The Art of Gentlemanly Melodrama: 
Charles Keen's Production of The Corsican Brothers

by

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Melodrama was one of the most popular forms of theatrical entertainment during the 19th century. Innocent heroines, stalwart heroes, and dastardly villains, were all familiar images when melodrama was performed for Victorian audiences.

In 1852, Charles Kean provided a more genteel exploration of the standard melodramatic themes when he presented The Corsican Brothers at the Princess's Theatre. This play showed a villain that was a refined gentleman (rather than the standard bad aristocrat of earlier melodrama), and a hero that was not only brave, noble, and intelligent, but also a gentleman that came from an old landed family. This new way of presenting standard melodramatic characters was called "Gentlemanly Melodrama," and it would have a great influence on stage history.

It is not the purpose of the present study to define "Gentlemanly Melodrama" as a literary genre, but to demonstrate how Kean staged this type of play. Literary criticism is the usual criteria for studying plays, but for this thesis, I will present background information about the work and the leading actors that performed in it. Following this, I will give a narrative account of the stage action as it was described by critics, actors, and audiences of the
day. The use of original promptbooks, scenic designs and music also provide excellent material for giving the reader an idea of the colours, sounds and actions that were taking place on stage. By presenting the thesis in this form, it is hoped that scholars will have a better sense of the excitement generated by the production, and understand why theatre patrons, such as King Edward VII, said that the play that made the most lasting impression was The Corsican Brothers.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND DEDICATION

Many thanks to Alan Hughes, Michael Booth and Linda Hardy for all those informal chats in the hallways that led to the creation of this dissertation. A special thanks must also go to the staff of the Folger Library for allowing me to examine uncatalogued material that eventually found its way into the present work, and to Kira Campbell for smiling to the music. Finally, a very special thank you goes to my wife Donna Tunney for her patience, good humour, kindness and love. I dedicate this work to her.

Du meine Seele, du mein Herz,
Du meine Wonn', o du mein Schmerz,
Du meine Welt, in der ich lebe
Mein Himmel du, darein ich scwebe,
Mein guter Geist, mein bess'res ich!
INTRODUCTION

Charles Kean's 1852 production of The Corsican Brothers marked major innovations to the acting style and theatre practice of the nineteenth century English stage. This influential play is of importance to the study of theatre history for several reasons. First, it introduced a genre of entertainment that would be called "Gentlemanly Melodrama." Second, public opinion of this new French-style drama became so favourable that H. Barton Baker wrote, "The Corsican Brothers, Gallicised our stage for a generation." Third, the play's technical demands were such that new theatrical devices had to be created for the production, and these would have a lasting influence on the history of scenic design. Fourth, the music for the play was so admired that a piano arrangement of the famous "Ghost Melody," which haunted the memories of playgoers for a great number of years, was written to fill public demand. Finally, the acting of the principal characters illustrated a change in performance style that broke away from the Romantic traditions of Edmund Kean and W. C. Macready, thus creating a more refined acting practice that would later be adopted and developed by such performers as the Bancrofts.

It seems a strange anomaly that a play such as The Corsican Brothers should receive so little scholarly attention when one considers its impact on the nineteenth
century theatre. The only major modern study of the work has been J. W. Hunter's dissertation, The Corsican Brothers: Its History, and Technical Problems Related to the Production of the Play (The Ohio State University, 1963). Although it is an admirable work, Dr. Hunter's thesis is a general study of the many performances of the play which were presented in England and the United States. The dissertation emphasizes the technical and staging demands of the play and how they were utilized by various actor managers, but it does not examine why Charles Kean's production was so influential, nor does it investigate the style of presentation for a "Gentlemanly Melodrama." One reason for the lack of scholarly attention to Charles Kean and his production of The Corsican Brothers is the twentieth century neglect of the actor's life and theatrical achievements. Therefore, it is the purpose of this study to address the life, times and aesthetic philosophy of this actor-manager and reconstruct the total performance aspect of his production of The Corsican Brothers.

ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

The dissertation is presented in the following format:

Chapter 1. Biography of Charles Kean.

Chapter 1 provides background information regarding the life and times of Charles John Kean. Kean is unique amongst the great actor-managers in that he has no leading twentieth century biographer.² The only major study of Kean was
written by his personal secretary, John Cole, in 1859. Therefore, this chapter will examine Kean's life, acting style and aesthetic principles enabling the reader to place him within historical perspective.

Chapter 2. Background History to The Corsican Brothers.

Chapter 2 provides historical background to the actual play. This includes a short textual history of the melodrama from its inception at the Theatre Historique in Paris on August 10, 1850, to its production at the Princess's Theatre on February 24, 1852. Biographical information about the playwright, Dion Boucicault, and the designers, actors and various theatre personnel associated with the first English production is provided to determine how their particular talents added to the popularity and influence of the play. An examination of the style of acting in "Gentlemanly Melodrama" is part of this chapter and a history of the music that was so important to the production is also presented. Finally, a short study of the Princess's Theatre is included.

Chapter 3. Reconstruction of The Corsican Brothers.

The concluding chapter presents a reconstruction of the melodrama utilizing primary source material. Contemporary critical response to the play, complete with an evaluation of the play's importance in the history of English theatre will end the study.

Included with the reconstruction is a full orchestral score of the music to The Corsican Brothers, made from the
twelve original parts. To my knowledge, there has never been a full score of any nineteenth century melodrama made available for study, and it is hoped that the printed music accompanying this paper will be of use to future theatre historians and musicologists. An audio cassette of the music has been made and is available from the author upon request.

MATERIALS CONSULTED

A variety of sources, both primary and secondary, were utilized in this reconstruction of The Corsican Brothers. Secondary sources were used to establish historical and biographical data on events and personalities associated with the play. Likewise, secondary sources such as David Thompson's England in the Nineteenth Century, G.M. Young's Portrait of an Age, Geoffrey Best's Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-70, Richard D. Altick's Victorian People and Ideas, and J.B. Priestly's Victoria's Heyday, provided social, political, and aesthetic background information about the period being studied.

Primary sources helped determine the exact methods which were used in staging The Corsican Brothers, and were therefore the most valuable materials consulted. Primary sources included three copies of Charles Kean's promptbook of the melodrama. These annotated texts, which were made by Kean's prompter T. W. Edmonds, give extensive information about stage groupings, movements of actors, business,
entrances and exits, timings of acts, as well as technical information relating to the performance of the play. By studying the promptbook, insight was gained into Kean's conception of the play and how it was realized on stage. Also, since Kean's production of the melodrama was the prototype for all subsequent performances in the nineteenth century, other contemporary promptbooks from various theatres were consulted to help in understanding some of the stage business and technical demands that were not fully explained in Kean's original text copy. By carefully comparing and contrasting the various promptbooks, an accurate description of the staging of the play was achieved.

Original designs for the 1852 production were also consulted for this study. Drawings made by F. Lloyd, J. Dayes, and W. Gordon were examined to determine the scenic splendour and demands of Kean's production. The designs also demonstrate the colour scheme of each setting and show the positioning of stage furnishings and various properties used in the play. All this was used to compare with descriptions given in the original promptbook and to determine the validity of contemporary reports. Other pictorial evidence, such as two drawings of the Act One vision scene -- one made by Queen Victoria in her private journal, and the other, an etching for a sheet music arrangement of the "Ghost Melody" -- were consulted for the same reasons.
One of the most exciting discoveries of primary material was locating the original music to Kean's production of *The Corsican Brothers*. The music that Robert Stoepel composed for the play was written in twelve parts and contained valuable information about stage business and timings not mentioned in the promptbook. The instrumental parts were also helpful in determining how music was employed in melodrama and demonstrated the type and style of orchestral accompaniment used in the nineteenth century English theatre.

The memoirs of several of Kean's contemporaries and critics were examined to gain insight into the acting style employed in performing melodrama and helped to determine the attitude of actors and audiences towards the melodramatic form of entertainment. Also, works such as Percy Fitzgerald's *Sir Henry Irving*, and the reissued *The World Behind The Scenes*, were consulted to ascertain how some of the stage illusions, such as the use of the double, the "Corsican Trap" and the trick sword, were used in productions of the play.

Every effort has been made to determine the prejudices of the critics, actors and scholars whose work is quoted in the research. By using this method of study it is hoped that some type of historical truth has been achieved in the reconstruction of the production.
NOTES


2 There have been two twentieth century doctoral dissertations dealing with Kean's life and career, namely: Virginia Francisco, Charles Kean's Acting Career, 1827 - 1867, and the Development of his Style, diss. (Indiana University, 1974); and Budge Threlkeld, A Study of the Management of Charles Kean at the Princess's Theatre: 1850 - 1859, diss. (The Ohio State University, 1955).
CHAPTER 1

LIFE OF CHARLES KEAN

Enter Charles John Kean! Ladies and gentlemen, his is a most worthy name, and he is justly entitled to your earnest consideration and your most generous applause.

Clement Scott.

EARLY YEARS

Charles John Kean was born on January 18, 1811, in Waterford, Ireland. He was the second son of Mary Kean (née) Chambers and the great English Romantic actor, Edmund Kean. Little is known about Charles' childhood, but he certainly suffered the privations of Edmund Kean's years as a touring provincial player. The family frequently had to endure hunger, lack of money, and numerous hardships. For instance, in November of 1813, while on tour, Howard Kean, Edmund's first son, contracted a serious malady and died at the age of four. Even when Edmund Kean's fortunes began to improve with a planned performance in London, poverty afflicted the family. Only two coach fares could be obtained with the Keans' allotted money. Mary and Charles took the coach to London, while the great Edmund walked the hundred miles to the city. One account actually had Kean walking the distance with the young Charles on his back.¹

Charles was an unassuming youth, about whom few anecdotes survive. The most famous story of his early years occurred after his father made his triumphant debut as Shylock at Drury Lane, on January 28, 1814. Edmund rushed
into his house at 21 Cecil Street and exclaimed: "Mary, you shall ride in your carriage and Charley shall go to Eton." \(^2\)

Edmund Kean's success as an actor may have benefitted his family in a financial way, but on a personal basis his marriage to Mary and his relationship with Charles was deteriorating. As his father devoted more and more time to his acting, and his various vices, Charles became his mother's child. Howard had been Edmund's favourite, and after the boy's death, the actor had been disconsolate. No one could replace the affection he had for Howard, least of all Charles, with whom he had never felt close. Legend has it that Charles' attempts to be like his brother by giving dramatic recitations to his father met with strong disapproval. The elder Kean is purported to have forbidden his son to continue his dramatic interests by saying "There -- that will do very well. Go along! Good-night! It is time to go to bed. No more -- a -- acting, Charles." Moments after Charles had obeyed his father's instructions and retired for the night, Edmund added, "That boy will be an actor if he tries; and if he should, I'll cut his throat! ...The name of Kean shall die with me." \(^3\) It is difficult to ascertain the great actor's mood or degree of sobriety when he made the statement.

William Oxberry, who acted at Drury Lane from 1809 to 1820, and was thus acquainted with Edmund Kean, stated in
his Memoirs of Celebrated Performers (1827), that young Charles travelled once or twice with his father's starring tours through Ireland and Scotland. If true, then this is possibly the first time the boy became attracted to the theatre. However, his father wished to make certain that his son would have a good education and sent him to school at Thames Ditton in preparation for Eton College. The curriculum at Thames Ditton consisted of studying the classics and translating Greek and Latin authors. Later, young Kean studied with the Reverend E. Polehampton at Warpleston in Surrey. The approach taken by Polehampton was scholarly and methodical. Years later, this training would prove invaluable to Charles Kean when he was staging his historically accurate Shakespearean revivals.

While attending school, Charles' ambitions were decidedly not for a stage career. His own inclinations led him towards the army which he hoped to join upon inheriting a sufficient amount of money to purchase a commission. This was his dream as he entered Eton in June of 1824.

The three years that Charles spent at Eton were formative in his personal development. It was here that he learned to become a gentleman. Once again, his training was classical in nature and he was taught to approach all subjects in a systematic way. Charles achieved academic success, being especially talented at writing Latin verses. He became an ardent sportsman, and received a distinguished
honour in the school's social standing as second captain of the "Long Boats." Kean also took boxing instructions from Richmond, the coloured prize fighter, as well as fencing lessons from the celebrated Angelo. Throughout his life, Charles Kean was an accomplished swordsman, and critics praised his ability in the fight scenes he was to play in Hamlet, Richard III, and The Corsican Brothers. Charles also developed a strong sense of propriety while he was at Eton. He was always concerned with duty, good manners, decorum, and prudence -- typical Victorian virtues -- not only in himself, but also in his friends and colleagues.

His life and work as a performer were to illustrate these virtues. A contemporary wrote of Charles Kean in 1857:

As a man, Charles Kean has never faltered in his path of duty, and can claim the honour of a spotless life. An early lesson was read by him in the chequered fortunes of his father, and he saw that prudence was needful to the strong determination, the most untiring industry. That prudence has ever gone with him, accompanied by gentlemanlike bearing and unblemished honour.5

It was a matter of personal pride with Charles that he be considered and treated as a gentleman.

While at school, Kean also learned how to behave in society and familiarized himself with great literature. Eton taught him the benefits of strong physical exercise and of leading a team. It taught him how to become a scholar, knowing when to research, how to research and when to seek the aid of experts. Eton also introduced him to young men who would later be part of the upper social class and
aristocracy. Charles' association with these Etonian school fellows enabled him to be in direct contact with their tastes and attitudes towards art, literature, and drama. Likewise, the social opportunities afforded to anyone on good terms with these people would be of enormous benefit, and Kean, who was socially ambitious all his life, moved freely with members of the upper class and courted their favour. Throughout his career, Kean would have many powerful and influential friends, most of whom dated back to his days at Eton.

After three years of study, Charles had to withdraw in 1827. His father's public reputation and personal fortunes were in a deplorable state caused by the legal battles incurred during the "Cox affair." To add to Charles' anxiety, his mother was in poor health and was no longer receiving support from her husband. The younger Kean confronted his father about the family fortune. Finding that his father would not or could not provide adequate allowance for his mother, Charles made a momentous decision. He informed his father, "...I shall be compelled to seek my fortune on the stage (the father smiled in derision); and though I may never rise to eminence, or be a great actor, I shall at least obtain a livelihood for my mother and myself, and be obliged to no one." The decision created a division between father and son that would end only when Edmund realized his son's determination to succeed on the
stage.

It was fortunate that Stephen Price, the manager of Drury Lane at that time, had recently quarreled with Edmund Kean. Hearing that Charles wanted to start a stage career, and realizing that the name of Kean was a powerful draw, he offered to engage Charles for three years with a salary of 10 pounds a week to be increased to 11 and 12 pounds during the second and third years. With this money, Charles could support both his mother and himself, so he accepted the offer.

DEBUT

Charles' debut took place on Monday, October 1, 1827, in John Home's tragedy Douglas. The opening night must have been a gruelling experience for the sixteen-year old, inexperienced performer as he played the role of young Norval. He had no training as an actor and had never appeared on any stage. Added to these pressures was the responsibility of having to play to a vast 3,000 seat auditorium and living up to the name of Kean. One can only imagine the anxieties young Charles experienced.

The performance went well and at the conclusion of the evening the audience called for him. Kean realized that although his performance could not be considered a 'hit,' he had done a creditable job. However, this feeling of accomplishment was dashed the next day when he read his reviews. The newspapers roundly damned his performance, and
the young actor was devastated. The Times was particularly cruel when it stated that "He bears the name of his father, but he appears to inherit little of his genius.... If it be not too late, we should advise the young gentleman to push his fortune in the East; and, if he needs must be theatrical, he may amuse himself on the Chouringhee stage, and on many other stages in India, where amateur performances are greatly admired." Charles' long battle with the critics had begun.

It is interesting to note that although Edmund Kean and his son were not yet reconciled, the great actor sent some of his friends to observe his son's debut and make a report. One of them wrote to him about Charles' performance:

His voice is altogether puerile; his appearance that of a well-made genteel youth of eighteen. His speech, 'My name is Norval,' he hurried, and spoke as though he had a cold, or was pressing his finger against his nose. His action, on the whole, better than could have been expected from a novice -- I may say, in many instances graceful. He made no points; and copied your manner in attitude as much as possible. The particular applause bestowed was only in two instances, when he imitated your voice and style....

What is fascinating about these observations is that they contain much of the criticism that was to plague Charles' career. The objection about his voice, which sounded as though he had a cold or nasal difficulty, was a common critical complaint. That he hurried over expository speeches and imitated his father's acting style were other problems that commentators were to needle Kean with for much
of his early career. It would take many years of study before he would develop a performance style that would suit himself and his critics.

Charles stayed at Drury Lane for the 1827-28 season, adding three other roles to his repertory. He played Selim-Achmet in Browne's Barbarossa, Frederick in Lover's Vows, and Lothair in Adelgitha. With each appearance on stage, Kean gained more confidence. The Literary Gazette noted:

In his later performances, Mr. Kean has greatly improved upon his debut. There is more of nature in his style of acting, less of embarrassment, and, consequently, more of grace.... He also manages his voice infinitely better; and many of its tones are musical and pathetic. Upon the whole, we are inclined to augur more favourably of him than has been generally done by our brother critics....

APPRENTICESHIP

After Kean had fulfilled his duties for the season at Drury Lane, he decided to go to the provinces to apprentice in his craft. Kean realized that he needed training and practical experience in order to succeed and therefore took a Dublin engagement in the spring months of 1828. He also spent several weeks at Bute Cottage, his father's country retreat, and received invaluable paternal advice about performing. Obviously, father and son had settled their differences and the elder Kean was now helping Charles to pursue a theatrical career.

During the summer, Charles performed in Liverpool, Sunderland, Swansea, and Brighton. In the fall, he ended
his provincial engagements by playing in Glasgow and Edinburgh. It was in Glasgow that Charles performed with his father for the first time. Once again, he had the opportunity to learn the craft of acting by working directly under paternal guidance. The play was Howard Payne's tragedy, Brutus. The elder Kean portrayed the title role while Charles played Titus. In the play, Edmund's character is completely overcome by emotion and falls upon the neck of his son Titus, exclaiming, "Embrace thy wretched father." When this moment was reached, the audience broke forth with cheers and applause for the real life father and son, as well as for the characters they were performing together. Edmund then whispered to Charles, "Charley, we are doing the trick."^11

For almost a decade, and on various occasions afterwards, Charles learned to do "the trick" that his father had taught, but not to give it any emotional depth. Until such time as he could tap his own inner resources, all he could do was imitate his father's stage techniques of rapid transitions, high energy, and point-making.

Charles returned to Drury Lane in December 1828 to play Romeo, but once again, critical response was not favourable, so he went back to the provinces and performed with his father in Dublin and Cork. It was probably during this summer tour that the eighteen-year old Kean started to develop as an artist. Father and son played in such pieces
as A New Way to Pay Old Debts (Edmund as Overreach and Charles as Wellborn), Othello (Edmund as Othello, Charles as Iago), Macbeth (Edmund as Macbeth, Charles as Macduff) and The Merchant Of Venice (Edmund as Shylock and Charles as Bassanio).

Charles also performed numerous other parts on this tour, namely: the title roles of Hamlet and Richard II, along with Mortimer in The Iron Chest, Rolla in Pizzaro, Reuben Glenroy in Thomas Mortimer's Town and Country, and Durimel in Charles Kemble's Point of Honour. As well as developing as a performer, Charles was forming strong personality traits. He was becoming tenacious and dedicated to his profession, wishing to improve the status and reputation of the actor. Toward this end, he was following the trend being set by W.C Macready, Samuel Phelps, Madame Vestris, and Charles Mathews.

In October 1829, Charles returned to London to play at the Haymarket and received his first critical success by playing Mortimer in The Iron Chest. Since he was starting to make a name for himself and advance in his profession, the Haymarket's management offered Kean a permanent position. Wisely, Charles declined and continued his training by visiting the Continent and then sailing to the United States in the summer of 1830.

The American tour of 1830-33 was a period of experimentation for Kean. Being the son of the great
Edmund, Charles toured as a star, performing in such cities as Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, Albany and New York, to name a few. While in America, he began to drop from his repertoire roles which he felt did not serve him well, and turned increasingly in those parts that had made his father famous. Richard III, Othello, Shylock, and Sir Giles Overreach were now part of his touring package as well as Hamlet, Mortimer, Romeo, and Rueben Glenroy. The Americans liked Charles Kean's acting style, and instead of criticizing him for imitating his father, made favourable comparisons. However, more discerning critics felt that, while Kean possessed great talent, there was still too much fustian and external display in his performances with a failure to understand and portray the inner qualities of the characters he was representing. Kean must have started to listen to this criticism for when he returned to England in February of 1833, he received praise for his portrayal of Hugo Istein in J. R. Planche's play Reputation. The National Standard of Literature mentioned that Kean's acting had shown "considerable improvement... (and was) bold, energetic, with at times a touch of deep feeling."

On March 25, Kean played Iago to his father's Othello and Ellen Tree's Desdemona. It was to be Edmund's last appearance on the stage, for he collapsed during the performance and had to be taken home where he died on May 15. The death of Edmund Kean marked the beginning of a new
period in Charles' career. For the next five years he would develop a performance style of his own. He would move away from his father's repertory and method of acting and would start to act in plays that better suited his gentlemanly bearing and temperament. It would be his association with Ellen Tree that would help Kean improve his skills as a performer and establish a new choice of repertory.

Charles had first acted with Ellen Tree in Lover's Vows at Drury Lane in 1828. He had also performed with her on various other occasions, but their most notable effort had been in Sheridan Knowles' The Wife. The success of this piece was such that even W.C. Macready (no warm admirer of Charles Kean) admitted that "with the promise of something good, [he] often came near to pleasing me much."13

Kean and Ellen Tree were very much in love at this time, but both of them had family obligations to attend to before they could marry. In the meantime, Kean returned to the provinces for another five years to refine his acting technique and to win a name for himself. He would not return to London until 1838, after he had secured the patronage of influential play-goers, found suitable roles to impress the public, and gained a degree of financial independence.

While working in the provinces, Kean opened most of his engagements by performing Richard III followed by Hamlet. Both parts were to increase his popularity when he played
them in Edinburgh. In March, 1836, he performed Richard III for his benefit, to such a crowded house that the orchestra pit was let open to the public to fill the demand to see him. The evening's performance was so triumphant that Kean regarded this night as the proudest in his life. To add to his feelings of accomplishment, financial remuneration was starting to match his artistic successes. He cleared almost 1,000 pounds with his Edinburgh engagement and later, in Glasgow, his profits exceeded even this amount. 

Kean's accomplishments in the provinces were such that in 1837, he had not only earned 8,000 pounds, but was able to lessen the number of cities in which he had to secure engagements. His reputation was also gaining impetus to the extent that Macready, who had always referred to Charles as "that young man with the clever father," offered the young actor a position at Covent Garden. Kean refused the offer and continued his provincial engagements.

In September of 1837, Alfred Bunn, the manager of Drury Lane, saw Charles play Hamlet in Brighton. Bunn was so struck by Kean's performance that he engaged him for forty nights, at 50 pounds per night, to begin in January, 1838. Like his father, almost 24 years earlier, Charles was coming out of the provinces to perform at Drury Lane and seek his fortune.
SUCCESS

The role with which Kean decided to conquer London was Hamlet. The reason for this choice was obvious. It is one of the great Shakespearean parts that an actor uses to stake his claim to pre-eminence in the theatrical profession. Hamlet had also been one of his most successful portrayals in the provinces and it was not a role immediately associated with his father. Moreover, Hamlet was similar to the character of Mortimer in The Iron Chest, a part which earned Kean his first critical praise in London. The production opened on January 8, and was an immediate triumph for the actor. Queen Victoria saw the play on January 26, and noted:

Mr. Charles Kean (son of old Kean) acted the part of Hamlet and I must say beautifully. His conception of this very difficult and I may almost say incomprehensible character, is admirable; his delivery of all the fine long speeches quite beautiful; he is excessively graceful and all his actions and attitudes are good, though not at all good-looking in face....He fights uncommonly well too.15

Kean's success with the London public was assured, and even his most vehement critics found much to praise in his performance. The Times, which had never taken kindly to him, wrote:

He has taken a fine philosophical view of the character. The groundwork is melancholy abstraction, sometimes diverted from its vein by the recollection of circumstances which elicit passion, or by the interference of Court-flies, who sting a gallant nature to sarcasm and reproach by their sinister actions. The sombre hue of the
character was well preserved by Mr. Kean; and those occasional bursts of tearful passion which are elicited by Hamlet's knowledge of his father's fate, and his own irresolution in not at once doing execution on the murderer, were finely contrasted with his general melancholy.

Kean abandoned some of the traditional stage business of Hamlet and presented his own idea of "the Melancholy Dane." For instance, he refused to follow the custom of having Hamlet appear in dishevelled dress, indicating the Prince's mental distraction. Kean balanced Hamlet's madness with what Serjeant John Adams described as a "depth of feeling and pathos," which other critics identified as sentimentality or tenderness. Kean also made his Hamlet a princely gentleman, whose melancholy was occasionally stung into passion. He did not stress Hamlet's madness any more than he stressed any other element of the character.

According to Virginia Francisco's research on the development of Kean's acting career, he conceived Hamlet as a many sided individual complete with tenderness, hatred, filial affection and obligation, melancholy, reticence and determination. Making Hamlet's feelings as important as his philosophy was a decisive step in Kean's development as an actor. Presenting characters with mixed feelings common to human experience, rather than in a fixed ideal or single type of humour, would become more characteristic of Kean's work after the success of his Hamlet in 1838. In fact, his triumph in the role was such that he wrote to David Buchanan on January 24, "I may consider my success
established in the character from the fact of its having been already performed successively by me beyond any number of nights previously known with any other actor."^{19}

Francisco further states that at this point in his career Kean,

...rarely offended the canons of good taste, and never those of respectability. Audiences applauded him, for he was a mid-century man like themselves. And they applauded his Hamlet, for as Charles Kean performed the role, Hamlet, too, was a creature of their age. The mad philosopher prince of the first third of the century became the devoted son, the gentle but heartbroken lover, the honourable friend, the man of deep but suppressed feeling who nonetheless rarely raised his voice.^{20}

After his triumph in Hamlet at Drury Lane, Kean devoted the next eleven years to the development of his artistic philosophy and acting style that would culminate in his masterly portrayals of "Gentlemanly Melodrama" in the 1850s. Realizing that he could not maintain the public's interest by just playing Hamlet, Richard III, and Sir Giles Overreach, Kean retired to the provinces in the summer of 1838 to work on new roles. He added Shylock, Othello and Macbeth to his repertory, but met with little success. Kean's vocal delivery was considered "...a monotonous sing-song -- emphasizing every principal word, and rolling the rs like a drum....."^{21} Other critics objected to the length of the pauses he used while performing.^{22} Actors usually employ pauses to emphasize a word or to move from one emotional state to another. Since Kean was at fault for
emphasizing every word, he possibly used the pause for transitions. Kean imitated his father's pauses on stage, but he did not realize that to be effective, a physical or emotional change had to be illustrated to the spectators in order for the pause/transition to succeed, thus creating a theatrical "point." Another difficulty may have been that he was taking too long to show these changes. Whatever the case, critics were unanimous in finding his performances exaggerated, strained, and excessive.

Kean might not have pleased critics with his Shakespearean interpretations, but he did score praise for his portrayal of Claude Melnotte, in Bulwer-Lytton's *The Lady of Lyons*. Before leaving London for his provincial engagements, Kean had seen Macready perform Melnotte and took up the role and played it for his benefit at Brighton in August. Melnotte gained him a great deal of critical acclaim and he began to play the part as often as Hamlet and Richard III. The only drawback in Kean's eyes was that *The Lady of Lyons* was a melodrama -- a type of drama he played as infrequently as possible. The young actor regarded himself as a great tragedian in the manner of Garrick and his father, but with his success as Melnotte, he began to reconsider his abilities.

Hoping to make further financial and artistic gains, Kean visited the United States once more in September 1839. This second tour was plagued by bad press, diminishing
audiences, illness, and mishaps. The only favourable reviews he received were for his work in The Lady of Lyons. Unhappy and disillusioned, Kean returned to London in May of 1840 to perform at the Haymarket for a twelve-night engagement. He played most of his Shakespearean repertory opposite Samuel Phelps. One wonders if Kean studied the artistry of this actor and learned from his observations. He would certainly have to take note of Phelps' abilities since at that time the actor was getting good critical reviews. The critics did not take kindly to Kean on his return, saying that he had reverted to his old habits of stage trickery and bombast, but the public warmly welcomed him back and his Haymarket engagement was extended to thirty-one nights.

Kean left London in August of 1840 for a series of provincial engagements. He spent the early fall in Brighton; toured Northern England and Ireland in November and December; played at Bath in January and then went to Scotland in the early spring. The summer months were spent in London. This set a pattern for touring which he was to follow until he became manager of the Princess's Theatre in 1850. Certainly, Kean's popularity in the provinces was enormous and it was there that he met with the approval he needed to bolster his confidence and continue his career as an actor.

Kean's next London engagement was at the Haymarket in May of 1841. It proved to be another important turning
point in his personal and artistic development. He was to play, once again, with Samuel Phelps and opposite his future wife Ellen Tree.

Born in 1805, Ellen Tree was noted for her grace, high spirits, and gentleness. She also possessed a sweet, but powerful voice and was praised for her elocution. Her talents were naturally suited for playing sympathetic heroines and light comedic leading ladies. By the time she played with Kean at the Haymarket in 1841, her repertory included Rosalind in *As You Like It*, Julia in *The Hunchback*, Countess Eppenstein in *Love*, Viola in *Twelfth Night*, the (male) title role in Talford's *Ion*, and Constance in *Love Chase*. In fact, she was playing in the comedic and melodramatic plays that Kean avoided.

Domestic plays by Knowles, Talford, Bulwer-Lytton and others were staple fare for many actor-managers during this period. Macready, Ben Webster, Madame Vestris, and her husband Charles Mathews all understood the value of domestic drama both to an actor's pocket book and reputation, and had no qualms in adding such plays to their repertory. Fortunately, Ellen Tree also realized this and began to influence Kean's choice of plays. She took an avid interest in his acting abilities and began to point out his weaknesses. He started to mitigate the rant, bombast, and stage trickery of his early days and replaced them with the refined, gentlemanly, domestic style of acting that had made
his Hamlet of 1838 so successful. Ellen Tree began to see where Charles Kean's strengths as a performer lay. He had the ability to present great pathos as well as a gentlemanly demeanour on stage. He was not good at being a passionate or romantic lover, but he could illustrate superbly domestic love or thwarted and unrequited love. He could also play characters that were spurred on by a strong sense of duty. He was graceful in movement and an outstanding fencer. Ellen began to help Kean cultivate these strengths and also work on a new repertory that would demonstrate his formidable abilities. Under her care, Kean began to develop into a truly good actor. The shift of emphasis in his repertory, from the great roles of the legitimate drama to those of comedy and melodrama, was the result of her efforts. Kean's appreciation for Ellen and all she had done for him was demonstrated during his provincial tour in 1842 when he took the "wisest step" of his career and married her on January 29. They would always be devoted to each other, and no hint of scandal was ever associated with them throughout their married lives.

Playbills for the couple's early performances together indicate that there was an emphasis on comedic and melodramatic plays. Kean frequently played Mr. Beverley in The Gamester and Claude Melnotte in The Lady of Lyons. These plays also contained good female leads for Ellen, and her repertory began to influence his choice of parts. He
continued to play his classical roles, but balanced them equally with parts such as The Stranger and the Duke Aranza in The Honeymoon. The change in the type of roles Kean was playing proved fortuitous not only by the response of his public, but also, at long last, by the press. Apparently, along with the change of repertory came new developments in his acting style. Perhaps he began to adapt some of the style of the melodramas and use it in portraying the great parts of the Shakespearean canon. Whatever the case, when Kean played Macbeth for the 1842 season at the Haymarket, critics noticed that a change had taken place in the actor's method of performing. The Dramatic and Musical Review wrote:

"...a marked improvement was discernible in the style of his acting since his last appearance in London; he is not so profuse in gesticulation, and his utterance is more distinct; he delivers his soliloquies with less appearance of having reserved himself for particular points, and his performance is therefore more equal than heretofore."

