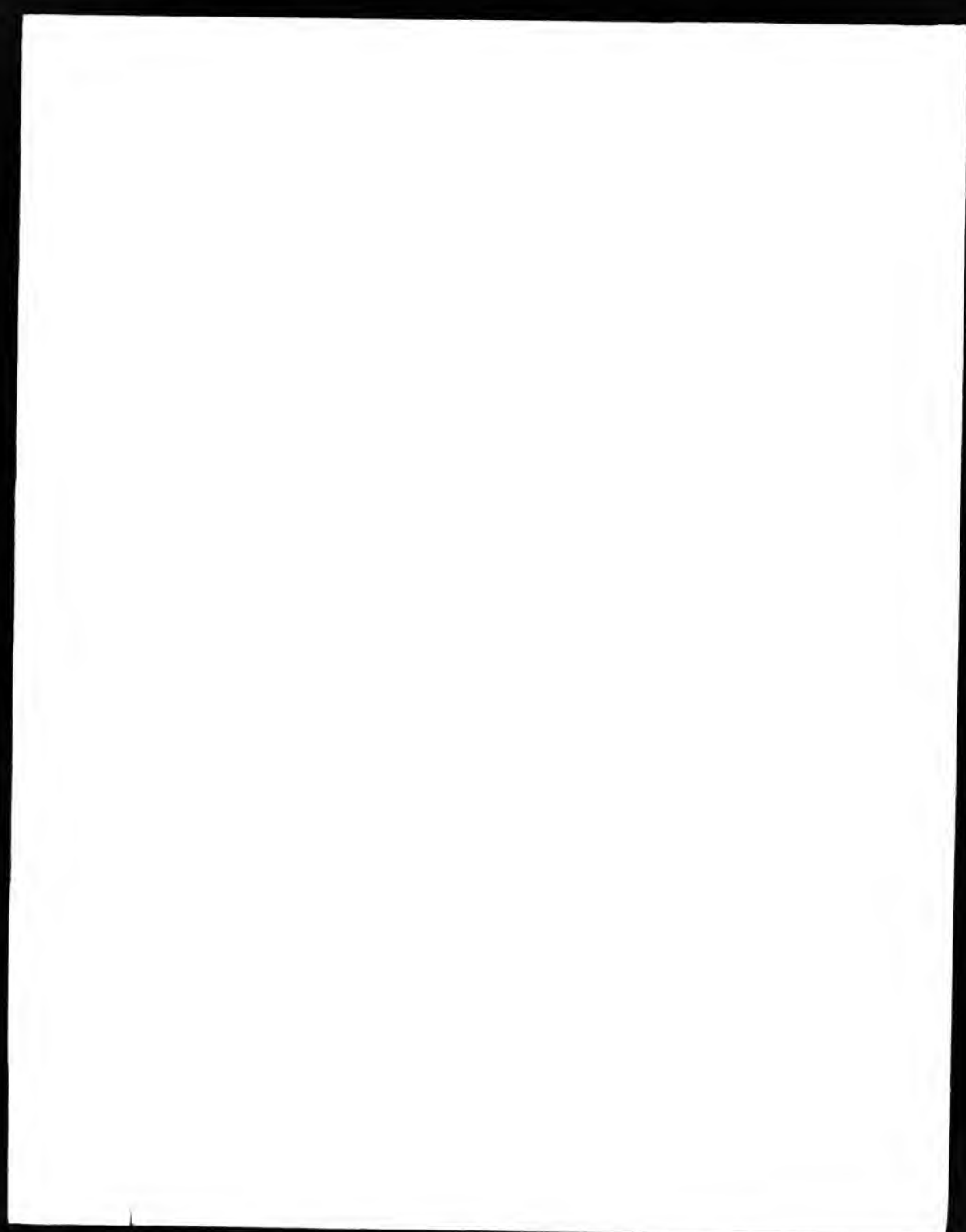


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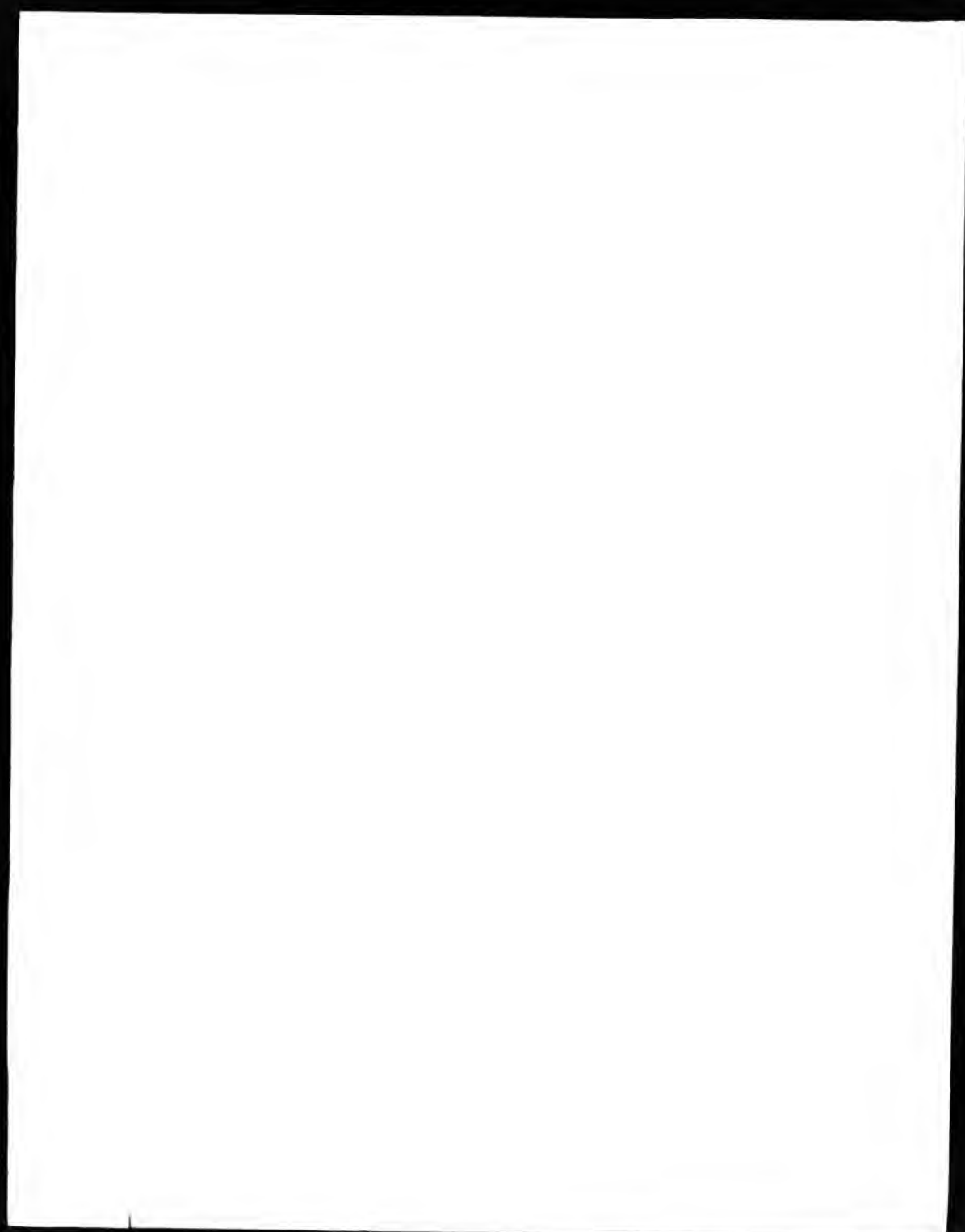
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BETWEEN 1949 AND 1963.

AUTHOR

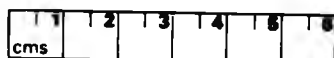
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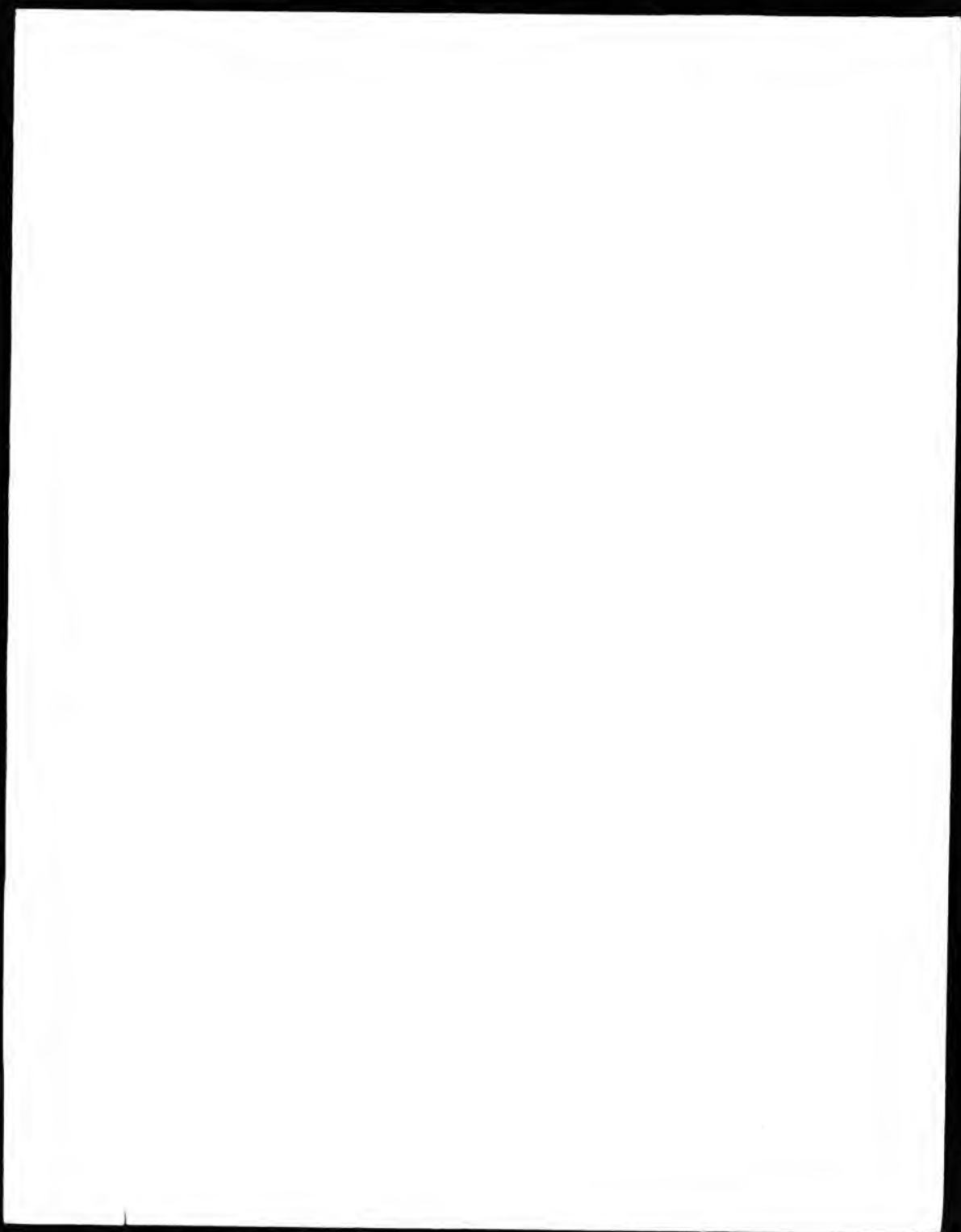


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**POST WAR THEATRE IN CANDEN: A STUDY OF THREE THEATRE ENTERPRISES
(THE BEDFORD THEATRE, THE OPEN SPACE THEATRE, THE ROUND HOUSE),
BETWEEN 1949 AND 1963.**

BY JINNIE SCHIELE.

Submitted to C.W.A.A. in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of PhD.

Sponsoring establishment, Polytechnic of North London.

March, 1967.

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POST WAR THEATRE IN CAMDEN: A STUDY OF THREE THEATRE ENTERPRISES
(THE BEDFORD THEATRE, THE OPEN SPACE THEATRE, THE ROUND HOUSE),
BETWEEN 1949 AND 1983.

BY JENNIE SCHMIDT.

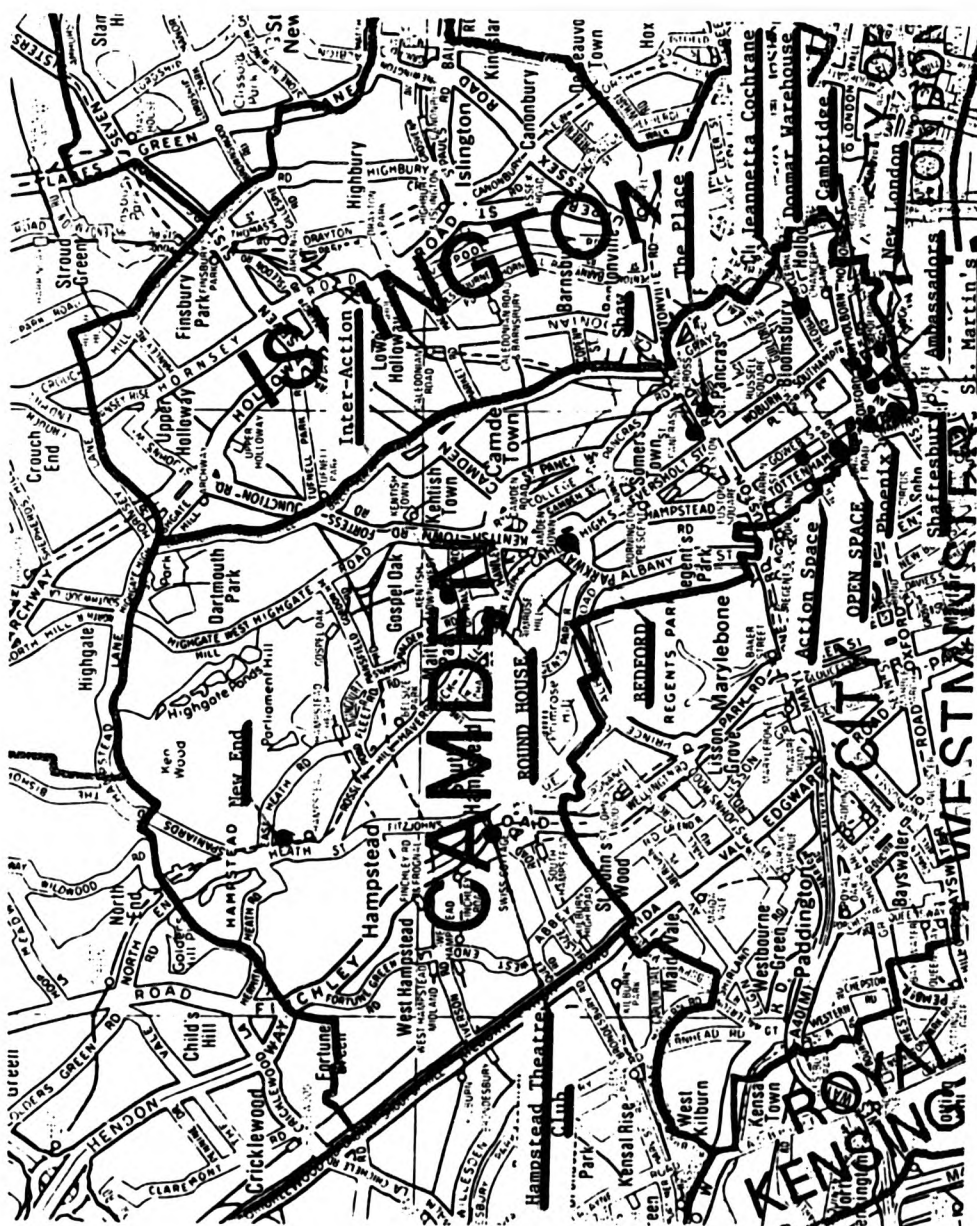
ABSTRACT

The thesis presents a study of three theatres in Camden: the Bedford Theatre, the Open Space Theatre, and the Round House. Each section contains details of the theatres' histories, their managements and their artistic achievements. The amount of detail varies according to the availability of material and in each case the emphasis is different. In all three sections particular periods have been discussed at length because they represent a significant achievement on the part of the management and artistic directors. At all times the author has stressed the importance of the repertoire which each organisation presented and casebook studies of key productions have been written to illustrate the use made of the available stage space. The choice of these productions has been governed by the following criteria: 1. the production's success in artistic and box-office terms; 2. the way in which a production typified the best of the work presented at the theatre; 3. the way in which a production reflected or reacted against the times; 4. the imaginative way in which the theatre was used for a production. In the case of the Open Space Theatre the works of the artistic director have been given prominence since Marowitz is both a writer and director who used his theatre largely to promote his own plays. Each section attempts to review what the enterprise finally accomplished and to show what were the major influences on its successes and failures. Essentially these are three separate studies of theatres which help demonstrate the variety of theatrical endeavour existing in Camden during the years 1949-1983. They have, however, certain characteristics in common which are examined in the body of the work and are brought together in the conclusion.

ABBREVIATIONS

CF + number (e.g. CF 6) (in interview)	Contract File + number, Round House archives. Unless otherwise stated, 'in interview with the author of the dissertation.
OS archives	Open Space Theatre archives, Theatre Collection, P.N.L. Library, Prince of Wales Road, NV5.
OS 6/5 etc.	Filing cabinet, drawer number/file number in the OS archives.
OS Progs	Section in OS archives marked 'Open Space Programmes'.
P.N.L.	Polytechnic of North London, Prince of Wales Road, NV5.
RH archives	Round House archives, Theatre Collection, P.N.L. Library.
SF + number (e.g. SF 4)	Show File + number, Round House archives.

Approximate positions of the Bedford Theatre,
The Open Space Theatre, and the Round House in relation
to the other professional theatres (still operational)
in the Borough of Camden.



Photocopied from A to Z, Borough
Boundaries: Greater London

INTRODUCTION

The Borough of Camden was created in 1965 from St. Pancras, Holborn, and Hampstead. The outer boundaries of these areas were linked to create the new borough and the theatres which appear in the catalogue below are all situated within the district now designated Camden. The area will henceforth be referred to as Camden even when discussing the years prior to 1965. The following list shows the diversity of theatrical enterprises operational there during the period 1945-1963 - some have disappeared, others continue but do not now necessarily function as they did originally'.

<u>1. Theatres still operational:</u>		<u>Architects:</u>	
Ambassadors, West Street, W.C.2.		V.G.R. Sprague.	1913.
Cambridge, Earlham Street, W.C.2.		Vymperis, Simpson and Guthrie.	1930.
New London, Drury Lane, W.C.2.		Paul Tvrkovic, with Sean Kenny, Chew & Percival.	1973.
Phoenix, Charing Cross Road, W.C.2.		Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, Bertie Crewe & Cecil Masey.	1930.
St. Martin's, West Street, W.C.2.		V.G.R. Sprague.	1916.
Shaftesbury (formerly Prince's), Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.		Bertie Crewe.	1911.
<u>2. Theatres that have been demolished:</u>			
Bedford, Camden High Street, N.V.1.	Bertie Crewe		1899. (dem. 1969)
Holborn Empire, High Holborn, W.C.2.	Frank Matcham		1906. (dem. 1961)
Kingsway, Great Queen Street, W.C.2.	Murray and Foster.		1900. (dem. after 1950)
Regent, King's Cross, N.V.1.	Bertie Crewe and Wylson & Long.		1900. (dem. after 1950)
Scala, Charlotte Street, W.1.	Frank T. Verity.		1905. (dem. 1969)
Stoll, Kingsway. W.C.2.	Bertie Crewe.		1911. (dem. 1957)
Winter Garden, Drury Lane, W.C.2.	Frank Matcham.		1911. (dem. 1965)

3. Former theatres now functioning in other ways:

Broadway (formerly Kilburn Empire, now a disused cinema), Kilburn High Road, N.W.6.	V.G.R. Sprague.	c.1906.
Camden, Camden High Street, N.W.1.	V.G.R. Sprague.	1901.
Dominion, Tottenham Court Road, W.1.	William & T.R. Millburn.	1929
Everyman Theatre (Cinema), Holly Bush Vale, N.W.3.		1920.
Saville, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.	Bertie Crewe.	1931.

4. Fringe or Club Theatres still operational:

Donmar Warehouse, Earlham Street, W.C.2.	1977.
Inter-Action, Kentish Town, N.W.5.	1968.
New End Theatre, New End, N.W.3.	1974.
The Place (then under the R.S.C.), Duke's Road, W.C.1.	1971.
Teatro Technis (semi-professional), 29 Rochester Road, N.W.1. (moved to 26 Crowndale Road 1978).	1957.

5. Fringe theatres now terminated:

Open Space, Tottenham Court Road, W.1., (later Euston Road, N.W.1.)	1968-79.
Round House, Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.	1968-83.
Unity Theatre (semi professional), Goldington Street, N.W.1	1937-75.

6. Theatres owned by local government:

Action Space, The Drill Hall, Chenies Street, W.C.1.	1968.
Hampstead Theatre Club, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.	1959.
Jeannetta Cochrane, Theobald's Road, W.C.1.	1964.
Shaw, Euston Road, N.W.1.	1971.

7. Pub Theatres offering music-hall entertainment:

Pindar of Wakefield, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.
Three Horseshoes, Heath Street, N.W.3.

8. Drama schools and Universities with theatres open to the public:

Bloomsbury (formerly Collegiate), U.C.L., Gordon Street. W.C.1.	1969.
Drama Centre, Prince of Wales Road, N.W.5.	1963.
Embassy, Central School of Speech and Drama, Eton Avenue, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.	1928.
Vanbrugh, R.A.D.A., Malet Street. W.C.1.	c.1935.

