Henry Irving and Ellen Terry in Macbeth:

Lyceum Theatre, 29 December 1888

by

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We have carefully read the dissertation entitled "Henry Irving and Ellen Terry in Macbeth: Lyceum Theatre, 29 December 1888"

submitted by Nancy Lynn Simon in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and recommend its acceptance. In support of this recommendation we present the following joint statement of evaluation to be filed with the dissertation.

Drawing upon the study copies prepared individually by Sir Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, the detailed comments of theatre critics in journals and newspapers, the edition of the text employed by the Lyceum (including the rationale for the version), illustrative materials depicting actors in costumes and the settings, and both biographies and autobiographies from the period, Ms. Simon has prepared a mature, well-researched manuscript which recreates and analyses a noteworthy event in the history of British theatre. Research for this study was conducted in various libraries throughout the United States and Great Britain.

In her dissertation, Ms. Simon examines the 1888 edition of the text in relation to the approaches outlined by ~~the actors~~ in their study copies; she further traces the development of the production by including extensive commentary from contemporary critics in an effort to determine the success of the actors in realizing their objectives. Her reconstruction of the performance and the creative process at the Lyceum in 1888 substantially extends our knowledge of not only the production practices of the latter 19 Century British theatre but also the acting techniques and practices of two of the leading stars of the London stage.

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

Preface

The sounds, the sights, the emotions, the immediacy of a theatrical performance cannot be recaptured in words. Yet sufficient record remains of many performances to give us an insight into other acting and production styles which causes us to reconsider our own, a challenge to our thinking about the plays produced, a suggestion of the excitement of the actual event. Such a record can be reconstructed from the surviving documentation of Henry Irving's 1888 Macbeth.

"My mental division of the years at the Lyceum is before 'Macbeth,' and after," Ellen Terry recalled. "I divide it up like this, perhaps, because 'Macbeth' was the most important of all our productions, if I judge it by the amount of preparation and thought that it cost us and by the discussion it provoked" (The Story of My Life, New York, 1918, p. 191). The 1888 revival of Macbeth was indeed an event of particular interest in the history of Irving's management of the Lyceum Theatre, both because it occurred at a crucial time in his notable career and because it thoroughly challenged the traditional interpretation of the play. In 1888, Irving stood at the pinnacle of his success, poised between prologue and anticlimax. He had been the star of the Lyceum for seventeen years and its personal manager for ten. He had played, in addition to numerous non-Shakespearean roles, Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, and Richard III under the Bateman management; and Hamlet, Shylock, Othello, Iago, Romeo, Benedick, and Malvolio under his own. He was the acknowledged leader of the English stage and its chief disciple

of Shakespeare. His leading lady, Ellen Terry, who had appeared opposite him in each of the Shakespearean productions during his personal management of the Lyceum, was London's most popular actress. "The theatre and Henry Irving, and I too, I think, were then at the zenith," she wrote in her Memoirs; "We had climbed to the maturity of our success, 'wherewith being crowned, crooked eclipses 'gainst our glory' fought, and 'Time that gave, did now the gift confound'" (New York, 1969, p. 179). Irving had considered other plays to open this thirteenth season of his management, among them As You Like It, The Tempest, and Julius Caesar, but had rejected them largely because they offered no role for Ellen Terry or because the role they offered him was not the one in which the public would choose to see the leading actor-manager of the English stage. His eventual choice of Macbeth might have been termed by some courageous, by others foolhardy. Several factors weighed against the choice. To begin with, Lady Macbeth, as she had hitherto been performed, was not the line of role associated with the talents of Ellen Terry. More important, however, was the fact that Irving had introduced his novel conception of Macbeth at the Lyceum thirteen years previously during the Bateman management and had been generally condemned by the critics. He was now risking that same censure at the height of his career, when he could ill afford failure, and with the memory still fresh of the hostile reception which had greeted his previous Shakespeare revival, Twelfth Night, in 1884. Nevertheless, a number of circumstances combined to give Irving's 1888 Macbeth a better chance of success than his

1875 effort. First, Irving as manager had complete control over all aspects of production and could invest much larger sums in the play than Bateman could have afforded or would have wished to do. Secondly, he possessed a much stronger company, and his leading lady, Ellen Terry, was prepared to perform Lady Macbeth in a way more complementary to his own interpretation of Macbeth and artistically superior to the performance of Isabel Bateman, as well as provocative of popular interest through its flouting of tradition. Thirdly, Irving, who had been something of an interesting newcomer in 1875, was now firmly established at the head of his profession; attendance at the Lyceum had become fashion rather than fad, and the audience, mellowed by thirteen years, was at least prepared for, if not in agreement with, Irving's idea of the play. Finally, Irving had much greater control of his resources as an actor in 1888 and was prepared to give much better execution to his ideas. Even the few critics who had accepted Irving's interpretation of Macbeth in 1875 had objected to the faults in his execution of the role. In Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving, Bram Stoker observed that Irving was himself dissatisfied with his 1875 performance and had discussed the play frequently from the time of their meeting (New York, 1906, I, p. 107). Irving nevertheless believed firmly that his view of the play was correct, and that Ellen Terry, though not equipped to play Lady Macbeth along traditional lines, could play the new Lady Macbeth which he had in mind. These beliefs were enough to prompt him to risk a new production of the play. His portrayal of Macbeth as an overly-imaginative moral craven

who had considered murdering Duncan long before he met the witches, and Ellen Terry's of Lady Macbeth as a feminine, loving wife, aroused much controversy among audience members more used to a heroic Macbeth led astray by the weird sisters and his de-feminized harridan of a spouse. Despite critical dissent, however, both stars remained convinced of the correctness of their interpretation, and Irving maintained later in his career that the 1888 Macbeth represented his best work.

In the following pages, I have attempted to establish as thoroughly as possible, by compiling information from a variety of sources, the nature of Henry Irving's 1888 production of Macbeth. The text used in the production is preserved in the acting edition which Irving had privately printed for use by his company during rehearsals and for sale at the theatre. The acting edition also contains an introduction by Irving explaining his setting and arrangement of the play. A copy is included in the collection of the British Museum. Irving's interpretation of the play was based on a critical essay by George Fletcher. Ellen Terry's copy of this essay, underlined and containing marginal notes of her responses to Fletcher's ideas, is in the British Theatre Museum. Perhaps the most interesting and informative documents pertaining to the production are three study copies of Macbeth, two of them Ellen Terry's, the third Irving's, preserved at the Ellen Terry Memorial Museum, Smallhythe. Both of Miss Terry's study books were apparently used for the 1888 production: the text of each is that which Irving had printed for rehearsals. Ellen Terry marked the books extensively with notes about the

acting and staging of the play. Appended to one of the books is an essay by Joseph Comyns Carr on Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. Published at the time the production opened, this essay was widely regarded as a Lyceum house organ because it tallied so closely with the interpretations given the roles by Henry Irving and Ellen Terry. Miss Terry's copy is underlined and contains many marginal notes. Irving's study copy is also extensively, though not completely, marked for acting and staging. It is difficult to date this book. A number of features lead me to believe that Irving's notations were either made for or based on his 1875 production of Macbeth. These include the absence of notation in the bleeding sergeant scene (I, ii), which was cut in 1875 but restored in 1888; the substitution of Lennox for Angus in I, iii (Angus did not appear in the 1875 production); the marking of several speeches which were cut in 1888; the presence of Young Siward, who did not appear in the 1888 production, in one stage direction; and the similarity of several of the notes to those in another study book for Irving's 1875 production in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania. Other features indicate that the book was at least referred to in preparation for the 1888 production. These include the presence of the book among the effects of Ellen Terry, who did not join the Lyceum company until 1878; the confirmation of some of the stage business by Ellen Terry in her study books, and of other business by observers of the 1888 production; the arrangement of the exit in I, iv, which makes Macbeth's final speech a soliloquy, as it was in 1888, rather than an aside, as it was in 1875; and

the absence of any notations for the murder of Banquo, which was included in 1875 but cut in 1888. I feel little hesitation in applying the acting notations to Irving's 1888 performance, inasmuch as there was general agreement that it did not differ markedly from that of 1875 except in skill of execution. Much of the scenery and many of the costumes for the 1888 Macbeth are pictured (regrettably in black and white) in the numerous sketches by Charles Cattermole and J. Bernard Partridge which make up the souvenir program sold at the Lyceum during the run of the production. I was able to obtain a copy from that delightful shop, Pleasures of Past Times, at Cecil Court in London; another is in the collection of the British Museum. Press accounts of the first night of the Lyceum Macbeth were unusually numerous and detailed and included as much description as criticism. Sketches in the illustrated papers, most notably a series in the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, provide additional information about the visual aspects of the production. A complete record of the journalistic response to Irving's Macbeth is most easily accessible at the British Museum Newspaper Library, Colindale. Accounts by observers occasionally illuminate some detail of the performance. A copy of Irving's printed acting edition in the Folger Shakespeare Library contains a spectator's notes, less legible and extensive than one would wish. Both Edwin Drew in Henry Irving on and off the Stage and J.N. Willan in First Night Impressions of Mr. Irving's "Macbeth" give accounts of Irving's elocution. Some description of the production is also included in contemporary biographies, of which

Austin Brereton's and Bram Stoker's biographies of Irving and Ellen Terry's autobiography are the most helpful.

While Irving's 1888 Macbeth is unusually well-documented by comparison with his other Shakespeare productions, I have been unable to locate an official prompt copy. There are therefore unavoidable gaps in my account of Irving's staging of the play with regard to stage pictures and the movement within scenes, and I cannot state with certainty that every piece of business indicated in the study copies was in fact used in performance. If, in a few instances, this reconstruction may not capture the letter of the production, I believe it is nevertheless representative of its spirit. In exploring the available information, we come away with a vivid impression of the first night of the Lyceum Macbeth: we can establish beyond reasonable doubt the arrangement of the text and the interpretation given the play; we have pictorial evidence for most of the scenery and many of the costumes; we find sufficient information in the study copies and commentaries to give a strong suggestion of the nature of the performances of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry; we have a complete record of the journalistic response. Though we cannot know exactly what was experienced by individual members of the audience at the opening performance, I think we can view the production with at least as much knowledge as might have remained to those first-nighters when they looked back on their experience in later years.

In preparing this study, I have met with unfailing kindness wherever I turned, and I wish to thank the following individuals

and institutions for their valuable assistance: the British Museum, the British Theatre Museum, the Ellen Terry Memorial Museum administered by the National Trust, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Garrick Club, the Shakespeare Centre at Stratford-upon-Avon, and the Victoria and Albert Museum for graciously permitting me access to materials in their collections; the Committee on Aid to Faculty Scholarship at Whitman College for providing funds which made possible part of my research; Dr. Richard Lorenzen of the University of Washington for patient advice and encouragement during preparation of the manuscript.

Chapter I

Acting Style And Production Procedures At Irving's Lyceum

> It was a September evening and not yet seven o'clock, but the day had been a dreary one, and a dense drizzly fog lay low upon the great city. Mud-coloured clouds drooped sadly over the muddy streets. Down the Strand the lamps were but misty splotches of diffused light which threw a feeble circular glimmer upon the shiny pavement. The yellow glare from the shop-windows streamed out into the steamy, vaporous air and threw a murky, shifting radiance across the crowded thoroughfare. There was, to my mind, something eerie and ghostlike in the endless procession of faces which flitted across these narrow bars of light--sad faces and glad, haggard and merry. Like all humankind they flitted from the gloom into the light and so back into the gloom once more. . . . At the Lyceum Theatre the crowds were already thick at the side-entrances. In front a continuous stream of hansoms and four-wheelers were rattling up, discharging their cargoes of shirt-fronted men and be-shawled, bediamonded women.[1]

How Henry Irving might have enjoyed Dr. Watson's description of the rendezvous which set Sherlock Holmes off on his adventures in The Sign of the Four, with its macabre and philosophical overtones and its suggestion of the eminence of the Lyceum Theatre in 1888. Walking down Wellington Street from the Strand in London today, one still arrives at the columned portico of the old Lyceum Theatre, now called the Lyceum Ballroom and packed each evening with devotees of rock music. The peeling coat of institutional green paint, the broken windows, and the neon signs do little to suggest the dignity which the old theatre possessed in its heyday when, under the personal management of Henry Irving, it was the unofficial national theatre of

[1]Arthur Conan Doyle, The Complete Sherlock Holmes (Garden City, 1930), I, pp. 98-99.

Great Britain. Its reputation was founded not only on the acting talents of its two stars, Irving and Ellen Terry, but on Irving's gifts as a stage manager, on the artistic and technical excellence of the productions he mounted, and on the idealism and sincerity of purpose which he brought to his art. William Archer, no Irvingite, felt that the Lyceum Theatre in the 1880's had assumed the same social importance in London that the Theatre Francais held in Paris and described the Lyceum's particular influence:

> Fifteen years ago the intelligent foreigner, reporting upon the intellectual life of England, would have felt himself justified in altogether omitting the theatre from his survey; now he could no more overlook Mr. Irving and Miss Terry than Tieck in 1817 could overlook John Kemble and Miss O'Neill. Indeed, the Lyceum probably influences a wider range of thought than did the patent theatres of those days, for puritanic prejudice against the stage, everywhere on the decline, has almost vanished with respect to that house in particular. An amusement which was formerly "worse than wicked--vulgar," has now become better than respectable--fashionable. But the Lyceum is more than fashionable, it is popular. There is probably no artistic institution in London which unites all classes as it does.[2]

Shakespeare's plays were well represented among those which contributed to the remarkable success of Irving's management. Of the thirty-nine plays produced while he was sole lessee of the Lyceum, eleven were Shakespeare's, and Shakespeare's plays were never out of his repertory. When, prior to assuming control of the theatre, Irving persuaded the then manager Hezekiah Bateman to produce Hamlet at the Lyceum in 1874, Shakespeare was considered by most London managers to be a

[2]Henry Irving, Actor and Manager, A Critical Study (London, 1883), pp. 28-29.

commercial risk. Irving's unprecedented success as Hamlet proved that Shakespeare need not spell ruin at the box office and provoked an increase in Shakespearean productions in London. Austin Brereton has recorded that when the hundredth night of Hamlet arrived, "Shakespeare was being represented at three other theatres in London, the specialties of two of which had hitherto been burlesque and opera-bouffe, and of the third equestrian performances."[3] These included the Gaiety, where Phelps was appearing in A Midsummer Night's Dream, the Opera Comique, which housed the Kendals and Herman Vezin in As You Like It, and the Holborn Amphitheatre, which had replaced horses with The Merchant of Venice. Another Merchant, beautifully mounted and featuring Charles Coghlan and Ellen Terry, was in rehearsal at the Prince of Wales's, previously known as the home of Robertsonian comedy. It unfortunately proved a throwback to Chatterton's "Shakespeare spells ruin" dictum and created serious financial reversals for the Bancrofts. Of the Shakespearean productions in which Irving appeared during his twenty-seven years of association with the Lyceum, including his work under the Bateman management and the Lyceum Syndicate as well as his personal management, only three were financial failures. He was involved in sixteen Shakespeare revivals at the Lyceum, a figure overshadowed by the thirty-four of Phelps, but he exceeded substantially his contemporary managers. Included in the sixteen were Coriolanus, Cymbeline, Henry VIII, King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, Much Ado About Nothing, Romeo

[3]The Life of Henry Irving (New York, 1969), I, p. 175.

and Juliet, Twelfth Night, and two productions each of Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, and Richard III. The majority of those presented while Irving was in control of the theatre were given the most elaborate productions seen in London since Charles Kean's historically accurate but economically troubled revivals of the 1850's. In retrospect, George Odell saw the Lyceum during Irving's tenure as "the recognized upholder of Shakespearean tradition."[4]

Irving's honest reverence for Shakespeare was not always evident in his preparation and interpretation of Shakespeare's texts. Because he followed the tradition of Phelps in eliminating most of the seventeenth and eighteenth century interpolations, he was commended for restoring the true texts of the plays he presented.[5] Unlike Phelps, however, Irving cut the plays extensively and to many minds injudiciously. In many instances his cuts were traditional or were made as a result of additional time required for scene changes. However, he was often criticized for cutting to suit a character more closely to his abilities, to solidify his interpretation of the script which might be at odds with tradition and/or the text, or to lend emphasis to his own role.

[4]Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (New York, 1920), II, p. 372.

[5]Such interpolations remained popular as late as the 1897 Tree production of Garrick's Taming of the Shrew. The only interpolations in Irving's editions are a comic cap line at the end of the church scene in Much Ado About Nothing and two songs for the witches in Macbeth. Phelps himself yielded on one occasion and used Cibber's Richard III--as did Olivier in our own century.

Irving's reputation as an actor of Shakespeare began with his performance of Hamlet in 1874. He immediately attracted attention by approaching the character with an amount of realistic detail unusual for a Shakespearean performance of this time, individualizing character to a degree which had hitherto been associated primarily with melodrama and domestic comedy. John Martin-Harvey recalled that Irving combined "tragic" and "character" acting: "It was obvious that he must have pondered more upon the man Hamlet as a live creation than as the protagonist of a great tragedy."[6] Audiences were impressed by the elaborate psychological detail in which Irving had imagined the character, the amount of life-like business which illuminated the role, the fact that he seemed to think the words before he spoke them. He delivered the soliloquies as though he were thinking aloud, communing with his conscience, and paid little respect to their declamatory traditions. Despite his realistic execution of Shakespearean roles, however, Irving's acting style was less tied to the new realism than it was to the romantic tradition of the Keans and Macready. Bernard Shaw, who saw in Irving and Ellen Terry the perfect actors for the new drama, never forgave Irving for confining their talents to Shakespeare and melodrama. But in fact, Irving's vision of humanity and his concept of the place of nature on the stage differed from that of the new realism. His realistic technique was coupled with a romantic imagination. The characters he presented with such life-like touches

[6]In H.A. Saintsbury and Cecil Palmer, eds., We Saw Him Act (New York, 1969), p. 126.

were not men-on-the-street but extraordinary beings, operating less in society than on some universal moral plane. As Gordon Craig observed, they resembled orchids or cactuses, not love-lies-bleeding.[7] Irving saw little place in the theatre for the petty and insignificant particulars of reality. "In the consideration of the Art of Acting," he wrote, "it must never be forgotten that its ultimate aim is beauty. Truth itself is only an element of beauty, and to merely reproduce things vile and squalid and mean is a debasement of art."[8] Whatever he derived from his study of a script was enlarged, beautified, and finished for performance, and he stubbornly retained from the old school the capacity to give a role heroic dimensions, to idealize even a commonplace character. Through his application of realistic technique to romantically conceived character, Irving tried to achieve Talma's ideal of acting, uniting "grandeur without pomp, and nature without triviality."

Irving's acting approach further attracted audiences because of his complete and intricate reimagining of traditional characters. This practice gave his portrayals a strong individuality and often produced unconventional interpretations. Several factors beyond a desire for originality for its own sake prompted Irving to work in this way:

1) Irving believed that simply following tradition could result in a stale, purely external performance:

[7]Henry Irving (New York, 1969), p. 81.

[8]"The Art of Acting," Address, Sessional Opening, Philosophic Institution, Edinburgh, 9 November 1891, reprinted in The Drama (New York, 1892), p. 193.

"You may learn where a particular personage used to stand on the stage, or down which trap the ghost of Hamlet's father vanished, but the soul of interpretation is lost, and it is this soul which the actor has to recreate for himself."[9]

2) He frequently found it necessary to suit a role more closely to his gifts and limitations. He knew, for example, that what he would have liked to make of Romeo was something he could not achieve on the stage; youthful romantic passion lay outside his range. Where a role offered possible combinations of brawn and intellect, as in Macbeth or Coriolanus, he always opted for the latter. He tended to emphasize the macabre, the fateful, or the nobly melancholic aspects of a role, aspects in which he consistently excelled.

3) His acting style, with its emphasis on giving life-like portrayals of romantically conceived characters, necessitated imagining old characters in new terms: "It is not mere attitude or tone that has to be studied. You must be moved by the impulse of being; you must impersonate and not recite."[10]

Irving always elaborated on and sometimes played against what had been provided by the playwright. In the case of certain loosely imagined and trivially conceived characters, he transcended the playwright, making the character more consistent,

[9]"The Art of Acting," p. 67.

[10]"The Art of Acting," p. 67.

interesting, and poetic than it was in the script. In the case of Shakespeare's well-drawn characters, as Henry Arthur Jones noted, many of his best effects were "quite ex-Shakespearean, if not anti-Shakespearean."[11]

While in many instances Irving's characterizations were not consistent with Shakespeare's text, they were always consistent in themselves. He imagined his characters so completely and expressed them so coherently and convincingly that, as Augustin Filon observed, the audience was prepared to accept his characterization "in the face of a text which was in flat contradiction to it."[12] Once the image of a character took shape in his mind, he conjured up for himself every pertinent detail of that personality and formed a definite plan of what he wished to convey at each moment of the play and of how each moment fitted into the whole. He put his character on stage with an attention to detail that was described variously by those who saw him as "mosaic," "Meisonnier," and "Gothic." This attention to the building of a character was for Irving the very essence of good Shakespearean acting: "To play Shakespeare with any measure of success, it is necessary that the actor shall, above all things, be a student of character. To touch the springs of motive, to seize all the shades of expression, to feel yourself at the root and foundation of the being you are striving to represent--in a word, to impersonate the characters

[11]The Shadow of Henry Irving (New York, 1969), p. 53.

[12]Quoted in George Bernard Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties (New York, 1931), III, p. 162.

of Shakespeare--this is a task which demands the most exacting discipline, the widest command of the means of illustration."[13]

In determining the manner in which he would present his character, Irving used a method much like what a modern actor would call "playing an objective." He described it thus: the actor "wishes to do a particular thing, and so far the wish is father to the thought that the brain begins to work in the required direction, and the emotional faculties and the whole nervous and muscular systems follow suit."[14] He felt that this enabled him to seem natural and spontaneous both in his physical characterization and his reading of the lines, whereas to his mind the actor who paid more attention to the words than to the ideas that dictated them seemed mechanical and untrue.[15] Irving was largely at odds with the traditions of elocutionary acting; he did not declaim nor did he permit himself the traditional point-making; his line readings were determined by the sense behind the words, and by the character's reasons for using them. While he was much acclaimed for his natural delivery of his lines, his desire to give the illusion of thinking the words as he spoke them frequently handicapped his performances, as well as those of actors playing with him, by slowing his pace.

While he cherished the illusion of spontaneity, Irving's performances were completely controlled. He felt that

[13]Lecture to the Goethe Society of New York, March 15, 1888, quoted in Brereton, The Life of Henry Irving, II, p. 120.

[14]"The Art of Acting," p. 193.

[15]"The Art of Acting," p. 60.

inspiration might come, and he valued the insight into a role that such inspiration might offer, but he did not depend on it. However, his complete imagining of character, his enormous powers of concentration, and his close attention to the thoughts, feelings, and desires which stimulated the character's words and actions enabled him to reproduce a performance which was carefully regulated but seemed spontaneous night after night. "From the first to the last moment that Irving stood on stage," Gordon Craig recalled, "each moment was significant . . . every sound, each movement was intentional--clear-cut, measured dance; nothing real--all massively artificial--yet all flashing with the light and the pulse of nature."[16]

In addition to his unusual powers of imagination and concentration, Irving's assets as an actor included a magnetic personality and a remarkable physical appearance. As a result of the dignity of his bearing, Bernard Shaw said, "the world made possible all pretences for him."[17] Irving's demeanor in his mature years provoked comparison with prelates and prime ministers. Ellen Terry described what she called "the whole strange beauty" of Irving as he appeared in 1895:

> I grant his intellectuality dominates his other powers and gifts, but I have never seen in living man, or picture, such distinction of bearing. A splendid figure, and his face very noble. A superb brow; rather small dark eyes which can at moments become immense, and hang like a bowl of dark liquid with light shining through; a most refined curving Roman nose, strong and delicate in line, and cut clean (as all his features); a smallish

[16]Henry Irving, p. 74.

[17]Collected Works of Bernard Shaw (New York, 1932), XXIX, p. 170.

> mouth, and full of the most wonderful teeth, even at 55; lips most delicate and refined--firm, firm, firm--and with a rare smile of the most exquisite beauty, and quite not-to-be-described kind. . . . His chin, and the line from the ear to chin is firm, extremely delicate, and very strong and clean defined. He has an ugly ear! Large, flabby, ill-cut, and pasty-looking, pale and lumpy. His hair is superb; beautiful in 1867, when first I met him, when it was blue-black like a raven's wing, it is even more splendid now when it is liberally streaked with white. It is rather long, and hangs in lumps on his neck, which is now like the neck of a youth of 20! His skin is very pale, delicate, refined, and stretched tightly over his features. Under the influence of strong emotion, it contracts more, and turning somewhat paler, a grey look comes into his face, and the hollows of his cheeks and eyes show up clearly.[18]

Irving's face was highly flexible and expressive: it provided, said Ellen Terry, "many pictures in a minute."[19] On stage, his facial expression always was an index to the emotional state of the character. His long, delicate hands also contributed to his exceptional ability for telling by-play. Irving placed great emphasis on conveying his conception visually as well as orally; by-play was to his mind "more than anything else significant of the extent to which the actor has identified himself with the character he represents." As an example, he cited the scenes between Iago and Othello: "Consider how the whole interest of the situation depends on the skill with which the gradual effect of the poisonous suspicion instilled into the Moor's mind is depicted in look and tone."[20] Like other features of his performance, his use of by-play was carefully calculated and controlled; nevertheless, his physical attitudes, like the words he

[18]Ellen Terry's Memoirs (New York, 1969), p. 269.

[19]The Story of My Life, p. 108.

[20]"The Art of Acting," p. 80.

spoke, gave the impression of being caused "automatically by the thought, not mechanically by the will."[21] Apparently, he was able to generate a genuine physical or emotional response through imagination.

Irving's limitations as a Shakespearean actor included a lack of physical power and certain vocal and physical mannerisms for which he was continually criticized. He had thin, nasal voice which he only gradually learned to support properly, and he used pronunciations which were not regarded as standard for the stage. His walk was described by a friendly critic, E.R. Russell, as resembling that of "a fretful man trying to get very quickly over a ploughed field,"[22] and he had a tendency when tired or nervous to drag one leg. During the course of his career, he worked diligently to overcome his shortcomings, but he could not alter his physical nature and was forced to find new approaches to characters played by other actors with bravura. Scenes like those found in the later part of Othello or the banquet scene in Macbeth required violent, passionate outpourings and were always difficult for him. His lack of brute strength and his weak voice were not the only hindrances in such scenes; he was also held back by his exhausting method of acting. As Ellen Terry observed, "an actor of commoner mould takes such scenes rhetorically--recites them, and gets through

[21]E.R. Russell quoted in Brereton, The Life of Henry Irving, p. 93.

[22]"Irving as Hamlet," in Arrested Fugitives (London, 1912), p. 58.

them with some success. But the actor who impersonates, feels, and lives such anguish or passion or tempestuous grief, does for the moment in imagination nearly die. Imagination impeded Henry Irving in what are known as 'strong' scenes."[23]

Irving had the gifts of originality, clarity, and consistency, and the ability to seem natural without sacrificing the idealized quality of a character. If his reach sometimes exceeded his grasp, when he played at his best he offered interesting conceptions presented in a manner which was both exciting and beautiful. The style and effect of his performances was summarized by William Winter: "He stands forth with all his equipments in order and all his fine faculties in the leash. He is an intellect enthroned above the passions. He knows that inspiration may come, but he will leave that to take care of itself. He works with a thousand subtle touches, with many a seeming accident of shadow, with many a sudden jet of light. He will sometimes be fantastic in his ideals. He will sometimes push singularity of treatment to the verge of excess. But he speaks to the imagination and to the soul."[24]

Both as a person and as an actress, Ellen Terry was an excellent complement to Irving. Lacking his egotism, and capable of finding fulfillment in areas of life outside the theatre, she did not attempt to compete with him and was content on the whole merely to be "useful" to him. Even though Irving ran his company with an iron hand, he allowed Ellen Terry

[23]Ellen Terry's Memoirs, p. 165.

[24]Henry Irving (New York, 1885), pp. 10-11.

a great degree of artistic freedom. She shared his intelligence and personal magnetism, his desire for the elevation of the theatrical profession, his love of Shakespeare, his interest in the pictorial aspects of production, and his taste for romantically idealized character portrayed with realistic detail. Like Irving, she strove for high standards, and she was perhaps even more self-critical.

Irving once described Ellen Terry as possessing a genius detrimental to the integrity of criticism because it transformed her critics into lovers. Certainly her success as an actress was inextricably tied to her success as a woman. If Irving's technique was to construct a character around his personality, hers was to impose her personality on a character. "Although she was soundly skilled in the technique of her profession," Bernard Shaw recalled, "she never needed to perform any remarkable feat of impersonation: the spectators would have resented it: they did not want Ellen Terry to be Olivia Primrose; they wanted Olivia Primrose to be Ellen Terry. Her combination of beauty with sensitive intelligence was unique; a disguise would have been intolerable. Her instinct was for beauty and for sincerity: she had only to play a part 'straight,' as actors say, to transfigure it into something much better than its raw self."[25]

While not conventionally pretty, Ellen Terry had an unusual Pre-Raphaelite sort of beauty which made her the darling

[25]Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence (New York, 1932), p. xiv.

of such painters as Watts, Sargent, and Burne-Jones. John Martin-Harvey, for some years a walking gentleman in the Lyceum company, described as outstanding physical features her "long, virginal limbs, her husky voice, her crown of short flaxen hair, her great red mouth, her inability to stand still for a moment."[26] On stage and off, she radiated extraordinary femininity and charm, but her appeal as a woman was not the only factor in her success as an actress.

Born, as Bernard Shaw put it, "with a property spoon in her mouth,"[27] Ellen Terry had acquired her stage technique in the course of a long career which began with her debut at the age of nine as Mamillius in Charles Kean's production of The Winter's Tale. Rather than dominating her acting, her technique gave structure to her emotion. She was capable of rapid emotional transitions, which occasionally led her to despair over Irving's slow pace, and, like Irving, she could generate actual emotional and physical responses through the power of her imagination. Gifted with an intriguing voice, described by Shaw as "slightly veiled,"[28] she had learned over the years to project with ease and to articulate perfectly. She was able, without sacrificing either rhythm or melody, to recite blank verse quite naturalistically. She was a pleasure to watch: "Whether in movement or repose," noted her mentor, Charles Reade, "grace

[26]Autobiography (London, n.d.)

[27]Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence, p. xiv.

[28]Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence, p. x.

pervades the hussy."[29] Graham Robertson remembered her as "par excellence the Painter's Actress. . . . She had learnt to create Beauty, not the stage beauty of whitewash and lip salve, but the painter's beauty of line, harmony and rhythm."[30] She experienced occasional difficulties with concentration, loss of emotional control, too frequent random movement, and sustaining an effect excessively, but she was never prey to the sort of criticism of technique to which Irving was continually subjected as a result of his mannerisms.

Ellen Terry was known primary as an actress of comic and pathetic roles: She had enjoyed her greatest successes as Portia, Beatrice, and Ophelia. Lady Macbeth as traditionally interpreted was quite unlike any part she had previously essayed and was at odds with her own nature. Both she and the public regarded the role as a great challenge. In her notes she listed possible methods of approaching the challenge:

> Now which of 3 courses--for and against?
> 1) Make up in every way. In spite of thin lips--built up thick ones. In spite of Roman nose and flashing black eyes--build a nez retrousse and weak, gentle, irresolute eyes--in place of nature's loud voice--low and soft, seductive. Be in fact (I'm afraid) a great actor--deceive audience into at least thinking all this.
> 2nd Method) Play to the best of one's powers--one's own possibilities. Adapt the part to my own personality with the knowledge that sometimes nature does freak and put an honest eye into a villain's head.
> 3rd Method) Don't play at all.[31]

[29]Quoted in Roger Manvell, Ellen Terry (New York, 1968), p. 85.

[30]Time Was (London, 1933), pp. 54-55.

[31]These notes appear in Ellen Terry's copy of George Fletcher's essay on "Macbeth" in the Westminster Review. This copy is in the British Theatre Museum.

She chose the second course.

Irving had played Macbeth in 1875 and encountered critical dissent; Lady Macbeth seemed to be a role quite outside Ellen Terry's range. However, though the new Macbeth might strain the acting resources of the Lyceum's stars, it fell well within the theatre's production capacities. Irving's managerial talents were an important factor in establishing the eminence of the Lyceum as a Shakespearean house. He expertly controlled everything that happened in his theatre from the limelight to the stage decor to the box office, bringing to this work the same dedication, concentration, and imagination that characterized his acting. In 1888, the Lyceum Theatre was synonymous with the highest standards of production in the minds of the London public.

Irving's production style paralleled his acting style by combining romantic conception with realistic execution. He believed that "all that can be said of the necessity of a close regard for nature applies with equal or greater force to the presentation of plays."[32] In his directing as in his acting, Irving expertly conveyed specific meaning by selecting appropriate visual devices, whether stage business or scenic effect. He helped his audience to think, as Bram Stoker put it, through his use of suggestive detail. Stoker cited as an example Irving's staging of Act I, Scene iii of Macbeth. It had been customary in this scene to add a line for Macbeth, "Command they

[32]"The Art of Acting," p. 85.

make a halt upon the heath," to give cover for the fact that Macbeth's army did not appear on stage. In Irving's 1888 production the audience viewed the gradual progress of his victorious soldiers returning tired from battle. "The endless procession of soldiers straggling, singly, and by twos and threes, filling the stage to the conclusion of an endless array" conveyed, in Stoker's view, "an idea of force and power which impressed the spectator with an invaluable sincerity."[33]

Irving the manager shared the taste of Irving the actor for the picturesque, but he used it only to reinforce his conception of the play, eschewing pictorial effect for its own sake. "Mere pageant apart from the story has no place in Shakespeare," he wrote in an essay in the edition of Shakespeare's works which he prepared with Frank Marshall, "although there may be a succession of natural and harmonious pictures which shall neither hamper the natural action nor distract the judgement from the actor's art."[34] In preparing the visual elements of his productions, then, Irving took the course which he described in the preface to his acting edition of The Merchant of Venice: "I have endeavoured to avoid hampering the natural action of the piece with any unnecessary embellishment; but have tried not to omit any accessory which might heighten the effect."[35] Within this framework, he depended extensively on the atmosphere lent to his

[33]Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving (New York, 1906), I, p. 24.

[34]Quoted in Brereton, The Life of Henry Irving, II, p. 131.

[35]Brereton, I, p. 302.

production by scenic effects. He followed the growing Victorian tradition of a specific setting for each change of locale, going to whatever expense was necessary to ensure that each setting was both verisimilar and pictorially and dramatically effective. He employed some of the best scene painters of his time, notably Hawes Craven, William Telbin, and Joseph Harker, in addition to soliciting the services of artists and academicians such as Laurence Alma-Tadema, Edward Burne-Jones, and Seymour Hicks. While a modern producer might find Irving's elaborate settings for Shakespeare's plays cumbersome and unnecessary, they were much admired by his contemporaries. Bernard Shaw may have objected to the amount of time required for scene shifts when plays were thus illustrated, but he praised Irving's "taste and judgment which enabled him to achieve so much beauty and dignity in scenery and costume."[36] Lyceum productions, in Shaw's opinion, "never failed as stage pictures."[37]

Although his productions were carefully researched for historical accuracy, Irving was not primarily interested in archeological truth and was willing to sacrifice it when something less exact historically seemed more effective theatrically. "Correctness of costume is admirable and necessary up to a certain point," he said, "but when it ceases to be 'as wholesome as sweet,' it should, I think, be sacrificed."[38] He was, however, a stickler for illusion, to the point of tea-staining

[36]Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence, p. xxi.

[37]Collected Works, XXIII, p. 178.

[38]"The Art of Acting," p. 88.

lace and wearing down boots to give the costumes in Much Ado About Nothing the appearance of having been worn, or of going to great trouble and expense to procure a special dye for the robes he wore as Wolsey. The same painstaking attention and care was given to the extras' costumes as to those of the principals. Irving's passion for detail is humorously illustrated in Herbert Swears' story of a cage of canaries used in one of the later Lyceum productions:

> Irving examined it with meticulous care. After a lengthy scrutiny, he sent for the property master. "Oh, Arnott," he said, "this cage--um--not quite right. Eh? No.--Floor is a little too clean, Arnott--birds will be birds--um?--Yes--like all living creatures--they have their needs--make it a little less tidy, Arnott." Arnott obediently removed the cage and splashed the floor rather copiously with white paint. When it was returned to the stage, Irving examined Arnott's additions with much interest. Presently he remarked in his never-to-be-forgotten tones: "This cage, Arnott--um--is to be occupied by canaries--not eagles![39]

Irving was a great believer in the importance of lighting as an aid to the beauty, illusion, composition, and focus of a stage picture. He was his own lighting designer and one of the first producers to explore the dramatic possibilities of stage lighting. The lighting effects for each of his productions were achieved through a long series of technical rehearsals conducted independently of the acting rehearsals. Each scene was placed on the stage; then Irving, seated in the stalls, called out instructions to the technical staff until the desired effect was achieved. Until the 1890's, Lyceum productions were lit entirely with gas and limelight, for Irving objected to the

[39]In Saintsbury, We Saw Him Act, p. 194.

garishness of and the early difficulty in controlling electric light. On occasion he used electricity for special effects, for example the burning star on Hecate's forehead in Macbeth, but he found the more diffuse, less flattening quality of the older lighting techniques preferable for general use. He continually attempted to improve older techniques. He experimented with a variety of uses for and methods for controlling limelight. He searched for new kinds of color media and more subtle varieties of shading and color combination. He broke up the footlights and borders in order to gain control of the color and intensity of light in individual areas of the stage. "He had noticed," Bram Stoker said, "that nature seldom shows broad effect with an equality of light. There are shadows here and there, or places where, through occasional aerial density, the light is unevenly distributed. This makes a great variety of effect, and such, of course, he wanted to reproduce."[40] If there was any consistent fault in Irving's lighting effects, it arose from his fondness for darkness. Apart from causing simple eye strain, these gloomy scenes also necessitated a use of limelight which on some occasions strained verisimilitude. Henry Arthur Jones recalled Irving's penchant for the varieties of the dim and murky: "A swift backward glance at the Lyceum settings raises pictures of night, and shadow, and darkness visible, and cunning tremulous crepuscular glimpses, and deepening night again, and very night, visited only by the ever faithful, ever punctual shafts of

[40]"Irving and Stage Lighting," The Nineteenth Century and After, 411 (May, 1911), p. 903.

limelight. 'Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three--moons?' said Irving once to Wilson Barrett, after seeing a play at the Princess's, 'I should have had a sudden eclipse in that scene.' 'But it was nine o'clock in the morning.' 'I should have had an eclipse.'"[41]

Irving's greatness as a stage-manager, in the view of William Archer, resulted from the coupling of "an artist's faculty of invention and a general's power of organization."[42] If the former fostered the pictorial beauty and telling verisimilitude of Lyceum productions, the latter made possible their striking unity. According to all sources, Irving took enormous pains to see that nothing would break the design or jar the focus of the production as a whole. Irving the director worked specifically to provide a frame for Irving the star, but never at the expense of this unity. His productions were as consistently thought out as his roles. They were concerti in which Irving was both soloist and conductor. He belonged to the school of the director as autocrat, and at the first rehearsal, he read the play aloud exactly as he planned to have it performed, noting as he read the physical characteristics he had planned for the production. After a cast reading, he worked one act a day, rehearsing it all day without a break, coaching his actors in every aspect of their performances; then he did half an act each day as he polished details. These sessions were

[41]The Shadow of Henry Irving (New York, 1969), p. 60.

[42]Henry Irving, Actor and Manager, p. 97.

followed by a number of dress rehearsals to ensure that the production would be as near perfection as possible on opening night. From the time the actors got on their feet, they worked with actual or substitute scenery and properties. Irving's attention to technical problems was so thorough that Arthur Pinero, in his youth an actor in the Lyceum company, once posted a satirical notice on the call board: "Twelve o'clock--Mr. Arnott to drive a screw into the flat, and principals and everyone else concerned in the production to see him do it."[43] During rehearsals for Hamlet, Irving advised Ellen Terry of his reason for such attention: "We shall be all right," he told her "but we're not going to run the risk of being bottled up by a gas man or a fiddler."[44] Later, she recalled that in planning his productions, Irving "never missed anything that was cumulative--that would contribute something to the whole effect. The messenger who came in to announce something always needed a great deal of rehearsal. There were processions, and half processions, quiet bits when no word was spoken. There was timing. Nothing was left to chance."[45]

Irving was not universally admired in his own time, and his methods would certainly not be thoroughly acceptable to a modern disciple of the theatre, but as his sometime adversary Bernard Shaw realized, "those who understood the art of the

[43]George Edgar, Martin Harvey: Some Pages of His Life (London, 1912), p. 154.

[44]Memoirs, p. 121.

[45]Memoirs, p. 186.

theatre and knew his limitations could challenge him on every point except one; and that one was his eminence. Even to call him eminent belittles his achievement; he was pre-eminent."[46] This eminence was well-established when, in 1888, Irving decided to risk a revival of Macbeth.

[46]Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence, p. xxv.

Chapter II

The Text

In preparing the production script for his 1888 Macbeth, Irving used the text printed in the folio of 1623, from which he cut about one quarter. Such extensive cutting was not unusual and was necessitated by the elaborate scenic illustration given the play. In spite of Irving's textual excisions, the lengthy pauses for scene changes extended the running time of the Lyceum Macbeth to four hours. A number of considerations influenced Irving's cutting and arrangement of the text. In many cases, he followed tradition. In a few instances, he cut to solidify his interpretation. Often, he deleted or rearranged the ends of scenes in order to give the major character the final speech. Instead of employing the customary five act division, Irving arranged the play in six acts in order to allow an additional act break for what he termed in the preface to his acting edition "the effective illustration of the bustle and activity of the close of the play."[47] In Irving's arrangement, Act IV includes only Macbeth's final visit to the weird sisters (usually IV, i) and their subsequent "Come Away" chorus, transposed from III, v. The murder of Macduff's family is cut, and Act V begins with Malcolm and Macduff in England (usually IV, iii) and ends with the sleepwalking (usually V, i.) All of the scenes involving the final struggle, beginning with the march of

[47]MACBETH, a tragedy . . . As arranged for the stage by Henry Irving, and presented at the Lyceum Theatre, 29th December, 1888 (London, Nassau Steam Press, 1888.)

the Scottish nobles toward Birnam (usually V, ii), are incorporated into Act VI. Irving's script is free from the interpolations which crept into Shakespeare's text in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the exception of three additions already present in the folio edition: the songs "Come Away" (III, v) and "Black Spirits" (IV, i) and five lines of Hecate (IV, i, 39-44).

The following chart compares Irving's 1888 acting edition with the text of the folio of 1623 as printed in the Pelican Shakespeare edition of Macbeth (Baltimore, 1956):

Pelican I, i: No change.

Pelican I, ii: Cut Sergeant lines 25-28 and 36-41. Cut Duncan and Malcolm line 45, Lennox lines 46-47.

Pelican I, iii: Cut Witches lines 11-17.

Pelican I, iv: Cut Duncan lines 16-18 from "thou"-"thee." All but Macbeth exit after line 47. Macbeth exits after line 53. Cut Duncan lines 54-58.

Pelican I, v: No change.

Pelican II, i: Cut Macbeth lines 60-61 from "whiles."

Pelican II, ii: No change.

Pelican II, iii: Cut Porter lines 7-11 from "faith"-"equivocator," lines 12-14 from "faith"-"goose," lines 16-18 from "I"-"bonfire." Cut Porter and Macduff lines 23-37. Cut "ring the bell" from Macduff line 76. Cut Macduff lines 79-82 through "fell." Cut Banquo lines 85-86. Cut Donalbain lines 117-119 through "us." Cut Malcolm and Banquo lines 120-123. Starting at line 124, transpose and cut so that end of scene reads as follows:

> Mal. (Aside.) I'll to England.
> Don. (Aside.) To Ireland I.
> Mal. (Aside.) This murd'rous shaft that's shot
> Hath not yet lighted; and our safest way,
> Is to avoid the aim. (Exeunt Malcolm and Donalbain.)

Ban. Fears and scruples shake us:
In the great hand of God I stand, and thence
Against the undivulg'd pretence I fight
Of treasonous malice.
Macd. And so do I.
All. So all.
Macb. Let's briefly put on manly readiness,
And meet i' th' hall together.
Ban. And question this most bloody piece of work,
To know it further.
All. Well contented. (Exeunt.)

Pelican II, iv: Cut entire scene.

Pelican III, i: Cut Macbeth lines 51-57 from "tis"-"Caesar," lines 61-64 through "succeeding." Cut Macbeth and Murderers lines 76-88 from "know"-"go," lines 91-108 from "we"-"perfect." Cut Macbeth lines 122-126 from "but."

Pelican III, ii: Cut Macbeth and Lady Macbeth lines 29-35.

Pelican III, iii: Cut entire scene.

Pelican III, iv: This is Act III, Scene 3 in Irving's edition. Cut Macbeth line 10. Cut Lady Macbeth lines 35-37 from "to." Cut "Pray you sit still" from Macbeth line 108. Cut Lennox lines 120-121. Cut Macbeth lines 139-140.

Pelican III, v: Cut entire scene except for song "Come Away" which is transposed to become Act IV, Scene 2 of Irving's edition.

Pelican III, vi: Cut entire scene.

Pelican IV, i: Cut Macbeth lines 55-56, lines 58-60 from "though"-"sicken," lines 120-121 from "and."

Pelican IV, ii: Cut entire scene. Act IV, Scene 2 of Irving's edition is the song "Come Away" transposed from III, v.

Pelican IV, iii: This is Act V, Scene 1 of Irving's edition. Cut Malcolm lines 8-10. Cut Malcolm and Macduff lines 57-76 from "I"-"inclined," lines 82-100 from "that"-"earth." Cut Malcolm line 102. Cut Macduff lines 108-111 from "thy"-"lived." Cut Malcolm lines 117-130 from "devilish"-"life," lines 133-137 through "quarrel." Cut Malcolm, Doctor, Macduff lines 140-159 through "grace." Cut Ross lines 169-170 from "where"-"ecstasy." Cut Malcolm lines 235-240.

Pelican V, i: This is Act V, Scene 2 of Irving's edition. Cut Doctor lines 9-12 through "performances," lines 30-31 from "I." Cut Doctor and Gentlewoman lines 64-74.

Pelican V, ii: This is Act VI, Scene 1 of Irving's edition. Cut Menteith lines 3-5. Cut Angus line 6 from "that." Cut Caithness line 7. Cut Lennox lines 8-11. Cut Menteith lines 22-25. Cut Lennox lines 29-30.

Pelican V, iii: This is Act VI, Scene 2 of Irving's edition. Cut Doctor lines 61-62.

Pelican V, iv: This is Act VI, Scene 3 of Irving's edition. Cut Siward lines 16-21.

Pelican V, v: This is Act VI, Scene 4 of Irving's edition. No change.

Pelican V, vi: This is Act VI, Scene 5 of Irving's edition. No change.