This type of critical appraisal would follow Kean throughout the 1840's. He was especially lauded for his melodramatic performances in which he portrayed the domestic virtues so admired by the Victorian audiences. Kean recognized his success in these pieces and started to commission playwrights to write parts suited to his talents and those of his wife. Plays such as Knowles' The Rose of Arragon proved a welcome addition to the Keans' repertoire.
and furthered their respective careers.

By 1843, Kean played the part of Alfred Evelyn in Bulwer-Lytton's *Money*, and it rapidly became one of his most popular characters. He also continued essaying Shakespearean roles and added Benedick to his list of parts. Likewise, he began to re-interpret his former Shakespearean representations in his gentlemanly style to much critical acclaim.

For the 1844-45 season, the Keans consolidated their repertory and capitalized on their popular pieces. They also purchased a new play called *The Wife's Secret* from George Lovell for the sum of 400 pounds. Very simply, the work was the story of Othello, made more domestic and given a happy ending. It suited both of the Keans' talents admirably and was added to their catalog of plays. They first gave it public presentation during their American tour of 1845-47. The American critics noted a change in Kean's acting style and approved his choice of dramatic material. For his part, Kean was so pleased by his American reception that he decided to produce the first of his spectacular Shakespearean revivals. *Richard III* was his initial venture. Performed at the Park Theatre in New York with its resident company, the play proved to be a great triumph. It was the first of the "historically accurate" presentations in America that would gradually be adopted by all actor-managers throughout the rest of the century in illustrating
Shakespeare with authentic period costumes and scenery. The Modern Standard Drama said of Kean's performance of Richard: "...if his father's mantle has not fallen on him, he wears one of his own in a manner to vindicate his claim to the title of an actor of great genius and surprising powers." Such critical response, along with the financial gains from producing Richard III, spurred Kean on into producing King John. As with his staging for Richard, Kean had George Cresswell Ellis, the prompter for the Drury Lane Theatre, transcribe the prompt book of W.C. Macready's production of the play in London, and send it to the United States. Kean then adapted the staging and scenery to suit his vision of the play. Unfortunately, King John did not meet with the same critical or financial success as Richard III, and Kean had to abandon thoughts of producing Macbeth, Cymbeline, The Merchant of Venice and Othello in the same historically accurate manner. In following the idea of historical realism in staging, Kean was not introducing anything new to theatre history, but he was to become one of the leading exponents of the philosophy once he became actor-manager at the Princess's Theatre.

Audiences and critics in the Victorian period started a demand for historical realism. Not only in the theatre was there a "rage for realism," but in the other arts as well. In literature, the "Waverley" novels of Sir Walter Scott and the works of Bulwer-Lytton demonstrated an interest in, and
use of the historical past to entertain and instruct the reading public. The art of fiction could be enhanced with historical truth and accuracy. Likewise, contemporary fiction could demonstrate genuine authenticity of place, customs, and dress with minute description such as those found in the works of Dickens and William Harrison Ainsworth. Pictorial art also had to demonstrate truthfulness to period and human nature. "Painting from life" was not a mere figure of speech. When John Millais painted the death of Ophelia, he had his model, Elizabeth Siddal, lie in a tub half-filled with water heated by lamps. The lamps went out at one sitting and Elizabeth said nothing for fear of disturbing the artist. As a result she caught a bad cold and her father threatened to sue Millais for fifty pounds.25

One thing was definitely required in Victorian art. It had to be faithful to human experience. A great artistic creation for the Victorians would demonstrate research, learning, detail, be "true to nature," and provide valuable information that would entertain. As John Ruskin pointed out at this period, it was the purpose of art to interpret and edify.26 Ruskin also believed that the artist was bound to communicate a vision of the full reality, which by the very wholeness would awaken emotion in the sympathetic observer. With Matthew Arnold, he believed that "poetry of
revolt against moral ideas is a poetry of revolt against life; a poetry of indifference towards moral ideas is a poetry of indifference towards life."\textsuperscript{27}

Acceptable art had to demonstrate both a realistic and a moral aesthetic. As J.R. Planché stated, "The true spirit of the time is in nothing more perceptible than in the tone given to our most trifling amusements. Information of some description must be blended with every recreation to render it truly acceptable to the public."\textsuperscript{28}

Combining the realistic innovations of the nineteenth century stage with the Victorian moral aesthetic was the artistic mandate of Charles Kean. This would not be fully realized until Kean became actor-manager of the Princess's Theatre.

In the early months of 1847, the Keans continued their American tour. However, near the beginning of April, Mrs. Kean fell ill and they decided to return home to England. Once she was well enough to travel, the remainder of the 1847 season was spent in the provinces. The Keans performed their established repertoire, but saved their new roles for a scheduled engagement at the Haymarket in January. It had been four years since Kean had performed in the capital, and he was ready to give the London audiences a number of pieces they had never seen him play before. They included: The Wife's Secret, Money, The Jealous Wife, The Hunchback, Twelfth Night, and Two Gentlemen of Verona. The
actor was ready to conquer London once again with the
knowledge the American tour had given him, both as a
performer and manager.

A great personal triumph occurred for the Keans when
they opened with The Wife's Secret at the Haymarket on
January 17, 1847. The play proved so successful that it ran
for a total of thirty-six nights. One performance was given
for the Keans as a benefit which Queen Victoria attended.

The Queen had patronized Charles Kean since 1838, when
he made his first triumph at Drury Lane in Hamlet, and
regarded him as a favourite. She began to attend Kean's
performances probably at the instigation of Lady Morpeth and
Lady Nomanby. Both women were well acquainted with the
Queen, and their husbands were friends and patrons to Kean
as early as 1836. These contacts proved valuable when, in
the fall of 1848, Victoria decided to revive the office of
Master of Revels to present Christmas theatricals at Windsor
Castle. The obvious choice for the position should have
been W.C. Macready, who was the acknowledged leading actor
of the day, but the Queen chose Charles Kean. Influence at
court probably had a great deal to do with Kean's selection,
but Victoria may also have been influenced by the actor's
repertory, youth, and style as well as her admiration for
Ellen Tree. In addition, although the Queen had seen
Macready in various roles, her appraisal of the actor was
not favourable and she did not approve of his republican
sympathies." Thus the accolade fell to Charles Kean.

Kean's first presentations at Windsor included The Merchant of Venice, Hamlet, The Stranger, Dion Boucicaut's Used Up, and a new play by Douglas Jerrold called The Housekeeper. As well as acting in and producing the plays, Kean had to adapt the stage arrangements and business to the temporary theatre set up in the Rubens Room at Windsor. The actor was aided in these endeavours by the talents of Mrs. Kean and many of the performers from the Haymarket Theatre. The Christmas productions for the Royal Family probably fostered Kean's desire to become manager of his own theatre and gave him confidence in overseeing all aspects of theatrical presentation. At Windsor, he saw and met the difficulties of production and dealt with the many and various intrigues and personality conflicts that were all part of the acting profession. Artistically, he had the managerial examples of Macready, Phelps, Vestris, and Mathews to guide him in staging plays and working with a corps of theatre personnel, as well as his own knowledge of presenting Shakespearean and melodramatic parts that he had acquired when touring America and the provinces.

By 1849, Kean realized that his next obvious step was to manage his own theatre. He was financially secure, one of the leading and popular actors in England, and a member of the establishment with powerful and influential friends at court. He knew what the court and the emerging West-End
society audiences wanted to see at the theatre and was determined to provide it for them. His talent as an actor had also evolved considerably since his debut, and his temperament was such that he could lead a company of players. At 38 years of age, Charles Kean decided to embark upon the "stormy sea" of management at the Princess's Theatre.

YEARS AT THE PRINCESS'S THEATRE

Kean went into managerial partnership with the great comic actor Robert Keeley at the Princess's Theatre in August of 1850. Their opening night took place on September 28, 1850, with the following bill: Twelfth Night, followed by a farce called Platonic Attachments, and concluded with a ballet choreographed by Richard Flexmore. The audience was most enthusiastic about the performances. G. H. Lewes expressed the general feeling among the critics when he wrote:

Never was there a better first night! Everybody was in high spirits, rightly attuned to enjoyment, ready to be pleased, and keeping up the ball of humour by sending it back again winged with hearty laughter to the actors. A pleasant sight it was to see the crowded expectation of that night! Well-known faces dotted the crowd; and the dress circle presented an appearance of ladies and gentlemen seldom gracing a theatre now-a-days: it was like a night of the olden times when the drama flourished.

The first season played until October 17, 1851, and was a decided financial and artistic success. Hamlet, As You Like It, The Merchant Of Venice, Henry IV, Part I, and
Twelfth Night were the Shakespearean offerings, while The Templar and Lost in a Maze were the principal novelty pieces. This varied theatrical menu drew such enthusiastic houses that Kean and Keeley realized a profit of 7,000 pounds. This was an exceptionally successful start that was probably bolstered by the Great Exhibition of 1851. The exhibition attracted huge crowds to London that year and this helped to fill the seats at the Princess's. After the success of the first season, Keeley decided to retire on his share and thus allowed Kean to assume complete control of the Princess's. There were no reasons given for Keeley's retirement, and apparently Kean and Keeley got along together quite well. However, theatrical management was a risky enterprise, and it is possible that Keeley thought one year of profitable management was all his luck would allow, or he may have feared the cost of Kean's dreams of antiquarian productions. Whatever the case, Kean was now free to implement his artistic principles. He would present the national drama in a spectacular style that would both entertain and instruct the audience.

Already Kean was frequenting the British Museum in search of information that would provide the settings, costumes, and properties that he would use in his productions. Kean carefully transcribed all the data that was required and noted the authorities he had consulted. Books such as Henry Shaw's Specimens of Ancient Furniture
and Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages became standard reference texts not only for Kean, but for many actor-managers who adopted his theatrical ideals. Planché's History of British Costume and Joseph Strutt's A Complete View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, etc. of the Inhabitants of England also provided much of the detailed information that Kean would utilize.

Learning through history was of paramount importance for the Victorians. John Steegman states in his study of Victorian art that the English middle-class gentleman of the early nineteenth century was:

...proud of himself, of his country and of the age in which he had the good fortune to be living. He was self-satisfied and optimistic. But also he was a realist, and imagination did not play a very active part in his composition. His favourite pictures, therefore, were those which either reproduced some familiar scene or else informed him accurately of the past.

Kean responded to this need by presenting living, realistic pictures of the Shakespearian drama in a detailed antiquarian style. The first attempt at this method of staging at the Princess's took place on February 9, 1852, when Kean remounted his New York production of King John. Except for Lewes, all contemporary reviewers praised the staging and the acting of the play. The Times stated that the production was "one of the most complete representations known in the history of theatrical management." The Athenæum elaborated, saying:

By both Mr. Macready and Mr. Phelps the
with magnificence; but Mr. Kean has surpassed them both. Not content with producing merely a gorgeous spectacle, he has provided a series of pictures in which artistic beauty and historical accuracy have been happily combined."

As well as King John, the 1851-1852 season was remembered for Kean's presentation of The Corsican Brothers, the production history of which will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Dion Boucicault's adaptation of this French melodrama turned out to be the theatrical sensation of London in 1852, running a total of 66 performances. During the seven years remaining of his management at the Princess's, Kean would perform the play a total of 250 times. As George Rowell notes in his study of the Victorian theatre:

The overall pattern of the play -- the concurrence in time of the first two acts, and the two 'visions,' revealing first the Forest of Fontainebleau with the dying Louis, and later Fabien's resolve to quit Corsica and revenge his brother, indicate an interest in form hitherto neglected in the rough-and-tumble methods of melodrama."

Kean's third season of 1852-1853 marked the real commencement of the grand Shakespearean revivals for which the Princess's Theatre became renowned. For the production of Macbeth, Kean issued the first of his famous "fly-leaves" to accompany the performance. The audience was able to read about the costume, furniture, scenic, and in some cases the musical research that had gone into making the performance historically accurate as well as learn about the historical
events that were about to unfold before them. The "fly-leaves" were sometimes subjected to much criticism for pedantry, but they proved popular with the public. *Macbeth* was performed three times a week for twenty weeks, alternating with lighter pieces. Another of the principal attractions of the third season was a revival of Lord Byron's *Sardanapalus*. For this production Kean used the archaeological discoveries by Sir Henry Laynard at the ancient site of Nineveh. *Sardanapalus* was hailed as a magnificent theatrical spectacle, but some critics did not have favourable things to say about Byron's play. The *Theatrical Journal* noted: "The spectacle at the Princess's is attractive -- but the sight-seers feast their eyes only on the gorgeousness of the scenery, and the glitter of the armour and accoutrements, whilst the blank verse of the tragedy falls upon inattentive and disregarding ears."35 W.C. Macready had staged a successful production of the play in 1834, and the link between Macready's version and Kean's was Ellen Tree. She played the part of Myrrha opposite the "eminent tragedian" and probably supplied Kean with much valuable information as to the staging of the piece. According to Boleslaw Taborski's study of the performances of Byron's plays, Macready's 1834 production put an emphasis on the great actor and the text. Kean, however, aimed at historical accuracy and "strove to preserve a balance between the text, the actor and the spectacle, and his
Sardanapalus forms the peak of Byronic presentation. Certainly for the public, the production was a way of seeing the discoveries at Nineveh come to life on stage. The success of the play further demonstrated the audience's interest in being educated by Kean's antiquarian philosophy, for Sardanapalus proved even more popular than Macbeth, running a total of 61 nights with a further 32 performances beginning the next season.

The fourth season of 1853-1854, witnessed the production of The Miller and His Men, Boucicault's Faust and Marguerite (in which Kean scored a victory as Mephistopheles), along with a successful run of a new serious drama entitled Married Unmarried. Richard III was added to the series of Shakespearean revivals, and in June Charles Reade's melodrama The Courier of Lyons proved an audience favourite. In this play, Kean got to perform look-a-like roles, as he did in The Corsican Brothers. The Courier of Lyons did not receive good critical notices, but the piece was very popular with audiences. Kean's acting was lauded for his contrasting portrayals of a totally innocent character opposite that of a despicable villain. As a critic from the Spectator noted:

The sudden changes from well-dressed virtue to ill-dressed vice are absolutely perfect -- a series not of stage tricks, but of stage-miracles. The poetical and the ideal may sneer, but who will not rush to the Princess's to see an artist who can be in two places at once?
The fifth season at the Princess's was delayed until October, 1854. Kean was in Paris, viewing numerous melodramas and recovering from illness. Also, an epidemic of cholera broke out in London, causing many buildings to close their doors. Kean therefore decided to open the theatre later in the season. He wrote:

I have come to the conclusion after much deliberation in consequence of the panic occasioned by the dreadful mortality that has lately occurred in the neighbourhood of our theatre. The gloom that has consequently been thrown upon that part of London is very great, for the deaths have numbered many hundreds. Indeed, I hear that the bodies have been carted away at night in boxes.38

Once the season did commence, the first few offerings did not please audiences or critics. Douglas Jerrold's Heart of Gold was a total failure, and the playwright blamed Kean for the play's poor reception. Kean and Jerrold previously had misunderstandings about this work in 1853, and a growing animosity developed between the author and the actor. With the failure of Heart of Gold, they became bitter enemies indulging in public mudslinging which did nothing to enhance their reputations.

A French military spectacle called Schamyl similarly met with public and critical disapproval, and Kean began to repeat his favourite melodramatic roles in The Corsican Brothers, The Courier of Lyons and Faust and Marguerite to make up his financial losses. The season had started
poorly, but Kean's fortune abruptly changed when he produced the Boucicault adaptation of Casimir de la Vigne's play Louis XI, in January 1855. Louis became Kean's greatest role with critics and audiences alike. The Saturday Review stated the importance of Louis XI to Kean's career:

The production of Louis XI. [sic] was an event of no particular importance in the history of Mr. Kean's talent, considered by itself; but its importance with respect to the public appreciation of that talent is so unquestionable that we might almost be tempted to divide the artist's recent career into two parts -- one preceding, the other following, the month of January 1855.

The first production of Louis XI ran for 62 nights and made Kean the leading actor in England at that time. He would continue to play Louis for the rest of his theatrical career, and it would be as this character that both audience and critics would remember his great acting skills.

Another triumph for Kean occurred during the fifth season at the Princess's. This was the revival of Shakespeare's Henry VIII, which opened in May. For this production Kean played the role of Cardinal Wolsey and Mrs. Kean, who had been absent from the stage for 18 months because of illness, returned to perform the part of Queen Katherine. This was one of the greatest Shakespearean revivals during Kean's management. The entire company of the Princess's received glowing reviews for Henry VIII, and Ellen Terry would say in later years that she had never seen Kean's production of the play surpassed in acting or splendour. So successful was this particular revival, that
in The Times of September 3, 1855, Kean thanked his audience for their patronage, and announced that because of their support, the play had run for 100 consecutive nights, "an attraction hitherto without parallel in the history of the stage."  

Henry VIII continued into the sixth season which opened on October 22, 1855. Kean's fortunes were further enhanced with an outstanding production of The Winter's Tale which commenced in April of 1856 and ran for 102 consecutive nights. Part of Kean's aesthetic philosophy was clearly expressed in a curtain speech after the final performance of the play for that season:

Ladies and Gentlemen, -- in obeying your kind summons, I take the opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude for the constant favour with which you have received my efforts since I first entered upon management -- a favour which has enabled me to present to you some of the most beautiful creations of the greatest of all poets, with a success and attraction unprecedented in the annals of the stage. Such results convert the most hazardous risk into triumphant certainty, and convince me that I have struck the right chord in endeavouring to make the stage a correct embodiment of what is true, real, and picturesque.

After a very short break of ten days, Kean opened his seventh season with a performance of Sheridan's Pizarro. This was followed on October 15, 1856, by a revival of A Midsummer Night's Dream, the only one of his Shakespearean productions in which he did not perform. The work was enormously successful and was accorded a total run of 150 nights. While A Midsummer Night's Dream was running, Kean
was heavily at work on Richard II. The play opened on March 12, 1857, and resulted in Kean's nomination to the Society of Antiquaries. He was elected on June 18, shortly before the opening of The Tempest, and the honour confirmed Kean's belief that his spectacular productions were not only appropriate to the works of Shakespeare, but also to the interests of the public and the theatrical profession.

The Tempest was presented mainly as a spectacle piece. The text of the production was heavily edited and much criticized, but the piece was popular and ran 45 nights, closing the season on August 21. Of the 290 performances that took place during the seventh season, 242 had been devoted to the works of Shakespeare. Other works included light comedies, the Christmas pantomime Aladdin, as well as a few nights given to the ever popular Corsican Brothers.

Kean and his company took a well deserved six-week holiday and then opened the eighth season with The Tempest on October 12, 1857. When audience attendance began to taper off he remounted Richard II in November. Beginning in January, a revival of Hamlet was brought out. The critical response to this production was overwhelmingly favourable. Kean produced the play without his usual ostentation and lavish illustration and seemed to concentrate his energies on presenting the scholarly prince, complete with filial devotion and psychological subtlety. The quiet style of performing gentlemanly melodrama was now fully adapted to his Shakespearean portrayals. Reviewers of the period were
almost completely unanimous in thinking that Hamlet ranked along with Louis as one of his best characterizations.

From January through March, Kean ran Hamlet in repertory with The Corsican Brothers, Louis XI, and A Midsummer Night's Dream. In early April he remounted Faust and Marquerite, and by mid-April began alternating it with a splendid production of King Lear, set in eighth-century Saxon England. It had been almost twenty years since Kean had played the role of Lear, and he had never performed it in London, where it had been one of Macready's most popular pieces. Kean gave the character of Lear his own carefully detailed portrayal, free from the traditions of the old Romantic school of acting. Lear consolidated Kean's reputation with his public and his critics. Comparing Kean's performance with Macready's, the Theatrical Journal stated:

Macready's Lear was a most pathetic, a most patriarchal assumption, and he strove to touch our sympathies with the full exposition of his wounded dignity. But the Lear of Mr. Charles Kean differs widely from that of Mr. Macready, and he impresses the magnificent sorrows of the fallen king and the abused father upon us by a view diametrically opposite to that of...Macready.42

Although Kean was obtaining personal success with his Shakespearean revivals and gentlemanly melodramas the financial burden of the productions was becoming too much for him. Despite high audience attendance, the theatre was too small, ticket prices too low, and the costs of mounting the revivals (reproducing historically accurate costumes,
armour, weapons and scenery) astronomical. At the end of the eighth season, the Princess's showed a loss of 4,000 pounds. Kean realized that to continue management would bring financial ruin, so with his lease at the Princess's expiring in 1859, he decided to make the ninth season his last.

The farewell season of Kean's managerial career was given mainly to revivals of previously successful productions. The Merchant of Venice opened on October 2, 1858 and was followed by King John, Macbeth, Much Ado About Nothing, The Jealous Wife, The Corsican Brothers, Hamlet, Louis XI, Henry VIII, and The Wife's Secret. The only new character that Kean undertook was the part of Henry V. It would be the last new role he was ever to learn and he chose it for his benefit night on March 28, 1859. The play ran for 84 performances.

As the season drew to its close, Kean seemed tired and disillusioned about his achievements. There had been rumours that he was to receive a knighthood for his service to the national drama, but it did not come to pass. In May he wrote to a friend:

My managerial reign is now drawing to a close and there is but one reward that a man of my profession can aspire to, public approval. I have endeavoured to uphold the stage and prove to the world that it can be rendered a school of instruction as well as amusement; that it is capable of higher qualities than a mere passing of enjoyment -- That a well organized Theatre is a great social advantage, but I fear except with the reflecting few, my labours have not been
appreciated. Nine years of toil -- anxiety -- and loss have been thrown away upon the general public, who cannot distinguish between the highest art and the most frivolous entertainment. I confess that I resign my theatrical sceptre with feelings of disappointment.43

Kean closed his management at the Princess's on August 29, 1859. The plays performed on that final night included Dying for Love, a one act comedietta by N. H. Harrington and Edmund Yates called If the Cap Fits, and finally the great, spectacular production of Henry VIII. When the curtain fell, Kean addressed his public and outlined some of his artistic ideals while he was manager:

I have always entertained the conviction that, in illustrating the great plays of the greatest poet who ever wrote for the advantage of men, historical accuracy might be so blended with pictorial effect, that instruction and amusement would go hand in hand; and that the more completely such a system was carried out, so much the more valuable and impressive would be the lesson conveyed.

In fact, I was anxious to make the theatre a school as well as a recreation; and the reception given to the plays thus submitted to your judgement, combined with the unprecedented number of their repetitions, bear, I think, conclusive evidence that my views were not altogether erroneous.

...To carry out this system, the cost has been enormous; -- far too great for the limited arena in which it was incurred. As a single proof, I may state that in this little theatre, where 200 is considered a large receipt, and 250 an extraordinary one, I expended, in one season alone, a sum little short of 50,000. During the run of some of the great revivals, as they are called, I have given employment -- and consequently weekly payment -- to nearly 550 persons; and if you take into calculation the families dependent on these parties, the number I have thus supported may be multiplied by four. Those plays, from the moment they first suggested themselves to my mind until their final production, occupied each about a twelvemonth in
Kean then defended his reasons for making certain archaeological choices in his presentations and told his public that he never allowed "historical truth to be sacrificed to theatrical effect." Kean proceeded to praise Mrs. Kean for her help during his nine years as manager and announced that although both he and his wife were retiring from management, they were not retiring from the stage. Amidst great cheering, Kean bid a "Farewell -- a long farewell" to the Princess's theatre and its patrons.

Throughout his tenure at the Princess's, Kean maintained his artistic philosophy of presenting antiquarian productions. In the fly-leaves to the plays he constantly refers to his endeavours to make the productions "true," "real," and "picturesque." Kean never defined these terms, but the fly-leaves certainly imply that by being "true" the production was an historically accurate portrait of the time being presented. This "truth" was achieved by painstaking research selected from contemporary authorities as well as learned experts. Nothing was overlooked in the research. Clothing, furniture, cutlery, architecture as well as music and dance were investigated and then placed upon the stage. Kean would then have his productions "endowed with animated reality." This reality was what everyone acknowledged to be representative of human experience. Although Kean strove for historical accuracy in costume and scenery, this philosophy did not carry over into the textual
contents of the plays themselves (e.g., Shakespeare's Richard III versus the historical Richard III). This inconsistency may trouble twentieth century sensibilities, but apparently for Kean and the Victorians this was not regarded as a philosophical or aesthetic contradiction.\textsuperscript{46}

According to Richard Altick, "The quality of man's inner life was determined by the presence or absence of beauty in his everyday surroundings...the optic nerve led, so to speak, directly to the soul."\textsuperscript{49} To show the squalid or the ugly would not edify, therefore, certain realities and truths had to be tempered with propriety. Art should conform to an accurate representation of fact so that a moral could be taught. This type of instruction would educate the audience and improve their understanding of history. Charles Kean would certainly have agreed with this. His productions were always real, true (by Victorian standards), picturesque, AND moral.

\textbf{FINAL YEARS}

The final stages of Kean's career were filled with touring and financial worry. Extensive tours of the provinces provided a good deal of money, but not the amount Kean deemed sufficient to retire on. There was a series of farewell performances that proved personally rewarding to Kean and his wife, with many of the theatres crowded to overflowing. In numerous cases, such as in Manchester and Leeds, seats were sold in the orchestra pit to fulfill the
demand of tickets, forcing the orchestral musicians to play behind the scenes. On April 30, 1861, Kean played Richard III at Drury Lane to such a crowded house that his receipts for the night amounted to an unprecedented 420 pounds. More engagements followed and the Keans felt they could gain even larger sums of money with a world tour. After performing at the Princess's theatre for the 1862-1863 season (then under the management of Augustus Harris), the Keans set sail for Australia and arrived at Melbourne on September 25, 1863. Neither the reception, nor the receipts of the Australian visit met with their expectations, so they set off to the United States and Canada in hope of recouping their losses. Profits during this North American visit of 1863-1866 were encouraging, but the expenses of the tour were also very high. The Keans presented all their old favourite repertory pieces, but ill health began to interfere with many engagements. The pair was also getting homesick for their daughter Mary, and friends back in England. Kean's last performance in America was of Louis XI in New York. On April 16, 1866, he embarked for home with his wife.

After arriving in Liverpool, the Keans began another series of farewell performances following their habit of playing in southern England in early fall, Dublin in November and December, Scotland in the new year and northern England in the spring. During this tour, Kean was beset with illness and plagued with a failing memory. He made his
last stage appearance in Liverpool on May 28, 1867, playing one of his favourite parts: Louis XI. After the performance, he was found to be suffering from a severe heart condition and his doctor told him he had to stop performing. Kean then returned to his home at 42 Queensborough Terrace, Kensington Gardens, with hope of regaining his lost health and making one final benefit performance at Drury Lane. It was not to be. Squire Bancroft described seeing the actor during this time:

Early in the year I was on my way to pay a professional visit to Sir William Fergusson, when, close to Hanover Square, I had to stand aside while the figure of an obviously dying man was lifted from a carriage and almost carried into an adjoining house. Among the idlers and the passersby who stopped to stare at him, I alone recognized all that was left of the once famous actor. I already knew him to be ill; but this glance showed him to be stricken with mortal sickness. He looked, indeed, very like his own powerful realization of death in the last scene of Louis XI.50

Throughout the ensuing months, Kean's health rapidly deteriorated and he passed away on January 22, 1868. The next day his daughter sent a black edged note to a friend:

My dear Mr. Scott
This black edge will tell you the sad, sad news. He has gone and left us all, all alone. He died at 8 o'clock last night; calmly and peacefully, without any suffering...

Mary Kean.51

Ellen Kean was completely distraught by her husband's death, but received some comfort from the sympathy of friends and admirers. Queen Victoria sent a personal
handwritten letter to Mrs. Kean:

Osbourne
January 24th, 1868.

Dear Mrs. Kean,

I cannot refrain from expressing to you personally my deep and sincere sympathy on your overwhelming affliction as I know from sad experience how to appreciate this loss of a beloved Husband who was the object of your existence.

Life is a blank after such a loss and the sunshine of it, is for ever gone! I recall most vividly to my mind the many hours of great intellectual enjoyment with your lamented and talented Husband (who did so much for his Profession) and you afforded to my dear Husband and myself in bygone happy days! They will never be forgotten and I shall dwell with the melancholy pleasure on the recollection of them.

That you may find comfort in your dear Child and that God may give you strength and resignation to bear this heavy blow is my earnest prayer!

Ever Yours Sincerely
Victoria Reg.

Kean was given a simple, un-ostentatious funeral and was buried beside his mother in Catherington. His will provided 25,000 pounds for Ellen, who retired from the stage once her husband died. She lived for twelve more years, often ill, feeling lonely and disillusioned. She died in London on August 20, 1880, and was buried beside her husband.
NOTES


3 Francisco, 5. The anecdote is given by Barry Cornwall and is quoted in Brander Mathews, "Macready and Forrest and Their Contemporaries," in *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States* (New York, 1886), IV, 102-103.

4 Francisco, 5-6.


6 The "Cox Affair" culminated in 1825 when Alderman Robert Albion Cox brought damages against Edmund Kean for his relationship with his wife Charlotte Cox (née Newman). Kean's love letters to Charlotte were made public and the actor had to award 800 pounds damages to the Alderman.

7 John William Cole, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, F.S.A.*, 1st ed. (London: 1859), I, 146-147. John William Cole's real name was Calcraft. He was a soldier, playwright, and actor and served as secretary to Charles Kean. Calcraft first performed in Edinburgh, in 1814, playing Iago to the Othello of Edmund Kean. In 1824 he went into management in Dublin, where he met Charles Kean. He joined Kean's Princess's company in 1851 and published his biography of the actor in 1859. Calcraft later toured with Kean to Australia and North America. He died in 1870. For the purpose of this study both first and second editions of the biography have been used.

8 "Drury-Lane Theatre," *Times*, October 2, 1827.

9 Cole, I, 155.

10 "Drama: Drury Lane," *Literary Gazette*, No. 560, October 13, 1827.

11 Cole, I, 163-164.


14 Cole, I, 222-223.


16 "Drury-Lane Theatre," Times, January 9, 1838.


18 Francisco, 49.

19 Letter to David Buchanan, January 24, 1838. Folger Library ALS Y.c. 393 (II).

20 Francisco, 63.


27 Buckley, 159.


29 Douglas R. Vander Yacht, Queen Victoria's Patronage of Charles Kean, Actor Manager, diss. (The Ohio State University, 1970), 87-98, 123.
30 George Henry Lewes, The Leader, October 5, 1850.


33 "Princess's," Athenaeum, February 14, 1852.


35 "Mr. Charles Kean's Sardanapalus [sic]," Theatrical Journal, July 20, 1853.

36 Boleslaw Taborski, Byron and the Theatre (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg Austria, 1972), 183.

37 "Theatres and Music," Spectator, July 1, 1854.

38 Letter from Charles Kean, September 16, 1854. Folger Shakespeare Library Y.c. 393 (1).


40 "Royal Princess's Theatre -- Last Week," Times, September 3, 1855.

41 Cole, II, 179-80.


43 Letter from Charles Kean, dated May, 14, 1859. Folger Shakespeare Library. Y.c. 393, 258.


45 Thomas Booth Haas, Kean, Irving, Tree: Shakespearean Production Aesthetics, diss. (The University of Wisconsin, 1963), 45-49. The information is taken from the fly-leaf to Richard II.

46 Haas, 45.

47 Haas, 45-47.

Irving gave the Philistines his version of the old Horatian oil: the theatre lends 'great aid to taste and thought and culture... in the guise of amusement' and it has an elevating influence on national morality. At worst, he says, it is a more wholesome place of entertainment than a gin palace and an escape from 'the intellectual mists of sordid reality.' Of course the theatre is 'an educational medium of no mean order', where the masses can learn about 'the costumes, habits, manners and customs of countries and ages other than their own,' but Irving prudently avoids referring to the standard of historical truth in plays like Richard III, or W. G. Wills's Charles I. He claims, moreover, that the theatre acquaints the public with great ideas and great literature: 'Without it Shakespeare might have been for many of them a sealed book.'

Hughes, through Irving, continues to define the term "true" as it applies to the stage (page 9).

