages Madame Hanako (1905-08)

Loïe Fuller pushed her orientalistic vision even further. Three years after parting – on less than friendly terms – with the couple Otojirô-Sada Yacco, a new opportunity arose in the person of an obscure little dancer, Ôta Hisa, who appeared in minor roles with a small Japanese troupe in curtain-raisers at the Savoy Theatre in London (1904). The

indefatigable impresaria seized the chance to turn the modest and rather unattractive woman into a star who would revive Sada Yacco's triumphs. She engaged the troupe on the spot, found a resounding name for the little actress – 'Madame Hanako' – and offered her the leading position within the troupe.

This time, the situation was different. Unlike her previous partner, Otojirô – a shrewd businessman, authoritarian troupe leader and versatile actor, notorious in Japan and experienced with tours abroad – Loïe´s new acquisition proved a docile, submissive protégée – at least for a while. Ôta Hisa (born 1868) looked back on a hard childhood and youth: born into a poverty-stricken family, sold and resold by her real and adoptive parents, respectively, raised in a geisha house, trained on the road with an itinerant troupe of actors who toured the provinces with cheap shows, unhappily married and divorced twice, she had come to Europe driven by the boldness of despair, recruited by a Danish impresario for the Zoological Garden of Copenhagen in 1902. She had subsequently joined a small group of (male) Japanese actors, who staged modest programs in European cities.[23] Fuller probably intuited the deep affinities between herself and the Japanese woman: like herself, Hisa was unglamorous, displaying little sex-appeal and she was disadvantaged by her age of thirty-six when they first met (four years older than Loïe at the start of her own career in Paris), but she possessed an equal resilience and determination to succeed.

The impresaria's expectations were once more fulfilled. Hanako, whom Fuller strategically described as 'pretty withal, refined, graceful, queer, and so individual as to stand out even among those of her race' (Fuller, 2002, p. 114) threw into the bargain some basic prerequisites: a well trained body (a thorough geisha apprenticeship and stage experience in young years), acting intuition, present-mindedness, a strong personality, along with impressive endurance and perseverance. Modest by nature, Hisa readily complied with the part Fuller allotted to her and proved an excellent impersonator of her impresaria's favourite death scenes, which became Madame Hanako's trade mark.[24]

The immediate success spurred Fuller to embark on a new adventure: playwriting for her new star. One of the first melodramas (or rather pantomimes) composed for Hanako bore emblematically the title *Galatea*! Inspired by one of Kawakami's concoctions, *Zingoro,* it featured a sculptor of feudal Japan falling in love with his own doll, which turns into a docile lover, but ends up tortured and hunted by the sculptor's jealous wife. Loïe's synoptical phantasy – outdoing that of her previous partner, Otojirô – brought several powerful stereotypes into the play: the sweet submissive child-woman (the doll), the coquettish exotic woman of infantile grace, the blind fury of jealousy as against helpless victimhood. The role, played by the dwarfish Hanako (who was reportedly 'not quite four feet tall'), became a hit and Fuller went on to expand her 'Japanese' repertoire, featuring Hanako in several martyr roles which all culminated in elaborate death scenes. The plays, signed Loi-Fu, bear telling titles – *The Martyr*, *A Drama at Yoshiwara*, *The Japanese Doll*, *The Little Japanese Girl*, *The Political Spy*, *The Japanese Ophelia*, *A Japanese Tea House*, *Otake* (Lista, 2006, p. 340).[25] For an author, who was even received in the French Dramatists' Association, Fuller showed little knowledge of and even disrespect for the rules of literary drama. In the sparse texts – the plays were practically pantomimes – she used standard plots and imbroglios, flat characters and strong

climactic scenes, borrowed freely from Japanese models and European sources. But she cleverly allowed ample space for the deployment of gestures and mime.

In advertising Hanako, Fuller resorted to her tried and tested strategies, invoking Imperial protection and links to the establishment. One poster in Copenhagen announced 'Det Kejserlige Japanske Skuespillerskab Frk. Hanako og Mr. Sato', introducing Hanako as 'a niece of Denjuro' (meaning the famous Kabuki actor, Ichikawa Danjûrô IX, who had passed away in 1903). The success confirmed the impresaria's concept of a commodified Japanese theatre, shaped to meet the desire for strong sensations and the appetite for exotic star actresses. This time, the traded product was entitled to bear the label of the impresaria: it was a Japanesque theatre authored by Loïe Fuller herself.

During the nine months of Hanako's first European tour in 1905, the tiny actress was so convincing in her death scenes that the number of performances had to be doubled in most cities. In spite of the success, Hanako ended her first contract after a series of shows at the Colonial Exhibition in Marseille in 1906, where she drew the attention of Auguste Rodin.[26] Although the tiny actress tried to escape from the domination of the 'greedy woman',[27] after several months spent in Angers, she was coaxed into a second agreement (1907-08) by the cunning impresaria, who even arranged a marriage for her star in order to win her back.

Loïe's influence on the Japanese shows outlived by far her second agreement with Hanako, whose fame increased during later tours under various impresarios, which – until 1917 – led her all over Europe, far into Central Asia (up to Baku) and even to America. A trademark (for brandy and cigarettes), Madame Hanako thrilled wide audiences, but she also impressed cutting edge innovators (N. Evreinov, W. Meyerhold), sparking debates within the avant-garde.[28] By launching and shaping the stage diva Hanako, Loïe Fuller had again created a brand commodity for the European theatre market.

'Authentic Japan' in a Japanesque package

However hybrid the products appear, European spectators were not deceived into believing they were watching the authentic Kabuki. The shows fed the appetite for gory and grotesque exoticism, mixed with palatable scraps of modern realistic (psychological) acting and the critics acknowledged the indebtedness to western viewing habits. But behind the noisy Kabuki imitation and mimicry of western techniques, the spectators perceived artistic competence: not in the gory battle scenes, but in the stage presence of the female stars. It was the actresses' professionalism, their command of their body and precision of acting that thrilled European audiences, in spite of the absurd plots and shallow roles. For what set Sada Yacco and Hanako apart from their rather dilettantish male colleagues was their training in established stage techniques cultivated in an old art refined by tradition: they were both professional geishas. This status implied long and strict education in various disciplines – dancing, singing, and musical instruments – and a precise control of posture and behaviour, extended to everyday life.

Knowledgeable spectators were sensitive to their high professional standards. The sculptor, Auguste Rodin for example, was struck by the concentration and composure of the modest little actress Hanako and felt urged by curiosity to push to the limits her bodily prowess: by asking her to sit for a portrait with crossed eyes for half an hour, days on end or by letting her stand on one leg for hours on end. He was fascinated by her well trained, feline body, by her unusual discipline and endurance. As a model, Hanako proved to be the greatest challenge in the sculptor's career: the sixty-nine portraits of Hanako in Rodin's œuvre are an homage to the powerful Japanese actress.

In the same vein, one journalist from St Petersburg acknowledges her stage skills: 'Many of our actresses should learn from this little exotic lady, how to represent death on the stage: how to remain true to life but at the same time respect artistic proportion; how to present a perfectly credible image up to the tiniest detail, without slipping into the artless ugliness of realism' (Vasilevski, 1910). To say nothing of Evreinov, the famous Russian avant-garde director and theoretician, who admired Hanako's precise timing, her perfect balance of movement and standstill, her sure command of rhythmical patterns – skills that were rather in contrast to her poor looks. Under the title *A Declaration of Love* Evreinov enthuses: 'I am enticed by your art, you delicate, charming Hanako! You are not beautiful and no longer young, but – oh, how beautiful and young you seem, when you embody beauty and adolescence on stage! You tiny, comical, adorable Hanako! I call upon all the actresses of our decrepit stage to admire you and to learn from you. (…). How coarse seems to me their declamation compared to yours! To say nothing of your mimicry and gestures!' (Evreinov, 1909). Whereas Meyerhold goes even further, endowing her with superhuman skills: 'when she played a cat, the very pupils of her eyes narrowed into an oblong shape[…]'[29]

Fuller was sensitive to the subtle art of her protégées and put all efforts into enhancing their stage effect. For instance, by turning the spotlight onto the face of her star, thus directing the spectators' gaze and forcing them to perceive the tiniest details of facial expression. For the audience, it was an almost cinematographic experience *avant la lettre*, traceable in several stage reviews.

Personal agency and structural frames

Fuller successfully refashioned and moved Japanese shows around Europe, putting her stamp on the perception of Far East theatricalities during the first decades of the twentieth century. Her aesthetic visions reinforced European stereotypes of Japanese womanhood: on the one hand, promoting the seductress and femme fatale, capable of passion and fierce hatred or jealousy (Sada Yacco's roles) on the other, the femme fragile, the doll-like woman, passive and submissive, predestined to victimhood (Hanako's hits). Fuller's powerful agency in this process was prompted by the very instability of the product she traded: the Japanese offered from the start palatable, commodified bits and scraps of their home culture, ephemeral forms thriving on the fringe of Japan's mainstream theatre, which were justifiably criticised and deplored by knowledgeable native critics of the time (such as Mori Ôgai or Iwaya Sazanami).

Structural frames of the theatre world in France and Japan facilitated the emergence of such hybrid products with a high circulation value. It was a fateful but unavoidable fact

that Japanese theatre culture – generally conceived of in terms of rootedness and closure – came to be promoted abroad by actors from the fringe. The agency of grassroot movements within the great socio-cultural turmoil labelled as the Meiji restoration, has been rather neglected by historians and needs to be reconsidered in the narratives of modernity (Gluck, 2008). Theatre histories hardly mention certain 'contact zones' in the early traffic between Japan and the western world, which shows an asymmetry typical of colonial patterns: in one direction it displays well organised, grand scale movements, with mainstream troupes from the centre of the Empire touring Japan to entertain foreign residents' communities in purpose-built local theatres (Masumoto, 1978 and 1986; Scholz-Cionca, 2011). In the other direction, it features chaotic mobility in haphazard tours initiated by marginal Japanese performers, most of them driven by the boldness of despair: acrobats, geishas, entertainers of all *couleurs*, would-be actors. These self-made ambassadors transported minor genres and peripheral, unstable theatre forms marked by hybridity, ready to adapt to the tastes of foreign audiences, malleable in the hands of authoritarian impresarios like Loïe Fuller. In contrast, the Japanese theatre establishment with its unwieldy structures was not prepared for mobility and decades would pass before the first Kabuki troupe ventured on a single tour abroad to Moscow, in 1928, whereas Nô was not seen in Europe until 1954!

Thus, in her Japanese partners, Fuller encountered courageous adventurers like herself, who took advantage of the structural changes within the theatre world. Fuller benefited from the quick expansion and diversification of the entertainment culture in Paris, which encouraged the thirst for novelty and exoticism and favoured impulsive and improvised acts of cultural exchange and appropriation. Kawakami, in his turn, rode on the waves of theatre reforms backed by governmental programs (*engeki kairyô*), which drove the established genres into a defensive position, while encouraging the emergence of new, experimental forms. After all, Kawakami proved a congenial partner to Fuller, being an upstart, self-made actor and troupe leader, versatile and reckless, determined to raise attention at any cost. He had made his way with political protest (he boasted about having been arrested 180 times!), rap songs (his *Oppekepé*-song, on the absurdities of modernisation became famous), jingoistic war plays (on the glorious Sino-Japanese war), a dilettantish leap into political life (he ran for election to the House of Commoners). He was prepared to outbid any fiasco by a new bold performance: in 1893 he fled to Paris for several months in order to escape his debtors, whence he returned with inspiration for new stage hits;[30] in 1898, after the elections disaster, he fled with his wife in a fragile boat – a spectacular trip, which provoked journalistic buzz – up to Kobe, where they drew the attention of a sponsor to finance their American tour. In spite of living perpetually on the brink of disaster, Otojirô, who constantly overstrained his wife's credit standing (which she enjoyed as a former top geisha) was able to maintain high popularity to the end of his life, even managing to build two theatres during his lifetime, albeit for short time spans: the Kawakami Theatre, 1896 and the 'Imperial theatre' in Osaka, 1910.