Pelican V, vii: This is Act VI, Scene 6 of Irving's edition. Cut Young Siward and Macbeth lines 4-13 from "what." Cut Macduff lines 20-22 from "there"-"bruited." Cut Siward lines 25-26. Cut "Before my body/I throw my warlike shield" from Macbeth lines 32-33. Cut Malcolm, Siward, Ross, Macduff lines 35-58. Cut Malcolm lines 60-75.

About forty per cent of Irving's cutting of Macbeth is along traditional lines. In the following instances it does not differ widely from common nineteenth century practice:

1) The porter: In earlier editions, it was common to omit the drunken porter. In point of fact, a large part of the porter's dialogue is bawdy enough to have offended the decorum of the Victorian audience. Nevertheless, many critics deplored the loss of comic relief which was a foil for the ensuing horror, as well as the few minutes which allowed time for Macbeth to recollect himself after the murder of Duncan. Irving's cutting offered a compromise. He cut more than half of the porter's lines, including everything which was potentially

offensive, but left enough to establish the porter's character and to allow a respite for Macbeth before the discovery of Duncan's murder.

2) Ross and the Old Man (II, iv): Like many of his predecessors, Irving cut this scene entirely. The scene contains no essential plot information but serves to emphasize the horror of Macbeth's crime and to reinforce the imagery of storm and darkness.

3) Lennox and another Lord (III, vi): Again, following common practice, Irving omitted this scene. The scene reveals the suspicion arising among Macbeth's courtiers, as well as Macduff's disaffection, and foreshadows the coming of the English forces.

4) Lady Macduff (IV, ii): Again in accordance with earlier editing, Irving eliminates this scene in which Macduff's family is set upon by murderers sent by Macbeth. The scene presents a picture of a loving family sundered by political turmoil, and of the gratuitous slaughter of helpless innocents. The possibility exists of presenting Lady Macduff as a contrasting figure to Lady Macbeth. The omission of the scene has the effect of diminishing our involvement with Macduff and our realization of the consummate villainy of Macbeth, although the description of the murder in a later scene allows the plot to proceed clearly without it.

5) The death of Young Siward (V, vii) and his father's eulogy (V, viii): Following previous example, Irving eliminated the character of Young Siward from his script. The

omission of the fight between Macbeth and Young Siward makes the ending of the play more precipitous but somewhat less suspenseful, since the slaying of young Siward reinforces Macbeth's desperate hope that he cannot be destroyed by a man born of woman. Again, our involvement with Macduff's forces is somewhat diminished by the omission of the young man's death and his father's soldierly reaction. In a version of the play in which Macbeth is slain off stage and his head is brought in by Macduff after Siward's eulogy, there exists the possibility of suspense regarding the outcome of the fight between Macbeth and Macduff, suspense created by Malcolm's announcement "Macduff is missing; and your noble son." However, in Irving's version, Macbeth is slain on stage.

6) The death of Macbeth (V, viii): Although in most printed texts of Macbeth, Macduff and Macbeth exit fighting and Macbeth is slain off stage, a stage direction in the folio text of 1623 calls for Macbeth to die on stage. Editors who omit this direction are presumably bothered by the mechanical difficulty of Macduff appearing with Macbeth's head shortly thereafter. At any rate, Irving was not necessarily out of accord with Shakespeare, and was in agreement with many of his predecessors, in choosing to die on stage and to omit the entry of Macduff with Macbeth's head. This choice offered him better opportunity to indulge his skill in swordplay, permitted him a dramatic death scene, and left him in focus at the close of the play. If perhaps this arrangement somewhat reduces the audience's identification with the forces of good, it is neverthe-

less rather more exciting than an off-stage death and would tempt most actors and directors.

7) Malcolm's final speech (V, viii): In Irving's script, Macbeth is killed; the opposing army raises Malcolm to their shoulders, hailing him as King, and the curtain falls. The excision of Malcolm's speech to his subjects was a common one. It has the effect of maintaining focus on Macbeth until the end of the play and brings the curtain down on a moment of great excitement. However, it is perhaps detrimental to the falling action of the play, leaving doubt as to the fate of the remaining characters and not allowing time to establish a sense of the restoration of order.

Irving retained another scene often cut in nineteenth century acting editions of Macbeth: the first appearance of the rebel lords in arms (V, ii). This scene offers an excellent foreshadowing of the desperate state of mind in which we find Macbeth during the closing scenes of the play and of the easy surrender of Macbeth's forces.

Of the alterations already present in the folio text, Irving retained the two songs from Middleton's The Witch, "Black Spirits and White" and "Come Away," but he greatly minimized the character of Hecate, cutting Act III, Scene v entirely except for the song, which he inserted after Act IV, Scene i. One can only speculate on Irving's reasons for keeping the two songs. They provided, of course, an additional challenge for Arthur Sullivan, who composed the music for the production, and perhaps in that way an additional attraction for the public. The latter

song was made the object of an entire scene, and one imagines Irving intended it to make a dramatic statement rather than to serve only as additional spectacle. It is possible he meant it to reinforce the mockery of Macbeth by the weird sisters at the end of Act IV, Scene i. He may also have believed it would strengthen the images of dark and light, the gloomy aspect of IV, i in his production giving way to an ever-lightening sky in the "Come Away" scene. Whatever its dramatic intent, the scene was a great success with audiences, even though it provoked some disagreement among critics. While he retained "Black Spirits" and "Come Away," Irving eliminated the choruses written by Locke for the witches in D'Avenant's rewriting of Macbeth, which were often featured in earlier productions of the play.

Irving's script differed from many previous cuttings by including Lady Macbeth in the scene of the discovery of Duncan's murder, a restoration consistent with the importance attached to her character in his interpretation of the play. Her appearance in this scene is quite vital if the actress playing Lady Macbeth is to maintain the consistency and line of her character. It is improbable that the Lady Macbeth who has had to "screw her husband's courage to the sticking-place" and to shake him into self-possession a few minutes earlier would leave her husband on his own at this critical moment. Moreover, her fainting, at least if interpreted as genuine, as it was by Ellen Terry, gives us the first indication of the strain she has been under and a foreshadowing of her eventual collapse.

About half of Irving's cutting of Macbeth can be accounted

for by previous stage tradition and the elimination of the first Hecate scene (Pelican III, v). Of the remaining half, remarkably little could be criticized for twisting the text to a new interpretation. Most, in fact, is the sort of editing which might be done by any director faced with exigencies of time.

Act I suffers the least excision. Irving edited lines which reiterate previously given information, and in one case, a description which can be conveyed by its subject in pantomime (I, iv, 44-47). The effect in some cases is to save time, in some to permit greater speed in delivery or to quicken pace and add urgency. At the end of I, iv, Duncan's last speech reiterating his confidence in Macbeth (54-58) is cut, and the exit of the court is placed before Macbeth's final speech (48-53) in order to give Macbeth the last moment on stage.

In Act II, Scene i, Irving cut Macbeth's "Whiles I threat, he lives:/Words to the heat of deeds too cold breath gives" (60-61). One possible reason is that he did not wish to interrupt the revery into which he had fallen after the dagger speech until he was startled from it by the bell. He may also have felt that this line represented too much self-realization for the character, since his interpretation was that Macbeth was in part destroyed by his inability to control his imagination. As mentioned previously, the porter's potentially offensive dialogue is cut from II, ii. A touch of irony is sacrificed in the discovery scene (II, iii) in order to achieve pace and excitement through the cutting of Macduff's line to Lady Macbeth: ". . . O gentle lady,/'Tis not for you to hear what I can speak;/

The repetition in a woman's ear,/Would murder as it fell . . ." (79-82). A large part of the exchange between Malcolm and Donalbain at the end of this scene is omitted, thus deemphasizing these characters although no essential information is lost. The end of the scene is rearranged so that the curtain falls on the exit of Macbeth and the crowd. This is the end of the act, since the scene between Ross and the Old Man (II, iv) is cut.

In Act III, Scene i, Macbeth's rumination on Banquo (48-72) is shortened, though the reasons for Macbeth's fear of Banquo remain clear. It is possible that Irving cut two lines here for reasons beyond economy: ". . . There is none but he/ Whose being I do fear . . ." (54-55) may have seemed inconsistent with Irving's interpretation of Macbeth as a man whose morbid imagination could make him afraid of his own shadow, particularly since his occasional false bravado shows itself more often in the presence of others than in these introspective moments. Macbeth's references to the "fruitless crown" and "barren sceptre" (61-62), also cut, may have seemed to Irving to conflict with his view of Macbeth as a man who had little concern with immortality and whose intense selfishness centered on his own immediate gain. In the first scene with the murderers (III, i), Macbeth's accusations against Banquo (76-91) are cut to a single reference (88-91) sufficient to carry the plot; the idea that Macbeth blames Banquo for his own injustices against the murderers is sacrificed. Macbeth's "catalogue of men" speech (92-108) is also cut, thus hastening the scene but sacrificing some irony. In III, ii, Macbeth's speech beginning "So

shall I love, and so I pray be you" (29-35) is cut. The effect for the actor is to sustain Macbeth's frenzy of doubt by eliminating what Irving understood as a moment of recovery at the beginning of this speech, as well as to give Lady Macbeth a more sustained line of conflict in what Ellen Terry understood as a scene of forced cheerfulness in an attempt to soothe Macbeth.[48] Irving eliminated the murder of Banquo (III, iii), thereby saving not only time but money, since retention of the murder would have necessitated an additional front scene. While the plot can proceed clearly without this scene, the audience has no foreknowledge of the escape of Fleance when it is cut, though it might be argued that most of the Lyceum audience were not newcomers to the play and would have been aware of this development prior to its enunciation to Macbeth anyway. A more serious problem in omitting this scene is that the physical presentation of the murder can create a degree of sympathy for Banquo and horror at Macbeth's action which cannot be achieved by a mere report. This cut may also have been partially responsible for Irving's lack of success in the banquet scene (Pelican III, iv; Lyceum III, 3). The murder of Banquo allows the actor playing Macbeth a rest before the rigors of the banquet. By cutting the murder of Banquo, Irving left himself no rest with the exception of the time required to change sets between Acts II and III. He proceeded to the first line of the banquet directly from the last line of III, ii, and had been on stage almost continuously

[48]Henry Irving's study copy of Macbeth, hereafter cited as HI, and Ellen Terry's study copies of Macbeth, hereafter cited as ET, Ellen Terry Memorial Museum, Smallhythe.

since the "If it were done" soliloquy in I, vii. At the end of the banquet scene, Macbeth's couplet, "Strange things I have in head that will to hand;/Which must be acted ere they may be scanned" (139-140) is cut. Nothing in Irving's notes or descriptions of his performance indicates the reason for this cut. Was it merely an economy? Did he perhaps think that this couplet diminished the effect of the one which precedes it? Or did the idea expressed therein of action taken without careful study seem to contradict his conception of Macbeth as a man who constantly gave too much thought to his actions, rather than proceeding without thinking?

As indicated previously, Irving eliminated Act III, Scenes v and vi, Hecate and the Witches, and Lennox and a Lord, the first an interpolation, the second a scene commonly cut in nineteenth century acting editions, and the action proceeded directly from the banquet to Macbeth's final meeting with the weird sisters (IV, i). Four lines cut here (55-56, 58-60) are a section of the long series of images used by Macbeth in his conjuring of the witches. Also cut is the reference to the balls and sceptres carried by Banquo's descendants (120-121); whether this was cut because the Lyceum kings did not carry them, or because they did and Irving felt words were unnecessary to describe what was obvious to the eye, is not clear. The cutting of the murder of Macduff's family (IV, ii) and the transposition of the "Come Away" chorus to Act IV have been discussed previously.

The interview between Malcolm and Macduff in England

(Pelican IV, iii) begins Act V in Irving's arrangement. Although the meat of the scene remains, and Macduff's lines of mourning for his slain family are left intact, nearly half the scene is cut, including most of Malcolm's initial discussion of his doubts as to Macduff's loyalty (12-38). Much of Malcolm's description of his own vices is eliminated (57-76, 82-100, 102), and his revelation that he has only been testing Macduff (117-130, 133-137) is cut to the minimum necessary to convey the information. The Doctor's description of the good English king, Macbeth's opposite (140-159), is eliminated. The omission of Malcolm's final speech (235-240) gives Macduff the exit line. The cutting in this scene diminishes the effect which the character of Malcolm can have on the audience by greatly reducing his time on stage. In the sleep-walking (Pelican V, i; Lyceum V, 2), a few lines which are not necessary to the action (9-12) are cut from the opening conversation between the Doctor and the Gentlewoman, and their final dialogue (64-74) is eliminated, so that the scene closes on Lady Macbeth returning to bed. The cutting of the Doctor's last speech (66-74) with its chilling "God, God forgive us all" and its foreshadowing of Lady Macbeth's death was perhaps somewhat ill-advised.

The scene of the English army in the field (Pelican V, ii) begins Act VI of Irving's version of Macbeth. As previously noted, this is a scene often cut from earlier editions; Irving restored a large part of it, omitting the references to Donalbain and young Siward (6-11), consistent with his elimination of

the latter character and his deemphasis of the former. Also cut are Menteith's reaction to Angus' description of Macbeth's condition (22-25) and Lennox's final couplet (29-30). The scene's interest for Irving lay in the descriptions by Caithness and Angus of Macbeth's desperate state, since his playing of the following scene was based on these accounts. In the Birnam Wood scene (Pelican V, iv; Lyceum VI, 3), Siward's final speech (16-21) is cut, thereby giving Macduff the exit line. Remaining cuts in this act are along traditional lines and have been discussed earlier.

While most of Irving's editing seems to have been conditioned by the necessity of limiting performance time, it also results in a change in the balance of the play. Its effect is to focus more attention on Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, while diminishing somewhat the attention given to Macduff and Banquo, and to a larger degree, Malcolm and Donalbain. Irving's edition retains what is most immediate to the central couple and cuts what is more applicable to the general situation, with the result that the return to order in Scotland plays a much less important part than in the uncut text.

Chapter III

The Interpretation

In formulating his conception of Macbeth, Irving was greatly influenced by an 1844 essay on the play written by George Fletcher.[49] Fletcher's essay, which regarded Macbeth and Lady Macbeth from a non-traditional point of view, might easily have passed into oblivion, for, as the Saturday Review noted, "the publication had apparently no effect at the time or for a long while afterwards, on the stage presentation of the tragedy." Instead, the essay was republished shortly after the opening of Irving's 1888 production when the connection between the two was discovered; the publishers, Messrs. Longman, observed: "The view of the characters in Macbeth taken . . . by Mr. George Fletcher is so apposite with regard to the production of Shakespeare's tragedy at the Lyceum that it is now placed before the public as a matter of current interest."[50] Fletcher's article had been written at the time Helen Faucit was playing Lady Macbeth opposite Macready. Sharing many of Fletcher's ideas, she had portrayed a Lady Macbeth with more feminine appeal than was traditionally the case. Miss Faucit, now Lady Martin and closely acquainted with Irving, gave Irving a Fletcher's essay when he was preparing his 1875 Macbeth. He in turn presented the article to Ellen Terry prior to his 1888 production to assist her in her preparations for playing Lady

[49]"Macbeth," Westminster Review, XLI, 1 (3 March 1844), pp. 1-71.

[50]Saturday Review (30 March 1889), pp. 391-392.

Macbeth. Her copy, bearing some underlining by Irving and many of her own notations, is now in the British Theatre Museum and bears the following note in the cover written by her friend, Tom Heslewood: "Given me by Ellen Terry. She told me this criticism on 'Macbeth' had influenced Irving's and her reading of the characters more than any other,"

Fletcher's essay disagreed with the Macbeth of stage tradition, who was described by John Oxenford of the Times in his review of Irving's 1875 performance as "not only a brave soldier, with all the physical qualities proper to his vocation, but likewise an apparently well-disposed man, who could have gone on safely to the end of his days if he had not unluckily met three evil old women on a heath, who put wicked thoughts into his head, and had he not, moreover, been cursed with an unscrupulous wife, who did her best, or rather her worst, to mature those thoughts into action."[51] Fletcher contended that Macbeth is not a good man destroyed by evil influences but a bad man whose downfall is inherent in his own character. He saw Macbeth as a man of extreme selfishness, possessed of an over-active imagination which leaves him in a constant state of apprehension, and which is not inconsistent with physical courage but produces complete moral cowardice. He understood Macbeth as the story of what happens when "a man like this, ill enough qualified even for the honest and straightforward transactions of life, is tempted and induced to snatch at an ambitious object by

[51]Quoted in Brereton, The Life of Henry Irving, I, pp. 191-192.

the commission of one great sanguinary crime. The new and false position in which he finds himself by his very success will but startle and exasperate him to escape, as Macbeth says, from 'horrible imaginings,' by the perpetration of greater and greater actual horrors, till inevitable destruction comes upon him, amidst universal execration" (pp. 2-3).

Fletcher's understanding of the play hinged upon his belief that Lady Macbeth and the witches are only collateral influences in the murder of Duncan, a murder which, according to Fletcher, is conceived by Macbeth himself before the beginning of the action of the play. He argued that the idea of Lady Macbeth as perpetrator of the plot to murder Duncan is refuted by her lines in Act I, Scene vii: ". . . What beast was it, then,/ That made you break this enterprise to me?/ . . . Nor time nor place/Did then adhere, and yet you would make both" (p. 3). As for the witches as instigators of Duncan's murder, Fletcher noted that the words in which they promise Macbeth the throne contain no hint of what means he should use to get it. They say only "All hail Macbeth! that shalt be king hereafter," a prophecy which rather than stimulating a good man to crime should, in Fletcher's opinion, "have rather inclined a man who was not already harbouring a scheme of guilty ambition to wait quietly the course of events" (p. 4). Fletcher viewed the weird sisters not as witches in the traditional sense but as spirits of darkness, able to read men's minds, whose "essentially mischievous nature is denoted by their inseparable association with physical and material storm" (p. 27). They are attracted to Macbeth

because he has already thought of the murder, through the sympathy of evil with evil. The responsibility for conceiving Duncan's murder, then, is thrust back upon his murderer, and Fletcher felt that this is implicit in Macbeth's lines after the witches' prophecy, when, having considered that chance might crown him without his stir, he asks himself:

> . . . Why do I yield to that suggestion
> Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
> And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,
> Against the use of nature? Present fears
> Are less than horrible imaginings;
> My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
> Shakes so my single state of man, that function
> Is smothered in surmise; and nothing is
> But what is not . . . (p. 4).

Fletcher concluded that Macbeth is from the beginning a nasty character who, quite independently of outside influence, conceives a crime which violates his obligations both of gratitude and loyalty, and who is already guilty of mental treason when we hear of his prowess in putting down traitors. What, then, causes Macbeth's hesitancy about the murder of Duncan and necessitates the promptings of his wife? According to Fletcher, it is not the moral repugnance which such a crime might hold for a less treacherous man but the fear of retribution in this life which Macbeth expresses in the "If it were done" soliloquy, at the same time casting aside any possibility that religious scruple might influence his actions with his willingness to "jump the life to come." Macbeth is left in a quandary by the conflict between his prudence and his ambition which is resolved only by the intervention of Lady Macbeth.

Fletcher also disagreed with the interpretation of Lady

Macbeth as a woman whose overwhelming lust for power has devoided her of normal feminine affections and sympathies. This was the tradition carried on by imitators of Sarah Siddons, whose Lady Macbeth Boaden called "an exulting savage." Bell wrote of the Siddons Lady Macbeth that "her turbulent and inhuman strength of spirit does all. She turns Macbeth to her purpose, makes him her mere instrument, guides, directs, and inspires the whole plot. Like Macbeth's evil genius, she hurries him on in the mad career of ambition and cruelty from which his nature would have shrunk."[52] Fletcher saw Lady Macbeth as a woman ruled by love of her husband whose chief goal is his satisfaction and success, "who cherishes the scheme of criminal usurpation as his object--the attainment of which, she mistakenly believes, will render him happier as well as greater" (p. 8). Her analysis of her husband's character in her first scene Fletcher understood as stemming from the fact that "while Macbeth wavers as to the means, his longing for the object itself is constant and increasing, so that his wife sees him growing daily more and more uneasy and restless under this unsatisfied craving" (p. 9). The murder of Duncan is necessary to her because it is necessary to her husband's happiness, from which her own happiness stems.

Fletcher pointed out contrasts between the characters of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth which explain their contrasting behavior before the murder of Duncan and their contrasting

[52]Quoted in Joseph Comyns Carr, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth (London, 1889), pp. 10-11.

reactions to it. Unlike her husband, Lady Macbeth is capable of sympathetic feeling and therefore of remorse, as she reveals in her invocation to the spirits and in her inability to kill Duncan because of his resemblance to her father. She is not possessed, however, of Macbeth's hyperactive imagination and therefore is not deterred from the murder by the apprehensions of dire consequence which afflict him. Nor does she understand what holds him back from the murder; possessed of compunction herself, she attributes to him (mistakenly, according to Fletcher) the same "milk of human kindness."

After the murder of Duncan, Macbeth is driven on to wholesale crime by the same instinct for self-protection and the same apprehensiveness, fed by his hyperactive imagination, that made him hesitate to kill Duncan. He is without the remorse experienced by Lady Macbeth, a remorse heightened by her gradually dawning awareness that her husband is not the man she thought him and that the murder of Duncan has had an effect quite opposite from the one she intended insofar as her relationship with Macbeth is concerned. Until the banquet, Fletcher believed, she attributes his behavior following Duncan's murder to the same sort of remorse she is herself experiencing, and she is sustained by the exigency of soothing him. She is not an accomplice to the murder of Banquo; Fletcher contended that there is no deeper meaning in her response to her husband's mention of Banquo and Fleance that "in them nature's copy's not eterne," and that it is he who gives the words a sinister twist. Having hinted at these additional murders without his wife grasping

his meaning, Macbeth is afraid to discuss them in plain terms lest she chide him for the fears that provoked the idea of "this new and gratuitous enormity," in the same way she chided the fears which held him back from Duncan's murder (p. 21).

In the banquet scene, as Fletcher saw it, Macbeth is betrayed by his hysterical imagination. The ghost of Banquo is, like the dagger, an apparition of the mind, in this case excited by Macbeth's attempts to obviate suspicion by affecting to desire the presence of the living Banquo in his two hypocritical toasts. They produce in his mind an image of the dead Banquo, which, because Macbeth is unable to control his imagination, assumes the proportions of a hallucination. The self-betrayal of the banquet scene leads to total insecurity for Macbeth. Before the second murder he is concerned only about Banquo and Fleance; after the banquet, having virtually given himself away to his assembled court, he trusts no one and embarks on the bloody course of self-protection summed up in ". . . For mine own good/ All causes shall give way. . . ."

For Lady Macbeth, Fletcher saw the banquet scene as the point at which she comes to a full realization of the awful consequences of the murder of Duncan, becoming aware for the first time of Macbeth's murder of Banquo and realizing his intent to continue his course of destruction. Already bereft of the company of her husband, who no longer seeks her counsel, she now finds that "the very deed which was to establish him forever, has precipitated him into inevitable destruction; she feels that but for the incitement administered by her own unbending will.

that deed would not have been committed; that consequently, that very pertinacity of his, which she expected was to make the lasting greatness of the man in whose glory all her wishes in this life were absorbed, had sealed his black irrevocable doom. Nor is this all; the horrible undeception as to one part of his character involves a yet more cruel one respecting another part: To find that all she had mistaken in Macbeth for the 'milk of human kindness' was but mere selfish apprehensiveness involves the conviction that he is capable of no true affection, even towards her" (p. 39). Lady Macbeth is left alone with her guilt and grief; possessed of the self-control that her husband, "an habitual soliloquist," lacks, she keeps it pent up inside her and reveals herself only in the unconscious state of sleep-walking (p. 40).

Bereft of human support, Macbeth returns to the weird sisters, having already attempted to defeat their earlier prophecy through the murder of Banquo. Fletcher understood this scene as their revenge for Macbeth's attempt to cheat them and for his insolent and selfish behavior toward them.

Fletcher saw no redemption for Macbeth in the closing scenes. He believed the soliloquies "I have lived long enough" and "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow" were not intended by Shakespeare to provoke sympathy; they are further examples of Macbeth's "poetical whining" (p. 35). Fletcher regarded Macbeth's reactions to his wife's illness and death as selfish rather than compassionate. In Fletcher's view, Macbeth is never resigned to his fate and clings desperately to the witches'

prophecy, which represents his only hope of escape, even after the part regarding Birnam Wood has been fulfilled. He lacks the moral resolution to die on his own sword, and his hesitancy to engage Macduff results not from compunction but from his memory of the witches' warning: "Beware the thane of Fife." Having discovered the circumstances of Macduff's birth, Macbeth still does not accept the fact that his fate is richly deserved; instead he curses the witches for their perfidy, and he gives up his life in order that he may not "be baited with the rabble's curse," dying, Fletcher concluded, remorseless (p. 37).

We have Ellen Terry's word that Fletcher's essay greatly influenced Irving's 1888 Macbeth. The degree of this influence may be established in part by a comparison of Fletcher's article with a pamphlet published by Joseph Comyns Carr, Irving's friend and sometime associate, entitled Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. This pamphlet, which appeared at the same time that the Lyceum Macbeth opened, was written, according to Austin Brereton, from "inside information" in order to prepare audiences for the novel interpretations of the leading characters in Irving's production.[53] In Ellen Terry's view, Carr's essay was the best thing written on the subject.[54] Carr reiterated Fletcher's theory that the murder of Duncan was planned prior to the beginning of the play's action: "The seeds of murder had been sown long ere the weird sisters have shrieked their fatal preface to the action; and before we meet with either Macbeth or

[53]The Life of Henry Irving, II, p. 134.

[54]The Story of My Life, p. 333.

his wife, the souls of both are deeply dyed in blood" (p. 17). Carr saw "My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical," as Macbeth's confession that he has devised the means to fulfill the witches' prophecy long before their meeting. Carr found additional confirmation in Lady Macbeth's response to Macbeth's letter: "His written message to her contains no hint of murder, and yet the words she utters, as she holds his letter in her hand, have no meaning unless we suppose that the violent death of Duncan had long been the subject of conjugal debate" (p. 19). Like Fletcher, Carr placed the responsibility for conceiving the murder on Macbeth; nothing, he thought, could be "more destructive of the whole scheme of the poet's work than the assumption, that his enfeebled virtue was overborne by the satanic strength of her will" (p. 17). Carr cited as particular evidence of Macbeth's instigation of the crime Lady Macbeth's ". . . What beast was't then,/That made you break this enterprise to me?" His analysis of the characters was also similar to Fletcher's. He viewed Macbeth as a man already guilty when the play begins, dominated by "intellectual rather than moral" forces, deterred not by conscience but the "instinct of security," and afflicted with "an imagination morbidly vivid" (p. 33). He emphasized the femininity of Lady Macbeth, arguing that "she is every inch a woman" and her participation in the murder of Duncan is the result of her "complete and passionate" surrender to her husband's will (p. 26). Carr went on to discuss, using the same arguments as Fletcher, the reasons for the contrasting behavior of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth before and after Duncan's

murder. He explained Macbeth's irresolution prior to the murder as "the inevitable attitude of an imaginative temperament, which feels all the responsibilities, and forecasts the consequences of the crime it has conceived" (p. 20). He saw Lady Macbeth before the murder of Duncan as a "woman of the highest nervous organization, whose deep devotion gives to her character a passionate intensity of purpose that seems at times to be more than human. . . . Before the murder of Duncan she can see nothing but the crime and its reward" (pp. 24-25). After Duncan's murder the two change places: "He, whose imagination had foreseen all the consequences of this initial step in crime, braces himself without hesitation to the completion of his fatal task; she, who had foreseen nothing, is thrown back upon the past, her dormant imagination now terribly alert, and picturing to her broken spirit all the horrors she had previously ignored. As the penalty of his crime is unresting action, her heavier doom is isolated despair" (p. 29). Like Fletcher, Carr stipulated that Macbeth proceeds alone in his course of action after the murder of Duncan and that Lady Macbeth misinterprets his behavior, surmising "that he too is suffering the lonely pangs of remorse" (pp. 30-31) until after the banquet scene.

Fletcher's influence on Irving's interpretation of Macbeth can be traced further in a comparison of the main points of his essay with the notes of Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, and observers of the 1888 Lyceum production:

1) The analysis of Macbeth as a bad man whose downfall is inherent in his character, in which selfishness

and a morbid imagination are dominant, and sympathetic feelings and moral principles are absent: Both Irving and Terry have underlined various sections of Fletcher's essay which express this theory. In her study copies, Ellen Terry refers to Macbeth as "a man who talks and talks and works himself up, rather in the style of an early Victorian hysterical heroine," a man of "a bad nature" who is "obsessed by the one thought--himself." Irving describes Macbeth as "an intellectual voluptuary" who "cultivated assiduously a keen sense of the horrors" of his crime, "a poet with his brain and a villain in his heart," a "hypocrite, traitor, and regicide," who "threw over his crimes the glamour of his own poetic, self-torturing thought."[55] Austin Brereton confirms that Irving played Macbeth as "a selfish assassin tinged by a touch of poetry."[56]

2) The theory that the idea for Duncan's murder originates with Macbeth prior to the beginning of the play's action: Both Irving and Terry have underlined expressions of this idea in Fletcher's essay. Terry notes in her study copy that Lady Macbeth's behavior is only a reflection of her husband's evil nature. The commentaries of numerous observers confirm that this idea was employed in the production, among them Bram Stoker: "Irving . . .

[55]Quoted in William Winter, Shakespeare on the Stage (New York and London, 1969), I, p. 481.

[56]The Life of Henry Irving, I, p. 189.

knew that Macbeth had thought of and intended the murder of Duncan long before the opening of the play, and that he and his wife had talked it over,"[57] and J.N. Willan: "Mr. Irving presents Macbeth as a godless man . . . who planned Duncan's murder before the witches echoed back to him the evil that spoke out from his wicked heart, and was the first to broach the idea to his wife."[58]

3) The interpretation of the witches as spirits of darkness whose mischievous nature is represented by their close association with the storm and who are only collateral influences in the murder, having been attracted to Macbeth by the sympathy of evil with evil: In the note above, J.N. Willan describes Irving's witches as echoing Macbeth's own evil, and Austin Brereton confirms that Irving viewed Macbeth's meeting with the weird sisters as "due to the sympathy of evil with evil, and in order to urge him along the fatal path which, as they well know, he has already entered;" the weird sisters functioning as "exponents of Macbeth's state of mind," not "prompters of his guilt."[59] In the preface to his acting edition of the play, Irving states his intent to emphasize the witches' supernatural significance: "It is with this end in view that at their first introduction on the stage they are

[57]Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving, I, p. 108.

[58]First Night Impressions of Mr. Irving's "Macbeth" (Bath, 1889), p. 4.

[59]The Life of Henry Irving, pp. 189, 193.

represented as coming out of a thunder cloud, suggesting that their home is among the dark, tempestuous elements of nature."

4) The theory that Macbeth's hesitancy in carrying out Duncan's murder is the result not of moral scruple but of fear of the consequences: Both Irving and Terry have underlined passages in Fletcher's essay expressing this idea. J.N. Willan confirms that in Irving's performance, "so far from being tugged asunder by gnawings of his conscience, all Macbeth's uneasiness is depicted as proceeding from prudential consideration and worldly fears."[60]

5) The analysis of Lady Macbeth as a strongly feminine woman who loves her husband and participates in Duncan's murder for his sake; who, lacking his imagination does not foresee the consequences of the act but, unlike him, is capable of sympathetic feeling and remorse; and who completely misinterprets her husband's character: Ellen Terry has extensively underlined passages relating to each point of this analysis in Fletcher's essay. She has labeled the similar analysis in Joseph Comyns Carr's pamphlet "admirable insight of character." In her study copies, she emphasizes Lady Macbeth's femininity and loving relationship with her husband: "When all's said, she was a stately dame and full of womanliness. . . . Lady M. is capable of affection--she loves her husband and

[60]First Night Impressions of Mr. Irving's "Macbeth", p. 4.

ergo--she is a woman--and she knows it and is half the time afraid while urging M. not to be afraid, as she loves a man--women love men." She stresses the contrast in the couple's perspectives on Duncan's murder: "With all his rant and bombast he had lucidity!--and never belittled his crime--he never said 'A little water clears us of this deed.' He was farseeing." In summary, she sees Lady Macbeth as "a woman (all over a woman,) who believed in Macbeth, with a lurking knowledge of his weaknesses, but who never found him out to be nothing but a brave soldier and a weakling, until that damned party in a parlour,--the 'Banquet Scene' as it is called,--then 'something too much of this' she says and gives it up--unmistakable softening of the brain occurs--she turns quite gentle--and so we are prepared for the last scene madness and death." J.N. Willan confirms Ellen Terry's reading of Lady Macbeth as "a godless woman, an affectionate and devoted wife, receiving wicked suggestions from her husband, artificially unsexing herself at least as much for his sake as her own, loyally assisting him to carry out his schemes, at times apparently leading when in reality she is subserving, and finally breaking down beneath the misery of failure."[61]

6) The analysis of Macbeth's later behavior as the result of the same insecurities which caused him to hesitate in murdering Duncan: Austin Brereton confirms that Irving read the part in this way: "His distress after the

[61]First Night Impressions of Mr. Irving's "Macbeth", p. 4.

murder arises from abject terror, not remorse."[62] Irving has underlined the passage in Fletcher's essay which criticizes Kemble's reading of Macbeth as a repentant criminal rather than a "heartless slave of mere selfish apprehensiveness" (p. 59).

7) The theory that in his series of crimes subsequent to Duncan's murder, Macbeth acts alone, without his wife's knowledge: Ellen Terry has underlined the section of Fletcher's essay relating to the scene in which Macbeth hints to his wife of Banquo's murder and labeled it "excellent." She notes in the margin "She doesn't catch the drift," and later, "Why she never knew Banquo was dead." The notes for this scene in her study copies also indicate that Lady Macbeth does not grasp her husband's meaning at this point, and in her notes for the sleep-walking scene she refers to the murder of Lady Macduff as "one of the murders Macbeth never told her about." Irving's notes opposite the soliloquy preceding Macbeth's interview with the murderers indicate that Macbeth has "no need of his wife now."

8) The interpretation of the appearances of Banquo's ghost in the banquet scene as self-betrayal on Macbeth's part resulting from his inability to control his imagination and emotions: In their study copies, both Irving and Terry mark lack of self-control and inability to conceal emotion as hallmarks of Macbeth's character.

[62] The Life of Henry Irving, I, p. 189.

Irving describes the action of this scene as "Macbeth's vain struggle to command himself and the dark forces constantly bursting forth with increasing power from his internal consciousness," observing that the more aware Macbeth becomes of the irresistible power by which his mental terror communicates itself to "every expression of the face and voice," the more horror-stricken he becomes.

9) The theory that Macbeth remains remorseless to the end: That Irving played Macbeth's reactions to his wife's illness and death as selfish rather than sorrowful is indicated in his study copy. In Act III, Scene ii, he indicates that their love for each other has rotted. For "She should have died hereafter" Irving read "She would have died hereafter," making the line, according to Percy Fitzgerald, "a sort of careless dismissal."[63] That Irving interpreted Macbeth's hesitancy to engage Macduff as the result of superstition rather than remorse is clear in his playing of the scene, in which he fought fiercely until Macduff's declaration that he is not of woman born sent him reeling and seemed to remove his last vestige of resolution. That he remained remorseless and unresigned is indicated by his action as Macbeth died of attempting to hurl his dagger at Macduff. That Irving saw no nobility in Macbeth's death is indicated by his dying face down amidst the execrations and victory shouts of the opposing army.

[63]Sir Henry Irving (London, 1906), pp. 203-204.

In summary, the 1888 Lyceum Macbeth was presented very much according to Fletcher's outline. Irving portrayed a Macbeth who, while he was capable of physical courage in the pressure of battle, was intellectually and morally a coward. Far from being a good man overthrown by pressures supernatural and sexual, his Macbeth was from the start a selfish villain who had conceived of the murder of Duncan and discussed it with his wife long before his meeting with the weird sisters. His hesitancy in carrying out the murder was not so much moral scruple as mental terror, and this same terror, which first had inhibited his action, now carried him headlong into a course of crime. The key to the character as played by Irving was his morbid imagination. The Lady Macbeth of Ellen Terry was every inch a woman, passionately devoted to her husband, artificially unsexing herself to aid his scheme, living in the instant before the murder of Duncan so that she escaped the imaginings of the consequences which tormented Macbeth, and after the murder destroyed by remorse and by the loss of the great love which brought her to the crime.

Chapter IV

The Performance

Taking his cue from the supposed date of Macbeth's death, 1056, Irving decided to set his production in the eleventh century. When he had definitely committed himself to the production of Macbeth in August, 1887, he and Ellen Terry made a trip to Scotland to get ideas for the scenery. The trip was less than successful: "Visited the 'Blasted Heath,'" Ellen Terry wrote in her diary. "Behold a flourishing potato field. Smooth softness everywhere. We shall have to blast our own heath when we do Macbeth."[64] Irving commissioned a noted landscape painter, Keeley Halswelle, to design the scenery, but when Halswelle was unable to translate his ideas into the dimensions required by the stage, the job passed to Hawes Craven, who was assisted by Joseph Harker, W. Hann, T. Hall, and the firm of Perkins and Carey. Ellen Terry's costumes were designed by her friend, Alice Comyns Carr, the rest by Charles Cattermole. As with costumes in other Lyceum productions, the clothes were designed with more consideration for theatrical effectiveness than for absolute accuracy of detail and had the feeling of having been lived in rather than created for a few nights on the boards (Figures 1 and 2).

Irving commissioned Arthur Sullivan to compose a new score for the play. Sullivan, already well known for his Savoy operas, was also highly regarded as a composer of more serious

[64] The Story of My Life, p. 394.

Figure 1. Ross and a Torchbearer. Two costume sketches by Charles Cattermole from the souvenir program.

Figure 2. Fleance, Malcolm, Siward. Three costume sketches by Charles Cattermole from the souvenir program.

music; he was often referred to as "the English Mendelssohn." Irving's communications with Sullivan about the music were more suggestive than specific, as evidenced by this letter to Sullivan dashed off at a rehearsal:

> My dear Sullivan--
>
> Trumpets and drums are the things behind scenes.
> Entrance of Macbeth, only drum.
> Distant march would be good for Macbeth's exit in 3rd scene--or drum and trumpets as you suggest.
> In the last act there will be several flourishes of trumpets. "Make all our trumpets speak," etc. Roll of drum sometimes.
> Really anything you can give of a stirring sort can be easily brought in.
> As you say, you can dot these down at rehearsals--but one player would be good to tootle, tootle, so that we could get the exact tune.
> I'm at the present moment with the "blood-boltered Banquo" who's really making a most unreal shadow of himself.
>
> Ever yours,
> H. Irving[65]

However, when Sullivan first brought the score to a rehearsal early in December of 1888, Irving was not quite satisfied with part of it. "He walked up and down the stage humming, and showing the composer what he was going to do in certain situations," Ellen Terry recalled. "Sullivan, with wonderful quickness and open-mindedness, caught his meaning at once. 'Much better than mine, Irving--much better--I'll rough it out at once!' When the orchestra played the new version, based on that humming of Henry's, it was exactly what he wanted!"[66] The score was not finalized until the night of Boxing Day, and Sullivan had only

[65]Quoted in Herbert Sullivan and Newman Flower, Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life, Letters, and Diaries (London, 1927), p. 182.

[66]Ellen Terry's Memoirs, p. 232.

two full rehearsals with the orchestra, but their performance was perfect at the second.

Between the time he decided to produce Macbeth and its opening night, Irving, in addition to preparing for the production, had a rigorous schedule of other commitments: he collaborated with Frank Marshall on the Henry Irving Shakespeare, undertook a provincial tour to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, and Liverpool (August-October 1887), made his third American tour (November 1887-March 1888), played a season of revivals at the Lyceum (April 1888-July 1888), and again toured Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Nottingham, Leeds, and Birmingham, beginning in September and finishing only four weeks before Macbeth was to open. The planned Macbeth revival was announced to the public on the closing night of the Lyceum season, July 7, 1888.

From the time the proposed revival became public information, the Lyceum Macbeth, in the words of the Observer of 30 December 1888, "evoked an amount of public interest all over England quite out of proportion to the historic importance of the event" (p. 5). The natural interest which attended any new production at London's leading theatre was in this case heightened by public knowledge of Irving's previous controversial approach to the role which provoked debate as to whether he would stick with his 1875 interpretation, and if so, whether he could carry it off. Further excitement was aroused by the fact that London's favorite actress would essay a great role quite different from anything she had ever played. The fact

that Macbeth struck a rather sombre note in a holiday season otherwise filled with lighter fare such as the Christmas pantomime at Drury Lane, The Yeoman of the Guard at the Savoy, Pinero's Sweet Lavender at Terry's, and Tree's Haymarket production of The Merry Wives of Windsor, the only other Shakespeare in London, did nothing to diminish the queues at the Lyceum box office. The Pall Mall Gazette of 1 January 1889 reported that the new production had enjoyed an unprecedented advance sale of 2000 (p. 5).

Undaunted by damp and fog, enthusiastic pittites began to gather outside the Lyceum early in the morning on the Saturday of the Macbeth opening. The London Figaro of 5 January 1889 reported that about three o'clock, Irving arranged for hot tea and lemonade to be sent out to ease the wait of the crowd (pp. 13-14). Later in the evening, a glittering assemblage of celebrities descended from their carriages before the Lyceum's torch-lit portico and passed through the great doors to be greeted, as was the custom of the theatre, by the redoubtable Bram Stoker, Irving's business manager. They were characterized the next day in the Sunday Times as "a notable audience--social, artistic, and literary" (p. 6). The British press was out in unusual force, many editors accompanying their critics. Indicative of the unusual interest which attended the production was the presence of an exceptional number of American journalists, among them Hall of the Herald, Greaves of the World, Frederic of the Times, and Smalley of the Tribune, assigned to cable reports of the performance back to their editors.

The first night program listed the following cast:

Duncan	Mr. Haviland
Malcolm	Mr. Webster
Donalbain	Mr. Harvey
Macbeth	Mr. Henry Irving
Banquo	Mr. Wenman
Macduff	Mr. Alexander
Lennox	Mr. Outram
Ross	Mr. Tyars
Mentieth	Mr. Archer
Angus	Mr. Lacy
Caithness	Mr. Leverton
Fleance	Master Harwood
Siward	Mr. Howe
Seyton	Mr. Fenton
Two other Officers	Mr. Hemstock
	Mr. Cass
A Doctor	Mr. Stuart
A Sergeant	Mr. Raynor
A Porter	Mr. Johnson
A Messenger	Mr. Coveney
An Attendant	Mr. Roe
Murderers	Mr. Black
	Mr. Carter
Gentlewoman	Miss Coleridge
A Servant	Miss Foster
Lady Macbeth	Miss Ellen Terry
Hecate	Miss Ivor
1st Witch	Miss Marriott
2nd Witch	Miss Desborough
3rd Witch	Miss Seaman
Apparitions	Mr. Baird
	Miss Harwood
	Miss Holland

Ben Webster (Malcolm) was the grandson of Benjamin of the Adelphi and Haymarket and father of Margaret. John Martin Harvey (Donalbain) was later famous as Sydney Carton in The Only Way. Both were seasoned Lyceum gentlemen. George Alexander (Macduff) had appeared previously at the Lyceum as Bassanio in The Merchant of Venice and in the title role in Faust and was shortly to begin his successful management of the St. James's Theatre. T.N. Wenman (Banquo) was a twenty-six year veteran who had previously played Toby Belch in Twelfth Night and

Mr. Burchell in Olivia at the Lyceum; according to Ellen Terry he had a rolling bass voice and was "a valuable actor, yet somehow never interesting."[67] Sam Johnson (Porter) had been an established member of the company of the New Royal Lyceum Theatre, Sunderland, when Irving went there as walking gentleman in 1856. The seventy-six year old Henry Howe (Siward), a stout-legged John Bull type, had played with Macready at Covent Garden, then joined Benjamin Webster's company at the Haymarket, where he played for forty years before coming to the Lyceum. The Misses Marriott, Desborough, and Seaman (Witches) were aging tragediennes who in younger years had been well-known on the provincial circuits. According to Edwin Drew, they were interestingly matched vocally: Miss Seaman had a "grand voice," Miss Marriott's was "slightly lighter," and Miss Desborough spoke in an "altogether higher register."[68]

The performance began precisely at the announced time, 7:45, despite a few late arrivals. As the house lights dimmed, the Lyceum orchestra, augmented for the occasion to forty-six members, struck up Arthur Sullivan's overture (See Appendix). The conductor was Meredith Ball, Musical Director of the Lyceum. A composer of incidental music, he had worked with the Bancrofts before joining the Lyceum staff. The noise of the excited crowd and the positioning of the orchestra under the stage made it difficult to hear the overture, but the supernatural and

[67]The Story of My Life, p. 300.

[68]Edwin Drew, Henry Irving on and off the Stage (London, n.d.), p. 36, hereafter cited as Drew.

military themes to be heard later in the play were introduced.[69]

The curtain rose on total blackness, accompanied by the sound of rain and thunder, and out of the dark came the hollow crooning of the witches. Suddenly illuminated by flashes of lightning, the witches appeared to be wrapped in a cloud, a device intended by Irving to underline their supernatural significance.[70] They were gaunt and misshapen crones, swathed in grey shrouds from which only their ugly weathered faces and bony arms protruded. Dignified, mysterious, impressive creatures with wailing women's voices, they were intended to represent spirits of evil rather than human witches. Another roll of thunder prefaced their wild, banshee-like refrain, "Fair is foul and foul is fair/Hover through the fog and filthy air," and then, amidst more thunder and a flash of lightning, they disappeared in a cloud of steam.[71] The critic of the Observer on 30 December 1888 described Irving's management of the scene as notably effective. "Nothing could possibly have been better than the way in which the supernatural keynote of the tragedy was struck," he wrote. "The dull boom of thunder with which the witches appeared out of a dim cloud, the fitful glitter of

[69]See "Macbeth," World, London, 2 January 1889, p. 18; "Macbeth at the Lyceum," Daily News, London, 31 December 1888, p. 6; "'Macbeth,'" Sunday Times, London, 30 December 1888, p. 6; "The New Macbeth Music," Saturday Review, London, 5 January 1889, p. 12.

[70]See "Macbeth at the Lyceum," Star, London, 31 December 1888, p. 2; HI; ET; Henry Irving, Preface to MACBETH, a tragedy . . . As Arranged for the stage by Henry Irving, and presented at the Lyceum Theatre, (London, 1888), hereafter cited as MLT.

[71]See "'Macbeth' at the Lyceum," Daily Telegraph, London, 31 December 1888, p. 3; Star, p. 2.

the lightning, the atmospheric haze with which all their proceedings were surrounded, and the smooth precision of their uncanny movements, suggested with rare force the superhuman influence" (p. 3).