Irving believed that true art heightens nature in order to seem real. 'To appear to be natural, you must in reality be much broader than nature. To act on the stage as one really would in a room, would be ineffective and colourless.' The theatre is above all the art of illusion. 'It must never be forgotten that all Art has the aim or object of seeming and not of being; and to understate is as bad as to overstate the modesty or the efflorescence of nature.'

There is also the sheer drawing power of an historically accurate production to be considered. The Illustrated London News, on July 31, 1852, recorded in its season-end review:

The season just concluded was inaugurated with the costly revival of a Shakspearian [sic] comedy and tragedy, "Twelfth Night" and "King John." The latter was placed upon the stage with a profusion of historical accessories, and unequalled for their correctness and expressiveness.... It has...been asserted by some, that this attention to accessories is injurious to the drama, and too often a substitute for good acting. The latter, at the Princess', is the best that exists; but, as to the dramatic question, there can be no doubt that the necessity for this excessive ornamentation in such plays as "King
"John," is a proof that the Shakspearian [sic] drama is no longer self-supportant [sic] -- that it requires an excess of illustration to give it novelty and currency, and that this bolstering-up of works rapidly becoming obsolete, as acting plays, can only last for a short while longer.

49 Altick, 281.


51 Letter from Mary Kean to Mr. Scott, January 23, 1868. Folger Shakespeare Library. Y.c. 405 (1).

52 Hardwick, 250.
CHAPTER 2

The Corsican Brothers is one of the pieces which requires picturesque setting. The story is so weird that it obtains a new credibility from unfamiliar entourage.

Bram Stoker

THE CORSICAN BROTHERS - BACKGROUND HISTORY

The first theatrical presentation of The Corsican Brothers took place on August 10, 1850, at the Théâtre Historique in Paris. The play was described as a "drame fantastique en 3 actes et 5 tableaux" and was written by Eugène Grange and Xavier de Montépin. These playwrights took the story from a novel written in 1845 by Alexandre Dumas père entitled Les Frères Corses, and then adapted it to the stage.

There is no information that determines who designed the sets and costumes for the production, or who composed the music for this first performance. However, the play was a success with the Paris public and after a relatively short run at the Théâtre Historique, Les Frères Corses transferred to the Ambigu Comique.

One of the reasons for the success of the play was the performance of Charles Fechter in the roles of the twin dei Franchi brothers. Fechter (1824-79), who had been born in England, was a star performer in France and was well acquainted with the romantic dramas written by both Dumas père and fils, having been the original Armand in Dumas fils' play La Dame aux Camélias. The playing of these
pieces demanded a type of acting that was gentlemanly in style. In other words, what was being done on stage had to appear to represent the normal style of every day speech and movement that took place in the salon. It was the portrayal of the gentleman's daily life in the world of the nineteenth century. What Dumas père added to this was a sense of adventure and romance. Dumas fils added investigation into this society's hypocrisy. Fechter was able to fulfill both requirements quite well and became famous for the subtle depth of his performances.

Another reason for the play's success was the story of the dei Franchi brothers. The plot is simple, yet exciting. Fabien and Louis dei Franchi are empathetic twin brothers. As Fabien describes it:

There is a strange, mysterious sympathy between us; no matter what space divides us, we are still one in body, in feeling, in soul. Any powerful impression which the one experiences, is instantly conveyed by some invisible agency to the senses of the other.

Both brothers fall in love with Emilie, the daughter of a general stationed in Corsica. The General is recalled to Paris and takes his family back with him. Fabien and Louis are despondent over the loss of Emilie, each sensing the other's love for the girl. Eventually, Louis asks Fabien if he ever intends to go to Paris to study. Fabien replies that he has no intention of travelling, knowing well that his brother longs to see Emilie. Louis journeys to Paris and Fabien begins to sense that all is not well with his
brother. At the end of Act One, Fabien sees a vision of his brother's death in the Forest of Fontainebleau.

Act Two tells the story of what happened to Louis while in Paris. Upon arriving in the city, Louis discovers that his beloved Emilie has married the rich and elderly Admiral de L'Esparre. The marriage was arranged by her father who did not want Emilie to suffer a disastrous union, such as that which had befallen her sister. Becuase of the disparity of age in the marriage, Emilie admits that, while she considers it her sacred duty to respect and honour her husband, she does not love him. Louis understands her position and remains her devoted friend, but his sad and oppressed emotions are sensed by Fabien back in Corsica.

The villain of the play, Monsieur Chateau Renaud, is also upset over Emilie's marriage. This upper class gentleman has given himself the reputation of being a successful ladies' man, but his one disappointment has been his rejection by Emilie de L'Esparre. Originally, she had liked Chateau Renaud and had written encouraging letters to him, but her father disapproved of the liaison, seeing in Chateau Renaud the makings of a braggart and ne'er do well. Naturally, Chateau Renaud vows revenge. "Aha! fair Emilie, you despise my devotion, and recall your plighted love; you shall repent it, my lovely traitoress."

To achieve his purpose, Chateau Renaud threatens to make public the letters of affection Emilie had written to
him before her marriage to Admiral de L'Esparre. Not wishing to compromise her husband's social position, Emilie begs for the return of the letters. Chateau Renaud agrees to the request, saying that he will not only give them back, but as a further proof of his devotion, will take Emilie to a lodging where she can once more see her sister, Louise. He explains: "...I have rescued her from despair, perhaps from death, to restore her to your arms." Overcome with joy, Emilie accompanies the villain to the lodging, little suspecting that a trap has been set for her.

Chateau Renaud has spread the rumour that although Emilie is married, she is still in love with him. Baron Montgiron doubts the boast and challenges Chateau Renaud to prove it. The villain states that he will lead Emilie into the Baron's party that very night without her husband anywhere in sight. To damage further Emilie's reputation, the Baron's party is not of the most respectable kind, the women present being of the demi-monde. If Emilie attends she will destroy her good name and that of her husband. The wager is then set at one thousand francs; thus Chateau Renaud not only gains his revenge against a woman who refused his advances, but becomes a thousand francs richer.

Louis dei Franchi is cognizant of what Chateau Renaud is trying to do and manages to attend the Baron's party. When Emilie arrives at Montgiron's salon, escorted by Chateau Renaud, it appears to one and all that she is
cheating on her husband. She tries to explain the treachery that tricked her into attending the party, but no one believes her, except Louis. He attempts to protect Emilie, but is challenged by Chateau Renaud to a duel. Louis accepts the challenge and then escorts Madame de L'Esparre home. With great chivalry he says to her as they leave, "Come, Madame, my blood, to the last drop, is yours; my life is nothing to the honour, the happiness you now confer upon me."

The final scene of Act Two takes place in the Forest of Fontainebleau. It is ten minutes past nine in the morning and we see the scene that Fabien dei Franchi witnessed as a vision at the end of Act One. Chateau Renaud is shown wiping blood off his sword with a handkerchief. Louis lies fatally wounded on the ground supported by Giordano and the Second. A surgeon feels Louis' pulse and says, "...the lungs are pierced. Ten minutes past nine! he has not five minutes more to live." Giordano asks the dying man if he has any message he may wish to convey to his brother back in Corsica. Louis replies there is none -- his brother Fabien will know all. Then, after shaking hands with Giordano and bidding farewell to Emilie, Louis dies.

Act Three opens in the Forest of Fontainebleau where Louis was killed five days earlier. Because of the events of the duel and fearing scandal, Baron Montgiron and Chateau Renaud are making a hasty escape from Paris when, by some
mysterious force, the axle tree of their carriage is broken. Chateau Renaud feels uneasy about having an accident near the place where he killed Louis. He says, "Let us leave this spot; let us get beyond this forest, it feels like a grave. In the whisper of the wind I hear the dying sigh of Louis dei Franchi; and at every turn I dread to meet his form."

Just as he begins to leave, Fabien enters and commands him to stop. Chateau Renaud is not aware that Louis has a twin brother and actually believes he is seeing a ghost, but Fabien corrects this assumption: "You take me for the spectre of your victim -- no; I am one more terrible, more implacable. I am Fabien dei Franchi, come from the wilds of Corsica to demand of you where is my brother." Fabien then explains the vision he witnessed five days earlier and calls Chateau Renaud an assassin. The villain admits to killing Louis and asks Fabien what he desires. The brother answers that he wants revenge and issues a challenge. It is accepted and as a distant clock tolls nine the duel begins. The combatants fight for some time and Chateau Renaud exhausts himself against the skill of his opponent. Fabien, noticing that Chateau Renaud is out of breath, calmly tells him to sit down and rest. After a brief respite, Renaud gets up, but on doing so his sword catches the ground and breaks. Baron Montgiron declares that the duel is over since Chateau Renaud's sword is broken and the odds are no longer equal. Fabien then breaks his own sword, thus making
the odds even again. Chateau Renaud senses his doom and says to Montgiron, "I shall fall, Montgiron; I feel sure of it.... In eight days write to my mother, and say I had a fall from my horse. In a fortnight tell her I am dead."

The fight resumes and Fabien plunges his sword into Chateau Renaud who falls upon the exact spot where Louis died. It is ten minutes past nine. Fabien exclaims, "Louis! Louis! I can weep for you now!" The spirit of Louis then rises up from the earth, places his hand on his brother's shoulder and says, "Mourn not, my brother; we shall meet again."

The man who made the first English version of Les Frères Corses was Dionysius Lardner Boucicault (1822-1890). Charles Kean had hired the 29 year old Irish playwright as the Princess's resident dramatist in 1850, for a reputed 700 pounds a year. Richard Fawkes, in his study of Boucicault, states that there is no evidence to support this and it appears that Boucicault was paid according to each play written. A letter that Charles Kean wrote to the playwright Westland Marston in 1854 seems to confirm this by stating that he paid 60 pounds for The Corsican Brothers. Whatever the case, Boucicault was mainly known for writing comedies, the most famous being London Assurance (1841). After this initial success, he began to adapt plays and stories from the French to suit the English stage. Boucicault paid frequent visits to Paris and probably
witnessed many of the productions that he later adapted. His version of The Corsican Brothers was completed in 1851 and sent to Kean, who began to put the work into production for the Princess's second season.

Percy Fitzgerald relates a curious tale regarding the construction of the play. In Boucicault's version the action is set up thus: Act One takes place in Corsica at the Chateau of Madame la Contessa Savillia dei Franchi, Act Two at the Paris Opera, and, finally, Act Three at the Forest of Fontainebleau. Fitzgerald explains:

There was a story at the time that the acts, sent over from Paris in separate parcels for translation, had become transposed, the second act being placed first, and this order was retained in the representation with some benefit to the play. This may be a legend; but in proof of its truth appeal might be made to the fact that either act could come first without making any serious difference.

This may possibly be a true story, but Boucicault follows the order of the story as it appears in the original novel written by Dumas, seeming to disprove Fitzgerald's account. However, the playbill for the second performance of the play dated Thursday, February 26, 1852, indicates that, "The Action of the First and Second Acts is supposed to occur simultaneously." This should not be taken too literally since the playbill was intended to guide the playgoers' imagination. In any case, the first and second acts of The Corsican Brothers could be reversed without any detriment to the narrative.
Two interesting changes were made to the original story: the addition of the Paris Opera Ball scene, and a duel with swords instead of pistols. The Opera Ball certainly added spectacle to the play that was missing in Dumas' original story, and the change of weapons was probably used to create a longer fight between the two opponents (thus heightening dramatic tension) and also to demonstrate the actors' skill in swordsmanship. (See Appendix B for the original story.)

THE COMPANY

There were twenty-two named characters in the play, and according to the promptbook notations, approximately seventy-seven supernumeraries.

Kean prided himself on the quality of the Princess's acting ensemble, and he organized his performers into something which resembled a permanent repertory company. Earlier in the century, companies had been hired on a year to year basis. Lesser actors may have obtained more permanent positions in various companies, but leading performers would change theatres from one season to the next in accordance to the old star system. Macready, Madame Vestris, and Samuel Phelps saw the harm this did to ensemble playing and started to create permanent acting companies. The Princess's personnel followed in the footsteps of these actor managers "with most of the actors remaining with the company for several years at a time and an appreciable
number remaining throughout Kean's management. This, of course, gave the company stability and opportunity for development of unity and ensemble performance.\textsuperscript{6} John Cole, in his biography of Kean, also states that "It was ever a point in Mr. Kean's system to have as few changes in his company as possible. He knew the value of forces accustomed to work together, and the advantages to be derived from constant association."\textsuperscript{7}

Critics and commentators of the period were impressed by the results of Kean's methods and spoke highly of the Princess's company:

...there were Harley, one of the best low comedians of his time; Bartley, an excellent actor; Alfred Wigan, then supposed to be, in the snobbish cant of the day, "one of the only gentlemen on the stage"; Drinkwater Meadows, a splendid old man; John Ryder, the stalwart outspoken actor, rough, but sound in his art, who had graduated under "old Mac," as Macready was called; David Fischer, a capital comedian, who "played the fiddle like an angel"; J.F. Cathcart, Kean's right-hand man...; old Addison, the father of Fanny and Carlotta, who both did their paternal relation more than credit; Flexmore, one of the best clowns and dancing masters since the days of Grimaldi; whilst, in addition to Mrs. Charles Kean and Mrs. Keeley, there were on staff Mrs. Winstanley...; Mrs. Alfred Wigan, an artist of pronounced skill; Carlotta Leclercq [sic], then the loveliest of girls, and the sweetest Perdita in the "Winter's Tale" ever seen; Agnes Robertson -- a ward of the Keans -- who eventually married Dion Boucicault; Miss Murray, who in after years was wedded to Samuel Brandram, the elocutionist and reciter; and Mary Keeley, who became the wife of the genial entertainer and novelist, Albert Smith\textsuperscript{8}

To achieve high standards of playing, Kean worked his talented company hard, until it became a unified ensemble.
Ellen Terry received her early training at the Princess's Theatre and years later wrote of her experiences under Charles Kean's direction.

During the rehearsals Mr. Kean used to sit in the stalls with a loud-voiced dinner-bell by his side, and when anything went wrong on the stage, he would ring it ferociously, and everything would come to a stop, until Mrs. Kean, who always sat on the stage, had set right what was wrong....

But many weary hours were to pass before the first night. If a company has to rehearse four hours a day now, it is considered a great hardship, and players must lunch and dine like other folk. But this was not Kean's way! Rehearsals lasted all day, Sundays included, and when there was no play running at night, until four or five the next morning! I don't think any actor in those days dreamed of luncheon....

At the dress-rehearsals...All the members of the company were allowed to sit and watch the scenes in which they were not concerned, from the back of the dress-circle. This, by the way, is an excellent plan, and in theatres where it is followed the young actress has reason to be grateful....Now, for the first time, the beginner is able to see the effect of the weeks of thought and labour which have been given to the production.

Herman Merivale, who as a young boy used to attend and observe rehearsals at the Princess's, gives an amusing portrait of Kean (complete with the actor's supposed speech defect), when he worked with his company. Merivale states that when anything went wrong in rehearsals Kean would cry out:

"Seek Mrs. Keed!"..."Oh Elled, Elled! take that man out of the front rank, and put him at the back! His legs must not be seen. No, no, my good man, it's not your fault, but we can't help these things." "Oh Elled, Elled! I wanted a full-dress rehearsal. And the Archbishop of Canterbury has come without his bitre."  

Kean's company was not only worked into a strong acting
ensemble, but the younger members of the troupe were taught acting technique. In effect, the Princess's Theatre became something of an acting school. Once again, Ellen Terry explains:

During the rehearsals Mrs. Kean taught me to draw my breath in through my nose and begin a laugh -- a very valuable accomplishment! She was also indefatigable in her lessons in clear enunciation, and I can hear her now lecturing the ladies of the company on their vowels. "A, E, I, O, U, my dear," she used to say, "are five distinct vowels, so don't mix them all up together as if you were making a pudding. If you want to say, 'I am going on the river,' say it plainly and don't tell us you are going on the 'rivah!' You must say her, not har; it's God, not Gud: Remonstrance, not remunstrance," and so forth. No one ever had a sharper tongue or kinder heart than Mrs. Kean.

...Mr. Oscar Byrn was the dancing master and director of crowds at the Princess's. One of his lessons was in the art of walking with a flannel blanket pinned on the front and trailing six inches on the floor. My success in carrying out this manoeuvre with dignity won high praise from Mr. Byrn...who had a theory that "an actress was no actress unless she learned to dance early." Whenever he was not actually putting me through my paces, I was busy watching him teach the others. There was the minuet, to which he used to attach great importance, and there was "walking the plank." Up and down one of the long planks, extending the length of the stage, we had to walk first slowly and then quicker and quicker until we were able at a considerable pace to walk the whole length of it without deviating an inch from the straight line. This exercise, Mr. Byrn used to say, and quite truly, I think, taught us uprightness of carriage and certainty of step.

"Eyes right! Chest out! Chin tucked in!" I can hear the dear old man shouting at us as if it were yesterday; and I have learned to see of what value all his drilling was, not only to deportment, but to clear utterance. It would not be a bad thing if there were more "old fops" like Oscar Byrn in the theatres of today. That old-fashioned art of "deportment" is sadly neglected.
It should be noted that all this training emphasized technique. The creative process actors needed to give their stage characters depth and psychology was left to the performer's own devices. During this period, the idea of an actor having the temerity to request character motivation would probably have met with a stern reprimand. It was the duty of the performer to follow the actor-manager's direction and not ask questions. Discipline and technique was what an actor-manager required of his fellow actors, not an investigation into the creative process of performance. This is what Kean demanded of his company and this is what set such a high technical standard of performance at the Princess's.

The careers and talents that some of the cast members brought to Boucicault's *The Corsican Brothers* deserve special mention if one is fully to comprehend the success of the piece. Other than Kean himself, the actor who seemed to have impressed the audience and critics alike was Alfred Wigan, who played the villain Chateau Renaud. Wigan was born at Blackheath, Kent, on March 24, 1818, and received a classical education as a youth. Abandoning his scholastic background in 1834, he took to the stage, first as secretary to the Dramatic Society and shortly thereafter as a professional actor. Success for Wigan began in 1842, when he played a French valet in Boucicault's *The Irish Heiress*. 
at Covent Garden. His fame was assured when, on September 10th of the same year, he portrayed Alcibiades Blague, in an afterpiece by Douglas Jerrold called *Gertrude's Cherries*; or *Waterloo in 1835*. The *Athenaeum*, which reviewed Wigan's performance, made some acute observations about the actor's style that aid one in comprehending how he approached the role of Chateau Renaud.

...Alcibiades Blague, captain of the ragged regiment of guides and relic venders...is personated by Mr. A. Wigan with a closeness to the original, both in appearance and manner, that is evidently the result of observation and study; the mixture of politesse and effrontery, of sentiment and scoundrelism [sic], and the true French accent of the broken English, are traits that mark the race of *chevaliers d'industrie*. Frenchmen have been so grossly caricatured on the English stage, that a true and finished portrait, embodied from life, even to the bronze of the cheek, and the cut of the hair, is the more to be appreciated.

A further description of Wigan's gentlemanly acting style states:

It is highly finished without finicality, instinct with feeling (as every humorous presentation should be) without sickliness, conversational without meagreness or frivolity, and excellently droll without grimace. He gives us, in short, a character, not an actor: -- and this performance [Dufard in *The First Night*] with all who think as we do of stage personation, will establish the claim of the artist who presents it to a place in the foremost rank of comedians.

Wigan became pre-eminent in the specialized line of portraying Frenchmen. This made him perfect for the role of Chateau Renaud, and Kean's casting of him in this part was a masterstroke of management. John Coleman writes of Wigan:

Undoubtedly, however, his greatest triumph in the
higher range of art was in the part of "Chateau Renaud," in "The Corsican Brothers;" one of the most unique, perfect, and powerful performances the stage has ever witnessed. I never heard him tell Montgiron in the last scene to prepare his mother for the news of his death without a strange sense of painful but sympathetic emotion.

Then the fight with Kean was a superb exhibition of sword play which I have never seen equalled....

... . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

As an actor of character parts, Frenchmen, and above all, of men of the time, in society drama, he was unrivalled, and will probably remain so.

Kean and Wigan may have complemented each other on stage, but behind the scenes there were difficulties. Kean told Coleman "that Wigan was always a fractious and rebellious subject, and he was glad when he left the theatre." After the second season at the Princess's, Wigan left the company, and the role of Chateau Renaud was taken over by Walter Lacey. Years later, Kean still had bitter feelings towards Wigan. He wrote to his daughter on March 30, 1865:

Don't believe in Mr. and Mrs. Wigan! They are snakes in the grass and have done your Father all the injury in their power... "Trust not." Bad people, very, very, bad.

Another performer who helped create the success of The Corsican Brothers was John Ryder, who portrayed the role of Orlando. Born in 1814, Ryder received his training while working with W.C. Macready's company at Drury Lane. He was "a rough actor...and had all the traditional stage business of the legitimate drama at his fingers' ends." In the theatrical parlance of the day, Ryder was a "heavy" who played Iago in Othello, the melancholy Jacques in As You
Like It, and Bolingbroke in Richard II. His portrayal of Orlando in The Corsican Brothers must have been wonderfully dour beside the light-hearted acting style of Drinkwater Meadows. Meadows, who performed the role of Colonna, was known for playing old men and was greatly admired for his comic sense in character parts.

Other performers who brought out the comedic elements in Boucicault's play were James Paulo, the clown and pantomimist (his father was a great pantomimist in the Grimaldi tradition), who played the domestic, Griffo; "old" Mr. Addison, a character actor of no small talent who acted Boissec the woodcutter, and probably had great fun running on and off stage to the chagrin of Chateau Renaud and Montgiron in the third act of the play; and F. Cooke, who portrayed the judge, Antonio Sanola. Cooke was a comedian who was well known for his performance of Snug the joiner, in A Midsummer Night's Dream.

On a more serious side, James Vining (Montgiron), was adept at playing heroic or romantic characters of an extraverted type, such as William in Black Ey'd Susan. George Everett, who would later accompany the Keans on their world tour, specialized in loyal, stalwart parts. His performance of Alfred Meynard would have clearly demonstrated friendly devotion and concern for Fabien and Louis dei Franchi.

It is unfortunate that The Corsican Brothers does not have an outstanding female role, but the women who were part
of the original cast came from the "bevy of beauty" that the Princess's Theatre was famous for. Agnes Robertson, who played the maid Marie, was a very lovely young lady and a ward of Charles and Ellen Kean. While she was playing in The Corsican Brothers, Boucicault and Agnes fell in love and carried on a clandestine affair throughout the season. When Kean learned of the relationship between his ward and the playwright, he became furious, leading Boucicault and Agnes to elope. The couple frequently acted together and Agnes played the lead roles in many of her husband's plays such as The Shaughraun, The Colleen Bawn, and Arrah-na-Pogue. As for Kean, he continued to star in the plays he had purchased from Boucicault, but he never forgave the playwright for his ungentlemanly behaviour. In a letter to Sol Smith, Kean summed up his feelings:

As to Boucicault, my dear friend, he is a gentleman to whom I can never speak again, and indeed any man would lose cast here by being seen in his company. His character is so bad that there is not a crime under the Sun of which he is not accused. The most dreadful stories are told of him.19

Miss Elizabeth Murray, who played the heroine Emilie de L'Esparre, gained critical praise for her performance. The Theatrical Journal wrote, "Miss Murray had little except her speech at the baron's supper to redeem the part she played from insignificance; but in this she acquitted herself most creditably."20 Two years later, the same journal would sum up her stage abilities thus:
MISS MURRAY [is] more beautiful than clever; pleasing and alluring, but not great. The fact is Miss Murray has had no part sufficiently prominent to elicit her powers; one thing is certain though: her personal attractions are winningly great.

Kean was always concerned that his productions look beautiful, and towards this goal he hired performers who were pleasing to look at. If he were alive today, he would in all probability use talented models for his productions. Certainly in the parts of the ladies of the ballet he cast three of his company's most charming beauties: Miss Vivash, Miss Daly and Miss Carlotta Leclercq. Of these young ladies, Carlotta Leclercq certainly illustrated what Kean had in mind for presenting the life of the demi-monde. Born in London, she was the daughter of Charles Leclercq, a well known ballet-master, pantomimist, and stage manager in London and Manchester. She was trained for the stage from childhood and performed in pantomimes and extravaganzas at numerous London theatres. She joined Kean at the Princess's in 1850, often playing Columbine. Critics always praised her pantomime, which was said to be "graceful" and "expressive" and she was considered "a lovely girl...with much experience in stage work...and with great talent as an emotional actress." However, the Athenaeum criticized her performance of Rosalind in As You Like It.

Miss Carlotta Leclercq...is entirely out of place in Rosalind. She wants altogether the educational training which such an exquisite creation of poetic fancy requires and implies; nor is her personal appearance suitable to the part. She is too demonstrative, too heavy, too sensuous, where
only the ideal, the fantastic, the spirituel [sic] should prevail.\textsuperscript{23}

Carlotta may not have been an ideal Victorian vision of Rosalind, but one can imagine her "sensuous" and "demonstrative" performance style being a wonderful addition to The Corsican Brothers. Although there is no detailed critical evaluation of her portrayal of Coralie, the Morning Chronicle stated that "Miss LECLERC [sic] ...made [a] most piquante coryphées perfectly saucy and perfectly cool..."\textsuperscript{24}

Finally, one of the most outstanding performances of the production was Charles Kean's representation of the twin brothers Louis and Fabien dei Franchi. At the time of the play, Kean was 41 years old and at the height of his physical and artistic powers (see Figs. 1 & 2). A friend and contemporary wrote of the actor at this time:

As to Kean's personnel, his face was merely redeemed from being positively ugly by the splendour of his eyes. His head was large, and covered with a thatch of very coarse straight black hair, which he wore very long. His brow was majestic and imposing. His mouth and chin were firm and well cut; but his nose was of so irregular an order that I really do not know how to describe it.

Although his figure scarcely approached the middle height, it was so muscular, so symmetrical, and so admirably balanced, that one had no occasion to wonder at his being captain of his crew at Eton. His neck was like a pillar of ivory, his chest was broad and expansive, his waist slender; while his legs were more elegant than sturdy, with perhaps a slight suspicion of the parallelogram inherited from his father.

He moved with ease, grace, and distinction, and despite his plebeian features and his long hair, at all times and in all places impressed one with the idea that he was a gentleman.\textsuperscript{19}
Kean's voice was frequently commented on by critics, especially in the early part of his career. It was usually described as strong, but harsh and monotonous. Some critics said that Kean always sounded as if he had a cold in his head, or that his voice contained a very unpleasant lisp, while Coleman declared it to be like a "frog-in-the-gutter." It does seem that the actor had difficulty with the "m", "n", and "th" sounds, but Ellen Tree, who was well known for her elocution, probably helped him overcome these handicaps. Louis Calvert, in his book *Problems of the Actor*, explains:

Charles Kean, for example, according to my father, had a sort of chronic nasal cold. At the cost of enormous effort he was able to overcome it on the stage. But in his everyday life, when there was no need for his speaking carefully, he always sounded like a man with hay fever. He was playing Richard III once in golden armour. He was standing in the wings waiting for his cue, and turning to his wife said, "By dear, this arbour is too heavy for addything. I really bust have a suit of golden leather bade."

His cue came, and he stepped on the stage and spoke his lines with perfect clearness. It was training.

Ellen Terry thought Kean had "beautiful diction." She mentions in her memoirs:

His voice was also of a wonderful quality -- soft and low, yet distinct and clear as a bell. When he played Richard II. [sic] the magical charm of this organ was alone enough to keep the house spell-bound. His vivid personality made a strong impression on me. Yet others only remember that he called his wife "Delly", though she was Nelly, and always spoke as if he had a cold in his head. How strange!
George Henry Lewes had much to say about the acting of Charles Kean. Like other critics, Lewes compared and contrasted Charles to his father. He thought that Charles, like Edmund, was an accomplished swordsman and master of stage business. Charles also inherited his father's physical force, and was able to portray the wildest expression of it without indication of breakdown. However, unlike his father, Charles was never careless on stage and all his moves and interpretations were carefully thought out. The drawback in Kean's performances, according to Lewes, was that the actor lacked "mastery over emotion...":

...he has no subtlety, no nicety of observation, no variety of expression. He is peculiarly rigid -- this is his force and his weakness: "he moveth altogether if he move at all." His face is utterly without physiognomical play; one stolid expression, immovable as an ancient mask, is worn throughout a scene which demands fluctuating variety.

As Kean's acting style ventured more into the realms of melodrama, Lewes was one of the first to sense its artistic merits. After seeing Charles perform in Pauline and The Corsican Brothers, he declared:

...all the time he was detonating through Shakspeare [sic], he was silently training himself for Dumas. We critics were all after a false scent! It was not Othello, it was not Macbeth he was trying to play, it was the Corsican Brothers, [sic] it was Pauline. There lay his taste, there lay his talent.

Fortunately, Lewes has left us a description of the qualities a performer needs when playing melodrama that gives insight into Kean's talents as an actor.
A melodramatic actor is required to be impressive, to paint in broad, coarse outlines, to give relief to an exaggerated situation; he is not required to be poetic, subtle, true to human emotion; for the scene he presents and the language he speaks are removed into an unreal, unideal sphere, i.e., a sphere which is not that of reality nor of poetic idealism.32

In her admirable study of the development of Charles Kean's acting style, Virginia Francisco states that after abandoning the romantic fustian and "point making" of his father, Charles' "...development was so gradual as to be almost unremarkable, and his mature style so restrained and so familiar as to make it difficult to label him a genius."33

One must not think that Kean was a neglected talent, whose genius was never recognized. Many contemporary critics and playgoers acknowledged his contribution to the art of acting and wrote in glowing terms about his talent. In 1861, the North Briton summed up his abilities:

We should notice, as his chief characteristics, that thorough polish and refinement that can be attained only by a gentleman and a scholar, and a careful minuteness in the rendering of his various parts that speaks of long years of close and intelligent study -- not only of the meaning of the author, but of nature itself. In many cases his author supplies him with but the broad outlines; from his own genius he fills in the finer details. What in the hands of an inferior actor would be but a mere skeleton of a character, he clothes with flesh and blood, and life and colour, and turns out, warm and breathing, in all instances a perfect creation, and a thing of beauty. So full of expression is his face, that often by a glance, a mere turning of his lip, or a flash or twinkle of his eye, he can convey more meaning than could be spoken in words; and every gesture proves him a master of that silent
eloquence...which can only be attained by one who throws himself heart and soul into his part, and plays it without any consideration or thought of the audience sitting before him. In this particular of obliviousness to the audience, Kean transcends almost every actor we have seen. He never flies at a 'point', singling it out and delivering it in the approved style for bringing down the house. His whole personation is unique, finished, and natural -- as far removed from rant as it is from vulgarity.34

It is unfortunate that most modern theatre historians base their interpretation of Charles Kean on the journals of W. C. Macready. Macready loathed Edmund Kean and had little good to say about his son, making disparaging remarks about both of them. Modern critics similarly like to make comparisons of Charles to his father, making it difficult to criticize the actor on his own merits. Charles once said to a friend:

A man may be very proud of his father's fame,... but in some cases it's about as damaging a legacy as can be left to him. If it had not been for MY father's fame, I should have made my way with the public twice as easily. When I took his view of a character, it was the fashion with the shallow people to call me an imitator. On the other hand, when I took a line specially my own, the cry was, 'What a difference between Charles Kean and his father!'35

In conclusion, if Charles Kean "never illuminated Shakespeare with flashes of lightning, as Coleridge said of Edmund, at least his lamp was clear and steady,"36 and his acting style influenced such performers as Squire and Lady Bancroft.

The success of The Corsican Brothers was also the result, in part, of the theatre staff who worked under Kean's direction. His stage manager was George Cressall
Ellis (1809-75). Ellis was responsible for calling all the cues, supervising the change of scenery, and overseeing the running of the show. He devoted his life to the theatre and throughout his long career was not only a stage manager, but also an actor and prompter. He worked well behind the scenes and made meticulous copies of promptbooks. He was also familiar with established stage business and helped to maintain these traditions by providing his promptbooks to various actor-managers. For instance, between 1845-50, Ellis made ten or eleven promptbook transcriptions for Charles Kean of various Macready Shakespearean productions and later, in the 1860s, made transcriptions of Macready and Kean promptbooks for the actor Hermann Vezin. As Charles Shattuck rightly points out, Ellis was a "traditionalist in an age which still counted on tradition...[transmitting] the art of one master-producer to another."  