For the couple Kawakami, the European tour was a caesura in their activities. All their subsequent work bears the mark of the stage experience with Loïe Fuller. Adapting European performance management and stage practice became the engine of their activities. After all, Kawakami must be credited for his part in the theatre reforms in Japan: some concerning organisational matters (ticket sales, show duration), stage practice (lighting technologies, 'realistic' acting, the exclusion of singing and dance,

female actresses on stage and so on) and actors' training (he opened a school for actresses, led by Sada Yacco).

Loïe's influence is traceable in the series of adaptations from European classics – most prominent was Shakespeare – and modern authors (Maeterlinck, Jules Verne): not only in the high visuality of the shows, enhanced by garish costumes and sophisticated lighting techniques, but also in the treatment of the dramas. Literary complexity was reduced in favour of climactic scenes, which gave Sada Yacco the opportunity to deploy her star status. In Japan, she was an acclaimed Desdemona in *Othello*, an impressive Orié (Ophelia) in *The Mousetrap* (after *Hamlet*), a dramatic Monna Vanna in Maeterlinck's eponymous play, she was a success in cross-gender casting in a parody of Jules Verne, *Around the World in Seventy Days,* to mention but a few. Significantly, the world-travellers reiterated and mirrored the experience of their travels in their subsequent performances. Cross-cultural experience, travels and speed became a basso continuo of the new Kawakami style, prompted by the audiences' interests, and backed by social and ideological changes in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war. Hamlet riding on a bicycle over the *hanamichi* and Sada Yacco's posturing in billowing gowns were only details in an emerging theatre genre, which Kawakami dubbed *seigeki* ('straight theatre', meaning deprived of song and dance). It was distinct from *shinpa* and not yet the text-centered *shingeki*, the literary theatre, which Tsubouchi Shôyô and Osanai Kaoru would promote and impose as a spearhead of modernity. However, in more than one sense, the Kawakamis can be credited for having paved the way for the emergence of modern spoken theatre in Japan (Murai Ken, 2012). In this process, Loïe Fuller's impact was certainly momentous.

Endnotes

[1] On these performances see for instance Chiba (1992), Kano (2001), Downer (2003), Picon-Vallin (2010).

[2] On Japanese acrobats' and actors', who toured overseas (some of them without permission from the Japanese authorities, that is without passports), see Miyaoka (1978, passim), also Kurata (1983 and 1994). The acrobats were recruited in groups.

[3] That is the professional genres, the elitist Nô (a ceremonial, state sponsored theatre of the Shogunate) and the commoners' Kabuki (a state controlled genre flowering, along with the puppet theatre, Jôruri, in the big cities).

[4] The exposition offered in several venues a broad range of performances: cabaret, chansons, puppet theatre, spoken drama, and also dances from all over the world.

[5] On Sada Yacco as a diva who set European fashion trends, see Savarese (2010).

[6] The musical comedy, *The Mikado,* by Gilbert and Sullivan *(*premiered 1885) and *The Geisha* – libretto by Owen Hall, score by Sidney Jones – (premièred 1896), contributed to the popularisation of Japanese clichés among western audiences.

[7] A vivid, but in many points fantastic description of the first tour is offered by Otojirô and Tanejirô (1901).

[8] The plays performed in Paris were: *The Geisha and the Knight*; *Kesa (and Morito)*; *Takanori* and *Zingoro (Jingoro)*.

[9] For instance, in the play *Komachi* (premiered 2001), Kawamura Takeshi (born 1959), an avant-garde playwright, troupe leader and stage director, has a Butoh dancer perform a 'serpentine dance' à la Fuller, swinging a film roll instead of textile robes, portraying an elderly film diva and femme fatale.

[10] By coincidence, Fuller came to Paris the same year with Kawakami, whose stay of several months had a great impact on his subsequent theatre career, prompting for instance a series of patriotic plays, which won him huge popularity during the Sino-Japanese war in the mid-nineties.

[11] Loïe Fuller has recently been reassessed as a pioneer of modern dance. Among several booklength studies dedicated to her, Brandstetter (1989), Lista (1994; 2006) and Garelick (2007) were most profitable for the present paper.

[12] Portrayed by outstanding artists (Lalique, Gallé, Tiffany, Whistler, Toulouse-Lautrec, Picasso and others), evoked by writers and poets (Anatole France, Mallarmé, Valéry, Yeats), Loïe Fuller also became a trademark, advertising for women's and men's (!) fashion, beverages and cars (the Rolls Royce radiator mascot, 'Spirit of Ecstasy', is allegedly inspired by her portrait).

[13] Kawakami was expected to cover the travel costs till London and back to Japan, and to provide the costumes, whereas Fuller was to pay a weekly lump sum to the troupe: $1000 till 17 December and $1500 thereafter. A conventional penalty sum was set at $50,000 (Pantzer, 2005, p. 137).

[14] Under the title *Yôkôchû no higeki* (A Tragedy on the Journey), Otojirô gave a dramatic account of the death of two actors of his troupe during the American tour, mixing sensationalism to a gesture of pious remembrance. Compare Murai (2012, pp. 49-50).

[15] Thus, for instance, seven of the theatres which hosted the Japanese (in Graz, Mainz, Prague, Temesvar, Wiesbaden, Zürich, Zagreb) were designed by the same Viennese architects, Fellner & Hellmer. These buildings would serve as model for Kawakami's 'Imperial Theatre', which opened in Osaka in 1910.

[16] The performance in Bucharest even sparked a later collaboration between Loïe Fuller and Princess Maria (meanwhile Queen Maria of Romania): Fuller released a film *Le Lys de la Vie*, whose script was based on a story by Queen Maria.

[17] Fuller's constant financial difficulties – in contrast to her extravagant life style – are corroborated by the fact, that later on in her career, she had to look for sponsors to finance her own troupe, such as Van Beil, Armande de Polignac, or the banker Samuel Hill (Lista, 2006, pp. 476ff).

[18] On the impact of French theatre (especially Victorien Sardou's dramas) on Otojirô's plays see Liu (2009, passim).

[19] On Fuller's demand, Otojirô reluctantly introduced a ritual suicide in one of his plays, whereas Sada Yacco's long death scenes were amply commented in the press: one scene, which allegedly lasted one minute in New York was expanded to dominate the whole play in Paris and in Berlin, where it seemed 'to hold on for ever', as a critic ironically observed. (F. Blei (1902) 'Otojiro Kawakami', *Die Insel,* VII/ VIII, April-Mai, pp. 63-68, reproduced in Pantzer (2005 p. 404).

[20] In Japan, Otojirô was notorious for his innovative drive, even creating a new genre derived from Kabuki (later on called *shinpa*). His wild adaptations, patched from various sources and indifferent to copyright, caused protests by outraged contemporary authors (Izumi Kyoka, Ozaki Kôyô), notwithstanding the general tolerance for source recycling on stage.

[21] Compare 'Sada Yacco, die japanische Tragödie, in Berlin' (1901) a review signed K.C., *Schlesische Volkszeitung,* 3 December, morning issue, reproduced in Pantzer (2005, pp. 234-36).

[22] Fuller's abstract dances performed within the Japanese shows bore titles like: *Fluorescent Dance*; *The Grottoes*; *The Storm*; *Fire Dance*; *The Lily*; *The Archangel* and so on.

[23] Hanako's biography was partly reconstructed long time after her death. Compare Keene (1981) (Keene first wrote about Hanako in 1962), Sawada (1984), Sukenobu (2005).

[24] Fuller gives a vivid description of Hanako's death scenes: '[...]with little movements like those of a frightened child, with sighs, with cries as of a wounded bird, she rolled herself into a ball, seeming to reduce her tiny body to a mere nothing so that it was lost in the folds of her heavy embroidered Japanese robe. Her face became immovable, as if petrified, but her eyes continued to reveal intense animation [...] with great wide open eyes she surveyed death, which had just overtaken her. It was thrilling.' (Fuller, 1978, p. 123).

[25] Fuller herself admits that she conceived her plays under the pressure of the market, urged by contracts signed beforehand with theatre managers, who requested a repertoire 'easy to understand' (Fuller, 2002, pp. 116-17).

[26] In Japan, Hanako is mainly remembered as Rodin's Japanese model, whereas her stage career was strongly disapproved of by contemporaries (Mori Ogai, Iwaya Sazanami, Naoya Shiga and others) and remains ignored by theatre historians to the present.

[27] Hanako's only written testimony of almost two decades spent as an actress abroad is an article published by a local Gifu newspaper (reproduced in Asoya, 2010, pp. 141-78).

[28] On Hanako's reception by Russian critics and artists, see Bannai and Kameyama (1987, passim).

[29] Meyerhold (1968) *Stat´i. Rechi, Pis´ma. Besedy*, II, p. 84-92, quoted in Bannai and Kameyama (1987, p. 134).

[30] See above, endnote 18.

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Veronica Kelly

Australasia: Mapping a Theatrical 'Region' in Peace and War

Abstract

In specific times and places, theatrical touring 'maps' can exceed national borders and create their own local and trans-national networks and centres. The term 'regions' is preferred here to identify activity situated across and within the fluctuating outlines of nation states or empires, and capable of ignoring their boundaries. National theatrical activities are read as particular sites, but not necessarily centres, within the expanded and fluid cosmopolitanism enabled by modernity's technologies and communication networks. 'Regions' are adaptive, virtual, spatially and temporally elastic and strategically flexible: those constructed by dramatic activity may also differ from those of non-language-dependent or skills-based genres. Such regions, constructed during times of imperial expansion, are significantly reconfigured by global war. The Australasian region 1840s-1940s displays relatively stable political borders along with rapid extra- and intra-territorial expansions and contractions of its theatrical footprints, and is given as an example of the many interwoven 'regions' created by dynamic theatrical globalisation.

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When considering commercial theatre during the period of accelerated modernisation (ca. 1870-1960), categories of the 'regional' may usefully identify those spatial-temporal areas that are virtually 'mapped' by the networks of mobile global theatrical activity. A region's geographic dimensions may be smaller – or quite remarkably larger – than the shifting external and internal boundaries of modernising and/ or decolonising nation states, and can be radically re-fashioned in periods of conflict. As the *raisons d'être* of regional theatre networks are not always congruent with those of the nations that they traverse, their potential history as specific 'cultures of circulation' (Lee and Li Puma, 2002) may also be fragmented between national historiographies. A concept of 'region' can help to displace the sometimes exclusive goals and assumptions of nationalist theatre history, and indeed Kennedy's recent *Oxford Encyclopedia of Theatre and Performance* (2004) dispenses with organisation by nation to focus on theatrical activity in key cities.[1] Cities, however, are not merely significant hubs in themselves, but can also be generative foci for performance in extensive accessible inland or island areas. By suspending

national categories in favour of the looser and more provisional activities typical of international diffusion, the perspective of the theatre historian aligns more closely with that of practitioners. This chapter provides an historical overview of the development of such networks in Australasia, a region formed from the British Empire's settler colonies and ambivalently involved with British economic and military fortunes.

During European imperialism's expansive pioneering phase in the nineteenth century, theatrical touring reached a peak of global penetration, with practitioners creating or improvising their own trade routes or regional operational 'maps' in every accessible part of the world. While geographical hierarchies and status claims are typical of nineteenth-century cultural disputes, it is fruitful now to question discursively loaded fields of 'centres' and 'regions'. In the context of Irish theatre historiography, for example, Mark Phelan points out the neglect of activity in Belfast compared with the focus on Dublin's proclaimed 'nationalist' theatre revival. He queries why 'the regional sphere has always been subordinate to the national', and the assumption that 'the provincial is regressive, whereas the nation is progressive' (Phelan, 2007, p. 139). The terms 'regional' and 'provincial' can perform ideological work by coupling geographic remoteness from an assumed centre with imputations of cultural supplementarity, artistic backwardness or a deficit of innovative energies. It will be argued here that energy, enterprise and commitment to artistic experiment flourish as least as vigorously in 'regions' as in 'centres', and in commercial entertainment no less than in art theatres.