In 1945 almost all professional performances in the borough took place in privately owned, purpose-built theatres, which divided into two categories - West End theatres in the south of the borough, and local houses further north. In both areas the average play-goer was very little concerned with the personality of the management, which remained anonymous. The Unity, a Labour movement theatre group using a converted mission hall as its theatre, was the only exception to the rule. By 1985 half of the West End houses had fallen to the property developer; even by the 60s local houses had ceased to exist as independent theatres, and by 1985 a variety of venues had arisen in their place, often converted, some of them surviving on subsidy, others struggling without.

This thesis is a study of three theatrical enterprises which display the transition. The Bedford was one of the last of the local halls, and it tried to adapt to the changing times by promoting a particular image of its management and their aims; the Round House, a Victorian engine shed and one of the most ambitious conversions in the area, began life in the hope of becoming a Government-sponsored arts centre; the Open Space Theatre, situated close to the West End, began as a two-handed enterprise which quickly became identified with Charles Marowitz and, less perceptibly to the public eye, with Thelma Holt.

The three theatres have been chosen for discussion, not only because each one in itself represents a considerable achievement on the part of its management, but also because collectively they demonstrate a range of different approaches to theatre in the area; all of them offered, in their own way, a valuable contribution to the work accomplished by British theatre of the period. The final decision to use the Bedford Theatre, the Round House, and the Open Space Theatre as material for the thesis was made

in view of the quantity of interesting information found on each of them - indeed, so much was discovered at a late stage in the research schedule (the Round House archives, now at the Polytechnic of North London, were the latest acquisition) that there is still a great deal of new work to be done.

Sources for the materials used are listed in the bibliography, where it will be seen that the facts have been found in different ways for each enterprise. For instance, interviews have been conducted with management and artistic personnel in all cases, but only at the Open Space was it possible to speak to a number of artistic directors who worked there - thus in Chapter 2 there is a greater emphasis on detailed studies of productions; very little financial evidence on the Bedford Theatre has been unearthed, whereas there are Arts Council records of grants made to the other two, as well as various relevant facts contained in the P.N.L. library, where both the Round House and the Open Space archives have now been deposited; plans of the Bedford theatre building held by the G.L.C. have been studied, and other architectural details have been found elsewhere, but since the dissolution of the G.L.C. the Camden Borough Council Building Regulations Department, who ought to have plans for the Open Space, can find no trace and have declared them destroyed. No facts other than those mentioned on pages 62-64 have been found. So emphases in each case necessarily differ, hence the varying structure of each chapter.

Chapter 1 provides a résumé of the Bedford's early history in order to give context to its later development. The rebuilding of the old music-hall in 1899 is described in detail because alterations to it at a later date were only peripheral, and the theatre remained essentially the same until it was demolished. It is the only one of the three theatres under discussion which was built as a theatre - it has now been destroyed, and it is important therefore to preserve as clear a picture of it as possible.

Changes in the theatre's fortunes and artistic policy under Frederick J. Butterworth's leasehold are shown, including the Volfit seasons, after which the Nye/Penrose management is given detailed attention. Most of the information on the productions has had to be gleaned from reviews, though many of the anecdotes which illuminate the theatre's history have come from

actors and stage staff in interview with the author. A chronological approach has been used to document developments, though within sections plays have sometimes been dealt with out of sequence in order to make a particular point.

The Nye/Penrose achievement is summed up, and reasons for the theatre's closure discussed. Its fortunes after closure are given only brief treatment, to round off its history, since the main concern of the thesis is with live theatre.

Chapter 2 provides a résumé of the Open Space's history, but the body of the work is structured differently. Because it was a theatre which began and ended with Charles Marowitz, it was considered necessary to select for detailed study a period which best illustrates his achievements there. The first years are important as context for future development, and the subsequent years to 1976, when the theatre in Tottenham Court Road was closed, are considered to embody what was most typical and original of the Marowitz/Holt directorship. The thesis aims to show the theatre's development towards a peak of achievement between 1971 and 1973. The high standard was maintained, but with less intensity, until it rose again in 1975, when a new 'permanent company' was formed. It includes, too, all the work done in association with Thelma Holt, who left shortly after the move to the new premises. It becomes clear that without her expertise in raising money and her skill in public relations, particularly with the Arts Council and with the actors Marowitz employed, the company was mismanaged and the fire of enthusiasm for the project was gradually extinguished. The thesis does not explore the years after moving to the Euston Road premises in detail except to give the brief facts of its opening, demise, and closure.

Although the material for Chapter 2 has been set out chronologically, the sections themselves have been divided into topics which reflect the kind of work produced at the Open Space. Since the theatre to a large extent provided a venue for Marowitz's own work, or work with which he was directly concerned, his own presentations have been given extensive analysis. The last section of this chapter attempts to summarise the theatre's achievements.

Chapter 3 outlines the history of the Round House and its origins in Vesker's Centre 42, which, after a long campaign, failed to emerge. The subsequent management policy was to allow in any production whose backers could pay the hiring fee. With no other discernible policy, it has been felt necessary to divide the sections up by grouping together the years where a pattern of development can be traced. The first of these groups deals with the years 1966-71, where certain productions have been discussed in detail to demonstrate the first years of full theatrical activity at the Round House, a growing awareness of its potential, and the influence these productions had on events to come. The second shows the types of production which flourished there during the period 1971-76. This is followed by a discussion of its last years under the new Holt management, with a summary of her achievements.

The 'Conclusion' examines the links between the theatres, whilst at the same time recognising their essential diversity. Finally their contribution to the life of British theatre in general is acknowledged.

The following chapters, then, present a selective study of three Camden theatres where the materials chosen contribute to an appraisal of the theatres' histories and repertoires. From this appraisal arise the crucial questions of performance space and its influence on the kind of productions presented, and the managements' willingness and ability to exploit prevailing conditions and trends in dramatic performance.

Notes to Introduction

1. The facts have been gathered from several sources: R. Mander and J. Mitchenson, The Theatres of London (London, 1961); Diana Howard, London Theatres and Music Halls (London, 1970); Iain Mackintosh and Michael Sell, eds., Curtains: or, a New Life for Old Theatres (Eastbourne, 1982); The Shakespeare Centre, R.S.C. Reference Library, Stratford upon Avon; some information has come directly from the theatres' managements.

1
THE BEDFORD THEATRE

The Theatre's History to 1939

The Bedford Theatre began as the Bedford Arms Tavern and Tea Garden (c.1824), situated between Camden High Street and Arlington Road, then Grove Street. The earliest reference found to the new music-hall building is printed in The Era (15.9.1861), 'This New and Elegant Lyric Establishment Will Open on Monday September 16th 1861'. The proprietor was R.C. Thornton and seat prices were advertised in The Era for subsequent weeks: Hall 6d, stalls and balcony 9d. A report in Parliamentary Papers 1866 (vol xvi, p.313) put the cost of the building at £5000, and stated that the hall accommodated 800 people daily. Architectural plans dating back to 1884 are held by the G.L.C., but many of them carry no date, and there is not always a note to say whether they were executed or not². One set of plans by Mr Oldham Chambers, dated 1894, shows what was probably the basic design of the first music-hall building, though the seating arrangements shown on the plans would have been typical of an 1890s updating from the earlier lay-out of a mid-Victorian music-hall. It is clear from this plan that the hall was situated between Arlington Road and Camden High Street and that the stage was in the east and not the north as it was when it was rebuilt³. The most impressive elevation was on the Arlington Road, not Camden High Street, and its side elevation bordered Mary Terrace. The article in The Era (22.9.1861) which described the theatre's opening night in 1861 mentioned its advantageous position between two major streets in an important 'suburb'.

From 1861 to 1898 it was called the Bedford Music Hall, after which it was known as New Bedford Palace of Varieties, New Bedford Theatre, Bedford Palace of Varieties, Bedford Music Hall, and finally from 1941 until it closed, as the Bedford Theatre⁴. On 8 June 1898 the theatre closed for rebuilding and on 29 June 1898 an application was made to the L.C.C. to improve the building. Plans were submitted by Messrs Johnson and Lucas,

who bought the building from Tom Maltby to increase the theatre's capacity from 410 to 1165; the architect was Bertie Crewe*.

Like most music-halls of the period the building assumed all the characteristics of a theatre, except that its stage depth remained shallow - 23 ft. 10" deep with a width of 50 ft. 3". On 14 May 1898 an article in The Era stated, 'it is a remarkable fact of music-hall history that every hall of note in the metropolis, except the Marylebone, Queen's and Bedford, has been refashioned or remodelled since 1884'.

By 3 September 1898 the old hall had been demolished and so had four houses and a scene factory which had been bought up by Lucas to enlarge his site*. The auditorium and stage had been turned round so that the stage was in the north of the site and the east had become a paint room and entrances to stalls and balcony. The entrance from the High Street was along a long corridor at right angles to the two parallel streets, running parallel to Mary Terrace. The plans were accepted with very minor alterations to the front entrance and a new covered way had to be designed. It is deduced therefore that the plans signed by Bertie Crewe and held by the G.L.C. are the ones which were finally realised. The problem with the front entrance meant that the theatre's opening night was postponed until 6 February 1899.

The Era published a full description of the new building, which was then called the New Bedford Palace of Varieties (4.2.1899)*. The writer described the old music-hall as 'a small and inconvenient building, entered only from a court that ran between the High-street, Camden-town, and the Arlington-road'. He was obviously impressed by the new approach from the High Street, and was hyperbolic in his praise of all the new features of the building and the 'rich Moorish interior painted by Mr. Fred Storey'. The details are worth quoting at length since the building remained essentially the same until it closed. The 'bold French Renaissance front' was made in :

Doulting stone, with polished Labradite and red Shap granite pilasters, surmounted by slate mansard roofs, and a copper dome rising some 60 ft. above street level. Entered by three Italian marble steps is a spacious entrance hall, with fibrous plaster decorations, gilded ceiling

and walls, and floor of marble mosaic. Thence by a noble corridor, some 14 ft. in width, the spacious main crush-room is reached. This room is 20 ft. by 22 ft. and 18 ft. in height, with walls and ceiling of panelled and enriched carton pierre and exceptionally handsome mosaic floor. From this a short flight of marble stairs leads to the balcony and a spacious lobby direct to the stalls. The auditorium, which, with a depth of 65 ft. and clear width of 56 ft. has been built without a column, is treated entirely as the stalls on the ground floor, every person on this tier having a separate tip-up plush-covered seat, the same rule applying to the balcony. The shape of the circle on this tier is entirely novel, and thereby everyone seated in the centre or at the sides has an uninterrupted view of the stage.

The saloons are a special feature, each being at the side of the auditorium and separated therefrom only by a low brass rail, so that pleasant lounges with a full view of the stage have been secured. A decidedly novel idea is the treatment of the private boxes, which, although on the circle level, are approached solely from the stalls by handsomely decorated coved entrances through the ante-proscenium, and thence by pretty little marble stairs. The style of decoration throughout is Louis Quatorze, with a plentiful introduction of free figure paintings in friezes and panels, the effect of gold and soft tints being singularly harmonious when backed up by the rich ruby tints of the plush curtains and seating. A special feature is the proscenium arch and box elevations, which were specially designed by the architect and which he hopes are something entirely novel to this country. Standing on richly ornamented pilasters, two daintily modelled female figures of heroic size partially withdraw a magnificent canopy from the boxes, while, above, a group of cupids display dramatic emblems. Another very beautiful group of female statuary surmounts the proscenium arch, a special feature of which is the magnificent plaster pediment. The chaste and charming embellishments of the Camden-town palace are by Los Saveriaux and Co., who have painted just beneath the sliding-roof allegorical groups representing England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. In the last-mentioned painting we note that a number of braw Cupids are not even skeered by a wee bit skirl of the pibroch, for they approach quite closely to the gracious looking lady - a sort of Highland Euterpe - who is performing on the pipes. The scheme of decoration is gold and softly subdued tints of chrome and yellow ...

The lighting is by electricity, with gas and oil-lamps as a standby and the fittings have all been specially designed to harmonise with the decoration ...

The house, although a variety theatre, has been fitted with a full working stage of the most modern description, and the comfort of the artists has been most thoroughly studied, as all the numerous dressing rooms are lighted and ventilated direct to the open air, and have hot and cold water laid on ...

The premises, besides the Palace of Varieties, also include a first class public house, the Bedford Arms, at the corner of St. Mary's-terrace and Arlington-road, a block of excellent flats over the entrance

from High-street, and a scenic studio, let to Mr. Fred Storey, containing two frames, one 50 ft. in length.

The following week (11.2.1899), the journal reviewed the opening night. The stars in the audience were listed as well as those on stage. Katie Lawrence opened proceedings with her song, 'His little wife was with him all the time', and Mr. Joe Elvin with his catch phrase, 'you're at it again', followed her act. The reviewer was enthusiastic about the entertainment and his surroundings. He remarked on the 'rich, plush tableau curtains' and 'the magical effect' as the electric light was turned on. It is a mark of the times that all the seats in the house were tip-up and plush-covered - even those members of the audience who could not afford one shilling and sixpence for their seats (on 10.10.1900 prices were raised to this level) expected a degree of comfort; this does not mean that the rowdy element was excluded from these premises and in the same report it was mentioned that the audience in the one shilling and sixpenny part of the house were 'very rough and noisy'.

The theatre continued to exist under various owners and lessees as a music-hall until 1933, though its fortunes declined along with music-hall in general after 1913^o. In 1933 it was licensed to Associated British Cinemas Ltd. and was used exclusively as a cinema showing programmes consisting of two feature films and the Pathé News^o.

An advertisement followed for the re-opening of the theatre on 26 December with 'Variety twice nightly', and on 22 December a list of admission prices was printed: for the first house, Fauteuils were 2s., Stalls, 1s., Grand Circle, 2s., Circle, 1s., Gallery, 4d., with boxes to seat six, at 15s. and to seat four, at 10s.6d. This compares favourably with the Finsbury Park Empire in 1939 where prices were between 2s.6d. and 6d., and Collin's Music Hall in Islington where in 1934 prices charged were the same as those at the Finsbury Park Empire in 1939¹⁰. *The Stage* (21.12.39) added the following information: 'Under Harry Goodson's direction, the Bedford, Camden Town and the Empire, Bristol, will re-open as variety halls on Boxing Day. Walter N. Morris will be in managerial charge of the Bedford'.

The Butterworth Leasehold

Reviews in The Stage for the following year (1940) were enthusiastic and suggest that the popularity of the Bedford as a music-hall was sustained: 'Large audiences here demonstrate that the local popularity of variety is not merely a passing phase' (The Stage 25.1.40) and 'variety is firmly established at this theatre, and there are well-filled houses' (The Stage 9.5.40). How accurate an impression this was is of course debatable, but on 22 August 1940, The Stage stated that 'F.J.B. Theatres continue to increase their interests and have acquired control of the Bedford Camden Town'. Since the theatre was to continue under this management with variety programmes for the next eight years it can be assumed that business was, if not flourishing, at least brisk enough to interest Fredrick Butterworth. He owned fifteen theatres in the provinces and two others, the Kilburn Empire, and the Richmond Theatre on The Green, in the London area. They were known collectively as the F.J.B. Circuit of Theatres, which was the largest independently owned group in the country. The Bedford was the only theatre which he did not actually own but leased from the 'well-known Victorian impresario Harry Day''.

The theatre itself had been kept in quite good repair by the cinema company and no improvements were undertaken by the new management. The sliding roof, a crude form of air conditioning in hot weather common to a number of London music-halls, was not opened during this period because it had remained unused for so long that, according to Mr. Butterworth, they were afraid that once opened it could never be closed again (Butterworth's letter, 18.6.80).

Variety continued at the Bedford throughout the war years, and business fluctuated according to the intensity of air raids. Shows were never cancelled because of the raids, and one variety artiste who appeared at the Bedford, Jack Bainbridge, remembered during 1942 and 1944 frequently breaking off mid-act to shelter in Mornington Crescent underground station where the performers would continue the entertainment before returning to the theatre to complete the show. His memories of working conditions at the Bedford during 1942 and 1944 are favourable - clean, well lit, and warm

1

dressing-rooms, with a good resident orchestra and enthusiastic audiences'². Joseph O'Connor (one of the actors in Volfit's company when it later took over the Bedford) commented that in 1949 the dressing rooms were austere - there was no hot water or carpeting - a deterioration since the theatre's opening in 1899 (O'Connor in interview 17.11.80). He added that this was no worse than an actor then expected, but it illustrates, to an extent, how the premises had been neglected by successive lease-holders and that during the intervening five or seven years nothing had been done to improve or even maintain existing standards.

To play the Bedford was considered an important date since artistes would be seen by London agents who might help further their careers, and many famous personalities played there even after having become celebrities (Bainbridge's letter, 18.6.80). Names taken at random from old programmes of 1945 include Tod Slaughter, Eve Lynn, Dorothy Squires, and George Robey'³. However, it was never so prestigious a venue as, for instance, Collins's Music Hall or the Finsbury Park Empire, even during the music-hall hey-day, and during the period between 1940 and 1948 it is not so consistently mentioned in The Stage as others. This, according to Geoffrey Fletcher in his lecture 'Cupid in the Gallery' (so called after Sickert's famous painting of the Bedford's gallery) was not entirely due to the poor quality of the shows themselves, which, often full of patriotic fervour, never touched 'rock bottom' as Collin's did. Nevertheless, the theatre's reputation today probably owes more to Walter Sickert's paintings of the 'old' and 'new' Bedford, than it does to its fame as a live music-hall.

In 1946, B.B.C. Television became interested in televising variety shows from the music-halls, and on 14 June a letter was sent internally to the Head of Television Service stating that out of four halls, the Bedford, The Empire Kilburn, the Empire Shepherd's Bush and the Chelsea Palace, the Bedford seemed the most suitable for their purposes'⁴. Butterworth was approached and it was agreed that a series of Sunday broadcasts before an invited audience should take place. The B.B.C. was to choose the artistes and invite the audience. Delays ensued and the programme was finally announced on 27 October as 'Variety on View'; it was compered by Jack Warner who introduced each act, and was produced by Harry Pringle. For the

hire of the theatre over two days (Sunday for rehearsal and performance and Monday till mid-day for the 'get-out') Butterworth was paid £20.

The venture was repeated on 24 November with a clear attempt to show that this was not a studio performance but a live broadcast from a real music-hall. The whole stage was shown, and the presence of the audience made obvious. Butterworth had insisted on a fifty per cent allocation of tickets for this show, since owing to bad organisation on the part of the B.B.C. they had previously had to tout for an audience. The management felt this to have been bad for the theatre's image and the B.B.C. agreed to the demands.

No more shows were televised that year, and on 1 January 1947 Butterworth wrote an angry letter to the B.B.C. accusing them of having broken their promise to televise a series of shows¹⁸. It appears from the letter that a pantomime from another theatre was televised in December instead, and the letter expressed Butterworth's amazement that the B.B.C. should have been disloyal. The letter had the desired effect and a third broadcast from the Bedford was arranged for 26 January. The transmissions became no more regular however, and only four more shows were televised that year¹⁹.

In a letter dated 22 March 1947 Butterworth informed the B.B.C. of a change of policy. The theatre was to house plays in a repertory system instead of variety, though it would still be available for the B.B.C.'s Sunday broadcasts. Though Mr. Butterworth had no comment to make on his change of policy in his letter to the author, his general manager Mr. A.J. Matthews is quoted in the North London Press (18.4.47) as having said 'there were not sufficient good variety acts to supply both large and small theatres, and first-rank artistes would not perform at salaries economic to the smaller theatres'. In his opinion, variety would not return to the Bedford until 'such time as variety artistes' salaries came down and foreign acts were permitted to enter the country in sufficient numbers to give the variety profession a much needed tonic'.

Clearly, then, the standard of variety at the Bedford had declined and with it audience numbers, so the new policy was given a local publicity boost and a 'civic send-off' attended by the mayor (North London Press 18.4.47). The local press reviewed with enthusiasm Night Must Fall by Emlyn Williams and Flare Path by Terence Rattigan (North London Press 25.4.47) and reported full and responsive houses, but after this, their interest seems to have waned and no reviews of other plays appeared⁷. The national press showed no interest at all and even The Stage did not bother to visit the productions. The plays chosen were often recent West End successes and therefore had nothing to recommend them to the critics, but it seems a pity that none of the local papers deemed it worth while to support the venture.

Repertory lasted until the end of the year, and on 14 January 1948 The Stage noted that 'The Bedford, Camden Town celebrates its return to variety'. Notices of the acts, which included nude revues as well as those of a less salacious nature, appeared once again on the variety page of The Stage and the management struggled on for another year.

It was obvious that a drastic change was needed to revive the theatre's fortunes and to tempt the public back. To the amazement of the management (in his letter to the author, Mr. Butterworth said he thought at the time Wolfit was 'crazy') Donald Wolfit was to be the man to do it.

The Volfit Seasons

In 1949, with the Advance Players Company of actors, Donald Volfit decided to rent the Bedford for the purpose of 'presenting Shakespeare and the classics to the people at reasonable prices' (The Stage 4.8.49). With this purpose in mind prices were kept low with the most expensive seat at 6s., down to 1s. for standing room. This compares favourably with West End prices (see p.28). On the first night of Hamlet, ten weeks after the opening of the season (31.1.49), the gallery was opened with seats also at one shilling - it had not been opened earlier because it was thought to have been unsafe, but on investigation the management decided that this fear was unfounded.

The first four weeks, which opened with The Merchant of Venice, followed by Macbeth and Much Ado About Nothing were an instant success¹². The public flocked to the Bedford, despite a rather luke-warm reception from the press and Ronald Harwood claims that the company, playing to seventy per cent capacity houses, was earning £1000 a week¹³. This is corroborated by a statement made to the press by Brian Worsley the manager, who declared that the running expenses of the theatre were approximately £400 a week, with a full house taking £170 (Daily Mail 24.5.49). Volfit paid himself £25 a week plus expenses and only raised his salary if business was particularly good.