Ellis joined the Prince's company in 1850 and remained throughout Kean's tenure of nine years. They worked well together, and as some of Ellis' letters show, Kean frequently gave him salary bonuses for work well done.

Dear Sir

On going to the "Treasury," this evening for my salary, I was most agreeably surprised with another instance of your kind liberality -- by Mr. Lambert placing in my hands, at your orders, an additional Five Pounds, for the simple performance of a mere act of duty!

-- believe me, dear sir, I feel your kindness deeply, -- and am amply repaid if I receive your approval for what little I have done -- and although I decline accepting reward for so small a
service, be assured I do so, most respectfully and with a full and grateful appreciation of your very kind intentions! -- Thanking you over and over again, I beg you to believe you do not possess one officer who has your interests more at heart always, than

Your faithful servant
George Ellis.

Kean allowed Ellis to direct the pantomimes that were done each year at the Princess's and also to oversee the Windsor theatricals. Obviously, Ellis was an excellent stage manager whose devotion to Kean bordered on idolatry. His final letter to Kean shows what he felt about working under the actor-manager for nine years.

Dear Sir

This evening will terminate the longest engagement I ever held since I first entered the profession -- now some Four and Fifty years ago --

It is not enough for me to say that my bare thanks are due to you for this long term of employment -- in these degenerate times, -- I would like to impress on your mind, could I find terms sufficiently expressive, how very grateful I feel not only for that -- but many other favors I have experienced since I was first introduced to your notice.

I assure you, dear Sir, that I consider myself most fortunate in that introduction, since it has so intimately associated me with those brilliant representations you have given to an admiring world, and which will cause your name to be remembered, in conjunction with Shakespeare, for centuries.

I hold it no small honour to have been connected with you in the production of these wonderful "revivals," -- and although my share in their development was comparatively limited, that circumstance did not arise from indifference on my part -- or a desire to spare my labour -- as I feel convinced you know -- while my anxiety for their success could only have been second to your own.

I avail myself also, of this opportunity to say I owe you a lasting debt of gratitude for selecting me to fill the very responsible office of "Assistant" to yourself, as Director of the
Court Theatricals, -- I cannot tell you how much you bound me to you by that especial mark of kindness -- for it gave me a status in the profession, -- at once enviable and distinguished -- which I could not, perhaps, have otherwise attained: -- you will believe the sincerity with which I express my most unfeigned regrets that my tenure of office exists no longer....

In making you my very best acknowledgements for all past and present kindnesses, allow me in return, to sincerely wish both yourself and Mrs. Kean, a renewal of all possible health, happiness and prosperity; -- begging you, in conclusion, to believe me always, --

Your faithful servant
George Ellis."

On July 23, 1860, one year after Kean resigned his management, Ellis helped the Amateurs of the South Middlesex Volunteer Rifles to restage The Corsican Brothers at the Lyceum. He continued to stage manage throughout the 1860s and finally retired at the age of sixty in 1869.

The scenic artists Kean used in The Corsican Brothers were Frederick Lloyd (1818-1894), who had the difficult task of designing the setting for Act One of the play, while J. Dayes (dates unknown) designed the Paris opera set for the opening of Act Two. Lloyd then provided the interior sets for scenes two and three of Act Two, and the play ended with the Act Three outdoor renderings by William Gordon (1801-1874). Clearly, most of the scene painting was done by Lloyd. He worked on many of the plays that were staged at the Princess's. Lloyd designed four scenes for King John (1852), the "carnival" in The Merchant of Venice, and the "Hall of Nimrod" for the production of Sardanapalus in 1853. He also provided scenes for the 1854 performances of Richard III, Faust and Marguerite, and for The Courier of Lyon.
Later, he would create three designs for fairy scenes in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, "A Garden in the Palace of Leontes" in *A Winter's Tale* in 1856, and finally the French Tent and bed for *King Lear* in 1858. Lloyd was also responsible for the impressive scenery in Charles Reade's prison melodrama, *Never Too Late To Mend* in 1865 and ten years later wrote a book on scenic art called *The Practical Guide to Scene Painting and Painting in Distemper*. The work details painting materials that were in current use and describes how to mix colours, prepare a canvas and draw, use perspective, paint fairy scenes, create vision scenes, and use cut cloths. The book ends with a chapter outlining a "Method of Painting a large quantity of flowers in a rapid and effective manner." Lloyd's career also included an exhibition of three paintings, one each at the Suffolk Street Gallery, the British Institution, and at the Royal Academy.40

Little is known about J. Dayes, but it appears he was involved in designing scenes for the Princess's productions of *King John* (1852) and *Sardanapalus* (1853) where he designed "A Chamber in the Royal Palace." He later worked with such scene painters as Henry Cuthbert and James Gates during Charles Fechter's season of melodramas at the Princess's in 1861.41

William Gordon was a well known landscape painter as well as a scenic designer. His coastal scenes were exhibited at the Suffolk Street Gallery from 1833 to 1836
and another of his works was shown at the British Institution in 1858. His work for Kean included *The Wife's Secret* (1848) performed at the Haymarket, *King John* (1852), *Macbeth* and *Sardanapalus* (1853), *Richard III*, *Faust* and *Margeurite* and *The Courier of Lyon* (1854), *Louis XI* and *Henry VIII* (1855), *The First Printer*, *A Winter's Tale*, *Pizzaro* and *A Midsummer's Night's Dream* (1856), *Richard II*, *Pauline* and *The Tempest* (1857), *King Lear*, and finally *Much Ado About Nothing* (1858), all at the Princess's Theatre. Clearly, Kean had very talented artists to provide the scenic backgrounds for the stagings of his Shakespearean and melodramatic productions.

It is not known who designed the costumes for Kean's production of *The Corsican Brothers*, nor have any design renderings been located. However, if Kean followed his normal practice of production, it would have been his wife who looked after the superintending of the wardrobe. Lacy's Acting Edition of the play, which bases its text and stage directions on Kean's production, contains a costume plot which presumably was derived from the original presentation. It states:

**Costumes - Date, 1841**

*Fabien - First* - Round dark velvet jacket, trimmed with white metal buttons; and breeches (supported by a single broad brace) reaching to the knee; buff boots or leggings; fleshings seen between the knee and leggings; silk sash; conical hat, with feather. *Second - Black suit and cloak.*
Louis - First - Black trousers; shirt, with sleeves rolled up.
Second - Full evening dress.
Third - Same as first dress.

Renaud - First - Drab trousers; shirt, with sleeves rolled up; short beard and moustache.
Second - Full dress.
Third - Drab trousers; over coat for travelling.

Montgiron - First - Evening dress.
Second - Travelling dress.

Martelli and Gentlemen - Evening costume.

Meynard - First - Travelling dress.
Second - The same, with cloak.

Orlando - Coarse serge shirt; breeches and leather leggings.

Colonna - Square cut coat; breeches; shoes and stockings.

Griffo - Plain round velvet jacket; breeches and leggings.

Tomaso - Ditto

Judge - Official robe over coat, breeches; stockings, and shoes.

Masqueraders - Character dresses of a marked and varied description.

Savila [sic] - Black velvet dress.

Emilie - Spanish dress of black satin, high comb, fan and mantilla.

Marie - Stuff dress, apron, coloured stockings and shoes.

Domino - A fancy domino and mask.

The man who wrote the music for *The Corsican Brothers* was Robert Stoepel (1821-87). He was born in Berlin and trained there during his early career, later moving to Paris.
to further his studies at the Conservatoire de Musique. A talented musician, Stoepel had the misfortune to have a very unhappy personal life. In 1857, while musical director at Wallack's Theatre, he met and married the American actress Matilda Herron (1830-77). She had previously married the lawyer Henry Herbert Byrne in 1854, but this union proved unfortunate. A story relates,

Mr. Byrne left San Francisco for Philadelphia early in September, joined his wife in Pittsburgh, remained in her society but a single night, then left her, never more to meet her on earth, and returned to San Francisco a wretched and broken man. 44

Matilda's marriage to Stoepel was also unhappy and ended with a separation in 1869. One daughter (Bijou Herron) was born to the couple, and became an actress of considerable fame in the United States. According to acquaintances of Stoepel, the reason for the failure of the marriage was fairly obvious.

Mr. Stoepel was a careful man, with an eye to the future, and could not bear the flights and capricious extravagance of his wife, who threw money about her with a lavish hand, heedless to whom she gave, or for what purpose it was applied. Uncongeniality of nature and temperament, and - - hinc illae lachrymae. 45

Percy Fitzgerald mentions that Stoepel was "Chef d'orchestre" at the Théâtre Historique in Paris when The Corsican Brothers was originally produced. If this is true, then the musician may have composed the music for the original production or at least have been closely involved in its creation. Whatever the case, Stoepel came to England
and became musical director for Kean on April 12, 1852. Previous to this, Richard Hughes had conducted the orchestra.

It seems that there is some disagreement as to who actually wrote the music for Kean's production. The famous "Ghost Melody" that appears in all three acts of the play was credited to three different composers. Fitzgerald relates:

It was claimed for Mr. Stöpel [sic], who was acting as chef d'orchestre at the Theatre Historique when the play was originally produced. Another claim was made for Varney, author of the stirring hymn, Mourir pour la patrie.... Still there used to be a pianoforte piece by one Rosellen -- a Reverie -- which certainly began and went on for many bars in the same fashion. However, a copy of the music of the Ghost Melody, arranged for pianoforte, and published in 1852, was unearthed, which bore on its title the words: "Composed by M. Varney, of the Theatre Historique; arranged by R. Stopel, director of the music at the Princess's Theatre."
...we must assuredly give the whole credit of this air to Varney.4 6

In 1881, The Graphic made a short investigation into the mystery and came up with the following conclusion:

The question "Who was the composer of 'The Ghost Melody' in The Corsican Brothers" seems at last to be set at rest. Mr. Adolph Schloeper and other musical authorities having written to the writer of the Monday column on the theatres in the Daily News to point out that it is identical with that of Rosellen's "Reverie in G for the pianoforte" -- a piece which was very popular in the salons of Paris long before the production of Les Frères Corées.4 7

Whatever the case, Stoepel must be given credit for introducing the melody to England, where it became
immediately associated with Kean's production.

As "Director of Music" at the Princess's, Stoepel conducted approximately 20 to 30 musicians. The standing orchestra, at the time of The Corsican Brothers, consisted of 1 flute, 1 oboe, 2 clarinets, 1 bassoon, 2 cornets, 2 horns, 1 trombone, tympani, 1st and 2nd violins along with violas, cellos and bass. Kean enforced rigid controls over his musicians and the following rules, which were part of a musician's contract at the Princess's, must presuppose that the players had been guilty in the past of the infringements mentioned:

Any member presenting himself in the orchestra in a state of intoxication or otherwise unfit for the proper execution of his duty will be liable to immediate dismissal, or forfeit a week's salary at the discretion of the manager. The same rule applies to impropriety of conduct in the theatre, negligence, inattention or unbecoming language and demeanor (sic) to any person in authority.

No member of the band is to leave or enter the orchestra during the performance or in any way to interrupt the scene by noise. Every member is at liberty to quit the orchestra (if not required to play during the act), the instant the curtain or act drop rises and to return to it as soon as it descends but at no other time.

If any music is to be played during the performance those engaged must not quit the orchestra while the act is in progress in which the said music is required without the special permission of the manager which must be previously obtained. He alone must judge if such a movement can take place without detriment to the scene.

Clearly, Kean demanded discipline from everyone at the Princess's. The performers, the musicians, and the theatre
staff were to behave as ladies and gentlemen at all times. Any deviation resulted in fines or dismissal.

THE PRINCESS'S THEATRE

The actual theatre building where The Corsican Brothers was first performed was located in the fashionable district of Oxford Street, in London. The first building opened in 1828, and was known as the Royal Bazaar. It displayed a diorama of four large pictures painted by Clarkson Stanfield and David Roberts. Unfortunately, this building burnt down in May 1829, but was rebuilt in 1830 and renamed the Queen's Bazaar. Another diorama was installed and in 1833 the famous Charles Mathews Collection of Theatrical Paintings was exhibited. This venture did not prove successful with the public and in 1836 the building began to be converted into a theatre. This newly renovated building was to be known as the Court Theatre, but it was not completed or granted a license until 1840, when it opened as the Princess's Theatre on September 30. A series of promenade concerts under T. Marsh Nelson were given, but were financially disappointing.

In 1842, J. M. Maddox made some alterations to the stage and secured a burletta licence for dancing and music. On December 26, a season of opera commenced, beginning with Bellini's La Sonnambula, followed by Auber's Fra Diavolo, Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor, Bellini's I Puritani, and a new work by Balfe called Geraldine; or The Lover's Well.
The season was an artistic and financial success, but with the passing of the new Licensing Act in 1843, allowing the spoken drama to be produced unhindered, the Princess's Theatre began a series of non-operatic performances that lasted for the next six years. Appearing on the Princess's stage during this period were such artists as Macready, Fanny Kemble, and the American tragedian Edwin Forrest with his partner Charlotte Cushman.

In 1850, Charles Kean and Robert Keeley became joint managers, and the following year saw Kean as sole director of the theatre. The dimensions of the theatre at that time are not available but the following description, written in 1841, gives a clear idea of the building in which Kean and his company worked.

The theatre was completed from the designs of T.M. Nelson, Esq., the architect, and the decorations principally in the Louis Quatorze style -- than which, for richness and boldness of relief, none is better adapted to the embellishment of theatres -- were executed by Messrs. Crace and Sons, and the joint labours of these justly-admired artists have produced a most splendid theatre. There are four tiers of boxes, the first and third private, the second and fourth public. The decorations of all the tiers are different. The front of the first is adorned with a rich gold moulding, crimson paint, hanging with tassels from the top of the box. The second tier is painted with Arabesque ornaments, a series of nymphs terminating in those vegetative implications which are common to this style, while a gilt Cupid in relief, parts every two boxes. The fronts of the third and fourth rows are painted with different scrolls, and the tops of these boxes are beautifully ornamented with golden points. The lining of the boxes is crimson and fancy chintz. The chandelier is superb; a circle of children playing musical instruments is placed one
over each lamp. A profusion of gold adorns the proscenium; rendering the tout ensemble the most brilliant scene imaginable.

The size of the theatre is somewhere between the English Opera House (Lyceum) and the Haymarket; and the accommodations and facilities are as ample as can be required.

Although the Haymarket could seat 880 patrons, there is no information as to the size of the English Opera House during the same period. This makes it difficult to estimate what the seating capacity of the Princess's was in 1841 and throughout Kean's management.

The stage was raked at the Princess's and had a series of five grooves. The traditional measurement for the rake was that the stage floor rose from front to back one half-inch in height for each foot of depth. A series of grooves were then placed in the floor enabling scenery to slide on and off the stage. In some theatres, such as the Princess's, scenery could also be flown up into the fly gallery above, or allowed to descend to the mezzanine level below. The Princess's was certainly well enough equipped to handle the demands Kean made upon it. The stage could support up to 300 actors at one time during some of the Shakespearean revivals and sported various trap devices including the specially built "Corsican Trap."

According to the playbills for The Corsican Brothers, admission prices were five shillings for the Dress Circle, four shillings for Boxes, two shillings for the Pit, and sixpence for the Gallery. At nine o'clock, half-price tickets were available for the Dress Circle at two shillings.
sixpence, the Boxes at two shillings, the Pit at one shilling and the Gallery at sixpence. The playbill further states that Orchestra Stalls could be retained for the whole evening at sixpence. Private Boxes were to be had tor two pounds twelve shillings and sixpence, two pounds two shillings, and for one pound eleven shillings and sixpence.

The Corsican Brothers was the main feature of the night, and was followed by a ballet entitled Gipsy. The evening then concluded with a pantomime called Harlequin Billy Taylor. The performance of the main piece commenced at seven o'clock.
NOTES

1 The quotes from The Corsican Brothers used in this dissertation, appear as transcribed from the Folger Shakespeare Library copy designated as MSS C 47.

N.B The spelling of Chateau Renaud, the villain of the play, varies from critic to critic, and from play text to play text. In the original French text he is called Monsieur de Chateau Renaud, but in England and America he is usually referred to as Chateau Renaud or Chateau-Renaud. In this thesis, to remain consistent with the above source, it will be spelled Chateau Renaud.


3 Fawkes, 248.


5 Percy Fitzgerald, Henry Irving: a Record of Twenty Years at the Lyceum (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893), 146.


10 Herman Merivale, Bar, Stage and Platform (London: Chatto and Windus, 1902), 132-33.

11 Terry, 18, 20-21.

12 "Music and the Drama," Athenaeum, September 17, 1842.

13 Athenaeum, November 3, 1849.

14 John Coleman, Players and Playwrights I Have Known, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: 1890), I, 269, 274.

15 Coleman, I, 269-70.
Lacy proved himself quite capable of replacing Wigan. The Times of September 20, 1852, commented that:

Mr. Lacy is really an artist well known and esteemed by habitués of the theatres, though of late years hidden from the view of the general public. His performance of Chateau Renaud [sic] in the Corsican Brothers...was a great instance of his care and judgment in a part quite out of his usual line, and in which he had all the disadvantage of appearing after an excellent predecessor.

The Athenaeum of September 25, 1852, concurred, stating: "Mr. Walter Lacy is an addition to the company, and an able substitute for Mr. Wigan...he performed the part of M. de Chateau-Renaud [sic], with great effect and judgment."


Erroll Sherson, London's Lost Theatres of the Nineteenth Century (London: John Lane, 1925), 133.


Theatrical Journal, August 2, 1854.

Sherson, 134.

"Princess's," Athenaeum, February 15, 1862.

"Princess's Theatre," The Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1852. The Literary Gazette of February 28, 1852, also noted: "...little Miss Leclerc [sic] gave point and effect to a small snatch of Lorette life."

Coleman, I, 68-69.

Coleman, I, 69.


Terry, 10-11.


Lewes, 25.
George Henry Lewes, The Leader, March 27, 1852.

Lewes, On Actors and the Art of Acting, 24-25.


North Briton, March 9, 1861. Quoted in Francisco, 318-19.

John Westland Marston, Our Recent Actors (Boston: 1888), I, 204-205.


Undated letter from George C. Ellis, Royal Princess's Theatre, Saturday Evening. Folger Library, Y.c. 848 (4).

Letter from George C. Ellis, Monday, 29th August, 1859. Folger Library, Y.c. 843 (c). It would seem that Ellis is exaggerating his years of service in the theatre. Research indicates that he was born in 1809. If this is the case, Ellis was only 50 years old at the time this letter was written.


Norris, 42.

Norris, 44.

Cole, II, 216.


Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and The United States, IV, 237. The only other biographical information I was able to locate regarding Stoepel was his obituary notice published in The Musical Times, November 1, 1887. It states:

ROBERT AUGUST STOEPHEL, a well-known orchestral leader, died at his residence in New York, on the 1st ult., in the arms of his daughter, Mrs. Henry Miller, known in the theatrical profession as Miss
Bijou Heron. Stoepel was born in Berlin in 1821. His father was a famous Court musician, known as Robert Stoepel, which name August subsequently adopted. He studied at Berlin, and at Paris, at the Conservatoire de Musique. He soon became known, and in 1850 Max Maretzek took him to America as orchestra leader. Stoepel became connected with Wallack's old theatre, where he remained many years. When Dion Boucicault was in the States, Stoepel wrote music for all his plays, including the well known "Ghost melody in the Corsican Brothers." Under his baton "La Grande Duchesse de Geroldstein," "La Vie Parisienne," "Fleur de Thé," and "Genevieve de Brabant" were produced at the old French Theatre, in Fourteenth Street, New York. He wrote the music for Mr. Daly's productions of "Hurricane," "Divorce," "Frou Frou," "Man and Wife," and "Ferdinand." After his engagement he came to England, where Mr. Henry Irving employed him as a composer of incidental music and leader of orchestra [sic]. Stoepel wrote the music for many of Irving's first productions. He returned to America, and became leader of the orchestra for Augustin Daly at his present theatre. He retained this position until about three years ago, when he became very deaf, and, as his daughter had married, he retired. He produced two operas in Paris called "Indiana," and "Charlemagne." He also wrote an opera called "Aldershot," which was given in London. Upon his return to America he wrote several other operas, two of which were to have been produced this winter; at the time of his death he was working hard at their completion. One of these was called "Unita," the other "The Mahdi." He also wrote a cantata called "Hiawatha." At one time he had accumulated a fortune of 20,000 pounds, 12,000 (pounds) of which he lost during a real estate panic in New York. Recently, upon the suggestion of his daughter, he sank about 6,000 pounds in an annuity. The first instalment was to have been paid January next.


The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction, January 16, 1841. Quoted (with additional information in brackets) in The Lost Theatres of London by Raymond Mander and Joe Mithens (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1968), 337-38. The theatre underwent some minor renovations during Kean's management. One of the most notable was mentioned in the Times of September 20, 1852, upon the opening of Kean's second season: "...the theatre has undergone a thorough renovation, not indeed in a manner which would at once strike the hasty observer, but the careful inspector will find that every part has been newly gilt, newly papered, and newly touched up, while a small medallion, representing Shakespeare between the two muses, has been painted in the centre of the red curtain."

The Sun of September 20, 1852, also noted: "The interior has been tastefully decorated during the recess, and among other alterations may be noticed the introduction of the legitimate "green curtain," new box draperies, and an increase in the number and comfort of the stalls." Unfortunately, the article does not state the seating capacity.

Cole also mentions that in 1857, "The Princess's Theatre remained closed for seven weeks, during which time it was entirely repainted and decorated in a light and tasteful style." Cole, II, 226.

The seating capacity of the theatre during Kean's reign is not known; however, by 1880, the Princess's had been enlarged and refurbished to an audience capacity of approximately 1,750. The pit could hold 554, the stalls 54, the dress circle 207, the upper circle 269, the gallery 511, and the boxes 92. Source: Diana Howard, London Theatres and Music Halls 1850 - 1950 (London: The Library Association of London, 1970), 186-187.
CHAPTER 3

RECONSTRUCTION OF "THE CORSICAN BROTHERS"

All this is very strange, but I am in the land of adventures, and this old chateau appears the head quarters of romance.

Alfred Meynard, Act One of The Corsican Brothers

ACT ONE

Before the curtain ascended to reveal the opening scene of The Corsican Brothers, George Ellis had to make sure that all behind the scene preparations were complete. The promptbooks list the scenic requirements for the first act.¹

F. Lloyd designed the interior of "THE PRINCIPAL SALOON, OR HALL, IN THE CHATEAU OF MADAME LA CONTESSA SAVILLIA DEI FRANCHI, AT SULLACARO, IN CORSICA" which made up the setting for Act One. To achieve the effect of rusticity for the Corsican Chateau, Lloyd used a predominantly brown tone for the set. Stags' horns hung on the stage right and left walls as well as a pair of crossed swords on stage left. A gun hung on the wall extreme downstage left. There was a folding door at back centre, a door left and right as well as a door in the right flat. A sideboard was placed by the left flat and there were a table and two chairs left centre. Four other chairs were placed about the chamber and a clock was situated on the stage right wing flat at the third groove. A spinning wheel was placed centre at the beginning of the play and provided an
atmosphere of domesticity. The "Scene Plot" in the prompt book provides further information.

Nos | Gr. | Wings
--- | --- | ---
1 | C. door flat on sink. Border to fly | 4 | To Match Wings with Border to join
| door in R.H. Wing Backed by Oak C. door Backed by Stone Side flats with doors and Locks on the outside. Sliding Trap to work from R.H. to L.H. Small Trap to sink L.C. at Back of sliding Trap. Oak Borders. | 3 | 1.E.


All this information is verified by Lloyd's design for Act One (Fig. 3), as well as by the "Property Plot," which demonstrates the attention Kean gave to portraying the authenticity of the Corsican chateau.

Property Plot

Reg Bag with the [?] paper/Judge/ 2 Olive Branches
Large Bell and Beater L.H.U.E. 24 Wooden Knives
Wallet with White Fowl alive/ Colonna/ 2 Pieces
of Red Cloth alike for blood. 2 Coats. 2 Hats. 2 Swords.
White Handkf. [sic] at Back for Vision. Case of Surgical
Instruments Watch.

Obviously, Ellis had a great deal of work to do when setting
up the stage for Act One. Once he had checked that the set
and properties were in place the performance was ready to
commence.

Many plays of the period had some type of overture
before the curtain revealed the first scene, but this was
not so in the case The Corsican Brothers. There is no
reference to an overture in the playbills, the promptbook,
or in the original band parts. However, Blackwood's
Magazine stated that as the play began, "...a great crash
takes place among the fiddles; a little bell rings, and we
are in a room in the house of the Dei Franchi, a poor but
noble family of Corsica." This seems to indicate that some
type of overture was played before the curtain rose.
Unfortunately, if one did exist, it did not survive to be
included with the extant band parts. On the other hand,
perhaps Blackwood's Magazine was attempting to interpret the
existing music. However, the description does not match
with Music Cue 1: a short ten bar introduction that creates
a pleasant pastoral atmosphere with only a hint of mystery
being provided in the last four bars.

When the curtain rose or the first scene Marie, the
servant girl, was seated at a spinning wheel singing a song.
Apparently this was sung a cappella since there was no music
provided in the band parts to accompany the singer. It is also possible that the song was later cut from the performance, because the poetry was poorly written. Blackwood's Magazine commented that it "was evidently not the composition of either Burns or Moore." Certainly, it could be omitted with no loss to the play.

Marie's song was interrupted by a "knocking heard without, L.C." At her request, the servant Griffo, who entered from "L.E.R.H.," went to see who was at the gate. As Griffo exited through the centre folding doors, Marie pulled the spinning wheel off right. Griffo re-entered, stating that a French gentleman "requests our hospitality." Marie crossed right, then turned to say, "I should like to have a peep at him first," but Griffo stopped her as she made an attempt to move toward the centre doors. Marie then went to inform Madame dei Franchi of the guest's arrival saying, "I fly to tell Madame". Her stage right exit was accompanied by Music Cue 2, which was a nine bar allegretto. The music also covered the entrance of Alfred Meynard and his Corsican guide, Tomaso. Griffo ushered in both men from the centre folding doors. The men stood in a simple "V" formation with Tomaso up centre, Griffo down right, and Alfred down left. After exchanging pleasantries, Tomaso placed Alfred's valise on the stage left table, took his two piastres tip and exited through the folding doors. Alfred informed Griffo that he had a letter for Madame dei Franchi
from her son Louis. It was at this moment Madame made her entrance.

The atmosphere of the Chateau up to this point was fairly dark since it was a "late hour." Ellis' promptbook states that the "Borders and Proscenium lights" were to be down. This changed upon the entrance of Madame dei Franchi. The prompt directions then tell us that Madame entered through the "door R.H. flat, followed by MARIE, with cards, which she places on table, L.H. Put Proscenium Lights up, as Marie Enters." This direction shows us the care Kean took in establishing a mood with light as well as an interest in realism. The room must become brighter because of Marie's candles and Kean created this effect by bringing up the proscenium lights. The Chateau remained brightly lit until the vision scene at the end of the act.

As Madame entered, Griffo retired up left and Marie removed "the chair in front of clock to side flat" at the upper right hand entrance, clearing that playing area. Madame dei Franchi received Alfred Meynard and read the letter Louis had sent to her. She told Marie to prepare Louis' room for Alfred and had Griffo remove the Frenchman's valise and cloak. Both servants then exited through the door in the stage right flat. Madame dei Franchi once again welcomed Alfred on behalf of herself and her other son, Fabien. Alfred stated his wish to meet the other twin and "tak him by the hand." Shortly thereafter, Griffo entered from the door R.H. and announced that Fabien had returned.
and that Alfred's accommodations were ready. Alfred thanked Griffo, saying: "My welcome here has driven away fatigue," signalling Music Cue 3. This was a very brief allegro in A minor that announced Fabien's entrance. Simultaneously, according to the promptbook, "Griffo goes up opens C. doors, goes off and follows Fabien on, closes the doors again, then approaches Alfred, takes his hat" and exits down R.H. Alfred retired up stage left for Fabien's entrance. Once on stage, Fabien, with rifle in hand, crossed down right and greeted his mother. He informed her that the feud between the Orlando and Colonna families was terminated and that the factions would meet at the Chateau that very night. At that point, Madame introduced Alfred to Fabien. The Frenchman advanced down left and noted the striking resemblance between the two brothers. After greeting the guest, Fabien "Goes up: C. hangs rifle up on flat R.H. and places hat on chair R.H.U.E." Upon hearing that Alfred was a bearer of a letter from Louis, Fabien advanced to centre stage and asked permission to read the missive. The stage picture created at this moment was very simple.

Fabien

Madame

Alfred

This position made Fabien the centre of attention while he "anxiously" read the letter. Then, "with an altered tone,"
he turned to Alfred and asked, "By the date, you have not seen Louis for three weeks; then you know nothing?"

Fabien, "moody and distressed," continued his questioning of Alfred, trying to determine his brother's physical health and mental state. He explained the anxious feelings he had experienced regarding his brother's fate. Madame reassured her son by stating if Louis were dead, he would have known it, to which Louis replied, "Yes, for I should have seen him." Alfred found this statement incredible and said in an aside: "He would have seen him!" Madame declared, "Let us endeavour to dismiss anxiety for the moment, and think of nothing but to do honour to our guest." Music Cue 4 then commenced as Madame dei Franchi "bows to ALFRED MEYNARD, who crosses to her, and kisses her hand. FABIEN DEI FRANCHI opens the door, R.H. flat; MADAME LA CONTESSA SAVILLIA DEI FRANCHI exits." Alfred crossed R.H., as Fabien "drops down L.H."

The following scene was staged very simply. Fabien sat L.H. of the table and explained some of the family history to Alfred. The Frenchman drew a chair forward from the R.H. of the table, but did not sit down until Fabien began to discuss the "strange, mysterious sympathy" that existed between himself and his twin brother. Fabien stated that he had become "sad, uneasy, gloomy, with a depression of the heart I cannot conquer. I am convinced my brother is unhappy." Fabien also confided that his brother was "deeply in love." Alfred asked who the person might be, but
reproached himself for this indiscreet question. Fabien rose, took Alfred's hand and explained the story of how both he and Louis fell in love with the daughter of the general commanding Corsica. Fabien explained to his new friend:

"Each perceived the passion of the other, and tried to extinguish his own. I know not whether I succeeded, but Louis thought I had, and his increased affection proved his gratitude." When the general and his daughter left Corsica for France, Louis asked if he might study in Paris. Fabien, remembering a promise the brothers had made never to leave their mother solitary, told Louis that he had no desire to travel. Louis' countenance "beamed with joy" and he soon went to Paris. Fabien remained in Corsica: "Most probably I shall never quit my native village." Upon hearing this, Alfred commented: "What! at your age -- in the spring-time of life -- bury yourself from the active world?" Fabien's response to this gave a clear indication of his character:

Fabien: You wonder, naturally, that any one should choose to live in such a wild and ignorant land; but I am native to the soil, like the green oak, or laurel rose. I love to explore the forest, and to rove over chasm and torrent, with my rifle for a companion -- to sit upon the mountain ledge, with the theatre of nature at my feet, and revel in the sense of liberty and boundless space. In the city I should be stifled as in a prison. No, let Louis obey his destiny; he will become great and noble --

Alfred: While you --

Fabien: Am free, and Corsican.
This very Romantic and patriotic reply gives a clear indication of the essence of Fabien's character. He is a man who worships nature and is passionate in his convictions. It is unfortunate that there is little contemporary criticism as to how Kean differentiated his performance of the two brothers, but the Times noted: "To keep up the notion of strong sympathy between the brothers, they are both played by the same actor -- Mr. Charles Kean, who is equally striking as the frank, honest, country gentleman, and the terrible instrument of vengeance." 5 The Theatrical Journal noted, "The Corsican brothers, though not affording much scope for mental delineation, were personated with excellent effect by Mr. C. Kean." 6

Fabien continued to tell Alfred that he felt Louis was in danger. Alfred asked if it was possible that Louis was dead, but Fabien told him: "No, not dead; had it been so, as I told my mother, I should have seen him since." Alfred, according to the promptbook, responded "smiling" with the line, "You would have seen him?" Blackwood's Magazine noticed this bit of stage business: "seeing a smile on the gay Frenchman's countenance, he [Fabien] relates an anecdote of a similar case which occurred three hundred years before, and in the very house in which they then stood. A strange wild story it was, and prepares us for what is to come." 7

This "strange wild story" recounted the lives of two dei Franchi ancestors, who were also twin brothers, and bound "by a solemn oath, that not even death itself should
separate them." Upon the murder of one, the other was visited by his brother's apparition and beheld a vision of "the murder in all its harrowing identity." This foreshadowed the ghost scene that the audience at the Princess's Theatre would witness in the last moments of the act. During the telling of the story, Fabien sat on the edge of the table. Alfred, to show his attention, leaned "on the back of [the] chair which he had previously been sitting in." The scene concluded with Fabien reiterating his concerns for his brother, and Music Cue 5, signalling the entrance of Madame dei Franchi from the R.H. flat. Fabien rose as his mother appeared and, at the same time, Griffo and Marie entered from the I.E.R.H. with supper, which was placed on the table. Meanwhile, Alfred "takes stage R.H."