The West End or Broadway can be viewed as generative nodes, the central points of their various radial circuits. As a change of perspective, we can view them rather as prestigious local regions. As cultural formations, theatrical regions of all sizes resemble each other in being cosily inbred and self-regarding, welded into imaginative unity through geography, personal relations and professional networks. Simultaneously, all take care that their parish-pump gossip is communicated by assiduous printed or mediated publicity in order to feed international modernity's appetite for the artistically innovative, the celebrated and the scandalous. But regions are also alike in being avidly outward-looking and globally focussed: emulously seeking self-renewal through innovation and the recruitment from other regions of fresh talent and exciting ideas. More elastic and self-conscious even than the nation, the theatrical region as organisational category can usefully frame readings of modernity's global diffusion, where circulation of persons, practices and texts traverses and links diverse interpretive and linguistic communities. Whatever their geographical size, their forms of civic and national independence, or their political, linguistic or cultural power, the temporal and geographic ranges of all theatrical regions are necessarily historically-bound.

A theatrical region is not determined merely by physical size or even exclusively by statist politics: themselves the product of mutating demographic, economic, political, cultural or military activities. As will be shown by surveying one example over the century of high modernity (ca. 1860-1960), regions are historically flexible and contingent constructs in which can be identified the principal constituent categories of geography, history and theatrical genre. From the historical viewpoint, for instance, the geographical 'map' of the theatrical region may be significantly modified in times of war by being overlaid or curtailed by the regional mappings of military command centres, themselves dynamic and internationally mobile. In times of relative peace, regions are

primarily constituted on the basis of geographical factors and aggregations of population exhibiting some measure of common culture or linguistic homogeneity.

For dramatic theatre in particular, regions require, or create, a degree of commonality of language, aesthetic preferences or civil identity, thus enabling local adoption or adaptation of texts and production practices. They also accept into their ambit various non-dramatic theatrical genres and also performance traditions other than those of the dominant populations. In the case of Australasia this involves the hegemony of English over indigenous and the numerous minority settler languages, whose speakers also undertake theatrical activities. Substantial performance activity was undertaken by such socially pressured communities as post-contact Aboriginal peoples, the nineteenth-century Chinese migrants to the Victorian goldfields, or the German internees detained in Australian camps during the Great War (Casey, 2012; Love, 1985; Helmi and Fischer, 2011). This demonstrates multiplicities of theatre networks defined variously by ethnicity, language or genre being sustained within a single geographic region. They may conduct their operations by occupying limited geographic or social niches (voluntarily chosen or imposed) or by flowing freely and sometimes 'invisibly' through established regional sites and communication infrastructures.

Crucial to the formation of regions are types and extent of transport and communication. The capital-intensive technologies and infrastructures which host and sustain theatrical activity – mercantile or passenger shipping, railways, airlines, airports, trams, bridges, roads, telegraph cables, radio, cinema – originate in governmental or commercial investment undertaken for purposes of trade or military strategy. Each region can be positioned relative to larger or smaller such entities according to changing patterns of transport, technology and geopolitics. Modern global mobility implies that its theatrical regions can ignore national boundaries, particularly when traversing the relatively borderless oceans. One region may comprise many nations, or it might be formed by a strategic 'trade-route' linking smaller territories within a nation or between nations. During the period of imperial expansion, the theatrical region was created and institutionally maintained by the artistic enterprise and economic ambition of its key commercial practitioners: the male and female actors, actor-managers and entrepreneurs engaged in the varied genres of popular performance. Some regions, such as the Australasian one that forms my main example, also experience eventual centralisation by bureaucratised production organisations, who will typically map out their own industrial regions through constructing or acquiring chains of theatre buildings. Regional activity is thus internally various, flexible, and historically relative. Later it will be suggested that practitioners of skill-based genres of theatrical entertainment – variety, circus, musical theatre – might define their own particular regions, centres and networks within and across the same spaces, and which may overlap with the maps made by dramatic theatre.

Australasia as theatre region(s)

'Australasia' (south of Asia) is a historically fluctuating term without political definition or agency, whose currency belongs more to former periods than to present modes of national classification.[2] When defined by faunal continental ecozones, 'Australasia' comprises all land territory south of the Bali-Lombok or Wallace Line, usually signifying the principal island land masses of Papua New Guinea, Australia, Tasmania and their

immediate island groups, with further affinities and geographic proximity to New Zealand and Antarctica. In geographic usage the term can embrace also smaller neighbouring archipelagos of the Pacific or South East Asia, and loosely it might be extended to all or some of the equally elastic 'Oceania' (generally seen as Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia) as all being somewhere 'south'. The term now frequently denotes, in slightly archaic parlance, the informal common activities and interests of the nations of Australia and New Zealand.[3] Its political emptiness allows me to revive it in order to identify the loose and fluid configurations of an 'Australasian' region specifically defined by theatrical activity. Within this region there are limiting and defining infrastructural and geographical factors which demanded specific responses.

Export-oriented nations are as naturally alive to the importance of shipping facilities as are military strategists to the importance of naval strongholds. In 1901, the new Commonwealth Government of Australia took over from the States responsibility for transport infrastructure. Interstate coastal steamers remained the travel mode of choice for major touring theatre troupes. Australasian theatre troupes continued to cross the Tasman Sea as routinely as intercolonial steamer passengers bridged the equal or longer distances between Australian state capitals. The shrewd American-Australian J. C. Williamson tamed the presumptions of the Union Steam Ship Company, who demurred about giving discounted rates to his Royal Opera Company for their 1882 New Zealand tour. By the successful bluff of announcing that he would fit up his own ship for touring theatricals, the principle was established of theatre troupes as favoured customers on this lucrative route (Downes, 2002, p. 83). So we see regional theatrical activity as a potential driver of modern modes of circulation, not merely as their passenger or payload.

Land transport means building relatively expensive infrastructure, which in this region was undertaken by the state. While Australia's small population was concentrated largely in the capitals and major regional cities, the different rail gauges on the interstate systems, a legacy of uncoordinated colonial decisions, rendered notorious the border train changes. Not until 1917 did the Trans-Australian Railway, a Commonwealth initiative, link Port Augusta (South Australia) with goldfields Kalgoorlie (Western Australia) on standard gauge track, and this still necessitated a gauge change in order to reach Perth, the world's most isolated city (pop. 50,000), a further 500 miles of sandy desert to the west. Actors and managers preferred the relative comfort of the inter-colonial steamers, and the sea journey across the Great Australian Bight in the teeth of the prevailing westerlies produced many travel-sick performers. The relatively small land masses of the two main islands of earthquake-prone New Zealand, with their volcanically mountainous terrain, deep glacier-fed rivers and fjord-like coastline, presented as many difficulties for internal land transport as did the vast under-populated tracts spanning the colonies of Australia, and railway building in New Zealand advanced outwards a few miles at a time from the isolated population centres.[4] Most early troupes touring New Zealand used coastal steamers; hence the country's colonial theatrical hub was the fiercely Scottish southern city of Dunedin, the first stop south from Melbourne. Conversely, in the case of New Guinea, the world's second largest island with its unparalleled linguistic and cultural diversity, its mountainous rainforested terrain precluded close white settlement. So despite Australian proximity and sustained administrative oversight of this large territory, it registers only intermittently on theatrical maps of the older 'Australasian' region compared with the centrality of New

Zealand. Likewise, the tiny convict establishment on Norfolk Island, 1000 miles from Sydney, saw theatrical activity sanctioned by the military between 1793 and 1806, and again during 1837-42, whereafter it also disappears from the Australasian theatrical map for some time (Jordan, 2002, pp. 111-136, pp. 184-199).[5] For my purposes then, the stable core territory of the theatrical 'Australasia' – at least in peace-time – comprises the nations of New Zealand and Australia. There were however considerable periods during which this region expanded westwards across the Indian Ocean.

A significant candidate for inclusion is South Africa, which in fact possesses an occulted, if time-bound, Australasian theatrical history. In common with New Zealand and Australia, it experienced settler migration, land wars and gold rushes, displacement of indigenous peoples, diversely identified settler groups, colonial federation and imperial devolution movements, accompanied by the legislative drawing and re-drawing (involuntary or voluntary) of internal and external boundaries. From the mid-nineteenth century, and particularly after the discovery of gold in Witwatersrand (1886) and Kalgoorlie (1892), travelling troupes and artistes would commonly move between these newly populated regions, sailing between the Cape and Fremantle. With varying degrees of success, the Australian-based theatre organisations of J. C. Williamson Ltd and J. & N. Tait pursued their major 'Australasian' interests in South Africa over many decades, touring musical and dramatic troupes and setting up South African subsidiaries. Given these close managerial relationships, a fuller historical account could be produced of an intermittently expanded 'Australasian' theatrical region, whose history is effaced by differing – usually nationalistic – thematic emphases and choices of regional focus.[6] In the early twentieth century, this theatrical mini-empire was broken up on three occasions by wartime restrictions on internal land travel and sea traffic,[7] and from the 1960s South Africa's cultural isolation was institutionalised through anti-apartheid sanctions and embargoes. From the 1950s, Australia-Europe air routes favouring Asian stop-overs bypassed South African ports of call, just as the creation of the Suez Canal a century previously had cut out Cape stopovers for East-bound trading, postal services and passenger lines.[8]

The mobility and specific skills of the physically-based entertainer indicate the potential of multiple mapping of regions by specific generic fields. The geographical trade routes of international variety artistes working in cabaret, nightclubs, circus, theatrical revues and spectacles suggest after 1945 that different 'regions' can be defined from the perspective of the specialised performers and impresarios and their venue opportunities. The post-1850s Australasian theatrical 'region' surveyed so far is defined largely on the basis of largely language-bound dramatic activity (Downes, 2002; Kelly, 2009). Further industrial or generic criteria for the dynamics of interpenetrating theatrical regions could be argued for circus, dance or opera (St Leon, 2011; Pask, 1979; Love, 1981; Carroll, 2011; Gyger, 1990 and 1999). Variety, concert and nightclub performers, like the shipboard 'empire' tourists of a century earlier, typically form small mobile groups working in wide international networks of variety houses, cabarets or clubs. There were few linguistic boundaries for such acts as the black American jazz dancer Norma Miller or the Trinidad Steel Band, who toured Japan and Australia in the 1960s. The cabaret and club venues of European, American, Asian or Australasian cities formed their 'region', to which political divisions are pertinent but not definitive, and their characteristic transport was the jet aeroplane. Many entertainers of Australia's post-1945 variety originated in South East

Asia or commonly worked there, while many more performers were products of European diasporas of war and revolution.[9] Their skill-centred specialty acts, with their mobile performative ethnicities, depend less than dramatic theatre on the linguistic or racial congruence of performer and role, and from the 1950s such artists readily found a hospitable second home in the motley parade of television. The case of variety thus somewhat resembles the field of operatic music and the regional circulation of its performers, as discussed by Yamomo (2011) in the case of Filipino activity.

Consolidating a theatrical region

For Australia and New Zealand, the early 1850s mark a new dynamic phase of international modernity. The 1840s saw both the formal end of the New Zealand Land Wars and the cessation of convict transportation to Australia's eastern states, and in the next few decades new areas of settlement and the growth of administrative centres evolved into six self-governing Australian colonies. Cosmopolitan immigration and rapid urbanisation followed the gold discoveries in the Australian colony of Victoria (1851) and New Zealand's Otago region (1861). The generative presence of gold indicates the significance to entertainment of the infrastructures and networks created by international movements of mobile labour in pursuit of resource booms. For example, Alan Hughes (1986) studies the extremely close cultural and theatrical relations obtaining between the Australian gold regions and the city of Victoria, the capital of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. The Island's own gold rush in 1858 incurred population influxes from, amongst other places, California and Australasia, and exhibited similar theatrical repertoires and personalities. While managing the Keans' North American tour, the English low comedian and Australian legislator George Coppin (1819-1906) passed through the city of Victoria in the early 1860s, where he could dine at the Boomerang pub and read Australian news in the local press, just as he could in the 'other' Victoria across the Pacific. A trans-oceanic imaginary community was structured by the experience of gold, and discursively animated by those common colonial debates about legislative and administrative initiatives which formed the characteristically international cognitive map of the colonist. Thus a theatrical region may be structured as a loose or occasional 'trade route' network, which typically connects together major seaports, key urban centres or expatriate enclaves scattered internationally over large distances or across culturally disparate areas. The more formalised and cyclical late-century patterns of mobility are shown in the African and Asian touring activities of Maurice Bandmann, whose free-enterprise ventures and commercial partnerships are studied elsewhere in this publication.