Obviously audiences saw nothing incongruous in Shakespeare performed in an old music-hall. Indeed some of Volfit's production techniques seem particularly well suited to the old theatre. A critic writing for the Daily Mail (5.4.49) remarked that 'something of the cosy music-hall atmosphere remains (smoking in the auditorium and the advertisements for Frank's Cafe and Amy's....)'. There was a small orchestra in the pit conducted by a diminutive old lady named Rosabel Watson, who also arranged the music; Hilda Winnett played the piano. Rosabel Watson, who was reputed to have been, in her younger days, a pupil of Elgar's, had permission to arrange his music for the plays and Brian Sanders, the stage manager, remembered her effective arrangement of the overture 'In the South' for Act 5 of The Merchant of Venice (in interview 15.11.80). The other musicians were

probably resident at the Bedford and must also have helped to retain the atmosphere of popular theatre. On the other hand there was no attempt to encourage the direct participation of the audience in the songs or soliloquies. Although they were addressed towards the audience there was no appeal to them for a direct response. Neither were there on-stage instrumentalists.

Geoffrey Hodson, then a student just out of R.A.D.A. (now a Senior Inspector of Drama for the I.L.E.A.), and engaged by Volfit as 'A.S.M. and as cast', remembered the number frames and the boom carrying six spots at the side of the stage, both relics of the theatre's music-hall past. Hodson, as A.S.M., had to operate the spot from the wings and, using it as if Volfit were doing a music-hall turn, followed him with it as he paced the stage, constantly calling during rehearsals, 'keep the boom on me lad' (Hodson in interview, 20.10.80). According to Brian Sanders the stage manager, those operating the follow spot during performance would keep it on him for the first five minutes and then abandon it because it was too reminiscent of vaudeville.

The lime light was always Volfit's, even when he chose not to play the lead, as he did with Hamlet at the Bedford. Joseph O'Connor, who had been playing Orsino was accosted one evening by the actor-manager, who asked him if he had ever played 'the Dane', because he believed that anyone who could play Orsino well 'had a Dane in him' (O'Connor in interview, 17.11.80). O'Connor was thus engaged to play the part but was consistently up staged in Act 5 by Volfit, who played the Gravedigger with so much invented business and superfluous movement about the stage that O'Connor was reduced to trailing after him, 'with the air of a promising young debater from the Oxford Union seconding Demosthenes'²⁰. Brown goes on to say, 'it would give no impression of his [Volfit's] performance to say that he walked off with the play; he made anarchy of the second half'. When the end was reached and the actors took their bows, O'Connor was led on by an 'exhausted' Volfit who had by this time changed into morning dress, with black pin-striped trousers. The evening was his.

Cuts in the texts of the plays were made simply with a view to performance time. No play performed by the Advanced Players ever ran more than two hours fifty minutes, even Hamlet, so that neither actors nor audience should experience difficulties with transport home afterwards. O'Connor remembered that during the final stages of the very brief rehearsal time, Volfit told him that either his scene with the players should go, or his scene with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern when he invites the latter to 'play upon this pipe'. Given the choice, O'Connor kept the pipe scene.

Volfit, then, was not aiming his productions at purists but at popular audiences, and he certainly managed to capture some local support. According to Brian Sanders, who worked with him for two and a half years in a variety of capacities, Volfit was very proud of the number of letters he received from people who had never seen Shakespeare before, and he delighted in the rough enthusiasm expressed by the locals in 'The Mother Redcap' (the nearby public house) whom the company inveigled into forming part of the audience. In interview, members of the company such as Brian Johnson, Joseph O'Connor, and Brian Sanders, all attested to the warm reception the audience gave the performances. Bernard Levin, then a boy, remembered that 'the response was intense', and Edward Bond's reaction, at the age of fourteen, to Volfit's Macbeth at the Bedford, was to start writing for the theatre ²¹.

It would, however, be wrong to imagine that the working class comprised the greater part of the audiences. School parties were numerous and, according to O'Connor, the former Old Vic audiences, eager for Shakespeare since the theatre had not yet re-opened after the war, were pleased to find another theatre performing classics at less than West End prices.

Transport was convenient for the public and for the company, who stored their unwanted scenery at the Athenaeum Community Centre in Camden Road, about two miles from their theatre. The Bedford itself had a large enough props-room to store the smaller props in baskets which stacked on top of each other. This was important as Volfit always took his sets with him. There were two basic designs, one for tragedy painted in dark stipple

and one for comedy in light stipple. He did not need to use the groove system that the Bedford stage had, since there was machinery for flying in what was necessary. A false proscenium arch was used which, in the case of the Bedford, fitted flush against the original arch and a traverse immediately up stage of the false proscenium was drawn across for scenes to be played on the resulting apron, at the same time enabling a scene to be prepared behind it while the previous scene was still being played at the front. There were few changes of set for either comedies or tragedies but during Macbeth, for instance, there were rocks in the scene with the witches on the heath which had to be set and removed quickly, and the traverse served this purpose well²².

Joseph O'Connor remembered that Wolfit in his enthusiasm for the new production of Hamlet announced that they were to have a brand new set for it. Instead of having the staircase, which figured in all the plays, at the side of the stage, it was moved to the centre! Antony Brown in his review in Our Time (May, 1949) caustically remarked that,

the company designer, who had no credit on the programme, deserves none either; he has conceived the Hamlet set as something like the bottom of an escalator; one short, broad staircase placed firmly in the middle of the stage, which is not only ugly but noisy - it creaked throughout the Ghost's passage down it.

These sets were not new for the Bedford productions but had been used at least since 1944, and were not attributable to any one designer, being adaptations over the years of sets taken over from other companies' productions.

The lighting too was very basic, for Wolfit did not attach a primary importance to it, nor had he the money for anything very sophisticated. Apart from the follow spot, lighting was either up stage, for comedy, or down stage for tragedy. There were not many special lighting effects - a single spot bar would be used to illuminate Wolfit's face in the heath scene of King Lear and a pair of carbon sticks was used for the lightning. For the scene in the hovel, Lear's truck was transformed by means of a red light which glowed inside, lighting the whole of that scene. In Macbeth, Banquo's ghost would enter through the false proscenium arch and the lighting would change to a bluish colour (noticed only by Macbeth), and the

lower spots were removed to give a cold light to suggest the supernatural quality of the event. As soon as the ghost had exited, the lighting returned to normal, the lower spots lighting up Volfit. Costumes were nearly always from a common stock and adapted to fit different actors, though O'Connor was honoured with a new one for Hamlet.

After the success of the first four weeks Volfit added King Lear, Hamlet, Othello, and The Merry Wives of Windsor to the repertoire. Joseph O'Connor and Volfit exchanged the roles of Iago and Othello during the second week of the production of Othello as Volfit found it too tiring to play the Moor every night. There was no extra rehearsal for O'Connor, who was simply told by Volfit that he knew what to do. The critic for The Times (19.4.49) noted that Volfit had seemed to be 'fatigued' in the title role and thought it was wise of him to play Iago during the following week. On 26 April the critic for the Daily Telegraph noted that the quality of the acting had improved.

On 23 April, a special programme was arranged for matinée and evening to celebrate Shakespeare's birthday. Volfit opened the occasion with a prologue he had written and various leading actors from the company and guest stars were invited to play scenes from Shakespeare. George Robey arrived in a taxi already dressed for the part of Falstaff to perform the 'honour' speech from Act 5 scene 1 of Henry the Fourth, Part 1, which was received with rapturous applause. Blanche Littler stood in the wings acting as his prompt, mouthing the words with him as he spoke. Volfit pushed him back on stage afterwards and he delighted the audiences with a parody of Shakespeare. Baliol Holloway, a distinguished R.S.C. actor, appeared as Henry V in the wooing scene, and Ernest Milton, famous for his interpretation of Hamlet, dressed on this occasion in evening clothes with Volfit's Hamlet cloak round his shoulders, read sonnets from an enormous book with a bejewelled book mark²³. A bare stage, hung with every single pair of tabs they possessed (black and brown at the back, greys in the middle, and new pinks and fawns at the front), was the only setting used, but they played to full and enthusiastic audiences²⁴.

In May they finished their season and went to the North of England on a tour to which Volfit had already committed the company. Although he felt bound to honour this prior engagement, his intention was to return to the Bedford in the autumn with a new season of Shakespeare's plays. In order not to lose his share of the lease on the Bedford theatre during the interim period, he installed a company under Douglas Seale, to perform seven Shaw plays.

For the first of these, Pygmalion, on 4 May, the house, according to the Daily Mail (24.5.49), was only half full, and the gallery only a quarter full. From then on, box-office takings dropped and The Times (14.6.49) reported 'only a handful of people' for Major Barbara. According to Harwood, the Shaw season lost one thousand pounds and Volfit attributed his dwindling audiences during this season, neither to his own absence from the theatre, nor to poor play production, but to the plays themselves (Sir Donald Wolfit p.208). This appears to be only true in part since according to Bruce Vorsley the general manager, 'We did capacity business for the first half of the Shakespeare season. Then, what with the hot weather and the light evenings, takings dropped off' (Daily Mail 24.5.49).

It seems then that public apathy was already in evidence, to a small extent, even before the Shaw season started, and it increased while Volfit was away. Even his return with The Master Builder on 4 July, and an enthusiastic review from The Times (5.7.49), could not save the company. He followed The Master Builder with a variety programme lasting three weeks called Harlequinada, keeping on some members of the company (his wife and leading lady Rosalind Iden and Brian Johnson were two of them) and engaging others more used to variety²⁸. The press were favourable but the critic for the Daily Herald (12.7.49) noted that the performances were 'sparsely attended'.

It would seem that to a large extent Shakespeare was his own star; Ibsen, even with Volfit playing Solness, was of little interest and Shaw's plays were not popular either at this time. The Daily Telegraph (5.4.49) made the point that the audience was full of Shakespeare lovers, 'and not merely Volfit fans', since O'Connor's Hamlet was greeted with great

enthusiasm. Perhaps Butterworth was right when he attributed the falling interest in the productions, to Volfit's having overstayed his welcome and to the fact that Shakespeare, though for a short time popular, had for the moment satiated his audiences (Butterworth's letter, 3.6.80). Possibly, too, if the productions had been as excellent as the one or two star performances, the company might have prolonged their stay.

Volfit's intention of leasing the theatre in the autumn was confounded, and a number of block bookings which had already been taken had to be cancelled and actors who had already been appointed to play in the subsequent season (Joseph O'Connor was one of them) had to be disappointed. According to Bryan Johnson, who later became a close friend of Volfit and who was to play the Fool to his Lear regularly, Volfit's dream was to purchase the theatre himself, though he does not know whether there was ever any chance of its realisation (Johnson in interview, 15.1.79). As early as 15 March 1949 the Daily Mail mentioned that Volfit had initiated negotiations for a five year lease, and it certainly seems to have come as a shock to him that another prospective buyer had apparently proposed herself in his absence.

Unfortunately Volfit did not actually lease the theatre from Butterworth but had a sharing contract with him. Thus, when Butterworth, alarmed by the losses incurred during the Shaw season, decided to accept an alternative proposition which seemed to him financially more attractive, Volfit was in no position to argue. He ended his tenancy at the end of July to make way for a brief festival of variety under Butterworth and for Pat Hye whose ambitious plans to buy the theatre were about to be accomplished.

The Pat Nye/John Penrose Management

1. Forming the Theatre

'Reunion' was an agency established at the end of the war to help actors who were ex-service men and women to find work (Nye in interview 24.1.79). Pat Nye, O.B.E., worked for the agency during the year of 1947 as casting director and general manager, and in that same year, anxious herself to find acting work, she formed the 'Reunion Players' in conjunction with Campbell Singer at the De La Warr Pavilion in Bexhill-on-Sea. In 1948 the company moved to the Egerton Pavilion (also in Bexhill) but it closed at the end of the summer season since the theatre relied for its audience on summer holiday makers, and the company was disbanded. Nye then began her search for a suitable building to house new plays. The Royal Court in Sloane Square offered itself as a possibility, but the building had suffered extensive bomb damage, and needed more money spent on it than she could afford. The Bedford Theatre, suitable in size, though situated in an unfashionable area not usually associated with the theatre, was put up for sale by the owner Beatrice Pearlberg (whose business name was Brisford Entertainments), and together with John Penrose, Nye acquired an option to purchase the theatre freehold for £90,000 to be paid over a period of three years after an initial payment of £2,000. The theatre was to revert to the original owners if Nye defaulted on payments.

The freehold included three adjoining flats and public house with accommodation above it, opening on to Arlington Street²⁶. According to Nye this was a large amount of property for the price in those days, a fact which indicated with what little enthusiasm theatre as a business enterprise was regarded at this period and in particular a theatre outside the West End in a working class area.

Pat Nye's first plan had been to form a syndicate of twelve actors (including Dirk Bogarde and Glynis Johns, whom she knew personally and who were already well-known on the screen), each of whom would contribute £200 to the venture in order to pay the deposit. When this plan failed because the likelihood of financial success seemed remote and the money was not to be found, Pat Nye accepted John Penrose as a partner since he was willing

to contribute a substantial share of the deposit. They had met briefly when acting together in the film version of the popular radio programme, The Adventures of P.C. 42, playing the parts of Ma Brady and Barney²⁷. As an experienced theatre manager herself (of the Theatre Royal Margate, 1934-37, and of the Park Theatre, Hanwell 1937-38) she was pleased to acquire a partner who had been manager of the Amersham Repertory Theatre before his war service (Penrose in interview 3.2.79)²⁸.

Negotiations for the purchase of the theatre had been going on for at least two years before anything materialised, and the agreement to sell was only made public after Donald Volfit had left the theatre in May to tour the North of England before his proposed return in the autumn, hence his surprise and annoyance on finding himself ousted and his autumn season of Shakespeare cancelled. His disappointment at losing the theatre led him to contact Pat Nye with (in her opinion) an exaggerated report on the dilapidation of the theatre and the extensive structural repairs necessary before the theatre could be safely used. Undeterred, Nye went ahead with plans to redecorate the front of house and a new lighting system was installed. No structural changes were carried out, only a coat of paint was applied, and the dress circle bar was decorated with panels designed and donated by famous theatre artists.

The list of designers (there were twelve of them listed in the programme for Lady Audley's Secret 17.10.49) includes some distinguished names from the world of theatre design: Anthony Holland, who was recently involved in designing the reception area for the new Theatre Museum in Covent Garden; Roger Furse (brother to Judith who directed Lady Audley's Secret) who was already well-known for his work on the Olivier films of Hamlet, Richard III, and Henry V; Hedley Briggs, a director and dancer; John Gower Parkes who worked for the R.S.C. in Stratford; Tanya Moiseiwitsch, a free-lance designer whose work includes productions at the National Theatre and the R.S.C.; Hutchinson Scott, Roger Ramsden, Paul Sherriff, and Michael Whittaker, who were all West End designers; finally there are three others: John Osborne (not the playwright of that name), Una Simmons and Sheila Graham, whose work has not been traced.

It appears that the panels no longer exist and information about them is vague. Anthony Holland believed they were all quite small (about 4 ft. by 3 ft.), with no thematic link between them, apart from the fact that they came from shows that each designer had been concerned with. Existing photographs do not show the panels in any detail and it has proved impossible to ascertain their subject matter²⁰.

Permission was obtained from the Duke of Bedford to erect his coat of arms, with the inscribed motto, 'che sara sara', above the proscenium arch, even though the theatre was never part of the Bedford estate²⁰. Unfortunately this work was never carried out, though the coat of arms was used in the design for the programme cover.

At the beginning of October 1949, Nye had forty thousand copies of a publicity leaflet distributed in the neighbourhood of Camden Town, announcing the Grand Gala Opening on 17 October. In this leaflet, written as an informal letter to future patrons, Nye and Penrose outlined their policy of establishing a 'Family Theatre'. The season was to be organised on a system of fortnightly rep with a resident company to be augmented by guest stars. In an interview reported in *The Stage* (6.10.49) Nye also explained that other actors and actresses were to be selected from provincial theatres by means of a system of talent scouts who were to be appointed as representatives of the Bedford Management in different parts of the country and who would offer roles to the most promising of them. Nye stressed that the chief purpose of their policy was to discover new talent and thereby contribute to the encouragement of new-comers to the profession. Unfortunately, the company was not established long enough for this scheme to be implemented.

2. 'The Bedfordians' Theatre Club'

The idea of 'family theatre' was to dominate management policy and though Nye never made any comprehensive press statement as to her exact meaning, what she aimed to do and how she aimed to do it are made reasonably clear in the programmes and from the idea of a supporters club, to be known as 'The Bedfordians' Theatre Club'. Letters from the

management to the public appeared in all the programmes urging patrons to book regularly on a permanent booking system and to join the theatre club, to be formed shortly after the opening production. In the programme for 13 March 1950 her letter specified the need for 'regular patronage' since it is the 'backbone of any family or stock theatre'.

In December 1949, Nye had leaflets printed including an application form, setting out the advantages which membership held for her patrons. These leaflets were put on display in the foyer and a note in the programme for 12 December directed the readers' attention to them. Members were to be entitled to reduced seat prices, attendance at Sunday night performances, play readings, discussions and talent spotting contests³¹. They were to be regularly notified of productions and would be able to book seats by telephone, when tickets would be held until fifteen minutes before the performance. Also mentioned was the intention to provide special accommodation for club members, so that they should have their own lounge and reading room. The fee for joining was 5s. a year and the leaflet pointed out that those who joined would save £1 per year if they attended each production, and bought two seats at 7s.6d. or 5s. The first meeting for members was not arranged until the following year.

Throughout the second season each programme contained a note on the club's progress. At last a date was fixed for the first meeting and on 19 March 1950 a reception, attended by the mayor of St. Pancras, with Leslie Henson as guest of honour, was organised to take place at the theatre. The chairman was Faith Bennett, the vice-chairman, Ronald Adam, and it was already boasted that they had 300 members (Hampstead Express 3.3.50). According to the St. Pancras Chronicle (21.3.50), it was discovered that members were enthusiastically in favour of play readings and their own amateur dramatics. Neither of these two suggestions was taken up, but three shows for Sunday performance were organised during the second season. The first was Opportunity Knocks, presented by Hughie Green on 30 April (this show started as a radio programme and had not yet become a well-known I.T.V. show). It did not receive much publicity since it was an occasion for club members only, but the Hampstead Express (15.5.50) records

that it attracted a large audience. Patricia Burke, who was playing the lead during the week in the Bedford's current show, presented the prizes.

The second was a play by Ronald Adam, called Marriage Settlement, performed on 21 May, which was well attended by the press, but received bad notices. Theatre News Letter (27.5.50) mentions that it was well attended and that the audience was enthusiastic. The third and final Bedfordian entertainment of the season took place on 25 June, and was presented by Elspeth Douglas Reid. She was described in a programme note as being a 'Scottish, South African Disease' and a 'British Ruth Draper'. Ronald Adam also included a letter in the programme, arguing the need for theatre clubs and encouraging people to become members.

3. Letters and Programme Notes

The letters also helped to create a feeling of friendly relations with the public. In an interview printed in The Stage (6.10.49), Nye is quoted as having said that she felt 'the personal touch' was necessary to the success of a 'family theatre' and the letters attempted to provide this quality, while at the same time emphasising the company's desire to do exactly what the patrons wanted, and to suggest their (the public's) implication in company decisions. For instance, having resolved to transfer Lady Audley's Secret to the West End, the management excused themselves by claiming in the programme for 14 November: 'it will always be our policy to change fortnightly, however successful the current show may be'. This explanation hides a number of more pertinent reasons for the move but implies that the company did not wish to upse¹ the public by making sudden alterations in the advertised programme²². They had only the public's welfare at heart!

Each programme carried a feature on the back page entitled 'Staff Spotlight'. Every two weeks a different member of the staff would have his or her photograph and brief biographical details printed in the programme as an item of interest to the public. Everybody who worked at the theatre, no matter how menial his capacity, was included at some time during the first two seasons in an attempt to make the audience feel on intimate terms with a world normally denied to them, and that this world itself was one

large, happy family. The information contained in the article was clearly not aimed at a theatrical élite, for although biographies were given of theatre veterans, and occasionally members of the company, equal space was given to cleaners, commissionaires and box-office staff. Most of the detail in the potted life-histories is patently uninteresting, and does not rise above the level of: '(Mrs. Bachelor, box-office manageress) enjoys her job because she says, 'it's such a change from house-work', or of Rosamunde Tattersall, wardrobe mistress: 'Ros is a happy person and is usually to be heard singing a little song as she goes about her work'²². If it is difficult to imagine to whom such information might appeal, the stress was always on the homely aspect of those working at the Bedford, and on the idea that each member of the staff was eager to meet and become personally acquainted with every patron.

It is also clear from this series of potted biographies that the majority of the staff were either ex-service men and women (Nye and Penrose themselves had been in the navy) or had worked for Pat Nye during her season in Bexhill. The loyalty of the staff to their venture is incontestable - many of them are still close friends and all offered, as the Bedford's finances finally collapsed, to work during the last month without salary²³.

As Nye said in that same interview (The Stage 6.10.49) 'good, well-varied plays' were to be chosen and seat prices were to be cheap. They ranged from 7s.6d. in the Stalls and Dress Circle, to 1s.6d. in the Gallery. By comparison with West End prices at the same period, the Bedford's seats were cheap. For instance seat prices at the Fortune in 1950 ranged from 14s. to 4s.6d. and at the Old Vic, in 1950, from 10s.6d. to 2s. Even theatres away from the centre were more expensive - the Lyric Hammersmith, in 1950, was charging between 12s. and 1s.6d. and Sadlers Wells between 10s.6d. and 1s.6d.²⁴.

Nye and Penrose had received a great deal of publicity over their purchase of the Bedford. The old building was of considerable historical interest and it had been in the news earlier as one of the locations for the film, Trottie True - a fictitious life-history of a music-hall star, taken

from the book of the same name, by Caryl Brahms and S.J. Simon. It was filmed by the Rank Organisation, directed by Brian Desmond Hurst, and starred Jean Kent, James Donald and Bill Owen²⁶. Interest was also aroused by the unusual fact that they were willing to buy, not lease a theatre. As the Daily Mail (26.8.49) reported, 'they [Hye and Penrose] claim to be the only pair of actor-managers who own their own theatre'. The national press as well as local papers took up the story and retained their interest until the final melodrama was performed in June 1950.