In preparation for the meal, Griffo removed the covers from the serving dishes, placed them on the sideboard L.H., and exited R.H. Fabien invited Alfred to take a seat. Alfred led Madame to her chair, then sat himself L.H. Fabien sat in the remaining chair, R.H. The seating arrangement put Madam dei Franchi in the most prominent position,
an interesting configuration since she had no lines of dialogue during the next section. However, as Mistress of the household, etiquette would have it that she would sit at the head of the table. The action continued as "Marie hands bread to each, and Exits at door L.H."

Critics in Kean's time seemed to dwell upon two incidents that took place in Act One which deserved special mention. The first was the reconciliation that took place between the feuding Colonna and Orlando families. As Blackwood's Magazine points out:

To prepare us also for the bitterness of a Corsican vendetta, a tumultuous scene is introduced of the compulsory reconcilement of a quarrel between two peasants, which, in a few years, had cost nine lives, and took its origin from some indignity offered to a hen of the Orlandos.8

The Theatrical Journal wrote:

A characteristic little episode in the first act, representing the reconcilement of an ancient and bloody vendetta between the families of two Corsican peasants was amusing, and brought out Mr. Ryder and Mr. Meadows very favourably, in the characters of the representatives of the families that had gone to loggerheads about a white hen.8

The inclusion of this feud sub-plot was also noted by Lewes. An excellent scene is that of the reconciliation of the Orlandos and the Colonnas, and their relinquishment of the vendetta, -- a scene both fresh and effective, and capitaly played by Ryder; but it has nothing to do with the piece, and surprises by its presence in a French drama, where construction is always so careful. Its only office is to bring visibly before us the Corsican feeling about la vendetta.10
It is the humour of the scene that probably made the critics notice this particular moment of Act One.

The reconciliation was prefaced during supper, with Fabien disclosing the story of the feud to Alfred Meynard. Fabien announced, "This evening, in this hall, the ceremony will take place," which signalled Music Cue 6. Following this,


The village bell tolled 8 o'clock, signifying that the Colonnas and Orlandos were about to appear. Griffo announced the arrival of Orlando, who was played by the stentorian John Ryder. Fabien crossed to the R.H. door and dragged Orlando into the room. Orlando tried to bolt for the door, but Fabien stopped him, saying, "Come in, man, come in," at which time the music stopped. At this point, the blocking was as follows:

Griffo                      Madame   Alfred
                             Orlando   Fabien

Moments later, Marie entered from the L.H. door and announced that Colonna had arrived. The comedy developed when Fabien second guessed how the two neighbours would
react to the situation. He had Griffo lock the doors from
the outside so that the two men could not run off once they
had confronted each other. To accomplish this task, Griffo
crossed "to door 2.E.R.H. locks it outside." He then re­
entered 1.E.R.H. At the same time, Madam retired and sat
R.H. of the table. Alfred leaned over the back of her
chair. Marie was heard off left, saying "Go i... I tell
you," and with that, Colonna entered. The promptbook
indicates:

Orlando on seeing Colonna tries to escape by the
door R.H. but finding it locked, savagely takes
the chair from 2.E.R.A. and sits R.C. Griffo
advances to him, and remonstrates with him for
sitting in the presence of the Countess. Orlando
rises, and Griffo places chair in front of trap
R.H.

Another point of comedy was the absurdity of the feud --
fought over a white hen! Years before, the Colonnas had
taken such a creature from the Orlandos, who demanded its
return. As a result of the ensuing conflict, five Colonnas
had been killed against four Orlandos; and four Orlandos
wounded against one Colonna. To end the feud, a hen must be
given to the Orlandos as a token of peace -- and the hen
MUST be white.

Fabien ordered Colonna to produce the hen -- and as a
precaution instructed Griffo to "lock that door on the
outside as you did the other," referring to the L.H.
entrance. Griffo complied, exiting through the 1.E.L.H.,
locked the 2.E.L.H. door outside, then re-entered 1.E.L.H.
The bickering that went on about the hen must have been a delightful bit of interplay. The *Morning Chronicle* reported: "The two principals of the feud -- one a picturesque ruffian, the other a cunning scamp -- were capitally given by Mr. RYDER and Mr. MEADOWS." Similarly, the unwillingness of either party to offer his hand in friendship created levity in the scene. At one point during the altercation, Orlando made an attempt to escape, but Fabien restrained him and prevented his departure. It was finally agreed that both adversaries would offer their hands at the same time. Music Cue 7, a repeat of Music 6, played as Griffo opened "the door at back." The music covered the entrance of the Judge, along with male and female representatives of the warring families. Sixteen Orlandos stood stage right while thirteen Colonnas were positioned at stage left.

Fabien offered an olive branch to Colonna and Orlando, who with great reluctance managed to swallow their pride and
take it. Next, Fabien told them to shake hands, as Music Cue 8 began to play, helping to build the tension as the two opponents hesitatingly approached each other. The music paused long enough for Fabien to order, "...your hands, I say." Since the two parties were still reluctant, the promptbook calls for Fabien to take "a hand of each, and forces them to shake hands, both evincing disgust and unwillingness." Music Cue 8 ended in triumph. The Judge read a declaration calling for an end of the vendetta, amidst groans "from the two adversaries," and "with many wry faces on either hand." Near the closing of his speech, Madame rose and retired upstage. Then came the signing of the agreement to end the feud. Orlando said he could not write, but the Judge informed him that he could make a mark: "... a cross will do." Orlando, with difficulty, managed to make a large cross. Colonna signed his name "with a great deal of ceremony." Each gentleman had a Surety, who also signed. During this, Music Cue 9 played.

Finally came the restoration of the hen, and another comic moment. As the promptbook indicates:

Colonna takes the hen from one of the peasants L.H. / to whom he had previously given it before signing / and is about to dash it in the face of Orlando, but being checked by Fabien, delivers it very politely. Orlando receives it after the same fashion.

Upon receiving it Orlando complained, "Excellenza! the hen is miserably thin." Colonna delivered an aside to Fabien, sharing a small, comic triumph. He said, "It isn't
a hen, its [sic] a little cock." Music Cue 10, which was a short triumphal piece, played as the Judge and the reconciled families exited through the centre door.

Fabien's role during the reconciliation scene was significant in that it illustrated his strong sense of justice and his love for Corsica. It also showed his authority amongst his own people, further demonstrating why he chose not go to Paris as Louis did.

Returning to the action on stage, Griffo and Marie removed the "table to the situation for the trap." This was done in preparation for the ghost scene at the end of the act. The table was positioned down left which removed it from the path of the "Corsican Trap." This situation would also mask the small trap through which the ghost would disappear. Marie exited by the 1.E.R.H. door, while Griffo went off 1.E.R.H., and unlocked the 2.E.R.H. He then re-entered through the latter door, and stood at the back L.H. The characters on stage composed this configuration:

Griffo
Made. [sic] Fabien
Alfred

Madame instructed Griffo to "conduct our guest to his apartment." Griffo took the candle from the table and started to exit R.H. when Fabien interjected: "Select another servant, I have some particular orders for Griffo."
Madame decided to attend the guest herself and, taking the candle from Griffo, crossed to the R.H. door. Music Cue 11 covered the stage right exit of Madame dei Franchi and Alfred Meynard. Simultaneously, the promptbook indicates a lighting change: "Put Wing Lights quite down. Side Boxes and Chandelier 1/2 down." This lighting effect was presumably motivated by Madame exiting with the candle. It also helped to create a mysterious mood for the action which followed. Griffo then crossed down R.H. to receive his instructions from Fabien, and inquire if his master had received a warning regarding Louis. Fabien stated:

Yes; this morning, on my way to the mountains, I felt a sudden pang, as if a sword had pierced my chest. I looked round and saw no one. I laid my hand upon the place -- there was no wound. My heart felt crushed, and the name of my brother leapt unbidden to my lips. I looked at my watch; it was ten minutes after nine.

Music Cue 12 began to play. Fabien continued: "Look! look! -- The clock -- it points to the same hour, although it must be close on midnight -- the clock has stopped."

Madame returned at this point to concur, heightening the tension by adding, "The clock stopped this morning, and without apparent cause...it was wound up the day before yesterday." Blessing her son with a wish that Providence might avert evil, Madame exited through the R.H. door flat, closing it after her. The next moment of the play was one of the great highlights of nineteenth century melodrama.

J. W. Hunter notes, in his study of The Corsican Brothers, that the most complicated technical transitions of
the play took place from the arrival of the ghostly Louis dei Franchi through the "Corsican Trap" to the occurrence of the vision tableau. According to Hunter, the chain of events was as follows:

Fabian [sic] has felt a strange fear for his brother's life, and has decided to write to Louis. After hurrying Griff to get a horse ready to carry his letter to the Paris mail, Fabian then sat down to write. On the pretext of obtaining a light or writing materials, he stepped momentarily into the next room, continuing to read his lines from offstage as his double entered and sat in his place. The actor, now assuming the role of Louis, quickly put on a blood-stained shirt, and dropped through a trap to the mezzanine. Taking his place on the Corsican trap, he then slowly rose, gliding across the stage from right to left, until he stopped just upstage of the double playing Fabian, who was writing. Louis reached out and touched "Fabian" on the shoulder. "Fabian" turned and cried out, "My brother!! -- dead!" Mme. dei Franchi, hearing the cry, rushed in, whereupon Louis either dropped through a small trap just behind Fabian or was "spirited away" through the vampire trap in the upper left entrance. Louis then rushed to take his place on the ground in the forest glade, just as the Tableau appeared behind "Fabian" and Mmme. dei Franchi, who were in the downstage setting, and the curtain slowly fell.

Dr. Hunter bases this information on his study of various productions and promptbooks of The Corsican Brothers that took place in England and the United States throughout the nineteenth century. While such stagings of the final moments of Act One undeniably took place (the Bowery production of April 21, 1852, states this quite clearly in its promptbook), there is no evidence that Kean followed this method at the Princess's. A close examination of
Kean's promptbook indicates a different and far more logical staging of the scene.

In the Princess's version of the play Fabien (Kean), told Griffo, "Haste, haste, I'll bring the letter before your foot is in the stirrup." On hearing this line Griffo exited via the 1.E.R.H. and the orchestra began to play its 13th Music Cue. While the music played, Fabien, "flinging aside his coat," sat on the stage right side of the table at L.C., and wrote his letter to Louis: "My brother, my dearest Louis, if this finds you still alive, write instantly, though but two words, to re-assure me. I have received a terrible admonition; write, write." (See Figs. 4, 5, and 6.) The orchestra played twenty-two bars of music and held a chord while Fabien completed his stage business. We know that Kean, himself, wrote the letter because Lady Brancroft informs us:

In the first act, Fabien dei Franchi addresses a letter to his brother as the vision appears to him. In our collection of autographs is one of these letters, written on the stage of the Princess's, which was given to us by Mr. Hastings, who was then the prompter of the theatre. It is a proof how deeply Kean was engrossed in the mock business of the scene, for it runs as follows: "My brother -- my dearest Louis -- if this finds you still alive, write instantly -- though but two words -- to reassure me. I have received a terrible admonition. Write -- write. -- C.K. 1st August, 1859."

There is no need for Fabien to leave the stage, either before or after writing the letter, and it is highly doubtful that Kean would want to recite any of his lines.
offstage. To leave the stage, even for a moment, at this climactic point in the act would lessen the dramatic tension built into the writing of the scene. However, if Kean did leave the stage to become Louis he would have had a very fast costume change from his Corsican garb to that of a fashionable man living in Paris. He would not only have to have changed his shirt, but his breeches and footwear -- as well as speaking his lines. Then he would have to scramble to the mezzanine to get ready to ascend on the "Corsican Trap." The entire process seems too elaborate and not very practical. Also, such a major technical move at this point in the play would surely have been noted by the prompter. Since this is not indicated in the directions, Kean must have remained on the stage in the character of Fabien while the double portrayed Louis. The stage direction of Fabien taking off his coat, mentioned earlier, was probably done to show the two brothers in their shirt sleeves, emphasizing their similarity.

To return to the action on stage, when Kean began writing the letter, the promptbook indicates, "Pull all the Lights down gradually and Pull Below to work sliding Trap across from R.H. to L.H." This working from stage right to stage left of a sliding trap refers to the use of the famous "Corsican Trap", a device made especially for Kean's production by his stage carpenters. The function of the trap was to allow the actor portraying the murdered Louis to rise slowly through the stage floor and at the same time
glide laterally across it from right to left. Sir John Martin-Harvey, who performed in The Corsican Brothers well into the twentieth century, gives a fascinating first hand account of how the trap operated.

The 'Corsican trap' as stage mechanics call it, is a complicated contrivance requiring the most accurate installation and handling. The 'ghost' takes his stand, underneath the stage, on a small platform. This platform, at the given moment, is pulled up gently by the master mechanic by means of a rope passing round a drum, and rises on a slope carefully black-leaded so that there should be no creak or stagger. In the meantime a narrow section of the stage has been taken up and rolled over to one side, and so much of it cut out as will admit the substitution of a solid portion in which an oval hole has been cut, for the passage of the 'ghost.' The sides of this hole are lined with long bristles so that the ghost is held steady and his body cuts an indefinable line across the stage as he rises. When the ghost comes up, therefore, his ascending platform must work in exact synchronisation with the moving section of the stage. This is always an anxious moment for all concerned. I have known the ghost rise almost to his waist and then stick, and in order to clamber through the hole, has had to perform an acrobatic feat such as we do not associate with ghosts.

The trap could also prove dangerous during performance as Martin-Harvey further relates about an incident that once took place during the final moments of the third act.

On one occasion the sliding stage through which my body -- Louis' body -- was rising, outran the ascending platform upon which I stood, and I was in danger of being slowly decapitated. I had just time to duck down, spring from my little platform, tear up on to the stage and glide with such ghostly composure as I could assume, through the trees at the back of the scene. This was voted such an improvement upon the old effect of rising through the snow, that I adopted it in subsequent performances. After all, the poor ghost had never done anything to warrant his being consigned to
the nether regions from which he had risen hitherto!\textsuperscript{19}

Martin-Harvey's innovation was also a lot safer!

H. R. Eyre, who was the manager of the Theatre Royal, Ipswich (1887 - 1890), provides further information about the "Corsican Trap":

Under an opening 17 feet long and 14 1/2 inches wide, a small 2 foot platform ran on a sloping rail. On this the player stood, entirely hidden under the stage at the beginning of its travel. As it was drawn across it rose on its rails, until, when it reached the far side of the stage, the 'ghost' was fully in view.\textsuperscript{20}

There is no way to ascertain if the dimensions mentioned by Eyre at the Ipswich Theatre were the same as those at Kean's Princess's, but the operation and function of the trap were identical. Likewise, the upstage position of the device was the same in both theatres so that the mechanics of the gliding effect could be masked from the audience. The actual location of the "Corsican Trap" at the Princess's Theatre is unknown, but from the available evidence it would seem to have been placed between the 2nd and 3rd grooves.\textsuperscript{21}

In Kean's production, Louis' ascent from the "Corsican Trap" commenced when Fabien was composing his letter. Since we have seen that Kean actually wrote the missive, he could not have left the stage to assume the role of Louis. Also, the prompter had written a warning cue a few pages earlier for the following actors to stand ready:
Since Louis was given a warning cue the role was obviously portrayed by a different actor since Kean was already on the stage playing Fabien. An additional consideration regarding the use of a double to perform Louis is the nineteenth-century actor-manager’s ego. Would Kean want another actor to speak his lines while he performed the role of a non-speaking ghost? Also, to play the part of the ghost would be relatively simple, whereas the acting and reacting to the presence of Louis’s spirit is far more challenging to the star performer’s abilities.

After Fabien completed the letter the promptbook explains:

He folds and seals the letter, during which LOUIS DEI FRANCHI has gradually appeared, rising through the "loof, in his shirt sleeves, with blood upon his breast; and, as FABIEN DEI FRANCHI is about to place his seal upon the wax, LOUIS DEI FRANCHI touches him on the shoulder.

Fabien then looked up and exclaimed, "My brother! -- dead!!" This provided the cue for the orchestra to play the famous ghost melody and for Madame dei Franchi to enter from the R.H. flat. When she walked onto the scene and asked: "Who uttered that word?" the audience's eye was immediately attracted to this movement. This provided enough time for the double playing Louis to step from the "Corsican Trap" to
a small stage trap (all masked by the table) so that he could begin his descent to the mezzanine. The prompter's cue states: "Pull Below to sink small Trap L.C. when Louis on the Trap." The play script then informs us:

LOUIS DEI FRANCHI waives [sic] his arm towards the wall, and disappears; at the same time, the back of the scene opens, and discloses a glade in the Forest of Fontainebleau. On one side is a young man, wiping the blood from his sword, with a pocket handkerchief. Two seconds are near him. On the other side, LOUIS DEI FRANCHI extended on the ground, supported by his two seconds and a surgeon.

The promptbook and all the iconographical evidence confirms the position for the following tableau (Figs. 6, 7 and 8).

Verner
Mont.

Giordano
Chateau
Second Louis
Surgeon

After Louis waved to the wall and vanished, the promptbook states: "Pull Below and Above to sink, and raise flats, when Louis in his place behind. Lights up at Back for Vision." What this indicates is that the centre folding door flat, placed upstage centre in the fourth groove, was made in two parts. This is confirmed in the scenic plot. The folding doors were lowered beneath the stage floor while the matching border overhead was simultaneously flown up to the flies: hence, "sink and raise". In most theatres it
was known as a "sink and rise" or "sink and fly." It would further appear that for Kean's production the door wings in the third grooves were also drawn to the sides, giving more viewing area for the vision scene. Although this drawing off the door wings is not indicated in the promptbook, the stage designs seem to confirm the operation. (See Figs. 3 and 7.) The action of the entire scene is further corroborated by Blackwood's Magazine:

...Fabian [sic] is again left alone. The stage grows dark; something wild and unearthly is felt in the sudden hush of the dim hall; he sits down at the side to write to Louis. "Brother," he says, "I feel so miserable, that I am certain you are in pain. Write -- write!" While he is setting down these words, a pallid, dreadful countenance rises from the boards at the other end of the stage -- rising gradually and without sound -- neck, shoulders, body -- and advancing at the same time towards the table at which Fabian writes; it reaches its feet when it comes within touch of his shoulder. The features of the brothers are the same; the height, the figure, even the dress -- for Fabian had taken off his coat before he began to write, -- and all the difference is a speck of blood on the left breast of Louis' shirt; and gazing on the group before him, (for the mother has entered in the mean time,) he slowly sinks. But this is not the end. The window at the back of the hall opens, and through that vista, what do we see? The brother Louis exactly as we saw him a moment before, lying dead beneath the stump of a tree, supported in the arms of his seconds -- a gentleman in his shirt sleeves wiping his sword -- two other gentlemen in attitudes of watchfulness: it is the Bois de Boulogne; a duel has been fought. Louis dei Franchi is the victim, and the drop-scene falls, leaving the Countess and Fabian transfixed with horror at this wondrous sight. 

Blackwood's Magazine also provides two hints regarding the performers' attitudes by stating that the "two other
gentlemen," referring to Montgiron and Verner, were "in attitudes of watchfulness." It also indicates that Fabien and Madame were "transfixed with horror" as they beheld the death of Louis. The Morning Chronicle adds a further detail: "As Fabien gazes horror struck, his mother rushes in and clings to him...."23

The actual vision scene was created in the following manner. Just behind the sink and rise unit there was positioned a transparent gauze with wood wings placed stage right and left. A platform on which the actors stood, or in the case of Louis, reclined on, was behind the gauze. This gauze was painted to represent the back wall of the Chateau. On the extreme upstage was a painted cloth showing the woods of Fontainebleau. When the sink and rise took place, the front lights were turned down and the gauze was backlit, revealing the tableau. F. Lloyd described the process of creating a vision on stage thus:

To disclose a vision, a portion of the back of the scene, large enough to show the vision, must be cut out and filled with netting....Behind this opening let what is called a sink and fly be suspended on lines, with a profile edge at the bottom of the upper and the top of the lower one. Let them overlap each other and hang close to the net, after having covered them all over with the general ground colour of the back part of the scene. Now paint the back part of the scene on the net, so that it may seem to form part of the scene when the sink and fly is closed up behind it. When the vision has to be shown, all the lights in front must be gradually turned down, and the sink and fly opened by sinking the one and raising the other. Then gradually turn on the lights behind the net, and the lime-lights as well (if you have any), till they light up the vision
thoroughly. To cause the vision to fade away, reverse the action.\textsuperscript{24} 

A great deal of time and effort went into creating this rather brief moment on the stage, but its success was made apparent by contemporary critical accounts.

Without question, one of Queen Victoria's favourite plays was \textit{The Corsican Brothers}. So impressed was she by this particular melodrama that she returned repeatedly to the Princess's to see the production during its first season of performance. In \textit{Queen Victoria Goes to the Theatre}, George Rowell has made a calendar of the Queen's play-going. It shows that Victoria attended performances on February 28, March 4, March 23, April 19, May 15, and June 18. She wrote of the play in her diary, and included a sketch of the Act One tableau (giving Louis a prominent red ink blood stain on his shirt).

The effect of the ghost in the 1st act, with its wonderful management and entire noiselessness, was quite alarming. The tableau of the Duel, which Fabien witnesses, almost immediately after the vanishing of the ghost, was beautifully grouped and quite touching. The whole, lit by blue light and dimmed with gauze, had an unearthly effect, and was most impressive and creepy.\textsuperscript{25}

It is interesting to note that Victoria says the staging of the final moments of the act was noiseless and the vision was achieved "almost immediately" after Louis' departure through the small trap. This is a fine compliment to the Princess's stage management staff.

One of Kean's most vehement critics was George Henry Lewes, but he was most impressed with the staging and acting
of *The Corsican Brothers*. Of the ghost's appearance, he wrote:

Nothing can exceed the art with which this is managed; with ghostly terror, heightened by the low tremolos of the violins, and the dim light upon the stage, the audience, breath-suspended, watches the slow apparition...a scenic effect more real and terrible than anything I remember.26

Much critical acclaim was given to the tableaux scenes, as well as the way in which the ghost made his appearance. The *Athenaeum* noted:

...the supernatural machinery is ingeniously contrived. The ghost rises on a gradually ascending plane before attaining his final pose, -- instead of the usual perpendicular arrangement; and the tableaux are picturesquely composed.27

The *Illustrated London News* also mentioned that "the manner of introducing the ghost by a lateral ascent, instead of a perpendicular one, lent a supernatural appearance to the scene which was irresistibly effective."28 The *Times* concurred, stating:

As for the supernatural effects, they are masterpieces of scenic art. The ghost rises, not an ordinary vulgar ghost, straight out of a trap, but advances as it rises -- a truly spiritual presence. The visionary tableaux look like visions, and the audience are kept in a state of pleasing trepidation between the real and shadowy, and on the decent of the curtain give a gasp at finding themselves fairly out of a supernatural atmosphere and in the substantial region of Oxford-street.29

The *Observer* also described this tableau, and in so doing, gives us an insight into how Wigan played this moment:

Dimly seen, as in some vision, is a glade in the wood of Fontainebleau, and, stretched along
at the foot of a decayed oak, supported in the arms of his seconds, Louis dei Franchi bleeds his life away from a mortal wound in his chest. A few paces from this mournful group stands his successful opponent, calmly wiping his bloody sword. This scene produced a most powerful effect. The extraordinary and indeed almost supernatural way in which the phantom of Louis appears, moving noiselessly along from a remote part of the stage, and gradually [sic] rising as it advanced, made the audience for some time doubt if it were not deceived by a clever optical delusion. The vision of the tragedy at Fontainebleau, dim, spectral, and yet horribly distinct, was a perfect masterpiece of scenic effect, and seemed perfectly to astonish every person.30

At the end of Act One, the act drop "slowly" descended on the final tableau. The total playing time of the act was 35 minutes.

Finally, one more question must be answered. Did Kean (as Fig. 8 suggests) use more than one double? According to the promptbooks there is no evidence that two actors were used to portray the spectre of Louis. The picture that was made for the sheet music of the production was the work of an artist's imagination based on the total mise en scène of the last pages of the first act. Although Kean did not use a second double, other productions certainly did. Bram Stoker stated:

In a play where one actor plays two parts there is usually at least one time when the two have to be seen together. For this a double has to be provided. In The Corsican Brothers, where one of the two sees the other seeing his brother, more than one double is required.31

Irving's use of more than one double seemed to have been quite well known. Bram Stoker states that in a
burlesque version of The Corsican Brothers that was performed at the Gaiety Theatre there were "...about twenty doubles of all sizes and conditions -- giants, dwarfs, skinny, fat -- of all kinds. At the end of the scene they took a call -- all together. It was certainly very funny." \(^{32}\)

As one can see, the amount of work and cooperation needed to realize the final moments of The Corsican Brothers testifies to the collective genius of many people. With a careful combination of lighting, music, stage carpentry, scenic design, acting and stage management, Charles Kean was able to create one of the most sensational and electrifying supernatural scenes on the Victorian stage.

**ACT TWO**

Once the act drop was down, the Princess's stage crew had to clear the dei Franchi Chateau setting and erect the Paris Opera Ball set. While this was taking place, the orchestra played the Entre Acte music. Stoepel's music is atmospheric and takes the listener on a brief journey from the mysterious world of Act One into the bright, extraverted life of Paris. Most of the Entre Acte music consists of parts of the Galop and Polka which will be used during the Opera Ball. There are also two points in which the music is interrupted by a clock, first striking four and later six. On the final stoke of six the music changes mood to return
to the mysterious feelings of the first act, perhaps to remind the audience of the supernatural and serious elements of the play. In the end, the Entre Acte music dies away in a soft pianissimo. The total playing time is approximately five and a half minutes.

After the Entre Acte finished, Music Cue 14 commenced. This lively Allegro set the mood for the Paris Opera Ball. Music Cue 14 segued into Music Cue 15, a Galop that would repeat a number of times throughout the first scene of the act. It was also a cue for Ellis to raise the curtain. The promptbook then says "All the Lights full on." This illuminated a set that looked far more elaborate than it really was. The "Scenic Plot" states:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos</th>
<th>Grs</th>
<th>Wings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Theatre Cloth at Back To Mach [sic]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Set Pieces X 5 C. ?</td>
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<td>Arch .......................... 3 To Match</td>
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This indicates that at the extreme back of the stage there was a "Theatre Cloth" on which was painted theatre boxes, a magnificent domed ceiling, a large central chandelier, along with a series of smaller ones, as well as an auditorium filled with dancers and revellers (Fig. 9). The scenic rendering also illustrates an orchestra pit which has been covered with flooring to create more space for dancers -- a usual occurrence when theatres were used for public balls during this time period.
Directly in front of the "Theatre Cloth" was a practical staircase or "Set Piece" that was placed across the fifth grooves at centre. Based on J. Dayes' design, it appears this staircase was merely a platform with three steps. A large arch was positioned downstage in the third grooves to represent the proscenium arch of the Paris Opera House. The plot also indicates that there were wing flats "to match" which provided masking at either end of the stage. The rest of the playing area was bare.

It must have seemed, to the patrons of the Princess's Theatre, as though they were looking into a mirror when they beheld this scene -- watching an audience, watching a performance on stage. The critics were certainly impressed by the visual splendour of the scene and noted:

The interior of the Opera-House, with the masqued ball and carnival, was magnificently placed on the stage; scenery and accessories were perfect, bewildering in their gorgeousness and multitude. The reviewer for The Athenaeum agreed: "The scene in the interior of the Opera house [sic] at Paris was well painted and grouped -- a ball and carnival being conducted with great spirit and picturesqueness of arrangement and effect." The Morning Chronicle also praised this scene:

The appearance of a vast theatre seen from the crowded stage was an excellent bit of illusion; and as for the dancers -- for the first time in our life we saw a stage masquerade which was like a masquerade, and like one, too, reasonably early in the morning. The uproarious hilarity of the dancers was truth itself, and the serious business was excellently
managed in the pauses of the polkas.  
When the scene was revealed, 90 performers were taking part in the festivities. The symmetrical placement of the revellers shows the standard staging of crowd scenes during the mid-century. Certainly there was nothing daring in the way Kean blocked *The Corsican Brothers*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Promenaders and Dancers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Ladies</td>
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<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
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<td>L. LD.</td>
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<td>2 Gentn.</td>
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<td>V. L.</td>
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<td>G. L.</td>
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<td>L. G.</td>
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<td>B. F.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LD.</td>
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<th>Situation as the Drop rises</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOTE: To conserve space, most names used in the promptbook appear as initials above. G. = Gentn.; L. = Lady; LD. = Lady Deb.; V. = Verner; B. = Beauchamp; F. = Jolie (?); C. = Coralie; Gio. = Giordano; Cel. = Celestina. [sic]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although there was a great deal of activity on stage, the property plot reveals that there were few special requirements.

**Property Plot**


It is unfortunate that Flexmore's choreography of the dance was never notated or described. However, contemporary accounts and the Galop music that Stoepel composed gives us an indication of the atmosphere of the scene.

There are waltzes, gallops, and polkas, with shouts of demoniac revelry; women career from end to end of the enormous salle, dancing, singing, shrieking; they are dressed in all costumes -- as men, as mountebanks -- but in all the unmistakable presence of wild enjoyment and a spirit of depravity, worthy of the orgies of Circe.  

*Blackwood's Magazine* was not impressed with the moral depravity depicted on the stage of the Princess's Theatre, and went on to state that:

...women, indelicately clothed in male attire, whirl in fantastic attitudes to a noisy crash of music -- their voices in the mad excitement of the moment are joined to the noise of the orchestra; petticoats, where preserved at all, assume the dimensions of kilts; it is evidently the crowning hour of the night's festivity -- modesty, decorum, propriety, all laid aside, and a grinning buffoon in white gown, with chalk-covered face and ludicrous contortions, adding a new feature of disgust to the display, which is sickening enough already. We can easily imagine that this vivid scene may have injurious effects -- that it may be even more hurtful than a visit to the original meeting would have been; for there is probably here a heightening of the attractions of the show,
in as much as the dancers are chosen for their beauty, and the dresses selected for the very purpose of captivation and allurement.

However, most critics of the day commented favourably on the festivities. Lewes stated that:

The second act opens with a gay and brilliant scene of a bal de l'opera, wonderfully well done, -- the groups animated and lifelike, the dresses splendid and various, and the drama naturally issuing out of the groups in the most unforced manner.

The Sun wrote:

As to the Bal Masque, it was a "tremendous hit." The illusion was complete, as the spirit and variety of the evolution of the "fast and furious" maskers redounds greatly to the credit of Flexmore in his capacity of ballet master. He was conspicuous among the giddy throng, as an indefatigably agile Pierrot....The fancy dresses were capital, grotesque, and rich, and certainly such a stage masquerade has never been before beheld.

When the dance concluded, a masked Coralie entered, followed by Montgiron from the U.E.R.H. Montgiron stood L.H. of Coralie, and the pair launched Act Two with the following exchange:

Montgiron: Stay, my angel! -- one word.
Coralie: Let it be a short one.
Montgiron: Love! -- Is that short enough?
Coralie: Short and sweet; but it has too long a meaning.