As in the case of the relatively culturally homogenous and politically stable Australasian colonies (later nations) of Australia and New Zealand, highly-evolved centralised commercial structures were sedimented from its varied patterns of theatrical activity. When visiting or native actors transformed themselves into managerial entrepreneurs, the headquarters for their large intercolonial circuits were such major urban centres as Melbourne or Auckland, while more mobile managements serviced suburbs, towns and rural centres. Hence a fluctuating series of key individual entrepreneurs operated over many decades, located various beyond or within such stable company structures as J. C. Williamson Ltd (drama, musicals, opera, ballet), the Tivoli or

Fuller Circuits (variety and musical comedy), J. & N. Tait (concerts). These impresarios and managers organised the internal regional circulation of their various specialised performance troupes, and also forged extra-national alliances with similar key figures of other regions, be they the of West End, London suburban circuits, British provincial impresarios, the USA west coast or Broadway. Besides production development and tour administration, their central business was the purchase, leasing or exchange of such tangible legal commodities as artistic, production and management personnel, music scores, set designs, play scripts or entire productions, whether in blueprint or in actuality. Performance rights for usually English-language repertoires (Anglophone or translated, though opera was frequently sung in original language versions) were leased from North American, European or British holders, for which purposes 'Australasia' was a conveniently discrete legal unit. For nearly a century, J. C. Williamson's, the possessors of the exclusive 'Australasian' rights for the international commercial phenomena of the Savoy operas and the Gaiety musical comedies, exploited these key properties before captive audiences.

In 1901 the six colonies of Australia federated as the Commonwealth of Australia, and the 'seventh' colony of New Zealand formed its separate Dominion in 1907. Nonetheless, commercial touring activity, so vital to countries whose concentrations of settler population are separated by large tracts of land or water, continued to regard them as a single region and the 2000 kilometres (1250 miles) of the Tasman Sea as a local coastal waterway. In the view of the commercial entrepreneur, be s/he based in Sydney, Perth or Auckland, these countries comprised a single potential theatrical touring region, and it is this organisational and managerial perspective that most clearly defines the trade in theatrical commodities during the period of high modernity. In the tracking of the fortunes of theatrical trade routes, territory, in its geophysical sense, complicates and complements the elastic and invisible bounds of cultural regions. The regions' distances and dispersed centres, as outlined above, challenged early twentieth-century live entertainment to reach every exploitable pocket of potential audience. This promoted enterprise, stamina and improvisatory *sang-froid* in performers, managers and audiences alike. Given Australasia's pattern of highly-concentrated urban audiences with relatively small and scattered populations, touring was foundational to its theatrical economics, creating a self-conscious cultural unity from the brute facts of geography. Touring was aligned with cyclic or casual events likely to concentrate potential audiences at major nodes. Within Australasia, the ancient liturgical cycle of Christmas and Easter were both major repertoire foci, and the anniversaries of civic or religious figures and events mustered concentrations of patriotic or denominational audiences as well as entertainment-seekers. Temporary audience migrations from the country to the city or town were occasioned by agricultural shows, international trade exhibitions, visits of civic or vice-regal celebrities, horse races, sports fixtures, military parades or openings of parliament: all were bonanzas for the urban box office. In rural areas, theatre troupes visited scattered communities by train or wagon, either as informal touring dates or to coincide with the annual holidays, markets or sporting events.

Much was at stake here for the practitioners. By promoting the cultural esteem and the economic profitability of their own region, theatre people endeavoured to acquire cultural as well as economic capital. Their public self-constructions are doubly targeted. Intra-regionally, they are meant to maintain the pride and self-consciousness of 'their'

audiences as modern interpretive communities through mutual and common experience of theatrical performers, repertoires and organisations. Extra-regionally, this sustained activity marked their region's status as a significant global player within modern culture and entertainment enterprises. The Australasian region thus scanned and appropriated (and was appropriated by) the performing cultures of Europe, Asia and the United States, while also making tentative accommodations with the indigenous performances of the Maori and Aboriginal peoples. Each project – the internally and externally focussed – defines and supports the other. Australasian commercial entertainment in the period 1850-1950 is rarely a dissentient agent in the political projects of imperialism and colonisation, but it was by no means unequivocally tied to them. It labours to promote itself as an eminent cultural institution creating and upholding civic 'British' identities, but simultaneously to pursue those international trends and practices distinguished as signal markers of cosmopolitan modernity.[10]

Meantime at home, business was pursued as usual. The magnates of the big commercial theatre organisations in New Zealand and Australia were typically enmeshed in the capitalist enterprises of liquor, retail, sport promotion, property, cinema production and radio broadcasting syndicates, thus strategically allying themselves with urban and national economic fortunes (Fotheringham, 1992; Van Straten, 2004; Tallis, 1999; Griffin, 2004). Their managerial boards invested company profits in the big end of town: banks, mining, insurance and property. At every opportunity, and particularly during wartime, actors and managements situated themselves as public benefactors and organised massive fund-raising for military or civilian charities. While an early theatre entrepreneur such as George Coppin was himself a colonial politician, established theatre capitalists cultivated friends at court across the political spectra of colonial (later national) legislative bodies and vice-regal establishments. Above all, they sought to dominate regional theatre by buying or building their own chains of theatres in key cities, attempting to squeeze out rival access to scarce infrastructure. A natural partner of the prosperity of its component colonies or nations, this region's theatrical touring, in both its formalised or vigorous free-booting modes, rode first on the coat-tails of imperial expansion and later on those of nationalist discourses. Energetically (if selectively), it involved itself in those statist enterprises with whose economic fortunes it was critically enmeshed over periods of boom or depression, peace or war.

Sociability and regional mobility

Throughout the period of entrepreneurial consolidation (ca. 1870s-1960s), innumerable short-term or self-managed troupes of theatre, variety and circus also worked the Australasian region in the 'empire actor' touring mode. This was the phrase endowed by Wellington's *Evening Post* on what it saw as a large such group of competent world-travelling players, 'ambitious men and women who have declined to play a waiting game in London', but whose global activities were certainly not confined to the British Empire. These performers pursued, not merely 'gold', but the real if less tangible benefits of colonial 'freedom and sunshine' which 'exert their fascination permanently as soon as they have once been felt'.[11] The fluidly interpenetrative relationships of these performers with the operations of the regional managements could be strategic or casual as they pursed 'freedom and sunshine' and engaged in cosmopolitan sociability. Most major

Australasian cities were ports with the harbour-dweller's typical seaward orientation, adoring novelties and news from elsewhere, welcoming and rapidly accepting visitors. And to the north of Australasia, linked by trade, administration and major shipping lines, many more such ports awaited.

The gregarious cosmopolitan temperaments of the peripatetic 'empire' performers were attuned to experiencing the adventure of travel in unknown regions: both the demands and the allure of distance made them, in more senses than one, typically modern tourists. The social lionisation of visitors, typical of the scattered and socially dynamic settler communities of seaboard and inland, meant that, along with the standard gambits employed by entertainers to attract audiences, these particular audiences were equally keen to be sought out. While the large entertainment firms of Australasia marked out their territories based in their principal colonial cities (which also happen to be ports) and radiated out to hinterland settlements by road, rail or coastal steamer, for the small mobile family or marital troupes the ocean was their highway and the ship their home. Australia and New Zealand were just possible halts on their trans-Pacific, trans-Atlantic or trans-Asian voyages. Their fellow travellers aboard ship or train were the mobile tribes of traders, administrators, garrison troops, tourists, commuters, missionaries and emigrants, who might view theatre people as either enemies or natural allies.

Workable extra-national touring regions can thus be formed at specific geo-political moments across extensive tracts containing disparate nations and/ or colonies. China, Japan, India and South East Asia were increasingly visited from the nineteenth century by intrepid Anglophone theatre troupes playing both to expatriate and to local audiences of other language groups. Kobayashi (1998) gives a useful account of 'empire' touring companies working this region during the nineteenth century, some of whom, like that of George C. Miln, were suffused with cultural mission to bring Shakespeare to new audiences. These 'trade route' tourists wove together larger virtual regions throughout Asia, America, South Africa, India, Australia and New Zealand. Many were married teams like Daniel Bandmann and Millicent Palmer, George Darrell and Fanny Cathcart, William Don and Emily Saunders, J. C. Williamson and Maggie Moore. Other travelling troupes were typically families (whether in name or fact), many of whom, like the dancing American Zavitowski Sisters and the 'families' of Richard Stewart, W. J. Holloway, George and Rosa Lewis,[12] Alfred Dampier or the Pollard Opera Troupe (Downes, 2002) might also make repeated visits to Africa or the Americas, as well as spending considerable periods in Asia and Australasia. Rather than formalising Bandmann-type circuits, many travelled as opportunity or preference dictated. Such global performing tourists typically deposit their fragmented historical traces in many regions. They fit awkwardly into nationalist histories unless they can display prolonged periods of local residence, and/or become involved in the consolidation enterprises of managerial organisation or theatre construction, as did Coppin, Williamson and the Rignolds.

Regional theatrical activity holds a particular symbolic, cultural and economic centrality within the 'mutually constituted history' (Price, 2006, p. 603) of Britain and its colonies and dominions, but is not confined to it. The imperial links largely that held firm in Australasia for the early twentieth century were transformed by the Pacific War (1941-

45) with its ensuing decolonisation and formation of new nations, while shifting strategic alliances brought the United States to the fore in matters of Australasian regional defence. By the 1960s, the processes of political de-dominionisation were well under way (Ward, 2001; Webster, 2005). In various decolonising regions, Britain amongst them, successful campaigns established 'national' theatre companies subsidised by the state. For its part, the state acquiesced to these pressures upon the expectation that such theatre would continue to act in informal partnership with governmental enterprises, whether as a cultural flagship abroad and/or as enhancer of domestic leisure and tourism. The new nation of Papua Niugini, for example, had been a former German mandate administered by Australia from the First World War to 1975 (the Dutch colony in the western part of the island became the Indonesian province of West Irian Jaya). With the exception of the mobile airborne military entertainments characteristic of the 1940s Pacific War, it barely figured (as we have seen) in the Australasian region's early theatrical maps. Yet so strong had the paradigmatic partnership of theatre and nation become by the 1970s that touring ('*raun raun*' in Tokpisin) theatre on the Western model was instituted in post-colonial Niugini with its over 800 languages in order to express – or create – a 'cultural identity, mainly through dance and drama' (Gomez, 1980, p. 16).[13]

Theatrical regions may display moments of peak temporal cohesion before mutating into new geographic configurations based on the evolving political, generic and technological conditions to be managed and exploited by entertainment caterers and their extra-theatrical partners. While Australasia still exists as a viable commercial touring region, it is traversed by different groups of tourists. The commercial repertoires of international theatre, musicals, opera, dance, variety, celebrities and star acts which typified the 1860-1960 period now co-exist with a substantial presence of state-subsidised and commercial production organisations which implement intra-regional movements in the forms of interstate co-productions (usually for drama), or festival circuits (usually for musical, physical and skills-based performance). Extra-national personnel in Australasian theatre today are very likely to be from Asian or Pacific regions, and the exchanges of training personnel, companies and repertoire typify what has become a geographically and linguistically expanded theatrical region (Balme, 2007; Gilbert and Lo, 2007). The current map of 'theatre' in Australasia thus more resembles that of the older variety regional models than the purely dramatic one, suggesting how at specific periods different genres of performance or local agents of production may construct distinctive 'regions'.