Season 1

The first season was planned and opened with a production of Lady Audley's Secret, starring Pat Nye as Lady Audley and Anne Crawford as Alicia Audley. It was well publicised (the publicity was managed by John Penrose) and the opening night (17.10.49) was attended by many music-hall stars including Bransby Williams, Albert Whelan and George Robey, who travelled by stage coach from Kensington. Laurence Olivier and Jean Simmons were also among the audience and the press both local and national was represented³⁷.

The play had been chosen to open the theatre for several reasons: it was written during the period when the Bedford was built; appropriately it blended typical music-hall fare (i.e. the interpolated Victorian songs) with the serious drama which was intended to succeed the production³⁸; but possibly most important of all it had enjoyed a recent success with Pat Nye and the Reunion Players at the Egerton Pavilion, Bexhill, which she hoped to repeat in London. The play, which lends itself easily to burlesque (contrary to the tradition in general, it seems not to take itself too seriously) had songs arranged and played by Arthur Collier. They were interpolated at dramatic moments to mock the sensational action³⁹. As George Tailboys, Lady Audley's first husband, is pushed down the well, a chorus of 'Down Among the Dead Men' was sung by the entire cast, including the murdered Tailboys. 'Just a Song at Twilight' was sung by Lady Audley immediately after agreeing to give the blackmail money to Luke 'at twilight', and the company sang the refrain from 'Who Killed Cock Robin', to end the show. Music in the original text is used to heighten moments of suspense, but in this production it provided comedy and heralded every significant entrance so that the audience would be ready to hiss or cheer as they recognised the theme⁴⁰. Lady Audley appeared in a sinister green spotlight, encouraging an already enthusiastic audience, who, according to the Daily Mail (18.10.49), 'had the time of its life'. The dialogue itself was almost unaltered from Hazelwood's adaptation, the comedy being derived largely from the ham delivery and exaggerated mannerisms of melodramatic acting. The few changes in the dialogue were made either for the sake of their topicality: Sir Michael's 'I'm amazed', when told of Robert's 'amorous

advances' to Lady Audley, was changed to, 'I'm more than surprised, I'm amazed', apparently in deference to George Robey whose catch phrase it was, and who was present at the first night; or to elicit a vocal response from the gallery: Pat Nye changed her line, 'The secret is here, here hidden in my own breast for ever', to 'the secret is here, here, hidden in my bosom for ever', which was greeted by a voice from the gallery with 'Bloody big bosom' (Pat Nye was, as photographs testify, an extremely large lady) to which she of course replied: 'Bloody big secret'. This joke apparently arose spontaneously, but proved so successful that it was kept in and never failed to get the desired reaction. The Daily Express (16.11.49) and Sunday Dispatch (20.11.49) carried two versions of another joke: Robert Audley, on his first entrance in Act 2 laments the fact that six months have passed. This was greeted by a voice from the gallery with, 'Twelve it says in the programme'. Robert tried again, 'Six months have passed ...', where-upon the whole audience roared, 'Twelve ...'. The heckling was brought to a close with the actor's compromise, 'Nine months have passed ...'. This too became a permanent part of the act.

The critic from the Daily Telegraph (18.10.49) remarked that 'one had not realised ... how near a relation Lady Audley could be made to Wilde's Lady Bracknell until one saw the formidable Pat Nye in the part'; and The Times (18.10.49), too, commenting on the performance said, 'There is no pretence at gravity, even in the casting of the play. Miss Pat Nye for instance is extremely amusing without in the least resembling the Lady Audley of the text'. Her physique and age alone precluded the casting from being taken seriously, since the Lady Audley of the text is supposed to be twenty-four years old and very beautiful.

The set, designed by Patrick Lynott, was a parody of the Victorian manner of staging with everything painted on the back-cloth, except essential properties such as the well into which Tailboys is pushed. This arrangement, as well as keeping the play in period, allowed more space for the action since the stage had little depth (it was of typical music-hall proportions: 55 ft. 3". by 23 ft. 10". deep) and simplified set changes. It also meant that the cast, which was a large one, with an extra company of ballet dancers could be lavishly costumed while keeping within the budget.

for the show. Atmosphere was created by lighting changes (according to Gerald Batty, stage director, the lighting equipment was only just adequate) and music supplied by Arthur Collier and the Bedford Trio.

Before the first night was over the impresario Jack Hylton had gone back stage to ask Pat Nye to transfer the show to the Prince's Theatre in Shaftesbury Avenue. The temptation to become a West End success proved greater than prudence, and Pat Nye agreed to go with the company to the Prince's Theatre at the end of the advertised two weeks at the Bedford for a run of six weeks.

Before the transfer to the Prince's Theatre, a B.B.C. transmission of the play, which had been proposed as early as 16 August 1949, was arranged for the 25 October, despite a rather sceptical note which had been sent internally from Peter Dimmock to Cecil McGivern, head of Television Outside Broadcasts, expressing doubts about the wisdom of such a choice. It was agreed to run a dress rehearsal for cameras at 2p.m. on the 25th, and on the Sunday before, overhead stage lighting was to be rigged, which would in no way interfere with the Monday night performance. There were to be two cameras in the front of the dress circle, centre block, necessitating the removal of the front row of seats and the reservation of the four rows behind it. A third camera was to be free to move up and down a ramp in the middle gangway of the circle between the first seven rows. A further twenty seats on either side of this gangway had to be removed and the lighting was to be installed in the gallery and boxes, as well as above the stage and in the wings. Gangway seats in the dress circle had to be reserved for the television staff on several evenings before the broadcast in order that they might observe the action. A number of the Bedford staff were to be used during the broadcast and their fees were to be additional to the facilities fee of £190 already negotiated and payable to the Bedford Theatre management. In addition to the cast, four extras were to be engaged at a fee of three guineas each to boost audience reaction. The principal actors were asked to make a curtain speech since the running time of the play was one and three quarter hours and the time allocated to the show, two hours⁴¹.

Despite its local success, Lady Audley's Secret was allowed to transfer to the West End after two weeks and the decision to adhere to the original programme planning was made. Two new plays and two revivals followed before the Christmas pantomime, Aladdin, was brought in, but none of them attracted the public very successfully.

The first, A Wind on the Heath, by Ronald Adam, was a sentimental play about the middle classes, whose struggles teach them to share their comforts even though they are meagre and barely adequate for their personal wants. Ronald Adam's knowledge of West End audiences (he had managed the Embassy Theatre, Swiss Cottage, between 1931 and 1937, during which time twenty-six of his productions transferred to the West End*) clearly influenced the play which has enough moralising to remove it from the entirely frivolous, and enough easy emotion to win over a sophisticated audience without disturbing it. Again the press was enthusiastic, particularly about the acting, which was praised in most of the papers. Critics such as Harold Hobson reviewing for the Sunday Times (6.11.49), and Philip Hope-Wallace writing for Time and Tide (12.11.49) were lavish with their commendations. A number of critics had reservations about the play but in general it was thought to have been saved by good company acting and direction. Punch (16.11.49) reported,

there are no stars here, but instead honest sensitive acting that carries conviction even in the smallest parts ... if the Bedford can maintain this standard it should notably enrich its history.

The most conspicuous exception was R.D. Smith, the critic for the New Statesman (12.11.49) who wrote scathingly about all aspects of the production. He accused the actors of ham acting in a play which he described as 'straight Pegs Paper' in 'feeling and psychology' and did not blame them for looking embarrassed. The direction, too, came under attack for lacking cohesion and thus plausibility. His was, however, a lone voice and there was a general feeling that a permanent repertory company was being established.

The second of the two new plays, A Guardsman's Cup of Tea, by Thomas Browne, directed by John Penrose, was even less adventurous in its subject

matter than A Wind on the Heath. Critics were quick to point out the melodramatic overtones of the sub-title, Or Her Right to Love, which might have been added expressly for Camden Town audiences, 'who went prepared to hiss the villain and cheer the hero' (Daily Mail 15.11.49)⁴². In this they were disappointed since the play is a drawing room comedy of situation, which requires no vocal participation - only laughter. The sub-title in fact refers to the theme of female equality with the male sex, though it is only glanced at, and not developed. Browne, in a production note, called the play 'a comedy of manners', but it contains nothing original - no questioning of social assumptions - and the leading female character's feminism is merely nominal. The play ends by affirming all the old social and sexual prejudices as each character accepts his predetermined position in society. The Observer (20.11.49), singling out this aspect of the play, asked, 'will Camden Town relish the snobbish termination of a seemingly democratic romance?' It seems not, for despite the Manchester Guardian's assurance (16.11.49) that 'the Bedford ... is winning its audience. "Houses" have steadily improved', the management were still not able to repeat the success of Lady Audley's Secret.

Again press notices were, on the whole, enthusiastic, and again many predictions were made that the play would transfer to the West End, but it did not⁴³. The Tribune (18.11.49) accused the Bedford of 'playing safe' in its choice of play but although the play was of a familiar type, Nye could only have been considered to have been 'playing safe' in terms of the West End, and it was beginning to be apparent that Camden Town and the West End were not synonymous.

Of the two revivals The Chiltern Hundreds by William Douglas Home, was Nye's worst choice. It had had a long run at the Vaudeville Theatre, opening on 27 August 1947 and closing in 1949 after 621 performances, and consequently neither critics nor public bothered to attend⁴⁴. If the previous play had incidentally confirmed class prejudice, this play's theme is the affirmation of the old class structure. Beecham the Butler foolishly becomes a Tory M.P. and Lord Pym rashly proposes marriage to the servant, but this state of affairs is rectified when the different characters, with great good humour, recognise their appointed stations in life, and accept

the wisdom of keeping to them. Home seems to sweeten his message by making the butler intelligent and the maid sensitive, until one realises that the comedy is at the expense of these characters - that the joke lies in the farcical notion that butlers might be intelligent and maids sensitive human beings. Lord Cleghorn, newly elected Labour M.P., sums up the play's ethos, 'A man who has got a place in life should keep it', and from there the plot complexities are resolved. Beecham resigns his parliamentary appointment (hence the title of the play) and Lord Pym breaks off his engagement with the maid (no one except Lord Lister, the absent-minded father of Lord Pym, took it seriously anyway) and she, delighted, accepts the butler as husband instead.

It was the only production during the Pat Hye régime which seems not to have been attended by the press. Only The Stage (1.12.49) gave it a write-up mentioning one or two good performances, stressing the triviality of the play, though admitting to finding it funny.

The Crooked Billet by Dion Titheradge ought to have had a better chance of success in Camden if the critics quoted below were accurate in their description of audience response. Although they show a different opinion of the production they demonstrate the fact that given lighter treatment the play could have commanded better audiences. This comic thriller, written in 1927, was received in much the same manner as Lady Audley's Secret had been. The critic for the Hampstead Express (16.12.49), while lamenting the fact that the play did not have 'the period charm of Lady Audley's Secret', complained that the 'audience are in danger of looking at it as a similar curiosity, and endeavour to extract the same enjoyment from its childish melodramatics'. The critic for News Review (22.12.49) took the opposite view. While agreeing that the play was a 'tedious effort', he claimed that,

what saved it was the audience, seemingly the liveliest in London. Refusing to take the tortuous meanderings of the play too seriously, it grew positively hilarious when the gangsters once more out-witted the police, or vice-versa.

According to this critic the actors were surprised by the audience reaction and not until the end of the evening did they (successfully) play up to it.

The critic for The Times (13.12.49), whilst recognising that audiences were trying to extract the same kind of enjoyment from the production that they had experienced with Lady Audley's Secret, felt that the play was not good enough to warrant this kind of treatment,

twenty odd years have not been enough to make of it [the thriller] the kind of curiosity habitues of the Bedford Theatre seem to like best, though there were signs last night that that is how they will see it. It is interesting to note that even at this stage critics were beginning to feel they knew what the audiences wanted. It was not until half way through the second season that Nye decided to take their comments to heart.

The above criticism, which seems to have been the general opinion, with unqualified praise as the exception, indicates that the producer, Noel Howlett, missed an opportunity to repeat the success of Lady Audley's Secret⁴⁶. The author called his play a comedy, and like Lady Audley's Secret it does not take itself too seriously. If the producer had given it the kind of burlesque treatment that the other had received from Judith Furse, or even simply emphasised its comic elements, it might have satisfied Camden Town audiences.

With a large number of the company involved in the transfer of Lady Audley's Secret, there was no time to prepare their own Christmas show, so the management decided to break with their policy and engage another company to bring in Aladdin to run from 26 December for four weeks, with performances twice daily. The show was presented by Blanche Littler (George Robey's wife) with Bryan Mitchie as Widow Twankey and Charmian Innes as Principal Boy. Seat prices were kept the same, which meant that it was a much cheaper pantomime for the family than a West End show, and reviews were quite good.

In the programme for Aladdin the letter from Nye and Penrose outlined their intentions for the following season's plays⁴⁷. Having pointed out that critics seemed to think they should make the Bedford a 'Melodrama House', they felt that 'an undiluted diet of melodrama ... could not fail to pall after a while'. Their policy then, would be to stage some melodramas - either burlesqued or played straight - interspersed with new plays and

classics, not excluding Shakespeare. They went on to say that 'the ordinary recent West End success will not feature in our programme' - a broad enough hint that business during The Chiltern Hundreds had been poorer than expected.

During the run of The Crooked Billet, the critic for the News Chronicle (22.12.49) had reported that audiences had declined most noticeably during the two modern revivals (i.e. The Chiltern Hundreds, and The Crooked Billet) but this could be seen to prove nothing more than that the company was treading a downward path and setting a self-perpetuating pattern for failure.

Season 2

In an effort to please those critics who demanded more melodrama, Nye decided to open the new season in January with The Shaughraun by Dion Boucicault. Dirk Bogarde, who was well enough known on the screen to attract audiences, played Captain Molineux, Bill Shine played Conn, and the play was directed by Judith Furse. In acknowledgement of the critics who had protested at her burlesque treatment of Lady Audley's Secret, she produced the melodrama seriously, with an attempt to recreate a Victorian spectacle⁴⁸. The Observer critic (29.1.50) pointed out the need for a much larger theatre with a stage the size of Drury Lane's, if the effects were to be wholly successful, but he was, nevertheless, complimentary about the production. One or two reviews, including the Observer's, found that the acting lacked the extravert quality even serious melodrama requires, but the consensus was that the Bedford had done well to present a straightforward and competent production⁴⁹.

Audience participation was commented on by some reviewers, but it seems not to have been encouraged by the production and hisses for the villains were muted. According to the Evening Standard (25.1.50) and others, there was spontaneous response to the legitimate comedy in the character of the Shaughraun himself, but in general, the delight of drama critics on seeing melodrama given sober handling was not shared to the same extent by the local patrons who did not greet this show with the same enthusiasm that they had greeted Lady Audley's Secret, and box-office takings did not compare favourably⁵⁰. It did, however, prove more popular than the three subsequent plays, which were new and attracted small audiences and mediocre reviews.

The Leopard by Dorothy Lang was both cliché-ridden and implausible, and for some reason lacked Dirk Bogarde who had been billed to play one of the leads. Primrose and the Peanuts, by Peter Wildeblood and Oriel Ross, was more interesting though no more successful than its predecessor⁵¹. Although the playwright labels his play a 'satirical comedy', and obviously intended to make fun of the government's much publicised 'groundnuts' scheme' in East Africa, there is very little satire in it and what there is

occurs mostly in Act 2. The title, and one or two jokes about the dismal failure of peanuts to grow in Northern Rhodesia ('two years work and only fourteen nuts') really sum up the satirical content of the play, which is a farce based on the concealed identities of husband and wife and the resultant mistakes made by outsiders. Its colonial setting draws no real criticism from the playwright, only mild jokes at the expense of British administration in the colonies. The general opinion of the critics seems to have been that of the Manchester Guardian's (3.3.50), 'a happily chosen cast ... does wonders in hiding the insubstantial nature of the piece'; most found the farce only moderately amusing. The play had been presented first as a Sunday night performance at the Playhouse in March 1949 (The Stage 16.2.50), but the time lapse between the two productions meant that the prior production did not afford any effective publicity for the Bedford's show. The light-hearted nature of the play extended to the front of house, where programme sellers were dressed for the occasion - one as a primrose, the other in a sack with nuts hanging from it, and a show case was placed in the foyer containing nuts, with botanical descriptions attached (Evening News 28.2.50). It ran for the usual two weeks (The Leopard had run for three in order to avoid opening Primrose and the Peanuts during election week) and the programme for 27 February tacitly blames bad houses for The Leopard on the election. Pat Nye writes in her letter to patrons,

as I write we are all eagerly awaiting the Election results, and in the world of the theatre most particularly, since theatre business is always affected by the period prior to a General Election. We can all get back to normal, and we look forward to your ever increasing support of our productions²².

Ken Tynan, who directed the play, was at that time twenty-two years old and had begun to make a reputation for himself in the theatre since leaving Oxford University; he currently had a production of a contemporary play called Man of the World running at the Lyric Theatre Hammersmith²³. He was able to assist the management financially and was for this reason asked to produce two plays at the Bedford, chosen by Pat Nye (Kimber, stage manager, in an interview 3.7.79). The amount of money Tynan put into the venture is not known.

The third play, Craven House, adapted for the stage by Diana Hamilton from Patrick Hamilton's novel, is of interest only in that it is a pallid version of Rattigan's Separate Tables and although it had been televised on 21 and 27 February of that year, with three of the original actors playing the roles on the Bedford stage, audience numbers continued to decrease.

According to certain members of the company, namely Vaughan Kimber, Bill Shine and Pat Nye, the association with Ken Tynan was not a happy one. This is hardly surprising since Tynan was then a flamboyant young man with plenty of new ideas, dealing with a company of experienced professionals who would not have reacted readily to his rather arrogant ways and unorthodox notions. However, he remained with the company to produce one of the subsequent melodramas, though again there was friction with the actors.

The poor attendance for Craven House appears to have caused Pat Nye to lose her nerve; she drastically altered her stated policy of presenting new plays which were obviously not making money (John Penrose admitted as much to a reporter for the Daily Express, 28.3.50), and opted for a run of Victorian melodramas. The Isle of Umbrellas by Mabel Tyrell and Peter Coke was cancelled, and two weeks later Mrs. Henry Wood's East Lynne was presented. The sudden change of advertised programmes in repertory, and an appeal for more support printed in the programme for Craven House (13 March) and the following programme (27 March), showed the public for the first time that the management was experiencing difficulties. J.W. Kingsley Maile, the mayor of St. Pancras, added his voice to the management's, and stressed the idea that the Bedford as a 'family theatre' had become a 'feature of our community life'. It is ironic that he should so publicise it at a time when it was patently failing to achieve such a status. Ronald Harwood, in his biography of Volfit, quoted the actor manager as having said that the Bedford was 'taken over for melodrama' (p.208). However, Nye and Penrose had kept rigidly to their policy of providing 'a judicious mixture of good new plays and revivals' (The Stage, 6.10.49) until this point, when they had lost too much money on new plays to continue with it. Nye had employed two play readers, one of whom was Ronald Adam, to look at the new plays sent to her, and she claimed that

those performed were chosen purely on their merits as drama, though it is noteworthy that Adam was a personal friend of hers and Dion Titheradge a friend of Adam's.

The decision to present a run of melodramas was accompanied by a great deal of publicity. All the major newspapers carried articles supporting the idea of a theatre performing melodrama exclusively and seriously²². For East Lynne Penrose developed the idea he had had for enhancing the front of house atmosphere in Primrose and the Peanuts, and not only dressed his ushers and bar staff in Victorian garb, but also provided pease pudding and saveloys at sixpence a plate in the gallery bar, in order to recall the old days of music-hall.

The company had only nine days in which to cast and rehearse the play. The music was specially written for the production by Arthur Collier in the same space of time (Pat Nye in interview), and it was a great success. The play was for the most part played seriously, though several critics were annoyed by the compromise made between parody and serious acting; the Observer (2.4.50) complained that 'the cast is not sure whether to burlesque the old piece or most properly to play it straight', and the Daily Telegraph (28.3.50) singled out Bruno Barnabé's caricature of the villain as the one discordant note in an otherwise 'magnificent' production.

Barnabé, however, cannot take all the blame for misplaced mockery. The director, Gordon Crier, arranged a final 'angelic tableau' (Observer 2.4.50) which for some critics spoiled the end of the play²³. Photographs show Lady Isabel lying dead on her bed, with her husband gesturing dramatically towards the back of the stage, where curtains have been drawn back to reveal Little Willie playing a harp, floating on a cloud, with three angelic figures kneeling below in attitudes of prayer. Obviously inspired by the final stage direction in the text: 'He [Archibald] lays her [Isabel] gently down and stands ... as if invoking the blessing of Heaven for her lost soul', it nevertheless destroyed the genuine solemnity of the moment.

The press seems to have been divided in its opinion of the audience response - some report uproarious laughter at the line 'Dead - and never

called me mother', others claimed a deathly hush²⁶. However, the critics were unanimous in their enthusiasm for the production. The Illustrated London News (22.4.50) tried to analyse the response and came to the conclusion that on the first night a group that had come to mock found themselves embarrassingly in the minority, and that their laughter at the famous line was forced. The Daily Telegraph (28.3.50) criticised the audience rather than the production for ill-timed laughter: 'All that is wanted to make this season of melodrama a great success is an audience with a more grown-up sense of humour'; and the Evening News (31.3.50) was of the same opinion. However, the justice of blaming the audience rather than the production itself, is debatable.