Act I, Scene ii, "A camp near Forres," was a front scene of a clearing on a hill-side, framed by the trunks of sparse evergreens on either side, the hill rising into a misty sky with a row of tents in the distance (Figure 3). King Duncan, a bearded old man in long gown and flowing cape, wearing a coronet and carrying a staff, entered from stage left. He was accompanied by Malcolm and followed by Donalbain and Lennox, all armed and helmeted, wearing short tunics, capes, and laced buskins. A group of attendants carrying spears completed his entourage. Duncan stopped as he unexpectedly encountered a group of his soldiers coming from the other side, carrying the wounded Sergeant, his head in a blood-stained bandage, on a rough litter of boughs (the idea of a litter for the Sergeant, who more commonly entered on foot, originated with Charles Kean). Duncan inquired with sympathy about the identity of the wounded man (Drew). Saluting the Sergeant tenderly, Malcolm solicited his report of the progress of the battle. Irving had been criticized for cutting the Sergeant's speech, with its praise of Macbeth's physical valor, from his 1875 version of the play. In 1888, perhaps feeling better equipped as an actor to reconcile Macbeth's physical courage with his moral cowardice, he not only restored the speech but directed Raynor, who played the Sergeant, to emphasize in his delivery of the speech the contrast

Figure 3. Act I, Scene ii: The Bleeding Sergeant. Illustration by Charles Cattermole from the souvenir program.

between the villainy of Macdonnel and the bravery of Macbeth. He described the former with a low descending tone and a diminishing pace, then returned to a strong, full tone for the latter (Drew). Duncan spoke his line praising Macbeth's valor to himself, and the Sergeant, scarcely pausing, grimly recounted the Norwegian assault and described with fierce fire the unfaltering reaction of Macbeth and Banquo (ET). Then he paused and his voice sank as he slowly and painfully requested aid for his wounds (Drew). He was borne off, attended, as Ross entered suddenly to report the victory. Having dispatched Ross to greet Macbeth with Cawdor's title, Duncan spoke "What he hath lost, noble Macbeth hath won" with dignity and force (Drew), then exited with his entourage (MLT).

The front scene was taken up, there was a roll of distant thunder (MLT), and the weird sisters suddenly appeared at the back of the stage, wrapped in a blood-red cloud from which they descended to the plain of a desolate heath (Figure 4). This barren landscape was relieved only by the outline of distant hills and an outcropping of rock down right, whose vertical line was reiterated by a single scraggly fir at some distance behind. The entire scene was dominated by a lurid red sky. The witches, muttering their incantations amidst thunder and lightning, were accompanied by subdued rhythmical sounds from the orchestra.[72]

While the first witch related her grotesque adventures to her sister hags, distant sounds of martial music, dominated by a

[72]See Sunday Times, p. 6; Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, London, 5 January 1889, p. 23; Daily Telegraph, p. 3.

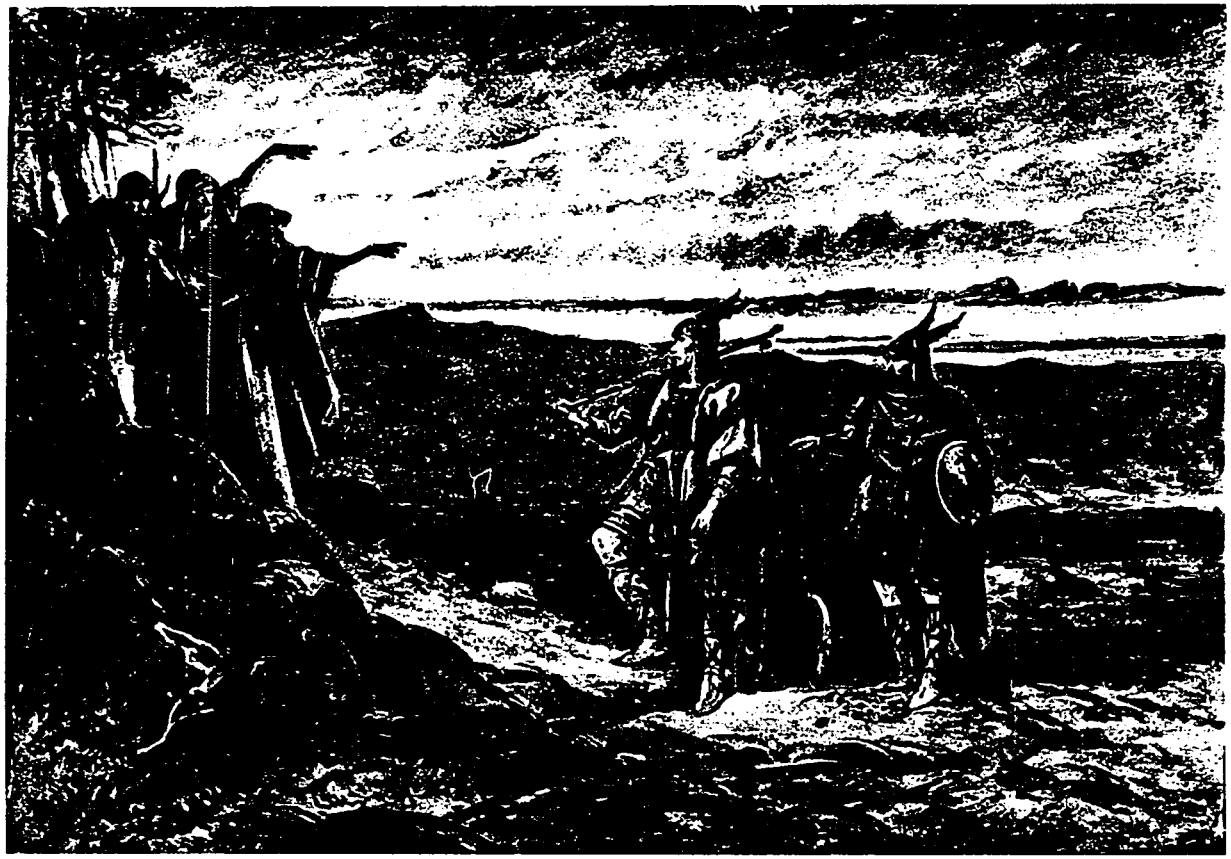

Figure 4. Act I, Scene iii: Macbeth and Banquo encounter the Witches on the heath. Illustration by Charles Cattermole from the souvenir program.

drum, were heard. They grew louder as the weird sisters circled hand in hand, then danced around three times each, their forefingers to their lips, the forked branches which they carried extended (HI). Their voices, harmonizing in tone, sounded like "the high wind, like a sad howling dirge" (Drew, ET). As the offstage music increased in volume, the scene grew a bit lighter, suggesting "so foul and fair a day." Banquo and Macbeth entered from around the outcropping of rock to which the witches had retreated and paused center. As Macbeth, Irving wore reddish hair and was beardless save for a drooping mustache. He wore a homespun tunic covered by a shirt of mail, blue hose, a heavy mantle striped with slate red, and a winged helmet of copper, and he carried his heavy sheathed broadsword in his hand (Figure 5). Wenman as Banquo was bearded, similarly turned out, and carried a shield and battle axe. Macbeth did not appear, as tradition dictated, daring, intrepid, and flushed by victory; he seemed instead haggard and anxious, saturnine and reserved, already under the influence of evil ambition.[73]

As the cheers which had greeted Irving's entrance died down, Banquo and Macbeth became aware of the presence of the grey and withered women on the mound above. The witches provoked an instant reaction of amazement from the open Banquo, then a more considered one from the circumspect Macbeth, who

[73]See Sunday Times, p. 6; Daily Telegraph, p. 3; "'Macbeth' at the Lyceum," Standard, London, 31 December 1888, p. 2; "'Macbeth' at the Lyceum," Lloyd's, London, 30 December 1888, p. 1; "Macbeth at the Lyceum," Liverpool Daily Post, 31 December 1888, p. 5.

Figure 5. Henry Irving as Macbeth. Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

paused before questioning them. The first and second sisters raised their talon hands above their heads as they saluted Macbeth, pointing at him as they announced his titles. The third sister suddenly pointed at him on "All hail, Macbeth," and was joined by the others in greeting him as "king hereafter," all three slowly raising their arms (HI). As they saluted him, their voices rose step by step (Drew). Macbeth started at their pronouncements because, said Ellen Terry, they revealed his secret thought (ET). From this moment, he was "an altered man" (HI), ready, as George Fletcher noted in his essay (p. 56), to believe everybody and everything that foretold to him the attainment of what he so violently coveted. He seemed, according to the Daily Chronicle, to be a man who no longer had confidence in mortal ability to conceal desperate resolves. For a moment he was suspicious of himself; if these strangers could read his mind, might not his friends and companions do likewise? If this were the case, it would be necessary to press his purpose to a conclusion before it was frustrated. These were the feelings that stirred him when Banquo asked "Good sir, why do you start and seem to fear, etc." (London, 31 December 1888, p. 5). He moved away as Banquo boldly questioned the witches, turning to watch as Banquo asked the witches' judgment of his own future. This they offered, again raising their hands and pointing at Banquo, then alternately to Macbeth and Banquo as they named them. About to vanish, they were commanded to stay by Macbeth, his manner quite different from Banquo's more reasonable approach, the manner of a soldier accustomed to

giving orders and of an intensely selfish man suppressing with effort a burning desire: "Stay, you imperfect speakers, tell me more" (HI, ET). He spoke with increasing intensity, reaching a climax at ". . . Speak I charge you" (Drew, HI). With thunder and lightning, the witches vanished behind gauzes, leaving nothing but a cloud of mist in the spot where they had stood (HI; Daily Chronicle, p. 5; Daily Telegraph, p. 3).

From this moment until the end of the scene, the stage slowly filled with Macbeth's soldiers, straggling home weary from the battle singly and by twos and threes (Stoker, Reminiscences, I, p. 24). Macbeth and Banquo were left dazed after the departure of the witches: Banquo wondering if his senses had deceived him, and Macbeth seeking confirmation of what his desires disposed him to believe. Their revery was interrupted by the arrival of Ross and Angus. Ross, earnest and cheerful, poured out his description of the King's reaction to Macbeth's victory, vividly picturing the excitement it had aroused in the camp in the manner of "a soldier and a good fellow" bringing "news to a great soldier" (Drew, ET). He was warmly joined by Angus, and he gave a great build up to his announcement of Macbeth's new title (ET). Irving's Macbeth did not, as was traditional, receive their news with a start. Though he had welcomed the King's messengers courteously, he remained abstracted, seeming, according to the Standard, to be considering what the witches had said and paying little attention to Ross's announcement of his new title until, a few moments after they were spoken, the words penetrated his

understanding (p. 2). Exchanging a look with the shocked Banquo, who spoke "What, can the devil speak true" with subdued intensity, Macbeth paused before he asked, attempting to conceal his awe and emotion with level tones, "Why do you dress me in borrowed robes?" After confirming the addition of title, Angus moved away to Ross upstage, leaving Macbeth lost and blank. "The greatest is behind," he observed slowly and reflectively, realizing that the witches' oracle had been thus far fulfilled (HI, Drew, ET).

Composing himself, Macbeth expressed his thanks to Ross and Angus with dignified courtesy (HI, Drew). Then he took Banquo aside, smiling with effort in the hope of diverting Banquo's thoughts from his odd reactions, which Banquo had observed. "Do you not hope your children shall be kings," he asked. As Banquo responded affirmatively, Macbeth moved away and sank into reflection once more. He did not hear the remainder of Banquo's speech: "And oftentimes to win us to our harm,/The instruments of darkness tell us truths,/Win us with honest trifles to betray's/In deepest consequence." As Banquo moved up to confer with Ross and Angus, Macbeth, "with deep absorption of soul, completely off his guard," deliberated on the witches' predictions: ". . . This supernatural soliciting/Cannot be ill, cannot be good. . . ." This was a key speech in Irving's interpretation of Macbeth's character, and in his deliery he emphasized Macbeth's desire to believe the prophecy of the weird sisters; ". . . If ill,/Why hath it given me earnest of success,/Commencing in a truth? I am thane of Cawdor. . . ."

He stressed Macbeth's drive, in spite of the prophecy, to carry out the murder which, according to Irving, he had already conceived: "If good, why do I yield to that suggestion, etc." (HI). Irving took great care with the remainder of the speech, which seemed to him to offer the clue to Macbeth's behavior through the remainder of the play; namely, his susceptibility to imagination, which permits a "horrid image" to terrify him far more than immediate threats, so that "function is smothered in surmise." According to the Sunday Times (p. 6), his eyes rolled, he passed his hand restlessly through his hair, and his entire body twitched with excitement as he debated with himself, concluding "If chance will have me king, why chance may crown me/Without my stir" (HI). This was delivered, as the Saturday Review reported, "with a sigh of such relief as is felt only by the irresolute when they see a hope that events may spare them the dreaded necessity of making up their minds" (5 January 1889, pp. 10-11). When Banquo addressed him, Macbeth started hastily, and after a pause and a sigh and a hand to his head to regain his composure, he addressed the others with deep courtesy. Banquo signalled to the soldiers, who by this time filled the stage in loose groups, to continue the march; then Macbeth, again somewhat abstracted, took him aside to request further counsel regarding the witches (HI, ET). Pausing once again to recover himself (Drew), he delivered "Come, friends," according to the Saturday Review, "with the exact air of a man in command who wishes to conceal his thought, who succeeds by dint of customed command in concealing it, who feels that his

authority has borne him through, and who yet has an atom of doubt" (30 March 1889, p. 373), then exited with the rest.

This scene on the heath was judged eminently successful by the London critics. The staging and setting of the scene figured heavily in several accounts of the play, among them those by Clement Scott of the Daily Telegraph and Joseph Hatton of the Sunday Times. In this, his first scene, the Saturday Review for 5 January 1889 recorded, Irving immediately established in a vivid and striking fashion the lines on which he would play Macbeth. His performance in this initial encounter with the weird sisters also helped to establish their supernatural significance, judging by the opinion expressed in the Observer: "It has been said that no actor has ever succeeded in looking as though he had really encountered the Weird Sisters on the heath of Forres. We make bold to say that Mr. Irving as Macbeth here accomplished what high authority has pronounced impossible. His whole attitude as the bewildering prophecy strikes upon his ear, and as the strange prophets vanish into thin air, is that of a man who has actually held converse with the spirits of another world" (London, 30 December 1888, p. 3). Macbeth's soliloquy beginning "Two truths are told," falling as it does into a category described by William Archer of the World as "shortwinded and hesitating," was well within Irving's declamatory powers; apparently the critic for the Saturday Review of 5 January 1889 thought he delivered it admirably.

The palace at Forres, noted the Star critic, was a front scene. Unfortunately it is not pictured either in the souvenir

program or in newspaper illustrations of the production. As Duncan, Haviland placed special emphasis on "There's no art/To find the mind's construction in the face," a line which was called to mind again shortly by the hypocrisy of Macbeth's courteous behavior toward the King whose death he desired (ET). He delivered it slowly, "as though conviction dwelt in every syllable" (Drew). Apparently Irving used the business originated by Macready for the entrance of Macbeth and Banquo: they were followed by soldiers who ceremonially lowered banners at Duncan's feet, and all knelt until the King bade them rise (HI). His voice was higher, his pace quicker, his tone joyful (Drew). Macbeth laid his duty at Duncan's feet with what the Daily News described as "proud humility and courteous submission." The gentleness of Duncan, whose gratitude for Macbeth's loyal service was so liberal, intensified the impression of coming villainy (Sunday Times). Duncan turned upstage to establish the succession on Malcolm, thereby leaving the focus on the reaction of Macbeth, who seemed startled, then recovered and bowed to the Prince as the remainder of the company had before him (HI). He feigned a loving farewell of Duncan (ET), who exited with the others before Macbeth's aside, delivered instead as a soliloquy, with Macbeth clutching at the curtain of the main door, his violent facial emphasis making plain his murderous intent ("'Macbeth' at the Lyceum," Universal Review, III, January-April 1889, pp. 134-140).

Traditionally, Lady Macbeth's letter scene had an open air setting (Standard). At the Lyceum, however, she was discovered

in a chamber of her castle, another of the sets for which we have no visual evidence. Like Irving before her, Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth was greeted by tremendous cheers from the house. In her preparations for playing the role, she had devised a method for sustaining the line of her character in spite of the interruption created by this expected audience response. "It is wretched to be discovered on stage," she observed, and promptly noted an approach to overcome the dilemma: "She should be reading at the back by the failing light--and then come forward to the firelight to see better" (ET). Accordingly, she crossed diagonally from the upstage corner to what the Evening Post described as a "huge baronial fireplace" at the opposite downstage corner and read the letter at first to herself, giving the audience time to finish its greeting and strongly establishing her presence while carrying forward the character action ("'Macbeth' at the Lyceum," 30 December 1888, p. 3).

"My dear Miss Terry remember," Ellen Terry cautioned herself in her study notes for this first entrance, "she is very feminine." Indeed, said Clement Scott of the Daily Telegraph, the woman who appeared on stage was "no hard, harsh-featured woman with a rasping voice and a forbidding manner. . . . but a woman stately, fair, with a clear white face set in a glory of hair of titian red, in the heyday of her beauty, arrayed in apparel as gorgeous as some Queen of Sheba." Her hair was caught up in two braids which hung to her knees, and she wore the famous dress in which Sargent painted her (Figure 6). Conceived, according to its designer, Alice Comyns Carr, to look

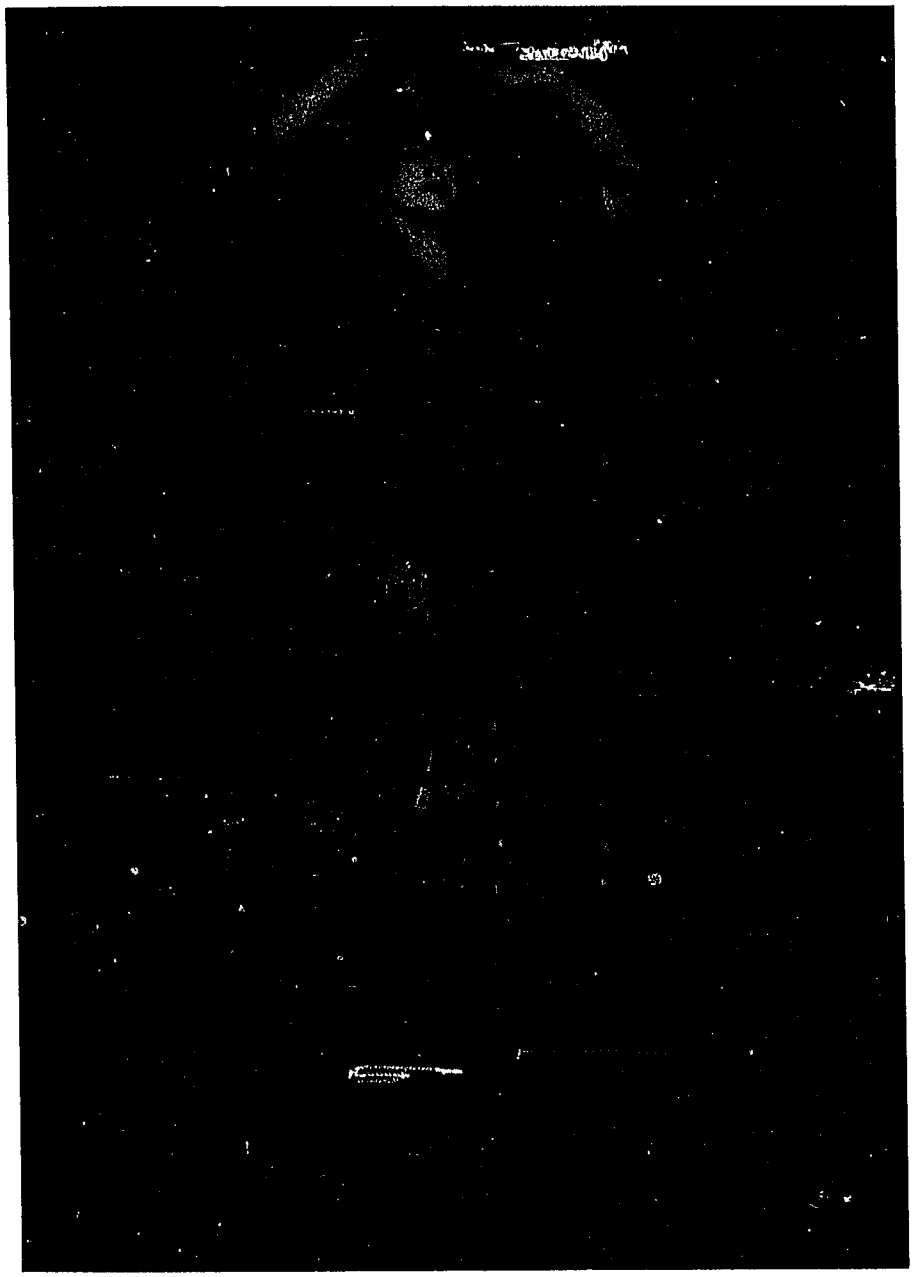

Figure 6. Sargent's portrait of Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth. National Portrait Gallery.

like "soft chain armour . . . and yet have something that would give the appearance of the scales of a serpent," it was a dress of straight thirteenth century lines with sweeping sleeves, crocheted from yarn which was a twist of soft green silk and blue tinsel, sewn all over with green beetle-wings, and bordered with Celtic designs worked out in rubies and diamonds (Reminiscences, London, n.d., pp. 211-212).[74]

Leaning over the flickering fire, Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth held the letter, a large sheet, in both hands as she finished her silent reading. Her lips moved rapidly, and at intervals an idea in the letter startled her, until at last her face quivered with excitement (Evening Post). She then began to read the letter aloud, slowly, breathing hard, excited, controlling the impulse to read more quickly (ET). In Ellen Terry's interpretation, Lady Macbeth had previously discussed the murder of Duncan with her husband, had brooded over the crime until it completely possessed her. Therefore, she manifested no surprise at the contents of Macbeth's letter. The Times reported that she read it with an air of satisfaction, denoting that her anticipations had been agreeably realized (London, 31 December 1888, pp. 15-16). Several times, she paused to bestow kisses on a miniature of her absent lord (Daily News). She lingered over

[74]The dress is preserved in the Ellen Terry Memorial Museum at Smallhythe. In The Story of My Life, Ellen Terry reported that the idea of using beetle wings had come from an evening dress decorated with beetle wings worn by Lady Randolph Churchill. Oscar Wilde was reported to have remarked of the costume that Lady Macbeth evidently patronized local industries for her husband's clothing and her servants' liveries but did all her own shopping in Byzantium.

Macbeth's expression of endearment, "my dearest partner of greatness," and having finished the letter, took a breath and sank into a chair by the fire to puzzle over her husband's nature, whispering "shalt be what thou art promised" (ET). She spoke the passage beginning "Yet do I fear thy nature" in an "affectionate, half-regretful tone, as if speaking of some too generous minded person who did not sufficiently study his own interests" (Times). She gave particular emphasis to her conclusion regarding Macbeth's character;

> . . . Thoud'st have, great Glamis
> That which cries "Thus thou must do," if thou have it;
> And that which rather thou dost fear to do
> Than wishest should be undone (ET).

The lines beginning "Hie thee hither" were exclaimed joyously and affectionately (Times).

When Seyton entered, she sat up straight, then leant forward and stared at him in anticipation. When he announced the imminent arrival of Duncan, she "impulsively" believed him for a moment, then absolutely scorned the "unlikely idea," and after a breath, taking time, questioned the veracity of his tidings. When he confirmed the news, she warmly ordered tending for the messenger and bustled him off (ET). She pointedly declared his message to be "great news," her stress upon the word "great," in the opinion of the Times critic, showing that she had already forecast the murder in her mind.

Lady Macbeth's great invocation to the spirits which follows Seyton's exit was regarded by Ellen Terry as a particularly difficult moment in her performance. "I must try to do this," she wrote in her study copy, "two years ago I could not

even have tried." She understood the transition into the speech as occurring when, having savored the imminent arrival of Duncan under her battlements, Lady Macbeth becomes fearful of her ability to carry out her task, necessitating her call up supernatural assistance. She feels that she has "only a woman's strength," insufficient for the crime which she "goads herself on to," Ellen Terry observed in her study notes. In performance, Miss Terry as Lady Macbeth gritted her teeth and shook her head in the air as she began the passage. She spoke "with a manifest effort to repress her feminine instincts, her voice faltering at the more terrible passages" (Times). She read "unsex me here" as if to say "here! on the spot," and delivered "Stop up the access and passage to remorse" with the action of pushing it away (Figure 7), an action which foreshadowed the influence remorse would play on the character after the stream of bloody murders. She spoke "compunctious visitings of nature" with particular dread (ET). The effect of the whole for Clement Scott of the Daily Telegraph was of a woman struggling against her nature, trying to appear to be what she was not, "with her tender throbbing voice and her honest open countenance, with softness in her eyes and promised kisses on her lips," of a woman completely unmasculine in whom the nature of her feminine sex was so strongly implanted that she had to unsex herself in order to continue with the bloody plan which she and her husband had nurtured.

Turning at the end of her invocation, she saw Macbeth and smiled as she saluted him (Ill, ET). She returned his greeting

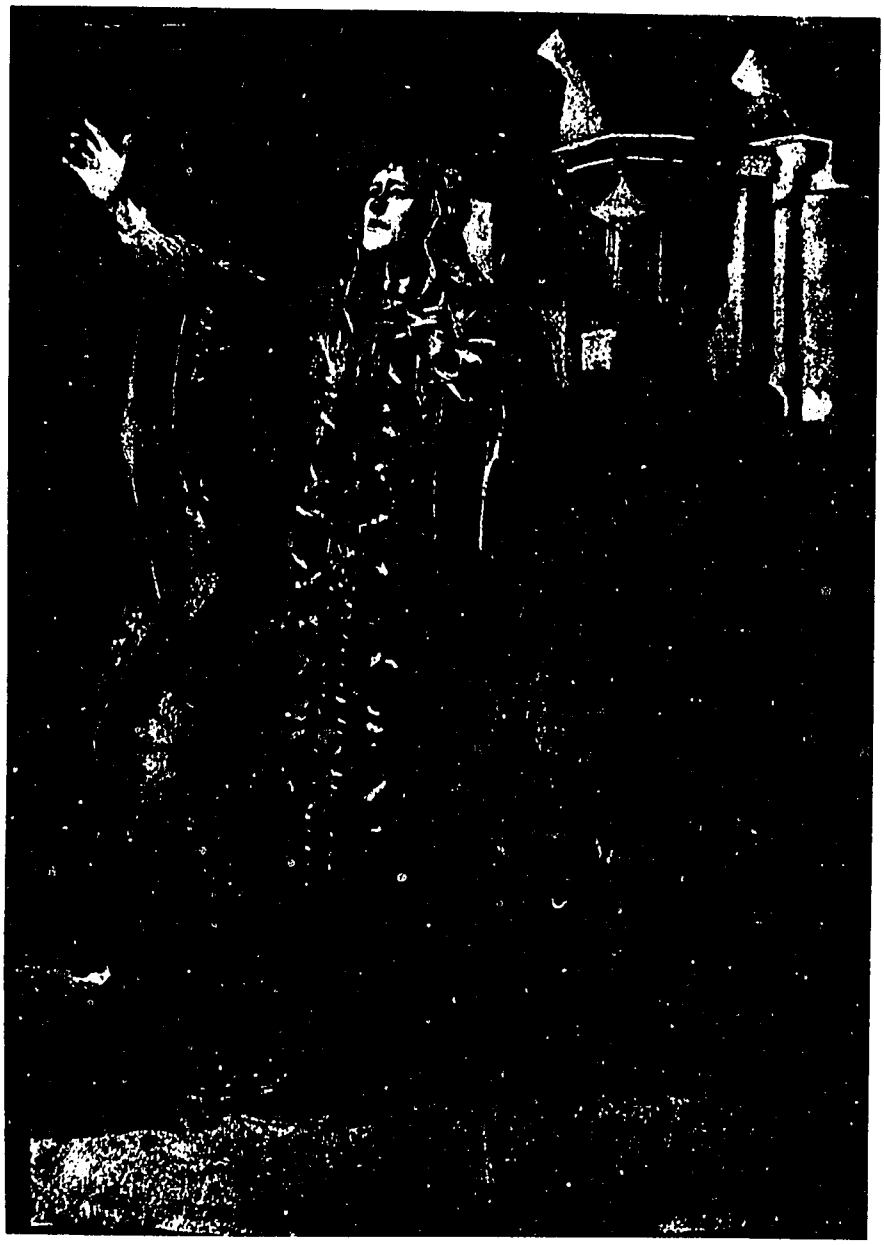

Figure 7. Act I, Scene v: "Stop up the access and passage to remorse." Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

of "my dearest love" with a "long, loving, silent embrace," revealing the deep affection which existed between husband and wife (Times). In Clement Scott's opinion, their exchange regarding Duncan's arrival made it clear that they had previously discussed his murder (Daily Telegraph). Macbeth spoke "Duncan comes here tonight" while still in his wife's embrace, Scott reported, seeking her resolution with regard to the crime for which there was now immediate potential but which he could neither resolve himself to nor give up. There was no hesitation on her part: "And when goes hence?" she asked slowly, smiling, her hand eagerly on his breast (ET). Contrary to tradition, Macbeth's reply, "Tomorrow, as he purposes," was not spoken innocently. According to the Times, Irving threw "a curiously sinister meaning" into the words. Averting his look, he uttered them with "an affected indifference" that obviously covered "a guilty thought." He paused before the line, and again before "as he purposes" (Drew). In Lady Macbeth's reply, "O, never shall sun that morrow see," Ellen Terry made the "O" and "Ah," a satisfied and anticipatory breath, drawing the hand that rested on his breast back to her shoulder, her head up, inspired, possessed by "wicked delight" (ET). Amazed at the strength of her response, he stared at her, and her quick detection of the effect of her assurance on his wavering resolution provoked her line "Your face, my thane, is as a book where men/May read strange matters . . ." (HI, ET). He recovered and smiled (HI) as she continued, returning his smile, aflame and alert, with oil in her tone, ". . . He that's coming/Must be provided

for. . . ." (According to her study notes, Ellen Terry had asked Irving to give her a look "like lightning" at this point.) Her tone was "deep" and "fierce" in "And you shall put/This night's great business into my dispatch," implying "Give it to me--give it to me;" then she brought her emotion under control as she spoke "Which shall to all our nights and days to come/ Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom" (ET). Macbeth answered pensively and without agreement, "We will speak further" (Drew). Moving in closer, she assured him "Only look up clear," implying "That's all you have to do." Finishing the scene, she knelt at his feet on "Leave all the rest to me," playing the charming serpent (ET).

Critical reaction to the scene was mixed. While they found much to admire in the playing of the scene, a number of critics objected to what they considered Ellen Terry's failure to demonstrate the depth of Lady Macbeth's evil nature. She began on a strong note: the entrance of a beautiful redhead attired in the fabulous beetle-wing dress created instant impact, as Clement Scott noted in the Daily Telegraph, through contrast with the forbidding tragedy queens of recent memory, and immediately established the femininity of this Lady Macbeth. The Evening Post confirmed that through her device of reading the letter once silently, Miss Terry succeeded in sustaining the illusion through the "deafening cheers" which greeted her entrance. Her natural approach to the reading of the letter was generally considered a pleasant and justified change from the old statuesque, declamatory mode of playing this scene. Her

manner of reading the letter, with an air of satisfaction rather than surprise, was, in the view of the Times critic, consistent with the theory that Duncan's murder was already a subject of domestic discussion. Thus far, Miss Terry was completely successful, but as she moved into Lady Macbeth's analysis of her husband's character, she gave the first hint that her characterization might not be sufficiently wicked for the good of the play. Her intention was clear: the tender manner in which she addressed her husband's portrait left no doubt, the Sunday Times reported, that this was a woman whose love for her husband was so great as to subordinate to it every other consideration, and her manner of speaking implied that Lady Macbeth did not grasp her husband's true character. But Miss Terry left the critics puzzled as to how to reconcile the fond and feminine nature of her Lady Macbeth with the words she spoke so lightly and tenderly. The conflict was summarized in the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News: "She says that she fears her husband's nature--the nature, be it remembered, of a murderer in posse, because, forsooth, 'It is too full o' the milk of human kindness to catch the nearest way' to greatness. What then must be the nature of her who can thus deplore this lack of hard-hearted purpose and of reckless cruelty? Must she not be something more and deeper and worse than the too-affectionate wife who loses her sense of morality in her eagerness to serve her husband's ambition?" Most critics thought she should have been, and the Observer's critic added that in "Hie thee hither," rather than being merely joyous and affectionate, she should

have conveyed some sense of "the definite and horrible meaning of the step which Lady Macbeth promptly resolves upon for her lord and master." Miss Terry was unconvincing in the invocation to the spirits; though she spoke the words with a manifest effort to repress feminine instincts, the speech, coming from the lips of a woman such as she portrayed, lacked both sincerity and result. "A thing unsexed," reported the Star, "is just what Miss Terry is not." Lady Macbeth's rapturous greeting of Macbeth and the mingled tenderness and reproach with which she urged him on to the murder were convincingly and excitingly played, but they reiterated the soft feminine qualities of the character at the expense of any suggestion of wickedness. Inasmuch as there had been nothing in Miss Terry's characterization or in Irving's to suggest any reason for Lady Macbeth's devotion to her husband, there was something "almost shocking" to the Times critic in "her display of blind affection for her sinister looking lord." Nor did the character she was playing seem to be the sort of woman to become involved in such a terrible plot: "We can well understand that she should turn her husband round her little finger," noted Charles Morley in the Pall Mall Gazette; "the difficulty is to explain why she should choose to turn him in the direction of crime." In fact, nowhere in the scene did Miss Terry give any hint of what was described in the Observer as "the inner depth of evil nature which must be touched before a woman can formulate the hideous scheme implied in Lady Macbeth's question, 'And when goes hence?'" On the positive side, several critics agreed that the stars played

admirably into one another's hands and that they clearly established the affection existing between husband and wife. Irving's playing of this scene was generally considered excellent; he succeeded, as the Times noted, in conveying both the guilty thought underlying Macbeth's announcement of Duncan's imminent arrival and the apprehension which already haunted him.

The scene of Duncan's arrival at Macbeth's castle was set at night. Although Macready had also employed an evening setting, the scene was more commonly set in daylight. Irving may have intended the evening setting to be a pictorial reinforcement of the images of darkness in the play, or he may simply have referred back to Macbeth's line in the preceding scene, "Duncan comes here tonight," and to the folio direction for "torches" in this scene. At the rear of the stage was a castellated fortress with a large portcullised gate which opened onto a bridge; the castle was pleasantly situated amidst trees and a path at the left seemed to descend to a glade below (Figure 8). The combination of the sylvan setting with the looming shadow of the castle in the torchlight suggested both "a pleasant seat" and an air of impending doom. As the scene opened, a horn was heard in the distance at left, then another nearer. After a short pause, answering horns sounded from within the castle. Servants carrying torches entered from the castle and met a vanguard of Duncan's party, who went into the castle followed by the servants (HI). Duncan and his entourage, entering up the path at left with torches flaring and drums beating, seemed, according to the Evening Post, to rise out of

Figure 8. Act I, Scene vi: Duncan enters Macbeth's castle. Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

the earth. As the joyous Duncan paused with Banquo to take in the surroundings, pairs of ladies entered from the castle and offered their courtesies to the King (Drew, HI). They then lined either side of the bridge as Lady Macbeth entered from the castle (see sketch of Ellen Terry's entrance by John Singer Sargent, National Portrait Gallery, London). She still wore the beetle wing dress, to which was added a cloak, described by Alice Comyns Carr as being of heather colored shot velvet embroidered with large griffins in flame colored tinsel, and a wimple held in place by a circlet of rubies (Reminiscences, p. 212). She welcomed the King with "stately courtesy," bowing "to the very ground" (Daily Telegraph). Her air was one of assumed simplicity; she was what Ellen Terry described as "the innocent flower acted." Duncan greeted her eagerly and with obvious admiration (Drew). She spoke her greeting musically but humbly, showing that she knew her place. Cutting short her obeisance and taking her hands with great simplicity, Duncan inquired after Macbeth in a sincere, fresh voice, delivering "And his great love, sharp as his spur, hath holp him/To his home before us . . ." as a genuine compliment. Her voice was a "murmuring oil stream" as she offered him the hospitality of the castle, and she responded as though greatly honored when the King took her hand to escort her over the bridge and through the castle gate (ET). They were followed by her ladies, then by the King's party (HI). A harp theme, described in the Daily News as "a motive of doom," accompanied the exit.

The scene was on the whole applauded by the critics.

Clement Scott of the Daily Telegraph thought that the setting was both beautiful and meaningful, and that the scene was played effectively by Ellen Terry, whose bewitching charm offered an ironic contrast to the fate which Lady Macbeth intended for Duncan. The scene conveyed the appropriate feeling that a gracious and gentle old man had been escorted "into the dark shadows of a traitor's gateway." A single objection to the staging of the scene came from the Athenaeum, whose critic felt that by the time Duncan's party reached the castle, the temple-haunting martlets had long since disappeared for the night. The crepuscular evening setting, in his opinion, was not out of keeping with the deeds shortly to be executed, but was certainly "at variance with the spoken words of the arriving guests" (5 January 1889, p. 25).

Act I, Scene vii, in which Lady Macbeth reproaches her husband for his lack of resolution, was a crucial one in Irving's interpretation of the play. The scene had to make clear to the audience the differing effects that the thought of Duncan's murder had had on the opposing natures of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. In Irving's view, Macbeth's infirmity of purpose at this point was the result of the fact that he had forecast the consequences of the crime, magnifying them and almost living them in his hyperactive imagination. Lady Macbeth, on the other hand, having accepted without question the plan suggested earlier by her husband and possessed by the idea of the crime and the golden future it seemed to promise, did not realize the full measure of the act and was therefore at this moment fully

resolved that the murder should be carried out. The scene had to show her amazement at the degree of his infirmity and his at the degree of her resolution.

We have no picture of the setting, "A Lobby in Macbeth's Castle;" it may have been the same one used earlier for the letter scene. Lloyd's reported that the dialogue between Lady Macbeth and her husband "on each occasion in this act" took place against a front scene of "a corridor with huge columns." Like the earlier scene, this one was lit by logs burning in a fireplace (HI). Music played as Macbeth entered for the "If it were done" soliloquy. Irving had altered the text here from the folio reading:

> If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
> It were done quickly. If th'assassination
> Could trammel up the consequence, etc.

and read instead:

> If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well,
> 'Twere done quickly if th'assassination
> Could trammel up the consequence, etc. (HI, MLT).

This was not a new reading; it had been used earlier by Kemble and Macready. According to J.N. Willan, Irving's choice of the reading was an attempt at clarification of meaning, to prevent the audience from mistaking the lines to mean "If the murder is to be done, when I do it I had better do it quickly" (First Night Impressions, p. 8). Irving began the soliloquy slowly and thoughtfully, pausing after "With his surcease success." The next few lines he delivered with strength, energy, and resolve, emphasizing the fact that Macbeth was concerned only with present success: ". . . That but this blow/Might be the be-all and

the end-all here,/. . . We'd jump the life to come." Then he slowed again as he realized "we still have judgment here." Tormented, he brought his hands to his head, then looked around at the door to the chamber where he had left Duncan as he began ". . . He's here in double trust," burying his head in his hands after "Who should against his murderer shut the door,/Not bear the knife myself. . . ." He began quietly again at "Besides, this Duncan," stressing the "deep damnation" of Duncan's taking-off and building the speech to a peak at "tears shall drown the wind!" Then, with a sigh, he concluded that he had no spur, only "Vaulting ambition which o'er leaps itself/And falls on th'other side" (Drew, HI). Generally, then, Irving played the soliloquy as the confession of a man who was driven to commit a horrible and despicable crime by purely selfish motives and who was terrified at the prospect of having to endure the earthly consequences of being found out, a man who knew himself for a villain but did not wish anyone else to think him so.

Startled by the entrance of Lady Macbeth, he laid unnatural stress on "How now," as though uncertain of who had entered and afraid of having been overheard. In this scene, Ellen Terry thought, it was necessary for Lady Macbeth to function as the "spur" which Macbeth had confessed himself lacking. She began by accosting him severely for having left the chamber (ET). Amazed at his emphatic declaration, "We will proceed no further in this business" (HI), she became cold and distant and began slowly in a quiet and dangerous tone filled with sarcasm, to taunt him for his cowardice, turning from him with assumed

virtue on "From this time such I account thy love" (ET). While she was speaking, Irving tried to show Macbeth's nature working restlessly in his face so that his words would as a natural consequence reveal the previous emotion. He moved away to a table, but she followed, and his head sank to the table under the force of her barrage (HI). Completing her attack with "cat i'the adage," she stood still, looking at him, ready to say much more (ET). He rose and cut her off with "Prithee, peace," moving away and then turned to face her on "I dare do all that may become a man;/Who dares do more is none" (HI). Amazed at the degree of his infirmity--after all, "he suggested the murder and she caught on"--she changed her attitude. Her voice became lower, without rant but filled with deep emotion: ". . . What beast was't, then,/That made you break this enterprise to me?" The next passage, beginning "When you durst do it, then you were a man," was delivered as a taunt of cowardice. Her voice was low again and furious as she moved into "I have given suck, etc." This was presented not as a statement of fact but as the exaggeration of a moment of fury; Ellen Terry had marked with exclamation points the following section in Comyns Carr's essay on Macbeth and Lady Macbeth: "This frenzied appeal has over and over again been accepted as Lady Macbeth's judicial report on her own character. . . . We can only wonder we are not also invited to believe that this somewhat rigorous treatment of the young accounts for the fact that the play contains no mention of the lady's surviving offspring" (pp. 27-28). Her voice reached its lowest pitch at the word "brains," and she moved in to him

quickly, attacking him as though he were a "gibbering fool" (ET). She furtively dashed from her eye an involuntary tear drawn by the "unmotherly thought" expressed in her speech, although there had not been the least quailing in her delivery of the lines (Liverpool Daily Post). She was ready to continue her attack when he looked round and queried "If we should fail?" She delivered "We fail" as the climax of the section, giving it a strong downward inflection (ET). It seemed to be a resolute cry of defiance, as if to say "We fail, that's all, too bad" (Sunday Times). She again shifted her attitude as she described her plan for eliminating Duncan's guards, becoming a charmer, laughing and coaxing. In her study copy, Ellen Terry noted opposite this passage "Now see, now here is a beautiful plan which your wife has thought all out--(the hell-cat.)" She seized Macbeth's arm on "But screw your courage to the sticking-place/And we'll not fail . . .," implying "We cannot fail" (ET). Unconvinced, he regarded her uneasily (HI). She crossed deliberately to a chair, smiling, and sat calmly as she began "When Duncan is asleep. . . ." After "a limbeck only," she paused to observe her effect on Macbeth, then rose and crossed back to him on "What cannot you and I perform upon the unguarded Duncan," speaking slowly, again playing the serpent, toying with his hands and trying to charm him (ET). He had listened to her "as though dazed and under a spell" (Sunday Times). Amazed at her unexpected strength, he held her at arms' length, praising her eagerly:

> Bring forth men-children only;
> For thy undaunted mettle should compose
> Nothing but males. Will it not be received
> When we have marked with blood those sleepy two
> Of his own chamber and used their very daggers
> That they have done't (HI)?

Thinking him "a silly ass to suggest the obvious," she responded "Who dares receive it other," covering the thought "Why you clever idiot--who dares?!!!" But she was nearer her objective, and she acted for him the "griefs and clamour" which they would display after Duncan's death (ET). Convinced at last, Macbeth prepared to return to the chamber where he had left the King. There was music as Lady Macbeth accompanied him to the exit at left; she then returned and exited right center, giving the audience an opportunity to see her reactions after she had achieved her goal and was at last able to drop the mask she had assumed for her husband (HI, ET).

The critics had varying opinions about the playing of the scene. The "If it were done" soliloquy was well within Irving's vocal capabilities, and he handled it brilliantly; the Observer's critic could recall "no finer or more thoughtful study of the painful process of making up one's mind to a shameful deed than that so powerfully elaborated here by Mr. Irving in Macbeth's famous soliloquy." In the ensuing interview with Lady Macbeth, Irving was successful in his attempt to communicate, through facial expression, Macbeth's shifting mental state as he is accosted by his wife: Russell of the Liverpool Daily Post reported that the workings of his face shed "a flood of accurate light on the very heart of Macbeth's idiosyncracy." As played by Ellen Terry, Lady Macbeth's second

interview with her husband aroused much the same critical reaction as its earlier counterpart. The subtle and skillful steps by which Lady Macbeth screwed her husband's courage to the sticking-place seemed admirably conceived and rendered, but the difficulty of reconciling the lady with the deed she was discussing remained. How, asked Clement Scott in the Daily Telegraph, could such a woman describe "with the manner of a dove the murder that could only be conceived by a demon?" In upbraiding Macbeth for his lack of resolution, Miss Terry's Lady Macbeth carried no conviction as to her own deadly intent; the whole scene, as described in the Evening News, carried a suggestion "of the ordinary wife of commerce giving her good man a scolding" which did not match the horror of the crime being discussed. The critic for the Saturday Review thought that for Macbeth to say to such a woman "Bring forth men children only" was almost grotesque.

Act II took place in the courtyard of Macbeth's castle (Figure 9). This was another carpenter's set. At stage left, a stone stairway climbed steeply to an arcaded gallery which surrounded the courtyard. At the rear was a rude entrance hall which could be sombre or bright, depending on whether the outer portal was opened or closed (Liverpool Daily Post). Down right was a turreted round shaft from which a wooden cross brace extended; an oil lamp hanging from the brace and what little light came from the stormy night sky through the gallery arches offered the only natural sources of illumination. At the far right, behind the shaft, a short curving flight of stairs wound

Figure 9. Act II, Scene i: "I am afraid to think what I have done." Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

through an arch to Duncan's chamber, A cloistered hall down left led to Macbeth's chamber. The only decorations on the massive stone walls were shields and spears.

Banquo and Fleance, lighting their way with a torch, entered down the stairway at right as if coming from Duncan (HI). Outside, the wind whistled and the night was very rough (Sunday Times). Wenman's reading of "the cursed thoughts that nature gives way to in repose" implied that these were not general forebodings but actual suspicions on Banquo's part (ET). He started at the entrance of Macbeth, who was preceded by a servant with a torch, and had "murder in his thoughts" (HI). Having reassured Macbeth of Duncan's satisfaction with his host's hospitality, Banquo started to go, then returned to tell Macbeth about his dream of the weird sisters. Macbeth, startled, attempted to cover his reaction by feigning indifference in his response, "I think not of them" (HI). After agreeing to discuss the matter further at some future time, Banquo began to ascend the stairs toward the gallery, but was stopped on the stairs by Macbeth: "If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis/It shall make honour for you . . ." (Daily News, HI). Banquo received this sinister overture with "distant though courteous austerity" (Liverpool Daily Post). Bowing in acceptance, Macbeth bade him a warm goodnight, and Banquo offered Macbeth his hand before continuing up the stairs to his chamber (HI).