Co-present with live theatrical activity after ca. 1900 are the mediated entertainments of gramophone, cinema and radio, with which the regional fortunes and genres of live entertainment are inextricably linked. Within global theatrical history generally, the terminal boundary of high modernisation's century (roughly 1860s-1960s) can be marked by wide adoption of television and by post-imperialist political devolution and new nationalisms. It comprises a distinctive historical period, as suggested here by an account of the regional fortunes of Australasia during periods of relative peace, whose generally free travel and political stability has been treated in this discussion thus far as modernity's default condition. But this period is also one of global warfare: modernity's dark side and the twentieth century's most defining experience. Equally formative of new theatrical regions is the massive and penetrative effects of global conflict on the symbiosis of entertainment, transport, technology, and population mobility. The

constitutive impact of war on theatrical activity is briefly suggested by a summary of Australasia during one such conflict: the Pacific War of 1941-45.

Theatres of war

Many of the technologies that variously enhanced or challenged theatre's global mobility in this turbulent phase of modernity are products of war. The organisational and technological capacities arising to meet the demands of massive global conflicts produce a pressured concentration of productive and destructive innovations. McKeown (2004, pp. 178-180) discusses international migrant networks as producing 'a social geography that is not congruent with physical geography', and conjectures that a world map drawn to identify concentrations of ethnic or language groups would look very different from the maps of nation states. Likewise, the peacetime operational 'maps' drawn up by theatrical impresarios for their own extensive touring 'campaigns', co-exist during war-time with definitions of strategic regions defined by military priorities. This can lead to bloated, if temporary, expansions of a theatrical 'region' such as to make the activities of the nineteenth-century 'empire actors' seem positively unambitious.

Again, the reach of international systems into regional activity is crucial. Basil Dean, creator of Ealing Studios, Britain's first cinematic sound stage, ran his wartime organisation ENSA (the Entertainments National Service Association), which sprang into action in 1939 to provide touring entertainments for Allied troops in Europe. Dean had done similar work 1914-18 and now organised expanded activities of concert parties, broadcasts, films, singers, revues, drama, ballet, orchestral and chamber music and dance bands. In existing or rapidly-adapted sites, ENSA troupes performed alongside many other entertainment organisations for huge concentrations of service personnel in training camps, garrison cities, airfields or naval bases, or for isolated units serving in remote coastal gun emplacements or jungle clearings. Between front-line battles, such amateur identities as Lance Bombadier Harry Secombe gave impromptu back-of-truck shows lit by headlights, for the benefit of Allied soldiers and sometimes mystified Sicilians (Taylor, 1992, pp. 80-83). Michael Pate's (1983) account of his 'Tasmaniacs' concert troupe during the Pacific War notes the New Guinea villagers who for the first time were encountering, and occasionally also participating, in Western entertainment genres.

Wartime entertainers on the home and battle fronts – dramatic as well as the variety or concert specialist – tend to work not only in touring dramatic productions but in variety format, as members of mobile concert parties. Rather than employing the relative spatial and venue-based inflexibility of commercial touring entertainment, these performers are warmly welcomed into the improvised spaces of their isolated audiences of battlefield, camp, hospital or factory, and endure their common hardships and acute dangers.[14] Undertaken in cramped trucks, battleship decks or draughty air transport, the wartime circulation of intrepid live entertainers most strongly resembles the sociable culture and make-do touring practices of the old ship-board 'empire actors', and again it redraws regional theatrical maps.

Dean outlines his previous careers as a formidable theatrical and film director, and his class socialisation as a serving officer of the first war. From its command headquarters in

the converted and bombed Drury Lane Theatre, ENSA deployed minutely segmented maps with pins and little flags to track the movements of the myriad companies around the country (Dean, 1956, pp. 130-131). Theatrical and military activities are thus homologous in their practices and vocabularies and, frequently, closely so in the acculturation of their personnel and in their material infrastructures. The uniformed impresarios of Allied troop entertainment – ENSA or military bodies such as Army Welfare (UK), the Red Cross or the Australian Comforts Fund – deployed their own maps of regional operations (Hughes, 1976; Pate 1983). The military can organise and command entertainment as a national priority, and its resources of trains, trucks, aeroplanes, rations, warships, portable lighting and electrics, mobile stages or adapted spaces are potentially at the disposal of entertainers deployed in close tandem with military operations. Modern warfare, of which the 1939-45 conflict is but one example, mobilises both entertainers and their audiences on home and battle front in unprecedented numbers and in new heterogeneous concentrations, so is a crucial factor in modernity's expansion of global theatrical networking. The wartime experience of close governmental involvement with civilian as well as front-line entertainment also set the ideological scene for the post-war expansion of state-supported national theatres.

During the Second World War, the region of the theatrical 'Australasia' was adjacent to, or contiguous with, Britain's South East Asia Command (SEAC, 1943-46). While Louis Mountbatten made his SEAC headquarters in Kandy, after 1942 Australian cities formed the forward headquarters for Douglas MacArthur, American Supreme Commander of SWPA (South West Pacific Area). Maps for military administrations, such as these two operating in or near Australasia, typically overlie national boundaries, with headquarters located according to the relative deployment of land, sea or air forces. These temporary strategic maps of military 'theatres' collaborated with the existing commercial and amateur entertainment activities of the Australasian theatrical region: bringing American popular bands and celebrated entertainers to Australasian troops while, on the home front, huge garrisons of American and other service personnel in cities or camps became devotees of Australian entertainers. Conversely, the entertainments offered to fellow troops and local people by ANZAC servicemen in Europe, Africa and the Pacific configure an enormous, if temporary, expatriate global diffusion of an Australasian theatre 'region' (Pate, 1983; Vaughan, 1995).

Hence, for the duration of the Pacific War, New Guinea and many tiny Pacific island groups were closely included into the theatrical region of Australasia, and also in the greatly extended British and American entertainment operations, with new or existing regional networks of performers complemented and extended by military ones. The theatres of war, in this case covering geo-political areas undergoing a particularly revolutionary nationalist period, might compromise or destroy existing theatrical regions, but they also create new ones or re-animate the ghosts of former regions. ENSA's eastern regional theatrical posts were based in Rome, Cairo, Delhi, Calcutta and other forward centres, according the mobile fortunes of war. Jack Hawkins of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, already a distinguished actor of stage and film, was the ENSA Colonel-in-Charge for SEAC: 'My territory stretched from Karachi to Hong Kong' (Hughes, 1976, pp. 204-205). Thus, five decades previously, might a Maurice Bandmann or George C. Miln have pronounced his ambitions for his own expansive 'territory'.

Entertaining a geographically tolerant concept of the theatrical region, while outlining its various temporal constructions by performance genres and geopolitical processes, allows interrogation of the radial hierarchies found in nationalist and imperial accounts, fostering historically contingent readings of global activities. While commercial theatre from the 1850s was intimately linked to the fortunes of expanding empires in peace and war, we can discern, not just centralism and radial flows, but multiple nested connections within the global commercial theatrical practices of which all regions form the generative and interactive parts, engaging with the formative forces of secular capitalist modernity according to their desires and opportunities. The 'regions' constituted by theatrical mobility typically display porous borders: commercially strategic, flexible in time and elastic in space. As we have seen, a geographic area or a nation-state might, over time, variously contain or be contained within multiple 'regions', whether simultaneously or consecutively. Theatrical regions show themselves creatively responsive and adaptive to political boundary-drawing processes, particularly those consequent on the global conflicts which are international modernity's most prominent phenomena.

Endnotes

[1] The disparate theatrical activities of Western Europe frequently ignore the boundaries of nation in favour of cultural or linguistic principles of aggregation and circulation: see Van Maanen and Wilmer (1988). Wilmer (2004) surveys the fortunes of nationalist historiography.

[2] It shares this categorical confusion with many other regions. The terms Great Britain, the British Isles, the United Kingdom, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Northern Ireland and Eire all construct different geographic or political entities. The academician Charles de Brosses (1709-77) coined the term *l'Australasie* in his speculative summary *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes* (1756), which inspired the voyages of Bougainville and Cook.

[3] Hence in this discussion I use the term 'colonies' to refer to pre-1907 New Zealand, and before 1901 to the entities of New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia, when they became States within the Commonwealth of Australia.

[4] After two decades of construction the Auckland to Wellington main line opened in 1908. In the South Island, the Otira tunnel, completed in 1923 at the length of five and a quarter miles, finally linked its east and west coast rail systems. (Mike's Railway History, 2013)

[5] The site was re-animated during the Pacific War, again according to military needs as Norfolk Island became a US supply depot. The wartime diary of George Whitley of the Corps of Royal New Zealand Engineers covers his period on the island. Before they were moved to Noumea he recorded (13 March 1943) an open-air concert 'sponsored, acted and given by the officers of "N" Force in appreciation for what the men had done in previous concerts' (Whitley, 2013, p. 20). Currently Norfolk Island has amateur theatre activity plus historical re-animation performances centred on its historic sites.

[6] This expanded 'Australasia' may reconfigure itself from time to time according to economic opportunities and the requirements of specific genres of theatrical production. The festival circuits of South Africa and Australia-New Zealand now routinely exchange performances. In the field of opera, Simon Phillips' production of Verdi's *Otello* with a multi-national cast toured Australia for the Verdi Bicentenary Year of 2013 after premiering in Cape Town (6 April 2013). It is a co-production between Cape Town Opera, West Australian Opera, New Zealand Opera, the State Opera of South Australia, Opera Queensland and Victorian Opera.

[7] Cedric Hardwicke (1961, pp. 75-86) provides an account of the strenuous adventures and self-reliance of his Shakespearean theatre troupe, isolated in South Africa at the outbreak of the First World War.

[8] The key role of international postal contracts in forming or influencing nineteenth-century global touring routes is yet to be fully accounted for. For example, while the colonies of West Australia, South Australia and Victoria opted for a UK-Australian postal contract using the P & O line through Suez, the colonies of New Zealand, New South Wales and Queensland preferred the faster trans-Pacific routes. Initially the mail crossed Panama by train, but after the completion of the Transcontinental Railway the boats went to San Francisco and mail then crossed the North American continent to the Atlantic. Thus, after 1875, many North American companies included a South-East Asian and Australasian leg in their trans-American tours, the regular services enabling trans-Pacific and Asian movement in all directions. After this period, Australasia and East Asia could be legitimately included in a regional USA touring map.

[9] While variety's early-century Australasian organisations and founding individuals have received ample attention (Van Straten, 2003; Fuller, 2004; Anderson, 2009), its region-forming characteristics after 1945 are now also attracting study. Bollen (2011, 2013) deals with commercial regional revue and cabaret acts with a focus on Asian-Australian exchange.

[10] This flexible 'modern' relation between theatre and state was markedly different from the military suppression and invigilation during the rule of the naval and military colonial governors of the Australian convict period of 1788-1840s (Jordan, 2002), although during this period commercial theatre was established in Sydney, Tasmania, and the new settlement of Melbourne.

[11] Orpheus, 'Mimes and Music', *Evening Post* (Wellington), 12 October 1912, p. 11. The *Evening Post*'s examples comprise George Rignold, Kyrle Bellew, Charles Arnold, Frank Thornton, H. B. Irving, Thomas Kingston, Harcourt Beatty and George Titheradge.

[12] The wide-ranging international activities of George and Rose Lewis, including their important presence in India, are the subject of Mimi Colligan's (2013) study *Circus and Stage: The Theatrical Adventures of Rose Edouin and GBW Lewis*.

[13] The nation of New Guinea/Niugini gained independence from Australia in 1975. The touring company Raun Raun Theatre, founded by Greg Murphy in that year, is currently based in Goroka in the Eastern Highlands and performs in Tok Pisin or Tok Inglis (Murphy, 2010).