Coralie crossed L.H. -- perhaps in an attempt to shake off his attentions, or to adopt a seductive, hard-to-get air. When Montgiron called her by name, she removed her mask and asked: "Well, Baron, what now?" Montgiron invited her to be one of his guests at dinner. At this point, Estelle and Verner (also masked) entered 1.E.L.H. Coralie informed the
other lady of the dinner party. Beauchamp entered 1.E.L.H., and Coralie beckoned him to her. The characters stood in a line downstage, thus:


Then, "taking the arm of BEAUCHAMP," Coralie placed herself in his "custody" until the three o'clock dinner engagement. The couple crossed 1.E.R.H. to exit. Meanwhile, Estelle stated her plan to confide herself to Verner's "sense of propriety," signalling the Galop to repeat. With that, "All remask, and join the crowd..." After their exits, there was a "short Dance." At the end of this, Kean, now playing the role of Louis, appeared from the 1.E.R.H. entrance. Louis' anxiety in this scene made a marked dramatic contrast to the gaiety of the masked ball. After a short speech, in which Louis revealed his concern for Emilie, the Galop was repeated once more. While Louis searched for Emilie during the dance, "Three Debadeurs [sic] advance, dancing; and a basket figure, with bladders, comes down dancing, and hitting every one that comes in his way."42 After this display, Montgiron re-entered "with GIORDANO and Two Gentlemen." The two unnamed characters, after receiving an invitation from Montgiron to dine with him later that evening, "Go up and mix with crowd." Louis, Montgiron and
Giordano recognize each other and exchange greetings in this configuration:

Louis    Mont.    Gior.

Montgiron then invited Louis to his party, saying
"...tonight you must be one of us, and sup with me; you'll meet all our own set: -- Beauchamp, Verner, Chateau Renaud." Louis repeated the name, "Chateau Renaud!" This heightened the dramatic tension, and led to an on-stage discussion of the villain, whom Montgiron described as "...the best swordsman in France; and, by his own account, resistless with the fair." Louis politely declined the invitation, saying, "I have an appointment here...to save one who seeks her own destruction." As Louis retired upstage, Montgiron and Giordano exited 1.E.L.H., and the Galop was repeated once again. This time "Three men run across, carrying another, with their arms extended from U.E.R.H. off L.H.1.E." The party was still in full flight. Now, it was time for the villain to make his appearance.

One of the interesting elements of the masked ball was that the character of Chateau Renaud did not receive entrance music. Instead, Giordano and Montgiron, who have returned, merely mention him in comparison with Louis. It is then that Chateau Renaud makes his way onto the stage. In traditional melodrama the villain would enter to a musical theme or signature tune that would announce his
character to the audience. In the case of The Corsican Brothers, Chateau Renaud walked in calmly without any such musical frills. It was the entrance of a gentleman: a gentleman the audience soon discovered was also a rogue. As Blackwood's Magazine tells us:

Some gentlemen come in. Among them, M. de Chateau Renaud, whose ambition it is to be considered the greatest roue in Paris; when he fails to triumph over female virtue, he withers a woman's reputation with a lie. He is accused of having boasted, without foundation, of his intimacy with Madame de Lesharre [sic]. He bets he will bring her that very night into the supper-room, where there has been prepared a symposium for the prettiest of the debardeurs [sic], and wickedest of the men.

The "gentlemen" assumed this stage-picture for a brief discussion of Chateau Renaud's success with the ladies:

Gior.  Mont.  Renaud

Montgiron charged that Chateau Renaud, himself, had encouraged this reputation, but in reality "did not always achieve" it. Chateau Renaud demanded Montgiron to "name a single instance." Montgiron replied, "Fifty, if you please," and when asked to be specific, answered: "Madame de L'Esparre." During this exchange, a masked Emilie de L'Esparre entered U.E.L.H. and advanced toward the group once she heard her name. Montgiron and Giordano retired upstage as Chateau Renaud instructed Emilie to meet him in the adjoining saloon. The words she uttered in reply as she
crossed R.H., revealed that the villain had arranged this meeting:

Oh, sir, why did you compel me to seek, in such a place as this, that justice your honour should have prompted you to do me, unsolicited? You wished to humiliate me, and you have succeeded. I will await you.

She then exited 1.E.R.H., leaving Chateau Renaud to utter the words, "Aha! fair Emilie, you despise my devotion, and recall your plighted love; you shall repent it, my lovely traitoress." Montgiron countered with: "Come, Chateau Renaud, I accord you that creature, whoever she may be, as a conquest." Louis re-entered after Chateau Renaud's next line: "But you deny me Emilie de L'Esparre." Louis continued the stage business of searching for Emilie, as the villain declared that he would bring Madame de L'Esparre to Montgiron's dinner party. When Louis heard the lady's name he "stops suddenly," and listened to the following exchange:

Montgiron: Chateau Renaud, this is too bad. As I know it is impossible, I defy you!
Renaud: Do you? Name your wager.
Montgiron: Well, a thousand francs, and I will give you till four o'clock.
Renaud: By which hour I engage to bring Madame de L'Esparre to your bachelor party. If I am one moment late I lose.
Montgiron: Agreed.

Chateau Renaud then crossed R.H., and seeing Louis remarked, "What a pity that he is not to be of the party," and exited 1.E.R.H. For Chateau Renaud to have seen Louis, the latter would have to have been positioned on the R.H. side of the stage as well -- so that Chateau Renaud could have noticed
him in passing. Therefore, although the promptbook does not
state which door Louis used when he made his entrance
earlier (or his exit previous to that) we can assume that it
was from the stage right side. Further, a R.H. entrance
would put Louis on the opposite side of the stage from the
scene between Montgiron and Chateau Renaud, creating a
better stage picture.

Louis then approached Montgiron and asked:

...you were kind enough to ask me to
your supper, which I declined; will
you permit me now to accept your
invitation?

Montgiron: Bravo! our party will then be
complete, if Chateau Renaud keeps his
word. I shall expect you.

Louis and Giordano both reply, "We shall be there," and they
all exit U.E.L.H. Then, according to the band-leader's
part, the Galop was played twice fortissimo, twice
pianissimo and segued into a Polka as the scene closed.

The second scene of Act Two took place in the lobby of
the Opera (Fig. 10). This set was also very simple in
design. Two painted "Lobby Flats" were linked together in
the first grooves and then joined on stage right and left
with proscenium wings. This was a "carpenter's scene," --
a sequence played down stage, usually in front of a simple
set, so that a major set change could go on behind it. As
Percy Fitzgerald explains:

A carpenter's scene...imparts always a sort
of meanness to the situation, owing to the way
it projects the actors forward, leaving them
scarcely room to turn without stepping on the
footlights. ...in the "Corsican Brothers," the splendid opera-ball embraces all the available space of the stage almost to the footlights. It is immediately succeeded by the exciting supper-room scene, which must also cover a considerable space, while the act ends with the forest scene and duel. These three tableaux each require as much space as possible, yet all are to be ready within the space of the act. Between the opera and the supper-room scenes the authors had contrived a carpenter [sic] scene in the shape of the opera-lobby, which would outwardly represent a "perspective" of space stretching away, contradicted flagrantly by its meagre flatness and lack of accommodation for the actors.

As the action of the play continued, Emilie entered 1.E.R.H., followed by Chateau Renaud. Emilie, positioned on the right side of the Frenchman, exclaimed: "You requested my presence here; I am come...I have obeyed the conditions you demanded; now keep your promise, and restore to me those letters." Chateau Renaud asked why she wrote him letters of encouragement and received this reply, conveying to the audience a great deal of background information.

My first affections, as you know, were yours; my father saw and crushed our hopes at once. The fate of my poor sister, the miserable marriage of Louise, was ever present to his mind. A marriage which lost him a daughter, me a sister. Unhappy girl, where is she now? Perhaps deserted, struggling with misery and want. Some cause, of which I am ignorant, taught his distempered mind to see in you a copy of my sister's husband. To snatch me from the fate he so much dreaded, he obliged me to accept the hand of the Admiral de L'Esparre. The disparity of our years, our total want of sympathy, rendered it impossible for me to love, although I respect and honour him. It is now a sacred duty I owe to my husband, as well as to myself, to claim from you the evidences of our plighted troth.

Chateau Renaud replied that he did not have the letters
with him, and cleverly created a lure, stating:

Listen! that sister, whose name, whose memory you still so fondly cherish, I have traced out to her obscure retreat; I have rescued her from despair, perhaps from death, to restore her to your arms....I have a carriage at the door, and will escort you to her lodgings instantly. There I will leave you, while I hasten to procure those letters you insist on my restoring; and thus, at the same moment, give you a double proof of my respect -- my devotion.

Emilie was taken in by the ruse, saying, "Haste! -- haste! Forgive me if I doubted you." Chateau Renaud brought the scene to a close, stating, "I do -- I do," and looking at his watch, noted, "Ten minutes to four; I shall win my wager." They both exited 1.E.R.H.

In this scene, the stage action was brief, but it enabled the crew to strike the Paris Opera setting and put up the next scene. On Chateau Renaud's last line, the "Lobby Flats" parted to reveal Act Two Scene Three, "AN ELEGANT SALOON IN THE HOUSE OF MONTGIRON" (Fig. 11). No music was used for the scene transformation. The scenic plot states:

Nos. Grs. Wings

3 Handsome Chamber /C. doors/ 3
Backed by Chamber 4
Side flat with Folding doors R.H.
Backed by Chamber
Side flat with Fireplace L.H. Pros.

Curtains to descend & ascend 1.E.

This set was designed by F. Lloyds and showed a rich, luscious interior, and was "gorgeously lighted." The
high wall trimmings were elaborate and edged in gold and white. The wall paper was white with a gold and red floral pattern and the square area around the two entrances and the fireplace was painted a deep blue. The apartment was also well furnished. The scenic design shows the upholstery of the chairs and sofa as being red. The property plot indicates:

**Property Plot**

3. Large Arm chair R.H. Sofa Oblique R.C. Footstool
   White & gold table at back R.H. Candalabra sic on
   lighted. 2 chairs. Ditto L.H.
   Square Table L.C. 2 chairs -- Candalabra sic on.
   Manltepiece [sic] L.H. with Timepiece & Ornaments
   Carpet to 1st Wing -- Fire. Dogs. Wood
   Hand Bell L.H. Gate Bell L.H. Key.
   2 Silver salvers ready at R.H. door with 9
   glasses of Wine & Wafer Biscuits
   2 Swords. 2 coats R.H.1.E

   The scene began with "SERVANTS discovered arranging the furniture; bell heard outside. SERVANT goes off..." through the centre door L.H. The "other SERVANT" left via the R.H. door. After a brief pause the first servant re-appeared at the centre doors ushering in Louis and Giordano. The latter gentlemen asked, "The Baron de Montgiron is not yet returned from the Opera, I presume?" The servant replied: "No sir; my master ordered supper at four precisely..." Louis crossed to stage left and sat down R.H. of the table, and appeared "absorbed in thought." Giordano dismissed the servant, who exited through the R.H. doors, and then advanced to Louis, ending up on the L.H. side of
the table, and said: ". . . I see you are unhappy; before others I said nothing; now that we are alone, tell me your secret." Louis explained: "I love, and I am wretched." He detailed to Giordano how he met the object of his affections in Corsica. When she left for Paris, Louis followed her but "came too late; she was already married to another." The dialogue exchanged between the two friends gives us insight as to Louis' virtuous nature:

Giordano: And have you seen her since?
Louis: Chance threw me into the society of her husband, and he invited me to his house.
Giordano: A dangerous guest.
Louis: Oh, no; you know me not. The sainted shrine is not more safe from desecration by the kneeling pilgrim, than is the wife of him whose proffered friendship I accepted. I resolved to stifle my unhappy passion, and become worthy of his confidence; but I mistook my strength, and ceased my visits.

Louis continued to describe his love, mentioning a "man who assumed a fatal influence over her -- that man was Chateau Renaud." From this information, Giordano surmised the object of Louis' affections. Louis rose from his chair and, confirmed, "'Tis she --'tis Emilie! . . . Impelled by the fatality that governs me, I came, and was a witness of that shameful wager, in which her name and honour are involved." Giordano asked Louis to leave the Saloon before the party was to commence, but the Corsican replied, "I cannot go. I must remain."
Louis and Giordano crossed upstage as Music Cue 17, an Allegretto, began. At the same time, a bell sounded off left. A servant entered from the stage right door and exited centre. There was a pause and then, according to the promptbook, "a laugh is heard outside, and MONTGIRON, BEAUCHAMP, and CORALIE, VERNER and ESTELLE, CELESTINE, two Gentlemen, and two other Ladies enter." The band leader's part stated that the music was to continue playing until everyone was on stage and in position. Montgiron went down left of Louis and Giordano while the rest of the party members placed themselves stage right, in this fashion:

Gent'n.         Louis         Giord.
Gent'n.
Lady

Celest.
Beau
Cora         Lady         Mont.
Verner
Estelle

After a few welcoming lines, Coralie announced that she was hungry, but Montgiron explained, "We cannot sup until the clock strikes four." As a consolation, two servants entered from the stage right door "with Wine, Biscuits &, etc., which they hand round." Montgiron then announced to the company that dinner had to wait until the arrival of Chateau
Renaud -- "a wager depends on it." He then outlined the bet and declared, "If he is one minute late, he loses," after which he pushed a chair under the L.H. table, possibly to clear the playing area.

Celestine enquired, "Who is the heroine?" Louis, who advanced centre, interrupted Montgiron as he was about to disclose the information, saying: "Montgiron, will you accord me one favour?" He begged Montgiron not to "name the lady you expect." Coralie then rose and crossed to Louis. The dialogue continued:

Coralie: Why not?
Louis: Because, Mademoiselle, that lady is married to a friend of mine.
Coralie: Oh!

After her exclamation, Coralie sat once again. Advancing toward Louis would have shown her interest in the intrigue. Sitting once again could have signalled her satisfaction with the answer. This is indicated by her next lines which were to admonish the woman's spouse. Louis explained that the husband was expected to return from Mexico in a few weeks. He then retired upstage with Montgiron. Coralie remarked that it would "Serve him [the husband] right... 'Twill teach him not to go cruising [sic] on the coast of Jericho, again." Estelle corrected Coralie on the geographic location, leaving the latter to retort, "Well then, Mexico; but I suppose it makes no difference to his wife. A husband six thousand miles off must be the same thing as none at all." After her line, all the ladies rose.
and crossed right. Montgiron, crossed up to Louis and said, "I respect your scruples, Louis. Since you desire it, we will treat the lady in question with the most profound discretion." Montgiron pledged the company to silence regarding the adventure. As the ladies made their promise, they raised their glasses. The company then retired upstage. Montgiron and Coralie sat on the sofa.

Tension was built with the announcement that Chateau Renaud had only three minutes to win his wager. Giordano assured Louis that Emilie would not come. The final moments were excruciating for Louis, as he exclaimed, "Will the hour never strike, to release me from this agony?" At that precise moment the clock struck four. On the fourth stroke the house bell rang "violently." A servant crossed from R.H. and went off through the centre door to answer the bell. Montgiron followed and Giordano once again tried to reassure Louis. Montgiron returned as Music Cue 18 began -- a repetition of the previous melody. As the music commenced, Chateau Renaud and a masked Emilie entered centre. The two took centre stage and Emilie's identity was revealed:
The reaction of the assembly would have added much to the triumph of Chateau Renaud. *Blackwood's Magazine* supplies us with the clues as to how this was played.

...as the last sound of the clock dies upon the ear, he walks in with Madame de Lesharre [sic] upon his arm. There is a shout of derision from the women assembled; a shrug of surprise from the men; the wager is acknowledged to be lost; but Madame de Lesharre, perceiving the shameful trick that has been played, indignantly pours forth her scorn on the pitiful scoundrel who has been guilty of it....

During her indignant speech the guests continue to express their reaction.

To win this infamous wager, he has stooped to falsehood and to treachery. It was to visit a suffering relative he feigned conduct me. I came on an errand of charity and affection. (All express unbelief.) Oh! I fear not to face you now. If there be any here whose brows should wear a blush, I know 'tis not the wife of the Admiral de L'Esparre. [Unmasks]

Emilie recognized the face of Louis dei Franchi and asked for his protection. Louis advanced to her L.H., saying,
"My life is yours." At the same time the two Gentlemen countered, crossing to the right. Chateau Renaud issued a challenge to Louis which was accepted. Louis, again, illustrated his noble character in his admonishment of Chateau Renaud.

A challenge in the presence of a lady! Oh, Sir, it lacked but this to give a finish to your character. Come, Madame, my blood, to the last drop, is yours; my life is nothing to the honour, the happiness you now confer upon me.

Immediately afterwards Music Cue 19 began to play as "Madame de Lesharre [sic] retires supported by Louis, and a laugh of contempt and hatred resounds through the room." Emilie, Louis and Giordano exited through the centre doors. Chateau Renaud said, "Well, gentlemen, I suppose I have lost after all; but I shall sup with none the worse appetite," and crossed left. A servant entered through the R.H. door and announced that the meal was ready. Chateau Renaud and "the joyous party vanish to another room," through the stage right door. The "Curtains I.E. descend, and close the scene in." Music Cue 20 played until the end of the act. This musical interlude allowed for the scene change into the Forest of Fontainebleau.

Stoepel used the key of E minor to set the dramatic mood for the last scene of Act Two. While the set was being changed an agitated allegro created the tension needed for portrayal of the duel. As this music slowly died away it segued into the famous "Ghost Melody" once again, which
could be repeated as many times as necessary to accommodate the set change. It is not certain when the curtain came up on the last scene but the promptbook states: "Put Lights 1/2 down. When all ready behind, Curtains ascend." Certainly one of the best times for the curtain to rise was when the ghost melody began to play.

The next scene revealed was "THE FOREST OF FONTAINEBLEAU. LOUIS DEI FRANCHI discovered, lying wounded, supported by GIORDANO and Second; Surgeon feeling his pulse; Chateau Renaud wiping his sword; MONTGIRON and VERNER as Seconds." The scene was designed by W. Gordon and was a reversal of the Act One tableau. The scenic plot states:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos</th>
<th>Grs</th>
<th>Wings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wood flats 1st Slider 4.G. to sink. Border to rise</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cut Woods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gauze 4.E. Interior of Act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st on platform at Back</td>
<td>Oak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This demonstrates that a portion of the interior of the dei Franchi Chateau from Act One was situated behind the 4th grooves on a platform (Fig. 12). Wood flats with a matching border were placed in the first slider of the 4th grooves and operated on the sink and fly system. A painted gauze was also mounted across the fourth entrance in front of the platform. One cut tree was placed stage right or opposite prompt (O.P.) in the third entrance and another tree was situated stage left or prompt side (P.S.) in the third
entrance. There was also a change of lights for the scene as noted by Ellis. Before the curtain rose the prompt notation stated "Wing Lights all out. Borders 1/2 down Flote 1/2 down." The "Property Plot" indicates that the following items were needed: "Case of Surgical Instruments. 2 Swords Handkrf. [sic] Watch. Chain. 2 coats. 2 Hats." When the scene was revealed to the audience they saw a re-enactment of the vision of the duel they witnessed in Act One.

We are now in the Bois de Boulogne. The scene we had seen in the first act is exactly reproduced here: Louis is lying under the tree; Chateau Renaud is wiping his sword; the seconds are in attitudes of expectation...."49

The only difference between the vision of the first act and the present scene was that dialogue took place. Giordano asked the surgeon if there was any hope for Louis. The reply was that the Corsican's lungs had been pierced and he had "not five minutes more to live." Louis then called for Giordano and explained that his mother and brother would find out about his fate that very night. When asked how the message would be delivered Louis responded "By me." After shaking Giordano and the Second's hand and wishing Emilie farewell, Louis died. At that point, Ellis' notations stated, "Put all the Lights down, and Pull Below to sink flats Pull above to raise Border Turn on back lights for Vision." Then, to the strains of the "Ghost Melody," the audience saw the vision of Fabien (now performed by the
double) and his mother in Corsica. As *Blackwood's Magazine* tells us:

...suddenly the wood opens at the back, and we see Fabian [sic] and his mother in the old hall in Corsica, gazing with rigid eyes on the scene before them; and we have now arrived at the exact position we attained half-an-hour ago.  

The Act drop again descended "slowly." The playing time for Act Two was listed at 35 minutes.

**ACT THREE**

Stoepel's *Entre Acte* music for Act Three was a repetition of Music Cue 20, and "plays two minutes" in duration. It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the act drop ascended on the final scene of the play since Ellis did not specify this in the promptbook. His notation merely states: "Music to take up Act drop." There were some changes made to the set during the *Entre Acte*, but nothing that required a lot of time. Thematically it would have worked to have the Act drop rise when the Ghost Melody was repeated, linking Act Three to the previous scene, or when the *Entre Acte* segued directly into Music Cue 22. This was a short, jaunty melody in A minor that played for six bars and introduced the character of Boissec, a woodcutter "discovered at work, singing". The music for Boissec's song is not written in the band parts and, like Marie's song of Act One, may have been sung *a cappella* or omitted at the discretion of the performer.

The scene revealed to the audience was the Forest of
Fontainebleau where Louis had been killed (Fig. 13). Five days had passed and some snow was on the ground. W. Gordon was the designer and the scenic plot outlines where things were placed on stage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos</th>
<th>Grs</th>
<th>Wings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Snow Wood on Platform at Back. Cut Woods_________</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cut Tree R.H.E.3 Tree L.H.__</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage open behind Tree. steps below. Stump L.H.1.G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rake R.H.2.E. Sliding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trap to work from R.H. to L.H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Curtain Slow

There were some slight changes made to the design of the forest scene. The Cut Woods had been moved back from the 3rd to 4th grooves and were backed by a covered Snow Wood flat that was placed on the platform at the back of the stage. A Cut Tree was placed in the third right entrance. Another tree was placed stage left at the 2nd groove. This tree masked an open area of the stage floor which was equipped with steps that led down to the mezzanine. A stump was situated in the entrance of the first grooves on stage left. A raked platform was located in the second entrance at stage right. The "Corsican Trap" was also made ready. Ellis notes in his promptbook, "Wing Lights all out. Flote and Borders full up." He also noted: "See Swords in places before Act Begins. Sweep the Trap." The reference to swords in their places means that trick weapons were hidden
on stage. The purpose of these swords will be explained when the stage action refers to them. The note to sweep the trap could possibly be in reference to whatever was used to represent the snow on stage. There is no mention in the promptbook or any other source as to how the snow was created for Kean's production. In 1880, Sir Henry Irving used salt for his version of the play and his choice may have been based on what Kean did in 1852. Certainly, the direction to sweep the trap indicates that there was some type of debris that needed removal. Whether or not it was the fake snow we shall never know. The other requirements for the final act are outlined in the property plot.

Property Plot

| Trick Sword behind Tree R.H. do [ditto] at Trunk |
| L.C. Axe. Faggots & rope. Wood & China |
| Crash ready R.H. Whip & Bells R.H. |
| 2 Dollors [sic]. 2 White Handkf. [sic] 2 Cloaks. |
| 4 Swords R.H. Large bell & Beater under stage. Piece of Baize R. & L. 1.E. |

At the end of Boissec's song, a sound cue called for a "Whip and Bells heard R.H." The woodcutter described to the audience a post chaise galloping at full speed. Another sound cue of a "Wood & China Crash," explained that an accident had occurred. Then "CHATEAU RENAUD and MONTGIRON call without," but Boissec decided to ignore them. Chateau Renaud and Montgiron entered from U.E.R.H. and asked Boissec for assistance. The woodcutter, who had resumed his work, "singing as before," sat down and pretended not to hear. Chateau Renaud enquired, "My good friend, are you deaf?"
Finally, Boissec acknowledged Chateau Renaud, who then crossed L.H. "and sits down, depressed and feverish, on the stump of a tree." The characters were situated thus:

Bois.
Mont. Ren.

A brief comic scene ensued in which Montgiron asked Boissec to bring a wheelwright to fix the post chaise. He would be amply rewarded with ten francs for his services. Boissec hurried off to town to bring his cousin who "should have been a coachmaker in Paris, but there's no such thing as justice in this world." However, he returned to ask if anyone had been hurt because his cousin "is a famous veterinary surgeon, also, and can set an arm or a leg with any man in Paris." Montgiron told him that all was well. Boissec ran off again only to return once more to ask if the gentlemen were thirsty because "my cousin sells capital wine, almost as good as (aside) vinegar." Montgiron told Boissec to be off or his ten francs would be reduced to five. With that threat, Boissec ran off U.E.R.H., to get his multi-talented cousin.

Chateau Renaud, who had been sitting in a "desponding attitude" on the tree stump L.C., informed Montgiron that if he were superstitious he would not continue the journey. Montgiron reminded him that the Attorney General and the Minister of Police were making inquiries after them. This
roused Chateau Renaud, who stood and crossed right saying, "I care little for their inquiries." Montgiron continued to argue that they must leave Paris for a few weeks. Chateau Renaud finally agreed, but still was troubled by an oppressive feeling that his fate was at hand. This exchange offered the audience an insight into Chateau Renaud's character which Alfred Wigan was much complimented on by the critics of the day, portraying "...the accomplished Parisian roue, fearless and unscrupulous at first, but working in the sense of impending danger with excellent skill as the hour of retribution approaches."53

Montgiron gently chided his friend for being superstitious, but upon discovering that the post chaise had broken down in the very glade where Louis was killed, noted that the accident was strange. Chateau Renaud "suddenly... looks round, and recognises [sic] the scene. It is the place where, five days before, he had had [sic] the encounter with Louis dei Franchi, and he is anxious to leave the spot."54 The villain announced, "Montgiron, there's more than accident in this; 'tis destiny -- perhaps the hand of Providence" and then crossed L.H. Boissec entered from U.E.R.H. to inform the gentlemen that his cousin was at work mending the broken wheel, whereupon he was given his payment. A whip was then heard off stage right, signalling the arrival of another carriage. The woodcutter, hoping that this vehicle would break down as well, collected his axe and faggots and exited U.E.R.H., singing. Chateau
Renaud hastened to leave the glade, fearing that he might meet Louis' ghost. As he started to leave he encountered Fabien entering from U.E.R.H. The promptbook states that Chateau Renaud reacted "in great terror" (some editions have "in great alarm"). Whatever the case, this is the first time in the play where he lost some of his self possession. The grouping, at this point, is illustrated below.

Fabien

Mont.

Ren.

Fabien then came down right, denouncing Chateau Renaud's machinations, while the roué and his companion reacted with indignation. Next, Fabien advanced towards centre stage, calling the Frenchman an assassin, "For when a man is deadly with his weapon, and goads another less practised than himself to quarrel, he fights him not, he murders him." Fabien then "takes stage R.H. Renaud made an action as if about to rush on Fabien, when Montgiron speaks." He asked Fabien how he knew the story of the duel. Fabien's cryptic reply was, "The dead travel quickly." The promptbook informs us of the reactions of the two fugitives during Fabien's next speech. As Fabien said, "On the same evening of my brother's death I was informed of all," the two men "appear incredulous." Fabien continued, saying, "...nay, more -- I saw it all." Upon hearing this there was "a
look of surprise and fear from Renaud." This was the second
time he lost his composure, but "recovering himself" he
asked Fabien what he wanted. Fabien crossed to centre and
declared:

A mortal combat! Know you not that the
Corsican race is like the fabled Hydra --
kill one, another supplies his place? You
have shed my brother's blood -- I am here
to demand yours....Not after the practice
of my country, but in the manner sanctioned
here, according to rule -- according to
fashion....

In uttering these line, Fabien declared a gentlemanly
duel in keeping with the fashion of the period. This was
not to be a battle of fury, but one of calculated
retribution. Fabien "is calm; there is no room for human
passion in a mission so evidently laid upon him by fate."

The differences in the characters of Fabien and
Chateau Renaud would have created a wonderful contrast. The
Frenchman, as we have seen, has been "depressed",
"feverish", and "in great terror," while Fabien was "calm."

Chateau Renaud accepted the challenge and asked to know
the hour, place and weapons. Fabien told him the duel would
take place immediately in the very spot where his brother
had been killed. The stage directions have Chateau Renaud
"shrinking" at this moment, thus losing his gentlemanly
composure for a third time. He regained himself once again
and said, "Since you are determined, be it so." Fabien
crossed up right as Chateau Renaud took off his coat and
vest in preparation for the duel. Montgiron attempted to
and the quarrel by stating that there was only one witness and no weapons, but Fabien silenced him by calling for Alfred Meynard. Carrying two swords, Meynard entered from U.E.R.H., forming this stage grouping:

Meynard                  Mont.

Fabien                  Ren.

Montgiron addressed Alfred in his plight, saying, "Meynard, perhaps we may yet find means ..." Louis, taking off coat, interrupted, saying, "Monsieur Meynard, Sir, knows his duty."

Alfred presented the weapons to Chateau Renaud who selected one after trying the length. Satisfied, the Frenchman said. "Now sir." This was a cue for a distant clock -- a bell under the stage -- to sound nine times.

Fabien and the Frenchman came centre stage and began to fight. The promptbook states, "They fight for some moments. Renaud exhausts himself in useless efforts." Fabien said, "Pause for a moment, you are out of breath." He then retired "up with Alfred to tree R.H." where, according to Ellis' notes, Kean exchanged swords. Chateau Renaud, likewise, "sits on stump of Tree L.H.," at which point, Wigan exchanged his sword. This refers to the moment when the regular swords were secretly exchanged for the trick weapons noted in the property plot. Percy Fitzgerald, in
his book *The World Behind the Scenes*, detailed his experiences of Sir Henry Irving's production of *The Corsican Brothers*. Since Irving was in possession of Kean's promptbook, an understanding of how this moment was staged by the former will offer insight on the representation by the latter. As Fitzgerald explains:

> It will be recollected that, in the duel scene of "The Corsican Brothers," one of the swords is broken by an accident, the other combatant breaking his across his knee that the duel may proceed on "equal terms." It is not, of course, to be supposed that a sword is broken every night. They are made with a slight rivet and a little solder, the fitting being done every morning, so that the pieces are easily parted. But few note how artfully the performers change their weapons; for in the early stages of the duel the flourishments and passes would have soon caused the fragments to part. It is done during the intervals for rest, when the combatants lean on their seconds and gather strength for the second "round," one gets his new weapon from behind a tree, the other from behind a prostrate log.

> It is difficult to ascertain how Wigan performed the moment of breaking his sword. Did he purposely get the sword caught against the ground and break it in hopes that the duel would be called off or was the break an accident? The promptbook states, that in "Rising from the trunk of tree, his sword catches against the ground and breaks."

There is no indication in the text whether it was done by machination or by chance. In Fitzgerald's explanation of the trick sword, it states this is done by accident. However, he is referring to Irving's production. Critical accounts of the Princess' staging of the action are
inconsistent regarding this moment. The reviewer for the Times wrote, "A fine sword combat ensues, in the course of which the Frenchman's sword is broken...," as if the incident happened by accident. Lewes leaves the matter up for interpretation, noting that "Fabian [sic] and Chateau Renaud fight; during the pause, the latter leans upon his sword, and breaks it." The Literary Gazette described the event similarly: "At first [the duel] is fought with swords; but Chateau-Renaud's [sic] sword breaking Fabien snaps his own, and bids him use the broken point." One of the most descriptive reviews of The Corsican Brothers appeared in Blackwood's Magazine, yet on this subject, there is little detail. Its reviewer noted: "In trying the sword preparatory to the next bout, it breaks in Chateau Renaud's hand," again implying it was by chance. However, contrary to all of these, the Athenaeum stated:

The engagement is fatal; and it is felt that it will be so at starting by the culprit of the drama. To evade the issue, he contrives that his sword shall break....

Provided with these differing interpretations, we cannot be certain which way Wigan selected to depict the breaking of the sword -- whether by chance or by design. Whatever the case, he had interesting motivational choices to make at this moment in the play.