Lightning flashed outside as Macbeth hastily dispatched his servant. Leaning down, he began the dagger soliloquy. "Is this a dagger which I see before me. . . ." He passed his hand

over his brow, sweeping back his hair. He was looking down, seeing the dagger a few feet from the floor, rather than above him as was traditional. He manifested no surprise at what seemed to be the natural outcome of his thought. "Come, let me clutch thee," was taken slowly, then he grabbed for the dagger, head against a pillar, teeth compressed. He manifested disappointment and surprise when the dagger proved incorporeal: "Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible/To feeling as to sight? Or art thou but/A dagger of the mind. . . ." He showed no alarm until, following the movement of the dagger, he realized the direction it was taking. Then he suddenly averted his gaze with horror, even as he regarded it as proceeding from "the heat-oppressed brain." Slowly returning his gaze to the vision--"I see thee yet"--he stared at it until his eyes seemed to start from his head, his complexion paled, and his features became paralyzed. Then, after a pause and a long sigh, he concluded "There's no such thing." Fixedly rubbing his eyes and coming to himself again, he looked slowly around, catching sight of Duncan's chamber door, and continued the remainder of the soliloquy, beginning with "Now o'er the one-half world," in a dreamy voice. Irving had cut from this section ". . . Whiles I threat, he lives:/Words to the heat of deeds too cold breath gives," perhaps because this realization didn't suit his view of the character, perhaps because he didn't wish to break the hypnotic state Macbeth had entered at this point. The awaited bell struck within: "Hear it not, Duncan; for it is a knell/ That summons thee to heaven"--here he paused--"or to hell."

Horror-stricken, he crept around the pillar and up the staircase to murder Duncan,[75]

There was another roll of thunder as Lady Macbeth entered quickly from left, breathing hard and excited by wine. She leant back restlessly against the shaft near Duncan's door, very pale, in an agony of expectation, listening for any sound from the chamber with a horrible smile on her face as she imagined the murderous activities above. Suddenly a cry rang out from Duncan's chamber. She spoke "Alack, I am afraid they have awaked/And 'tis not done. . . ." quite savagely in the face of possible defeat and remained tortured by suspense, delivering "Had he not resembled my father, etc." with a cursory half-sensibility. She was relieved at the return of her husband, though she now had to cope with his hysteria.[76]

Macbeth staggered down the stairs from Duncan's chamber, looking behind him, clutching the daggers he should have left. He was in a state of overwhelming horror, arising not from any sense of remorse but from abject terror of being found out: "I have done the deed" (Figure 10). There was a pause; then the conversation continued in whispers. She calmly dismissed his dismay as he looked at the blood on his hands with a wave of her hand. He looked again toward Duncan's door as he continued, "There's one did laugh in's sleep, and one cried 'Murder!' . . ./

[75]See HI; Drew; Standard; Macbeth 14, a spectator's notes on Irving's Macbeth, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.; The Dramatic Review, 5 January 1889, pp. 375-378; Daily News; Evening Post; Daily Telegraph.

[76]See ET; Liverpool Daily Post; Daily Telegraph; Standard.

Figure 10. Act II, Scene i; "I have done the deed." Sketch from an unidentified illustrated newspaper.

But they did say their prayers and addressed them/Again to sleep. . . ." At this point, his fright began to infect her. She read "There are two lodged together" as a question, puzzled and alarmed, as if to say "Why, surely not!" He continued, "Listening to their fear, I could not say 'Amen'. . . ." Watching him she began to feel that he was quite ill; her voice broke as she tried to convince him that the danger was past, delivering "Consider it not so deeply" in a tone of feminine warm emotion mixed with alarm. "But wherefore could I not pronounce 'Amen'," he demanded. Increasingly affected by his terror, she seemed highly wrought in her response ". . . These deeds must not be thought/After these ways; so it will make us mad." Almost oblivious to her interjections in his dazed state, Macbeth remained obsessed with his own thoughts: "Methought I heard a voice cry 'Sleep no more!/Macbeth does murder sleep,' the innocent sleep. . . ." Lady Macbeth was by now tortured with alarm, remaining so as he continued, "Still it cried 'Sleep no more!' to all the house:/Glamis hath murdered sleep, and therefore Cawdor/Shall sleep no more; Macbeth shall sleep no more." (In her study copy, Ellen Terry noted that if there was applause after this speech, she would wait, "petrified," then shake off her fear and come in with her line, but she preferred to come in at once.) At last, Lady Macbeth recovered herself. She was motivated for the remainder of the scene by the necessity of covering up the murder, and in order to do so, of bringing Macbeth's hysteria under control lest he betray himself. Subduing her own fears, she summoned up a tone to work on

him. She began gently on "Who was it that thus cried," trying not to press him too far. Nevertheless, time was not on her side. In a great hurry, she urged him to wash his hands. Crossing behind him to left, she became aware of the daggers, and angry at his stupidity, ordered him back to Duncan's chamber. Rooted to the spot at right center, he responded with a quick, trembling refusal: ". . . I'll go nor more:/I am afraid to think what I have done;/Look on't again I dare not." She responded excitedly "Infirm of purpose!" as if to say "You want shaking," then impatiently took charge, grandly ordering him to give her the daggers. She threw off her cloak and pushed her sleeves out of the way so as not to stain them with blood, giving the impression of cool and perfect sincerity as she said softly, legato, with a sneer, ". . . The sleeping and the dead/ Are but as pictures; 'tis the eye of childhood/That fears a painted devil. . . ." She crossed in front of him toward Duncan's chamber, commenting to herself as she exited, ". . . If he do bleed,/I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal;/For it must seem their guilt."[77]

After a pause, a distant knocking was heard which terrified Macbeth. During the speech beginning "Whence is that knocking," he crossed up center and came back down left, completely unnerved. Lady Macbeth crept back down the stairs from Duncan's chamber with a sarcastic "My hands are of your colour, but I shame/To wear a heart so white. . . ." The knocking was

[77]See Standard; HI; Brereton, The Life of Henry Irving, I, p. 189; ET; Liverpool Daily Post.

heard again. Maintaining her composure, she crossed to retrieve her cloak, picking it up daintily with the tips of her bloodied fingers, promising "A little water clears us of this deed" as though it were utterly simple. She moved left toward their chamber, going as a matter of course, then realized he was not following her and summoned his attention: ". . . Your constancy/ Hath left you unattended. . . ." The distant knocking was repeated. "Hark, more knocking," she implored, as if to say "Don't you hear?" Then, still unable to move him, she urged ". . . Be not lost/So poorly in your thoughts . . ." in a tone which was sharp and quick like a rifle shot. He remained frozen as the knocking continued, provoking his "Wake Duncan with thy knocking! I would thou couldst!" She was forced to push and pull him off the stage. The knocking continued as they exited to most cordial applause.[78]

After a pause, the Porter entered with a light. His voice, Edwin Drew said, was "heavy, round, unctuous," and told "of a larynx whose delicacy cannot be excessive" (p. 61). Beginning philosophically, he seemed gradually to be worn down by the repeated knockings. The cuts in his speech had the effect of increasing the tempo of the knockings. As the Porter opened the entrance gate upstage, light streamed through the opening, reinforcing the imagery of light and darkness, and Macduff and his retainers burst in. The exchange between Macduff and the Porter about drink had been cut, reducing the comic impact of the Porter while speeding the scene along to its climax. Macduff no

[78]See HI; Drew; ET; MLT; Standard.

sooner entered than he inquired for Macbeth, who entered immediately, scarcely having had time to change to his night clothes, over which he wore an orange-red mantle. Macbeth's voice was hollow and vacant, and he could not seem to avoid looking constantly at the door to Duncan's chamber.[79]

When Macduff had gone up to Duncan's chamber, the conversation between Lennox and Macbeth was strained, the atmosphere suspenseful. After a pause, Lennox at last inquired, "Goes the king hence today?" Macbeth was at first at a loss for a response, then answered affirmatively. After another pause, Lennox launched into his description of the unruly night. There was still another pause before Macbeth responded vacantly in agreement (HI).

Reentering, Macduff paused on the stair to announce the murder, then took center as Macbeth and Lennox went up to the murder chamber. As the bell began to sound the alarm, Lady Macbeth entered from left, dressed in a white nightrobe and wearing a deep purple mantle like "a blanket in the alarm of fear caught up." She played the frightened "innocent flower." Throughout the rest of the scene, guests appeared from their rooms along the gallery, not rapidly, but with mounting effect. Gradually the galleries, stairs, and courtyard were filled with an excited, horrified, vengeful crowd who created a roar against which the scene was played to its conclusion (Figure 11).

[79]See HI; Daily Telegraph. The red cloak which Irving wore had been designed by Alice Comyns Carr for Ellen Terry to wear in this scene but was pirated by Irving.

Figure 11. Act II, Scene i: The murder is discovered. Drawing by J. Jellicoe and H. Railton for the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, 26 January 1889.

Banquo and Ross appeared with a group of others on the gallery level, and Banquo came downstairs to meet Macduff at left center. As Macduff advised Banquo of the murder, Lady Macbeth's "Woe, alas!" became part of a general reaction to his words. Then her voice came forth alone on "What, in our house?" Macbeth and Lennox returned from Duncan's chamber, Macbeth crossing to right center to meet Macduff and Banquo while Lennox remained at right. Every head turned to Macbeth. The alarm bell, which had rung continuously to this point, stopped at "There's nothing serious in mortality," the sudden silence giving special emphasis to "All is but toys; renown and grace is dead;/The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees/Is left this vault to brag of." As Malcolm and Donalbain entered, Macbeth turned up to them: ". . . The fountain of your blood/Is stopped; the very source of it is stopped." At Lennox's advice that the grooms seemed to be the murderers, Malcolm and Donalbain exited to the murder chamber, then quickly returned. Lady Macbeth took special note of Lennox's readiness to accept her ruse, and all eyes turned to Lennox as he continued his story of the disarray in which the grooms were found. Macbeth crossed back down, and his announcement that he had killed the grooms caused the assemblage to turn to him almost threateningly. Lady Macbeth stood absolutely still behind Banquo, her mantle drawn tightly around her, listening to her husband. She was not horrified at his statement; at this point she was ready to accept anything that might save them from discovery. Surrounded by the suspicious crowd, Macbeth drew himself up and stood

impressively. His explanation of the killing of the grooms was played as a brilliant piece of acting on the part of the character. Listening in agony and anxiety, Lady Macbeth supported his story with unconscious nods and gestures and inarticulate lip movements. When she found that he had got safely through the story, she fainted, not as a ruse, but from the relief of tension. She had concentrated all of her resources and summoned up all of her nerve to achieve her goal; when at last it seemed to be accomplished, she simply let go. A cry went up and she was carried out with her head thrown back over a thane's shoulder, her red hair streaming behind. The cutting and rearrangement of the end of the scene gave a feeling of mounting bustle and excitement. The lines involving Malcolm and Donalbain's decision to leave Scotland were compressed, and they departed under cover of the commotion surrounding Lady Macbeth's fainting. The lady dispatched, Banquo came in fiercely with "Fears and scruples shake us, etc." Macduff and the crowd quickly agreed with his vow to fight the "undivulged pretence." Macbeth's "Let's briefly put on manly readiness/And meet in the hall together," was capped by Banquo's "And question this most bloody piece of work/To know it further." The scene concluded with much bustle as the crowd assented and exited eagerly toward the hall to debate the murder.[80]

The critics found much to praise in Irving's staging of the events surrounding Duncan's murder. The critics for the

[80]See HI; Daily Telegraph; ET; Liverpool Daily Post; MLT.

Standard and the Daily News expressed their admiration of the natural business in the interview between Macbeth and Banquo. Clement Scott of the Daily Telegraph was one of several critics who expressed regard for the sequence of stage pictures during the murder: the horrified progress of Macbeth to Duncan's chamber, Lady Macbeth leaning against the pillar near the chamber while he carried out the murder, and Macbeth staggering distraught and stricken back down the stairs after killing Duncan. Lady Macbeth's business of protecting her sleeves and cloak while getting rid of the bloody daggers was described as especially effective in the Star. A number of critics were in agreement with the opinion expressed in the Saturday Review on 5 January 1889 that the entire business of the discovery of the murder--half-dressed guests and servants, aroused from their beds, gradually filling the scene, illuminating it with their torches and candles; Macbeth stalking amidst the angry crowd in his bright mantle; the dramatic exit of Lady Macbeth; and the push of the agitated crowd toward the hall at the close of the scene--added up to "one of the most exciting and successful feats of scenic illusion ever achieved upon the stage." Most critics thought that the design and execution of the courtyard scene were particularly effective, among them Hatton of the Sunday Times and Russell of the Liverpool Daily Post. However, several critics objected to the use of unmotivated beams of limelight in the first part of the scene. Once Macbeth had dismissed his torchbearer, the single oil lamp and the stormy night sky glimpsed through the arcade offered the only natural

sources of illumination. The limelight which followed Irving and Ellen Terry, obviously unrelated to either of these sources, had what Hatton of the Sunday Times described as a regrettable effect of palpable theatricality in the otherwise realistically conceived production. Throughout the scene, Irving played admirably on the whole, although the Star reported that the high emotion of the scene caused him to lapse frequently into his mannerisms of speech and gait. He conveyed perfectly his desired effect of a man totally unnerved; the Observer's critic thought that "any more striking illustration of a coward's utter loss of self-control than that given by Mr. Irving both before and after Duncan's murder" was inconceivable. His business in the dagger scene, at first regarding the vision as the natural outcome of his thoughts, then becoming paralyzed with terror as he realized its direction, had a properly chilling effect on several critics, among them the representatives of the Daily News and the Evening Post. His reading of the dagger soliloquy displayed both his merits and his limitations; in the view of Morley of the Pall Mall Gazette, he was excellent in the first part of the speech, which permits fits and starts as Macbeth deals with the vision, but was less effective in "Now o'er the one-half world," which requires somewhat more declamatory grace. Irving brought the scene to a high peak of physical tension as he crept up the stairway to Duncan's chamber; here, reported the Saturday Review on 5 January 1889, "thanks to Mr. Irving's unrivalled mastery of the terrible, his acting could not be surpassed." Equally striking was his

return from the murder chamber; the picture he conveyed of Macbeth's horror at the deed was described in the Standard as "intense and overwhelming." In the murder scene, Ellen Terry conveyed exactly the view of her character outlined in the notes for the scene in her study copy. She was able to manage both the "horrid smile" borrowed from Mrs. Siddons and the "devil" in the description of the drugged grooms, achieving for the only time in the play, according to Clement Scott, a note of fiendishness. "If only she could have played the part as she looked it then," he wrote in his review for the Daily Telegraph. Scott also felt that she had succeeded in effectively establishing the agony of suspense with which Lady Macbeth awaits her husband's return from the murder chamber and her savage fear, upon hearing the cries within, that they have been defeated. Russell of the Liverpool Daily Post thought that after Macbeth's return, Miss Terry made it quite clear that Lady Macbeth was driven by "the one great exigency of concealing the crime and, what is involved in it, the controlling of her husband's quivering self-betrayal." If, however, her cool practicality in handling the daggers and the sincerity with which she spoke "The sleeping and the dead are but as pictures" effectively communicated Lady Macbeth's failure to realize the magnitude of her crime, they also lessened the audience's sense of the iniquity of her act: the Evening News reported that she seemed less a wicked murderess than a girl playing at murders (31 December 1888, p. 3). In the discovery scene, the vulnerable femininity of Miss Terry's Lady Macbeth worked to her advantage; though it was

difficult for some critics to understand how such a woman could participate in a murder, they could readily accept her anxiety as Macbeth addressed the indignant throng and the relief which resulted in her fainting when she believed he had got them through safely. Her reactions to each moment of the scene were utterly clear; her face, Clement Scott noted in the Daily Telegraph, was "an index to the scene," containing "agony, doubt, dismay, surprise, until a gleam of satisfaction" showed "the reaction that makes the blood-stained murderess swoon."

The musical prelude to Act III was brighter than the music of the preceding acts and of a pompous and martial character befitting Macbeth's new office. The first scene, which included Banquo's departure and Macbeth's meeting with the murderers, was set in the same hall which would be used later for the banquet (See Figure 12, p. 120). This was a palatial interior with stone walls and pillars adorned only by tapestry hangings. The scene took place in daylight, and the countryside was visible through the arches at the rear. An arcade along the right wall and an arras covered passage at down left provided access to the hall.[81]

Ross, Lennox, and a group of other lords were discovered on stage. Banquo entered and sickly, smiling, revealed his suspicions of Macbeth. He was interrupted by Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, who entered with great pomp in the garb of their ill-won offices, accompanied by a group of lords, ladies, and attendants. Although Lady Macbeth put up a bold front, she

[81]See Daily News, Sunday Times, Lloyd's.

seemed meeker below. Her eyes were firm but her mouth was altered. Her compliment to Banquo was delivered gracefully, with oil in her voice; then she went off with a wave of her hand, accompanied by her ladies. Macbeth hid his fears of Banquo beneath a smile; their exchange was cordial, and Banquo bowed and smiled as he promised to return for the banquet. Having commended him to horseback, Macbeth paused, distracted, as he watched Banquo depart, then recovered and graciously dismissed the remainder of the company.[82]

As he retained an attendant and inquired after the murderers, Macbeth's demeanor changed substantially. He began his soliloquy impatiently:

> . . . To be thus is nothing
> But to be safely thus.--Our fears in Banquo
> Stick deep; and in his royalty of nature
> Reigns that which would be feared. . . .

He paused, then continued sullenly, with intense selfishness:

> . . . He chid the sisters,
> When first they put the name of king upon me,
> And bade them speak to him; then, prophet-like,
> They hail'd him, father to a line of kings.

Looking up suddenly, he continued fiercely:

> . . . If't be so,
> For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind;
> Put rancours in the vessel of my peace
> Only for them; and mine eternal jewel
> Given to the common enemy of man,
> To make them kings, the seed of Banquo kings!
> Rather than so, come, fate, into the list,
> And champion me to th'utterance.

Obviously determined in his course, he had "no need of his wife now" (HI).

[82]See MLT, HI, ET.

He started as the attendant reentered, followed by the murderers. They were not professional assassins but two old men down on their luck. After a pause, Macbeth pointed to the door, directing the attendant to remain outside with the same tone of contempt in which he had addressed him earlier. Sitting down, he beckoned the First Murderer to come closer and inquired:

> . . . Are you so gospell'd,
> To pray for this good man, and for his issue,
> Whose heavy hand hath bow'd you to the grave,
> And beggar'd yours for ever?

The "catalogue of men" speech was cut; the murderers immediately declared themselves ready to undertake whatever Macbeth wished, and he took them up quickly, rising as he revealed his own hatred of Banquo. The actual request to murder Banquo was cut from this speech, but the two murderers exchanged glances, obviously having caught Macbeth's drift. Macbeth continued quickly with his instructions for the murder, pausing to emphasize the instructions regarding Fleance.[83] The effect of the cutting and pacing of the scene was to give a feeling of total executive command to Macbeth's arrangements for the murder, very much in contrast to his vacillation with regard to the murder of Duncan. His arrangements for this and the successive murders seemed to be those of a man who had grown familiar with the idea of murder, and were made as "a matter of deliberate policy" (Dramatic Review).

Neither illustration nor detailed description exists for

[83]See HI; Athenaeum; Henry Irving, "Shakespearean Notes, No. 1., The Third Murderer in Macbeth," The Nineteenth Century, 1877, p. 328.

the setting for Act III, Scene ii, "A Room in the Palace." Lady Macbeth was discovered working and thinking, one of her gentlewomen at work at the back. Although she was dressed for the banquet, she wore a circlet rather than her crown, which already weighed heavy on her. In her study copy, Ellen Terry noted with regard to the beginning of this scene: "Beware of showing the pathetic result of trouble upon a good woman. Lady M. is not too good--grief and trouble softens I think a good nature, but hardens a bad one." The "Nought's had, all's spent" couplet expressed her "rooted sorrow," revealing her "half-dulled knowledge of the fact of her husband's having been all the while deceived in her." Seeing clearly now as she did not before Duncan's murder, she realized that she had "missed what she had hoped to gain." When Macbeth entered, she attempted to cheer up for his sake, going up to meet him and taking him to a chair. There was careful reproach in her tone as she questioned his solitary habits, capped by a touch of "dogged hardness" in " "What's done is done." His tone in the first part of the speech beginning "We have scotched the snake, not killed it" caused her to look at him fearfully (ET). Then he sighed and continued "sneeringly":

> . . . Better be with the dead
> Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace,
> Than on the torture of the mind to lie
> In restless ecstasy . . . (HI).

She began to pity him and turned more tender as he continued with his envious description of Duncan in his grave. She kissed him and tried to soothe him, delivering "Gentle my lord, sleek o'er your rugged looks" in a gentle deep voice as if to say

"Come, come. You must pluck up courage--remember the tea party tonight." Her forced cheerfulness covered her own inner awareness that she herself was unable to "sleep and forget" (ET). The speech beginning "So shall I love" was cut; he interrupted her coaxings impatiently with "O, full of scorpions is my mind, dear wife!/Thou knowst that Banquo, and his Fleance, lives." There was no tenderness on his part; judging from Irving's notes for the scene in his study copy, Macbeth's terms of endearment had become empty: "His ambition . . . has grown by degrees complete master of all other sentiments, has caused their love for each other to rot--so here [the] kiss has grown cold, was murdered in the murder of the king--and the tenderness in this scene is nought but a dirge, rising unconsciously from the soul, over the sentiments of an easier time." Her response, "But in them nature's copy's not eterne," was delivered not as a suggestion of murder but as a simple statement of fact, as if to say, "They cannot live forever." Throughout the scene, she remained unaware of the nature of his intent regarding Banquo (ET). Abstracted for a moment, he recovered himself: "There's comfort yet, they are assailable." As he intimated to her what he had planned, he paused and looked up at her, smiling, before "a deed of dreadful note" (HI). Still she did not grasp his meaning; anger, fear, and genuine inquiry combined in her tone as she clutched at his sleeve and asked "What's to be done?" (ET). "Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck,/Till thou applaud the deed . . .," he replied, stretching out the vowel sound in the word "deed" (Mac 14, Folger Shakespeare Library).

According to passages underlined by Ellen Terry in Fletcher's essay on Macbeth, Macbeth's decision to keep the knowledge of the murder from his wife was an act of self-protection: since she did not respond to his intimations of the planned murder, he feared she might react adversely to it, scolding him for the fears which prompted him to the murder of Banquo in the same way she had scolded him for the fears that kept him from the murder of Duncan. As he began "Come, seeling night," she sat, wondering and frightened (ET). Concluding his invocation, he turned and saw her watching him, still unaware of his intent (HI). This provoked his "Thou marvell'st at my words." He exited first; she remained for a moment puzzling over his words, "anxious, uncertain, and rather ill" (ET).

Joseph Hatton of the Sunday Times felt that in the opening scenes of the third act, Irving clearly demonstrated the testiness of temper which underlay Macbeth's assumed suavity. It was apparent that Macbeth's regrets for the murder of Duncan were in no way the result of remorse, but rather of fear. The Daily Chronicle's critic particularly admired Ellen Terry's playing of Lady Macbeth's interview with her husband prior to the banquet: "With as much beauty of tone and feeling as she speaks Ophelia's simile, 'Sweet bells jangled; out of tune and harsh,' does Miss Terry deliver that most pathetic of laments: 'Nought's had, . . .' etc. These lines have a wealth of meaning as the confession of an overcharged soul; as uttered on Saturday night their poetical charm received the most exquisite interpretation. The strenuous effort of the Queen to cheer her husband, even

though her own heart is of the heaviness of stone, was marked by delicious tenderness and abnegation of self, qualities that were emphasized by the distressing weariness evinced by the Queen prior to Macbeth's appearance." However, as will be noted later, it is doubtful whether Miss Terry sufficiently heeded in this, and her succeeding scenes, her warning to herself to avoid showing the effect of trouble on a good woman. She was well on her way toward evoking a sympathetic reaction to Lady Macbeth.

The banquet scene was set in the same hall used for Act III, Scene i (Figure 12). It was seen this time at night, and the hall was lit by flaming torches, some hanging on the walls, others held by attendants. A long table extended through an archway up right and ran along the back wall, which was divided into three massive arches. At left center, the table moved at a right angle downstage. Below the table, down left, was a raised dais for the royal thrones. An arras was immediately behind the thrones at left. The chair in which Banquo's ghost would appear was between the dais and the downstage end of the table at left center. At down right was a large arch with an arras. The guests, in rich costumes of subdued tones, gathered at the rear of the hall and sorted themselves at the table according to their degrees. Servants and torchbearers crowded the right side of the stage and came and went throughout the scene.[84] The banquet scene was more commonly staged with the tables running parallel with the footlights, the thrones at center. While Irving's arrangement facilitated Macbeth's conversation with the

[84]See Lloyd's, Sunday Times, ET, Evening Post.

Figure 12. Act III, Scene iii: "Avaunt, and quit my sight!" Drawing by J. Jellicoe and H. Railton for the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, 2 February 1889.

murderer, the proximity of the dais to Banquo's chair and the steep angle between the thrones and the table may have hindered the actors during the appearances of Banquo's ghost.

As the guests arranged themselves in a natural and unceremonious fashion, their host and hostess moved down, Lady Macbeth to her throne, Macbeth toward the chair at the head of the table. Lady Macbeth, though excited by wine, was gracious and dignified in greeting her guests, and Macbeth, with an effort, assumed an outward semblance of graciousness. After Lady Macbeth's welcome, the company rose, lifting their heavy goblets in a toast; after drinking they resumed their seats. About to take his place, Macbeth caught sight of the murderer, who was concealed behind the arras near the throne. Macbeth moved to the throne and, while a page and maid were waiting on Lady Macbeth, leant to one side to converse with the murderer. Having been told that the blood on the murderer's face was Banquo's, he paused and sighed before "'Tis better thee without than he within." At the news of Fleance's escape, he paused again, moving down for a moment for "Then comes my fit again," which was delivered as an aside, as was "There the grown serpent lies." Moving back up to the murderer, he gave a hasty whispered command for his departure, just as his wife recalled him, openly and with courtly dignity, to give the cheer.[85]

Macbeth crossed to her and kissed her hand with pretended gaiety. He offered the toast brilliantly, in ringing tones, and

[85]See Fitzgerald, Sir Henry Irving, p. 205; HI; ET; Sunday Times; Lloyd's; MLT.

she, momentarily relieved, took a deep draught from her goblet. As Macbeth continued with his gracious reference to Banquo, the torchbearers lowered their lights and the scene darkened. Rising from a trap, Banquo's ghost assumed Macbeth's place at the head of the table, his back to the audience. When Macbeth, approaching the table and viewing the ghost from behind, found his place filled, Lady Macbeth ceased her drinking and paused to observe him. As Lennox insisted on the empty place, Macbeth, drawing nearer, recognized the ghost and started. All eyes were turned on him. He paused before addressing the assembled company with a terror he was striving to repress: "Which of you hath done this?" Ross, rising quickly, hastily summoned the others to follow suit. They were interrupted by Lady Macbeth, who came down sharply from her throne, her smile hiding her fury at her husband's emotional state. She turned some of the women bodily around, and the guests resumed their seats slowly as she moved down to Macbeth, questioning his manhood in a hoarse whisper which was maintained until she recalled him to the table. She was quick, scornful, and peevish in her condemnation of what she fancied to be hysteria and histrionics on his part. Even as he pointed out Banquo's figure to her, the ghost vanished and the lights came up.[86]

Having hurled her last whispered censures at her husband, making it clear that she did not intend to dally with him any longer, Lady Macbeth moved back to the table. She caught the

[86]See ET; Drew; Standard; MLT; Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, 2 February 1889, p. 576; HI.

eye of the first lady guest and went to her to explain Macbeth's behavior, then spoke to several others. Her husband did not follow her, and she attempted to cover for him; assuming her place on the dais, she leant back and called for wine. He remained downstage for his soliloquy, "Blood hath been shed ere now," which he delivered in a querulous tone. He was oblivious to the crowd at the table until his wife recalled him, not severely but with feigned playful amazement. His explanation of his infirmity was equally well feigned, and she was visibly relieved until he decided to toast Banquo. The guests rose and bowed before drinking the toast, Lady Macbeth drinking deeply in apprehension. The mention of Banquo again stimulated Macbeth's susceptible imagination; the lights dimmed and the ghost rose a second time. Macbeth dropped his goblet and sank on the dais, more horror-stricken than before, alarmed not only by the apparition but by his own inability to hide the terror which had taken control of his face and voice. He addressed the ghost in trembling tones which sank to a whisper. Lady Macbeth came down and stood over him; his relapse had engendered much astonishment among the guests, and although her tone was sweet as she attempted to excuse her husband's behavior, her mouth was made ghastly by pain, effort, and madness. Macbeth threw his robe around himself protectively, hiding his eyes, as he continued to address the ghost, struggling vainly to command himself and the forces bursting forth with increasing power from his internal consciousness. At last, the ghost vanished, and Macbeth recovered, exhausted. He looked around in fright, casting a

lingering look of horror on the empty chair, visibly struggling against collapse. It was too late. Lady Macbeth, standing by the throne in the midst of her ladies, smiling proudly, accused him with deep and dignified offense of having "displaced the mirth." For the first time, she allowed the guests to see her reproof of him. When he held fast to his belief in the apparition, she decided that something had to be done and started to bid goodnight to some of the guests in an attempt to get rid of them before her husband gave himself away entirely. When Ross asked "What sights, my lord?" Macbeth was about to answer, but she covered him up, rushing over to Ross. As the guests came round her to make their courtesies, she bade them go at once, dispatching them with great eagerness, her voice choked, her mind in the grip of convulsive fear.[87]

When the guests had been summarily dismissed, the contrast between the bustle of their exit and the isolation in which the King and Queen were left was most marked. Broken and exhausted, Macbeth threw himself into a chair at right, where he slumped helpless and vacant-eyed. Lady Macbeth, dazed and faint, staggered to the left and collapsed in the throne, where she remained listless and hopeless while Macbeth completed his "Blood will have blood" speech. Once united heart and soul, they now seemed quite separate and alone. He, having all but confessed the murder of Banquo to his assembled court, now had to be suspicious of everyone. She, having discovered the murder of

[87]See ET; HI; Folger Mac 14; Winter, Shakespeare on the Stage, I, p. 484.

Banquo in the course of the banquet, had now come to a full realization of the true nature of her husband's character, which thoroughly frightened her, and of the hopelessness of her own situation. Nevertheless, after a pause they sat together side by side and she tried to comfort him, but with as little hope as she had shown on the throne. She tried to ease his head by removing his crown, which he the more firmly placed on his head. His line, ". . . I am in blood/Stepped in so far that should I wade no more,/Returning were as tedious as go o'er," was capped by a laugh. Obviously desperately wanting sleep herself, she nevertheless thought of him, touching him gently as she mechanically whispered, "You lack the season of all natures, sleep." They moved slowly, hand in hand, toward the exit at right, and he took a torch from the pillar down right to light their way. Turning back, he was once again overcome with horror and dashed the torch to the ground with impotent rage, burying his head in his hands and supporting himself against the pillar. With an agonized cry, she collapsed at his feet, burying her face in his robe (See insert at lower left, Figure 12, p. 120).[88]

The setting for the banquet scene seemed to many critics, among them Hatton of the Sunday Times, to be "one of the most

[88]See Lloyd's; Star; ET; Liverpool Daily Post; Daily Telegraph; Sunday Times; Folger Mac 14; Standard. According to William Winter in Shakespeare on the Stage, I, p. 485, Irving altered the business which closed the scene in later years. Rather than hurling the torch, he moved slowly to the stairs at the back of the scene, Ellen Terry beside him helping him to walk. When they reached the stairs, she moved up, but he paused, his arm extended in her grasp, and turned as though by "horrible, irresistible compulsion" to gaze on the empty stool where he had seen Banquo's ghost.

impressive . . . ever put on the stage." Its accoutrements, as described in the Evening Post, were "massive, and evidently accustomed to be used with rough hands." The salvers carried about by the attendants had "visible weight." Critics generally agreed that the staging of the scene, with the exception of the appearance of the ghost, worked well. The natural and individualized behavior of the guests as they sorted themselves at the table and the effective bustle of the servants in the early part of the scene were commended in the Standard and the Evening Post. William Archer of the World thought the introduction of the murderer from behind the arras was an excellent solution to the problem of having him appear without being seen by the guests. Joseph Hatton in the Sunday Times praised the exciting handling of the breaking up of the banquet, and several critics, among them Scott of the Daily Telegraph, were particularly moved by the picture of isolation afforded by the King and Queen after the guests had been dismissed and by the closing tableau. However, the one important feature of the play which Irving apparently managed badly, in the nearly unanimous view of the critics, was the appearance of Banquo's ghost. "The illusion is not complete," complained Scott in the Telegraph. "The difficulty is emphasized when, in the middle of a brilliant, torch-lighted banquet, the hall becomes suddenly dark as Erebus to allow Macbeth to be mentally alone with the 'blood-boltered Banquo.'" The Standard's critic added that having the ghost rise from a trap in the "most ordinary way" was so "simple and palpable" a trick as to compound the difficulty. "We could

wish," Scott continued, "that Mr. Irving had the courage to raise the spirit of Banquo by means of imagination." Quick to respond to what must have seemed to him well-founded criticism, Irving immediately eliminated the torch business, and in his subsequent revival of the production, he also eliminated the physical presence of the ghost, who was represented instead by a blue light on a chair.[89] As an actor, Irving was unfortunately unable to sustain his relative success in the earlier scenes through this most crucial one. He failed where a Macbeth needs most to succeed, at the moment when the vision of Banquo's ghost leads to Macbeth's self-betrayal. While several reviewers attributed Irving's failure to his unfortunate staging of the appearance of the ghost, the more likely diagnosis was probably that of Clement Scott in the Daily Telegraph, who felt that Irving simply did not have the physical force to express the intensity of horror he desired to show. In the final moments of the scene, after the departure of the guests, when Macbeth has succumbed to exhaustion and despair, Irving was once again in control; here his picture of Macbeth, "groaning in spirit and demon-haunted," was, in Scott's opinion, "marvellous in its effect." Ellen Terry's performance in the latter part of the scene was also effective. Scott felt that she gave a striking portrayal of the "utter loneliness of the woman, who, by participating in crime, has lost her husband's love and forfeited his companionship." There was, he said, "an agony of

[89]See "'Macbeth' at the Lyceum," The Era, 5 January 1889, p. 11; Brereton, The Life of Henry Irving, II, pp. 224-225.

dejection" in her demeanor as she sank into her comfortless throne and "a world of sorrow" in her cry as she collapsed at the end of the scene.

After a discordant prelude from the orchestra, the Act IV curtain rose on the witches' cavern (Figure 13). At the right, descending toward the audience, was a stairway hewn out of the rock. At the left was the cauldron, not the usual iron pot, but a natural cleft in an outcropping of rock from which a cloud of steam emerged. The whole was shadowed by a huge morass rising up at the rear, but a patch of cloudy sky was visible beyond the stone stairs. The gloom was broken only by the light of the sky and the flickering light from the cauldron which played upon the surfaces of the cavern. The notes in Irving's study copy indicate that he used business similar to that of Macready for the opening of the scene. One witch stood watch at the entrance, another crouched over the cauldron, and the third perched impatiently on the rock awaiting the arrival of Hecate. As the first witch spoke "Thrice the brinded cat hath mewed," the eyes of the others instantly turned toward her. There was a pause, during which they remained motionless, listening. Then the witch over the cauldron started from her cowering attitude, responding "Thrice: and once the hedge-pig whined." There was another pause. At last, the third witch heard Harpier outside the cavern and spang to her feet at this signal of Hecate's approach, turning to her sisters on "'Tis time, 'tis time." The three converged on the cauldron, winding up their charm to a subdued musical accompaniment which sobbed and sighed like the

Figure 13. Act IV, Scene i: "Double, double, toil and trouble," Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

wind howling. As they circled with "Double, double, toil and trouble," a harsh, bizarre chord in the basses marked each word and step, followed by a slow descending chromatic phrase from the flutes. Hecate appeared on the morass above, a star glittering in her hair (an effect created with an electric light.)[90] Hecate's "invisible familiars" sang "Black Spirits and White" in a chorus of "Mendelssohnian lightness and delicacy--the voices half-wailing,"--while the strings accompanied with "a continuous flow of staccato semi-quavers" (Sunday Times). After the song, Hecate disappeared (MLT).

Macbeth entered and from the rocky stairway, silhouetted against the sky, addressed the witches in powerful commanding tones. Their replies were short and ringing: "Speak." "Demand." "We'll answer." The apparitions, preceded by a roll of thunder, moved across the stage from the cauldron through a thick, steamy mist. The first spoke in sepulchral tones, the second in a higher register, the third in an even lighter voice. Macbeth, pleased with their prophecy, replied strongly and emphatically, "That will never be." He spoke more slowly as he made the transition into the question of Banquo's issue, becoming selfishly demanding again on "I will be satisfied." The line of kings arose from the cauldron and proceeded across the stage as had the apparitions. Macbeth reacted to them with despair, horror, and weariness. Having completed their show, the witches dissolved into air and mist, leaving Macbeth

[90]See World; Standard; MI; Star; Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, 5 January 1889, p. 23; Morning Post, 31 December 1888, p. 2.

amazed: "Where are they?. . . ." There was a pause, then answering thunder. Macbeth called Lennox into the cavern. Unable to believe Lennox had not seen the witches, he paused for a moment, then reiterated his question: "Came they not by you?" Advised of Macduff's flight to England, Macbeth announced his plan to murder Macduff's family, his tone demonstrating his intensity of purpose, and exited with Lennox from the cavern.[91]

Middleton's "Come Away" had been transposed from the third act to follow the scene in the cavern. The scene was transformed to a moonlit landscape representative of a phrase from the song, "Over woods, high rocks, and mountains" (Figure 14). The song was sung by a chorus of witches and spirits who lined a rocky abuttment overlooking the sea. The sky grew lighter and lighter as the gauzy, white-robed spirits sang, their upstretched arms waving back and forth in rhythm with the melody.[92]

The Sunday Times reported that the setting for the witches' cavern was "wild and beautiful." Scott of the Telegraph was among several critics who admired Irving's staging of the scene, mentioning in particular his choice of a cleft in the rock for the cauldron and his composition of the stage picture, which Scott thought highly original. The "Come Away" chorus was greeted so enthusiastically by the audience that Irving, yielding to an ancient practice that was curiously out of keeping with his realistic techniques, brought Arthur Sullivan on

[91]See Drew, Lloyd's, MLT, Daily Telegraph, HI.

[92]See Daily Telegraph, Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, 5 January 1889.

Figure 14. Act IV, Scene ii: "Over woods, high rocks, and mountains." Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

for a call after the scene. As described in the Sunday Times, the scene was a visual triumph and quite supernatural in effect; however, a number of critics were confused as to its purpose. The critic for the Globe pointed out that what should have been a vision of witch revels seemed instead to be an apotheosis or a representation of celestial worship (31 December 1888, p. 3). Archer of the World seconded this opinion: "Why that chorus should be sung . . . in a landscape from The Princess of Thule," he proclaimed, "is a mystery I cannot fathom."

Act V opened with Macduff and Malcolm in England, a front scene of "A Country Lane" (Figure 15). This was a verdant byway along a pond, with the castle of the English King (to whom all verbal reference had been cut) barely visible in the distance. According to the Standard, the peaceful sunlit atmosphere represented here offered a marked contrast with the gloomy surroundings of the preceding scenes. Ross entered armed, as if he had just arrived from Scotland, and advised Macduff of the murder of his family. George Alexander, earnest and vigorous as Macduff, played his reaction at a lower level than had many of his predecessors in the role; Moy Thomas of the Daily News thought it honest and deeply felt, but E.R. Russell of the Liverpool Daily Post missed the customary "tempest of emotion" and "roar of elocution." The scene ended with Macduff's oath of vengeance.

Next came the sleep-walking scene (Figure 16). This was a carpenter's set of a vast ante-chamber in the castle, with a high arched ceiling and bare stone walls. At left, a double door set in a large arch was surrounded by heavy stone columns.

Figure 15. Act V, Scene i: Malcolm, Macduff, and Ross in England. Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

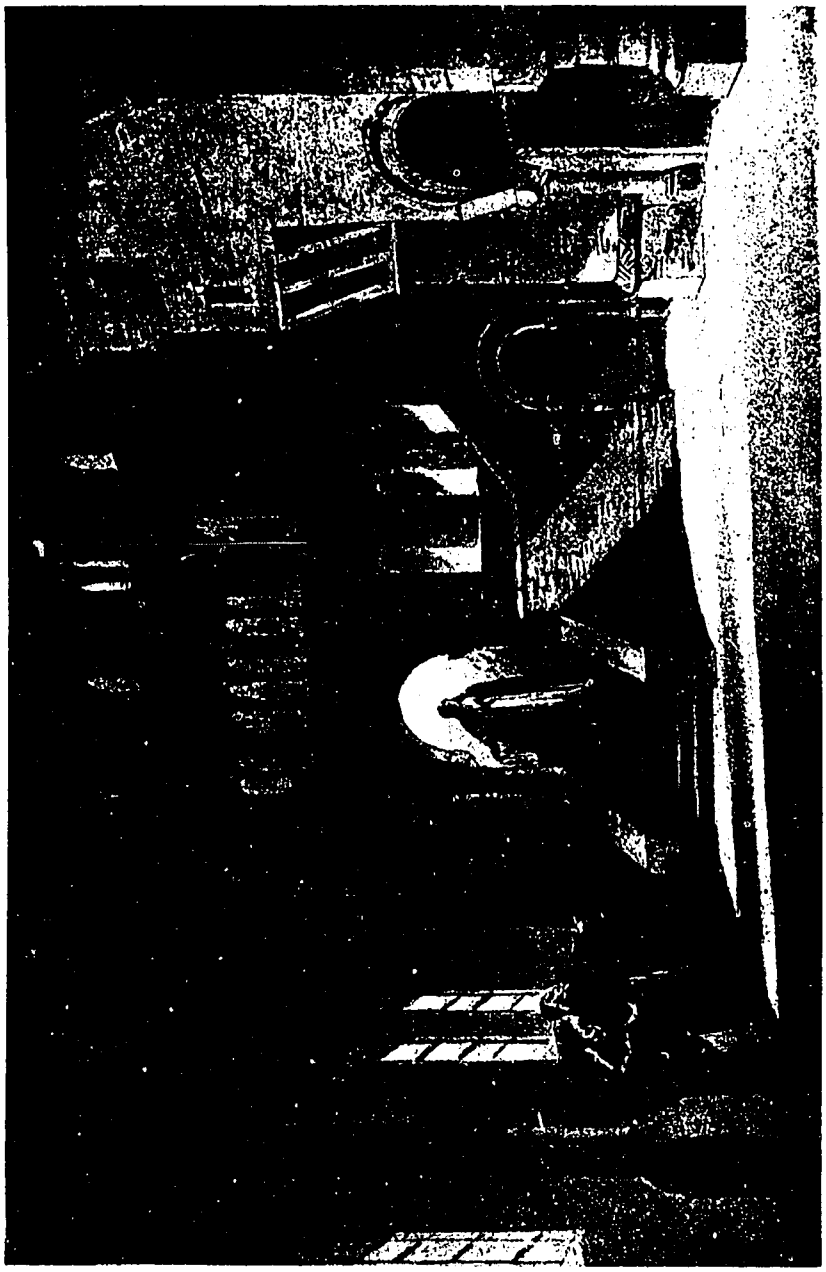

Figure 16. Act V, Scene ii: "Lo you, here she comes."
Illustration by Charles Cattermole from the souvenir program.

Light came in from small arched windows in the right wall. At the rear was an illuminated clerestoried passage which was approached by means of a shallow flight of stairs ascending to an archway up right. The stairway continued upward at a right angle toward stage left, past the arched windows opening onto the passage and over a small arched door up left. The scene had the appearance of occurring just after dawn and was much lighter than earlier interior scenes. Ellen Terry thought the scenery "absurd," and indeed much of it seems to bear little reference to the playing of the scene.

The Doctor and the Gentlewoman were discovered on stage and retreated to the right wall as Lady Macbeth entered. She was first glimpsed coming through the passage at the back. She wore a nightgown of soft wool, much lighter in weight than her earlier costumes; it flowed when she moved and clung when she was at rest. Over the gown was a slate grey wrap. Considerable time had apparently elapsed since the banquet; her hair was now grey and her face worn and haggard. She carried an oil lamp suspended from a handle, which she left on the stairway as she descended. She came downstage, her wrap closely wound around her, and stood profile. Her movements had a hurried, excited quality, but she was obviously weak and partially asleep. Her hands trembled, her eyes had a lost, far-away look, and as she soliloquized, her body swayed to and fro. Ellen Terry's playing of the scene differed markedly from the traditional approach; she made the scene touching rather than terrible. There was no melodrama in her tones; the characteristic note of her delivery

was a dreamy prolongation of the syllables she spoke. She was quiet and subdued and played the reenactment of the murder of Duncan in a very natural way. She rubbed her palms, conveying the impression not of trying to wash away guilt but simply of ridding herself of the "filthy witness," for in Ellen Terry's interpretation Macbeth preyed on his wife's mind more than remorse for the murder. "Out, damned spot! . . ." The word "damned" was emphasized in a high voice and by a pause which followed before she spoke the last word. She paused again before continuing, "Out, I say!" She spoke "One, two," low and long, in a bell-like tone, pausing between the words. Then she whispered "Why, then 'tis time to do't." Her voice was filled with horror on "The thane of Fife had a wife," for this was, as Ellen Terry noted in her study copy, "one of the murders Macbeth never told her about," a particularly terrible one for a woman as feminine and devoted to her husband as this Lady Macbeth. "Where is she now" was dropped to a whisper. After the horrified interjection of the Doctor, she continued in a soft voice, with great pity, "Here's the smell of the blood still." Then she paused, giving up her attempt to erase the evidence of the deed, before "All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand." She spoke "Oh, oh, oh" with the convulsive shudder described by Mrs. Siddons, the last word becoming a sigh. The speech beginning "Wash your hands" was given in a slow whisper, and she retired whence she had come, the scene concluding with

her final "To bed."[93] The last three lines of the Doctor's exchange with the Gentlewoman, beginning "Well, well, well" and ending "I have known those which have walked in their sleep who have died holily in their beds," are cut in the Lyceum acting edition, which was printed before the play went into rehearsal. A note in Ellen Terry's study copy, "I want this speech put in," indicates that the lines may possibly have been included in the performance. The overall effect of Miss Terry's performance in the scene was of real sleep-walking, rather than delirium--"They are really the murmurings of the dreamer that we hear, and not the ear-piercing shrieks of the fever patient"--and she left a strong impression of a woman who was "lonely, unloved, and going to die" (Dramatic Review).

Although her sleep-walking scene was quite touching, Miss Terry's performance here carried, despite her earlier warning to herself, a very definite suggestion of "the pathetic result of trouble on a good woman." The opinions of a number of critics who thought her performance here lovely and moving but quite wrong for the play were summed up in the Evening News: "She is seen at her best in the sleep-walking scene, and at her worst. That unfortunate 'sympathetic' quality which she possesses in such an eminent degree is nowhere more apparent than here and nowhere more unfortunate. It is not the murderess whose iron will at waking moments stifles not only remorse for the crime, but even thought of it, and whose nature revolts in sleep against

[93]See Carr, Reminiscences; ET; Times; Lloyd's; Daily Telegraph; Standard; Liverpool Daily Post; Dramatic Review; Daily News.

the rigour of its self-constraint, acting the frightful detail of the murder over again with unwilling horror. It is nothing like that. It is the penitent woman for whom remorse is so keen that it follows her to dreamland, and will not let her for a moment find forgetfulness, Miss Terry's dreaming horror suggests anything but stern and unrepentant wakefulness. One begins to sympathize with her; it is pathetic, and it is bad enough; it is sympathetic and that is fatal."