[14] Many entertainers in the armed services include their war experience in their published memoirs, for example Joyce Grenfell, Cicely Courtneidge, Michael Pate, Dirk Bogarde, Anthony Quayle, Alec Guinness, Gracie Fields and many more, forming a rich testimonial literature.

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Maria Helena Werneck and Maria João Brilhante

Art and Trade in a Postcolonial Context: In Search of the Theatre Routes Linking Brazil and Portugal (1850 – 1930)

Abstract

Between 1850 and 1930, the transatlantic voyages between Portugal and Brazil made by Portuguese and Brazilian theatre companies reflected the post-colonial cultural relations between the two countries. The theatrical activity produced in Portugal provided parameters for the organization of companies and quite durable acting models in Brazil, where many theatres relied on foreign companies' repertoires. However, especially after the republic was proclaimed in 1889, such transatlantic theatre was perceived in Brazil as representing the old aesthetics questioned by the European avant-garde movements of the early twentieth century. Two case studies illustrate different artistic and economic dynamics of tours, seen as translocal exchanges leading either to tradition or modernization. The former looks at the Portuguese actress Adelina Abranches, who was concerned about the financial health of her touring company, whereas the latter focuses on the Brazilian actress Cinira Polônio, who wished to be in tune with the new times of theatrical activity in Europe.

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Introduction

Between 1850 and 1930, Portuguese and Brazilian theatre companies crossed the Atlantic to tour and perform in each other's territories. Their transatlantic voyages reflect the cultural relations between Europe and a Brazil seeking autonomy from the Portuguese metropolis. These migratory theatrical movements led not only to tensions and compromises but also to the emergence of translocal spaces of exchange and coexistence, such as for example the discursive public spheres in which plays were received. The idea of an intercultural community unified by the Portuguese language allows us to speak of an importing theatrical market as well as of its counterpart, an exporting market of primary products. This article presents groundwork undertaken in order to devise a larger research project that will ultimately result in the mapping of such transatlantic theatrical markets, routes, and networks. It takes into account the socio-economic contexts of the theatrical ventures under consideration, particularly the transition from a colonial to a postcolonial relationship between the two countries.

During the period in question, theatrical activities in Brazil took place within the organisational parameters of stable acting companies, which provided a durable model. Theatres were built in seaside towns with funding from Portuguese traders and relied heavily on foreign companies' repertoires. Towards the end of the nineteenth century however, and especially after the proclamation of the Brazilian republic in 1889, the plays which made up these repertoires were perceived in Brazil as representing traditions that had begun to be questioned by the European avant-garde movements of the turn of the century. The aim of this article is to clarify how the socio-political backdrop against which the transatlantic traffic of theatrical practice occurred shaped and influenced the theatre landscape in both countries.

To begin, we offer a short overview of the social, economic, and political conditions of cultural exchange between Portugal and Brazil in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This will be followed by an analysis of the routes and movements of theatrical enterprise from Portugal to Brazil, illustrated and exemplified by a case study of the Portuguese actress Adelina Abranches. Her documentation of extensive tours to several cities in Brazil allows us to recover the dynamics of such tours both from an artistic and a commercial point of view. As will become clear, the commercial aspect of touring in this direction (i.e. from Portugal to Brazil) cannot be underestimated, as tours were regarded as a key factor in maintaining the financial health of theatre companies in Portugal.

The touring routes in the opposite direction, from Brazil to Portugal, will be analysed in the final part of this article, exemplified by a second case study: The Brazilian actress Cinira Polonio, who, after a successful career in her home country and motivated by a desire to experience theatrical innovations in Europe, returned to where she had started her training as an actress and singer. During her time in Portugal she participated in the first film to be produced in Lisbon, and also achieved great success as a singer and dancer. Her story illustrates a reversal in the direction of theatrical touring, driven by an ambition to place the Brazilian arts in a new European context.

Social, Economic, and Political Background

The cultural manifestations of trade routes linking Brazil and Portugal have only very recently begun to be studied in any systematic fashion. So far the main focus has been on the search for source materials relating to the socio-political context in which theatrical enterprise took place in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. The official treaties and documents produced during this time by diplomats and intellectuals – an ideologically motivated elite committed to developing strategies for gaining political influence on the world stage – are testament to the difficult effort of reconciling the political interests of both governments with the different socio-economic realities in their countries.

Thus, on one side of the Atlantic we find Brazil, a nation that has gained independence from Portugal in 1822 and becomes a republic in 1889. On the other side of the ocean is Portugal, which becomes a republic twenty-one years later, in 1910. Brazil's population grows with the rise of the coffee economy, the production and trade of coffee attracting more and more migrant workers. Among them are Portuguese emigrants, who seek to escape the frequent economic and financial crises in their own country and are driven to compete with other immigrant populations in search of a better life. Many of them will return to Portugal richer and socially promoted. Others choose to melt into the young nation, strengthening the Portuguese roots of Brazilian culture. They have generally arrived in Brazil under adverse conditions, often as illiterates and almost always in search of work less hard than in their native country. Exiled intellectuals, also among the new arrivals in Brazil, are even more likely to strive to keep their Portuguese culture alive, maintaining a historical connection to the former colonial power.

Portuguese emigrants who have come to wealth in Brazil and subsequently return to their native country, mainly its northern parts, are referred to as *brasileiros de torna-viagem* ('Brazilians who have come back'). They become stock characters in literature and the theatre. During the nineteenth century, these 'Brazilians' effect a surge in economic progress in the north of Portugal, filling lost villages with new and comfortable art nouveau palaces and spending their accumulated riches on the land. More than just displaying their wealth, their aim is to be respected and admired, to engage in cultural activities, but also to hold titles and powerful positions. It is worth at this point to highlight the contradiction at the heart of this discourse: Portuguese emigrants who have become 'Brazilian' in the eyes of their countrymen, shape an image of Brazil as an Eldorado, but simultaneously cultivate an idealized and nostalgic view of the *portugalidade*, Portuguese essence, or Luso-Brazilian essence, of their motherland. It is a contradiction rooted in postcolonial sentiment.

Similarly, the way in which Portuguese colonial power is viewed and theorised by Brazilians at the time is striking in its ambivalence. In an attempt to define Brazilian identity during the nineteenth century, positive and productive views of the monarchic regime are combined with a keen appreciation of liberal ideas. This results in mixed reactions towards land owners and businessmen of Portuguese descent. In the eyes of Brazilian intellectuals and artists, Portugal remains, at the transition between the nineteenth and twentieth century, part of the motherland. Within the context of the modernist artistic movements of the 1920s, Europe and in particular Paris are seen by

these Brazilians as an important factor in shaping the ideal of a Latin-American cosmopolite. In tense rivalry to this idea, the Brazilian national imagery also becomes infused with the ideal of primitivism so valued by the European programmes of avant-garde art, who see it as a marker of modernity. This appreciation of primitivism inaugurates a new artistic path, drawing inspiration from what is left of the culture of the indigenous peoples who inhabited Brazil before its colonisation, as well as of the Africans who were brought into the country by the slave trade.

While this new emphasis on primitivist art does not eradicate the essentially European character of cultural enterprise in Brazil, it does recalibrate the balance of influence between the two Portuguese-speaking countries.[1] In the field of the scenic arts, admiration and reverence, rivalry and dispute, a vision of financial opportunity and the defence of an aesthetic matrix form the basis of a complex relationship and an intricate network of cross-cultural influences. This relationship, and particularly the routes along which such influences travel, are the focus of this article.

Theatre Routes from Portugal to Brazil

Let us begin with an overview of the relations between Portuguese and Brazilian theatre, based on an analysis of the transatlantic routes along which theatre companies and actors travel from Portugal to Brazil. The first half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century are two periods of great change, with major consequences for both countries. Mainly these are caused by political regime changes, but also by various other factors including changes in trade agreements and Brazil's developing agricultural export economy. The effect is that over one century, Portugal's maritime commercial routes and the developing theatrical market in Brazil enable a network of theatre routes to grow along the extensive Brazilian coastline, offering new opportunities also for Portuguese theatre companies. This new market is created by economic and political conditions intimately linked to the creation of both nations.

Brazil's theatre industry begins to develop out of private enterprise in the nineteenth century. Initially still aligned with Portuguese monarchic power, it will later associate itself with the Brazilian imperial court. Attracting a varied audience, it does however mirror different dynamics of entertainment consumption and reflect social tensions in the cities. From the second half of the nineteenth century until the 1930s there is a definite commitment and drive to establish a European-style theatre industry in the tropics, resulting in Portuguese theatre companies making good business in Brazil and creating a thriving overseas theatrical market. Using the commercial shipping routes along which industrialized goods are imported from Europe and raw materials such as sugar, cotton, rubber and coffee are exported to Portugal, these companies mainly visit Brazilian coastal towns.[2] Rio de Janeiro, one of the harbours in these transatlantic routes, develops into an attractive place for Portuguese theatrical managers to settle. They seek to draw both the literate elites and a more eclectic audience, mainly composed of Brazilian and Portuguese traders, to their theatres.

In the early nineteenth century three large theatres are built in Brazil, one in Rio de Janeiro, one in Salvador in the state of Bahia, and another in the town of S. Luiz in Maranhão, in the North of Brazil. Two of them are the result of an initiative of

Portuguese entrepreneurs. They are the first professional theatres in Brazil, as hitherto only opera houses of modest proportions have been built, with amateur casts organising themselves in Rio de Janeiro as well as towns in Minas Gerais. The third theatre, the 'Teatro de São João'(St. John's Theatre) in Rio de Janeiro, is built by decree of the Prince Regent, Dom João, in order to meet the aristocracy's demands of a city that has become the seat of the Portuguese Empire.[3]

The Portuguese Court Theatre, as it comes to be known, is in essence a model of concessions to private theatre enterprises, which becomes the main form of organisation of theatre companies in Brazil. This is quite different from the way other institutions are created in the period immediately after the arrival of the Royal Court in Brazil. There are, for example, no intermediaries in the negotiations for the transformation of the Real Biblioteca (Royal Library) into the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library), whose collection is the subject of compensation for property left by the King in Brazil. Similarly, the Escola de Belas Artes (School of Fine Arts) and Jardim Botânico (Botanical Gardens) are both direct results of the Crown's investments on Brazilian soil.

The Prince's decree recommending the construction of a 'decent theatre' is received favourably, as the country finds itself in a period of apparent prosperity at the time. In this colony (which will soon become a kingdom and, in the following decade, a nation independent from Portugal and headed by a Portuguese emperor) the origins of economic success lie in the growing world markets for tropical products, as well as the international political set-up of the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, which enables such global markets to develop.

The hypothesis put forward here, which we propose to test further, is that Dom João's gesture of granting a Portuguese citizen the concession for the Court Theatre is thus already an economic decision, signalling commercial opportunity to urban Portuguese merchants. When agricultural trade begins to falter soon after independence, the Brazilian government has no financial backing and is forced to issue currency and raise the price of imported goods, creating inflation and leading to the impoverishment of the urban population. Theatre business, even though only in its infancy at the beginning of the century, is seen not only an opportunity for diversification and expansion of the trade managed by the Portuguese, but also as an important strategy for brokering peace between Portuguese and Brazilian public officials, merchant employees, and soldiers, who blame the Portuguese for their impoverishment at that time[4].

It is true that theatre as an art form and a business model can promote social and cultural standards over and above the mere advancement of business itself. In this case it is particularly interesting to observe how the theatre helps to control and mitigate outbreaks of nativist sentiment, since its impact on the formation of a new generation of Brazilian actors has been well researched. Our first hypothesis (stated above, relating to the business models of successive generations of theatrical entrepreneurs and foreign actors exploring new theatre markets) points to a new, previously unexplored, area of research[5]. Our second hypothesis concerns the relationship between Portuguese theatrical touring in Brazil and a developing Brazilian style of acting and theatrical aesthetic. It is an aspect that has been extensively analysed throughout the twentieth

century, in a range of scholarly works that deserve to be remembered in theatre historiography.