After Chateau Renaud's sword was broken, Montgiron attempted to end the duel by stating that the chances were
"no longer equal." Fabien responded by breaking his sword across his knee, tossing the handle off 1.E.R.H., and declaring: "I have made them equal. Take up that fragment, and let us try once more." At this point, Montgiron stood slightly up centre, in between the dueling men, with Fabien down right, and Chateau Renaud down left. When Montgiron asked Fabien if he was still implacable, the Corsican responded, "As destiny." After saying this, Fabien crossed R.H., while Chateau Renaud tossed his sword handle off 1.E.L.H. Meanwhile, Alfred assisted Fabien "to tie the end of his sword in his hand with his handkerchief. MONTGIRON does the same for RENAUD." As the latter crossed to L.C., he confided to his friend:

I shall fall, Montgiron; I feel sure of it. You will continue your journey alone. In eight days write to my mother, and say I had a fall from my horse. In a fortnight tell her I am dead. If she learned the fatal news abruptly, it would kill her.

This gives yet another dimension to Chateau Renaud's character. He may be a cad, but he is also caring son.

Montgiron crossed L.H. declaring, "Chateau Renaud, you are mad!" The prophetic villain replied: "No, but in ten minutes I am a dead man." He then shook hands with Montgiron, "who goes up L.H.." The fight re-commenced with the adversaries holding the points from their swords, "fastening them in their grasp by cambric handkerchiefs, they fight as with knives." Blackwood's Magazine explains this allusion more clearly, stating: "They hold the
fragments of their blades like daggers, point downward." The excitement generated by this sword fight was much commented on by critics.

The duel between [Kean] and Wigan was a masterpiece on both sides: the Bois de Boulogne itself has scarcely seen a duel more real or more exiting. Kean's dogged, quiet, terrible walk after Wigan, with the fragment of broken sword in his relentless grasp, I shall not forget.

As the duel progressed, Montgiron crossed from stage left to right with Alfred Meynard countering, ending up by the tree.

The stage directions state:

CHATEAU RENAUD and FABIEN DEI FRANCHI close in mortal conflict. Chateau Renaud overthrows him; but just as he is going to strike, FABIEN DEI FRANCHI plunges his weapon into his breast. Chateau Renaud falls into MONTGIRON'S arms, who places him under the tree where LOUIS DEI FRANCHI fell.

Herman Merivale challenges the promptbook statement that Chateau Renaud almost "overthrows" Fabien in the duel. Merivale, who used to perform as a masquer in the Princess's production, saw Kean act in the play and gives us a most detailed account of the duel, and Charles Kean's characterization during it.

So stern and picturesque an embodiment of a remorseless fate as he, when he came face to face with his brother's slayer in the last act, never crossed the stage. So intensely calm and so unutterably still, intensity in its true sense was Charles Kean's force. When he had broken his sword in two to match his enemy's, and wound his handkerchief round the steel point and his wrist, he never took his eye off Château-Renaud's [sic] face, or moved one muscle of his own. No. did he stir one inch from the place where he had taken stand. He simply turned and turned again upon his heel to face the duellist, who was round him,
about him, savage and anxious and alert, everywhere -- striking at Fabien fiercely, over and over again, to have the stroke turned easily aside, and always, by that iron wrist, [sic] Kean struck once, and once only, as the fate-clock of the forest rang the hour. And in a mass, and in a moment, Château-Renaud fell at his feet stone dead, like the chieftains in Macaulay's lay. 

After Chateau Renaud fell, Fabien cried out, "Louis! Louis! I can weep for you now," and covered "his face with his hands." This was the cue for Ellis to "Lower all the Lights gradually" and for Stoepel to play the final music. The stage directions inform us that Louis "Throws himself into ALFRED MEYNARD'S arms; comes down L.H., and sits on stump of tree. LOUIS DEI FRANCHI appears behind, rising gradually through the earth, and placing his hand on his shoulder." Louis then said, "Mourn not, my brother; we shall meet again." It is probably at this moment that Fabien knelt, since the promptbook shows the following placement of characters.

Alfred
Mont.

Louis

Renaud

Fabien Kneeling

The difficulty at this point in the play is to determine which twin the double portrayed in this final moment. Percy Fitzgerald explains what happened.

In the last scene of the duel, the actual performer takes the leading part, yet the
twin brother has to appear to him and speak, and all in full light. Thus it is contrived: The brother, after killing his enemy, walks up the stage leaning on his second, and for a moment passes behind a convenient tree, which conceals not only "the double" but a trap, down which the duellist brother speeds, hurrying to the ghost machine, up which he will ascend -- the "double" meanwhile emerging from behind the tree, still leaning on his friend, but keeping his face covered.  

Although Fitzgerald is referring to Irving's revival of the play, it can be surmised that the basis for staging the scene was to be found in Kean's production. Fitzgerald's statements are also verified by Ellis' scenic plot, which has the stage open behind the stage left tree, with steps going below to the mezzanine. Further, the Morning Chronicle stated: "...the spectre of [Louis], rising again in its former fashion, and this time personated by Mr. KEAN himself, announces to his brother that they will meet in heaven." Once Kean ascended on the "Corsican trap" and spoke the final line, the Ghost melody was played forte as the curtain slowly descended. The playing time for Act Three was 20 minutes. The average playing time of the entire production was one hour and forty-five minutes.

CRITICAL RESPONSE  
Critics were favourably impressed by Kean's presentation of The Corsican Brothers. Even his detractors acknowledged that he had set new standards in production and the theatre-going public displayed their approval of the
work by placing a heavy demand on tickets. John Coleman wrote:

...until I saw Kean's production, I never realized how much the author was indebted to the genius of the actor and the skill of the stage-manager.

I was confirmed in this opinion when I afterwards saw Fechter's production (it will be remembered that he was the original actor of the Dei Franchis in Paris) under the management of the late Mr. Harris, which certainly did not compare favourably with Kean's.

The ghastly and marvellous effect of the apparition, the splendour and gaiety of the Bal Masque at the Opera, and the spectral glades of Fontainebleau, are things never to be forgotten, not even by Mr. Irving's recent splendid and artistic production. As for the acting, when Kean came on in the last scene, and fixed his eyes on Wigan, it was the old story of the basilisk over again, and from that moment it was evident that Chateau Renaud was a doomed man.70

H. Barton Baker also compared Kean to Fechter and had things to say about the performance of Chateau Renaud.

Kean's performance of the twin brothers was a fine and impressive piece of acting, with a peculiar charm in the first act, though Fechter's was the more powerful, picturesque, and Corsican; the tiger-like ferocity of the latter in the last scene was far more natural, more in consonance with the character, than the fatalistic calmness of Kean, which was followed by Mr. Irving; but no Château Renaud [sic] ever approached the first representatives, Alfred Wigan and Walter Lacey, in ease and polish and quiet intensity; we have had the part played in late years in a manner that rather suggested Chateau Renaud's valet aping his master than the man himself.71

These criticisms were written many years after the first production, but the performance of the piece obviously left deep and lasting impressions. A review of the play written
in the *Theatrical Journal* one week after the premiere in 1852, commented on Wigan's portrayal of the...

...accomplished villain of high life, with admirable effect. His manner, dress, and bearing were true to nature; and his acting in the last scene was that of a real artist. \(^7\)

*The Literary Gazette* was equally impressed with the play and the acting of it.

A melo-drama so full of invention, and so skilfully [sic] blending the supernatural with the actual, was certain to produce a great effect; but by far the greater source of effect is the admirable manner in which the piece is placed upon the stage. The supernatural effects have a strange reality; the actual scenes are intensely life-like. The masked ball at the opera is the first thing of the kind that has been done in England, and the duel between Wigan and Kean is only too life-like in its details. Charles Kean played the two brothers with surprising ability. We never saw him to such advantage. Wigan seems as if he had just stepped from the Boulevard des Italiens, and little Miss Leclerc [sic] gave point and effect to a small snatch of Lorette life.\(^3\)

Additional laurels were given to Kean for his portrayal of the twin brothers by the *Spectator*.

Mr. Charles Kean...has thoroughly entered into the spirit of his subject, and while his representation of the two brothers, who are not only sympathetically but histrionically united, is the perfection of melodramatic acting, his management of the supernatural revelations belongs to the utmost refinement of terror.\(^4\)

*The Times* said it found the story of the play to be "very slight" but:

... so admirably is it acted, and with such a fine feeling for the supernaturally terrific are the curious effects brought about, that the most intense interest is excited.\(^5\)
Perhaps the best criticism of the play, and Charles Kean's acting in it, was by George Henry Lewes.

Charles Kean, after vainly battling with fate so many years, seems now, consciously or unconsciously, settling down into the conviction that his talent does not lie in any Shaksperian [sic] sphere whatever, but in melodrames, such as Pauline, or his last venture, THE CORSICAN BROTHERS, where, as high intellect is not de riaueur, he is not restricted by its fastidious exigencies. It is certainly worth a passing remark, to note how bad an actor he is in any part requiring the expression of intellect or emotion, -- in any part demanding some sympathy with things poetical, -- in any part calling for representative power; and how impressive, and, I may say, unrivalled, he is in gentlemanly melodrama. The successful portions of his tragic characters are all melodramatic; and in Pauline and the Corsican Brothers [sic] he satisfies all the exigencies of criticism. I shall not be suspected of partiality, and I beg the reader not to suppose any latent irony in my praise, (for I am not afraid to praise Kean when that praise is due,) and, with this preface, let me say that the Corsican Brothers is the most daring, ingenious, and exciting melodrama I remember to have seen; and is mounted with an elegance, an accuracy, an ingenuity in the mingling of the supernatural with the real, and an artistic disposition of effects, such as perhaps no theatre could equal, certainly not surpass.

Although The Corsican Brothers was considered a "gentlemanly melodrama," it must be admitted that a most ungentlemanly moment occurred at the end of the third act: the duel. Lewes addressed this and gave a description of melodrama as a form.

Fabian [sic] and Chateau Renaud fight; during the pause, the latter leans upon his sword, and breaks it. Fabian, to equalize the combat, snaps his sword also; and both then take the broken halves, and fastening them in their grasp by cambric handkerchiefs, they fight as with knives. This
does not read as horrible, perhaps; but to see it on the stage, represented with minute ferocity of detail, and with a truth on the part of the actors, which enhances the terror, the effect is so intense, so horrible, so startling, that one gentleman indignantly exclaimed un-English! It was, indeed, gratuitously shocking, and Charles Kean will damage himself in public estimation by such moral mistakes, showing a vulgar lust for the lowest sources of excitement -- the tragedy of the shambles! But it is the fatality of melodrama to know no limit. The tendency of the senses is downwards. To gratify them stimulants must be added and added, chili upon cayenne, butchery upon murder, "horrors on horrors' head accumulated!" And herein lies the secret weakness and inevitable failure of Melodrama....

It is true that the duel caused some consternation. The Literary Gazette described the battle as "...the most exciting and most horrible ever witnessed on an English stage, and called forth several expressions of disapprobation." How, then, could the play still be considered "gentlemanly?" The answer lies with the performers themselves, for it was not what the actors did on stage, but the way in which they did it that created a "gentlemanly melodrama." It was the style of acting, which preserved a "drawing-room manner," that critics attributed to this form.

Charles Kean plays the two brothers; and you must see him before you will believe how well and how quietly he plays them; preserving a gentlemanly demeanour, a drawing-room manner very difficult to assume on the stage, if one may judge from its rarity, which intensifies the passion of the part, and gives it a terrible reality. Nothing can be better than the way he steps forward to defend the insulted woman at that supper; nothing can be more impressive than his appearance in the third act as the avenger of his brother.

The Illustrated London News also noted this "quiet"
performance style.

Mr. Kean's acting of his two characters was admirable, being touched off with those quiet points of telling efficiency which are so rare in modern acting, and in which, indeed, Mr. Charles Mathews and Mr. Charles Kean are now the only masters.  

Kean's technique was also praised by the Morning Chronicle:

He flings into the character the same quiet intensity and overwhelming energy of purpose which marked his acting in Pauline. The perfect smoothness and polish of bearing -- hardly broken here and there by a permitted touch of frantic feeling -- or, as in the supper scene, a suppressed but fervent outbreak of natural emotion -- all this was exactly what it ought to be -- guided by the nicest intelligence, and the most delicate executive skill.

Throughout these reviews, it is interesting to note the inclusion of the words "real", "picturesque" and "true." This reiterates Kean's objectives as mentioned in the previous chapter: "...to render every production as nearly as possible as a correct embodiment of what is real, picturesque, and true." It is a tribute to Kean as an artist that he was able to maintain his purpose with a piece that was not considered part of the "legitimate" theatre. Certainly the production, ...called forth as much praise as censure. The novelty of its stage effects, the striking nature of the superstition, the national manners portrayed in the introductory scenes, the voluptuous groupings of the Parisian operas, and the intense emotions and incidents of the oft-repeated duel, all combined, notwithstanding the objections that might be taken to its moral -- teaching as it does that "revenge is virtue" -- to render this extraordinary piece popular and attractive. It must be accepted, certainly, as a declaration on the part of the management
that their stage is not confined to the production of the poetic drama, but embraces many varieties of theatrical exhibition. The justification, in the present instance, lies in this, that though the performance was not classical in kind, it was in degree; that, in short, the piece was one of the best, perhaps, the very best of its class ever produced. There was an aim at excellence which demanded and deserved appreciation, and which ultimately commanded it.

Critics also noted that *The Corsican Brothers* was introducing a new style of theatre into England.

To Mr. KEAN'S management at the Princess's belongs not only the merit of acting upon the stage with a brilliance of *mise en scene* [sic], and performing with a absolute completeness of effect, the great and classic plays of our own dramatic literature, but the introduction to the English boards of a species of entertainment until lately quite new to them, but for which, in these columns, we have frequently pleaded, and the high dramatic qualities of which we have long recognised [sic]. We allude to what we may call the poetic and artistic melodrama -- not the farrago of rant and whine which has so long usurped the name, but a drama the interest of which is intense without being vulgar, the dialogue of which never permits one word to be spoken except for the purpose of advancing the action -- a drama which is poetic in its wild fancifulness of idea, and artistic in the perfect workmanship by means of which that idea is wrought out. Such a play is that produced last night with profound effect under the title of *The Corsican Brothers*.

*The Theatrical Journal* also gave praise to Kean for the innovation.

The production of the dramas of *Pauline* and *The Corsican Brothers* at the Princess' Theatre may be regarded as an era in the history of the drama. Not only has Mr. Charles Kean had the courage to break through the absurd custom of legitimate managers of confining their efforts to the production of five-act plays, but he has conferred a signal benefit on the drama, by introducing to the notice of English play-goers two pieces from the Theatre Porte St. Martin, of a nature
altogether new to them. By so doing he has incurred the displeasure of a certain portion of the press. We, on the contrary, think that he is entitled to praise rather than censure....

A week later, a letter to the editor appeared in the same publication, illustrating this "displeasure."

Sir, -- I feel called upon to enter my protest against one portion of the management of Mr. C. Kean, whose popularity will never, in the long run, be enhanced by the production of mongrel dramas without aim or end. Even if it were by his acting pieces like the Corsican Brothers, [sic] it would hardly become a gentleman who aspires to be the first of living artists to let his reputation rest on such a foundation. The Queen has been to see this vulgar Victorian trash four times; and she might just as well go to the Saloons and witness blood and murder pieces as this silly, wild, and impossible farrago. Good heaven! it seems incredible that in a christian [sic] land such things can be!

In this piece we have lewd ballet girls introduced, speaking in the most offensive way, and the finale is a duel -- when *exeunt omnes*! -- a hobgoblin apparition, a ghost, and a duel -- the genuine old Richardson nonsense -- at the Royal Princess's Theatre! what [sic] would have been said to Mr. Phelps if he had done likewise? The Corsican Brothers has been attractive; granted. So was Tom and Jerry!.... But it is a sin and a shame that this open, shameless profligacy should be represented before royalty and womanhood!  

*Blackwood's Magazine* went so far as to question the validity of presenting such a piece on the English stage.

The language contained in this play would occupy about twenty minutes; the duration of the piece is two hours. It is a ghost story put into shape -- a chapter of Mrs [sic] Radcliffe, done into *tableaux vivants*....There is not a barn in England that could not furnish quite good enough representatives of any person in the drama. The speeches are vapid and commonplace; the situations, as regards the development of character, very weak; and it possesses no strength whatever but the admirable stage management of the supernatural and the frightful verisimilitude of
the carnival ball. Are these legitimate means of support to a theatre like this? Admittedly, this was an extreme reaction to the play; the vast majority of the public delighted in Kean's production, as the accounts of sold-out houses can attest.

Modern critics also admit the success and influence of The Corsican Brothers on the development of the English stage. E. B. Watson notes:

Great as was Kean's contribution to the English stage as a producer of plays from the conventional repertory, his real claim to distinction as an innovator was his fearless introduction of French plays and French romantic type of acting upon a footing of equality with the work of the older English school.

George Rowell has this to say about the play in his study of the Victorian theatre:

...Boucicault was able to introduce a blend of chivalry and adventure far removed from the simple thrills of T. P. Cooke's pieces; and to this refinement of romantic appeal Charles Kean was doubtless able to give his own innate responsibility and Eton education, dressed with the theatrical flourish he inherited with his name. The era of 'gentlemanly melodrama' had begun.

It is interesting to note that Frank Rahill in his book, The World of Melodrama states:

The presentation of English and American melodrama was revolutionized at the middle of the century by three men: A French actor, Charles Fechter; an English actor-manager, Charles Kean (son of the great Edmund) who got much of his inspiration in Paris; and a cosmopolitan Irishman, Dion Boucicault, actor, playwright, and manager, who, on the threshold of his career as a melodramatist, spent three years studying the theatre in Paris.

It is not a mere coincidence that the three men Rahill names
were all associated with The Corsican Brothers: Fechter, first performing the piece in France, Boucicault, adapting it for the English stage, and Kean, bringing the English production to life and, in so doing, "conferred immortality on the sympathetic twins...."\(^{92}\)

Finally, one must let Kean speak for the production. His criticisms of the play are interesting because it shows his mixed feelings about the piece. When speaking to Julian C. Young (the son of the actor, Charles Mayne Young), Kean prided himself on his portrayal of Louis. In comparing himself to Alfred Wigan in The Corsican Brothers, Kean stated: "Yes...his Frenchman is the Frenchman of the Faubourg St. Martin: mine, I flatter myself, is the Parisian of the Faubourg St. Germain."\(^{93}\) Kean made Louis the embodiment of the French gentleman by making him a representative of the most fashionable district of the capital. However, according to Westland Marston, even though The Corsican Brothers proved to be financially rewarding for Kean, the play and the acting style associated with it was a mixed blessing. Marston relates what Kean stated about the play during a convivial evening: "Ah," he said, with a melancholy which the monetary success of this piece a good deal tempered "the old legitimate drama is fast dying before these new sensations. Fill your glass and let two old-fashioned actors drink sympathetically with an
old-fashioned dramatist. Perhaps we shall be the last of our race."³⁴
NOTES

To my knowledge there are four promptbooks for Kean's production of *The Corsican Brothers*. All were prepared by his prompter, T. W. Edmonds. There is a handwritten manuscript of the play (MSS D.a. 72) and two printed editions of the play prepared as promptbooks (C 46 and C47), all located at the Folger Shakespeare Library. The printed editions of the play were produced by John K. Chapman and follow the manuscript text exactly and include water colour designs of the sets as well as T. W. Edmond's handwritten prompt notations. There is no date for the publication of Chapman's edition. M. Glen Wilson has informed me that there is another promptbook, complete with water colour designs, located at the National Library in Wales. For a modern edition of the play, Michael Booth's second volume of *English Plays of the Nineteenth Century* follows the manuscript prompt copy of Kean's Princess's production. For my research all three of Kean's promptbooks at the Folger were consulted. The quotations used in this dissertation are transcribed from the Folger Shakespeare Library copy designated as C 47. The orchestral parts for Kean's production of *The Corsican Brothers* are located at the Folger Shakespeare Library (MSS 500 1-12).

For the sake of consistency, periods between the abbreviated stage directions, quoted from the promptbook have been added as necessary, example: "1.E.R.H." Likewise, periods have been added at the end of short forms as necessary, example: "Mont.," and at the end of sentences.

The following table provides a list of common abbreviated stage directions:

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>stage left (actor's left)</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.H.</td>
<td>left hand (actor's left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.</td>
<td>stage right (actor's right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.H.</td>
<td>right hand (actor's right)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>centre stage</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.</td>
<td>upstage</td>
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<td>D.</td>
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<td>1.E.</td>
<td>a side entrance/exit just below the first groove</td>
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<td>2.E.</td>
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3 *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXXI (1852): 469.


Blackwood's Magazine, 469.

Blackwood's Magazine, 469.


Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1852.

Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1852.


Hunter, 173-174.

Hunter, 177. Hunter is referring to the prompt book for *The Corsican Brothers or La Vendetta*. He states:

"This prompt copy was that used by J. Moore, prompter at the Bowery at the time of its production there April 21, 1852." Original at the Harvard Theatre Collection, OSUTC film No. P20. [Quotation marks are Hunter's].

Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1852.


Martin-Harvey, 375.


The scenic plot indicates that the side flats with doors and locks were placed in the 3rd grooves. The
"Corsican Trap," obviously, had to be placed in front of these flats to operate properly.

22 Blackwood's Magazine, 469-470. Note the reviewer has erroneously stated that Fabien is again left alone. This is the first, and only time that he is alone on stage.

25 Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1852.


26 The Leader, February 28, 1852.


29 Times, February 26, 1852.


Although the staircase would have created another playing level for the actors to stand on, there is no indication from the promptbook to suggest that this was done. In fact, the staircase was not even illustrated in the promptbook. The only set piece rendered was the table used in Act One: (1) to show the positions of Madame, Louis, and Alfred during the supper scene; and (2) to show the positions of the performers during the reconciliation scene of the Orlandos and the Colonnas. Both stage groupings appear in this dissertation.

34 The Illustrated London News, February 28, 1852.

35 Athenaeum, February 28, 1852.

36 Morning Chronicle, February 28, 1852.

37 The reference to "a basket figure" is not explained in the promptbook or costume plot, nor is it referred to in any of the reviews that were consulted. However, in A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary, R. W.
Burchfield, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), I, 213; there is a definition of the term "basket bodied a., having a wicker body." This suggests that perhaps the "basket figure" was of human shape, made from wicker, much like a mannequin, and used to comic effect in the Paris Opera scene. However, a subsequent stage direction states: "a basket figure, with bladders, comes down dancing, and hitting every one that comes in his way." This indicates that the term "basket figure" was used to describe one of the male performers, suggesting that perhaps this individual was carrying a basket, being carried in a basket, or was dressed in such a way as to evoke a basket.

38 Blackwood’s Magazine, 470.
40 The Leader, February 28, 1852.
41 "Princess’s Theatre," Sun, February 25, 1852.
42 The bladders refer to inflated animal's bladders or air-filled bags resembling these. As the stage directions tell us, they were used to hit people.
43 Blackwood’s Magazine, 470.
45 Blackwood’s Magazine, 470.
46 Blackwood’s Magazine, 470.
47 Blackwood’s Magazine, 470.
48 Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1852.
49 Blackwood’s Magazine, 470.
50 Blackwood’s Magazine, 470.
51 The term "Dollors" is not defined in the script, nor is it mentioned again. Possibly it refers to the coins that were given in payment to Boissec. The property plot also calls for a "Piece of Baize R. & L. 1.E.," which is, likewise, not explained. Baize was often used for curtains or coverings; however, only a "Piece" was required at either end of the stage. These may have been used, as necessary, to further secure the broken blades of the swords in the combatants' hands.
Blackwood's Magazine, 470.

Times, February 26, 1852.

Blackwood's Magazine, 471.

Blackwood's Magazine, 471.

Blackwood's Magazine, 471.

Fitzgerald, 48.

Times, February 26, 1852.

The Leader, February 28, 1852.

"The Drama," Literary Gazette, February, 28, 1852.

Blackwood's Magazine, 471.

Athenaeum, February 28, 1852.

The Leader, February 28, 1852.

Blackwood's Magazine, 471.

The Leader, February 28, 1852.

Herman Merivale, Bar, Stage and Platform (London: Chatto and Windus, 1902), 363-141.

Blackwood's Magazine, 471.

The promptbook C:signed as C 46 at the Folger Shakespearean Library does not indicate that Fabien was "kneeling." Kean may have chosen to kneel or sit.

Fitzgerald, 47.

Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1852.

John Coleman, Players and Playwrights I Have Known (Philadelphia, 1890), I, 92-93.


Literary Gazette, February 28, 1852.

In the lighter scenes of the two first acts of the "Corsican Brothers" [sic] he wanted the graceful ease of Fechter; but in the more serious scenes, and throughout the third act, he surpassed the Frenchman with all the weight and intensity of a tragic actor in situations for which the comedian is unsuited. The deadly quiet of a strong nature, nerved to a great catastrophe -- the sombre, fatal, pitiless expression -- could not have been more forcibly given than by Charles Kean in this act; and in the duel there was a stealthy intensity in every look and movement, which gave a shuddering fascination to the scenes altogether missed by Fechter.

"The Drama: Theatres," Illustrated London News, July 31, 1852. This was a year-end review.

"Mr. Charles Kean and the Porte St. Martin Dramas," Theatrical Journal, May 12, 1852.

Several publications of the day refer to the audience attendance of The Corsican Brothers. One such notice
appeared in the *Times* on March 8, 1852, and stated that the production "continues to attract full houses."


N.B. Figs. 1, 2 and 8 are the property of the author. All other Figs. are located in the Folger Library.
the next day the clock kept on going without any apparent cause.

The day before yesterday, the clock stopped at midnight. The clock had been wound up the day before, and it started up again in the morning, but not until I had wound it up. The clock had been wound up the day before yesterday, and it started up again in the morning.

Mad. There's no mistake now; it's a second warning.


Mad. Have you, my dear, got a good right. If I tell you ever again to Provision, even then.

Paul. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Mad. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Paul. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Mad. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Paul. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Mad. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Paul. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Mad. Have you, my dear, got a good right.

Paul. Have you, my dear, got a good right.
Fig. 6
APPENDIX B


I. The Corsican Mother

During March, 1841, I was traveling [sic] in Corsica. There I met Lucien de Franche [sic], a young man of noble character, a typical, stern Corsican, twenty-one years of age, black hair and eyes, and powerful, sun-bronzed in physique.

He promised to show me some historic family ruins in the mountains and one day, accordingly, we set out.

Finding the mountain traveling [sic] very difficult I slung my gun over my shoulder, for I perceived that I should soon need both hands to assist me. As for my friend, he continued to press forward with the same easy gait, and did not appear to be at all inconvenienced by the difficult nature of the ground.

After some minutes' climbing over rocks, aided by bushes and roots, we reached a species of platform surmounted by some ruined walls. These ruins were those of the Castle of Vincentello d'Istria, our destination.

In about five minutes we had climbed up to the last terrace, Lucien in advance, and as he extended his hand to assist me, he said:

"Well done, well done: you have not climbed badly for a Parisian."

"Supposing that the Parisian you have assisted has already had some little experience in mountain scrambling?"

"Ah, true!" said Lucien, laughing. "Have you not a mountain near Paris called Montmartre?"

"Yes, but there are others besides Montmartre which I have ascended. For instance, the Rigi, the Faulhorn, the Gemmi, Vesuvius, Stromboli and Etna."

"Indeed! Now, I suppose you will despise me because I have never done more than surmount Monte Rotundo! Well, here we are! Four centuries ago my ancestors would have opened the portal to you and bade you welcome to the castle. Now their descendants can only show the place where the door used to be, and say to you, 'Welcome to the ruins!'"

"I suppose the chateau has been in possession of your family since the death of Vincentello d'Istria?" I said, taking up the conversation at the point at which he had dropped it previously.

"No, but before his birth. It was the last dwelling-place of our famous ancestress Savilia, the widow of Lucien de Franchi."
"Is there not some terrible history connected with this woman?"

"Yes; when it daylight I could now show you from this spot the ruins of the castle of Valle. There lived the lord of Guidice, who was as much hated as she (Savilia) was beloved, as ugly as she was beautiful. He became enamored [sic] of her, and as she did not quickly respond to his desires, he gave her to understand that if she did not accept him in a given time he would come and carry her off by force. Savilia made pretense of consenting, and invited Guidice to come to dinner at the castle.

"Guidice was overcome with joy at this, and forgetting that the invitation had only been extorted by menace, accepted it, and came attended only by a few body servants. The gate was closed behind them, and in a few minutes Guidice was a prisoner, and cast into a dungeon yonder."

I passed on in the direction indicated, and found myself in a species of square court.

The moonlight streamed through the apertures time had made in the once solid walls, and threw dark and well-defined shadows upon the ground. All other portions of the ruins remained in the deep shade of the overhanging walls round about.

Lucien looked at his watch.

"Ah! we are twenty minutes too soon," he exclaimed. "Let us sit down; you are very likely tired."

We sat down; indeed, we extended ourselves at full length upon the grassy sward, in a position facing the great breach in the wall.

"But," said I to my companion, "it seems to me that you have not finished the story you began just now."

"No," replied Lucien. "Every morning and every evening Savilia came down to the dungeon in which Guidice was confined, and then separated from him only by a grating, she would taunt him with his condition as a captive.

"'Guidice,' she would say, 'how do you expect that such an ugly man as you are can ever hope to win me or my castle?'"

"This lasted for three long months, and was repeated frequently. But at the end of that period, thanks to a waiting woman whom he had bribed, Guidice was enabled to escape. He soon returned with all his men, who were much more numerous than those Savilia could assemble, and took the castle by assault, and having first possessed himself of Savilia, he subsequently exposed her in an iron cage at the cross roads in the Bocca di Cilaccia, open to the vulgar gaze of any passer-by who might be tempted to insult her. After three days of this public exhibition Savilia died of shame and grief."

"Well," I said, "it seems to me that your ancestors had a pretty idea of revenging themselves, and that in finishing off their enemies with dagger or gunshot their descendants have in a manner degenerated!"
"Without mentioning that the day may come when we shall not kill them at all!" replied Lucien. "But it has not come to that yet. The two sons of Savilia," he continued, "who were at Ajaccio with their uncle, were true Corsicans, and continued to make war against the sons of Guidice. This war lasted for four hundred years, and was finished, as you saw, by the dates upon the carbines of my parents, on the 21st September, 1819, at eleven o'clock A. M."

"Oh, yes, I remember the inscription; but I had not time to inquire its meaning, as just then we were summoned to supper."

"Well, this is the true explanation. Of the family of Guidice there remained, in 1819, only two brothers. Of the de Franchi family there remained only my father, who had married his cousin. Three months after that the Guidice determined to exterminate us with one stroke. One of the brothers concealed himself on the road to Olmedo to await my father's coming home to Sartene, while the other, taking advantage of his absence, determined to attack our house. This plan was carried out, but with a different result to what had been anticipated. My father, being warned of the plot, was on his guard; my mother, who had also got a hint of the affair, assembled the shepherds, etc., so that when the attack was made the intended victims were prepared for it--my father on the mountains, my mother in the mansion. The consequence was that the two Guidici fell, one shot by my father, the other by my mother. On seeing his foe fall, my father drew out his watch and saw it was eleven o'clock. When my mother shot her assailant she turned to the time-piece and noticed that it was also eleven o'clock. The whole thing had taken place exactly at the same moment. There were no more Guidici left, the family was extinct, and our victorious family is now left in peace; and considering we carried on a war for four hundred years, we didn't want to meddle with it any more. My father had the dates engraved upon the carbines, and hung the pieces up on each side of the clock, as you saw. Seven months later my mother gave birth to twins, one of whom is your very humble servant, the Corsican Lucien; the other, the philanthropist lawyer of Paris, Louis, his brother."

II. The Corsican Son

Soon after I left Corsica, and Lucien had told me he felt worried about his brother. So the day I arrived in Paris I called upon M. Louis de Franchi. He was not at home. I left my card.

One morning my servant announced M. Louis de Franchi. I told the man to offer my visitor the papers and to say that I would wait on him as soon as I was dressed. In five minutes I presented myself.
M. Louis de Franchi, who was no doubt from a sense of courtesy, reading a tale I had contributed to La Presse, raised his head as the door opened, and I entered.

I stood perfectly astounded at the resemblance between the two brothers. He rose.

"Monsieur," he said, "I could scarcely credit my good fortune when I read your note yesterday on my return home. I have pictured you twenty times so as to assure myself that it was in accord with your portraits, and at last I, this morning, determined to present myself at your house without considering the hour, and I fear I have been too early."

"I hope you will excuse me if I do not at once acknowledge your kindness in suitable terms, but may I inquire whether I have the honor [sic] to address M. Louis or M. Lucien de Franchi?"