The success of the first and subsequent nights led the management to run the show for an extra week (three weeks in all), which gave them time to prepare for their next production. The Stage (6.4.50) reported that East Lynne had broken the last existing house record at the Bedford, previously held by a 1915 variety bill headed by Kate Carney. Other papers made the same claim, but no evidence for it has come to light.²⁷

Two of the melodramas which followed, Irilby and The Bells, had a specific inherent difficulty which neither was able to overcome fully. Both had received famous productions within living memory, and it was the critics' delight to use these former productions as a standard by which to judge the present ones. The version used for Irilby was the one adapted by Paul Potter for Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, and even those who could not claim to have seen Tree's Svengali remarked on Abraham Sofaer's small stature and less than compelling personality. The London drama critic for the Scotsman (20.4.50) was one of those who remembered the original production, and compared it unfavourably with the Bedford's. Patricia Burke, who played Dorothea Baird's part of Irilby, was also criticised for lacking the dignity with which Baird had endowed the part, though she was moderately well liked. It was felt by most of the critics that it had been a mistake to have the actress sing her famous song in front of the curtain, since the standard required to impress the audience with its magical quality must have been more than most actresses could attain.²⁸ It was

also noticed, and regretted, that the production did not in any way attempt to reproduce the original du Maurier illustrations."

Most of the critics agreed that The Bells was intrinsically not a good play, but provided one star part which, if played well, was responsible for any success it might have. Again it was a melodrama which had had a memorable first performance, and though most of the critics had not seen Henry Irving as Mathias, such was its reputation that most of them made at least a passing reference to his production, and some were quite detailed in their comparisons. The Times (30.5.50) categorically stated that 'Mr. Valk did not choose to follow in the Irving tradition', and continued, '(he) plays him (Mathias) as a man who would be perfectly content to enjoy his ill-gotten gains but for the untimely repetition in his ears of the sound of the Polish Jew's sleigh bells, a physical malaise rather than an intolerable materialisation of spiritual torment'. A contemporary account of Irving's performance (in The Times) describes the characterisation in this way:

Mr H. Irving has thrown the whole force of his mind into the character, and works out bit by bit the concluding hours of a life passed in a constant effort to preserve a cheerful exterior, with a conscience tortured till it has become a monomania.⁴⁰

The critic for The Times (30.5.50) concluded that 'Mr. Valk is merely a malefactor brought to justice by an improbable concatenation of events', and saw his performance as merely a succession of 'impressive moments' without the necessary quality to bring this melodrama to life. It is ironic (but perhaps inevitable given the two actors' fundamental physical and vocal differences) that nearly all the press notices compared Valk's performance with Irving's only to conclude that they were totally different, since according to both Gerald Batty (production manager for this show) and Vaughan Kimber (the stage director), Valk frustrated all attempts by Tynan to impose his personal stamp on the production by assuring him that his moves, gestures and general interpretation of the role were modelled on Irving's performance, which he had faithfully copied.

The New Statesman (3.6.50), concurring with most of the other reviews, felt that the performance did not produce the terror which Irving had created, but at the same time praised Ken Tynan's production for its 'Kafkaesque effect'. According to John Penrose, the nightmare quality was

cleverly achieved by Tynan with lighting effects and the use of wedding guests to form the members of the court, so that characters seemed to merge into each other. The Observer's critic (4.6.50) confirmed the truth of this when, after criticising the production ('There is too little imagination in this revival...'), he conceded, 'except maybe in the lighting of the trial where the producer (Ken Tynan) does suggest the fever-chills of nightmare'. The sound of the sleigh-bells which haunt Mathias and which none of the other characters can hear was unfortunately less successful. According to the News Chronicle (3.6.50) and others, 'the bells sound too near and too loud. They should be remote if they are to be alarming'.⁶¹

The Bells is a short play, and it was felt necessary to include a curtain-raiser which was meant to put the audience in the mood for a nineteenth century entertainment. Written in 1882 by Henry J. Byron, The Rosebud of Stingingnettle Farm, or: The Villainous Squire and the Virtuous Villager, was described in a programme note (29.5.50) as 'a satire on the bucolic or pastoral plays of the period' (29.5.50), though it is really a send-up of melodrama rather than a satire, and typified the management's ambivalent attitude to the genre. It lasted a quarter of an hour and provoked very little critical comment.

Audiences were small, and The North London Press (2.6.50) blamed the hot weather for the poor attendance, but even a midnight matinee of The Bells, scheduled for 13 June in aid of 'The National Playing Fields Association', had to be cancelled at the last minute because advance bookings had been too few. It is more likely that this critic had picked up Nye's hint in her programme letter for 29 May, where she spoke of the summer as being 'a notoriously difficult time in the theatre world' and encouraged patrons by pointing out that the theatre had a sliding roof which kept it 'cool and comfortable at all times'. In fact the roof had not been repaired, and was never opened during this management's régime (Nye in interview). The optimistic note is still apparent in this letter, though tempered by the anxiety indirectly expressed in yet another plea for continued support. Nye claimed to have been half way through the summer season of melodrama when she asked the public for their reaction to another staging of Lady Audley's Secret to close the season. Obviously this request

met with little response, since a letter in the following programme repeated the question, and the whole scheme seems to have been dropped from consideration.

If there had been a need to lengthen the programme for The Balls, The Silver King antagonised critics by its length of three and a half hours. It is a play with seventeen changes of scene, though they are not all different, and Patrick Lynott's set was, nevertheless, praised by both The Times (9.5.50) and The Stage (11.5.50) for its elegance and efficiency in quick simple changes². Critics praised the production for its faithfulness to period detail, with the scene painted on the back drop and sparse but authentic period furniture on stage. There was no burlesque in the acting, which on the whole pleased the press, and only one critic expressed puzzlement at the audience response, which was quiet, attentive and serious (What's On 19.5.50).

Although attendance on the opening night was good, public enthusiasm could not be aroused. Perhaps potential audiences had been deterred by the length of the programme, or by the serious treatment of the play which had been so lauded by the critics, and once again support was not forthcoming. It must also be said that the quality of the drama presented does not seem to have had much to do with audience numbers. The Silver King is dramatically the most satisfactory of the melodramas so far presented, providing suspense, emotion and some social comment. Possibly the poor modern plays which had been performed earlier had driven away potential audiences who were not willing to risk their time and money again - anyway the critics' enthusiasm did not re-kindle the public interest shown at the beginning of the venture.

Having decided on rapid changes in the repertoire, the company did not give itself enough rehearsal time to expunge imperfections such as over-long performances, nor, as in the case of the final melodrama Black-Eyed Susan, to give polished renderings of the six interpolated songs. Gordon Crier, the director, chose to stage it as an operetta with music by Charles Dibdin - an appropriate choice of composer since the music for the original play is usually attributed to him, and he also lived the last years of his

life in Arlington Street and is buried in St. Martin's Gardens, now a recreation ground not far from the site of the Bedford, where a large cross has been erected in his memory. Unfortunately the critics seem to have unanimously agreed that the singing was not good enough for a production which relied heavily for its effect on the songs²². For instance in Act One of the original text there is mention of one song, 'Black-Eyed Susan', which Susan herself is heard singing off-stage. In the Bedford's version there was an overture, 'Plymouth Ho', followed at intervals throughout the first act by six Dibdin songs: 'Tom Bowling', 'Black-Eyed Susan', 'Love Will Find a Way', 'Faraway', 'The Token', and 'Hearts of Oak'. The act was brought to a close with a rousing chorus of 'Rule Britannia'²³. The script does not note which actors sang the songs, but it is clear from the programme billings (19 June 1950) that Pat Hye and Julian Somers had most of the solos. The critic for The Times (20.6.50) mentioned the fact that the cast included only one competent singer - Julian Somers - 'but of some of the other singers it can only be said that they do their best'. The play appears to have been under-rehearsed (New Statesman 24.6.50) and underplayed (New Statesman 24.6.50 and Daily Herald 20.6.50), perhaps because the actors themselves were now aware that the struggle was coming to an end. The public did not come, but still there was no announcement made about imminent closure. The programme for Black-Ey'd Susan bravely advertised the forthcoming production as Aurora Floyd; or, The Dark Dead in the Wood, by the author of Lady Audley's Secret, and as late as 22 June 1950 The Stage was making the same announcement. Black-Ey'd Susan ran until 8 July, and then the theatre closed, notice of its closure having been given press coverage only a week before²⁴. Although The Times (10.7.50) stated that the theatre was to re-open again in the middle of September with another run of melodramas, Black-Ey'd Susan was in fact the last they were to perform. Too much money had been lost, and there was none available for the company to continue.

Season 3

A third season opened with a completely different policy designed to help recoup the losses of the previous two seasons. In their letter to patrons printed in the programme for The Three Arts Ballet on 4 September, which opened the new season, Nye and Penrose announced their intention of bringing in touring revues after the two weeks of ballet, until Christmas when they would stage their own pantomime. The letter hid the fact that the bringing in of revue was a desperate measure to make some money with as little expense to themselves as possible, and was a measure which Pat Nye would have preferred not to have to take. Pat Nye, in her 1979 interview, expressed her bitterness that the project of 'Family Theatre' should have been reduced to the cheap vulgarity of nude revues. Instead it was made to sound as if it had been chosen in order to comply with their patrons' tastes: 'We feel that to play melodrama the whole year round would be a mistake and might well become boring for our public'.

The revues which followed were a mixture of typical variety acts with singing, dancing, comedy sketches and acrobatics, brought in by such well-known managements as Hinge Productions Ltd, and nude shows with titles such as Nudes Are News and A Date With Nye (see Daily Mail 7.11.50). The variety acts were recorded intermittently on the Variety Page of The Stage but the nude reviews were not mentioned.

Even as the Bedford foundered at the end of 1950, an effort was made to keep the Bedfordian Club going, and in their bulletin for September, Nye announced five Sunday shows for the season, three of which were to be plays, one ballet 'with diseuse', and the other to be decided later⁴⁴. On Sundays for which nothing had been arranged, band concerts were to be performed for the general public. What actually materialised was one play only, The Borderline, written and directed by R. Bruce Walker, starring Doris Hare, Miriam Karlin, and Richard Johnson; it was presented on 15 October 1950. Two variety shows followed, A Night of Variation on 12 November, and Bedfordian's Bag on 26 November. The former included a ballet performed by members of the 'Three Arts Ballet', a drama of the Grand Guignol, Coals of Fire by Frederick Witney, starring Pat Nye, and a

guest appearance by Terry Thomas at the end of the show; for the latter there are no details.

Only one other serious entertainment was staged at the Bedford for the general public, and this too was brought in by a touring company. The play was Sartre's The Respectable Prostitute, followed by his Men Without Shadows, which according to John Penrose in 1979, enjoyed a 'succès de scandale' for three weeks. The Daily Mail (7.11.50) claimed it was the biggest box-office success since Nye and Penrose had opened in 1949. Whether or not this was true, it was now too late to be of help to them, and their pantomime did not go on. Again a touring show was engaged, and Circusrevusical, presented by Harry Goodson Ltd, opened on 26 December. Live animals were used, though the facilities for keeping them at the Bedford were primitive, and according to Vaughan Kimber the council had to be brought in at the end of the two weeks, to dispose of the stinking refuse left behind.

This, unhappily, was the final show to be staged by the Nye/Penrose management. The estimated losses, according to the Daily Mail (7.11.50), were £12,000.

The End of the Nye/Penrose Management

Under the terms of the contract, the company were given by the Pearlbergs thirty-six hours to leave the premises, and were allowed to take nothing with them. Bill Shine, one of the actors, smuggled out some scripts in a laundry basket, but large items which would have been of historical value, such as the decorative panels in the bar and Patrick Lynott's back drops, were left behind and are assumed destroyed.

The company disbanded, and members went their separate ways, some remaining in the acting profession, others making new careers for themselves. Pat Nye was relieved to leave the country for a while, playing in Laurence Olivier's two productions of Caesar and Cleopatra, in which she played Ftatateeta, and Antony and Cleopatra which opened at the St. James's

Theatre in May 1951, and which then moved to New York in the following December. Ronald Adam, too, was in the cast, and it is interesting to note that Roger Furse and Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed sets for Olivier's productions during this season⁶⁷.

Summary of Reasons for the Bedford's Closure

On 29 June 1950 it was reported in the News Chronicle that 'West End managements are facing one of the most serious theatre slumps since the war, with no fewer than seven of their theatres closed'. The Daily Mail (29.6.50) attributed the slump to the hot weather and named the Saville, the Duke of York, the Playhouse, the Winter Garden, the Fortune and the Coliseum as theatres which had been closed for that reason.

It is undoubtedly true that the Bedford was one of many theatres affected by a national crisis in the theatre world, but certain facts emerge in retrospect, stemming from the very early days of the Nye/Penrose management, which were instrumental in the failure of the enterprise. Firstly the partnership itself had proved unsuccessful. Both Nye and Penrose were actors, and as such, both aspired to stardom, and each resented the success of the other. Pat Nye played most of the star roles, including Lady Audley in the play which proved to be their first and only thorough success. However, according to John Penrose, Nye not only neglected the administrative and business side of the enterprise but, by showing more concern for her own career as an actress, had a positively detrimental effect on the fortunes of the theatre. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that Penrose had a grievance against Pat Nye, who asked him to play only one substantial part in the first season (Beecham in The Chiltern Hundreds) and to direct one play, The Guardsman's Cup of Tea (which according to Nye was almost a disaster because of his incompetence), and during the subsequent season she did nothing to improve his status as an actor in the company.

There was disagreement, too, over the decision to transfer Lady Audley's Secret to the West End, since there seems to have been a public demand to retain the show in their own theatre. It is not clear who was responsible for the decision to transfer, but Pat Nye blamed her accountant James Isherwood, and Penrose, for persuading her to accept the offer, and claimed that she was outvoted when she declared her intention of declining. Penrose claimed that Nye was seduced by visions of stardom, and selfishly accepted the offer for personal reasons, to the detriment of the company as

a whole. It is however worth noting that if the play had been successful at the Prince's Theatre, and personal stardom ensured for Pat Nye, the Bedford's financial position would have been at least temporarily secure. Both Nye and Penrose agreed, in retrospect, that the best thing to have done would have been to postpone their future programme indefinitely and to run Lady Audley's Secret at the Bedford until its popularity began to diminish.

The reason given by Nye for not adopting this policy was that her previous engagement with Joan Swinstead as director for the two subsequent shows was binding and unalterable. If, as she claims, the majority of the audience were locals (apart from those who attended the rather special Gala Opening), it is a pity she did not consider it worth paying off her contracted staff and company in order to keep the play at the Bedford, instead of risking a transfer, where the audience would be West End theatre-goers.

The play did not succeed in its new venue. The theatre was too big for a play dependent on intimacy with its audience, and the production lost its appeal. Audiences declined despite the publicity of the B.B.C. showing, and money was lost which the company never managed to recoup. The financial losses incurred through the transfer were a decisive factor in the dwindling fortunes of the Bedford, and caused Pat Nye to take a high-handed tone with the B.B.C. in December 1950 when she was asked for permission to televise the pantomime²². She demanded what was considered by the B.B.C. negotiators to be an exorbitant fee, and, having angered them, lost a potentially lucrative source of income for the company, besides the publicity such showings would have supplied.

Penrose did eventually approach them again in March 1950 when the new melodrama season began, but the B.B.C. adopted a vindictive attitude towards the management. 'The Bedford are now struggling financially', runs a note appended to the record of Penrose's phone call. 'Why should we help them now when they did not want us while success was theirs. Am not anxious to pursue'. Negotiations nevertheless went forward in a half-hearted way, but

decisions were postponed, and nothing ever came of proposals to televise Black-Eyed Susan.

Then the question of their audience arises. Possibly it would have been only a matter of time before the public felt a loyalty to their local theatre, but the audience Nye had hoped to find had been steadily disappearing since the last days of variety at the Bedford, and their venture did not last long enough to entice it back to prove her belief in its continued existence. It is also reasonable to assume that the management had not clearly defined its potential audiences, and thus the repertoire chosen did not appeal either to the local family audience or to the more sophisticated West End theatre patron. This divided purpose is illustrated by Nye's comments reported by The Stage (6.10.49), where she says 'our aim is to make it [the Bedford] one of London's leading playhouses'. She goes on to say that there is 'a very large potential public in the surrounding district. They will of course form the nucleus of our audience'; but a 'leading playhouse' clearly does not expect to rely on locals for its patronage. In the same article she says: 'Few plays will be considered entirely on their merits and on their likelihood of appealing to ordinary men and women of the public, not to a clique or club group'. Yet despite her intention not to cater for a club group, Nye did start to recruit members for a theatre club. Nor was the choice of plays judicious. R.D. Smith, writing in the New Statesman (12.11.49) about the production of A Wind on the Heath, makes a most important observation, the relevance of which is corroborated by subsequent audience response:

As one who very much wants the Bedford to succeed, I must think that the directors ought not to offer this sort of piece, attractive neither to the potential rep audience round Wornington Crescent, nor to the wider public who want to see them succeed with good new plays, classics, or efficient pieces of theatre.

The Daily Mirror (1.11.49), too, expressed disquiet at the choice of play, posing the question, 'Is this really the message Camden Town has been waiting for?' Certainly audience numbers immediately started to diminish, and in view of the supportive press notices which the production received, one can only surmise that this was not the fare to attract local inhabitants. Though the play relies on familiar melodramatic plot techniques (a loyal friend who helps in the hour of need, and the sudden

appearance of an unknown and illegitimate daughter), it did not require the vocal participation of the audience. Lady Audley's Secret had catered for something which was rapidly being lost with the disappearance of music-hall - something which Peter Brook, in his book The Empty Space, later called 'assistance', and which arose spontaneously from this production². The audience joined in whole-heartedly, the actors responded with ad libs, and the atmosphere was that of a family party. If the audience had hoped to experience the same feeling of community enjoyment in the ensuing programmes, they were disappointed, and the old reluctance to visit the theatre returned. Unfortunately for Nye and Penrose they had not yet established themselves firmly enough to draw West End theatre patrons over to Camden Town for the kind of play which was to be found anywhere in the centre of town. No amount of publicity and professional enthusiasm about the easy transport to Camden, or the comfortable conditions at the theatre itself, seemed to make any difference.

The Evening Standard (4.11.49) carried an article on this aspect of the place, at the same time acknowledging, with a touch of irony, the conservative nature of London's theatre-goers:

The Bedford has its drawbacks. For one thing the grand bar is so large that you can drink and talk in comfort. The entrance to the theatre is spacious and therefore, you will not have to fight your way in. Finally, the acoustics are perfect, and the tube as well as the buses are practically at the door. Londoners do not take lightly to these things, but they should get used to them after a time.

The optimistic prediction the article made, 'that before long many of us will have become Old Bedfordians', sadly proved to be mistaken.

According to John Penrose in interview with the author (3.2.79), the point of no return had come with the pantomime, Aladdin. Although the write-ups were quite good, any local patrons who had been loyal to the theatre were lost, and nothing the management did in the future was to bring them back.

The B.B.C. and the Bedford

After Nye's departure from the Bedford, Beatrice Pearlberg, in a letter dated 19 January 1951, opened negotiations with the B.B.C. to let the theatre to them for a term of ten years, at a rental of £3,500 per annum on a full repairing lease, or £3,750 with the landlord responsible for the roof and main structures and the tenants responsible for the internal repairs⁷⁰. There is no record that the idea of a lease with the B.B.C. had been thought of earlier, but it seems possible that Pearlberg had had it already in mind, in view of the precipitate way in which the Nye/Penrose company were turned out of the theatre.

The above terms were greeted with cautious enthusiasm by the B.B.C., who wished the theatre to replace a studio at 201 Piccadilly which they were due to lose in 1952. Certain alterations had to be made before the proposition could be seriously entertained, and an estimate of the cost of repairs and conversion to studio use came to £32,000 - too large a sum for the B.B.C. to find at that time. In April the Pearlbergs, having pressed the B.B.C. to make a decision, were informed that they had insufficient funds to accept the terms.

On 18 August, and intermittently until the end of December, the B.B.C. used the theatre for televising variety shows⁷¹. Pearlberg suggested to the BBC that they take the theatre on a three month lease, but by the time this proposal was accepted on 4 October, she had changed her mind and refused to comply, saying that she had a prospective buyer. He did not materialise, but throughout the year Pearlberg was difficult to deal with. Problems arose over the heating of the theatre, which she promised to attend to, but nothing was done. The electricity was cut off because bills had not been paid, and always the landlord was difficult and evasive when questioned. The B.B.C. agreed to pay their share of the electricity bill, but discovered on investigation that other users of the theatre had been lighting their boxing shows at the expense of the Corporation. This matter was eventually settled between the B.B.C. and Pearlberg.

Even though business transactions with the landlords had proved difficult because their methods seemed rather underhand, the B.B.C. pressed ahead with plans for a long term lease - this time for two years at a cost of £6,240. However by this time they were wary of the Pearlbergs, and they made careful enquiries into the reliability of their business activities. They also made a close inspection of the premises, which revealed the very poor state of the theatre in general. On 28 December, a detailed plan of repairs was drawn up. House and stage lighting was found in bad condition, the rafters supporting the grid were found to be dangerous, and all the water systems needed immediate attention. Decorations necessary are listed in detail, and not only were floor coverings missing, but holes in the floor boards became evident.

In January the roof was discovered to be structurally defective and the gallery unsafe because of a fracture in the steel-work²². The B.B.C. successfully applied for a special dispensation to use the theatre at their own risk until 23 January 1952, which was their last scheduled broadcast. They then decided to wait until the repairs had been carried out before signing any long term contract. In March 1953 Beatrice Pearlberg assured them that building had started and that they were going to spend £20,000 on it. By September the works were no nearer completion. A dispute in June over alleged damage done to the seating by the B.B.C. provoked a visit to the theatre by representatives of the Corporation, when it was discovered that all the seating had been removed (presumably to avoid paying rates on the premises). After this, communications from the Pearlbergs ceased altogether, and letters from the B.B.C. pressing for the completion of repairs and for the terms of the new lease were ignored.

The theatre was not used again, and the plans for its repair were never carried out. Indeed it seems likely that the Pearlbergs had neither any real intention of seeing the work completed nor the resources to do so.

In 1955 Camden Council, who owned the Bedford Theatre site (it is not clear from the records in the Planning Office when they became the owners), applied for planning permission to demolish the empty theatre and build a central library. Permission was granted, but no action was taken²³.