In order to facilitate an effective scenic illustration of the "bustle and activity" of the close of the play, Irving gathered the remaining scenes into a sixth act (Preface, MLT). The act began with a front scene of the country near Dunsinane, where the rebellious Scottish nobles had paused to rest and reconnoiter on their way to meet the English army. They were armed for battle, and some sat or leant against rocks while others lay on the ground (Figure 17). As a result of the cutting, the greatest attention in the scene was given to the rebels' description of the desperate state of Macbeth, giving an accurate foreshadowing of Irving's playing of the final scenes which would bear out the report of Caithness: "Some say he's mad: others that lesser hate him/Do call it valiant fury. . . ."[94] Commenting on the scene in the Liverpool Daily Post, E.R. Russell said, "I felt more than I ever did before the utility and dramatic impressiveness of that little talk in which Macbeth's enemies discuss upon rumour the condition of the

[94]Richard Dickins in Saintsbury and Palmer, We Saw Him Act, p. 99.

Figure 17. Act VI, Scene i: The rebellious Scots pause to rest. Illustration by Charles Cattermole from the souvenir program.

tyrant. It leads up effectively to the spectacle of ruin which Macbeth affords."

Act VI, Scene ii, in which Macbeth receives word of Lady Macbeth's illness, was set in a room of the castle which appeared to be just off the battlements (Figure 18). This solidly constructed room was entered by way of a curtained arch up right center which led to a passageway. Light entered from a window at stage right, beneath which there was a bench. The ceiling was timbered; the walls were stone, relieved by much architectural detail; the room was strewn with arms. Macbeth entered, accompanied by the Doctor, a numerous bodyguard, and two pages. His hair was greyed by time and struggle (Irving, following the chroniclers, believed the play covered a period of seventeen years.) Now bereft of human help, he had only the prophecy of the witches to rely upon. Although he vigorously scorned the reports of the approaching English army, wild despair was henceforth the keynote of his character; a deadly heart-sickness had settled over him. It was an officer rather than a servant who came to report the number of the English force. Quickly and nervously, Macbeth asked "Where got'st thou that goose look?" He hissed the speech beginning "Go prick thy face," and having brutally dispatched the officer, revealed the state to which he had come in tones which were melancholy but not meditative:

> . . . Seyton!--I am sick at heart
> When I behold--Seyton, I say!--This push
> Will cheer me ever, or dis-seat me now.
> I have liv'd long enough. . . .

This was delivered with much gesture and a restless, unsteady gait, his trembling fingers passing through his scant grey hair.

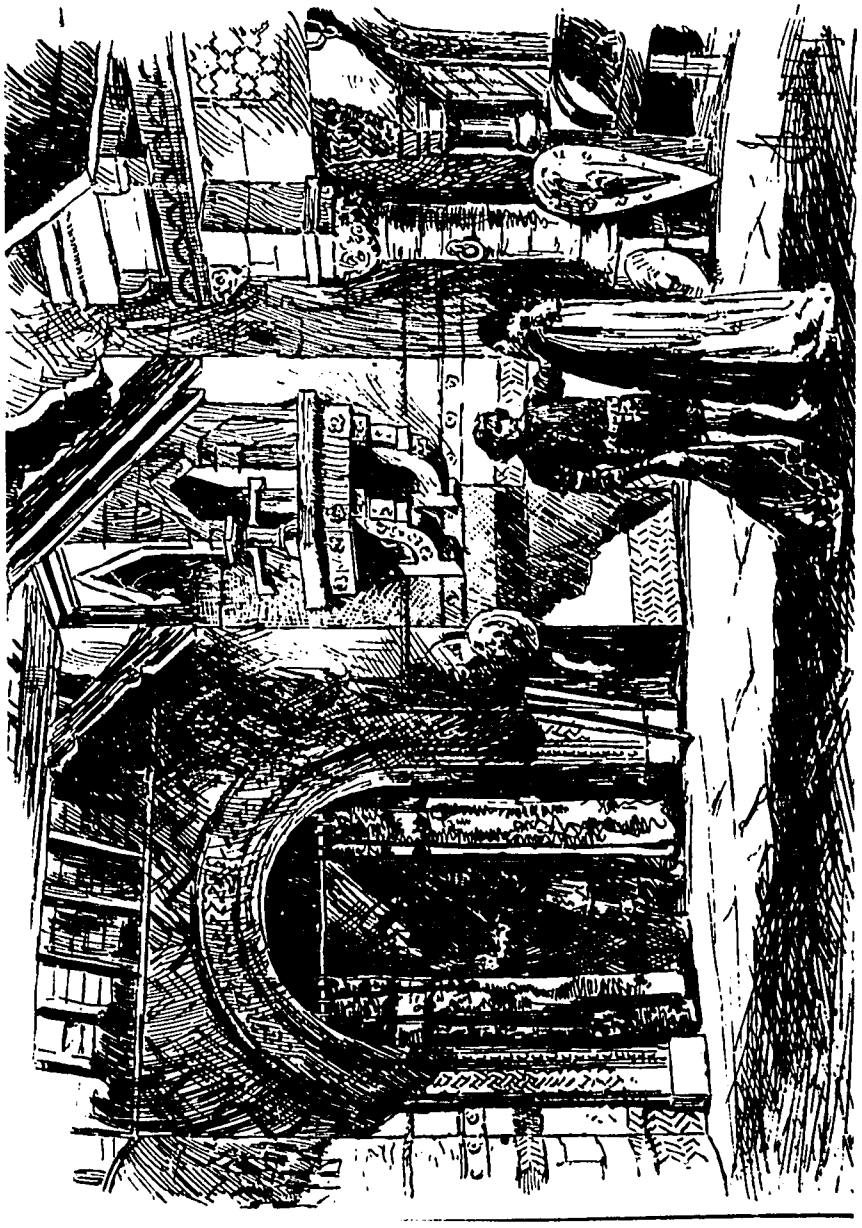

Figure 18. Act VI, Scene ii: "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?" Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

Then he gave a long sigh and sank into the seat for the remainder of the speech, his look and tone expressing hopelessness and a weariness of life. Instead of "way of life," Irving used the Johnson emendation: ". . . My May of life/Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf. . . ."[95] In the opinion of the reviewer for the Star, Irving gave a "really notable delivery" of this soliloquy.

Macbeth roused himself when Seyton entered, his voice stronger as he questioned Seyton for further news. Seyton motioned to an officer, who exited to carry out Macbeth's order to search for more potential soldiers; then Seyton exited with a page to fetch Macbeth's armor. Macbeth turned to the Doctor, pausing lengthily upon receiving news of his wife's condition. He became more calm and quiet and his tones grew softer as he questioned the Doctor regarding a remedy. Then, as Seyton entered with his armor, Macbeth resumed his frenetic pace on "Throw physic to the dog; I'll none of it," violently seizing his coat of mail and staff from the kneeling Seyton. The remainder of his lines were delivered with strength, desperation, and high tension. The scene concluded with his couplet, "I will not be afraid of death and bane/Till Birnam forest come to Dunsinane."[96]

Scene iii (Figure 19) was a front scene of a rugged wooded hillside, mountains and water visible in the distance at left.

[95]See Preface, MLT; HI; Drew; Dickins, We Saw Him Act, p. 99; Folger Mac 14; Daily News; Era.

[96]See HI; Drew; Folger Mac 14; MLT; Graphic, London, 12 January 1889.

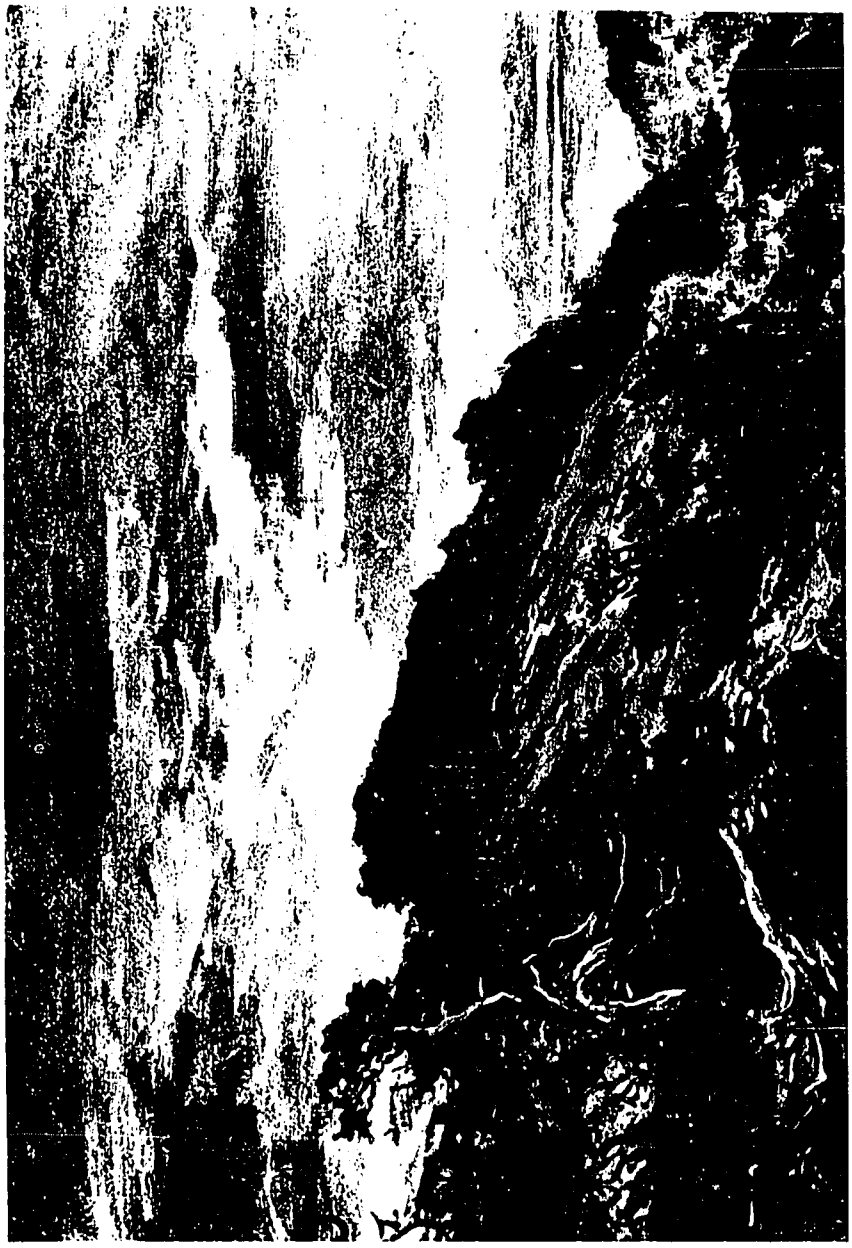

Figure 19. Act VI, Scene iii: The wood of Birnam. Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

The invaders, a numerous force, were seen approaching the wood of Birnam by moonlight. They were led by Siward, played by the veteran Howe, who paused down left. Macduff was behind him at center, and they were backed up by a group composed of Malcolm and Donalbain and the rebel Scottish lords. After receiving Malcolm's orders to hew down boughs to disguise their approach, the group split up, moving off right and left.[97] William Archer of the World thought that the latter procedure smacked too much of provincial staging techniques.

Scene iv had the same castle setting as did Scene ii. Macbeth entered, delivering "Hang out our banners on the outward walls" in full tones. He was followed by Seyton and his body-guard in groups of three. When the cry of women was heard within, all looked off and there was a pause. Seyton exited to investigate. Macbeth sighed before "I have almost forgot the taste of fears." In his next line, the word "quail'd" was substituted for "cool'd": "The time has been my senses would have quail'd/To hear a night-shriek. . . ." Hearing of his wife's death, he seemed grimly resigned and all but insensible to her loss. Instead of "should" he said "She would have died hereafter," implying not that her death was untimely but that it was inevitable. He moved his hand to his head and rifled his hair with his fingers as he began "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow." A messenger entered with blanched cheeks to tell Macbeth of the movement of Birnam Wood. Three of his comrades peeped through the door with frightened eyes, anticipating a violent reaction

[97]See Times; Preface, MLT; HI; World.

from the King. The message provoked general surprise, and in spite of his threat to punish the messenger for false-speaking, Macbeth was clearly broken down by the news. He recovered himself for ". . . If thy speech be sooth/I care not if thou dost for me as much." "I pull in resolution" became in performance "I pall in resolution," in accordance with the Johnson emendation. This was spoken in a whisper, looking off. The soldiers exited at Macbeth's command as the alarm bell began to ring. He spoke "At least we'll die with harness on our back" through clenched teeth, then followed his soldiers.[98]

There is neither picture nor description of Scene v, in which the opposing army was discovered on a plain before the castle. Presumably it was a front scene. The soldiers cast down their boughs and marched off to do battle with Macbeth's forces (MLT).

Scene vi took place on another part of the plain, a piece of characteristic Scottish landscape along a river (Figure 20). Sounds of the battle were heard offstage, and the soldiers sang as they fought, the simulated distance making their tune a hum. Macbeth entered, his grey hair dishevelled, his face haggard. He looked, according to Ellen Terry's description, like "a great famished wolf, weak with the weakness of an exhausted giant, spent with exertions ten times as great as those of giants of coarser fibre, and stouter build." Physically endangered, he possessed a desperate courage which he could not summon when

[98]See HI: Folger Mac 14; MLT; Morning Post; Drew; Fitzgerald, Sir Henry Irving, pp. 203-204; Liverpool Daily Post; J.N. Willan, First Night Impressions.

Figure 20. Act VI, Scene vii: The final combat. Illustration by Bernard Partridge from the souvenir program.

mentally assaulted. He had the fierceness of a hunted animal at bay, reinforcing the image expressed in "They have tied me to the stake; I cannot fly." The fight with young Siward had been cut; Macbeth exited after his line, followed hard at heels by Macduff in search of him. Siward and Malcolm then passed through on their way to enter the surrendered castle, after which Macbeth reentered. About to fall on his own sword, he paused and cried "Why should I play the Roman fool, etc." He turned as Macduff entered and challenged him: "Of all men else I have avoided thee." Ellen Terry noted that Irving gave an overwhelming suggestion of the power of fate in this line, seeming "to envisage a power against which no man can fight, to hear the beat of its inexorable wing." Nevertheless, as long as he had the remainder of the witches' prophecy to cling to, he fought bravely. Then Macduff's declaration that he was "from his mother's womb untimely ripped" unnerved Macbeth and sent him trembling and cowering half off the stage. He died very much in the style of Kean: pierced by Macduff's sword, he tottered for a moment, resisting death, and hurled his dagger at Macduff, remorseless to the end. The weapon landed impotently at his adversary's feet, and Macbeth died, falling forward on his face. The final picture of the play (Figure 21) was of Macbeth, face downward, surrounded by the victorious army, some of whom hurled execrations at him while others raised the new King to their

Figure 21. Act VI, Scene vii: The victorious Malcolm.

shoulders.[99]

In the concluding scenes of the play, Irving's vocal mannerisms were again prominent, but they seemed less the result of technical deficiency than of the "nervousness, anxiety, and weariness attendant upon a first night" (Standard). His portrayal of the desperate tyrant at bay was nevertheless convincing and energetic, highlighted by the "May of life" soliloquy and by a brilliant execution of Macbeth's final struggle. Scott of the Daily Telegraph reported that Irving made each of the transitions in Macbeth's confrontation with Macduff perfectly clear--his fierce animal courage while a shred of superstition remained in his favor, the destruction of his will by the revelation of Macduff's untimely birth, and his final selfish attempt to destroy his opponent even though he had received his own death blow. The death struggle was described in the Saturday Review as a "duly impressive close of a performance which, whatever fault we may find with its conception, [was] a truly remarkable executive effort." Several reviewers were impressed by the staging of the battle scenes and the final combat. Joseph Hatton in the Sunday Times applauded the "wonderful energy and imagination infused by Mr. Irving into the bustling scenes of the sixth act," noting that the battle scenes were "splendidly done in the matter of grouping and pictorial illustration," and that the soldiers looked like "what we may suppose to have been

[99]See Standard; Liverpool Daily Post; O.B. Clarence in Saintsbury and Palmer, We Saw Him Act, p. 92; Ellen Terry, Memoirs, pp. 232-233; Times; Folger Mac 14; Daily Telegraph; Dramatic Review; Daily News.

veritable soldiers of the period." Moy Thomas of the Daily News added that the fight between Macbeth and Macduff was "far more effective than of old" because it was "shorn of its melodramatic details," and "the final tumultuous assemblage and wild acclamations of the victorious troops around the body of the fallen tyrant" offered a striking close to the tragedy.

As the curtain descended on the final tableau, the audience responded with great enthusiasm. After bringing Ellen Terry and Arthur Sullivan on for repeated calls, Irving stepped down to the footlights to answer shouts from the house for the curtain speech which was a custom of Lyceum opening nights:

> Ladies and gentlemen, you have "tied me to a stake," but I shall not attempt to flee from it. I heartily thank you for this spontaneous welcome. (A voice from the audience: "You deserve it.") I assure you we are delighted to be back among you again, and with regard to the production of this play, it has been a labor of love to us all. We have been glad to have Sir Arthur Sullivan aiding in the task. Our dear friend, Ellen Terry, in appearing as Lady Macbeth, for the first time, before a metropolitan audience, has undertaken, as you may suppose, a desperate task, but I think no true lover of art could have witnessed it without being deeply interested, and without a desire to witness it again. (This statement was greeted by sympathetic applause.) As to the general performance, we are full of shortcomings, which we are ever striving to mend, in order that we may be worthy of your approval. For the kind, generous, I may almost say affectionate manner in which you have welcomed us to-night, I thank you again most heartily.

After his speech, Irving again brought on Ellen Terry. At last they retired behind the curtain; the lights rose in the auditorium, and the audience filed out into the chilly night air; the shirtfront and sable set to their waiting carriages outside the portico in Wellington Street, the upper circle and amphitheatre along to their omnibuses in Wellington Street or to

Temple Station, the pit and gallery setting off on foot toward the Strand or Covent Garden, filling the midnight air with discussions of the momentous first night.[100]

Perhaps the best extant gauge of the popular reaction to Henry Irving's 1888 Macbeth is the box office record, which suggests a warm audience response. Despite the fact that Irving was ill and out of the cast for ten days not long after the opening, the revival continued to attract crowds. By the time Macbeth was taken off for summer vacation, it had played continuously for one hundred fifty-one performances and was still doing good business. This was the longest run which the play had enjoyed in its history and a substantial one by the standards of the time. Austin Brereton estimated the receipts for the initial run at nearly fifty thousand pounds, a "healthy" average of three hundred thirty pounds per performance for six months (The Life of Henry Irving, II, p. 149). Macbeth was subsequently added to the Lyceum repertory and presented successfully on tour in America.

In correspondence with the great public interest which had attended the production, press critics responded to the new Macbeth in unusual length and detail. Many prefaced their critical remarks with descriptions of the excitement surrounding the long-awaited first night and lists of the social and professional credentials of the audience. All devoted most of their copy to descriptions of the mounting of the production and

[100]See Standard; Daily Chronicle; Brereton, II, p. 140; Sunday Times.

to the performances of Irving and Ellen Terry. Mention of the supporting players was cursory, and there were surprisingly few notes on Irving's arrangement of the text. Each critic praised the physical production; each found both positive and negative features in the performances of the leading actors, though they were not necessarily the same ones listed by other reviewers. The conclusion reached by the press was that the Lyceum Macbeth, though not completely successful, was nevertheless history-making and a must for every theatre-goer.

Neither the amount nor the effect of Irving's cutting of Macbeth seems to have offended the critics; in fact, the Dispatch of 30 December 1888 described it as the "purest and most scholarly" of known stage arrangements of the play (p. 20). What little textual commentary appeared in the press reviews related to the cutting of individual scenes. The first of these was the murder of Banquo, which produced conflicting reactions. To the Daily Chronicle's critic, this cut was quite acceptable, inasmuch as the scene was unnecessary to the comprehension of the story. But the cut was described in the St. James's Gazette as one which was injurious to "the symmetry of the action" and was a jolt to audience members accustomed to seeing the scene performed (31 December 1888, pp. 3-4). F.C. Burnand in Punch objected to the omission of Hecate's scene in the third act, declaring the scene important because in it Hecate "gives Macbeth's character as a 'wayward son, spiteful and wrathful,'" and then foreshadows what, by prearrangement, the answers of the spirits in the cauldron scene are to be (12 January 1889,

pp. 15-16). E.R. Russell of the Liverpool Daily Post disagreed: "Hecate, happily, is made little of in the new version of the tragedy. She is a difficulty and is best 'minimised.'" Several reviewers noted with displeasure that although in his printed edition of the play, Irving had restored Macbeth's response to his wife's death to the usual "She should have died hereafter," he returned in performance to his 1875 reading, "She would have died hereafter." The cutting in the final scene of Macbeth's line "Before my body I throw my warlike shield" met objection from Arthur Kennedy of the Universal Review. Kennedy argued that the line and the business it implied should have been retained as an index to Macbeth's changing perspective, that he should fight Siward (by implication one gathers Kennedy would have liked the character of Young Siward to be retained) with his shield slung behind him because he thinks himself invulnerable, then put up the shield before him when he realizes his vulnerability to Macduff. Irving's rearrangement of the play's closing scenes into two acts was, according to the St. James's Gazette, a great help to the "varied and restless movement with which the inevitable catastrophe is approached."

The mise-en-scene of the Lyceum Macbeth, if not quite perfect, was nevertheless a brilliant success, eliciting raves from all sides. These reactions in the St. James's Gazette typify the general response: "As an example of the supreme art of stage-management applied to the worthiest of subjects, as a picturesque and impressive creation harmonious in every detail, whether of music or mounting, of tableau or concerted action,

this revival of 'Macbeth' is an absolute triumph." In production values, according to unanimous critical opinion, the new Macbeth surpassed not only earlier revivals of the play but also the high standards established in previous Lyceum efforts; in the opinion of the critic for the Saturday Review, it was "probably Mr. Irving's greatest achievement as a manager," and constituted "a notable addition to the brilliant services already rendered by him to the Shakespearian drama and to the English stage."

In his role as stage-manager, Irving aroused particular excitement through his handling of the witches. He succeeded, as he had hoped, in divesting them of the semi-comic element which had attached to them through tradition, as well as in establishing, clearly and convincingly, their supernatural significance, putting an end, reported Moy Thomas of the Daily News, to the old commonplace that it was impossible to stage the supernatural scenes in Macbeth without some fatal suggestion of the ludicrous. Casting proved to be an important factor in his success; the Daily Chronicle's reviewer felt that because Irving had assigned the characters of the weird sisters to three experienced tragediennes, "for the first time probably in the recollection of the oldest playgoer there was positive solemnity in the delivery of the rhymed lines of the witches." The sense of mystery was also promoted by the fact that the magical feats of the witches, such as appearing in a thundercloud and vanishing into thin air, seemed authentic; they were described in the St. James's Gazette as "infinitely more successful than anything

else of that kind" within memory.

In the opinion of the critics, an outstanding feature of Irving's physical arrangement of the play was his elegant and eloquent composition of stage pictures; Thomas of the Daily News confirmed that these were in every case both "magnificent" and "really illustrative." Irving had dealt particularly effectively with the scenes involving large numbers of people, and avoided any suggestion of the common "super." Each of the servants, soldiers, and women seemed genuine; they were not members of a crowd but specific individuals, each with a definite function in the action and a definite place in the composition. The Standard reported that even the humblest soldier in the army was an aid to the illusion. Irving had further assisted and stimulated the imagination of his audience through the life-like detail and suggestive touches which he brought to each scene, for example in having Banquo and Macbeth joined on the heath by their guard in I, iii--"Who indeed," asked Thomas of the Daily News, "could believe that the victorious Generals are returning unattended?"--or in stationing three frightened eavesdroppers in the corridor in VI, iv, when the messenger brought Macbeth word of the moving wood, one of many added strokes which Russell of the Liverpool Daily Post found "strikingly illustrative."

In material matters, the critics agreed, the Lyceum Macbeth was superb, "the finest ever seen on any stage" (Evening Post). The settings and costumes more than justified their expense in the contribution they made to sustaining the illusion and illuminating the action of the play. In addition to being spectacular and beautiful, the scenery was also of a kind to "assist

rather than impede and burden imagination, and in no way to overweight the action," observed Joseph Knight in the Globe. The scenes were in every case convincingly executed, "the illusion of walls and battlements, of wind and weather-beaten stone," could not have been carried further, in the opinion of Nisbet of the Times. Not the least notable feature of the scenery was the fact that, as Scott reported in the Telegraph, the scene changes were "executed noiselessly and with the precision of clockwork." The harmony of the stage pictures, in the view of Russell in the Liverpool Daily Post, evidenced close cooperation between the costumiers and scene-painters. The costumes themselves seemed both accurate and appropriate. Whether they belonged to Ellen Terry or to an extra, they seemed to the critic for the St. James's Gazette to be executed with such care and detail that they would stand up to "the closest and most critical inspection." They did not seem to be stage costumes "worn in their newest gloss," Russell added, but real clothing belonging to real people. Particularly noteworthy were Alice Comyns Carr's costumes for Ellen Terry, which were designed, Russell believed, with a "judgement and invention amounting to genius."

With the exception of the unmotivated limelight in the murder scene, most critics found Irving's lighting of the production effective. However, a few felt that Irving had gone overboard with realistic lighting; some of the murkier scenes seemed to Nisbet of the Times and Knight of the Globe to have been plunged into a gloom which was almost impenetrable.

Sir Arthur Sullivan's score for Macbeth won unanimous

praise. The Saturday Review of 5 January 1889 contained a separate article about the Macbeth music, specifically commending the establishment of motifs to be heard later in the play in the "singularly fine and effective" overture, the "masterly" development of the march which heralded Macbeth's approach in I, iii, and the variety of Sullivan's work as demonstrated by the contrast of the "charming music which herlads Duncan's arrival, and the freshness and beauty of the Prelude to the Fifth Act" with the "strangely demoniac nature of the Incantation music" (p. 12). The score as a whole, the reviewers agreed, was musicianly, pleasant, always appropriate to the action and duly subordinate to it, and helpful to the imagination. The Illustrated Sporting News for 5 January rashly predicted that Sullivan's music for Shakespeare's plays would live on ("as fresh, perhaps as undying, as the immortal masterpieces that inspired it") after Pinafore and The Mikado were forgotten! The Saturday Review reported that the score was well-played by the Lyceum orchestra under the direction of Meredith Ball and was given additional theatrical effect by the Lyceum practice of "stowing the musicians away under the stage," thereby giving an air of "dimness and distance" to the music. Sullivan himself was apparently very pleased with his participation in the production, and left the following note in his diary regarding the opening night: "December 29th, 1888--Left at 7.15 for The Production of Macbeth at the Lyceum Theatre. Words by Shakespeare. Music by Sullivan. Produced by Irving. Great success! Author, Composer, and Stage-manager called

enthusiastically. Only the two latter responded!"[101]

The production was no more impressive in its individual elements than in its unity, as Hatton pointed out in the Sunday Times: "It has been often remarked that Mr. Irving's power lies in his personality. The play, in every direction, reveals this 'form and pressure'--the delivery, bearing, dresses, scenery, the very tone and aspect of the salle itself. . . . the result is complete homogeneousness and a general unity of effect."

The sketchy critical coverage of the performances of the supporting players gives nothing more than a general impression that they ranged from adequate to good. The Misses Marriott, Desborough, and Seaman as the witches received several complimentary notices, as did Haviland as Duncan, Howe as Siward, and Tyars as Ross. George Alexander's Macduff won much praise; the critic for the Saturday Review thought it was the best work he had done. Exception was taken by Russell of the Liverpool Daily Post, who argued that while Alexander had done his best, which was very good, and looked the part well, he was not up to the emotional and elocutionary demands of the scene in which Macduff is advised of the slaughter of his family. T.N. Wenman's Banquo was an excellent foil to Irving's Macbeth, according to Sporting Life, because of the way in which his strength differed in mode of expression from that of Irving (31 December 1888, p. 3). However, many critics thought Wenman's performance somewhat monotonous and lifeless; Archer of the World called it

[101]Quoted in Sullivan and Flower, Sir Arthur Sullivan, p. 183.

"more discreet than effective." A few critics objected to the "natural" style of Alexander, Wenman, and Ben Webster; the irritated critic for the Referee complained that they "underplayed" their parts and declaimed blank verse as if it were "drawing room chit-chat" (30 December 1888, p. 3).

Irving's performance in the title role provoked favorable comparison with his controversial 1875 Macbeth. In the earlier attempt, his characterization had seemed to most critics to be too craven, his technical skill insufficient to meet the demands of the role. Those reviewers who had seen the 1875 performance agreed that in the ensuing thirteen years, Irving had not substantially altered his conception of the role. In 1888 as in 1875, according to E.R. Russell, Irving's Macbeth was a "gaunt and haggard, anxious monarch and warrior of semi-barbarous times, saturnine and reserved even when first seen, under the influence of evil ambition and supernatural solicitings to ill; and afterwards becoming more and more wretched, less and less master of himself, wilder and wilder in quavering desperation, until at last aroused to die a furious death when baited by those he has mercilessly injured and deprived one by one of the 'charms' on which he has weakly depended" (Liverpool Daily Post). He remained as Russell had described him in commenting on the 1875 performance, "brave only on the field," though "resolute in such wrong-doing as makes for his ambition." Several of the more experienced reviewers felt that Irving rendered this conception more palatable in 1888 than in 1875. In 1875, his Macbeth had seemed physically as well as morally weak, inconsistent with the

descriptions of Macbeth as a courageous soldier. In 1888, the Observer critic concluded, "he was allowed to bear himself more firmly than of yore, and to avoid any hint of physical cowardice in his meditative hesitation before resolving upon his crime." The defects of execution criticized in 1875 seemed less severe in 1888; thirteen years had increased Irving's technical skill. William Archer, who at the age of twenty-one had circulated a satirical attack on Irving, "The Fashionable Tragedian," in which he referred to the 1875 Macbeth as a "Uriah Heep in chain armour," now concluded in his review for the World that the fault in Irving's earlier attempt had not been his "poltroonery" but the "grotesqueness of its manifestation," a fault which in 1888 was "in great measure reformed."

Nevertheless, the majority of critics in 1888, whether or not they had seen the earlier performance, disagreed with Irving's conception of Macbeth. They objected respectfully and for a variety of reasons. Some felt that Irving had deprived the role of its tragic stature by overemphasizing Macbeth's negative qualities. There could be little tragic significance in the fall of a man who was presented as a scoundrel from the beginning of the play. Irving's conception erred, in the view of Charles Morley of the Pall Mall Gazette, in omitting "that stamp of greatness which should denote Macbeth a born 'king of men'--one who would have worn the crown well had he come by it worthily." Such denigration of Macbeth's character did not seem to Nisbet of the Times to be warranted by the text. There was, he felt, no reason to believe that Macbeth was a villain from

the beginning of the piece, having broached Duncan's murder to his wife before he met the witches. Irving placed much stress on Lady Macbeth's taunt, "What beast was't then,/That made you break this thing to me," as evidence that Duncan's murder had long been a topic of conversation between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. "It is surely more reasonable," Nisbet argued, "to couple these words with his letter to Lady Macbeth than to assume the existence of a prologue which Shakespeare has not written." Nisbet also attacked Irving's idea that Macbeth's hesitation before the murder resulted from fear of consequence rather than moral compunction: "The superstitious fears that seize upon Macbeth in consequence of his meeting with the weird sisters, and his horror of embruing his hands in the blood of a defenceless old man who is a guest under his roof, have never been considered incompatible with a certain manliness of nature. What else mean those visitations of conscience that he discovers in his soliloquies and in his scenes with Lady Macbeth? The road to kingly power as Macbeth may have envisioned it does not necessarily lie through bloodshed." In Nisbet's opinion, Lady Macbeth was not mistaken in her judgment of her husband's character as Irving suggested; Macbeth was in fact possessed of the "milk of human kindness," and it was up to his wife to show him the "nearest way"--"the nearest way in her opinion being evidently the murder of Duncan." In short, Nisbet would have preferred a Macbeth of the old school, a good man moved to an evil deed by the influence of the witches and his wife.

A number of critics found the new Macbeth structurally

less effective than the old, inasmuch as Irving's conception afforded little scope for change in the character, resulting in a sameness of effect throughout the play. Among them was Arthur Kennedy of the Universal Review, who argued that since the murder of Duncan was a familiar thought to Irving's Macbeth, the prompting of the witches lost "almost all its point," and that the frenzied despair of Macbeth's attitude at Dunsinane had been "so continually anticipated in the earlier portions of the play as to be lacking in emphasis when exhibited in its right place."

Irving's conception did not meet with universal opposition. He found more favor among critics who disaffected tradition and were willing to accept the play as a psychological study instead of a tragedy in the old style, among them the representatives of the Sunday Times, the Morning Post, and the Evening Post. The critic of the Saturday Review, while not in complete agreement with Irving's theories about Macbeth, expressed his support of Irving's decision to portray Macbeth as an ignoble figure. In his opinion, the character as drawn by Shakespeare was indeed lacking many of the classic attributes of the tragic hero: "It is impossible to deny that Macbeth is, on the whole, a poor creature. The very fact that one is compelled to insist so much on his mere physical courage is a tolerably clear indication that it is his only masculine virtue. He has no will, no nerve, no constancy of purpose, and his superstitious awe of the supernatural is excessive--as witness Banquo's contrasted attitude towards the Witches--even for a rude soldier of his time." Such sympathetic commentaries on Irving's conception were in the

minority, but it is worth noting that his conception was supported unequivocally by his former outspoken adversary, William Archer, who had by this time won a reputation as one of the most perceptive and incorruptible critics in London. "I have no quarrel whatsoever with Mr. Irving's conception," Archer wrote in his review for the World; "I do not think he has misunderstood the part in any vital point."

As for Irving's execution of the role, considered independently of his conception of the character, his successes and failures were those which might have been predicted by those acquainted with the actor's work. The critical majority agreed that Irving was in many instances unequal to the vocal demands of the role. William Archer, a stickler in matters of delivery, thought him fine in conversational passages, and even in longer speeches such as the beginning of the dagger soliloquy where "the verse is, so to speak, short-winded and hesitating." But Irving was not equal to sustained passages of verbal eloquence. He did not murder the metre, but he was unable to communicate the music of the verse. This, in Archer's view, resulted not only from the technical limitations of his voice, but from his inability to accommodate his desire to show the thought preceding the word to the structure of the verse in such passages. This desire Archer thought quite laudable in itself, but in Irving's case, he felt it had produced "a jerkiness of style fatal to the finest beauties of such a part as Macbeth." Nor was Irving assisted in meeting the vocal difficulties of the role by his conception of the character, which, building as it did

from a state of relatively high emotional excitement at Macbeth's first entrance, necessitated in scenes such as the banquet emotional extremes which were quite beyond Irving's vocal power. Such scenes, the Observer reported, brought out all that was "least pleasing and dignified in the actor's elocutionary method."

Excepting such instances of vocal difficulty, Irving clearly gave a performance that was equal to his conception. Even if we were lacking supportive statements such as that in the St. James's Gazette stating that the actor left "no possibility of mistake as to his meaning," the analysis of Irving's Macbeth by each critic fits so closely with what we know of his intent that there can be little doubt as to the clarity of his performance. In this respect, several critics mentioned the assistance lent by Irving's "picturesque" business and his telling facial expression which indicated "every variety of feeling . . ., so much so that Lady Macbeth's remark, 'Your face, my Thane, is as a book where men may read strange matters,' seems peculiarly apposite" (Morning Post). Part of the power of the performance lay in the fact that Irving had imagined the character with great complexity of detail without ever losing track of its through line; he gave "an exhaustive study of the frenzy produced by cowardice, the hysteria due to a morbidly excited imagination, and the fever caused by a diseased mind," in which there was yet traceable "such consistency of purpose as holds the spectator spell-bound" (St. James's Gazette).

Ellen Terry's Lady Macbeth was generally considered well-

played but wrongly conceived. The general reaction to her performance was summed up in the Evening News: "C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la guerre--it is very pretty, but it is not Lady Macbeth." Miss Terry displayed all of her customary graces in the role. She was picturesque: "I can remember no performance so full of plastic and pictorial inspiration," said William Archer in the World. She played as naturally, in the opinion of Arthur Kennedy in the Universal Review, as if she were playing not Lady Macbeth but the "nineteenth century heroine of New Men and Old Acres." And she exuded star quality: "Never before," said Archer, "has Miss Terry's personal glamour (excuse the word), her subtle and enigmatic charm, made itself so irresistibly felt." Moreover, in attempting to meet the challenges of a role which everyone agreed was not suited to her, she demonstrated unexpected dimensions to her art; the reviewer for the Daily Chronicle felt that she had "rarely acted with such intensity" and that there was no outward resemblance between her Lady Macbeth and any other character she had played.

The critics were quick to recognize that Ellen Terry's conception of Lady Macbeth was eminently suited to her abilities as an actress; it was, according to Archer, "the Lady Macbeth that Shakespeare would have drawn had he had Ellen Terry in his company." Her reading was also clearly complementary to Irving's, in such sympathy both in imagination and execution as to make the two performances virtually inseparable, reported the Daily Chronicle. However, her interpretation of the character was not, in the opinion of most critics, sympathetic either

to Shakespeare's text or his intent. Her substitution of a bewitchingly feminine Lady Macbeth for the monster of tradition was not unconvincing; several reviewers were prepared to admit, with F.C. Burnand of Punch, that Miss Terry was "probably right as to the fascination of the Thane's wife." What most critics objected to was her failure to convey any strong sense of Lady Macbeth's fundamental wickedness. "There are no claws," noted the Evening News reviewer, "and consequently no occasional revealings of them. . . . She lacks devil." This shortcoming was due in part to her understanding of the character and in part to the fact that she did not convey an important part of her conception in her performance. That conception, compared with the traditional view of the role, deemphasized Lady Macbeth's wickedness in several ways: by altering her motives, making love for her husband a more important drive than personal ambition; by reducing her awareness of Macbeth's true nature; by lessening her consciousness of the full implications of her crime; and by removing her from complicity in the course of violence which Macbeth pursues after Duncan's murder. But if Ellen Terry did not see Lady Macbeth as a heinous fiend, she clearly considered the character a bad woman, a "devil" and a "hell-cat." In her study copy, she reminded herself not to show "the pathetic result of trouble upon a good woman" because "Lady M. is not too good." Unfortunately, this was not made explicit in her performance. Rather than portraying a "murderess with the manners of an angel," the critic for the Evening News concluded, she presented "the manners of an angel

without any murderess." As a result, the character did not seem compatible with her actions, the sense of the evil of her deed was decreased, and her final sufferings were more pathetic than tragic.

Miss Terry's failure to depict Lady Macbeth's evil nature was the one great flaw in a performance which was otherwise regarded as clear and consistent, intellectually and emotionally stimulating, and visually pleasing. If most critics felt that Ellen Terry's Lady Macbeth was not Shakespeare's, they also agreed with the critic of the Star that it was an impersonation "of the very deepest interest, daringly original, rich in suggestion, a gallant appeal to the present playhouse to upset the traditions of the past." However inadequately conceived, observed Charles Morley in the Pall Mall Gazette, hers was a "beautiful and original performance, a thing to be seen and not forgotten." Miss Terry recorded her own awareness of critical discord in a letter to her daughter:

> It is a most tremendous success, and the last three days' advance booking has been greater than ever was known, even at the Lyceum. Yes, it is a success, and I am a success, which amazes me, for never did I think I should be let down so easily. Some people hate me in it; some, Henry among them, think it my best part, and the critics differ, discuss it hotly, which in itself is my best success of all! Those who don't like me in it are those who don't want, and don't like to read it fresh from Shakespeare, and who hold by the "fiend" reading of the character. . . . I play some of it well, but, of course, I don't know what I want to do yet. Meanwhile, I shall not budge an inch in the reading of it, for that I know is right. Oh, it's fun, but it's precious hard work for I by no means make her a 'gentle, lovable woman' as some of 'em say. That's all pickles. She was nothing of the sort, although she was not a fiend, and did love her

> husband. I have to what is vulgarly called 'sweat at it,' each night (Memoirs, pp. 234-235).

Two criticisms written in retrospect provide additional perspective on the Lyceum Macbeth. One, Ellen Terry's, was recorded in her autobiography twenty years after the opening performance. The other, Bernard Shaw's, was originally included in Our Theatre in the Nineties and later reiterated in his preface to the published record of his correspondence with Ellen Terry. Recalling her own performance, Miss Terry expressed her dissatisfaction with the sleep-walking scene:

> Henry's imagination was always stirred by the queer and the uncanny. This was a great advantage in "Macbeth" in which the atmosphere is charged with strange forces. How marvellously he could have played Lady Macbeth in the sleep-walking scene, which ought above all things to be uncanny! I am not surprised that he was dissatisfied with me in this scene. He knew so well how it ought to be done, and I never came near it. Writing to me, I think after the dress-rehearsal . . . he says: "You will be splendid in this part. The first time it has been acted for many years. The sleeping scene will be beautiful too--the moment you are in it--but Lady M. should certainly have the appearance of having got out of bed, to which she is returning when she goes off. The hair to my mind should be wild and disturbed, and the whole appearance as distraught as possible, and disordered. . . ." But the cause of my being all wrong in the scene lay deeper than my appearance, as I realise now. In other scenes, particularly the banquet scene, I was not so wrong.

Concerning Irving's direction of the play, Miss Terry stated that in Macbeth, he "brought his manipulation of crowds to perfection. My acting edition of the play is riddled with rough sketches by him of different groups. Artists to whom I have shown them have been astonished at the spirited impression of these sketches." As for Irving's performance in the title role, Miss Terry recorded:

> His confidence in the rightness of his conception was not in the least shaken by criticisms of it, and he always maintained that as "Macbeth" he did his finest work. "And we know when we do our best," he would add. "We are the only people who do know." Perhaps he was right in putting his Macbeth before his Hamlet, yet I think his performance of "Hamlet" was the greater. His conception of Macbeth, attacked, and even derided, by the critics of 1888, seemed to me then, and seems to me now, as clear as daylight. But the carrying out of the conception was unequal. Henry's imagination was sometimes his worst enemy. It tempted him to try and do more than any actor can do (Memoirs, pp. 232-233).

Bernard Shaw shared Ellen Terry's estimate of Irving's performance: "I found it a performance of refined beauty. . . . The violence of Macbeth's defiance of Banquo's ghost was rather ridiculously beyond the actor's resources; but still his performance was a fine piece of work within its limits" (Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence, p. xxiii).

Though Irving never ceased to work on the roles which remained in his repertory, it is doubtful that, except in the matter of the staging of Banquo's ghost, he was much influenced by critical commentary on Macbeth. Irving regarded many members of the critical fraternity as false and corruptible men and dealt with them accordingly. (Some exceptions were Joseph Knight and E.R. Russell, whom Irving respected and who were his close friends, and William Archer, who was neither Irving's friend nor was ever entertained by him in any way, as were most London critics, and who had earned a well-deserved reputation for honest and perceptive criticism.) The critical responses to Macbeth followed a pattern which had become familiar to Irving: for the most part, like the reviews of his earlier productions, they defended tradition, attacked what were regarded as Irving's

mannerisms and technical deficiencies, and lavished praise on the mise-en-scene. Laurence Irving is probably correct in estimating that the reception of Macbeth by the critics was all that Irving had expected, by the public all that he had hoped.[102]

[102]Laurence Irving, Henry Irving: The Actor and His World (New York, 1952), p. 503.

Chapter V

Conclusion

Briefly described, Henry Irving's 1888 production of Macbeth presented a conception of Shakespeare's play which, though not original, differed widely from accepted tradition. The main tenets of this interpretation were that Macbeth was not a noble figure but a selfish villain, physically brave but morally a coward, given poetic dimension by his morbid imagination; that Lady Macbeth was not an unscrupulous, self-seeking harridan but a feminine loving wife, who wishes her husband's ambitions to be satisfied because his happiness is the basis for her own, and who misinterprets his character; that, rather than being moved to murder Duncan by supernatural and domestic promptings, Macbeth had planned the murder of Duncan and discussed it with his wife prior to his encounter with the witches, and that the latter were only collateral forces in the regicide, attracted to Macbeth because he wished to kill the King, by the attraction of evil for evil; that Macbeth vacillates about the murder of Duncan because of his fear of earthly consequences, and Lady Macbeth proceeds unshaken because she does not realize the implications of the crime; that Macbeth proceeds in his course of wholesale slaughter without his wife's knowledge and because of the same prudential fears which held him back from Duncan's murder; that Lady Macbeth is gradually destroyed by her realization of the consequences of the murder of Duncan and by her discovery of her husband's true character; and that Macbeth dies remorseless. The strong points of Irving's performance

were its psychological detail and its clarity and consistency in execution which had a gripping effect in the early scenes of the play, particularly the murder, and in the final action. Its weak points were Irving's inability to give full value to sustained passages of verbal eloquence, to handle the violent emotion required by his conception of his role during the appearances of Banquo's ghost, and, to a lesser degree, to bring to his conception the emotional variety that inhered in the traditional interpretation of the character. Ellen Terry's performance was interesting, visually beautiful, and moving, but she failed to convince her audience of the evil nature of Lady Macbeth. This failure probably resulted in part from insufficient consideration of this factor in her execution of the role and in part from audience preconception of her personality, which caused the public to see her as "gentle and dove-like" when in fact she felt as though she were "'going on' like a Billingsgate lady."[103] The production, with minor exceptions, most notably the mishandling of Banquo's ghost, which was immediately rectified to some degree, was brilliantly successful by the standards of the time and worthy of Irving's own production credo.