Coexistence and Negotiations between Portuguese and Brazilian Theatre Companies

Two Portuguese companies operate in the Teatro São João in its early years. In 1813, the tragic actress Mariana Torres brings seven actors with her from Portugal and incorporates five more Brazilian amateur actors into the company, who are trained by António José Pedro, also a tragic actor from Portugal. The company returns to São João in 1819, before finally departing to Lisbon in 1822. Due to the departure of his main star, the businessman Fernando José de Almeida hires another company, recruited around leading lady Ludovina Soares da Costa, who is then only 27 years old. It is a big company setting sail on two different ships in June and July 1829; historians count fourteen to twenty members. Following Brazil's declaration of independence it will become the Teatro S. Pedro de Alcântara, borrowing its name from the emperor. When Dom Pedro I abdicates the throne, its name changes again and it becomes the Teatro Constitucional Fluminense. Ludovina, the second great tragic actress to travel from Portugal, will perform on Brazilian stages for thirty years, often with João Caetano as her partner, the first great actor born in Brazil.

The transatlantic journeys of Portuguese theatre companies in this period are defined by two characteristics: Firstly, companies and artists often remain in Brazil or, if they do leave, usually return with new and longer permanent contracts. This type of touring is therefore quite different from the short and repeated tours of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Secondly, the controversial arrangement which allows Brazilian actors to join incoming Portuguese companies leads to these home-grown actors being given new contracts, particularly in the period after the departure of the first emperor. In the years after his 1831 abdication, strong nativist feelings in Brazil give rise not only to a growing rivalry between Brazilian and Portuguese actors, but also to an expansion of the native theatrical market.

To give an example of this complicated process: In 1833, a Brazilian group of actors fails to integrate with the Portuguese cast of actors at the Teatro São Pedro and moves to the small, newly built Teatro Valongo in an old inlet near the town harbour.[6] One month after their premiere, however, they are displaced to make room for a group of Portuguese actors who have left S. Pedro in order to form their own company (Prado, 1972, p. 15). The hostilities between the Portuguese company responsible for the Teatro S. Pedro and the actor João Caetano, leader of the group of Brazilian actors, are resolved in 1839, when Caetano signs his first contract with the imperial government. He also commits himself to founding a national company, which nevertheless relies on Portuguese actors to maintain its repertoire (Souza, 2004, p. 44). On the one hand, these skirmishes between Portuguese and Brazilian actors and impresarios indicate an expansion of the labour market into new ventures, such as for example the Teatro da Vila Real da Praia in Niterói, and the São Januário near the Palácio Imperial, home of the royal family in Quinta da Boa Vista (Rio de Janeiro). On the other hand, the Portuguese presence in daily theatrical life remains overwhelming: As well as the Portuguese repertoire of plays

and the Portuguese actors performing on stage, Portuguese professionals dominate fields such as translation, adaptation and playwriting, as well as administrative activities.[7]

The ambivalent relationship between Portuguese and Brazilian theatre makers indicates how closely the commercial and artistic aspects of Brazilian theatre are linked in its formation period in the nineteenth century. If there are "outbursts of rebellion and submission," as Prado asserts, it is through Portuguese artists that the "the influx, albeit late, of European culture" takes place (Prado, 1972, pp. 10-11). Popular genres such as historical spectacles and freely adapted and translated melodramas make up the majority of the repertoire at the beginning of the century. They are texts whose authorship is often neither clear nor highly valued. As Prado writes, "most of the plays had to be handed over, handwritten, from company to company, forming a common heritage, often anonymous, from which everyone borrowed" (Ibid., p. 19). When Furtado Coelho takes on the direction of the Ginásio Dramático, a pioneering theatre group dedicated to the staging of realist French dramas, there is a period when both traditional and modern forms of theatre gain popularity. However from 1855 onwards, with the nativist enthusiasm so dominant in previous decades gradually subsiding, Brazilian theatre's journey towards popular genres becomes irreversible. It adopts the hybrid genre of Portuguese drama of the time, combining drama and melodrama, and later develops its own popular genres including the comedies of the actor Vasques and Arthur Azevedo's 'Revistas' (shows with music, dance and humour), created as an alternative to Alcazar Lirique's operettas. In all these genres, the theatrical manager outweighs, and is little concerned with, the literary reviewer. In this sense, there is a confluence between the shows coming from Portugal and those produced in Brazil: Both seek to conform to the expectations of audiences and to become part of everyday life in the city. The theatre industry is thus already disconnected from the civilizing ideal of high art and instead finds itself in line with the commercial ideas of multiplicity, commodification, and mobility. It is a theatre geared towards attracting a large audience, committed to treading the path of consumption, feeding on urban life and satisfying itself with the present.[8]

The productions staged by the companies contracted to work in the main theatre of the Royal Court follow old theatrical practices of recycling stock texts and costumes. It can be said, therefore, that the distant South Atlantic market reproduces traditional models of performance which are already considered outdated and being replaced in other European countries. Cultural objects are consumed as belated novelties or, from a different perspective, as a revisiting of the past. The result of this is a market that yields profit, and also appears to bridge geographic and cultural distances.

Due to the availability of a number of large theatres in major coastal towns and several smaller ones in the capital, the presence of foreign, mainly Portuguese, companies in Brazil increases during the last decades of the nineteenth century and again in the twentieth century. The social and economic context in Brazil favours transatlantic tours, especially as the volume of exported goods grows and a market economy slowly begins to develop. The theatrical marked is structured around commercial bases and centres on the work forces of European immigrants.

When the national theatre is founded, the ideal model of employing a permanent cast for long periods of time is soon replaced by a model of temporary occupation (for a

maximum of one year) by foreign companies.[9] The civilizing goals which prompted the construction of theatres in the first place and dictated the terms of the contracts for the first companies give way to demands of an industry focused on entertainment. Presented with a veneer of intellectual refinement, it gives the city of Rio de Janeiro the appearance of a metropolis worthy of becoming the capital of the republic from 1889 onwards.

We know from the Portuguese actors who visited Brazil and left records of their tours that their transatlantic trips were primarily motivated by economic considerations. As we have seen, the touring routes from Portugal to Brazil benefited these actors and theatre companies, but they also proved lucrative for the new Brazilian theatres striving to build audiences. Covering Brazil's extensive coastline and port cities Belém, Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, Santos and Porto Alegre, and branching out to the state capitals of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, tours often lasted months. They were opportunities to pay off debts incurred in the production of the last European season, or to obtain cash for the production of new shows on returning to Portugal. Exceptional cases, such as reports about some contracts not providing round-trip tickets and actors having to beg for funds in order to be able to return home (Tristão, 1919, p. 5), do not invalidate this general principle.[10] As Adelina Abranches puts it: "Good times in which, in order to straighten out the finances, we resorted to Brazil..." (Abranches, 1947, p. 282)

A Portuguese Actress in Brazil: Adelina Abranches

The actress Adelina Abranches (1866-1954) crosses the Atlantic for the first time in 1885 and continues her tours to Brazil until 1934, when she joins a revue company. In her memoires she describes the dazzling beauty of cities such as Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, the social life on tour, the gifts of jewellery she receives from members of the audience, but also her fear of the black *capoeira* fighters and the risks of catching yellow fever (Abranches, 1947, p. 96).

Her commentary on the beauty and dangers of Brazil is particularly interesting because it contains various references to the ways in which theatrical productions are organised in order to be taken on tour to the provinces and abroad. In Adelina's reports the economic aspects of the trip are not explicitly stated, but form a constant background, such as for example when she mentions the various strategies used to reduce costs. It becomes clear that tours were not primarily a means to extend the runs of successful show at a company's own theatre, as more often than not the shows that were taken on tour were specifically designed for this purpose. Thus, the preparations for a new touring show, commissioned by an impresario or entrepreneur, often occurred on a ship: 'we rehearsed and marked the play on board with furniture drawn in chalk on the floor!" (Abranches, 1947, p. 281)

She describes how these shows, put together by theatrical entrepreneurs according to a formula that pits well-known actors and a good quality repertoire against extremely cheap scenery, fail to fully satisfy public demand.[11] Negative reactions to such poorly produced shows reveal, on the one hand, a certain refinement of taste on the part of audiences, and on the other hand, that the logistics of these tours are thought out with the sole purpose of bringing profit. Recalling an early tour of the Azores, Adelina sums up the formula of modern theatrical entrepreneurs, which her own company has not yet

fully grasped: 'For travelling purposes they organise *reduced* companies. It never crossed our minds to fire one of our artists or assistants of the theatre…so we travelled to the islands with as many figures as a revue theatre company – the first mistake… - And we took our entire repertoire as well as complicated scenery – our second mistake…" (Abranches, 1947, p. 145)

We can see that in the case of tours to Brazil, production values were compromised as shows travelled. With every journey, the commodification process of the theatre was consolidated. A similar process can be observed in other contexts, such as for example the touring practices of British theatre companies. As Tracy Davis writes, "during the first tour the trademark was the nationality and the name of the company. In subsequent tours, the most important trademark was the stars' names." (Davis, 2000, p. 348)

The case of Adelina Abranches is an interesting one. Not the main star of the company, she plays a variety of roles (including some male characters) across a range of theatrical genres. She also seems to have a rare ability to win over the public, to create a sense of closeness and to overcome resistance about her work. Moreover, she uses her authority within the company's artistic leadership to stop the practice of incorporating local actors into tour productions, especially in cases when it appears to be important to preserve a sense of hierarchy and specialisation in the cast. From this actresses' point of view, there are areas of artistic value that cannot be compromised by commercial considerations.

What Adelina's memoirs tell us, however, is that tour logistics effect a hierarchy that ranks the actor's work higher than the material objects of the production (i.e. set and costumes), and also higher than the authorship of the theatrical text. The idea of a particular actor performing in a particular town on a specific day creates a special, spatialised sense of temporality, where the passage of time can be measured by following a theatre company's journey on a map.

Theatre Routes from Brazil to Portugal

As social and economic developments continue to drive the two nations further apart, their 'natural' relationship begins to change in the 1930s. While language has always seemed to be the strongest linking factor in this relationship, it becomes clear that it is not necessarily only a unifying force. Language evolves differently and is also used very differently in each country: On the Portuguese side the language is seen as a kind of genetic marker that has the potential to erase cultural differences, while on the Brazilian side it is seen as a distinctive sign of regional and social identity.

Even the Lisbon accent, described by Décio de Almeida Prado (1988) as being the only remainder of Portuguese imperialism by the time of the 1930s, begins to lose its globalising character – a function that has defined it throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The regular Brazilian tours of Portuguese theatre companies had contributed to its dominance, as had the longer stays or permanent relocations of Portuguese actors, businessmen and authors to Brazil. Written language, too, had been dominated by the Portuguese, rather than Brazilian, style, as the prevalence of imported Portuguese play texts shows.

It shall be argued here, however, that contrary to the view of Duarte Ivo Cruz, Brazilian theatre after the modernist movement of 1922 is not solely defined by a "lasting frame of a common language and culture"[12] (Cruz, 2004, p. 89). Instead of being bound by Portuguese culture, it cultivates and at the same time transcends the boundaries of the colonial language. This is true not only of dramatic texts themselves, but also true in relation to dramaturgy, to stage practices, and to models of theatrical enterprise. The Brazilian theatrical market of the time has its own distinguishing features, while retaining some of the social and economic models of the European commercial theatre (such as for example its box-office business structure, genres of shows, and audience composition).The 1922 Modern Art Week sees the birth of Brazilian Modernism and the Anthropophagic movement, both of which have as their stated intention ideas of 'swallowing' European and North American influences, digesting them and then creating something new and culturally very Brazilian. The result of these ideals is a new relationship with culture and with language. Influences and impulses from native languages (such as Tupi), as well as from European culture, are seen as raw material from which to shape a national identity for literature and the arts. Throughout the decade, amateurs and university students create spaces for artistic experimentation, and many of the modern forms of theatre developing in France and Italy arrive in Brazil directly, not second-hand via Portugal.