Between 1959 and 1980 various applications for redevelopment were received, mostly from companies wishing to build shops and offices. It is interesting to note that Brisford Entertainments Ltd. (the company to which Beatrice Pearlberg belonged) put in an application to turn the theatre into a bowling centre, but, like all the others, they were refused permission.

It was decided that the building, no longer safe, should be demolished, and an item appeared in the minutes of a meeting held by the London Borough of Camden on 16 January 1968, at which an estimate for the demolition costs of £5,500 less 2½%, was accepted. In a committee report dated 23 January 1968 it was recorded that the site of the theatre was to be released as a temporary car park⁷⁴.

It has been used ever since by M.C.P. Car Parks, and still no decision has been taken as to what to do with the land. Since 1970 it has been under dual ownership, and is now owned partly by the council, on the Arlington Street side, and partly by Gable House Properties, on the Camden High Street side. The council had intended to build housing in Arlington Street, but is not in a financial position to do so, and plans have been indefinitely postponed; Gable House Properties, too, are awaiting more prosperous times, and meanwhile the Bedford Theatre (its boundaries can still be clearly seen) remains ignominiously a piece of waste ground. In 1980 a part of the tiled mosaic passage from the High Street to the theatre's foyer was still there, reminding the passerby of its better days. Now that has gone, although the outer wall along Mary Terrace is still standing (December, 1986).

Notes to The Bedford Theatre

1. Listed in Warwick Vroth, Cremorne and the Later London Gardens, (London, 1907), p.95.
2. G.L.C. Architects' Department, Theatre Case 233.
3. According to L.C.C. List of Streets and Places Within the Administrative County of London (1901), p.22, Arlington Road was originally Grove Street and Arlington Street, and took its present name in 1875.
4. For dates, see Diana Howard, London Theatres and Music Halls 1850-1950 (London, 1970), p.21.
5. L.C.C. Theatres. Committee Papers. New Bedford Palace of Varieties 1889-1904.
6. The building was not destroyed by fire, as Geoffrey Fletcher suggested in his lecture 'Cupid in the Gallery', prepared for the Arts Festival, May 1970. A copy can be found in the Local History Library, Swiss Cottage, ref. LC 792.7.
7. The same article, in an abbreviated form, appeared in Building News 10.2.1899, p.196.
8. London Theatres and Music Halls contains a complete list of proprietors and lessees, pp.21-22.
9. See advertisements which appeared after 29 April 1935 in the St. Pancras Chronicle.
10. Information from the Enthoven Collection, in boxes marked by the theatres' names.
11. Mr. Butterworth in a letter to the author, 18.6.80.
12. Information in a letter to the author from Jack Bainbridge, 25.10.78.
13. From photocopies of programmes in the author's possession.
14. This and the following information was taken from the B.B.C. Written Archives, Bedford Theatre, File 1A, 1946, acc.no. 56363/1.
15. This and the following information was taken from the B.B.C. Written Archives, Bedford Theatre, File 1B, 1947, acc.no. 56363/2.
16. See Appendix 1 for a list of dates of the televised shows.
17. For a list of the plays performed see Appendix 1.
18. See Appendix 1 for dates of productions.
19. Ronald Harwood, Sir Donald Wolfit (London, 1971), p.207.
20. Anthony Brown, in Our Time, 8(May, 1949).
21. Quoted from Levin's letter to the author, 27.10.80, and Malcolm Hay and Philip Roberts, Edward Bond: A Companion to the Plays (London, 1978), p.7.

22. All information on set, and lighting etc. is from Brian Sanders the stage manager, in interview 15.11.80.
23. All information on the Birthday Celebration is from Brian Sanders and corroborated by Geoffrey Hodson.
24. Details of the sets and the acts performed are taken from records kept by Brian Sanders.
25. In Sir Donald Wolfitt (p.208), Harwood says that Harlequinade ran for two weeks, but in fact the show continued for three weeks, commencing 11, 18, and 25 July.
26. The purchase price, as quoted in the press, varied between £53,000 and £90,000.
27. Filmed by Hammer in 1949, directed by Godfrey Craven, starring Hugh Latimer and Patricia Cutts.
28. Malcolm Morley, Margate and Its Theatres (London, 1966), pp.146-7.
29. The only information found is contained in letters to the author from Tanya Moiseiwitsch 30.6.80, and Anthony Holland 25.7.80.
30. Information from 'Bedford Estates', 29 Montague Street, London W1.
31. Seat prices: 6d. off the 7s.6d. and 5s. seats; 3d. off the 2s.6d. seats.
32. For more detail see pp.50-1.
33. Programmes for 26 December 1949, and 27 February 1950, respectively.
34. Information obtained from Pat Nye, Gerald Batty and Vaughan Kimber, all of whom worked at the Bedford.
35. Ticket prices from the Enthoven Collection in boxes marked by the theatres' names.
36. Filmed in 1948 and released August 1949, it includes shots of the auditorium and stage areas. The film is stored by The British Film Institute, 81 Dean Street, London W1.
37. Stars listed in (among others), the Daily Mirror 18.10.49.
38. See the interview with Pat Nye, reported in the St. Pancras Chronicle 14.10.49.
39. The term 'burlesque' perhaps implies a rather more stringent form of parody than this production afforded. The term is used loosely, meaning 'to make fun of'. The production made use of anything which might raise a laugh and the comedy was in no way literary or intellectual.
40. The author has in her possession a photocopy of the script that was used by the Bedford company.
41. B.B.C. Written Archives, Bedford Theatre File 2, 1947-1952, acc.no.56364.
42. See Ronald Adam's autobiography, Overture and Beginners (London, 1938), p.68, and Ronald Adam in interview with George Fearon in Theatre World (January, 1938), p.13.
43. See also: Daily Worker 15.11.49; Hampstead Express 18.11.49; Truth 25.11.49.

44. See: Daily Mail, Star 15.11.49; Scotsman 16.11.49; Lady 1.12.49.
45. Information from the Enthoven Collection in box marked Vaudeville Theatre.
46. See: The Stage 15.11.49; Hampstead Express 16.11.49; Glasgow Herald, The Times 13.12.49; Theatre News Letter 17.12.49.
47. Their new policy was also advertised in the national press, see The Times 20.12.49; The Stage 22.12.49.
48. See: The Times 18.10.49; Evening News 21.10.49; Punch 23.11.49.
49. See: Daily Telegraph, The Times 25.1.50; Harold Hobson, in Christian Science Monitor U.S.A. 11.2.50.
50. See: Daily Graphic, Star 25.1.50; New Statesman 4.2.50.
51. Texts to be found in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, licenced respectively, 14.1.50, and 22.2.50.
52. See programme note, 6 February 1950.
53. These autobiographical details from the Bedford programme, 27 February 1950.
54. Evening News 21.3.50; Daily Mirror, Daily Telegraph, The Times 22.3.50.
55. See: Observer 2.4.50; Lady 13.4.50; Illustrated London News 22.4.50.
56. See: The Stage 30.3.50; Show Business 6.4.50.
57. See: Continental Daily Mail 4.4.50; New Statesman 8.4.50; Scottish Daily Mail 9.4.50; Hampstead Express 13.4.50.
58. See: The Stage 20.4.50; Evening News, New Statesman 22.4.50.
59. See: Star 18.4.50; Scotsman 20.4.50.
60. Quoted in Austin Brereton, The Life of Henry Irving (London, 1908), vol.1, p.117.
61. See: Glasgow Herald 5.6.50; Truth 9.6.50. In Henry Irving and 'The Bells', ed. by David Mayer, (Manchester, 1980), the notes to Irving's text indicate the care with which Irving had prepared his sound effects (pp.82-83).
62. See: Daily Telegraph, The Times 9.5.50; Manchester Evening News 13.5.50.
63. See: Daily Telegraph, The Times 20.6.50; Evening News 23.6.50; New Statesman 24.6.50; Sunday Times 25.6.50.
64. The author has in her possession a photocopy of the version the Bedford management used.
65. See: Daily Mail, News Chronicle, The Stage 29.6.50.
66. A copy of this bulletin is to be found in the Enthoven Collection, in box marked 'Bedford Theatre'.
67. Information from the Enthoven Collection, in box marked 'St. James's Theatre'.
68. The following information was taken from the B.B.C. Written Archives, Bedford Theatre, File 2, 1947-1952, acc.no.56364.

69. Peter Brook, The Empty Space (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.156.
70. Unless otherwise stated, the following information is to be found in the B.B.C. Written Archives, File 1A 1946-1951, acc.no. 11866/1.
71. See Appendix 1 for a list of shows televised at the Bedford.
72. This and the following information is to be found in the B.B.C. Written Archives, File 1B, 1952-1954, acc.no. 11866/2.
73. All information concerning the Bedford Theatre from 1955 onwards was obtained from the Planning Department, Camden Town Hall, Euston Road, London WC1.
74. London Borough of Camden: Minutes, Vol 5, January-December 1968, p.8, and p.29, Local History Library, Swiss Cottage, London NW3.

THE OPEN SPACE THEATRE

The History of the Open Space Theatre

In the 1950s Charles Marowitz came from America to England to study drama at L.A.M.D.A. In his book, The Act of Being, he related the results of his training thus, 'having proved myself a failure at drama schools both in New York and London, it seemed the most natural thing in the world to set up an acting school of my own - if not to edify others then at least to instruct myself'. He decided to stay in England and in 1958 he formed his own company called In-Stage, and with help from the British Drama League in the form of a studio workshop theatre which seated about fifty people he directed a number of British and world premieres, some of them in conjunction with the Traverse Theatre in Edinburgh.²

In 1962 Marowitz worked as assistant director with Peter Brook on a production for the R.S.C. of King Lear, which resulted in the Marowitz/Brook collaboration on the Theatre of Cruelty season at L.A.M.D.A. in the autumn of 1963. It was during this season that he wrote his first twenty-eight minute version of the collage Hamlet which he later developed and directed, first with In-Stage for the Literarisches Colloquium, Berlin, at the Akademie der Künste in 1965, and then at the Jeannette Cochrane Theatre in 1966. Between 1963 and 1966 he spent a great deal of time running acting workshops for professional actors all over the world as well as in England. During this time he met, in the course of his work, an actress named Thelma Holt who not only took the leads in his productions but was also to help him to create and run the new Open Space Theatre. It was she who was to cajole and bully the Arts Council and private supporters into subsidising it, and it is significant that after she left the theatre in 1977 it managed to struggle on for only two years before it closed. Marowitz himself said somewhat prophetically,

we survive, to a large extent, because Thelma Holt is a witch and a miracle-maker, and without her the wheels that propel the complex

machinery of our theatre simply would not rotate.³

Besides his practical theatre work he also wrote articles and reviews for drama magazines and newspapers, which earned him an international reputation as a perceptive and sometimes acerbic theatre critic. Having established himself in this way with the theatre-going public and more importantly with influential members of the acting profession, he felt ready to launch his own theatre. After looking at many different buildings (among them the Camden Theatre, which they could not afford), Marowitz and Holt finally found premises in the basement of a disused old people's home at 32 Tottenham Court Road, which, when converted, seated an audience of no more than two hundred. They also obtained part of flat 1, at 30 Tottenham Court Road, to use as an office. Marowitz with Thelma Holt as his executive director formed a non-profit-making company known as Camden Productions Ltd. They both put money into the venture and sent out appeals for financial assistance to everyone they could think of. Patrons of the theatre were listed as Lord Birkett, Peter Brook, Bernard Delfont, Peter Hall, Harold Pinter and Michael Winner, and with the help of this influential group a grant of £1500 was obtained from the Arts Council to help start the project. Nineteen founder members who had contributed £50 or more by the time of the first production included Sean Connery, David Frost, Bernard Miles and Roddy Maude-Roxby.⁴ On the official request which was sent round to prospective founder members, the benefits of becoming a founder member were detailed:

- life membership;
- the right to special ticket concessions for dress rehearsals and opening nights;
- a bi-monthly news letter containing articles, reviews and forthcoming events;
- special invitations to 'sideshows', our exclusive late-night attractions⁵.

The theatre was to be a club (membership two guineas per annum) and by becoming a member one was to be entitled to the same concessions as the founder members.

By the time Marowitz and Holt started they had amassed from diverse sources about five thousand pounds with which to construct their theatre and to mount their first production.⁶ All the conversion work in the Tottenham Court Road building was done by Thelma Holt, Marowitz and

friends; for instance, they stuck egg boxes to the ceiling to help sound-proofing. The seating and acting areas were left adaptable to the needs of each production. The seats were moveable chairs and the acting area could be as big or small as necessary and could be raised or left at floor level, as the director desired. According to a letter from Thelma Holt to J. Wheeler (OS 10/8, 23.3.73) of E.M.I. Property Developments Ltd. the auditorium area, including the lighting box and stage management room, was 60 ft. by 51 ft.

The lease was signed on 30 July 1968, between Gort Estates (Development) Limited and Camden Playhouse Productions Limited, with Island Records Limited as a third party (presumably as guarantors). The rent was £500 per annum and was payable at quarterly intervals. The landlords were required to give six months notice if the building was to be redeveloped or demolished.⁷ In 1973 Holt and Marowitz acquired the shop above at number 32.

In August 1976 the Tottenham Court Road theatre was closed, and redevelopment started on the whole block. From there, the Open Space company moved to a disused post-office in the Euston Road. These were temporary premises scheduled for demolition, though they served well for the Open Space's final years. E.M.I., who were redeveloping the Tottenham Court Road buildings, had promised to include in their plans a new theatre which would be Marowitz's on completion. According to Marowitz, it was only the promise of a new theatre which influenced Camden Council's decision to allow E.M.I.'s demolition plans to go ahead (see correspondence OS 11/12 and 14/9), and similarly persuaded Marowitz himself to take a temporary lease on the Euston Road premises⁸. The building was leased to them by Colibri, and Denis Sharp was employed as the architect to design the conversion. From the correspondence between the management and Sharp (14/7) it is clear that the Open Space personnel considered him inefficient. It was Robin Don, who had been designing sets for them for many years, who corrected the faulty sight-lines which Sharp had over-looked. The theatre finally opened with Variations on the Merchant of Venice, 17 May 1977; it closed after the production of The Father on 5 December 1979. Unfortunately E.M.I. did not honour their promise (there had been no written

contract), despite Marowitz's attempts to discredit them publicly. When the company's lease expired in Euston Road, they had nowhere to go. Two of their productions found a home at the Round House, The Strongest Man In The World, by Barry Collins (8.7.80), and Hedda, a Marowitz adaptation of Hedda Gabler (5.8.80)~. Meanwhile Thelma Holt had resigned her post as executive director in June 1977, though she remained on the board of directors until she offered her resignation on 10 March 1978 (11/22). Alan Pearlman was appointed Associate Director in 1978 and Nikolas Simmonds took over the post in 1979. Immediately after Holt's first resignation she moved to the Round House as artistic director, and it was she who let her auditorium to Marowitz for the two plays. Neither was a success, and Marowitz wound up the company and returned to America.

Official Artistic Policy

In 1968 a publicity leaflet, designed to help launch the Open Space, outlined the aims and policies of the theatre, which amounted to a summary of Marowitz's attempt to put into practice everything he believed theatre ought to be doing.''' I quote in full so that an evaluation of the theatre's achievement can be made later with reference to the director's stated methods and aims:

London's newest theatre ... has been created to provide playgoers with genuine alternatives to the commercial offerings of the West End. It will stage the work of new writers, particularly those working in new and different forms, and will eventually house a small permanent company concerned directly with experimental projects. Our first season of plays will include works by writers such as Antonin Artaud, Peter Weiss, Bertolt Brecht, Fernando Arrabal and Norman Mailer, as well as works by relatively new writers like Paul Ableman, Peter Barnes, Jakov Lind, Heathcote Williams and Cecil P. Taylor. Apart from main-bill performances, there will be regular lunchtime shows and midnight matinees. The theatre will feature mixed-media events, environmental-pieces, pop-concerts, poetry recitals and happenings. It will stage regular public discussions on urgent social, political and artistic topics. It will also be a centre for theatre-study and maintain a full-time actors' workshop.

Its permanent company will explore new techniques in writing, acting and direction, taking the sort of risks that only an adventurous non-commercial company can take.

The idea of a full-time 'actors' workshop' was elaborated on and divided into the two categories of 'professional class' and 'studio class', each programmed for three nine-week sessions a year at eighteen pounds and twenty-five pounds respectively per session. The former was designed for 'resting actors', 'aimed at combating the artistic fatigue of routine employment and extended unemployment'. The work to be done in these classes was intended to help with 'audition technique and problems of personal interpretation'. The latter was to offer 'a systematic training-course for actors and actresses with some previous acting experience'. Marowitz demanded regular attendance in order to explore with his students the ideas of Stanislavsky, Artaud and Brecht. An impressive 'Guest Faculty' was appended, including Martin Esslin, then Head of BBC Drama, Ralph Koltai, Irving Wardle and Clifford Williams. An extra attraction to the classes was the possibility of being asked to work on one of Marowitz's own

productions at the Open Space, and members were also to receive special ticket concessions for performances at the theatre.

The publicity blurb was designed to make it sound as though the enterprise was fully organised along the above lines and that it was only a matter of opening the theatre and everything would immediately be put into practice. In fact Marowitz knew very well that this kind of positive statement of objectives was necessary in order to interest the Arts Council in subsidising them - whether they would be able to realise them was a different question altogether. As he himself has said, policy evolves as a result of work done and does not precede it''. It was perhaps incautious of him to sound so definite in the leaflet because it gave critics an excuse to carp every time the artistic policy seemed to get lost as the theatre struggled to keep open. Controversy in one form or another was never very far away from Marowitz - he thrived on opposition born out of his commitment to work in his own fringe theatre. Thus, the idea that any of the listed activities should take place on a regular basis, would only have been possible when money became available and the circumstances were right. Of the playwrights listed only Paul Ableman had a play produced at the Open Space during its first season, though many of the others had works presented at a later date. Lunch-time and late-night shows had periods of popularity, and 'mixed media events', 'public discussions' etc. took place very occasionally.

Implementation of Artistic Policy:

1. The Permanent Company

The most fundamental of the objectives stated in the publicity brochure, and the one which Marowitz himself never tired of restating, was the need for a permanent company, without which he felt none of the other aims could be achieved. He had been given a taste of the kind of ideal conditions which were set up for the L.A.M.D.A. season of Theatre of Cruelty and of Brook's methods of directing when he (Marowitz) acted as assistant director on King Lear (November 1962). His interest in the idea of a

permanent company was still a major obsession in 1966 when he questioned Peter Hall closely on his views on the necessity for a company where loyalty to that company, above the claims of the commercial world, was binding.¹² There was no hope of creating the kind of company Marowitz craved (his standards were set by the subsidised Laboratory Theatre in Poland and the Open Theatre in America) without funding, as the theatre itself was too small to be self-supporting. Critics might grumble at the lack of experiment in the opening productions at the Open Space, but it was necessary for Marowitz to achieve some kind of box office success in order to impress the Arts Council with his ability to run a theatre, before the essential company could be formed.

About a year after the opening production of Fortune and Men's Eyes the Wiesbaden Festival management offered Marowitz £2,500 to take a production of Macbeth (adapted and directed by Marowitz himself) to Germany (Guardian, 14.3.69). About the same time an earlier appeal letter sent out by the company to London Weekend Television bore fruit. From a reply dated 2 February 1969, and signed by Humphrey Burton of London Weekend Television, it is clear that Marowitz had approached him with the proposal of joining forces over his projected satirical show to be called The General Strike. This had been an idea first publicised in 1968, but it was never to come to anything, and Burton rejected it on the grounds that London Weekend Television was already working on a similar project. However, he hinted that there was a possibility of a general grant in the near future. Marowitz had sent out a letter on 12 October 1968, carefully stating the theatre's position and need for subsidy. It went to all the television companies and other influential people such as Jennie Lee (the Minister for Arts), Harold Pinter, Martin Esslin, and David Frost. Humphrey Burton was the one man who was receptive to the plea, and on 5 May 1969 the Open Space received a cheque for £2,600, 'representing a once only grant, equivalent to the annual rent payable by the Theatre'. With this financial help Marowitz was able to move one step closer to his ideal of experimental theatre, which resulted in the kind of production preparation that had hitherto not been possible. Although the company formed for this production was not yet a permanent one, certain actors were to appear there again later, giving a kind of continuity to casting which meant that audiences would begin to recognise

and associate names and faces with the Open Space. There was also a continuity in the designers Marowitz used before he set up his permanent company, and it was here that both John Napier and Robin Don started their careers. Nikolas Simmonds and Thelma Holt were cast in the second collage to be presented at the Open Space to play Hamlet and Gertrude - they had previously played Macbeth and Lady Macbeth together, and now Hamlet received praise for its ensemble acting: 'the painted cast ... show that they as much as any company in Britain understand how to exploit group technique' (Guardian, 11.7.69). If this had nothing to do with the fact that these two actors had worked together with Marowitz before, the production undoubtedly benefitted from the group exercises which formed part of the rehearsal routine, which under unsubsidised circumstances would not have been possible.⁴

By the end of 1970 there had been an increase in the number of productions presented, especially at lunchtime, but there was still no extra Arts Council grant. During this time the majority of the productions were brought into the theatre, and were not chosen for their suitability, but because the companies wanted to hire the theatre. Towards the end of 1971 there were more of Marowitz's own productions and more by young British writers some of whom were later to become Britain's leading playwrights. Two plays in particular caught the public's attention, and their reputation and success helped the theatre into its next stage as a fully subsidised company: Picasso's The Four Little Girls and Sam, Sam by Trevor Griffiths, presented on 15 December 1971 and 9 February 1972 respectively. Between these two dates Marowitz decided to go ahead with his plan to audition actors to form a repertory company, and for two days he had over a hundred actors together participating in improvisation exercises, games, acrobatics etc. until he finally whittled down the numbers to ten actors whom he wanted for his revival of Hamlet and who were to stay as a permanent company at the Open Space. They then went on to the Edinburgh Festival at the Traverse Theatre with Hamlet and Ham Omlet, a lunch-time show consisting of improvisation exercises which were part of the main production's rehearsal process. After that they toured in Holland for several weeks. When they returned to England those who wished to stay on, and were needed, rehearsed for An Othello. All this was arranged before

the end of the financial year (4.4.72) while Thelma Holt was still waiting for news from the Arts Council as to whether they would increase their grant from £5,000 to £19,500, which would cover the cost of employing a permanent company of ten whom Equity insisted should be paid the minimum rates - then eighteen pounds a week. This state of affairs was reported in the Evening Standard (4.4.72), and two weeks later the same journalist announced that the Arts Council was willing to give the theatre £12,000 annual grant, with another £1,000 as guarantees against loss. The official figures in the Arts Council Annual Report differ slightly from those quoted in the press (see Appendix 3). Although this was not as much as they had demanded it meant that work could proceed along the lines outlined by Marowitz in his first public statement of the theatre's objectives.