"Are you serious? Yes, the resemblance is certainly wonderful, and when I was last at Sullacaro nearly every one mistook one of us for the other; yet, if he had not abjured the Corsican dress, you have seen him in a costume, which would make a considerable difference in our appearance."

"And justly so," I replied; "but as chance would have it, he was, when I left, dressed exactly as you are now, except that he wore white trousers, so that I was not able to separate your presence from his memory with the difference in dress of which you speak, but," I continued, taking a letter from my pocket-book Lucien had given me, "I can quite understand you are anxious to have news from home, so pray read this which I would have left at your house yesterday had I not promised Madame de Franchi to give it to you myself."

"They were all quite well when you left, I hope?"

"Yes, but somewhat anxious."

"On my account?"

"Yes; but read that letter, I beg of you."

"If you will excuse me."

So Monsieur Franchi read the letter while I made some cigarettes. I watched him as his eyes traveled [sic] rapidly over the paper, and I heard him murmur, "Dear Lucien, darling mother -- yes -- yes -- I understand."

I had not yet recovered from the surprise the strange resemblance between the brothers had caused me, but now I noticed what Lucien had told me, that Louis was paler, and spoke French better than he did.

"Well," I said, when he had finished reading the letter, and had lighted the cigarette, "you see, as I told you, that they are anxious about you, and I am glad that their fears are unfounded."

"Well, no," he said, gravely, "not altogether; I have not been ill, it is true, but I have been out of sorts, and my indisposition has been augmented by this feeling that my brother is suffering with me."

"Monsieur Lucien has already told me as much, and had I been skeptical I should now have been quite sure that what he said was a fact. I should require no further proof than
I now have. So you, yourself, are convinced, monsieur, that your brother's health depends to a certain extent on your own?"

"Yes, perfectly so."

"Then," I continued, "as your answer will doubly interest me, may I ask, not from mere curiosity, if this indisposition of which you speak is likely soon to pass away?"

"Oh, you know, monsieur, that the greatest griefs give way to time, and that my heart, even if seared, will heal. Meantime, however, pray accept my thanks once more, and permit me to call on you occasionally to have a chat about Sullacaro."

My next meeting with him was at a supper in the house of a friend, D--.

We found many of my friends assembled -- habitues of the opera lobbies and of the greenroom, and, as I had expected, a few unmasked "bouquets" anxious for the time to come when the water-bottles would be used -- supper time.

I introduced Louis to several friends, and it is needless to say that he was politely received and welcomed. Soon D-- entered, accompanied by his bouquet of myosotis who unmasked herself with a freedom and precision that argued a long acquaintance with this sort of parties [sic].

I introduced Louis to D--.

"Now," said B--, "if all the presentations have been made, I suggest that we present ourselves at table."

"All the presentations are made, but all the guests have not arrived," replied D--.

"Who is expected, then?"

"Chateau Renaud is still wanted to complete the party."

"Ah, just so. By the by, was there not some bet?"

"Yes. We laid a wager of a supper for twelve, that he would not bring a certain lady here tonight."

"And who is the lady?" asked the bouquet of myosotis, "who is so very shy as to be made the subject of a bet?"

I looked at Louis de Franchi. He was outwardly composed, but pale as a corpse.

"Faith, I don't know that there is any great harm in telling you her name, especially as none of you know her, I think. She is Madame------."

Louis placed his hand upon D--'s arm.

"Monsieur," he said; "will you grant me a favor [sic]? As a new acquaintance I venture to ask it!"

"What is it, monsieur?"

"Do not name the lady who is expected with M. de Chateau Renaud; you know she is a married woman!"

I then saw that between Louis de Franchi and Renaud existed a bond only a woman could forge.

"Oh, yes, but her husband is at Smyrna, in the East Indies, in Mexico, or some such place. When a husband lives so far away it is nearly the same as having no husband at all."
"Her husband will return in a few days. I know him. He is a gallant fellow. I would wish, if possible, to spare him the chagrin of learning on his return that his wife had made one at this supper-party."

"Excuse me, monsieur," said D--, "I was not aware that you are acquainted with the lady, and I did not think she was married. But since you know her and her husband--"

"I do know them."

"Then we must exercise greater discretion. Ladies and gentlemen, whether Chateau Renaud comes or not -- whether he wins or loses his bet, I must beg of you all to keep this adventure secret."

We all promised, not because our moral senses were offended, but because we were hungry and wished to begin our supper.

"Thank you, monsieur," said Louis to D--, holding out his hand to him. "I assure you you are acting like a thorough gentleman in this matter."

We then passed into the supper-room, and each one took his allotted place. Two chairs were vacant, those reserved for Chateau Renaud and his expected companion.

The servant was about to remove them.

"No," said the master, "let them remain; Chateau Renaud has got until four o'clock to decide his wager. At four o'clock if he is not here he will have lost."

I could not keep my eyes from Louis de Franchi; I saw him watching the time-piece anxiously. It was then 3:40 A. M.

"Is that clock right?" asked Louis.

"That is not my concern," said D--, laughing. "I set it by Chateau Renaud's watch, so that there may be no mistake."

"Well, gentlemen," said the bouquet of myosotis, "it seems we cannot talk of anything but Chateau Renaud and his unknown fair one. We are getting horribly slow, I think."

"You are quite right, my dear," replied V--.

"There are so many women of whom we can speak, and who are only waiting to be spoken to--"

"Let us drink their health," cried D--.

So we did, and then the champagne went round briskly; every guest had a bottle at his or her elbow.

I noticed that Louis scarcely tasted his wine. "Drink, man!" I whispered; "don't you see that he will not come?"

"It still wants a quarter to four," said he; "at four o'clock, even though I shall be late in commencing, I promise you I will overtake some of you."

"Oh, very well!" I replied.

While we had been exchanging these few words in a low tone, the conversation had become general around the table. Occasionally D-- and Louis glanced at the clock, which ticked regularly on without any care for the impatience of the two men who were so intent upon its movements.

At five minutes to four I looked at Louis.

"To your health," I said.
He took his glass, smiled, and raised it to his lips. He had drunk about half its contents when a ring was heard at the front door.

I did not think it possible that Louis could become any paler than he was, but I saw my mistake then.

"'Tis he," he muttered.

"Yes, but perhaps he may have come alone," I replied.

"We shall see in a moment."

The sound of the bell had attracted everybody's attention, and the most profound silence suddenly succeeded the buzz of conversation which had till then prevailed.

Then the sound of talking was heard in the ante-room. D-- rose and opened the door.

"I can recognize her voice," said Louis, as he grasped my arm with a vise-like grip.

"We shall see! wait! be a man!" I answered. "It must be evident that if she has thus come to supper with a man, of her own will, to the house of a stranger, she is not worthy your sympathy."

"I beg, madam, that you will enter," said D--'s voice in the outer room. "We are all friends here, I assure you."

"Yes, come in, my dear Emily," said M. de Chateau Renaud; "you need not take off your mask if you do not wish to do so."

"The wretch," muttered Louis.

At that moment a lady entered, dragged in rather than assisted by D--, who fancied he was doing the honors [sic], and by Chateau Renaud.

"Three minutes to four," said Chateau Renaud to D--, in a low voice.

"Quite right, my dear fellow, you have won."

"Not yet, monsieur," said the young unknown, addressing Chateau Renaud, and drawing herself up to her full height.

"I can now understand your persistence. You laid a wager that I would sup here. Is that so?"

Chateau Renaud was silent. Then addressing D--, she continued.

"Since this man cannot answer, will you, monsieur, reply. Did not M. de Chateau Renaud wager that he would bring me here to supper to-night?"

"I will not hide from you, madam, that he flattered us with that hope," replied D--.

"Well, then, M. de Chateau Renaud has lost, for I was quite unaware he was bringing me here. I believed we were to sup at the house of a friend of my own. So it appears to me that M. de Chateau Renaud has not won his wager."

"But now you are here, my dear Emily, you may as well remain; won't you? See, we have a good company and some pleasant young ladies, too!"

"Now that I am here," replied the unknown, "I will thank the gentleman who appears to be the master of the house for the courtesy with which he has treated me. But as, unfortunately, I cannot accept his polite invitation I will beg M. Louis de Franchi to see me home."
Louis with a bound placed himself between the speaker and Chateau Renaud.
"I beg to observe, madam," said the latter, between his shut teeth, "that I brought you hither, and consequently I am the proper person to conduct you home."
"Gentlemen," said the unknown, "you are five, I put myself into your honorable care. I trust you will defend me from the violence of M. de Chateau Renaud."
Chateau Renaud made a movement. We all rose at once.
"Very good, madam," he said. "You are at liberty. I know with whom I have to reckon."
"If you refer to me, sir," replied Louis de Franchi, with an air of hauteur impossible to describe, "you will find me all day to-morrow at the Rue de Helder, No. 7."
"Very well, monsieur. Perhaps I shall not have the pleasure to call upon you myself, but I hope that two friends of mine may be as cordially received in my place."
"That was all that was necessary," said Louis, shrugging his shoulders disdainfully. "A challenge before a lady! Come, madam," he continued, offering his arm. "Believe me, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honor you do me."
And then they left the room, amid the most profound silence.
"Well, gentlemen, so it seems I have lost," said Chateau Renaud, when the door closed. "That's all settled! To-morrow evening all of you sup with me at the Freres [sic] Provencaux."
We reached Vincennes at five minutes to nine.
Another carriage, that of Chateau Renaud, arrived at the same time.
We proceeded into the woods by different paths. Our carriages were to await us in the broad avenue. A few minutes later we met at the rendezvous.
"Gentlemen," said Louis de Franchi, "recollect that no arrangement is possible now."
"Nevertheless--" I said.
"Oh, my dear sir," he replied, "after what I have told you, you should be the last person to think that any reconciliation is possible."
I bowed before this absolute will, which for me was supreme.
We left Louis near the carriages, advanced toward M. de Boissy and M. de Chateaugrand.
The Baron de Giordano carried the case of pistols.
The seconds exchanged salutes.
"Gentlemen," said the Baron, "under the circumstances the shortest compliments are the best, for we may be interrupted any moment. We were requested to provide weapons; there they are. Examine them if you please. We have just procured them from the gunsmith, and we give you our word of honor [sic] that M. Louis de Franchi has not even seen them."
"Such an assurance is unnecessary, gentlemen," replied Chateaugrand; "we know with whom we have to deal," and taking one pistol, while M. de Boissy took the other, the seconds examined the bore.

"These are ordinary pistols, and have never been used," said the Baron; "now the question is, how shall the principals fire."

"My advice," said M. de Boissy, "is that they should fire just as they are accustomed to do, together."

"Very well," said the Baron Giordano, "then all chances are equalized."

"Will you advise M. de Franchi, then, and we will tell M. de Chateau Renaud, monsieur."

"Now, that is settled, will you have the goodness to load the pistols?"

Each one took a pistol, measured carefully the charges of powder, took two bullets at hazard, and rammed them home.

While the weapons were being loaded, I approached Louis, who received me with a smile.

"You won't forget what I asked you?" he said, "and you will obtain from Giordano a promise that he will say nothing to my mother, or even to my brother. Will you take care, also, that this affair does not get into the papers, or, if it does, that no names are mentioned?"

"You are still of opinion, then, this duel will prove fatal to you?" I said.

"I am more than ever convinced of it," he replied, "but you will do me this justice at least, that I met death like a true Corsican."

"My dear de Franchi, your calmness is so astounding that it gives me hopes that you yourself are not convinced on this point."

Louis took out his watch.

"I have but seven minutes to live," he said; "here is my watch; keep it, I beg of you, in remembrance of me."

I took the watch, and shook my friend's hand.

"In eight minutes I hope to restore it to you," I said.

"Don't speak of that," he replied, "See, here are the others."

"Gentlemen," said the Viscount de Chateaugrand, "a little distance from here, on the right, is an open space where I had a little practice of my own last year; shall we proceed thither? we shall be less liable to interruption."

"If you will lead the way," said the Baron Giordano, "we will follow."

The Viscount preceded us to the spot indicated. It was about thirty paces distant, at the bottom of a gentle slope, surrounded on all sides by a screen of brushwood, and seemed fitted by nature as the theatre of such an event as was about to take place.

"M. Martelli," said the Viscount, "will you measure the distance by me?"

The Baron assented, and thus, side by side, he and M. de Chateaugrand measured twenty ordinary paces.
I was then left for a few seconds with M. de Franchi. "Apropos," he said, "you will find my will on the table where I was writing when you came in this morning."

"Good," I replied, "you may rest easy on that score."

"When you are ready, gentlemen," said the Viscount de Chateaugrand.

"I am here," replied Louis. "Adieu, dear friend! thank you for all the trouble you have taken for me, without counting all you will have to do for me later on."

I pressed his hand. It was cold, but perfectly steady.

"Now," I said, "aim your best."

"You remember?"

"Yes."

"Well, you know, then, that every bullet has its billet. Adieu!"

He met the Baron Giordano, who handed him the pistol; he took it, and without looking at it, went and placed himself at the spot marked by the handkerchief.

M. de Chateau Renaud had already taken up his position. There was a moment of mournful silence, during which the young men saluted their seconds, then their adversary's seconds, and finally each other.

M. de Chateau Renaud appeared perfectly accustomed to these affairs, and was smiling like a man sure of success; perhaps, also, he was aware that Louis de Franchi never had fired a pistol in his life.

Louis was calm and collected; his fine head looked almost like a marble bust.

"Well, gentlemen," said Chateaugrand, "you see we are waiting."

Louis gave me one last glance, and smiling, raised his eyes to heaven.

"Now, gentlemen, make ready," said Chateaugrand. Then, striking his hands one against the other, he cried:

"One! Two! Three!"

The two shots made but one detonation. An instant afterward I saw Louis de Franchi turn round twice and then fall upon one knee.

M. de Chateau Renaud remained upright. The lapel of his coat had been shot through.

I rushed toward Louis de Franchi. "You are wounded?" I said.

He attempted to reply, but in vain. A red froth appeared upon his lips.

At the same moment he let fall his pistol, and pressed his hand against his right side.

On looking closely, we perceived a tiny hole not large enough for the point of a little finger.

I begged the Baron to hasten to the barracks, and bring the surgeon of the regiment.

But de Franchi collected all his strength, and stopping Giordano, signed that all assistance would be useless.

This exertion caused him to fall on both knees.
M. de Chateau Renaud kept at a distance, but his seconds now approached the wounded man. Meanwhile, we had opened his coat and torn away his waistcoat and shirt. The ball entered the right side, below the sixth rib, and had come out a little above the left hip. At each breath the wounded man draw, the blood welled out. It was evident that he was mortally hurt. "M. de Franchi," said the Viscount de Chateaugrand, "we regret extremely the issue of this sad affair. We trust you bear no malice against M. de Chateau Renaud." "Yes, yes," murmured the wounded man, "I forgive him." Then turning toward me with an effort he said: "Remember your promise!" "I swear to you I will do all you wish." "And now," he said smiling, "look at the watch!" He breathed a long sigh, and fell back. That sigh was his last. I looked at the watch; it was exactly ten minutes past nine. I turned to Louis de Franchi; he was dead. We took back the body to the Rue de Helder, and while the Baron went to make the usual declaration to the Commissary of Police, I went upstairs with Joseph. The poor lad was weeping bitterly. As I entered, my eyes unconsciously turned toward the timepiece; it marked ten minutes past nine. No doubt he had forgotten to wind it, and it had stopped at that hour. The baron Giordano returned almost immediately with the officers, who put the seals on the property. The Baron wished to advise the relatives and friends of the affair, but I begged him, before he did so, to read the letter that Louis had handed to him before we set out that morning. The letter contained his request that the cause of his death should be concealed from his brother, and that his funeral should be as quiet as possible.

III. The Corsican Brother

Contrary to custom, the duel was very little talked about; even the papers were silent on the subject. A few intimate friends followed the body to Pere la Chaise. Chateau Renaud refused to quit Paris, although pressed to do so. At one time I thought of following Louis' letter to Corsica with one from myself, but although my intentions were good, the misleading statements I should have to make were so repugnant to me that I did not do so. Besides, I
was quite convinced that Louis himself had fully weighed
before he had decided upon his course of action.

So, at the risk of being thought indifferent, or even
ungrateful, I kept silence, and I was sure that the Baron
Giordano had done as much.

Five days after the duel, at about eleven o'clock in
the evening, I was seated by my table in a rather melancholy
frame of mind, when my servant entered, and shutting the
door quickly behind him, said in an agitated whisper, that
M. de Franchi desired to speak with me.

I looked at him steadily; he was quite pale.

I was terrified and stepped backward.

"I trust you will excuse my appearance so late," said
my visitor; "I only arrived ten minutes ago, and you will
understand that I could not wait till to-morrow without
seeing you."

"Oh, my dear Lucien," I exclaimed, advancing quickly,
and embracing him. "Then it is really you."

And, in spite of myself, tears really came into my
eyes.

"Yes," he said, "it is I."

I made a calculation of the time that had elapsed, and
could scarcely imagine that he had received the letter ... it
could hardly have reached Ajaccio yet.

"Good Heavens! then you do not know what has happened?"

I exclaimed.

"I know all," was his reply.

"Victor," I said, turning toward my servant, "leave us,
and return in a quarter of an hour with some supper. You
will have something to eat, and will sleep here, of course."

"With great pleasure," he replied. "I have eaten
nothing since we left Auxerre. Then, as to lodgings, as
nobody knew me in the Rue de Helder, or rather," he added,
with a sad smile, "as everybody recognized me there, they
deployed to let me in, so I left the whole house in a state
of alarm."

"In fact, my dear Lucien, your resemblance to Louis is
so very striking that even I myself was just now taken
aback."

I took Lucien by the hand, and leading him to an easy
chair, seated myself near him.

"I suppose," I began, "you were on your way to Paris
when the fatal news met you?"

"No, I was at Sulacaro!"

"Impossible! Why, your brother's letter could not have
reached you."

"You forget the ballad of Burger, my dear Alexandre --
the dead travel fast!"

I shuddered! "I do not understand," I said.

Lucien settled himself comfortably in his arm-chair,
and looking at me fixedly, said:

"It is very simple. The day my brother was killed I
was riding very early, and went out to visit the shepherds,
when soon after I had looked at my watch and replaced it in
my pocket, I received a blow in the side, so violent that I fainted. When I recovered I found myself lying on the ground in the arms of the Orlandini, who was bathing my face with water. My horse was close by.

"Well, said Orlandini, 'what has happened?'

'I know no more about it than you do. Did you not hear a gun fired?'

'No.'

'It appears to me that I have received a ball in the side,' and I put my hand upon the place where I felt pain.

'In the first place,' replied he, 'there has been no shot fired, and besides, there is no mark of a bullet on your clothes.'

'Then,' I replied, 'it must be my brother who is killed.'

'Ah, indeed,' he replied, 'that is a different thing.'

'I opened my coat and I found a mark, only at first it was quite red, and not blue as I showed you just now.

'For an instant I was tempted to return to Sulacaro, feeling so upset both mentally and bodily, but I thought of my mother, who did not expect me before supper time, and I should be obliged to give her a reason for my return, and I had no reason to give.

'On the other hand, I did not wish to announce my brother's death to her until I was absolutely certain of it. So I continued my way, and returned home about six o'clock in the evening.

'My poor mother received me as usual. She evidently had no suspicion that anything was wrong.

'Immediately after supper, I went upstairs, and as I passed through the corridor the wind blew my candle out.

'I was going downstairs to get a light when, passing my brother's room, I noticed a gleam within.

'I thought that Griffo had been there and left a lamp burning.

'I pushed open the door; I saw a taper burning near my brother's bed, and on the bed my brother lay extended, naked and bleeding.

'I remained for an instant, I confess, motionless with terror, then I approached.

'I touched the body, he was already dead.

'He had received a ball through the body, which had struck in the same place where I had felt the blow, and some drops of blood were still falling from the wound.

'It was evident to me that my brother had been shot.

'I fell on my knees, and leaning my head against the bed, I prayed fervently.

'When I opened my eyes again the room was in total darkness, the taper had been extinguished, the vision had disappeared.

'I felt all over the bed; it was empty.

'Now I believe I am as brave as most people, but when I tottered out of that room I declare to you my hair was
standing on end and the perspiration pouring from my forehead."

Lucien's appearance created quite a sensation in consequence of his remarkable likeness to his brother.

The news of Louis' death had gone abroad -- not, perhaps, in all its details, but it was known, and Lucien's appearance astonished many.

I requested a room, saying that we were expecting the Baron Giordano, and we got a room at the end.

Lucien began to read the papers carelessly, as if he were oblivious of everything.

While we were seated at breakfast Giordano arrived.

The two young men had not met for four or five years; nevertheless, a firm clasp of the hand was the only demonstration they permitted themselves.

"Well, everything is settled," he said.

"Then M. de Chateau Renaud has accepted?"

"Yes, on condition, however, that after he has fought you he shall be left in peace."

"Oh, he may be quite easy; I am the last of the de Franchi. Have you seen him, or his seconds?"

"I saw him; he will notify M. de Boissy and M. de Chateaugrand. The weapons, the hour and the place will be the same."

"Capital; sit down and have some breakfast."

The Baron seated himself, and we spoke on indifferent topics.

After breakfast Lucien begged us to introduce him to the Commissioner of Police, who had sealed up his brother's property, and to the proprietors of the house at which his brother had lived, for he wished to sleep that night, the last night that separated him from his vengeance, in Louis' room.

All these arrangements took up time, so it was not till five o'clock that Lucien entered his brother's apartment. Respecting his grief, we left him there alone.

We had arranged to meet him again next morning at eight o'clock, and he begged me to bring the same pistols, and to buy them if they were for sale.

I went to Devisme's and purchased the weapons. Next morning, at eight o'clock I was with Lucien. When I entered, 3 was seated writing at the same table [sic], where his brother had sat writing. He smiled when he saw me, but he was very pale.

"Good morning," he said, "I am writing to my mother."

"I hope you will be able to write her a less doleful letter than poor Louis wrote eight days ago."

"I have told her that she may rest happy, for her son is avenged."

"How are you able to speak with such certainty?"

"Did not my brother announce to you his own approaching death? Well, then, I announce to you the death of M. de Chateau Renaud."
He rose as he spoke, and touching me on the temple, said:
"There, that's where I shall put my bullet."
"And yourself?"
"I shall not be touched."
"But, at least, wait for the issue of the duel, before you send your letter."
"It would be perfectly useless."
He rang; the servant appeared.
"Joseph," said he, "take this letter to the post."
"But have you seen your dead brother?"
"Yes," he answered.

It is a very strange thing, the occurrence of these two duels so close together, and in each of which one of the two combatants was doomed. While we were talking the Baron Giordano arrived. It was eight o'clock, so we started.

Lucien was very anxious to arrive first, so we were on the field ten minutes before the hour.
Our adversaries arrived at nine o'clock punctually. They came on horseback, followed by a groom also on horseback.

M. de Chateau Renaud had his hand in the breast of his coat. I at first thought he was carrying his arm in a sling.

The gentlemen dismounted twenty paces from us, and gave their bridles to the groom.

Monsieur de Chateau Renaud remained apart, but looked steadfastly at Lucien, and I thought he became paler. He turned aside and amused himself knocking off the little flowers with his riding whip.

"Well, gentlemen, here we are!" said M. de Chateaugrand and de Boissy, "but you know our conditions. This duel is to be the last, and no matter what the issue may be, M. de Chateau Renaud shall not have to answer to any one for the double result."
"That is understood," we replied.
Then Lucien bowed assent.
"You have the weapons, gentlemen?" said the Viscount.
"Here are the same pistols."
"And they are unknown to M. de Franchi?"
"Less known to him than to M. de Chateau Renaud who has already used them once. M. de Franchi has not even seen them."

"That is sufficient, gentlemen. Come, Chateau Renaud!"
We immediately entered the wood, and each one felt, as he revisited the fatal spot, that a tragedy more terrible still was about to be enacted.

We soon arrived in the little dell.
M. de Chateau Renaud, thanks to his great selfcommand [sic], appeared quite calm, but those who had seen both encounters could appreciate the difference.

From time to time he glanced under his lids at Lucien, and his furtive looks denoted a disquietude approaching to fear.
Perhaps it was the great resemblance between the
brothers that struck him, and he thought he saw in Lucien
the avenging shade of Louis.

While they were loading the pistols I saw him draw his
hand from the breast of his coat. The fingers were
enveloped in a handkerchief as if to prevent their
twitching.

Lucien waited calmly, like a man who was sure of his
vengeance.

Without being told, Lucien walked to the place his
brother had occupied, which compelled Chateau Renaud to take
up his position as before.

Lucien received his weapon with a joyous smile.

When Chateau Renaud took his pistol he became deadly
pale. Then he passed his hand between his cravat and his
neck as if he were suffocating.

No one can conceive with what feelings of terror I
regarded this young man, handsome, rich and elegant, who but
yesterday believed he had many years still before him, and
who to-day, with the sweat on his brow and agony at his
heart, felt he was condemned.

"Are you ready, gentlemen?" asked M. de Chateaugrand.

"Yes," replied Lucien.

M. de Chateau Renaud made a sign in the affirmative.

As for me I was obliged to turn away, not daring to
look upon the scene.

I heard the two successive clappings of the hands, and
at the third the simultaneous reports of the pistols. I
turned round.

Chateau Renaud was lying on the ground, stark dead; he
had not uttered a sound nor made a movement.

I approached the body, impelled by the invincible
curiosity which compels one to see the end of a catastrophe.

The bullet had entered the dead man's temple, at the
very spot that Lucien had indicated to me previously. I ran
to him, he was calm and motionless, but seeing me coming
toward him he let fall the pistol, and threw himself into my
arms.

"Ah, my brother, my poor brother!" he cried, as he
burst into a passion of sobs.

These were the first tears that the young man had shed.
APPENDIX C

ORIGINAL CASTS OF THE CORSICAN BROTHERS

Théâtre Historique: August 10, 1850

Fabien dei Franchi .................. M. Fechter
Louis dei Franchi ...................
Chateau Renaud ...................... Emmanuel
Alfred Meynard ...................... Peupin
Giordano ............................ Bounet
Montgiron ............................ Lingé
Colonna .............................. Boutin
Orlando .............................. Georges
Griffio ............................... Paul
Le Bucheron .......................... Barre
Le Juge de paix ........................ Vidoix
Le Guide, Un domestique ........... Désiré
Un chirurgien ........................ Serres
Mme. Savilia [sic] dei Franchi  . Mme. Letourneur
Emilie de Lesparre .................. Mathilde
Esther ............................... Marie Boutin
Grain d'Or ........................... Ferranti
Pomponette .......................... Marthe
Maria, Un domino .................... Humblet

Princess's Theatre: February 24, 1852

Fabien dei Franchi .................. Charles Kean
Louis dei Franchi ...................
Chateau Renaud ...................... Alfred Wigan
Baron Je Montgiron .................. James Vining
Baron Giordano ...................... C. Wheatleigh
Alfred Meynard ...................... G. Everett
Orlando .............................. Mr. Ryder
Colonna .............................. Mr. Meadows
Beauchamp .......................... Mr. Stacey
Verner ............................... Mr. Rolleston
Griffio, a domestic .................. Mr. Paulo
Antonio Sanola, judge of the district ... Mr. F. Cooke
Boissec, a woodcutter ............... Mr. Addison
Tomaso, a guide ...................... Mr. Stoakes
Surgeon .............................. Mr. Daly
Servants ............................. Mr. Haines
............. Mr. Wilson
Savillia dei Franchi ............... Miss Phillips
Emilie de L'Espanarre ............... Miss Murray
Marie, a domestic ................. Miss Robertson
Coralie .............................. Miss Carlotta Leclercq
Celestine ........................... Miss Daly
Estelle .............................. Miss Vivash
Music composed by R. Stoepel
Music Director - Richard Hughes
Ballet Master - Mr. Flexmore
Stage Manager - George Ellis
Scenery - F. Lloyds
        J. Deyes
        W. Gordon
Total Number of Times Kean Played in *The Corsican Brothers*

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</table>

Total 285

Kean performed *The Corsican Brothers* more than any other play in his repertoire.
APPENDIX E

The following Appendix includes a copy of a piano fantasy written in 1852 by Stoepel which bases its theme on the Ghost melody from The Corsican Brothers. Also included is the orchestral score to the melodrama.

This score was compiled by first copying out by hand the twelve band parts onto staff paper (Fig. 14 shows the first page of the original band leader's part). This information was then transferred to computer so that the music could be put in printed form. Band parts included: 1st Violin (leader), 2nd violin, viola, cello/bass, drums, trombone, horns, trumpets, flute, oboe, clarinet and bassoon.

The audio cassette supplied with this dissertation will aid the listener in the study of the music. This recording was programmed on an Atari 1040 STE running Hybrid Arts Smptetrack. The computer played the sounds on a Roland U-20, which was the sole sound source for all the instrumental sounds on the tape. The computer then played the sounds onto a Teac 80-8 1/2" 8 track with dbx noise reduction. Mastering was done onto a Scully 1/4" stereo reel to reel. The mixer used for all recording was a Soundcraft Series 600 20X8X2 mixing board.

Special thanks must go the Steve Silman for his help in creating the audio tape.
THE GHOST MELODY.

ARRANGED BY

R. STÖPEL,

Director of the Music at the Princess' Theatre.

INTRODUCTION.

Andante

Von Troppo

pp cres legato.

Cres.

Poco

pian corso

Dim.
Andante Moderato

THE CORSICAN BROTHERS - ACT 1  No.1

flutes

oboe

clarinets in C

bassoon

cornets in B-flat

horns in F

trombone

drums

violins

violin 2

violas

cello/bass
No. 2 - "Fly To Tell Madame"
No. 4 - "Do Honour To Our Guest"

Moderato
No. 5 - "On My Way To The Mountains"

Moderato
No. 6 - "Will Take Place"

Allegro
Come in I say
No. 7 - "And Admit The Company"

Repeat No. 6 ff Until The Pause
No. 8 - "Now Then Shake Hands"

Allegro

Page 22
"Your hands I say"

When hands taken,
Cue seque.
No. 9 - "A Cross Will Do"

Allegro

Page 27
No. 12 - "Ten Minutes Past Nine"

Moderato/Andante  

Page 11
No. 13 - "Foot Is In The Stirrup"
Tis nothing after all.

My brother dead.
Louder on curtain fall.

END OF ACT
Flute silent for 16 bars.  
Violin obligato.
Clock strikes 4
Clock strikes six.
THIS ENTRE ACT PLAYS
5 1/2 MINUTES.
THE CORSICAN BROTHERS - ACT 2
No. 14 - "Opening Of The Ball Room"
Fine Segue into Polka after Flute silent for 16 bars. Page 156. 4th repeat Violin obligato.

Segue into polka after 4th repeat.
1st Cue - Your Sense of Propriety. Repeat Galop.

2nd Cue - Endure still more. Repeat Galop. FF till Mr. Kean on.

3rd Cue - I must decline. Repeat Galop. Twice strong FF and twice PP.

4th Cue - We shall be there. Repeat Galop, then segue into Polka.
No. 16 - "Pulka"
(In original parts, the Coda is omitted and the Galop repeated.)

Coda - Tempo di Galop
D.C. Gallop pp till all on in next scene.
Till all on.
No. 18 - "Enter Madam I Entreat You"

Repeat No. 17 Twice
No. 19 - "Honour You Now Confer On Me"
Flute and clarinette parts to be omitted according page 178 to original parts.
No. 20 - "Supper Is Ready"
Flute music sketched in original part

Solo

PP

Clarinette music crossed out in original part
No. 22 "Begin"
1st Violin Sketch For Song crossed out in original part.
No. 23 - "I Can Weep For You Now"
TILL CURTAIN

WHEN MR. KEAN SPEAKS, FORTE
PLAYS 2 HOURS.
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University of Windsor, Board of Governors' Award 1982
University of Windsor, President's Roll of Scholars 1979-82

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Title of Thesis/Dissertation: THE ART OF GENTLEMANLY MELODRAMA: CHARLES KEAN'S_

PRODUCTION OF THE CORSTIAN BROTHERS

Author
(Signature)

BARRY YZEREFF
(Name in Block Letters)

June 16/95
(Date)