In beginning this study, we observed that the principal attraction of Irving's 1888 Macbeth lay in the fact that an eminent actor-manager, poised on the acme of success, chose to risk his resources and reputation on a production which was

[103]From a letter from Ellen Terry to Mrs. William Winter, dated 20 April 1889, in the collection of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

controversial in conception and challenging in execution. In conclusion, we might ask whether that risk was worthwhile, both in terms of service done to Shakespeare's play and results for Irving. With regard to the play, we find that considering its controversial nature, Irving's production offered little warrant for the sort of criticisms that were often leveled at his arrangement and interpretation of Shakespeare's texts. Certainly, his cutting of this shortest of Shakespeare's tragedies was extensive, yet, as we have seen, it was not excessive by the standards of his time. His chief motivation in cutting the text was not to alter its meaning but to allow time for the numerous scene changes which were a feature of the production style of the period. Given this need, his editing was not on the whole injudicious, with the possible exception of his decision to retain the two songs for the witches. He did not in any large sense cut in order to suit his role more closely to his own abilities or to solidify his own interpretation. He restored the Bleeding Sergeant's description of Macbeth's physical prowess which he had been accused of cutting for these reasons in 1875. There are only four brief cuts (Pelican II, i, 60-61; III, i, 54-55, 61-62; III, iv, 139-140) which can possibly be construed as relating to his interpretation of the play. Did he cut in order to emphasize his own role? Certainly that is the effect of his editing, but not, I think, its intent. To concentrate on the major characters is a natural result of most extensive editing, particularly when they dominate the play to the extent that Macbeth and Lady Macbeth do, and Irving neither

left his own role untouched nor made what would seem to be egotistical choices. Did Irving's editing change the balance of the play? Yes, to some extent, by slighting the representatives of natural and political order. Yet, as Kenneth Muir has observed in his introduction to the Arden Shakespeare edition of the play, Shakespeare's most effective description of these forces in Macbeth comes not in his portrayal of the "good" characters nor even through the more effective means of imagery, symbol, and iteration, but through Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, "who are unwilling witnesses to the good they renounce" (London, 1974, pp. xlv-xlvii). If, then, Irving's edition of Macbeth is scarcely the one which we might choose today, it was nevertheless in keeping with Victorian standards and was not an attempt to distort the play in order to achieve the ends of the actor. This is perhaps due to the fact that Irving seriously believed in the correctness of his interpretation of Macbeth. When, as in the case of Shylock, he felt that he was playing against Shakespeare's intention, or as in the case of Romeo he felt that he was unable to communicate the correct view of a character on stage, he privately confessed as much. Yet he maintained until the end of his life that in Macbeth, he gave an accurate and adequate reading of Shakespeare. Nor would it have been impossible for Irving to play a more traditional Macbeth--he could not have been a barn-storming soldier a la Barry Sullivan, but he could certainly have portrayed a noble, poetic, guilt-ridden Macbeth a la Edwin Booth; these were qualities which he displayed variously with great success in such roles as Hamlet and Thomas

Becket, Mathias and Eugene Aram. Ellen Terry also thought her role was correctly conceived, if inadequately rendered. It would be as difficult to prove that any point of the Lyceum interpretation of Macbeth was without ground in Shakespeare's text as to prove that Irving had in fact exactly captured Shakespeare's intention. The conception, though more adequately rendered in 1888 than in 1875, can hardly be said to have devastated traditional criticism, nor did any of Irving's critical and theatrical successors adopt his ideas of Macbeth in toto. On the other hand, none of the individual points of Irving's interpretation of the play has been disregarded in reputable modern criticism and theatrical production.

What of the results of the production for Irving? The very fact that the production involved a risk garnered floods of valuable publicity for the Lyceum, and the public demonstrated their interest through their attendance. Financially, the production was profitable, although it reflected the increasing costs which were eventually to be a contributing factor in Irving's loss of the theatre. If Laurence Irving's figures are correct, the production was capitalized at 6,000 and sustained a profit in its initial run of 5,000. Comparing these figures with the box office receipts, we find almost 39,000 devoted to operating expenses. The 5,000 figure was not impressive by comparison with the profits of earlier Lyceum successes. Irving's evaluation of his performance in later years clearly demonstrates his personal belief in the artistic worth of the endeavor. The reaction to the production did nothing to injure

the eminence of the Lyceum, for it was generally greeted in the spirit in which William Archer concluded his review for the World: "Take it all in all then, the production of Macbeth is more than worthy of the Lyceum tradition. . . . The revival will leave its mark in stage history by reason of the beauty of its setting, the earnestness and intensity of Mr. Irving's Macbeth, and the fascinating unconventionality of Lady Macbeth as modernised by Miss Ellen Terry."

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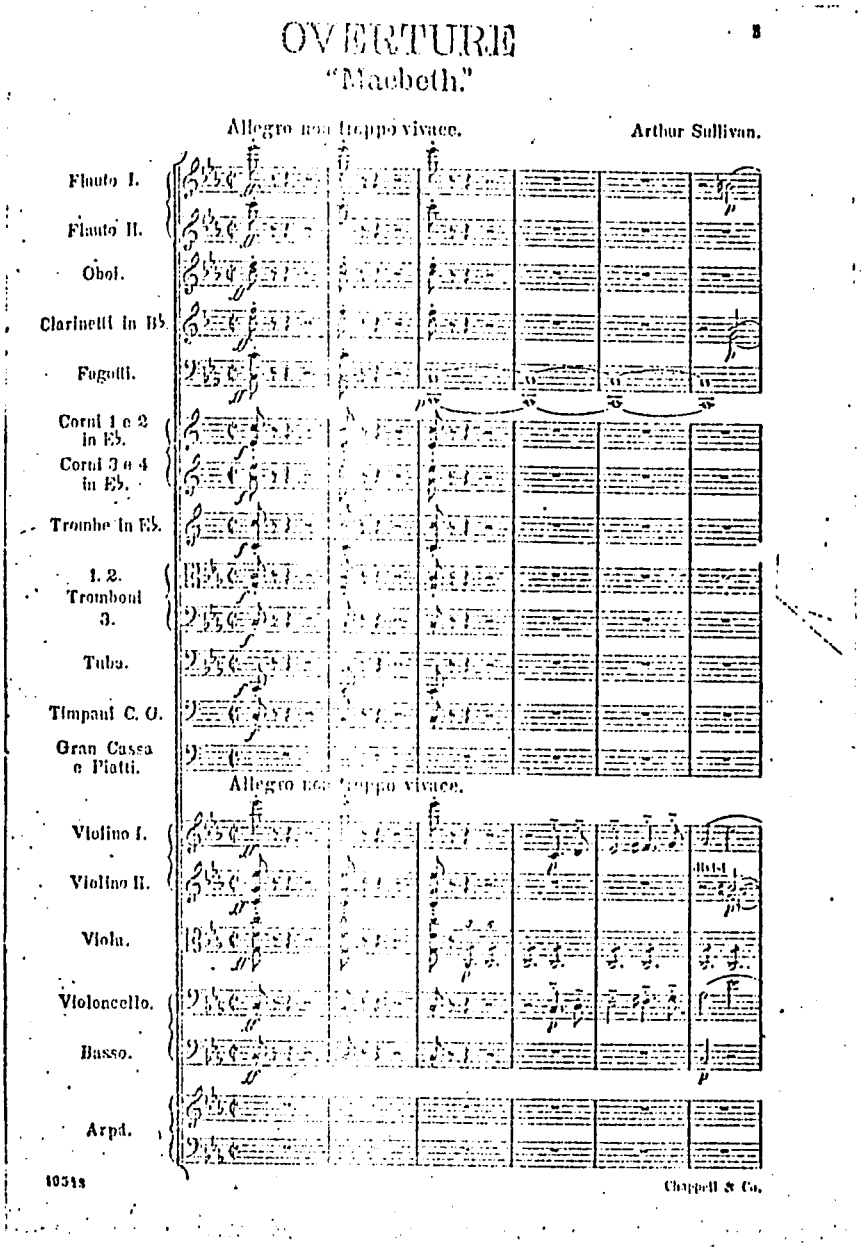
Appendix: Sir Arthur Sullivan's Overture to Macbeth



OVERTURE
"Macbeth."

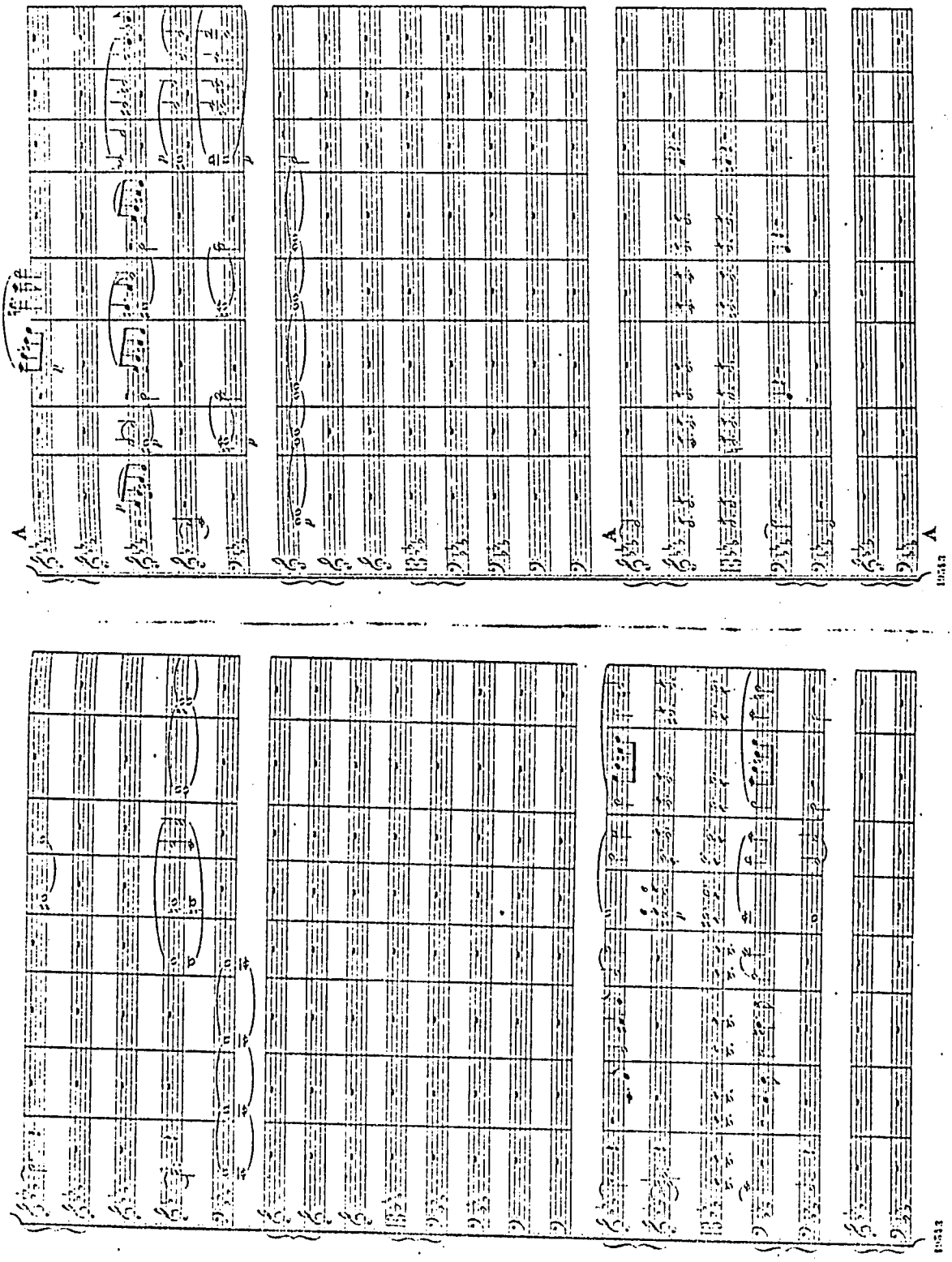
Allegro non troppo vivace. — Arthur Sullivan.

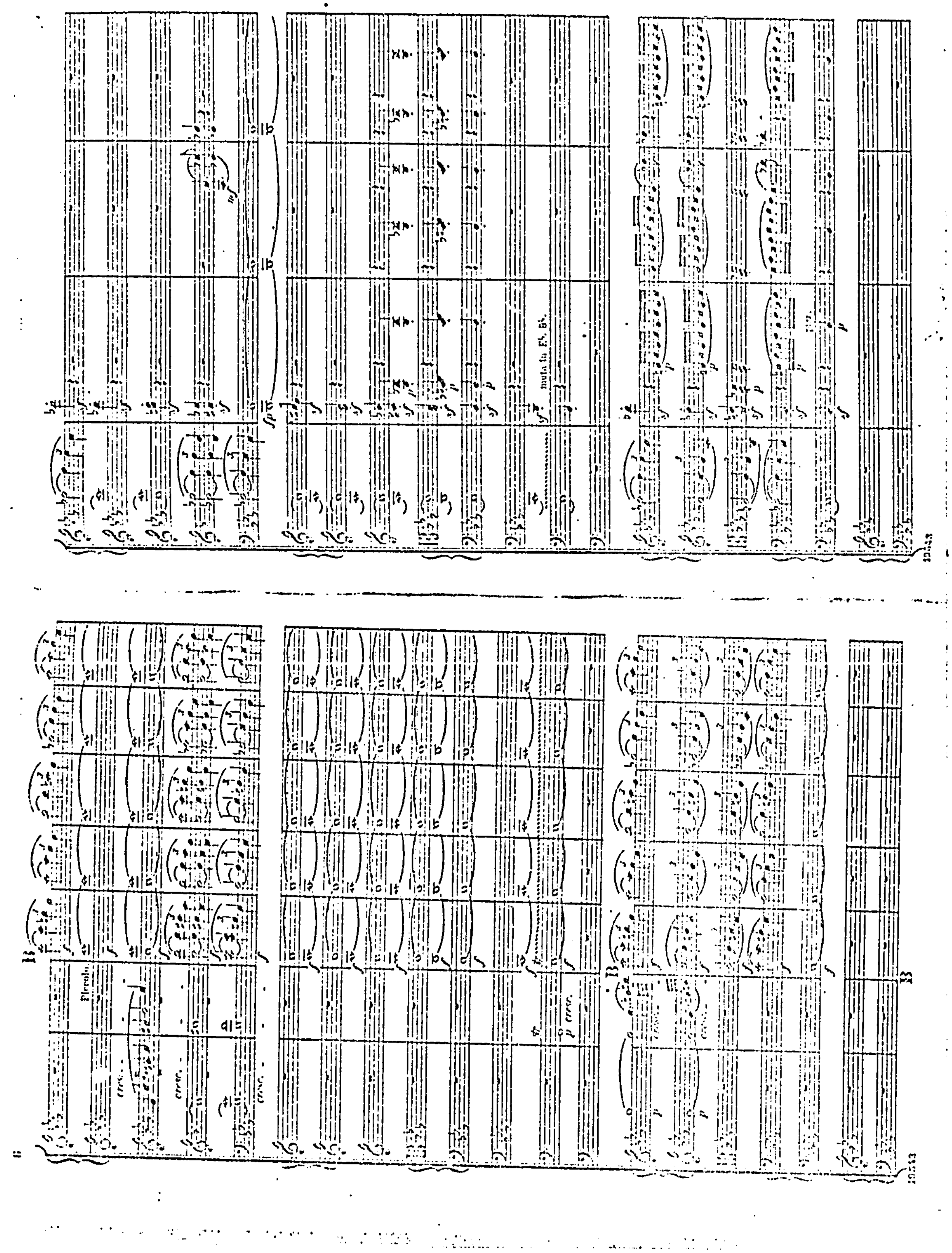
Flauto I.
Flauto II.
Oboi.
Clarinetti in Bb
Fagotti.
Corni 1 e 2 in Eb.
Corni 3 e 4 in Eb.
Tromba in Eb.
1. 2. Tromboni
3.
Tuba.
Timpani C. G.
Gran Cassa e Piatti.

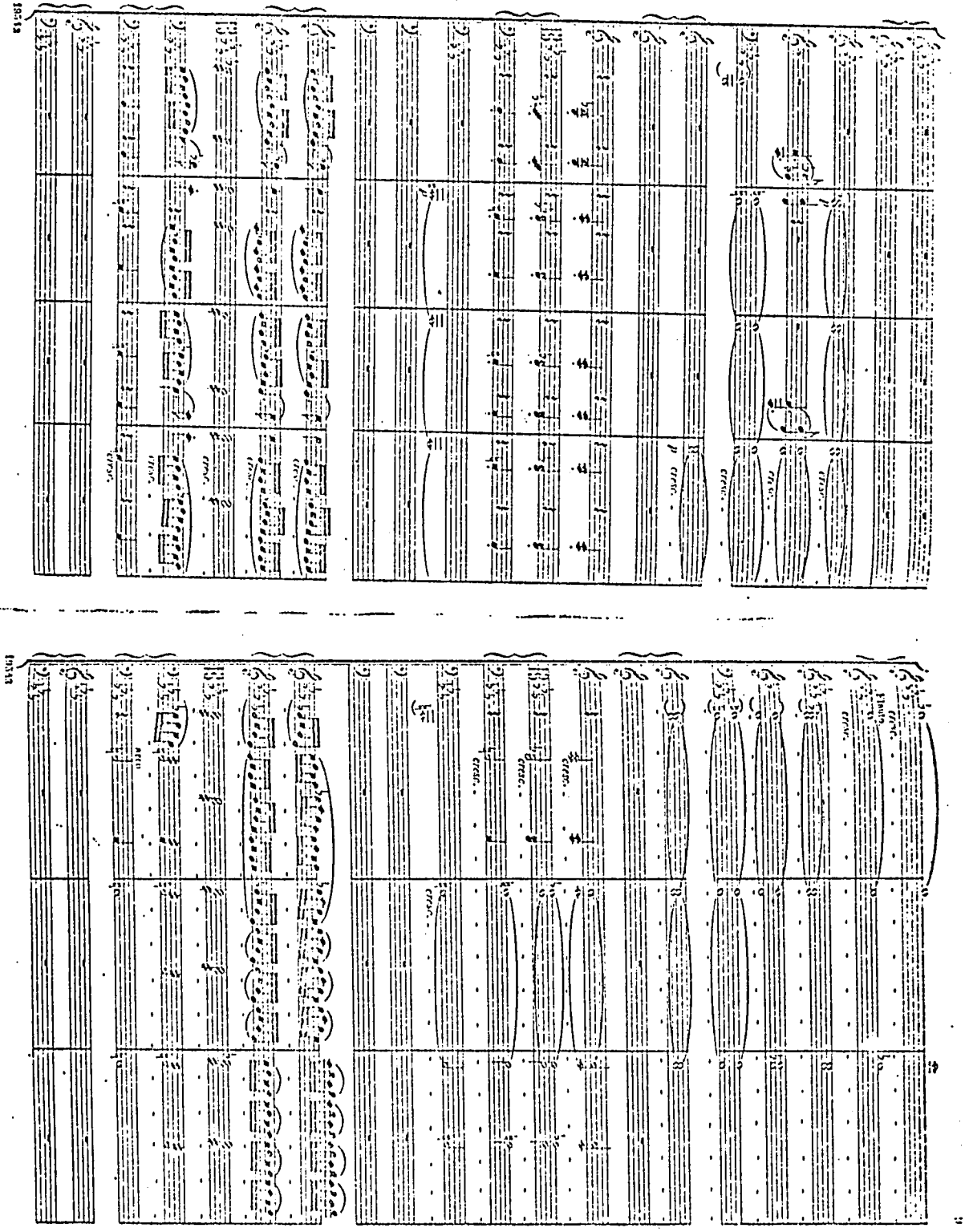
Allegro non troppo vivace.

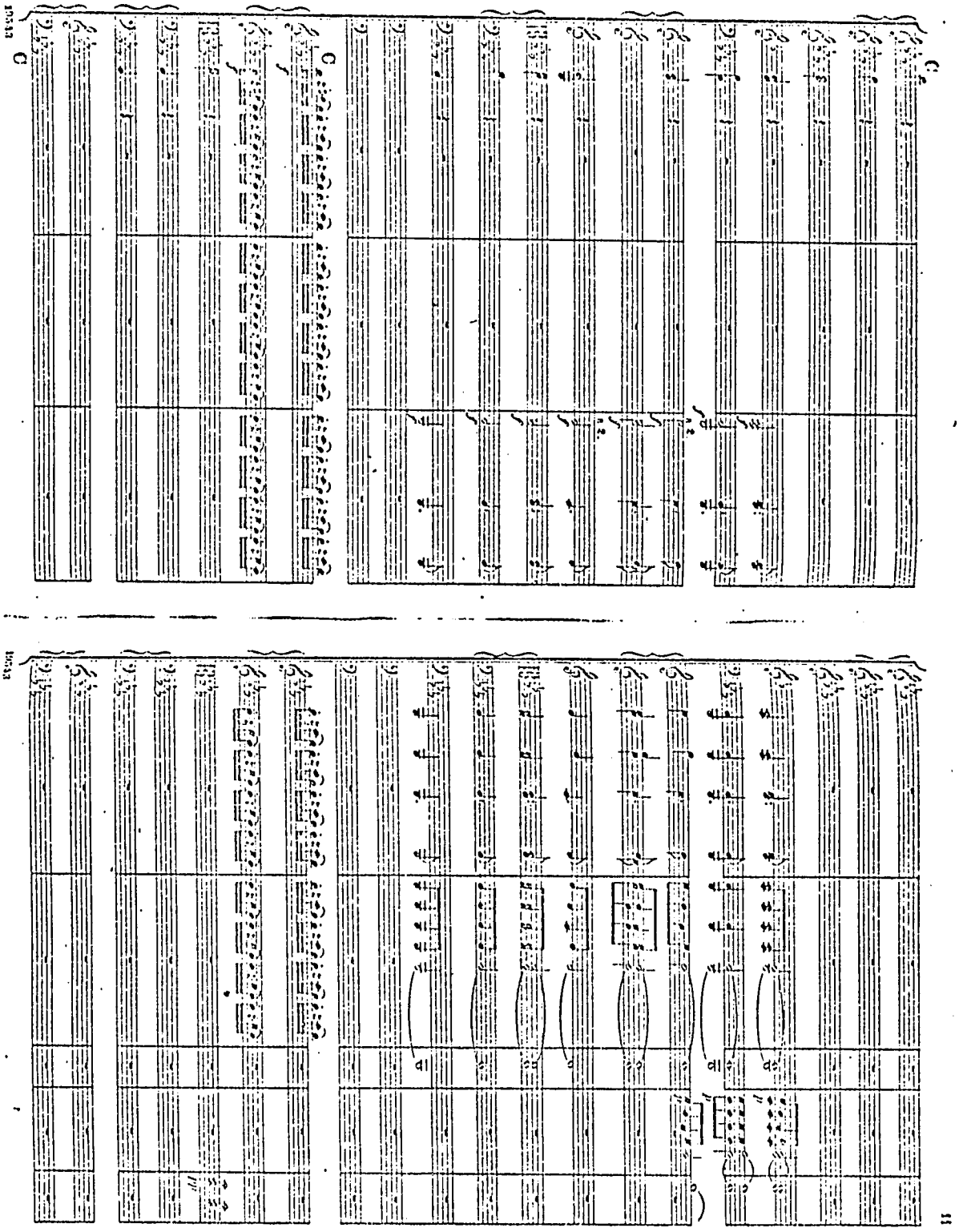
Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola.
Violoncello.
Basso.
Arpd.

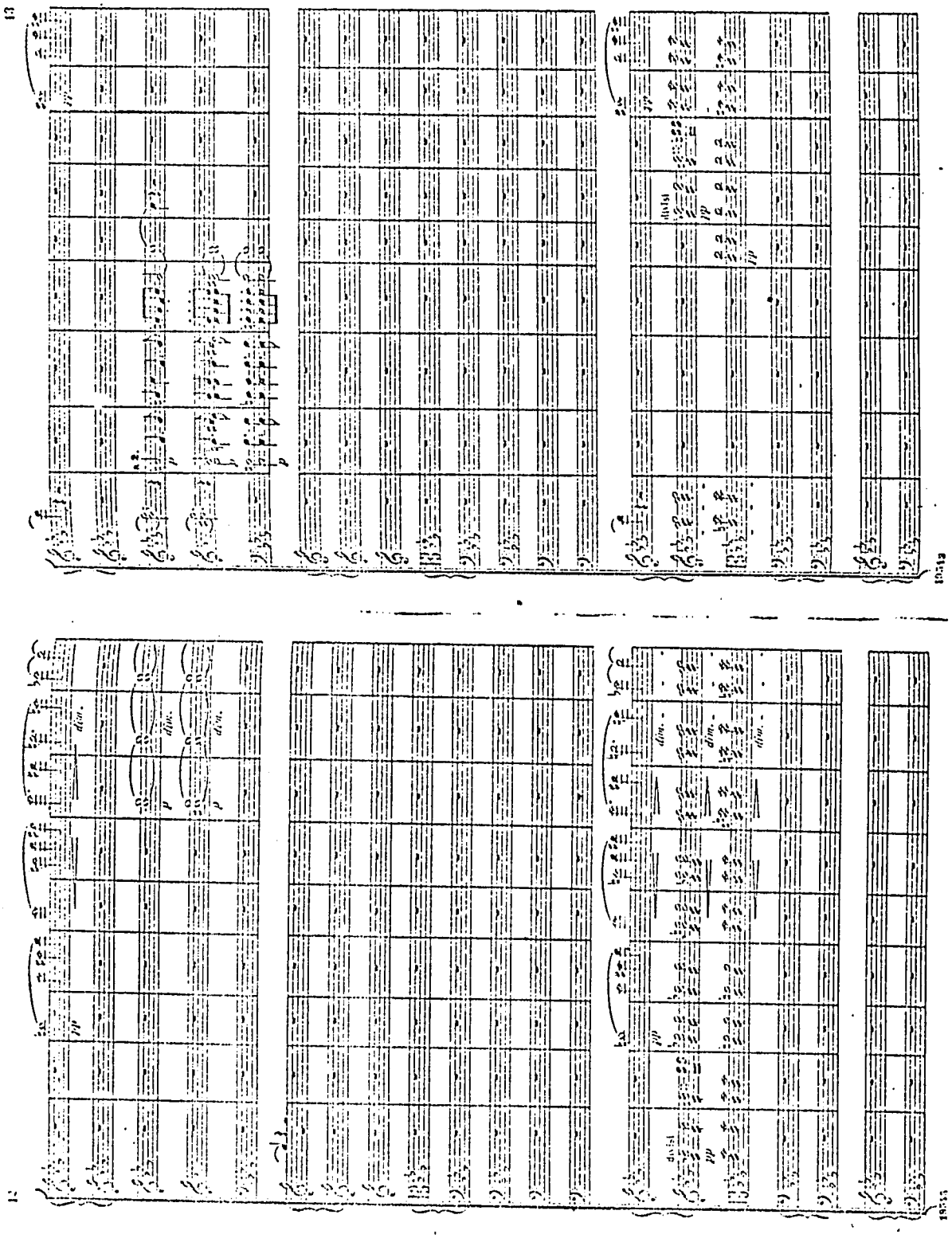
10348 — Chappell & Co.

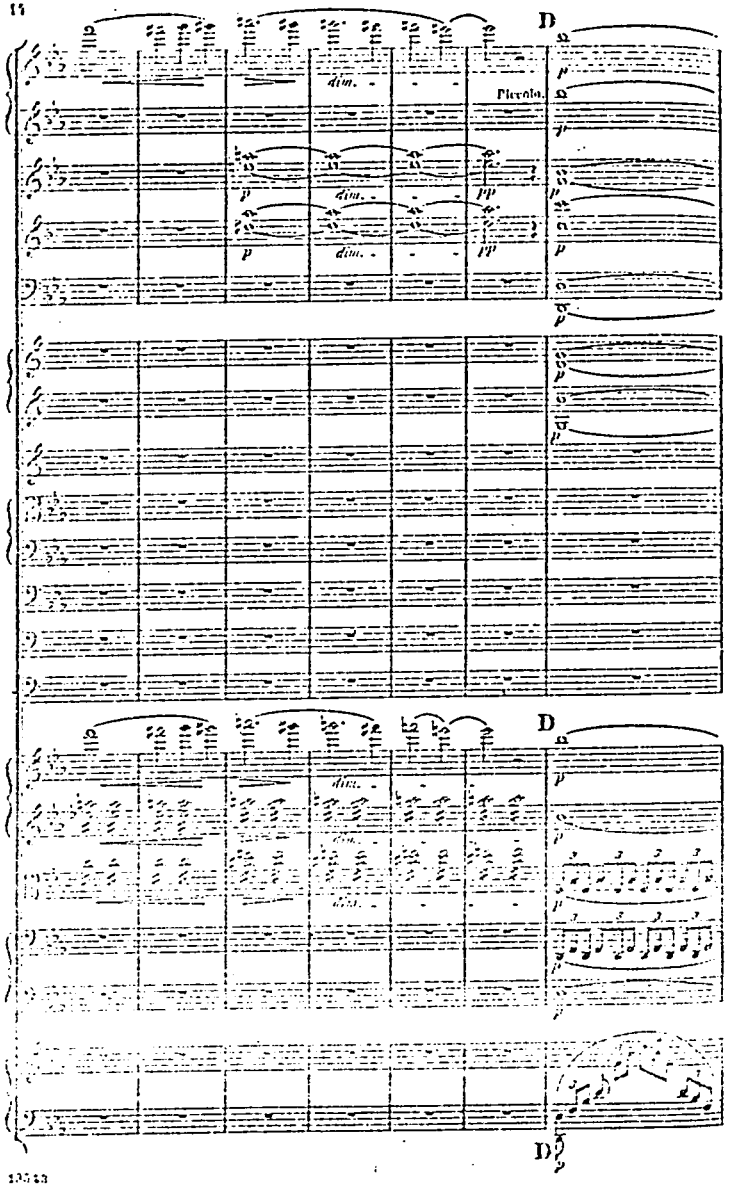


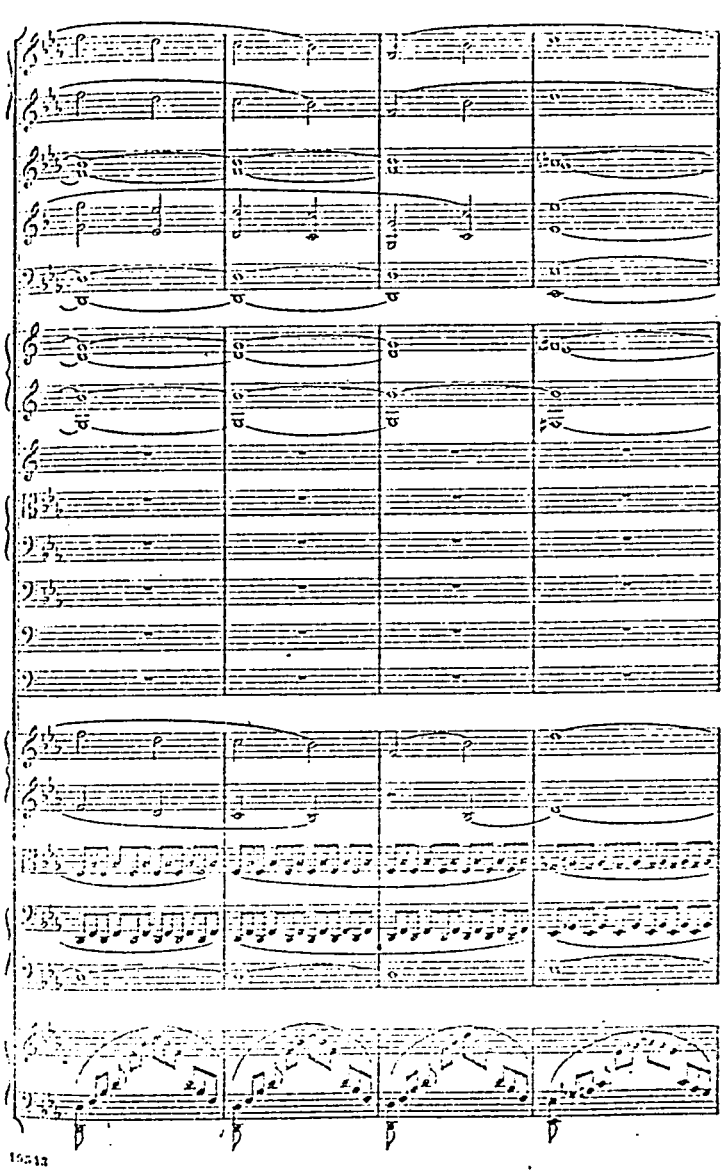


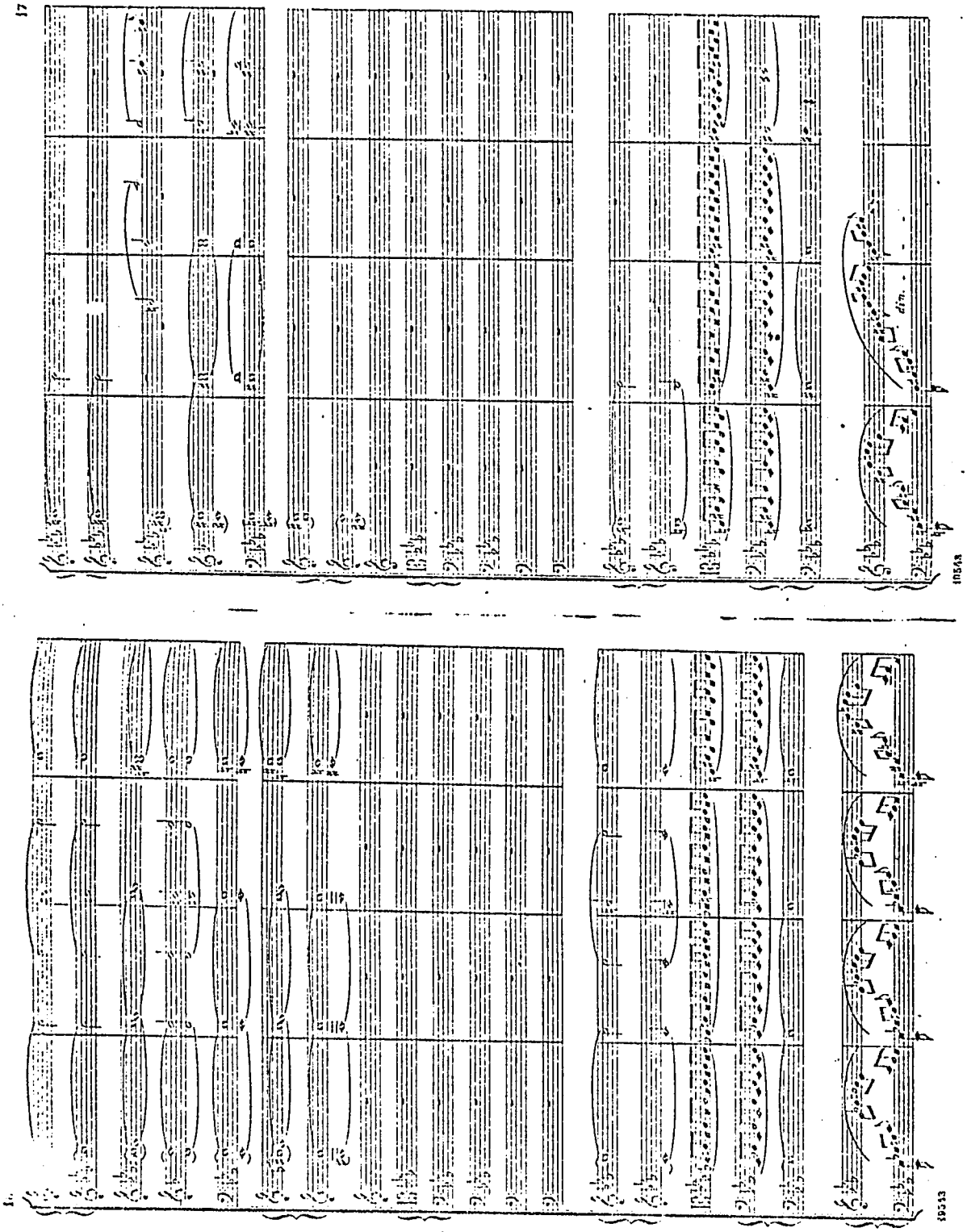


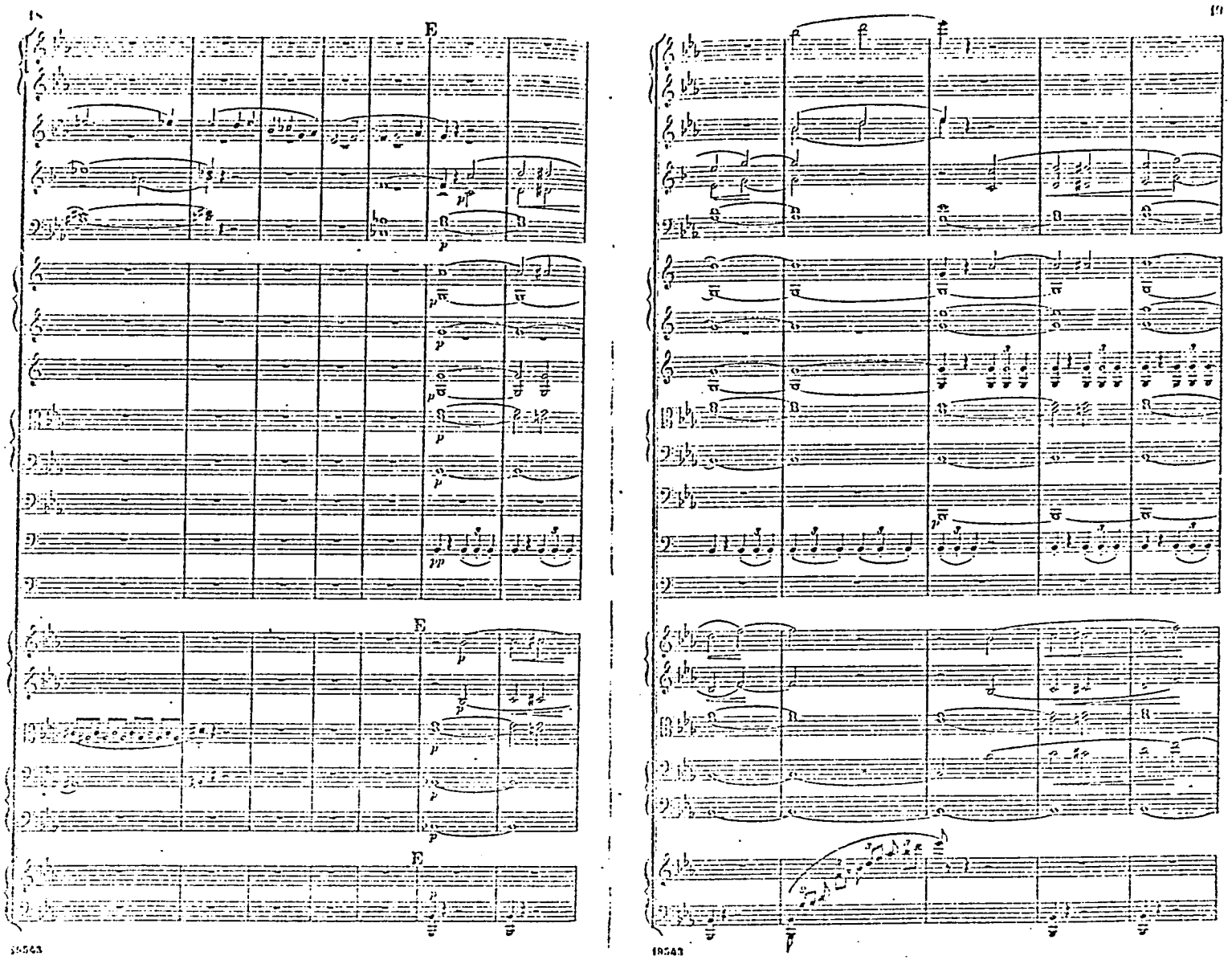





D
dim.
Piccolo.
p
pp
D



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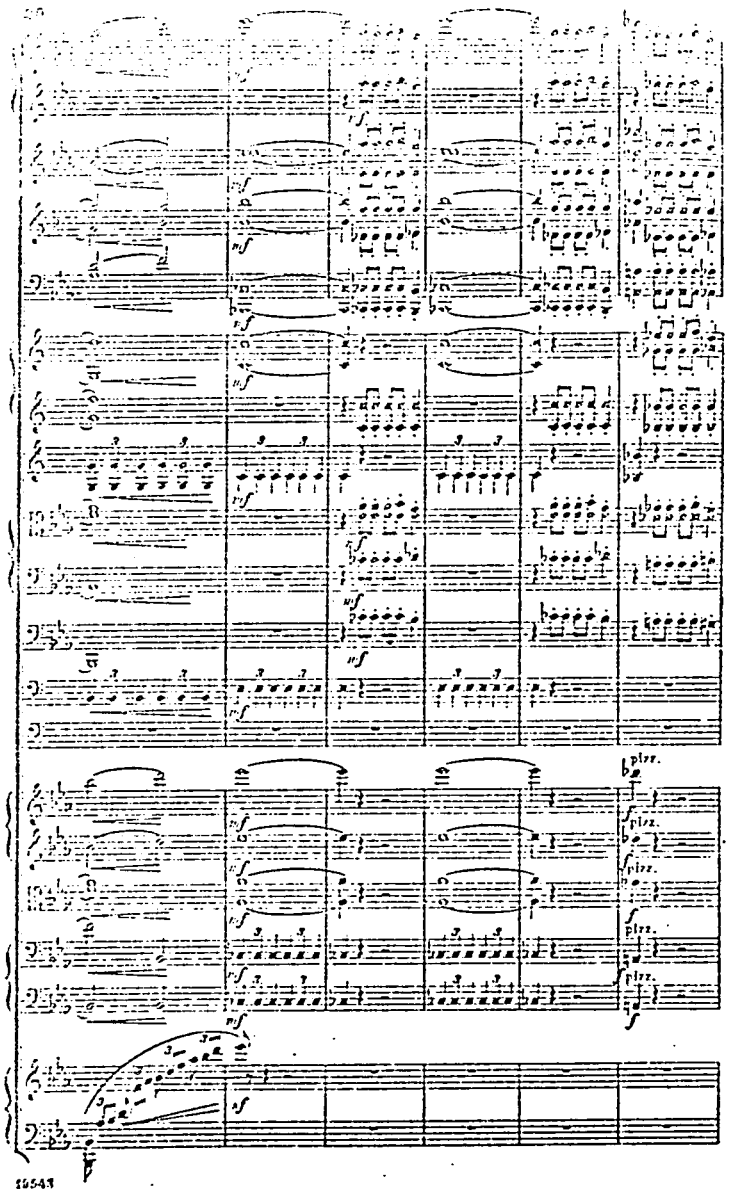
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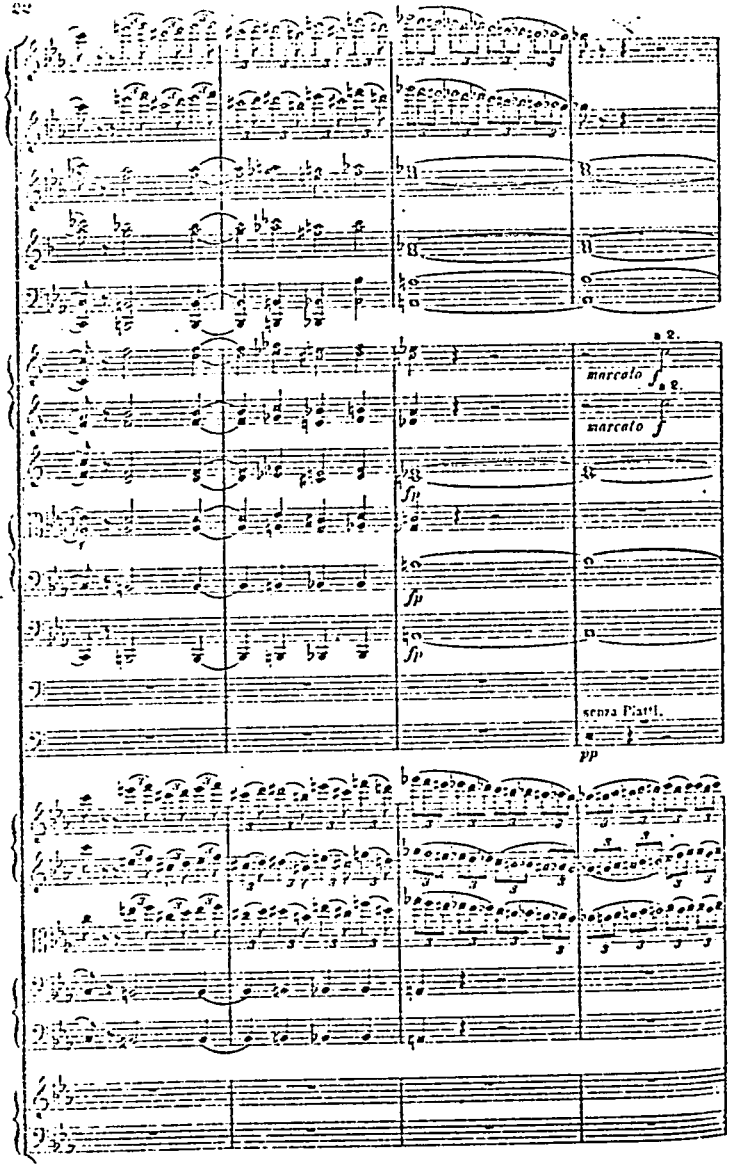
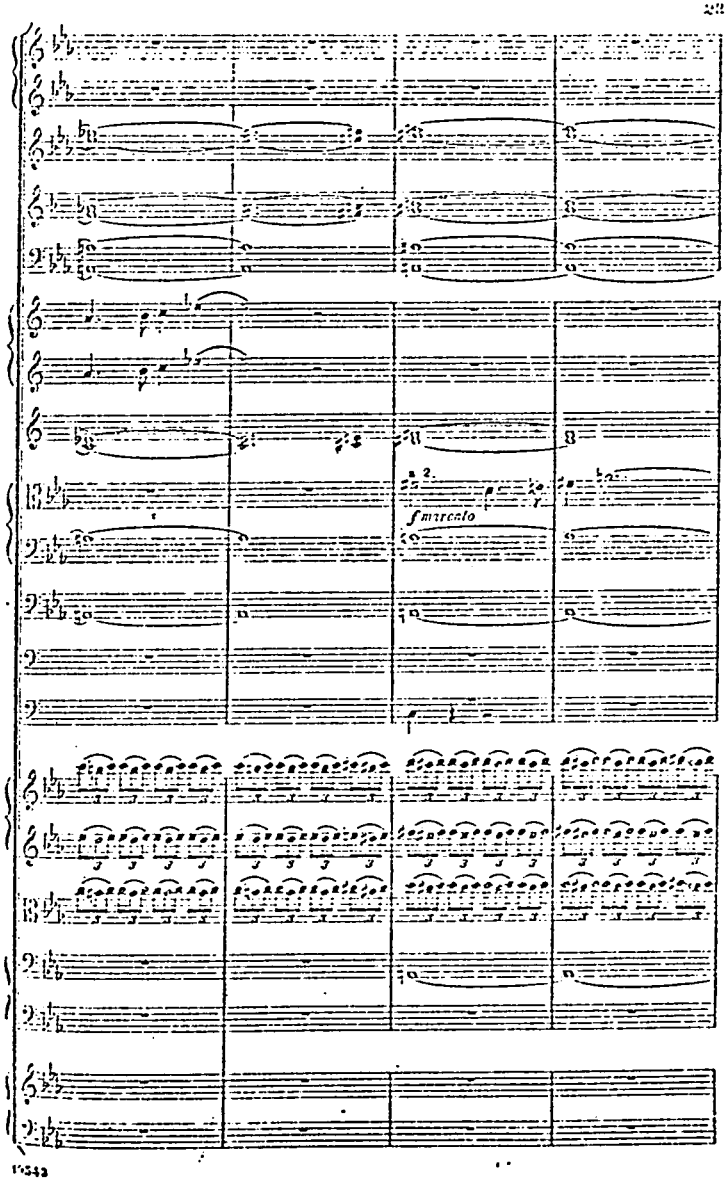
arco