Ironically though, the permanent company which was ostensibly Marowitz's chief aim and argument for subsidy, never had more than a nominal existence. A core of actors would stay with him for a short time, but Marowitz was too volatile a character to remain on good terms with his actors for very long. Nikolas Simmonds, who played many leads for Marowitz's productions, claimed with some validity that although Marowitz always publicly affirmed his intention of forming a company, he used it rather as a weapon to gain financial support than as a real objective in practical terms (Simmonds in interview, 19.3.82). Although the idea of a permanent company was firmly conceived intellectually, and the best of his work was accomplished with actors he knew well and used many times, his own personality militated against any long-term group work (see pp.134-5 and 140). Actors joined and left the group depending on how they responded to the Marowitz treatment and he to them. Although he offered a year's contract to some of the first 'company' members in 1972, this was not repeated, though he again worked with a core of actors in 1975.

The aims of the theatre were still ostensibly the same as late as 1977, when it was proposed at a meeting of the Council of the Company, held on 23 September 1977, that a new permanent company should be formed in the fiscal year 1978-79. The same difficulties beset the company then as previously, and in the same statement they officially announced a policy of temporarily bringing in productions, as the only viable financial course.

2. New Forms: Adaptations and Collages

Narowitz's main interest lay in working on plays which he himself had written or adapted. It was with these works that his talent as director was most evident. He assimilated Shakespeare's imagery into his own theatrical language with the effective production devices which marked the plays as his. It was not a question of his superimposing a style on a piece of work which could not easily assimilate it (his production of The Tooth of Crime is an example) but of its becoming an integral part of his conception.

The plays referred to as his Shakespeare 'cut-ups' or 'collages' which were presented at the Open Space, are: Macbeth, Hamlet, An Othello, The Shrew, Measure for Measure, and Variations on the Merchant of Venice. His method of recreating the works is different in each case, but his reasons for adapting them remained the same: they were not reworked in order to provide a new slant upon something already well-known, but to confront head-on 'the intellectual substructure of the plays, an attempt to test or challenge, revoke or destroy the intellectual foundation which makes a classic the formidable thing it has become'¹⁵. What he seems to have meant by 'confronting the substructure' is that he took issue with Shakespeare's presentation of theme and character and altered it to suit his own interpretation or needs. He objected to the reverence with which he believed the plays had always been treated, and wished to extract something new and pertinent from the old form. Of Macbeth, which was the first of his collages to be presented at the Open Space, he said: 'the different vantage-point of a collage (i.e. an inside view of external developments) can alter the entire resonance of a theatrical experience'¹⁶, but this might well have been said of all of them.

The production of Macbeth was made possible by the Wiesbaden Festival management, who offered Narowitz's company almost £12,500 to take it to the Festival for 14 and 15 May (Guardian, 14.3.69). A cast of eleven took part in Macbeth, the largest used so far in one of Narowitz's own productions. Set design and construction were kept at a lower cost than for productions such as Fortune and Men's Eyes and Blue Comedy, where the theatre itself had been transformed to enhance the naturalistic effect of the stage

sets'". This production was set in no definite period or place, and the stage was stark and sombre. The unadorned auditorium with its uncomfortable seats merged easily into the acting area and did not disturb the atmosphere created by the actors.

The Marowitz adaptation of Shakespeare's play stressed the occult by cutting and redistributing the dialogue amongst a much smaller number of characters than there are in the original. Marowitz also interpolated scenes of black magic ritual which adumbrated or interpreted the action. In this way he limited and clarified certain aspects of the play which have always been difficult to present in practical terms. The idea that the play is dominated by the supernatural is not a new one to Shakespearean scholars; for instance, Wilson Knight said of the play,

Macbeth shows us an evil not to be accounted for in terms of 'will' and 'causality' ... it expresses its vision, not to a critical intellect, but to the responsive imagination; and, working in terms not of 'character' or any ethical code, but of the abysmal depths of a spirit-world untuned to human reality'".

and when describing Lady Macbeth he called her 'an embodiment ... of evil'". Marowitz took and shaped these ideas from the original, giving them concrete form upon the stage. Thus, Lady Macbeth became the head of a coven, and the action of the play was dominated by the all-powerful presence of the devil's servants. The platform stage itself was almost triangular in shape and echoed the shape of the gibbet which appeared with the effigies of certain characters during ritual scenes with the witches. The floor boards were bare and painted black with drawbridge-like structures for entrances and exits at the back of the stage. Very little was used in the way of stage furniture, but it was all black. In a letter to Herr Antoine (15.4.69, OS 2/15) at the Hessisches Staatstheater in Wiesbaden, in which arrangements were discussed for the company's visit to the Festival, Marowitz stressed the need for only one indispensable prop - a black, outsize throne. The rest he felt could be improvised without difficulty.

During the blackout, after the house lights had dimmed, the incomplete effigy of Macbeth was set, and as the lights came up, Thelma Holt, playing Lady Macbeth, was seen standing with her back to the audience in front of

the effigy". The three witches entered and added pieces to it until one of them added a crown and the resemblance to Macbeth became clear. Then Lady Macbeth, intoning words used by the first witch in the original (1.3.18-23), obliterated the wax eyes of the effigy with a poker handed to her by one of the witches-. The poker smoked, the eyes melted, and blood gushed from them. It must be noted that for at least three critics in the audience it was not clear that the effigy was intended to be Macbeth. Katherine Brisbane, writing in the Australian (5.7.69), and Charles Landstone, for the Jewish Chronicle (30.5.69), categorically stated that it was Duncan, and Cushman for Plays and Players (July 1969) nervously suggested, 'conceivably it [the effigy] represents Macbeth'. It should not have been possible to make such a mistake, since the tableau was intended to presage the end of the play and to present in visual terms Lady Macbeth's relationship to Macbeth. It was perhaps a fault of the production team that the likeness was not readily recognisable.

After a ten-second fade the lights were rapidly brought full up on the following scene with Duncan, Banquo, Malcolm and Macduff. It was played in a contrasting bright light in order to underline the two worlds - the one as yet untouched by black powers, the other menacing, dark and governed by Satan. The brightly lit passages became less frequent as the play progressed. The entrance of Lady Macbeth immediately after the king's entrance was intended to shock the audience into the realisation that it was she who had been seen in the opening tableau with the witches. Thus her complicity with them was made visually clear from the start, though her authority over them was not confirmed in words until she angrily accosted them after the scene of Lady Macduff's murder (p.201)-.

The play proceeded with a series of visual shocks. As the king and others were making their exits from this scene, Macbeth appeared and stabbed Duncan, Lady Macbeth stabbed Banquo, the lights dimmed and the witches carried away the corpses. After a blackout the lights came up dimly and Macbeth, with an actor on either side of him representing two different aspects of his personality, rushed towards the audience breathlessly babbling the speech, 'If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well/ it were done quickly'. The two other personifications of

Macbeth silently mouthed the words with him. Nikolas Simmonds, who played Macbeth himself, directly confronted the audience from the front of the stage with his fear of cold-blooded murder.³ The words of the soliloquy tumbled from him like thoughts flashing across his brain. As the soliloquy came to an end, the lighting changed abruptly, and his final sentence 'He's here in double trust' was spoken directly to his wife in full light. In this scene his fear of not being strong enough for the deed and his abject fear of her were manifested as he grovelled before her words,

Wouldst thou have that
Which thou esteemst the ornament of life,
And live a coward in thine own esteem? (p.83)

In the following scene (p.3) the audience was reassured to see the obedient subject and reasonable Macbeth assert himself before Duncan. Rejecting Lady Macbeth's taunts for this short scene, Simmonds played a man resolved to remain a loyal kinsman. An abrupt change again took place and a Macbeth unable to control his guilty relish at the thought of being Thane of Cawdor and 'king hereafter' (p.84) emerged. This was followed by a scene of unrelenting pressure applied by Lady Macbeth which brought Macbeth close to hysteria as he burst out with 'Prithee peace' (p.85).

Benedict Nightingale, writing for the New Statesman (30.5.69), seems to have missed the point when he complained that the character of Macbeth did not develop. What Marowitz seems to have attempted in this production was not a linear development of his protagonist's character but a series of tableaux showing the disparate and conflicting traits of personality which made up the man Macbeth. Plays and Players (July 1969) was critical in much the same way, though this critic made the more valid point that

he [Macbeth] is licked from the start by the witches (malevolent spectators in Shakespeare, malignant adversaries in Marowitz) so his mental processes cease to be interesting.

However, for some critics, attention was kept well enough by the stage effects. 'Patterns of light and sound are striking, shifting identities are stimulating' (Sunday Times, 25.5.69), and

in his [Macbeth's] dislocated rhythms, his discrepant images and juxtapositions, the colour and line of Shakespeare's text are not simply preserved but shine with a fresh brilliance, casting new and disconcerting, often ravishing reflections (Spectator, 21.6.69).

Indeed shock tactics were an essential part of Marowitz's strategy - not simply the shock of violent, visual images in the ritual murder scenes when blood was spilled, nor the shock of hearing well-known lines delivered by characters other than those expected, but the shock offered by the setting up of a character's personality in one scene, only to seem to destroy it in the next. The use of three Macbeths highlighted the different aspects of Macbeth's character ('the Timorous, the Ambitious, the Wefarious'), giving a tangible image to an abstract idea²⁴. Cushman thought 'there must be subtler ways of representing a man at war with himself' (Plays and Players, July 1969), but in making this criticism did not take into consideration the Marowitz emphasis on the mystic number three, 'the peculiar knot of trinities that winds its way through the play'²⁵, to which he gave a solid theatrical presence by echoing the groups of three in the triangular form of the stage, the gibbet, and the inevitable triangle formed by having three Macbeths on stage at the same time. Henry Raynor for The Times (21.5.69) complained that they diminished the role of Lady Macbeth by taking her words (he seems not to have noticed that her role here was quite different from the one Shakespeare wrote) and that the two other Macbeths 'dwindle into the necessary murderers, servants and attendants'. It seems unfair to accuse Marowitz, however indirectly, of using any character simply because it was necessary that someone should perform the actions. The two Macbeths took these parts in order to stress the way in which Macbeth committed all the murders himself even though he persuaded others to strike the actual blows.

Within the triangular setting of the play was the black magic circle which, throughout, suggested the voodoo rites which were central to the play. Whenever the witches appeared they formed a circle at once threatening and ritualistic. It was not only Duncan, Banquo and Lady Macduff who were enclosed and threatened by the circle, but Macbeth and his lady too. The closing image of the play was of Macbeth, small, powerless and frightened, sitting on his immense throne surrounded by 'a fresco of heads - all characters of the play' (p.124) from whom issued a low sound throughout the ensuing scene, described by Spurling as a beautiful evocation of figments of Macbeth's imagination (Spectator 21.6.69). During a blackout the cast took up their positions at the perimeter of the stage, facing the

audience. They each, 'wheeling menacingly close', turned to Macbeth, stage centre, to deliver their lines, and gradually moved closer in to him, until they were finally on him, beating him to death with their broomsticks. The Observer (1.6.69) called it a 'memorable' visual effect. As Macbeth was finally killed, Lady Macbeth struck off the head of the Macbeth effigy, thus breaking the circle formed by the play's structure which began with the same image. At the same time the 'tight circle' (A Macbeth, p.131) of actors around Macbeth opened, to reinforce the idea of a fate completed, and a return to normality as the witches took off their stocking masks and walked towards the audience in a blaze of bright light.

Whether critics liked the play or not - and there were more who did not than did - it seems to have been a production which impressed at moments with its disturbing and original images. The murder of Duncan was one which drew comment from Spurling. The scene is described in detail in the published text, but it is clear only from an eye witness account that the mime is played three times in an unbroken circle. Almost as if it were in slow motion the silent action was finally shattered by a piercing scream from Duncan as Lady Macbeth pushed the daggers into Macbeth's hands, forcing him to stab the king many times. Even Nicholas de Jongh (Guardian, 21.5.69), who did not like the play at all, had to admit to being impressed by this scene. He also mentioned Lady Macbeth's funeral scene, which according to the critic for the Australian (5.7.69) was the most powerful image of the play.

The scene which was generally criticised was that of the sleep-walking, which Thelma Holt played nude underneath a transparent night-dress. Most critics mentioned it in passing, and most of them wrote dismissively of it as a gimmick - Lady Macbeth in a see-through nightie. None of them discussed it seriously or made any attempt to understand why Marowitz had chosen to have the scene played like this, except the critic for What's On (30.5.69), who came to the heart of the matter, albeit in a facetious manner:

The view that Lady Macbeth is not, properly, a woman at all, but a man in woman's clothing, can always foment a lively argument among Shakespearean scholars of the more perverse order. Thelma Holt ... makes her own position in this controversy beguilingly


explicit by wearing naught but a diaphanous nightie in the sleep walking bit.

In Marowitz's production Lady Macbeth was seen for most of the time as a demon, devoid of feminine characteristics, but the point had to be made that although she served the devil she was a woman, and the startling image of her naked body in the sleep walking scene made the point neatly and clearly.

The same critic who complained about the three Macbeths (The Times, 21.5.69) called the play an 'amusing literary game' which meant 'nothing to those who do not know Shakespeare's text'. At a lecture given by Marowitz on 3 December 1981 to students of the P.M.L., his reply to this comment was that those who knew Shakespeare's Macbeth thought that those who did not, must have been confused, whereas those members of the audience he had spoken to who had no prior knowledge of the play were not confused at all. Certainly, if Raynor had been less aware of the original and more open to the Marowitz interpretation, he might have found it a more worthwhile evening.

Box-office receipts were good for this production, and despite high production costs the company lost less than £1,000 on the project.⁷ Clearly Marowitz had been right in thinking that this sort of experimental work would be in demand whatever the critics had to say about it, so he followed it a month later with a revival of his Hamlet⁸. In this collage Marowitz used the same method of textual preparation as he had for Macbeth. The original play had been reduced to an hour and a half's playing time and lines of dialogue had been redistributed amongst a very diminished cast of characters. Again his aim was similar to those Expressionist playwrights who wished to externalise an internal state of mind, and again his intention was of 'transmitting experience from the play through the eyes of the central protagonist'⁹.

The staging was as bright for this production as it had been black for Macbeth. The stage was white and gleaming like a circus ring; a white, rectangular proscenium arch had been constructed at the back which left a deep fore-stage thrusting out into the audience. Across the back of the



stage and on either side behind the arch ran a long white rostrum, used sometimes to suggest a specific location or simply another acting level when certain characters were to dominate others. It was used as a seat for the members of the Danish court behind the bench which was brought on for Hamlet's trial scene, and for a school room for Hamlet and Ophelia as they were taught by Gertrude how to conduct themselves properly in society (Laertes' lesson to Ophelia in Shakespeare's play); and it was used by Claudius and the Ghost when they stood back to back as if in a picture frame, while Hamlet looked up at them from the stage below.

The bare, black side walls of the theatre and the lamps which hung from the ceiling, the whitened heating pipes and the ventilation holes in the white flats at the back of the stage were not concealed - in fact their presence was emphasised by the stark whiteness of the acting area. Marowitz's Hamlet is an actor who is unable to concentrate on his role, whose performance is therefore inadequate, and the audience were constantly reminded of this by the visible traces of the theatre itself. The circus-like arena and the appearance of the characters, who wore circus costumes and make-up, was borne out in many of the scenes which used the rhythms of vaudeville joke routines, and the stylised buffoonery of the Clown. All this, Marowitz claimed, was to be found in the original play, and certainly the elements he suggests in his introduction to the printed text are valid. He chose to emphasise them by setting his play in the ring with all the tawdry glitter associated with circus acts - a visual symbol with all the complexity and resonance of a Shakespearean pun.

Only Fortinbras wore natural looking make-up. Hamlet's face was white with a red tear-drop painted on his cheek; Ophelia was rouged like a puppet-doll with round red blobs on her cheeks and huge spidery eye-lashes painted on the skin all around the eyes; Gertrude's eyes were elongated with silver eye-shadow, sparkling with sequins; Claudius had a green half mask painted on to the face which covered it from the forehead to the bridge of the nose; the Ghost had a greyish tinged face with heavy black lines around the eyes; the Clown wore a traditional sad circus clown's make-up, and when doubling as Polonius he placed a grey gloved hand on his chin to denote a beard; Rosencrantz and Guildenstern had half white, half black faces, and

these colours were reflected in their costumes (black and white sweaters and scarves), and they were linked together with a rope which stressed at once their function as puppets manipulated by Hamlet (not Claudius) and their lack of individuality. Thus each character was defined by his mask and was inseparable from it. Only Fortinbras, the man of action and Hamlet's alter ego, was not masked, and his costume was the only one that might have been seen in a traditional production of Hamlet. Hamlet himself wore a sloppy black sweater underneath which could be seen a red teeshirt with a white neck band. His dark corduroy trousers had holes in and his hair was thick and unkempt. The contrast in character between him and Fortinbras was made immediate through the choice of costume - the one dishevelled ('literally, a mess', as Marowitz described him in his introduction to the play (p.14), the other neat with clipped hair and gleaming breast plate over his soldier's uniform. The authority figures in the play, Claudius, the Ghost and Fortinbras, were all dressed conventionally but with no attempt at creating a single period. Claudius and the Ghost were both in pin-striped suits, though Claudius was distinguished with a purple shoulder sash which matched Gertrude's.

The characters of the court, all figments of Hamlet's imagination, merged with each other to suggest that they had become, for him, stereotypes and not individuals. So Ophelia, being passionately embraced by Claudius, was replaced by Gertrude as the two figures revolved slowly, clasped together. The two women became one woman and all women in Hamlet's diseased imagination. He watched the action, seated with the Clown down stage, and a strobe picked out the couple as if they were in a clip from an old film. Most of the play was lit simply in bright white light which got brighter as the final scene focussed on Hamlet standing in the middle of the circle of prostrate figures. Quick transitions between characters and scenes which were an essential part of the hallucinatory quality of the action as a whole, were not always accomplished with lighting tricks, but were effected by unexpected or abrupt changes. At one moment Hamlet was being rocked by the mother Gertrude; the next he had the whore Gertrude pushed on to the ground in a kind of rape scene which ended with the appearance (characters tended to appear, rather than enter) of Claudius, to whom Hamlet immediately turned his attention, belittling and

threatening him by forcing him backwards across the stage as he held him at arm's length and pushed with his finger against the tip of Claudius's nose. As the watching court cried out for judgment a white bench was whisked on in front of them so that a trial scene was instantly established.

The film sequence was a lengthy one, and it continued with Gertrude and the Ghost enacting the roles of Player King and Queen. It ended when Gertrude joined Claudius for the murder, and together they stepped out of the old film and moved swiftly and menacingly towards Hamlet, reciting between them, 'Thoughts black, hands apt' etc. Hamlet, drawn towards them as if hypnotised, was forced to help perform the murder. His terror, which registered on his mobile face beneath the white mask, was transferred to the audience by the giant shadows of Gertrude and Claudius thrown up on the white cyclorama. Briefly they dominated the stage, as Hamlet's obsession and fears were given visual and apparently tangible form.

Hamlet's lack of emotional maturity was dramatised in scenes of childish games with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern and Ophelia, and his mediocrity as an actor was stressed by the Clown, who directed and prompted him for many of his scenes. Aware always of his audience, and usually pitted against a character who did not possess his weakness, he failed each time to convince himself of his ability to act. Hamlet had already been seen as a spectator at a film who was drawn unwillingly into the action and as a manipulator of others, notably Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, whom he held on a rope. Then he himself was wound up by the Clown who gradually managed to elicit from him the semblance of a passion so that as he cried, 'Now might I do it pat', the central white flat at the back of the stage dropped to reveal the members of the court seated in a kind of Punch and Judy booth or ornate theatre box, cheering Hamlet as if he were the hero of a melodrama. Their exaggerated response to his 'And now I'll do it' immediately deflated the hero and, his confidence in tatters, he could do no more than mutter 'And so he goes to Heaven/ And so am I revenged'(p.71). The courtiers pushed their way out of the box, and sweeping Hamlet aside, rushed to congratulate Claudius. Each time Hamlet, as principal actor, failed to convince, this was monitored by his on-stage

audience, who either booed or mocked him. At the end of his trial, having with his ravings emptied the stage of everyone except Fortinbras and having reiterated yet again his intention of avenging his father, Hamlet's confident facade crumbled again as Fortinbras merely sneered at him.

The chaos of nightmare was evoked by the recurring motif of characters falling down, ostensibly dead, though they had not been struck. Meeting for the first time, Hamlet and Laertes engaged in a battle of words (pp.62-3). Although Laertes was holding a sword he made no move to kill Hamlet, yet Hamlet collapsed and Laertes stepped over him as if he were not there and continued his scene with Claudius. Later Hamlet made a ritual killing of Claudius at prayer, striking rhythmically three times, but it was Polonius who dropped. The final violent image of the play showed Hamlet wildly stabbing all the members of the court, touching no one, yet felling them all. But their deaths were as temporary as their wounds were illusory, and the corpses lay there laughing maniacally at Hamlet in his final humiliation.