A Brazilian Actress in Portugal: Cinira Polonio

Just as Portuguese theatre companies had travelled to Brazil in the early days primarily to present their repertoire, what brings Brazilian actors and theatre companies to Portugal, more than commercial reasons, is the prestige of coming to Europe.

This is certainly the case for the 'divette' Cinira Polonio, who, already famous in Rio de Janeiro for her versatility as a performer in the 'teatro de revista' – she is an actress, songwriter, and author of operettas – comes to Portugal in 1888. She continues to work there until 1900, both as a manager and as a successful actress, hired by manager Francisco Palha to perform at the Teatro da Trindade in the operettas *Noite e Dia*, *O Burro do Senhor Alcaide*, as well as in the revue *Retalhos de Lisboa*. She is particularly admired as an interpreter of French songs, but her performances with Salvador Marques' company at the Teatro Avenida, in *A Grã-Duquesa de Gerolstein*, and at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, are also mentioned. Her 'unusual performance' in the role of André (a male part) in *O Burro do Senhor Alcaide* attracts attention, as does her impersonation of Sarah Bernhardt in a sketch in the revue *Retalhos de Lisboa*.

The image she projects is that of a sophisticated modern woman: She is independent, remaining single and dedicating her life to her career. Born in 1861, she travels to France and Italy when she is still very young, in order to study music and singing. She makes her debut at the Teatro Lírico in Rio aged seventeen, in the role of *Fausto*'s Margareta. Her travels between Brazil and Europe continue until the moment she chooses to move to Portugal in 1888.

While in Portugal, this time in Oporto, she becomes involved with the beginnings of filmmaking, as we know from her participation in the films *Cinira Polônio dizendo uma cançoneta* ('Cinira Polonio singing a chansonnette') and *Dança Serpentina* (Serpertine

dance) in 1896. The latter is directed by the pioneering Portuguese filmmaker Aurélio Paz dos Reis, who films Cinira dancing Loïe Fuller's famous choreography. In Lisbon in 1902 the famous American dancer had performed this same dance, which she had created in 1892 while on tour with the company of the Tokyo Imperial Theatre (SadaYacco's company). Curiously, Cinira's Serpentine Dance is included in the first public exhibition of motion pictures in Lisbon. Presented by Mr. Erwin Rousby in June of 1896 at the Real Colyseu, in the middle of the operetta *O comendador Ventoinha*, it becomes a huge success.

Cinira's participation in the beginnings of filmmaking in Portugal may be understood as a consequence of her openness to exploring new media. She is, for example, also known as composer of two operettas, *O relógio do Cardeal* and *O Traço de União*, and as a conductor. Although no film industry to speak of exists in Portugal at the time, Aurélio Paz dos Reis's filmmaking activities make an impact and reach a cultural elite that has a strong appetite for other forms of entertainment. He even sets out to explore the Brazilian market by showing his films (the Kinetographo Português) at Rio de Janeiro's Teatro Lucinda on 15th January 1897, in anticipation of a much more valuable trade route for actors than their work in the theatre.

Testimonies of Cinira Polonio's integration in Lisbon's theatrical and intellectual milieu confirm some of her qualities which were already evident in Brazil. Having spent formative years in France, she is more than just a skilled singer and performer in a specific repertoire: She is seen as having a certain cosmopolitan touch, or flair, that gives her an air of distinction both in Brazil and in Portugal.

Sousa Bastos, a manager for whom she has worked and who conducts business on both sides of the Atlantic, refers to her in his book *Carteira do Artista* (1898) in a not very pleasant way, noting that she pleases mainly country people as a French 'chansonette' singer, and that her success is due to advertising and not to her merit, as she lacks a good voice. His view, however, is contradicted by one of Cinira's colleagues, an actress equal to her in beauty and intelligence, who also knows about building a public image. It is worth quoting her description of Cinira at length:

> It happened in April 1893, and I was present at a recital of *The Secret of a Lady*. During an intermission, I watched Cirina sing *La lanterne, Les trois petites filles* et *Le petit cochon*. His Majesty the King attended the performance [...] Cinira was a star by this time, in a different genre, more exciting and gay, but undeniably less artistic, although it pleased the masses in the stalls, maybe because the exuberance of the gesticulation clarifies the meaning of the text for those who are not very much familiar with the boulevard expressions so abundant in this genre of literature. Her 'chansonettes', *La demoiselle de Commercy* and *La petite Baronne,* disturbed the peaceful people of the capital city, who were amazed and stared at her décolleté costume, wide open, in the form of a heart, to her waist. She was the one who revealed to us the elegant and ultra-wordly style of the Parisian people, this same Cinira that now hangs around Brasil, like Pepa, meditating perhaps on the injustice of this country that leaves her there wallowing in nostalgia after having overpraised her like a pagan idol, while, for lack of voice, in our theatres she would be of good use. I was a colleague at the Trinidade venue of the tawny Circe for a short time, because she left that theatre after a quarrel with the impresario who had fined her for not having attended a

> performance. This was due to her tiffs with E. C., who was actually the one who installed Cinira as a princess, well-supplied of good teeth to bite the cheese of her fortune. [...]. It was by looking at Cinira that I learned the first notions of good taste in dressing, which makes a person look always well, although wearing clothes of modest price. The cut is everything, the value of the costume, irrelevant. (Blasco, 1908, pp. 102-3)[13]

Beyond making evident the jealousy that Cinira Polonio's success and freedom evokes among the other Portuguese actresses, this quotation is important because it shows that the reasons for the Brazilian actress's distinctive aura (she is by this time 31 years old), can be attributed to a combination of several factors: how she cares about her physical appearance and about current fashions, the singularity and modernity of her behaviour inspired by a free French style, and, besides that, her beauty and the sensuality she radiates on stage as well as off. They all contribute to her successful career as an actress, while at the same time highlighting the fundamental uncertainty that characterises the life of an artist – famous one day, forgotten the next.

Cinira Polonio returns to Portugal one more time, in 1906. She goes back to Brazil for good in 1909, evidently without having having made her fortune, since she dies, poor, in 1948. Borrowing the words of Mercedes Blasco, she spends her final years living off the 'nostalgia of glorious times'. If we view her life in the larger context of cultural relations between Brazil and Portugal, we may say that her coming to Europe signifies a growing interest on the part of Brazilian actors and artist to develop a career on European stages.

Compared with actresses who came to Brazil from Portugal (such as Ester Leão) or from Italy (such as Itália Fausta), she took the inverse route. For them, the common language and the similarity of theatrical models and its genres (including operetta and revue, which had been exported to Brazil by managers such as Sousa Bastos) made it easy to establish contact with Brazilian audiences. In addition, they gained the eminence and lustre of foreign stars, invited in order to add glamour to national productions. Whatever their direction of travel, however, the goals of these actresses were the same: to increase their value in the theatrical market and to reflect that value in their pay and working opportunities.

In research terms, what remains to be done in relation to Cinira Polonio's artistic activity in Portugal is to measure the public impact of her presence and to evaluate the role she played in inspiring, or modelling, new feminine pathways in Lisbon's theatrical environment. What kinds of relationships did she establish with the actresses with whom she shared the stage, and up to what point did her long stay in Portugal soften her status as a foreign actress? What kinds of working conditions, in terms of wages and of the choice of what parts to play, were granted to her? What did she do as a manager both in Portugal and in Brazil, where we know that she introduced the commercial strategy of putting on several performances in a single day? Did she take care of the way her image was produced and received by the public sphere?

Future research

Apart from her memoirs, her private correspondence and newspaper reviews, we lack information about administrative details and the general conditions of her journeys between Brazil and Portugal. There is much information about this and other similar routes to be recovered: How much profit did the theatre managers who let their venues to visiting companies make? What were the politics of the box office? What were the cost implications of productions – did they include official licences authorizing public performances, payment of royalties, contracts in Portugal and Brazil with stage staff for example? Is it possible to know, from the Archive of the DGE (General Direction of Theatre Performances in Portugal) how many tickets were sold for the different performances, and will this allow us to extrapolate the real impact and reach of Brazilian actors and theatre companies? Were tours in Portugal and Brazil really good business, and what did touring budgets look like? How did individual actresses and actors prepare for their trips and how did they conquer unknown markets? What were the consequences of success achieved abroad – did it impact on subsequent working conditions in terms of pay or choice of repertoire? What other commercial activities were developed during tours in both countries (such as for example actor training, advertising, programmes on the radio or later on television)?

The history of theatrical touring routes between Brazil and Portugal remains to be written, and it calls for research that can bring to light the motivations for and impact of such tours by theatre companies and artists. They deserve recognition for at least two reasons: They have an undeniable impact on local artists and theatre managers, and the experiences artists have while they are abroad changes their lives as well as the cultural landscape of their homelands.

Endnotes

[1] A broader analysis of that change in perspectives can be found in Silviano Santiago's text (2004, pp.11-44).

[2] In different cities of the Brazilian coast, 15 theatres built in the nineteenth century preserve their original architecture (Serroni, 2002).

[3] The Teatro São João was rebuilt four times, three times due to fires (1824, 1851, 1856). In 1930 the building, reconstructed according to the original design, fell 'victim of brutal and disastrous momentum of modernization' (Prado, 1993).

[4] Since Brazil's independence, the relationship between Brazilian and Portuguese people has been characterised by admiration and tension, both in theatre and in the wider socio-political field.. Tension grows, and the turn of the 1910s to the following decade is a critical point, with clear manifestations of lusophobia. A Brazilian writer and journalist, João do Rio, however, believes in the possibility of a lusophone theatrical and cultural territory. Campaigning for bringing Brazil and Portugal together, he writes many reviews of 'transatlantic theatre' and creates a magazine called *Revista Atlântida*. In the newspapers he becomes a militant against the Brazilian government's anti-Portuguese actions, among them the ban on the work of Portuguese fishermen.

[5] According to Werneck and Reis (2012), scholars have begun to study cases of mediation and tension between artists and the public, between entrepreneurs and artists, and between critics and directors from both nationalities.

[6] The theatre was situated in the neighbourhood of the slave market.

[7] In the Brazilian actor João Caetano's formative years, the influence and proximity of several Portuguese theatre professionals is notable: they are in particular Victor Porfírio de Borja (who was already in Brazil before the inauguration of Teatro São João), Gertrudes Angélica da Cunha (second lady of the company), and Ludovina Soares da Costa, with whom Camilo José Guedes de Rosário performed numerous times.

[8] While the Ginásio Dramático searched in the Portuguese repertoire for ways to increase its ticket revenue, the Teatro de São Januário, under the direction of the actor and manager Florindo, became the theatre of choice for the working classes, its audience primarily made of 'boys who worked in the city's commerce; many of them having come from Portugal and living at their employers' house'. Despite complaints regarding their abusive behaviour in the audience, this demographic became , the theatre's main source of economic sustenance. When the São Januário closed its doors, its audience followed their favourite actor, the comedian Vasquez, who had joined the Fênix Dramática. (Souza, 2004, p. 281)

[9] Records of the São João and Politheama Theatres in Salvador show that from 1884 to 1912, eighteen Portuguese companies performed there, presenting a dramatic and musical repertoire, especially operettas. (Boccanera Junior, 1999, pp. 173-199)

[10] The situation would be remedied with the formation of a trade union, The Associação de Classe dos Trabalhadores de Teatro (Theatre Workers Association) (Tristão, 1919, p. 5), which imposed standards that made it impossible to organise tours in the old ways.

[11] "We took paper scenery, already quite old, and few props. Doors were also made out of paper. And we didn't even have drapes to cover them up. José Louseiro, who was used to making big money with our company, did not remember that Brazil progressed day by day. The plays, there, were put on stage with luxury and elegance." (Abranches, 1947, p. 398)

[12] Our translation.

[13] Our translation.

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