a 2.
marcato f
a 2.
marcato f
fp
fp
fp
senza Piatti.
pp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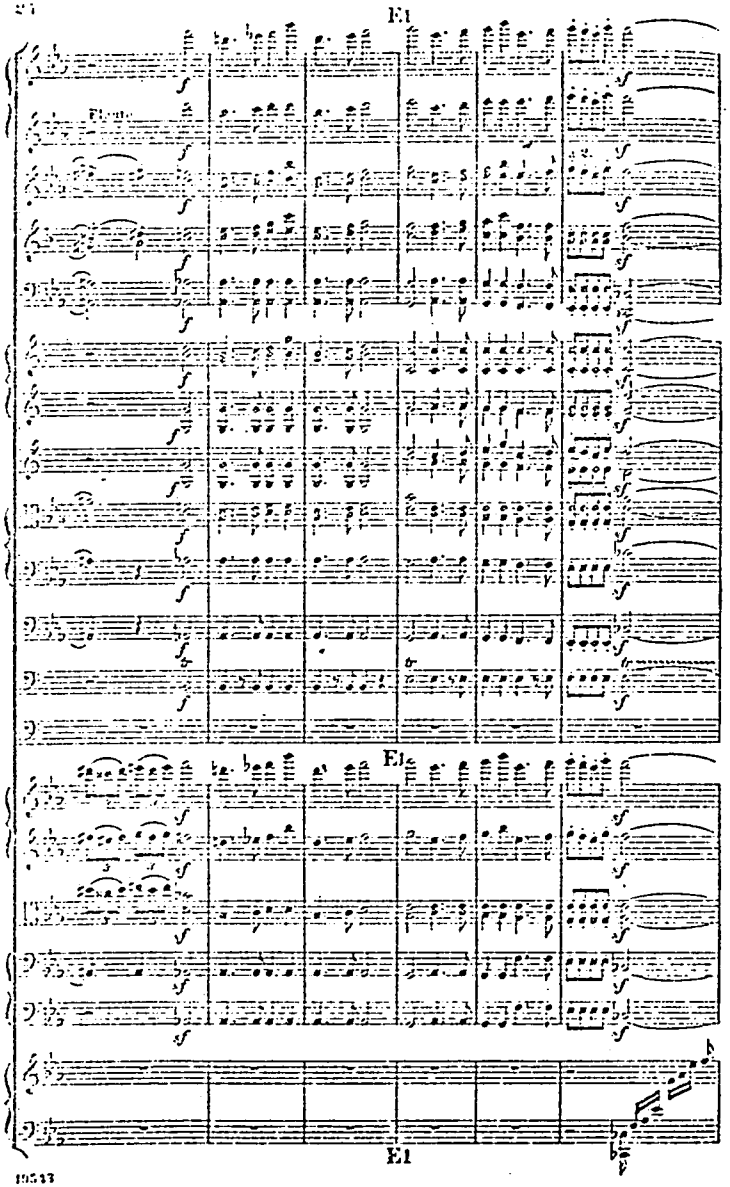
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E1
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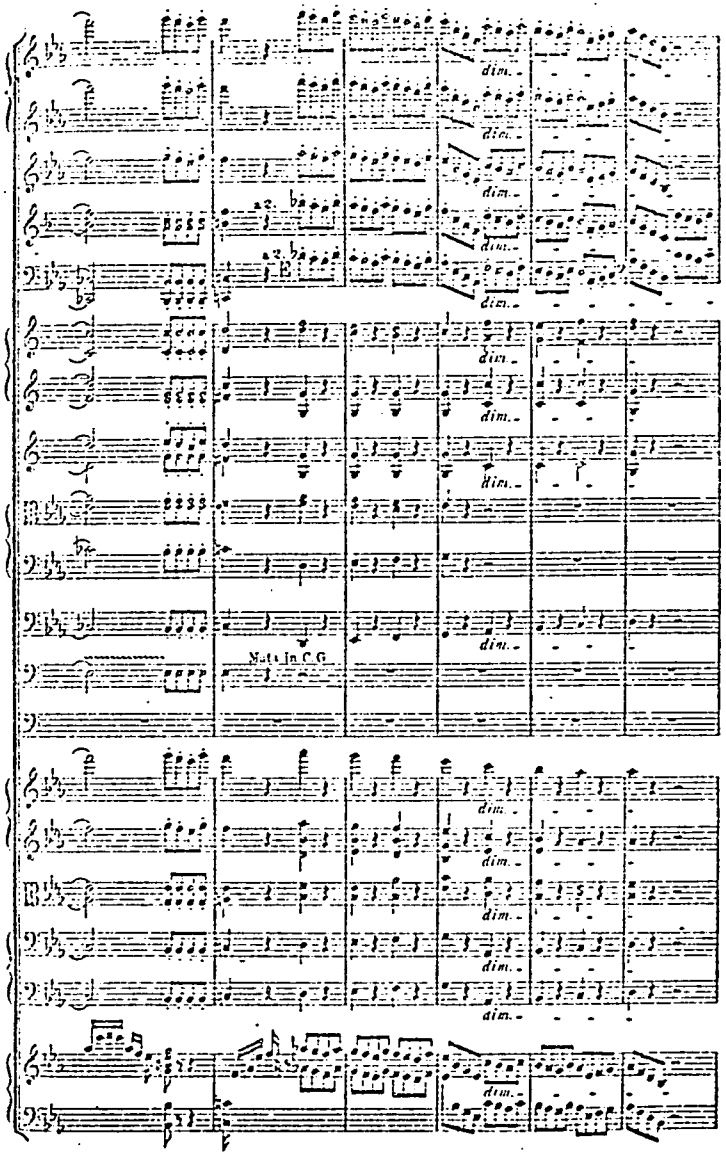
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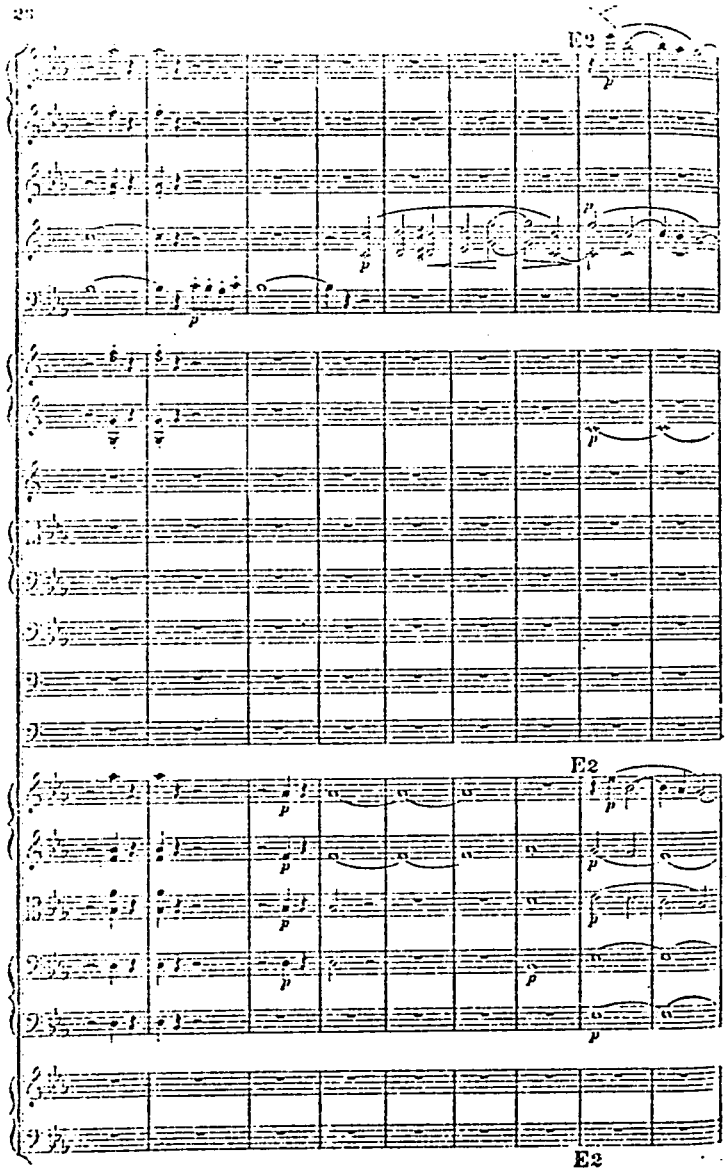
Natural in C.G.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E2
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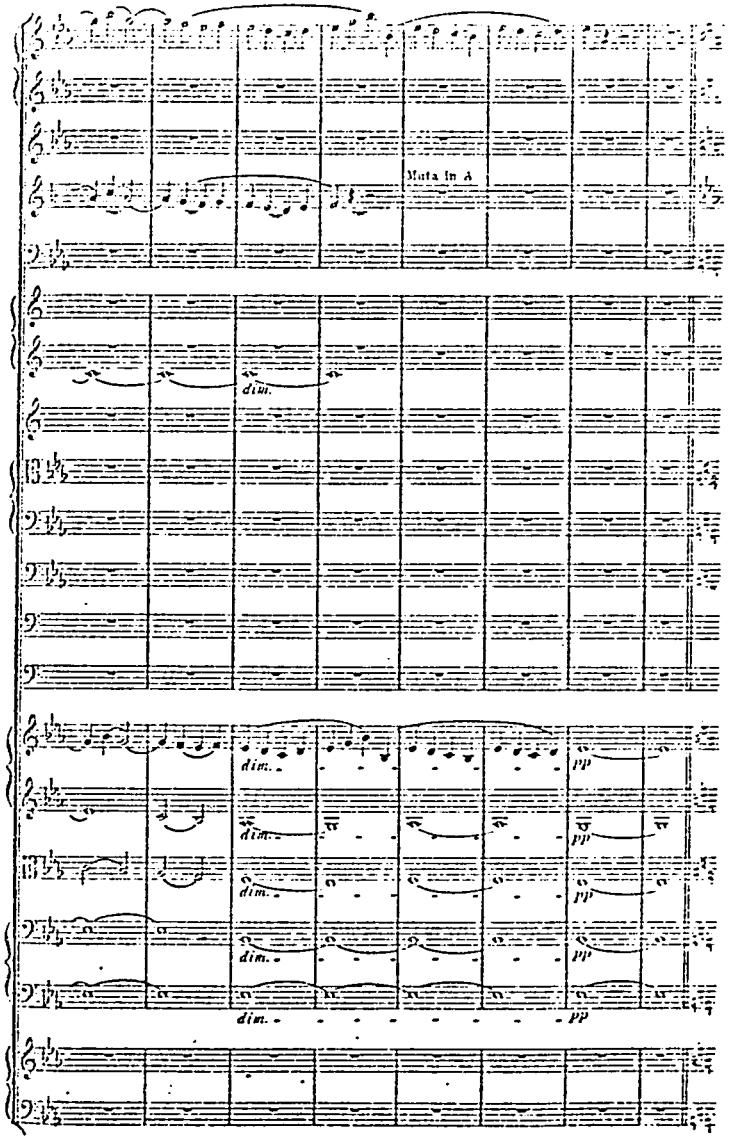
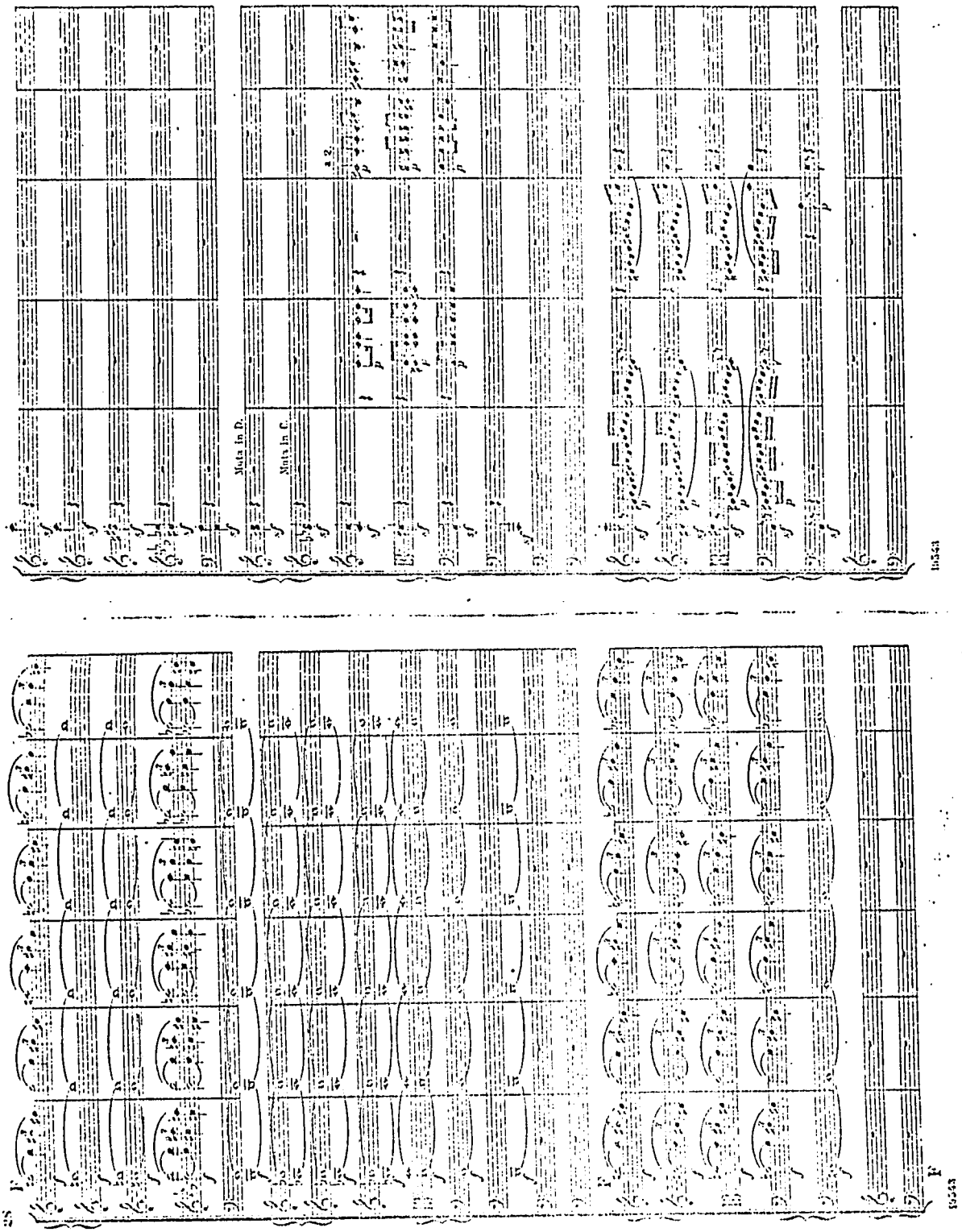
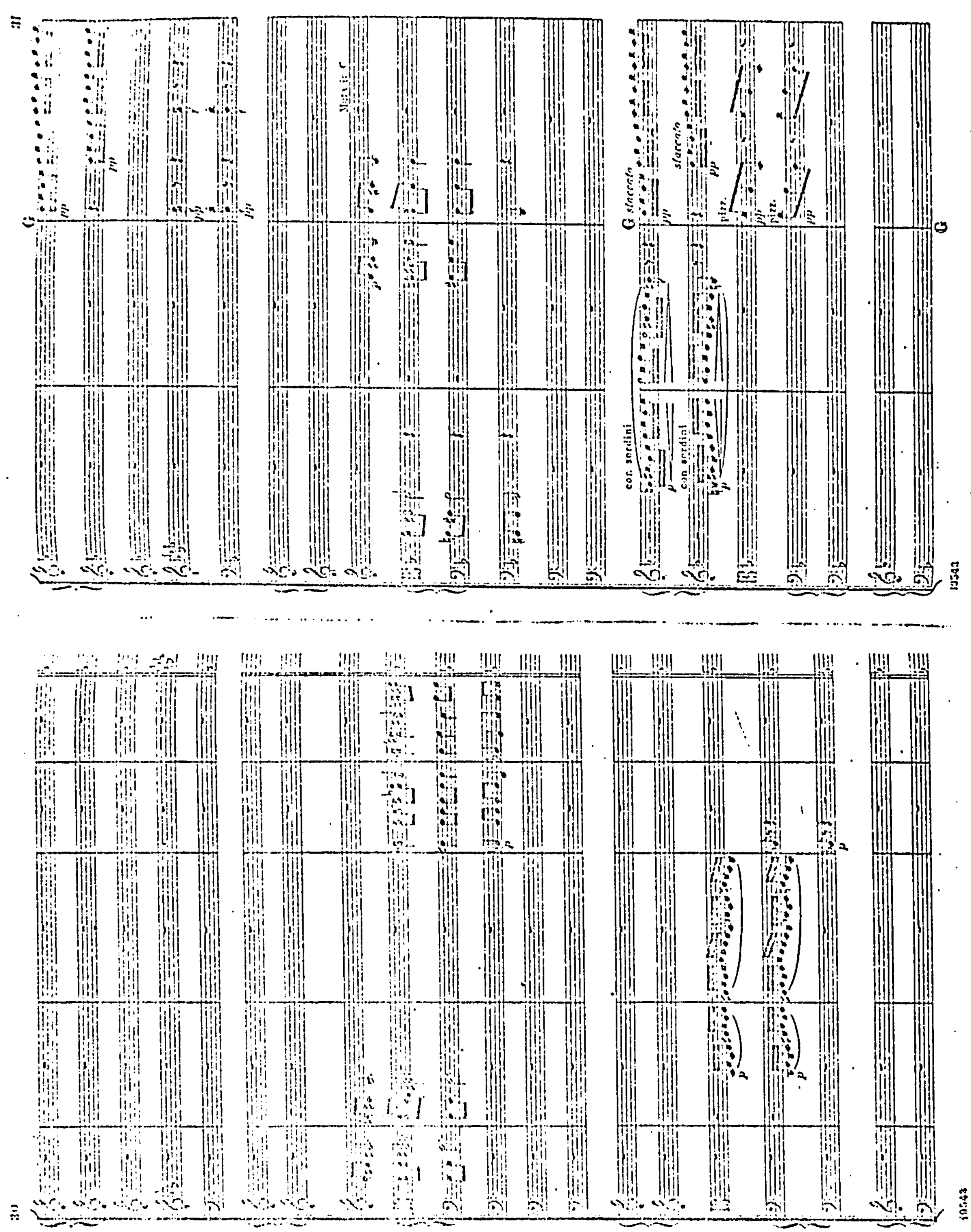
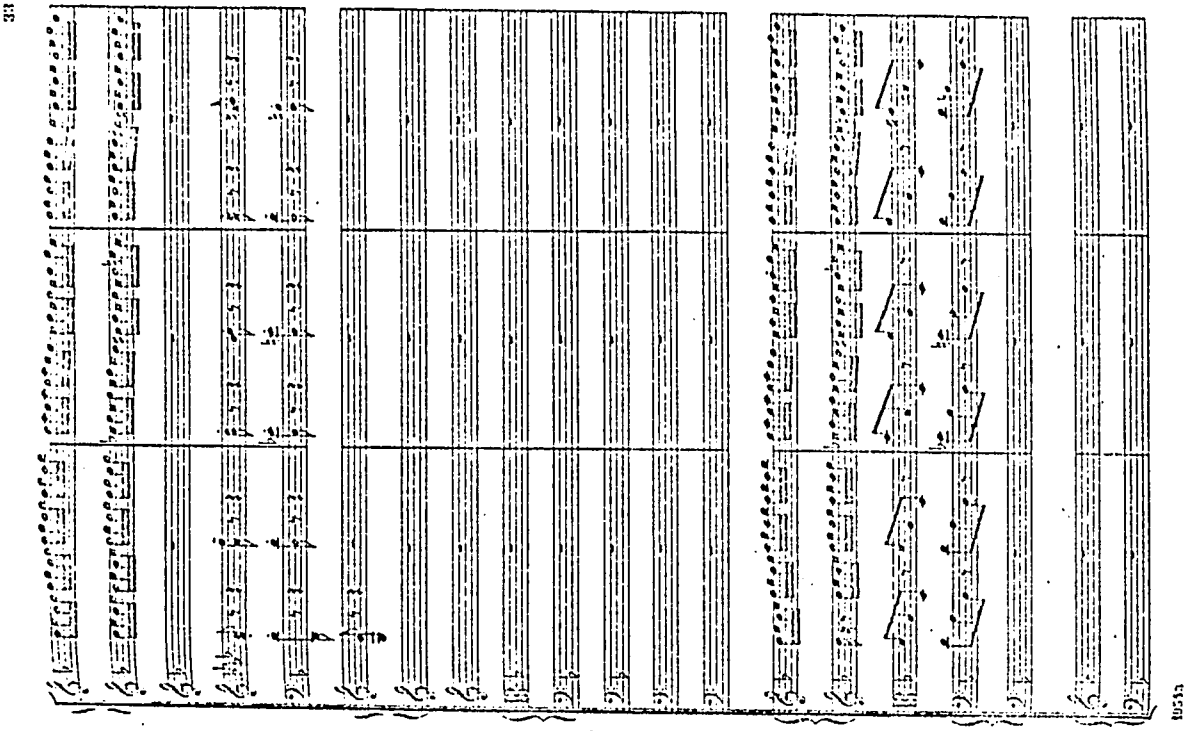
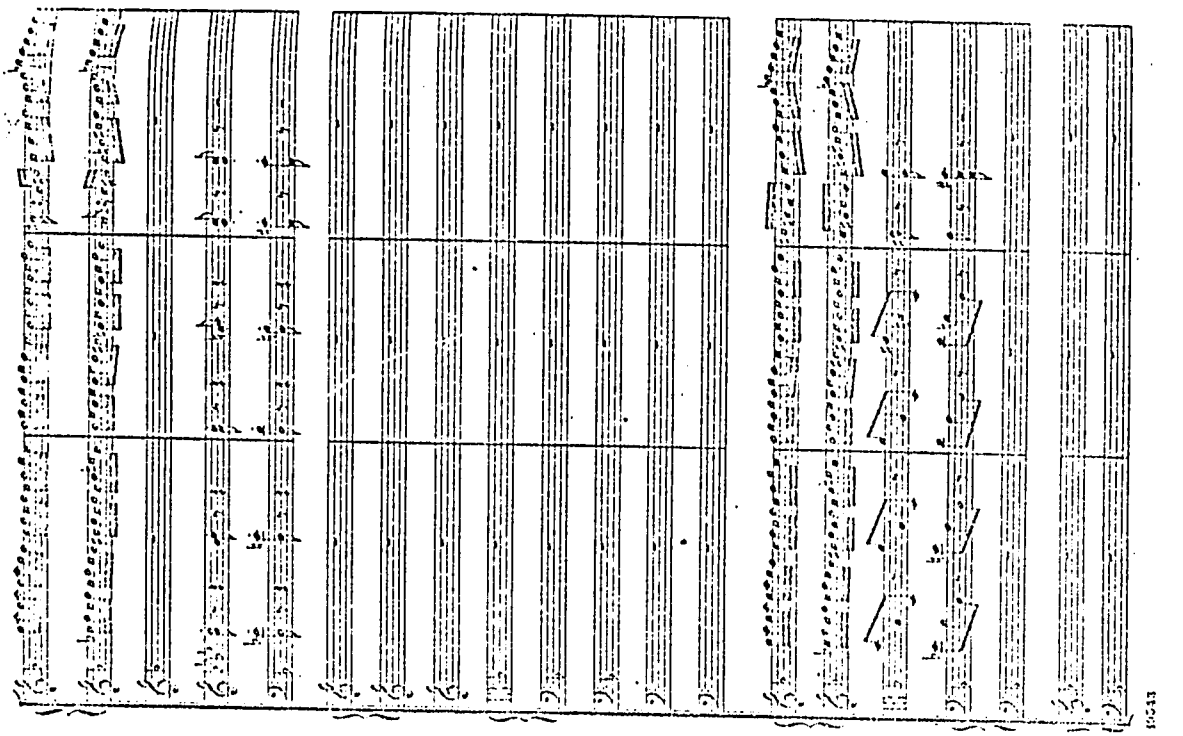
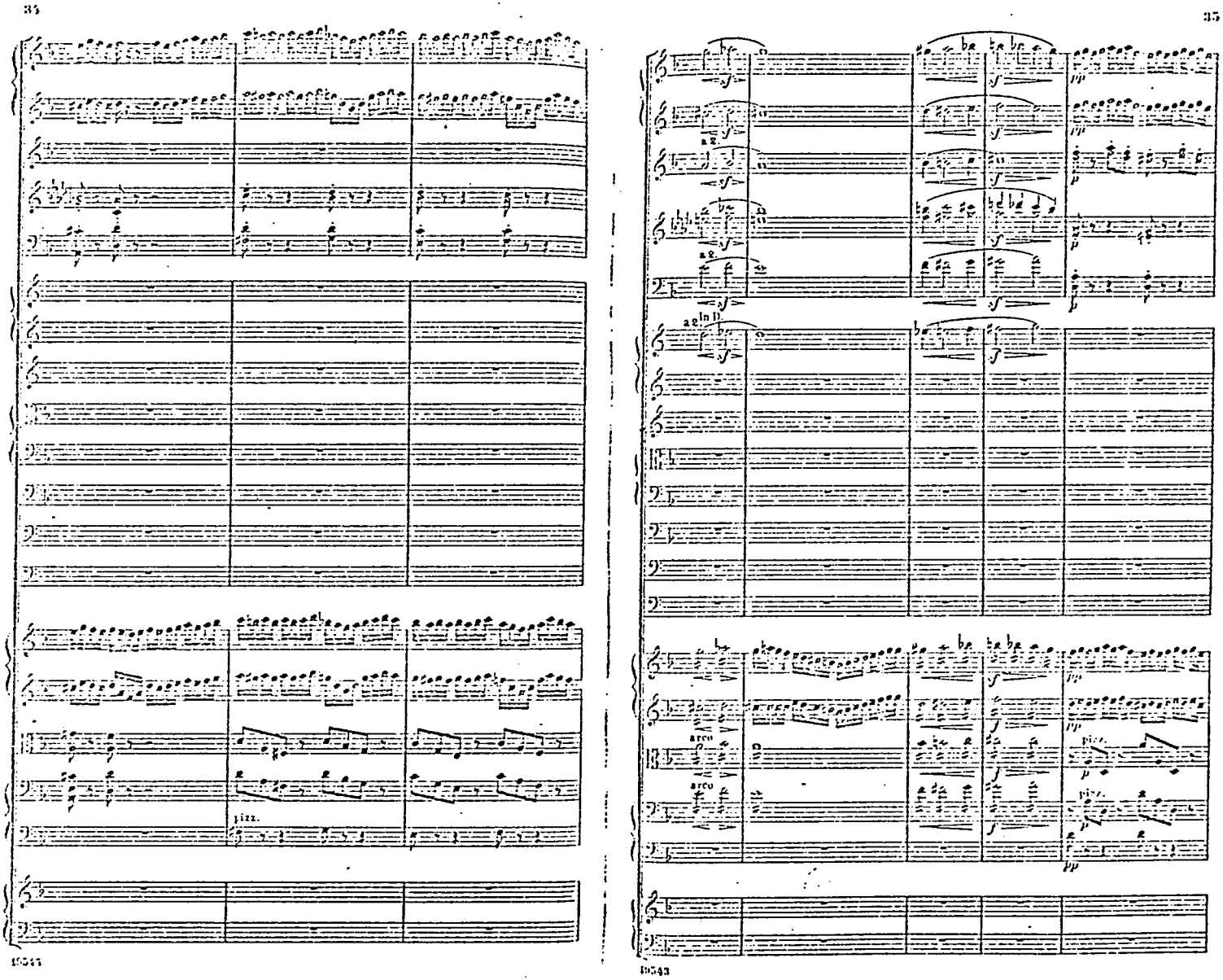

Muta in A
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.
pp
pp
pp
pp
pp

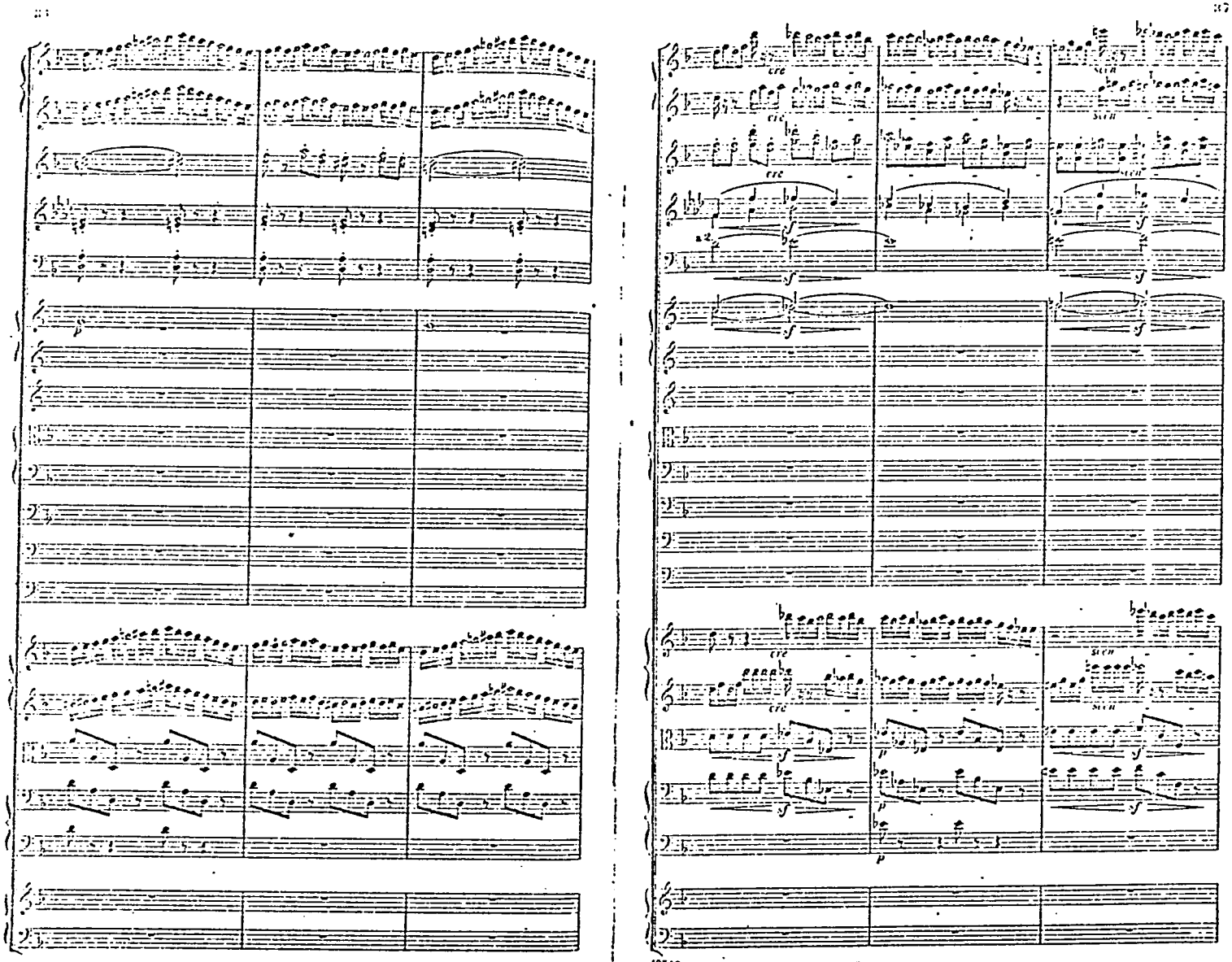

Muta in D.
Muta in C.

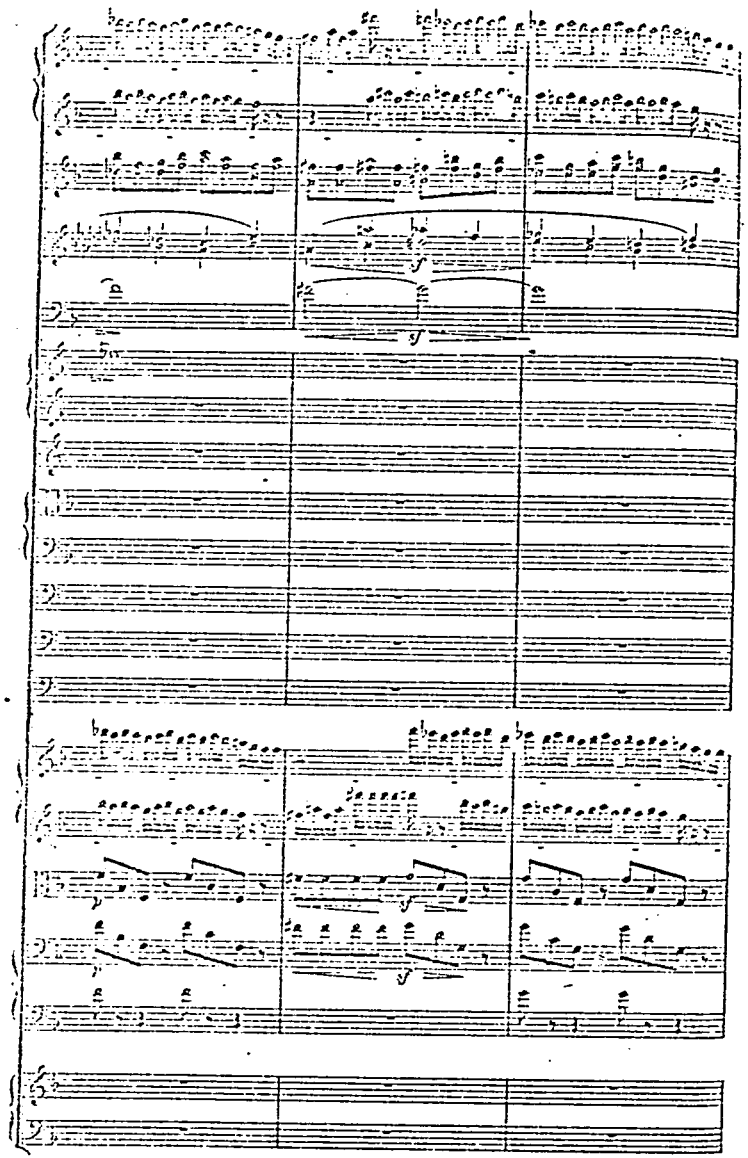

G
con sordini
staccato
pizz.
19543

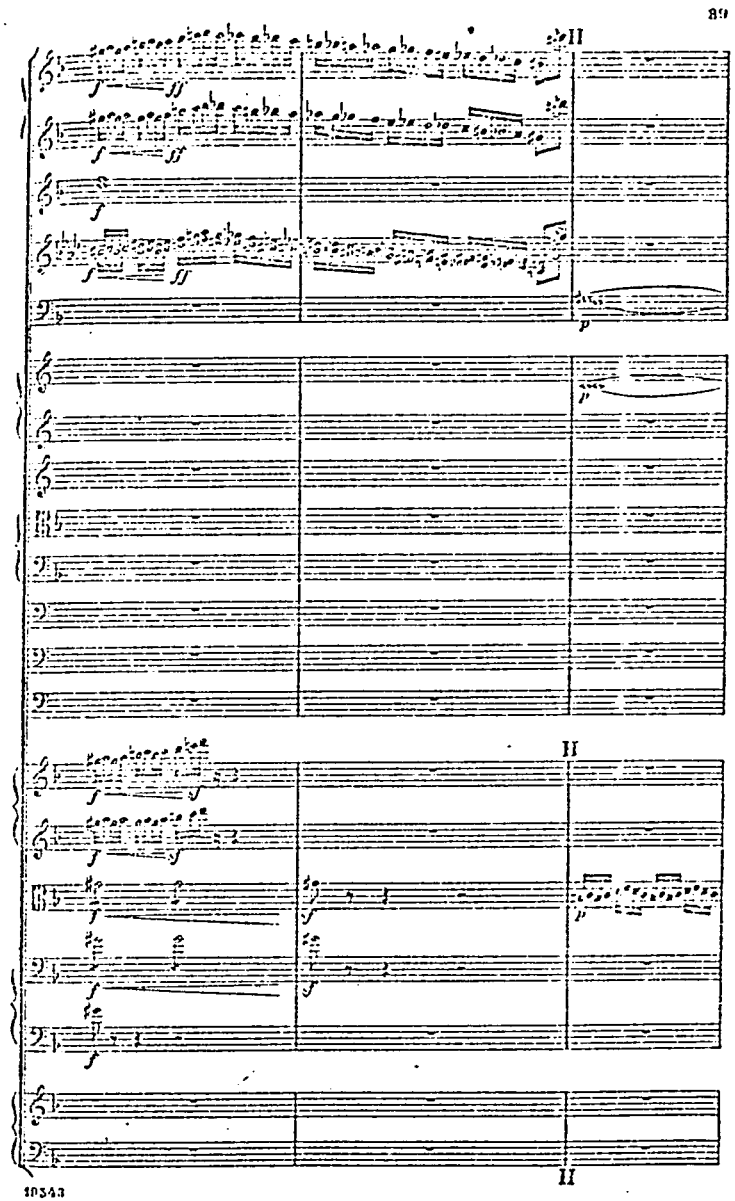


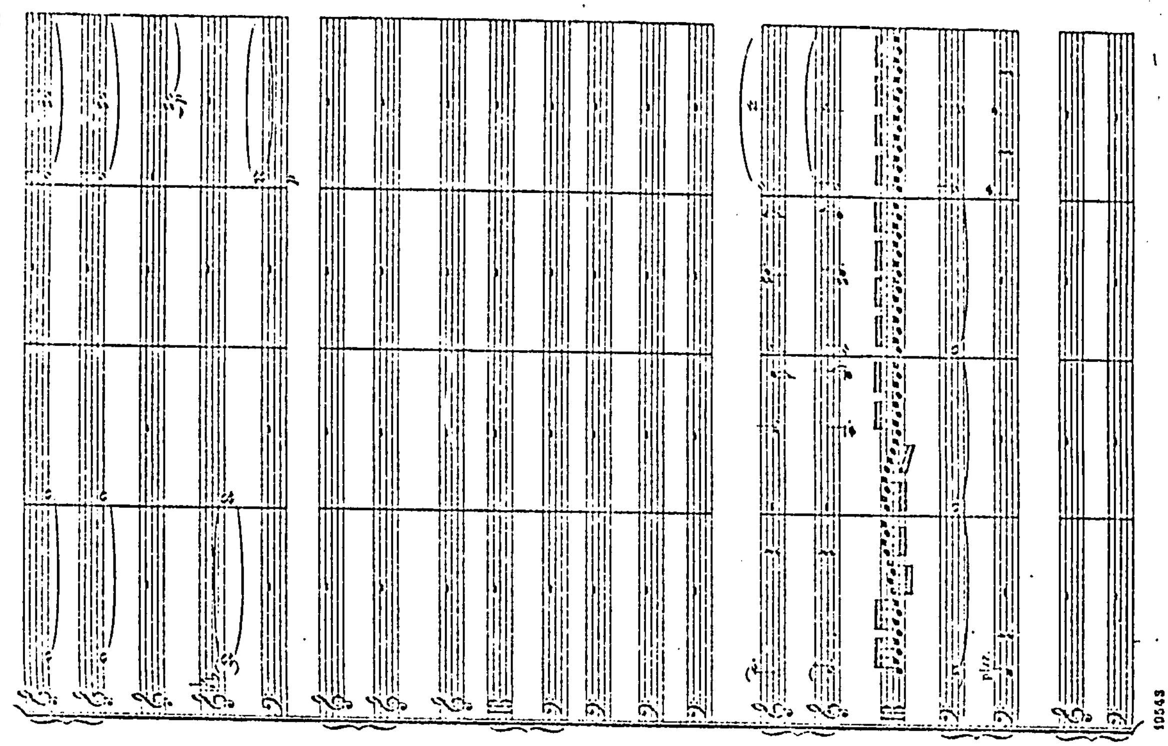


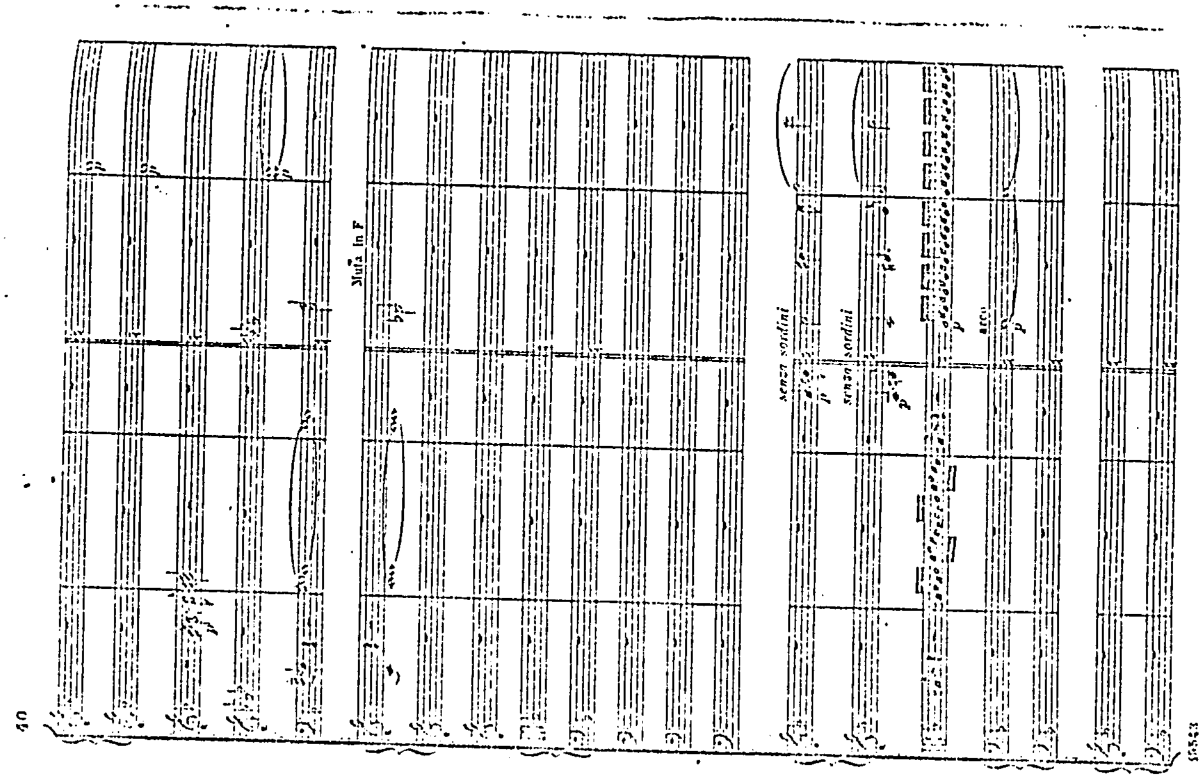

35
35
pizz.
arco
pizz.
arco
pizz.
pp

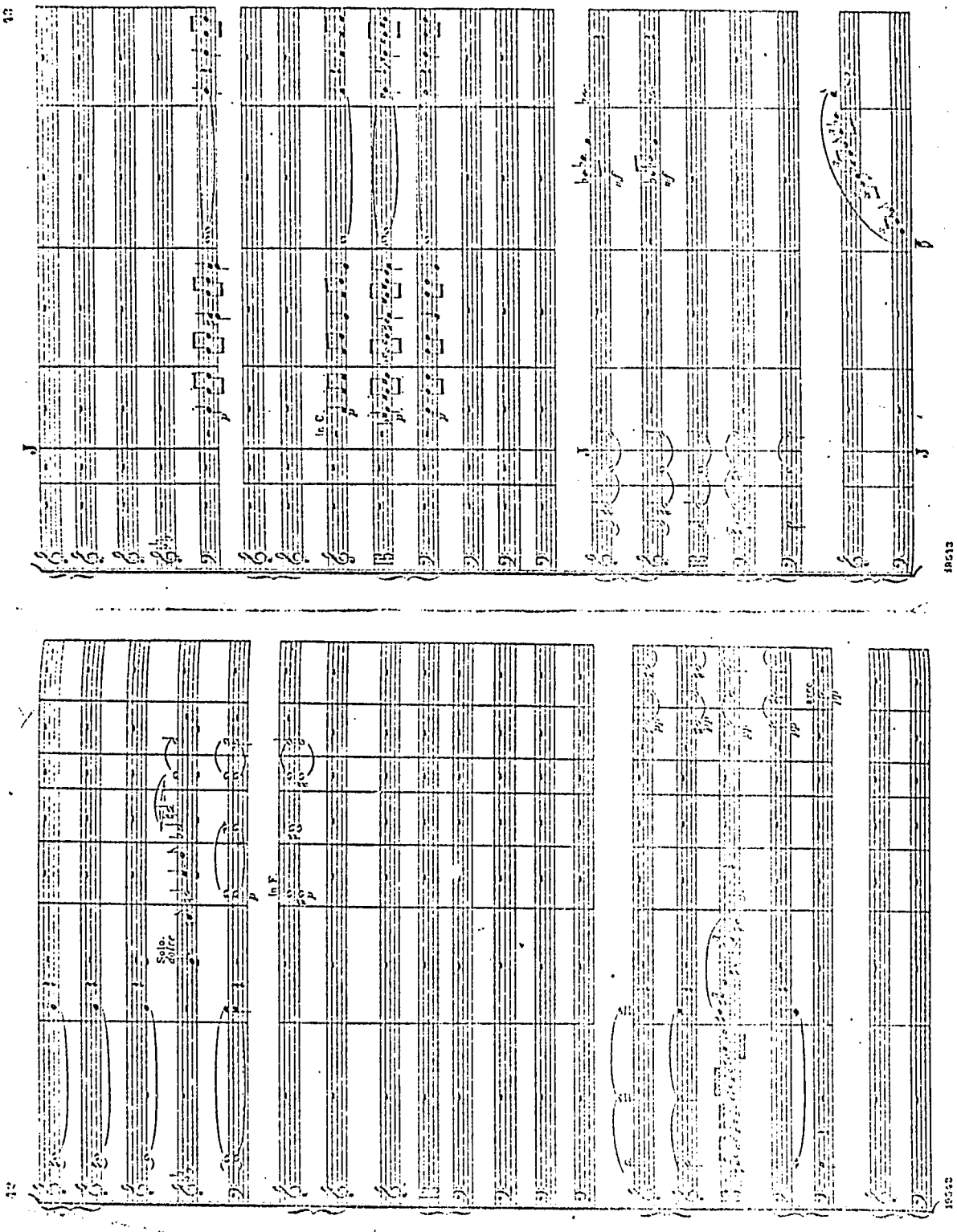


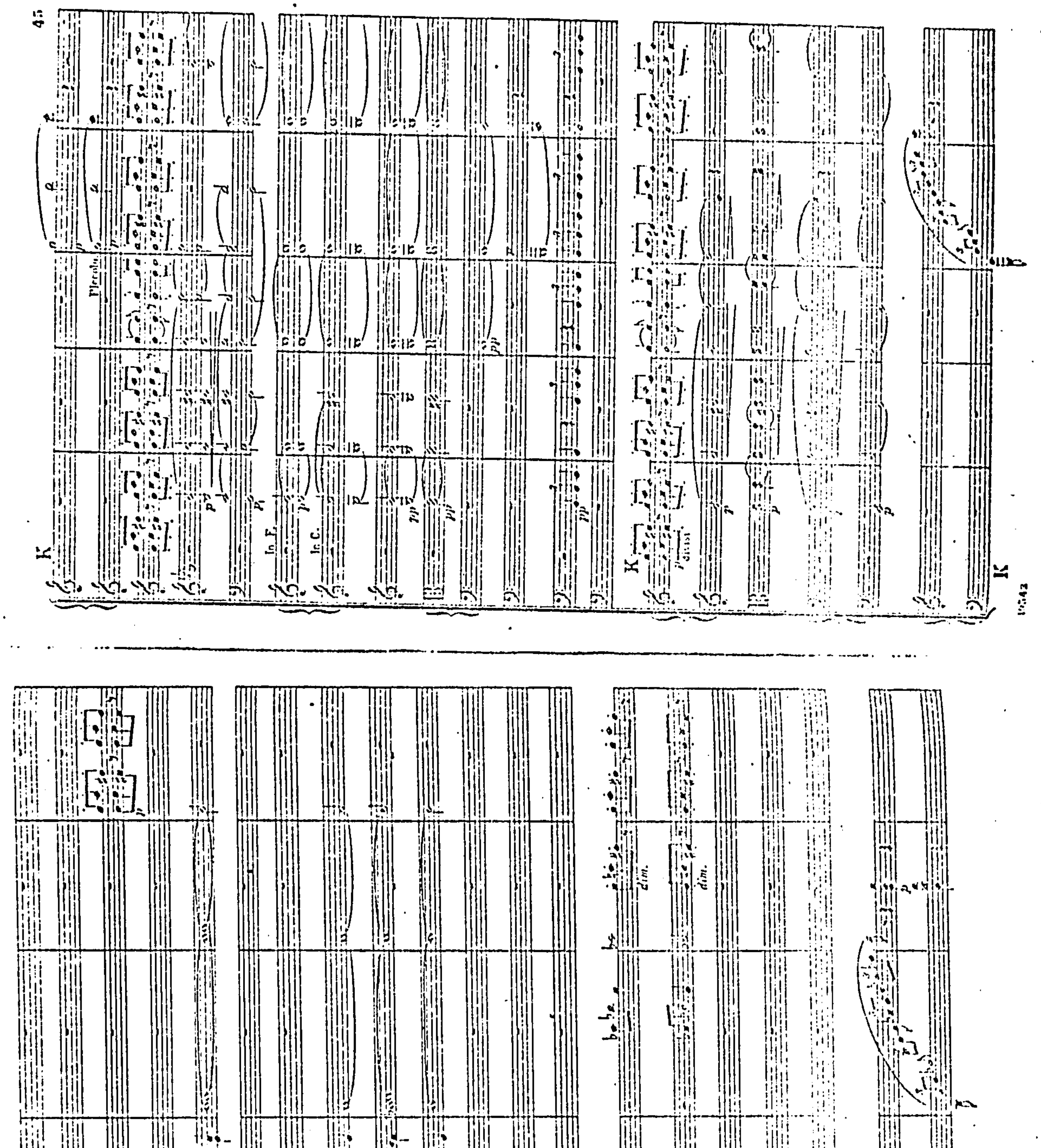


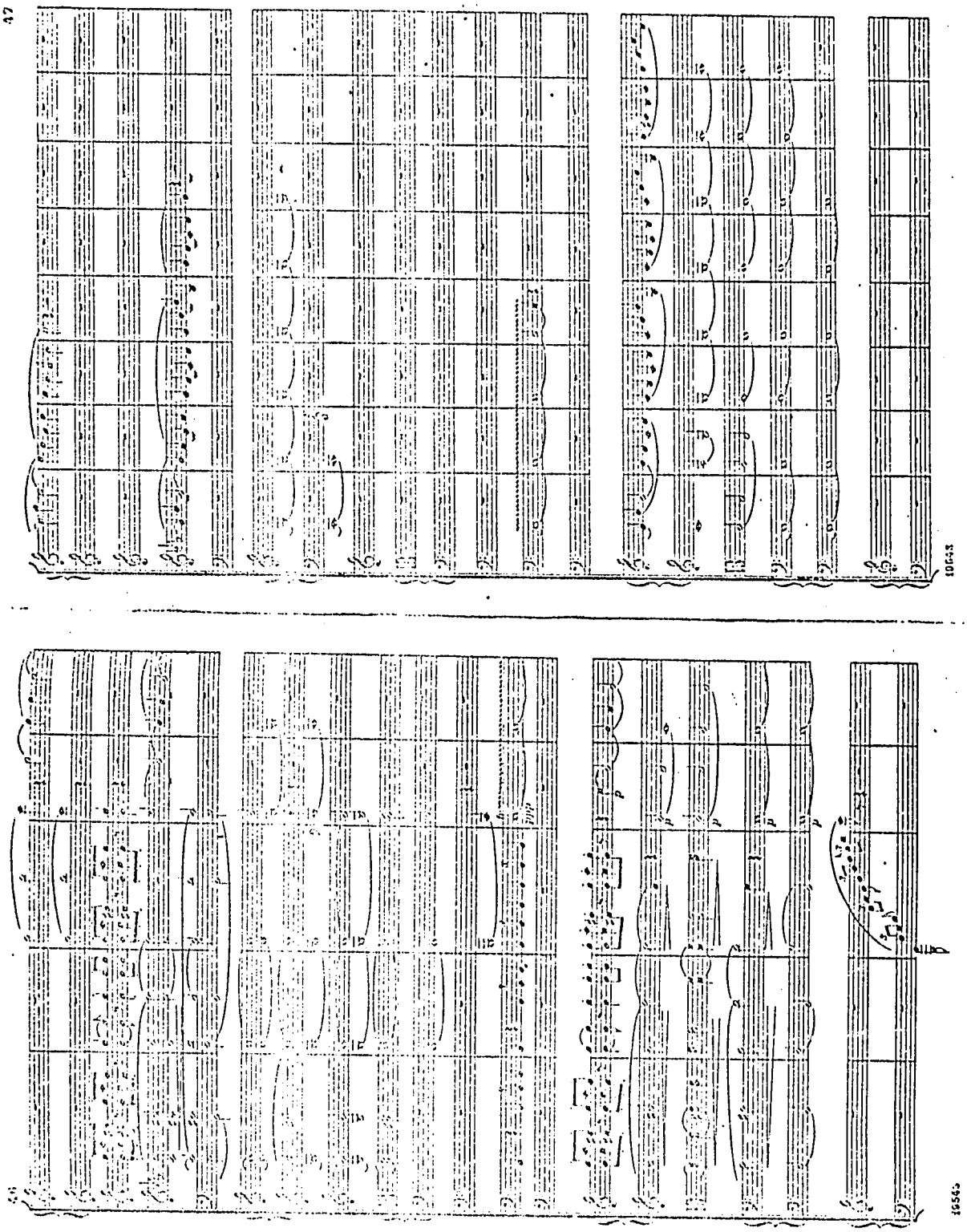


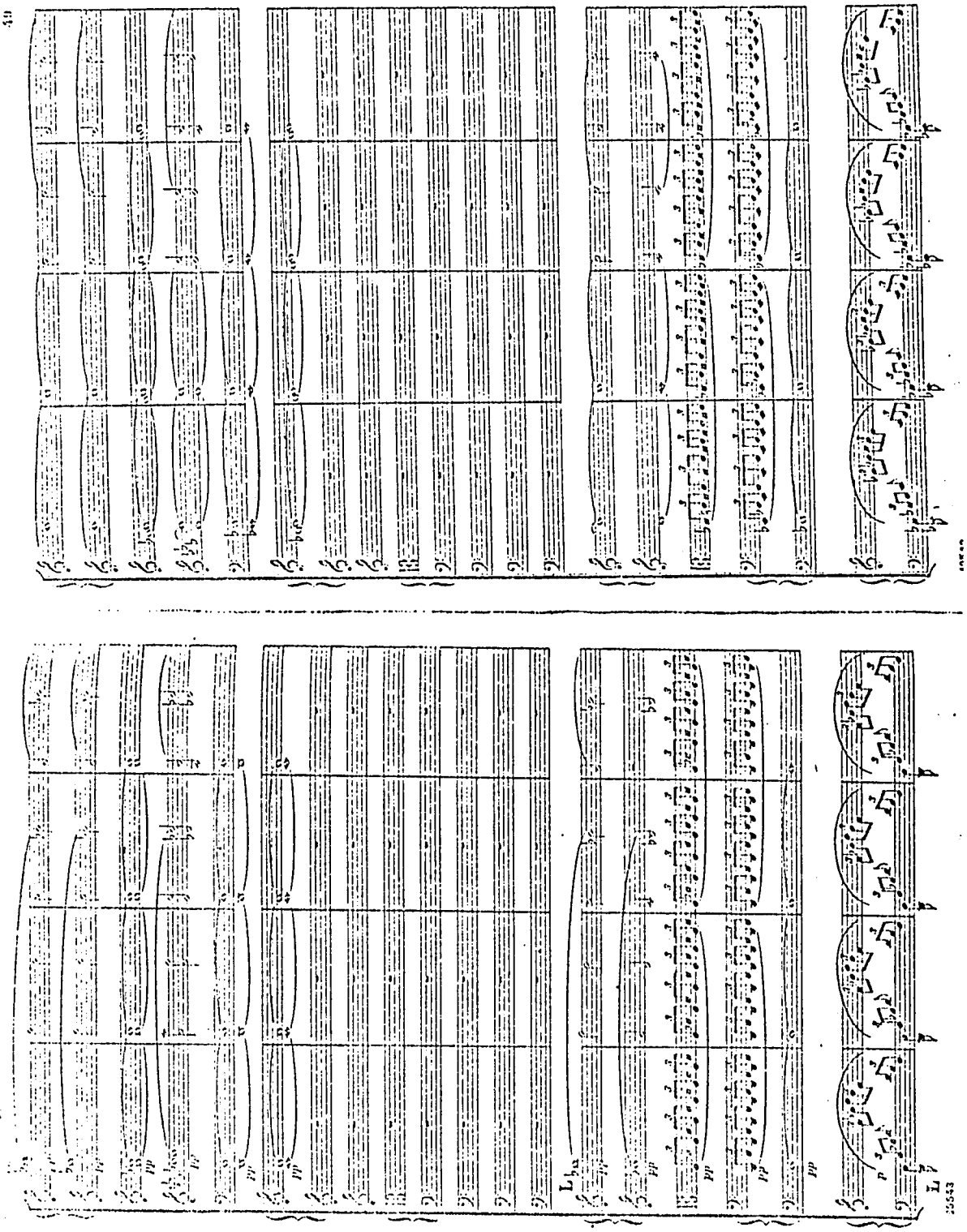


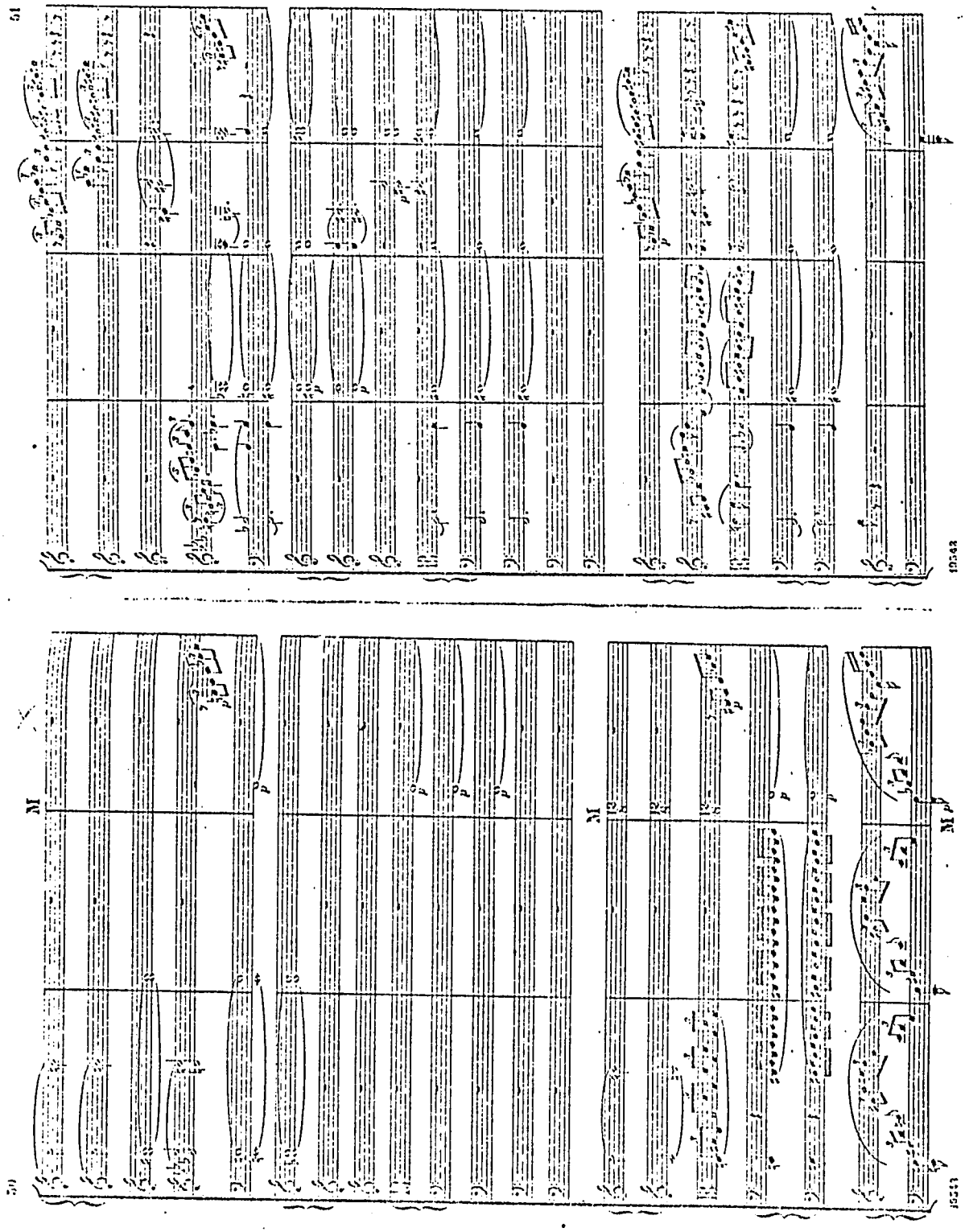

Muta in F
senza sordini
senza sordini
arco

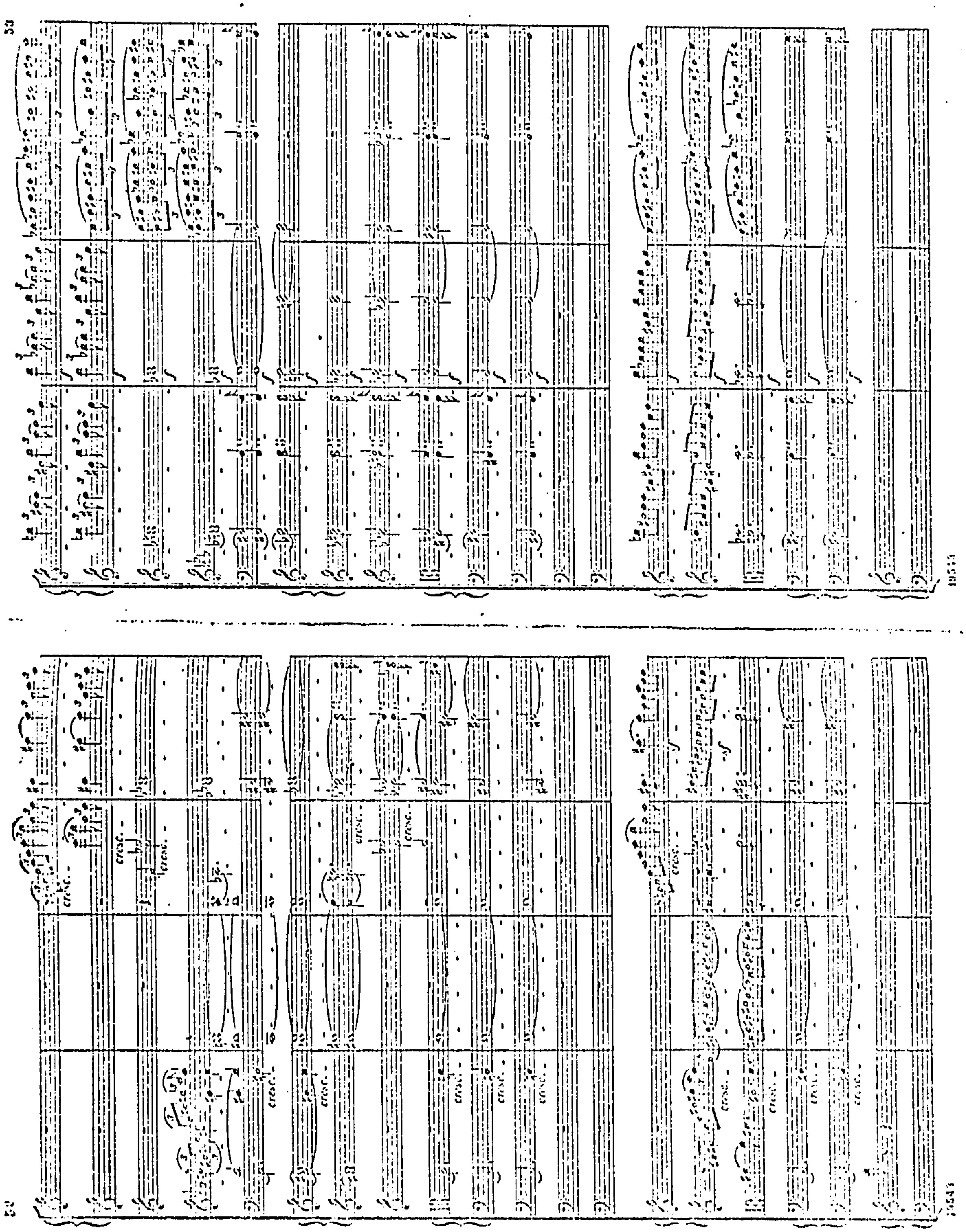

In C.
In F.
Solo.
doltre

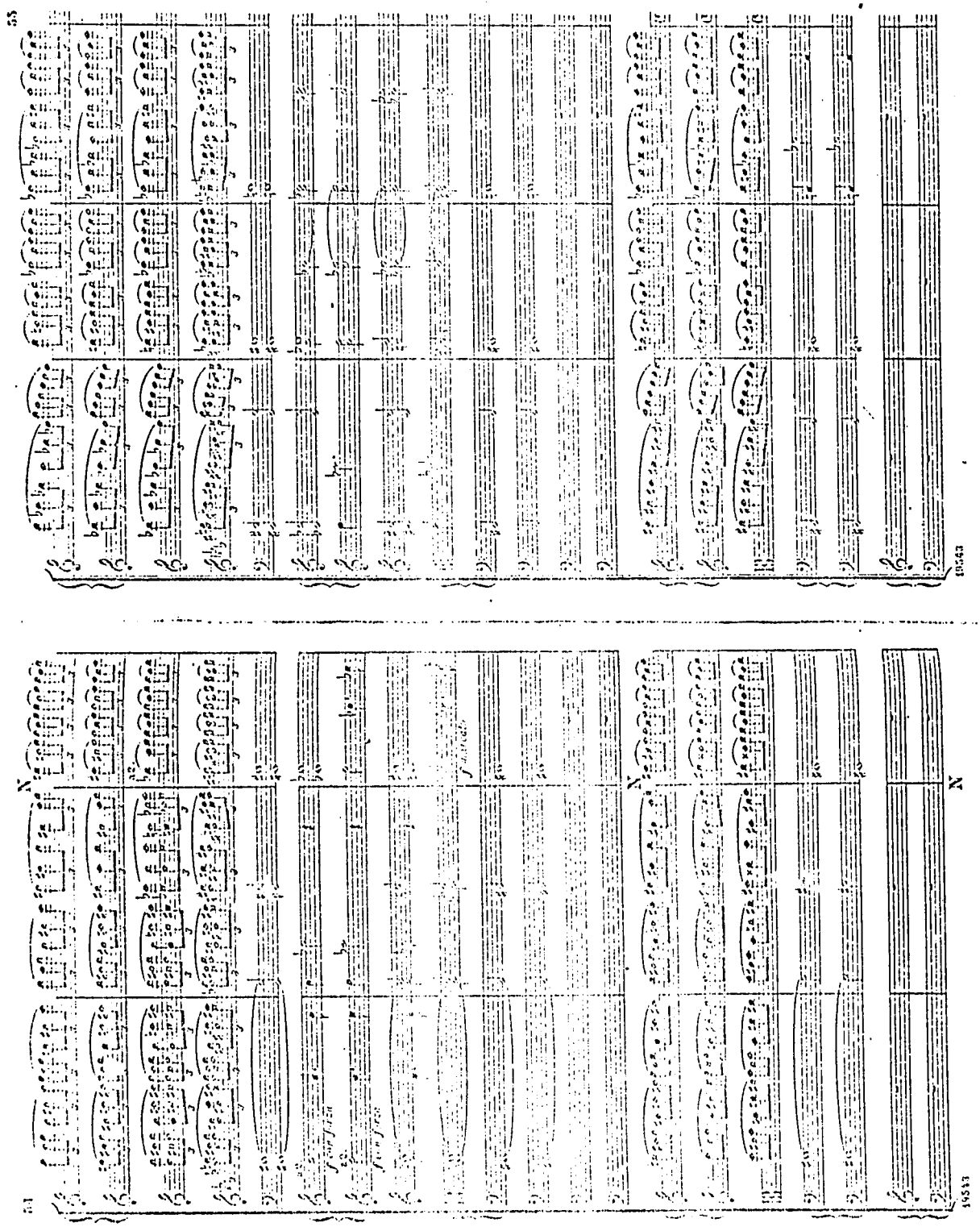


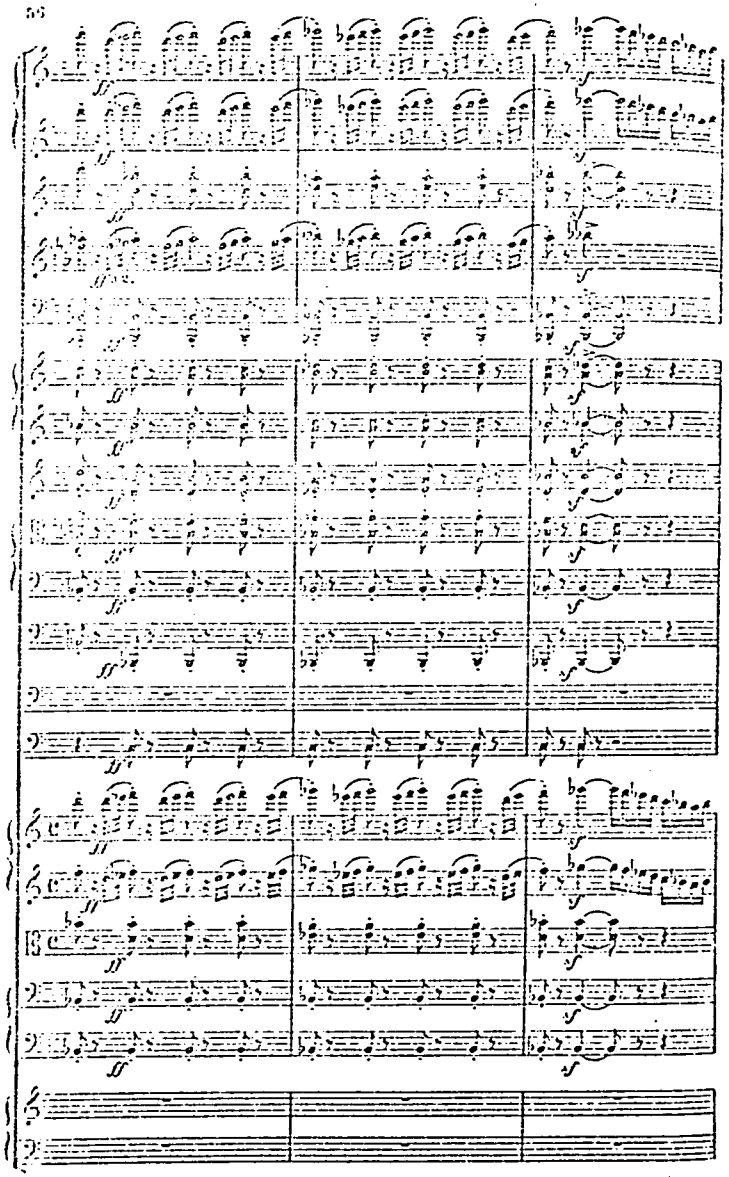








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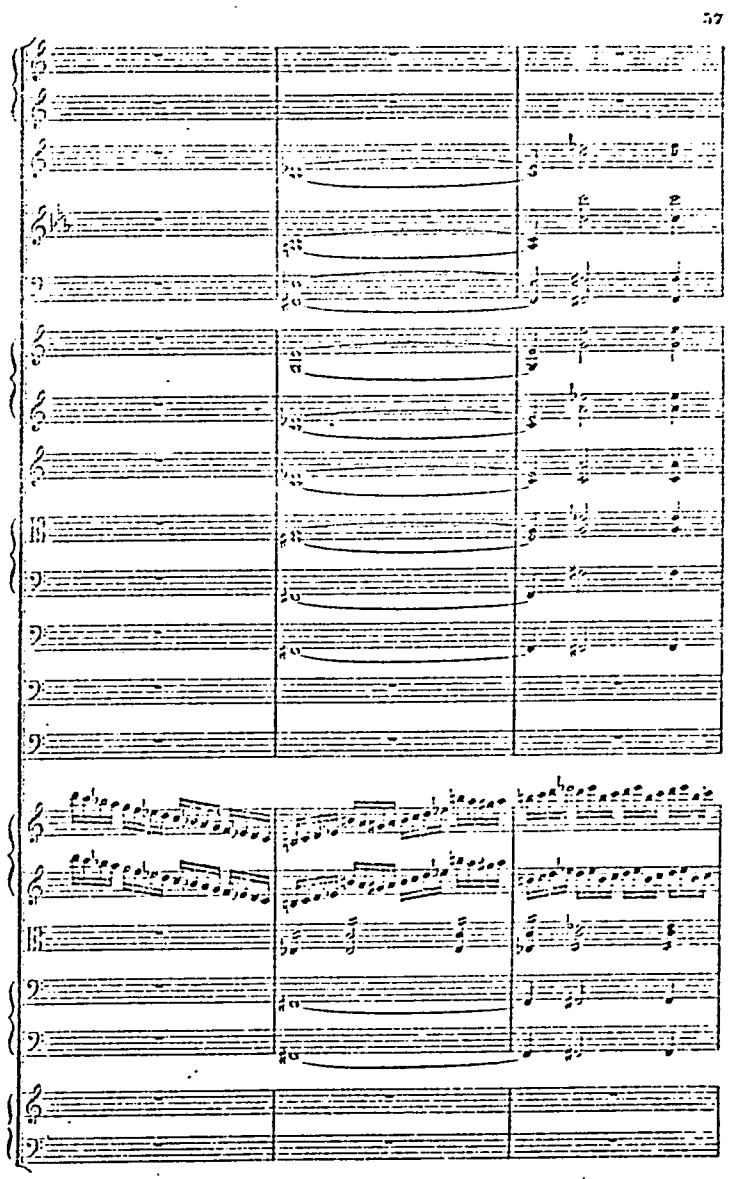
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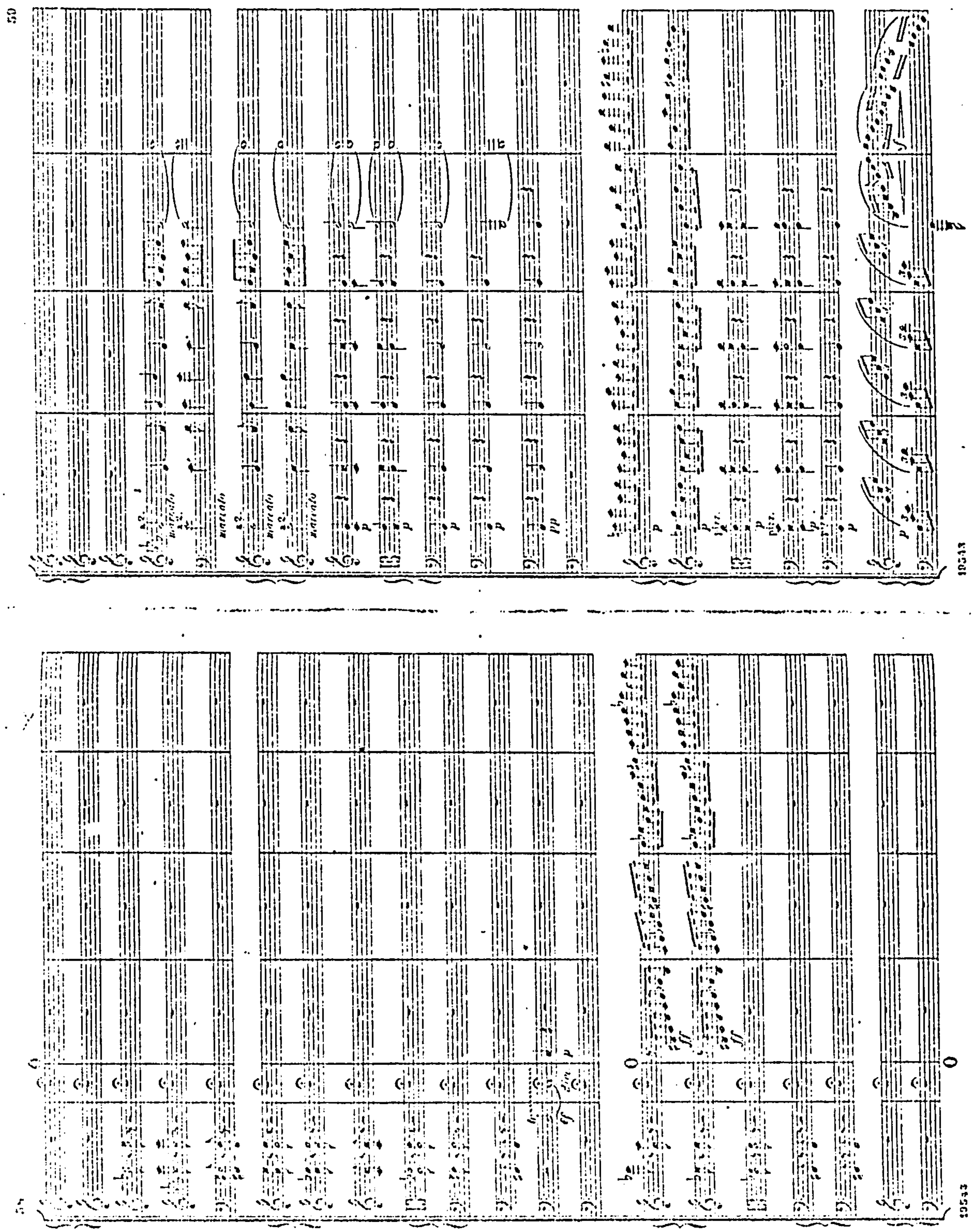

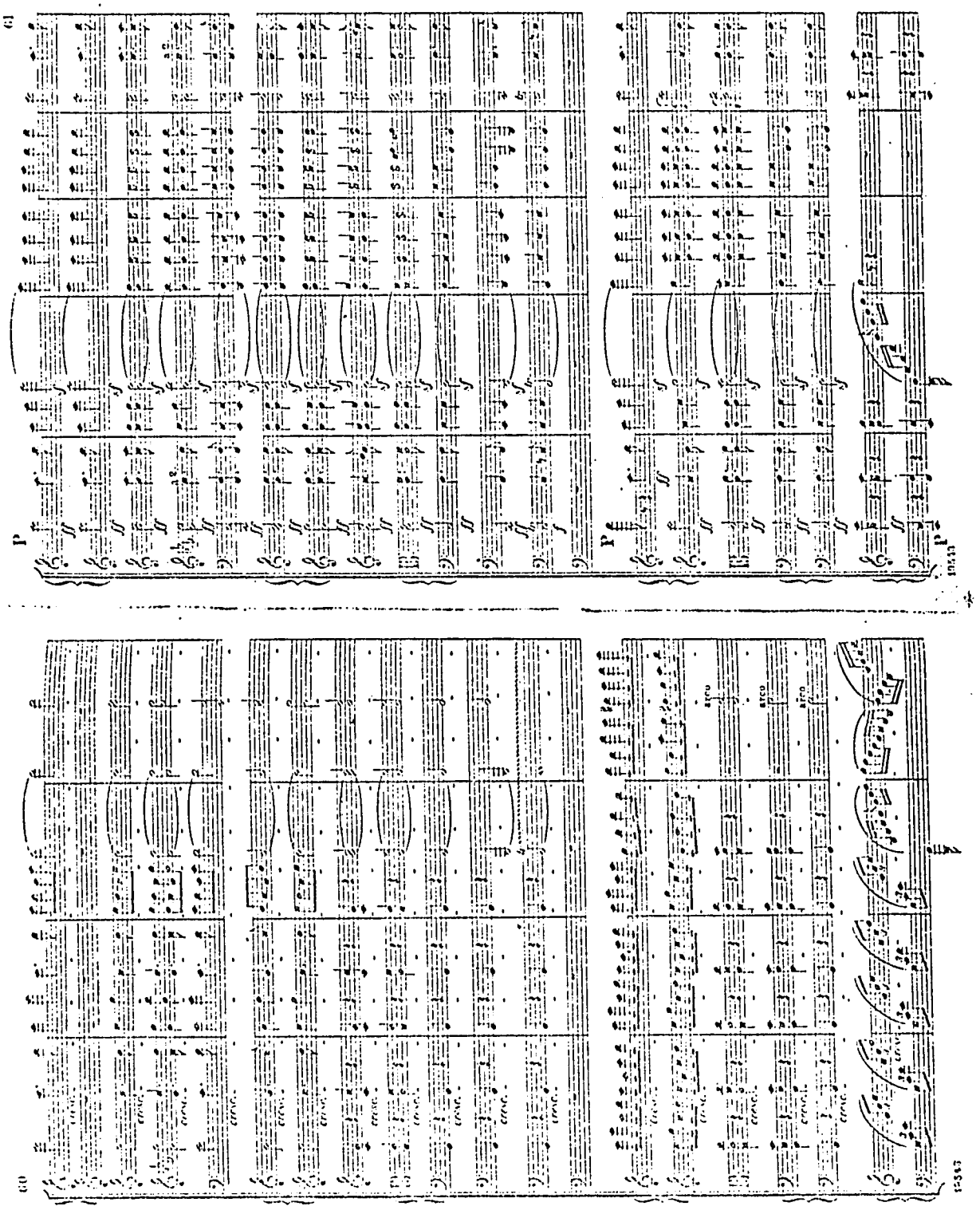

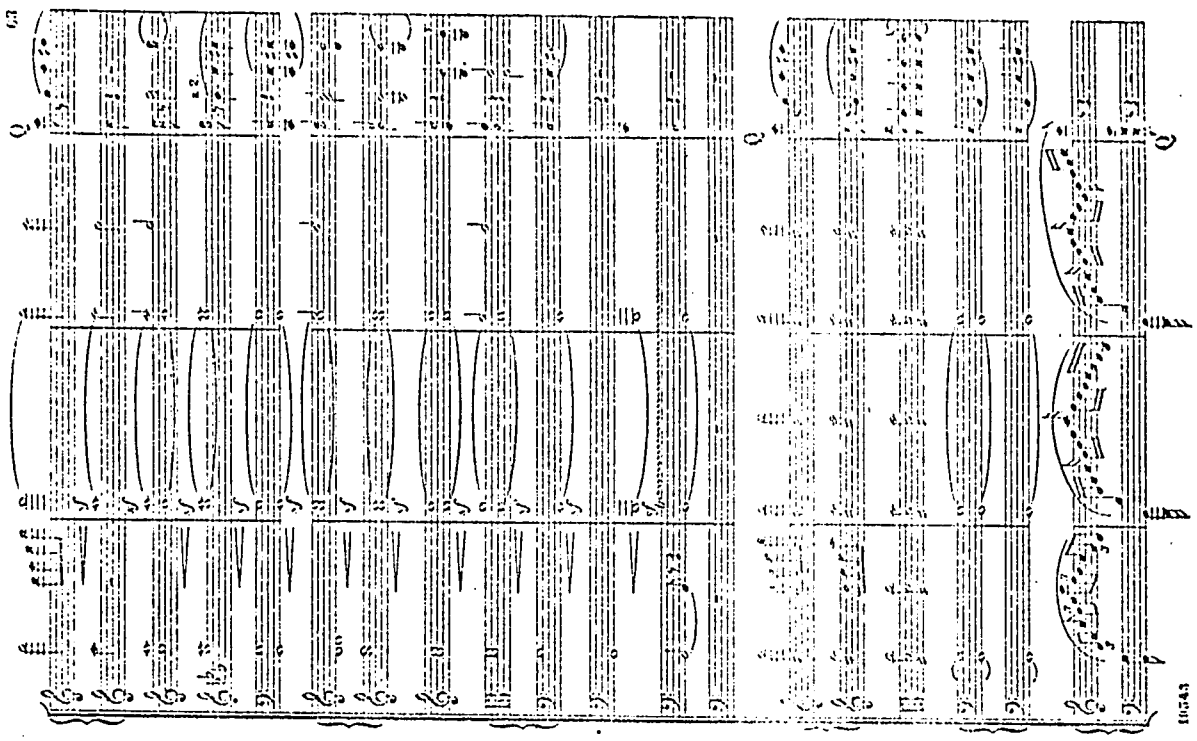

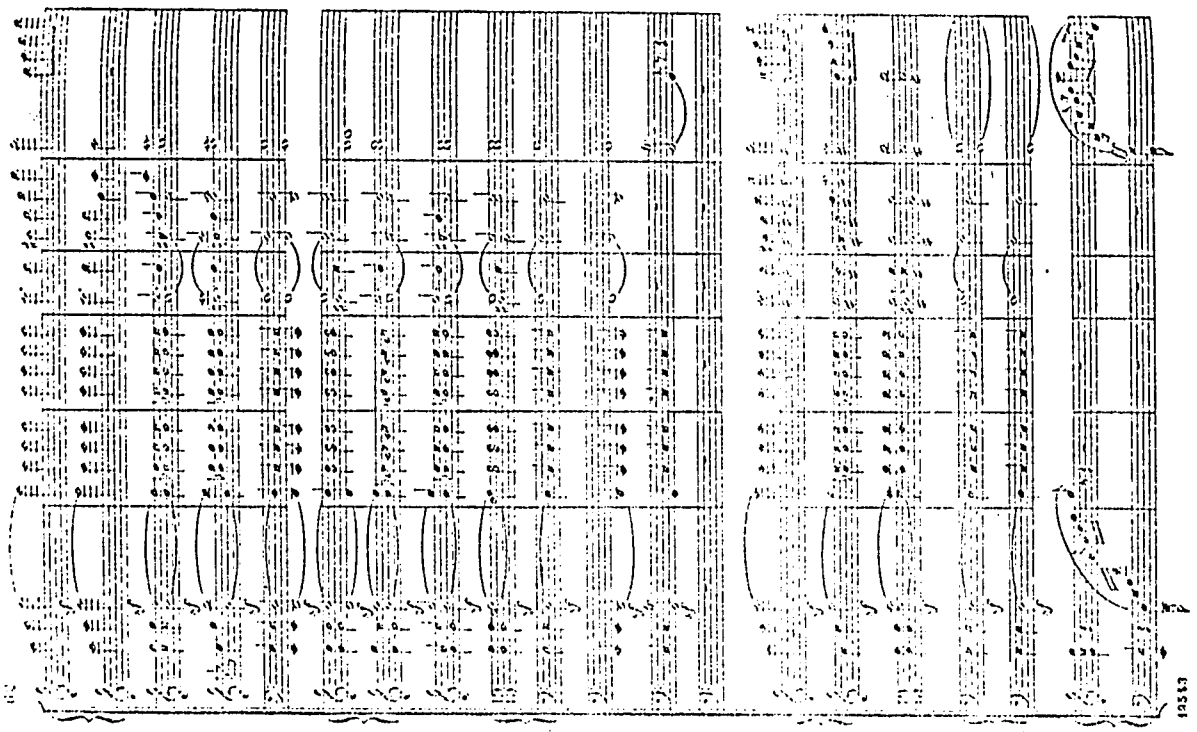

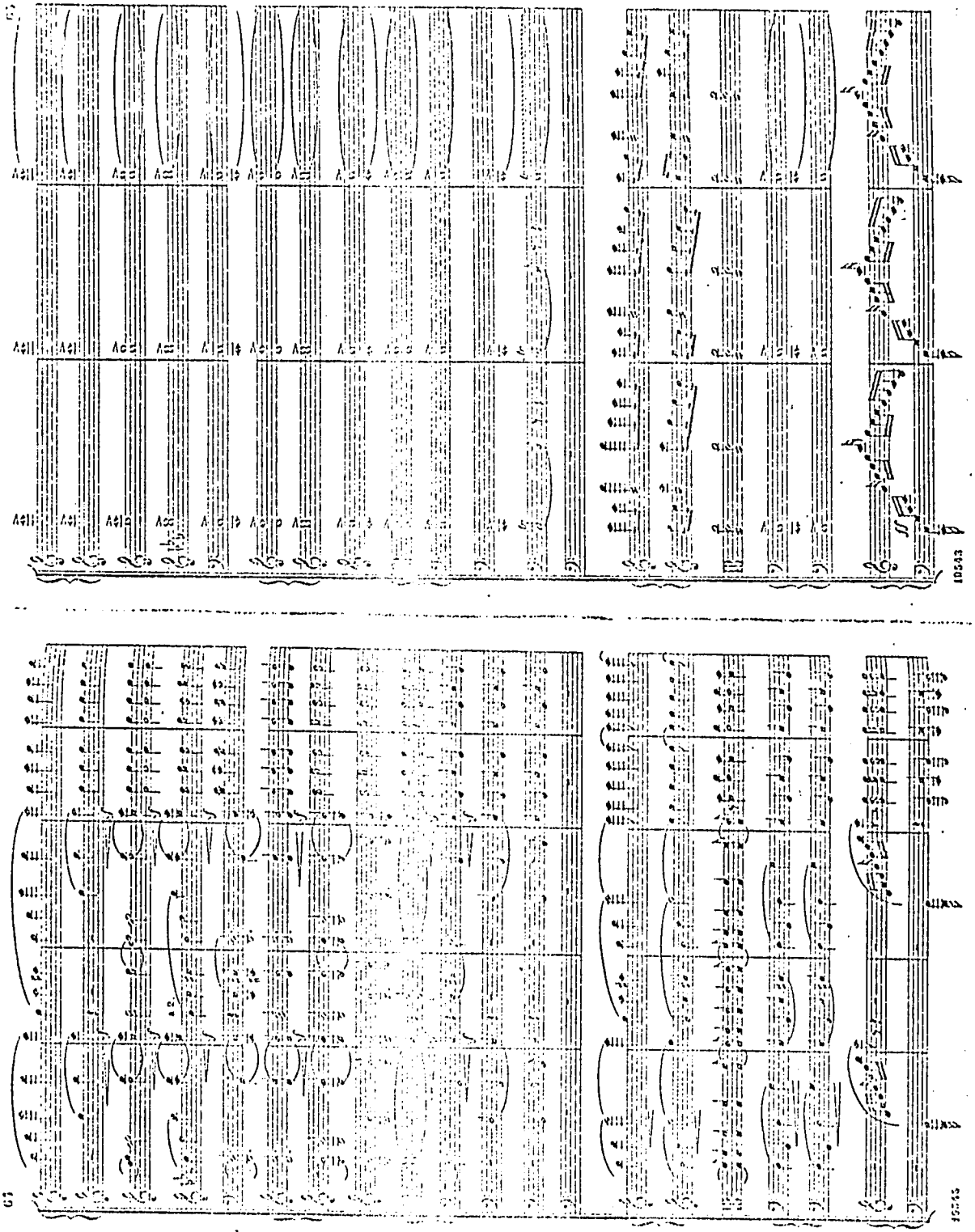

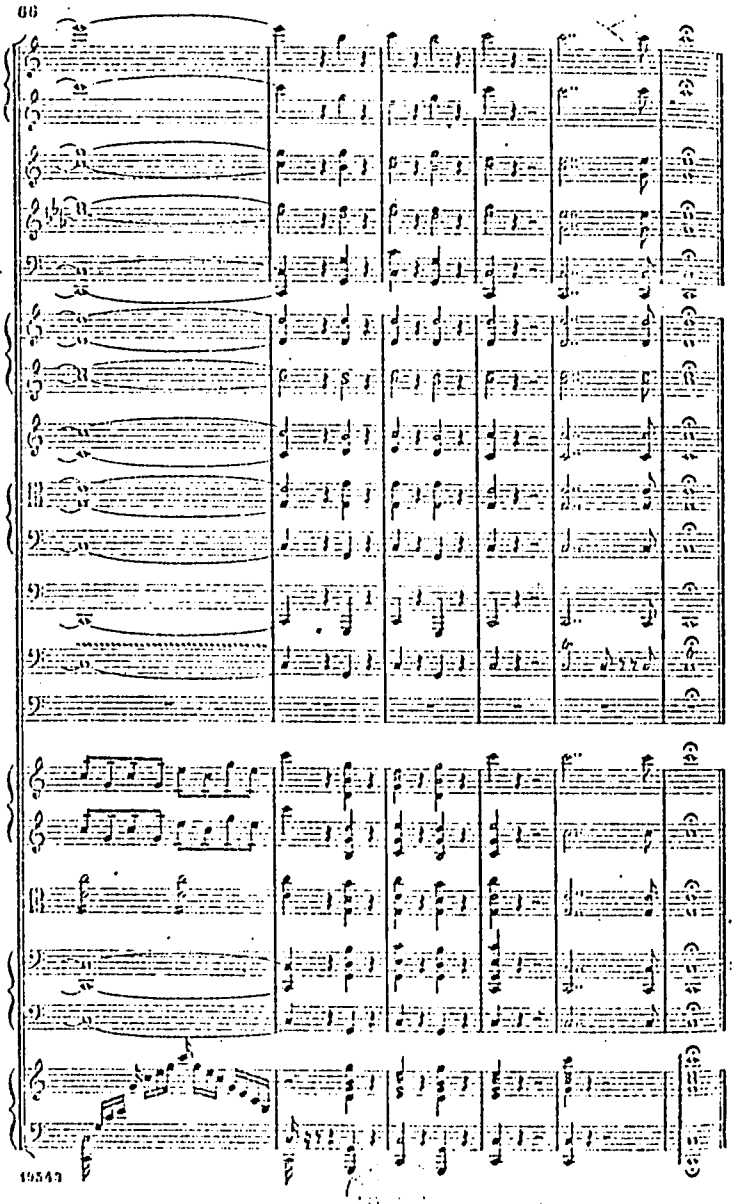
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Vita

Nancy Lynn Simon, daughter of Otis B. and Virginia Simon, was born in Chicago, Illinois, on June 20, 1942. A graduate of La Habra High School, La Habra, California, she received her Bachelor of Arts in Dramatic Art from Whitman College and her Master of Arts in Drama from Tufts University. Since 1967, she has taught at Whitman College, where she is Assistant Professor of Dramatic Art.