One of the things Marowitz claimed his collage work accomplished was to find a 'way of transmitting speed in the theatre'. If the play Hamlet was to reflect our lives today, he argued, then it must in some way suggest the 'relentless, insatiable motor-power that makes the world move as quickly as it does' (p.48). The incessant changing of images, location, and personality kept the tension high and demanded intense concentration from the audience. The very opening image with all the characters on stage gabbling different fragments of speeches epitomised the speed at which the play moved and the confusion inherent in it. The critics loved or loved to hate the production, and the show was sold out²¹.

In 1970 Macbeth had another revival when it played at the Premio Roma Festival and then went on a four week tour of Italy and ended in Paris. It then played again at the Open Space. It was not until 1972 when the permanent company was formed that Marowitz created a new collage, which was preceded by another revival of Hamlet. The new collage was An Othello, which was devised from the original in a different way from the other two. There was a radical departure from Shakespeare's text, with interpolations

by Marowitz written in Black Panther slang. Both the roles of Iago and Othello were played by black actors, and the idea behind the work was to present the political theme of the black revolution in America as represented by Malcolm X. As Marowitz was at pains to point out in an interview with Peter Ansorge in Plays and Players (Oct 1972), the play Othello does not contain the theme that Marowitz was to impose on his version of the story. He was, he said, attempting 'to put the black power cliché into a more interesting, less clichéd context'. The collage was commissioned by the Wiesbaden Festival and Marowitz was under a great deal of pressure to finish the script, which he completed in two weeks. It was, he felt, unsatisfactory because he had not had enough time to work on it, though its success with the public equalled that of his other two²².

His work on The Taming of the Shrew suffered in the same way. The Shrew was created in a hurry to replace a cancelled project at the last minute (see The Marowitz Shakespeares, p.16) and as usual it was Thelma Holt who spurred him on to do it. It was premiered abroad at the Hot Theatre in the Hague in October 1973 (not 1974 as stated in The Marowitz Shakespeares), and opened on 1 November 1973 at the Open Space. Although Marowitz himself was critical of the work it proved very popular with audiences; it toured abroad and had a revival at the Open Space in 1975. Holt played Kate in all performances, though five different actors played Petruchio (Holt in interview 19.2.79). Nikolas Simmonds played the first, and reviews of the 1975 revival referred back to the original casting, 'The mesmerised disgust which she (Holt) showed for her first and best Petruchio, Nikolas Simmonds, is not shown here. But Malcolm Tierney's Petruchio is an immense improvement on the last' (Guardian 10.12.75).

Marowitz's play removes all the comedy from the original and shows a Kate subjected to the tyranny of man. He wanted her portrayed as a middle-aged spinster, powerless against Petruchio, and her final speech (which is the same as the one Shakespeare gave her) was delivered by Holt as a 'masterpiece of dramatic irony' (Guardian 2.11.73), leaving the audience with the impression of a woman unable to break her chains yet undiminished by her ordeal. Marowitz had been inspired by an interview he had seen on television with a woman doctor, then aged about sixty, who had spent many

years in a Soviet prison in solitary confinement and whose spirit was unbroken by the experience (Holt in interview). The torture of Kate had its source in the atrocities of Northern Ireland, and the technique Marowitz used was to identify 'marriage with a police state dungeon' from which he created a 'black Artaudian fable' (The Times 3.11.73). The stage was bare and grey with only a few essential props. Petruchio's tribunal chair which dominated the final scene (its shape was repeated in the bridal head-dress Thelma Holt wore) was typical of the effective stage imagery in all the collages. The chair itself stood about eight foot high and Petruchio conducted the trial with Kate standing below him (Marowitz originally had her standing on a podium, but Holt felt the full effect of his tyranny could only be obtained if she was lower than he) looking wasted and white but unbeaten. Glaring white light accentuated her pallor (Holt wore no make up for this scene - she had just time enough to wipe off what she had had on for the previous scene before she made her final appearance) and the texture of Robin Don's set for Petruchio's dwelling, which was grey, slimy and subterranean, formed a striking contrast to the opulent texture of the set used for the scenes in Katherine's home. The final image was of Kate standing beneath Petruchio wearing heavy chains - the embodiment of the slavery into which she had been sold when she married him. She was dressed in her bridal robes to the tolling of a funeral bell (according to Holt the idea was taken from the Russian film of Hamlet). As the critic for The Times (24.12.75) said, 'the piece still exhibits Marowitz's best and worst qualities side by side'. The weak link lay with the modern interpolations, with which Marowitz was never happy, though he changed them every time - his strength with the 'awesome stage pictures' he knew so well how to create.

His last Shakespeare collage to be presented at the Tottenham Court Road premises, also destined for The Hague, was Measure for Measure. It was inspired by an unpleasant personal experience he had of English justice, and he used Shakespeare's play to show that 'the trappings of the law are not synonymous with the functions of justice' (Guardian 28.5.75; see also pp.155-6). Again he deleted all the comedy and sub-plot, this time also changing the main plot so that Isabella is seduced by Angelo, despite which her brother Claudio is executed. Usual characterisations are given a

different twist. In an article he wrote for Plays and Players (June 1975) Marowitz drew up an ideal cast list for his play which might 'suggest some of the nuances it should contain: Angelo - Richard Nixon; Isabella - Mary Whitehouse; Escalus - Harold Wilson; Bishop - Al Capone; Provost - Pat O'Brien; Lucio - Lenny Bruce; Claudio - Errol Flynn; The Duke - Malcolm Muggeridge. Directed by the C.I.A. in collaboration with The Festival of Light.'

The play does not diverge drastically from the original until Isabella decides to give herself to Angelo, and it is at this point that the staging (designed with Robin Don) took on a greater emblematic significance. Already the audience were seated like a jury at a tribunal; a huge, on stage vertical scroll hung at an angle to the audience. On it was written the Duke's decree against fornication. When lit from the front it looked solid, and it was framed with panels of high gloss black perspex which reflected the action, distorting and multiplying it. It rolled up to reveal a gauze screen behind which Angelo was seen undressing Isabella. The love-making was accompanied by a requiem mass. Immediately after, as Isabella came down stage from behind the gauze, she flicked away the cloth from an ornament which was revealed to be Claudio's head. Lighting was used in this production to give a cinematic effect and scenes dissolved or merged with each other. As Isabella screamed on discovering the head of her brother, so there was a simultaneous black-out over her, and a 'lights up' on the Bishop who was standing down stage. The blending of tableaux, or the abrupt switching from one image to another, was used extensively, and more nightmare/dream sequences were added here than in the previous collages. To enhance this effect and to suggest Isabella's inner turmoil an echo chamber and recorded sounds were used. Although the play deals with the essentially political theme of corruption in high places, the emphasis as always was on the individual's struggle against corruption, authority and moral weakness.

Measure for Measure opened the new 1975 season with a permanent company and saw the return of Nikolas Simmonds as Angelo and David Schofield as Lucio.

Variations on the Merchant of Venice, and An Othello are the most overtly political of all of Marowitz's Shakespeare collages. Both plays superimposed a modern situation on the original - in Variations it was the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, 1946. The play is framed with a 'voice over' reading the news, and slides of the 1946 bombing were projected on to a screen. In this case it was the only modern text added to the play, though the rest of the dialogue was taken from both Shakespeare's play and Marlowe's Jew of Malta.

Thelma Holt and David Schofield were the only two regular Open Space actors to appear in this production, which opened the new premises in Euston Road. It had a good press and proved a promising start to the new season. Unfortunately this was spoilt by the scandal of the pink bath which broke just two months later (see p.155).

Marowitz adapted four other works which were not Shakespeare's: Oscar Wilde's The Critic as Artist, and Büchner's Woyzeck, which were both presented at the Tottenham Court Road Theatre in 1971 and 1973 respectively; The Father, by Strindberg, and Hedda from Ibsen's Hedda Gabler in 1979 and 1980 at the Euston Road premises and the Round House respectively. From Wilde's essay he cut out a good deal of the purple prose and added a dramatic situation - i.e. a first meeting and seduction between Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas. Only Wilde's dialogue was used, though some epigrams found their way into the text from his other works. The stage was transformed into a sumptuous Victorian sitting room (designed by Philip Reavey and John Napier) and green carnations were handed to the audience as they entered. In order to separate the set from the rather dingy cellar-like surrounds of the Open Space, gauze curtains boxed it in. When the stage was lit, the gauze became transparent, giving a dream-like quality to the proceedings which put the audience at one remove from the situation. Marowitz had hoped to make the public feel as though they were watching something they ought not to have been, and according to the critics he achieved this effect magnificently. Timothy West played the part of Wilde to the almost unanimous acclaim of the critics²². This was not a production in the familiar Marowitz style (the acting and setting were

naturalistic), though the green carnations were reminiscent of his 'environmental' technique (see pp.91-102).

The figures available for this production show that in terms of public response the show was a success and that, on average, houses must have been over half full at each performance; it ran for five and a half weeks (OS 13/31).

The other three adaptations marked a return to Marowitz's visual treatment, where the themes were communicated by a series of stage images which captured the essence of the play, either underlining it or presenting the audience with new insights. Voyzeck will be discussed here as a successful, and then still fresh, example of his methods.

The episodic and fragmented structure of the original reflected exactly the kind of production which Marowitz liked to create. Buchner's text is unfinished, and successive editors have juggled with the scenes and arrived at different conclusions about their sequence. Marowitz wrote his final nightmare trial scene with the amplified voices of the characters giving their testimonies whilst the solitary figure of Voyzeck (played by David Schofield) stood on stage, his head caught in two cross lights to emphasise his isolation and spiritual bewilderment. Michael Patterson, who wrote the introduction to the Eyre Methuen edition, believes it possible that Buchner had intended to write a final trial scene, so Marowitz was for once using an accepted idea for ending the play, though the way it was done was his own.²⁴

From the description, in the Methuen edition of the play, of other productions of Voyzeck (p.xvi), it would seem that Marowitz had taken a lead from Reinhardt's staging in 1921 and allowed lighting to replace scenery and the social message of the play to be subordinated to the spiritual dimension. Marowitz used a bare stage with back and side flats covered with khaki coloured hessian, so the stage resembled the inside of an empty box. Lighting was used to suggest the pool into which Voyzeck walked at the end - bright white light contrasted with the black surroundings, and although there was plenty of bright colour in the

costumes the final impression was of a black and white production. Robin Don's first suggestion for the set had involved a series of concentric steel hoops suspended from the ceiling that could be raised or lowered as required (Burgess, the assistant director, in interview 25.7.85). They were to have dropped finally like the ripples of a pool on to the stage. Marowitz, however, whether for economic, practical, or aesthetic reasons, decided not to exploit this idea and ultimately resisted all Don's attempts to provide a set. The critics were almost unanimous in their praise of Marowitz's conception of the play and liked the way he had juxtaposed different acting styles. These changed abruptly from the naturalistic to the highly stylised or mimed movements, such as running on the spot or round in circles, sometimes marking time whilst action took place on another part of the stage (eg scene ix, p.14 in the prompt copy, OS archives) where the pace became more frenzied as Woyzeck intoned his autobiographical monologue to the rhythm of the Drum Major's love-making to Marie, and sometimes to denote the tension building in his mind and a vain desire to escape from it (scene xii p.19). The stage was bare save for a few essential props such as stools or chairs. Personal props often had a symbolic function, giving a surreal quality to the production. In scene iv Woyzeck took a model of his own head out of a box while the Drum Major (Malcolm Storry) spoke words as if they came from the head. Woyzeck's dagger in scene xiv was large enough for him to be stretched out on it (like Christ on the cross) and carried out. Even the costumes were symbolic. The military characters were dressed in outsize uniforms which increased their own and diminished Woyzeck's stature and accentuated his helplessness. Harold Hobson was one of the few critics to object:

Woyzeck was a very good play a century and a half ago, but today it has become dull because its central thesis has been repeated too often ... But even a cliché can seem fresh if it is freshly put. Mr. Marowitz does not put it freshly. (Sunday Times, 25.2.73)

It is amusing to note that his one item of praise concerned the symbolic quality of a particular stage effect which was unintentional. After the murder, blood appeared on both Woyzeck's clothing and the Drum Major's, thus highlighting society's implication in the act. According to John Burgess in interview this had happened simply because the violence of the scene and the quantities of stage blood which were used meant that it was impossible to control the spurting liquid. There was no time to clean up thoroughly

before subsequent scenes and the fact that the Drum Major had come on him was mere chance.

The violence underneath the superficial noise and gaiety (e.g. during the fairground scenes) kept the play taut and exciting. The tension did not slacken and no time was lost in scene changes because there was very little to change. Voyzeck played the parts of the horse and monkey at the fair, the transformation of Marie from the Drum Major's woman to the poor girl who was Voyzeck's mistress was effected by simply casting off a luxurious cape to reveal the poverty beneath, and different locations were suggested through the action and acting rather than the set.

Many of the techniques had been seen before: the woman degraded by man in a scene of simulated buggery (see The Shraw), the entry into the mind of an individual by surrounding him with other actors who menacingly stared at him, the solitary light which picked out his head, the disembodied voice over and so on. Later, audiences were bored by them - at this stage in the Open Space's life-span they were still fresh enough to make the impact that The Father and Hedda failed to produce.

Artaud at Rodez, Marowitz's only original play to be presented at the Open Space (discounting Shakespeare's Last Case which he has recently revealed to be his, see p.258), was a culmination of the Artaudian techniques that he had developed in his earlier collage work. It was shown in repertoire with The Shraw, the most Artaudian of all his previous productions, and this pairing could be seen as another of the high-spots in the history of the Open Space Theatre.

The play uses information researched by Marowitz when he interviewed Ferdière and friends of Artaud (Blin and Adamov) in 1966²². The play shows a man obsessed with a personal vision of what art in the theatre ought to be and driven to madness by his inability to achieve it. This was dramatised through the confrontation of Dr Ferdière, the man who was responsible for Artaud's treatment at Rodez, and Artaud himself. Ferdière was the personification of conformist values which stifle the artistic temperament, as personified by Artaud. The subject matter - i.e. Artaud's

life - was particularly well suited to the form that Marowitz gave it as his behaviour in life imitated his theories on art. It is ironic that Artaud despised the written word and Marowitz's collation of material formed a very well-written play. Critics complained that certain anachronistic scenes, such as the kidnapping of Artaud by Blin and the beat poet who seemed to have walked out of the Living Theatre were poor. Certainly the comedy inherent in them was heavy-handed, and Clive Harrison (in interview 10.4.85) claimed that it always was a weakness in the production, but on the whole the play was much admired.

As with his other productions, it was the non-verbal, visual aspect of the show which was most striking. In his Shakespeare collage work he had a text which he commented upon, illustrated, or controverted with the on-stage action or effects. With The Shrew he pared down the original to its basic story and provided it with salient images (a woman literally chained in marriage to a man, the man and woman who destroy each other through marriage, the scream of inner pain); with Artaud at Rodez he used violence, ritual, the Tarahumara chant, and disturbed the audience with his penetrating stage imagery: Artaud banging the walls of his coffin from inside it while his so-called disciples walked away, his muse, erotic and seductive, offering opium for inspiration, the final scene where all members of the company

slowly appear holding a double mask on a stick. Each face on the double mask depicts a slightly unreal staring face with white staring eyes ... actors holding the staring masks slowly turn them around revealing the reverse-side which contains a wry, cruel smile.

(Artaud at Rodez p.65)

Billington, writing in the Guardian (10.12.75) of The Shrew when it was premiered in Rome, commented, 'seeing this piece in the midst of a foreign audience does remind you how strong are its visual emphases' and the same could be said of Artaud at Rodez. Irving Wardle went so far as to say that Artaud's theories had become part of a 'powerful house style' - and at this period it was true of Marowitz's own work, if not of other works appearing at the Open Space.

Artaud at Rodez did not depend on a clear chronological narrative line - the scenes were harsh, crude and dislocated. The speed with which images

followed each other was presaged in the opening scene where Artaud was wheeled rapidly round on a hospital trolley. The stage was bare and black so the impression was of a great deal of central space. While he was wheeled about two doctors were administering E.C.T. treatment. The sense of ritual was achieved through the accompaniment of Artaud's taped voice chanting like the Tarahumara Indians. Lighting was bright white and strobes were used to suggest frenzy. Clive Merrison played Artaud at a consistently high pitch, and the critic for Plays and Players (February 1976) said of the role that it 'requires a performer who can meet the challenge of the punishing vocal and physical experiments Artaud undertook as an actor. Clive Merrison, in a finely unified performance, often comes close'. Merrison, describing his rehearsal process in interview, said that he approached it by reading all Artaud's writings, after which he immersed himself in the appropriate acting and vocal imagery. He studied photographs of Artaud and would try to imitate the pose, freeze, and start to act from there. What he created was a memorable physical performance, 'eyeballs seemingly fixed in an attitude of cross-eyed mania, voice garbling out (sic) in strangled form a torrent of words' (Guardian 17.12.75). In the same article Marowitz stated that his idea was 'to perform a specimen of Artaudian theatrecraft' and only one critic found the claim specious. This was Harold Hobson, who viciously attacked both play, performance and Marowitz's integrity (Sunday Times 21.12.75)³⁶.

Marowitz must have felt vindicated by most of the other reviews, which spoke highly of his achievement. The reviewer for the New Statesman (26.12.75) remarked that 'Charles Marowitz's productions often suggest that he's the only man in London who actually understands Artaud; and now he has confirmed it'. Hobson had praised the Grand Magic Circus for its truly Artaudian qualities at the expense of Marowitz's production (they had both opened on the same night). However, Savary's work, like Ken Campbell's and Lindsay Kemp's, only employed certain Artaudian characteristics. All three directors desired to escape from the confines of naturalism, but their theatre was not really disturbing or dangerous. In the production of Artaud at Rodez Marowitz had not been able to do group exercises or improvisation - there was not enough time, as Marowitz was still writing the script when they went into rehearsal. In the production of Voyage the

actors had enjoyed juggling with the scenes themselves and had contributed positively to the final form of the play (Malcolm Storry in interview), as they had done for Palach. In that respect Artaud at Rodez cannot be said to have been a group effort.

The major features of Marowitz's collage work and adaptations might be described thus: 1. An emphasis on speed which necessitated a film-like technique to enable him to switch from one image to another, often dazzling an audience with its unexpectedness and lack of rational explanation. This gave a natural place to the evocation of dream or nightmare, in turn a method of exposing what was happening in the mind of a character. 2. Shock tactics, both verbal and visual, as an integral part of his means of expression - so, well-known characters in a Shakespearian play would speak the wrong lines (e.g. Hamlet) or those present at the trial scene in Variations on the Merchant of Venice were gunned down by Shylock's men for the production's finale. 3. Simple or bare sets, essential to facilitate quick changes, which were usually effected by the cast themselves. 4. Lighting as the chief means of suggesting a different realm from the real world (e.g. the red lighting stipulated in The Father which was a signal for both actors and audience that a different style was required).

The productions encompassed many different themes but the one which was common to all was that of the struggling individual, bound by the strictures of a conventional society and isolated from the rest of humankind because of a desire to elude them.

3. Environmental Pieces

In a discussion of his production of The Four Little Girls by Picasso, Marowitz defines 'environmental theatre' thus: 'an environment inside a theatre is only a fancy name for a stage setting - even if the setting happens to overflow into the house'²⁷. It was a method of staging that he had used several times before the Picasso play with different effects, and the above definition does not encompass these differences. The object of creating the productions in this way was not always the same, and the final result of involving the audience by immersing them in the world of the play was different in each case.

The first production attempted, by means of transforming the theatre into another kind of institution, to recreate an actual prison with real inmates who were not only the actors playing the scripted parts but also the audience. Fortune and Men's Eyes, by John Herbert, opened on 11 July 1968 to enthusiastic audiences²⁸. Reviews were mixed and press coverage was not really comprehensive until the play transferred to the West End. However there were enough good reviews to start the audiences flocking in, and the run was extended until 4 October²⁹. On 17 October it was transferred to the Comedy, where it was presented by Michael White and Larry Parnes.

The play is set in a Canadian reformatory and deals with the corruption of a new inmate by his fellow prisoners. The play's atmosphere is claustrophobic, and Charles Marowitz's production made the most of this by treating the audience as inmates. The main entrance to the theatre was not used - instead the public were ushered in through the fire exit. One was immediately confronted with iron fire escape staircases and narrow passages along which the audience were ordered in single file. A barred door was opened by a guard who took the tickets, and flashing lights proclaimed, 'This Way'. Two inmates stared out silently from behind iron bars as the public filed in, and another guard equipped with a sub-machine gun watched from above. The audience were finger-printed (according to Oliver Pritchett of the Guardian (12.7.68) 'everyone submitted like lambs' on the opening night) and were then pushed into a cell until twelve people had

accumulated. Then they were allowed to pass across the set to their seats. Loud-speakers blasted out prison information until the play was about to begin, at which point the guards silently disappeared and the play opened with the sound of a shower, and the appearance of the four characters who make up the play⁴⁰.

As B.A. Young said (Financial Times 24.7.68) 'What is theatre?' is a question that concerns Mr. Marowitz's new undertaking, the Open Space Theatre'. The production attempted to break down the traditional barriers set up by the proscenium arch theatre, and to implicate the audience directly in the action of the play. Thelma Holt's claim in her introduction to the published text, that it was the first production to 'use environment as an integral part of stage-design' is not quite accurate. The idea had been used in a production of John Bowen's After the Rain at the Hampstead Theatre Club in 1966, where the audience was assigned the role of students attending a lecture, and in John Arden's The Happy Haven, performed in April 1960 at the Drama Studio, Bristol University on an open stage, the audience received similar treatment. Though neither of these plays can be said to have created the environment with such detail (it is much easier to make a theatre auditorium look like a lecture theatre than like a prison cell), the idea is the same. However the Marowitz production was successful, though critics could not agree on where its success lay. Oliver Pritchett of the Guardian (12.6.68) felt it was 'an effective way of setting the scene', but that the play 'didn't really convince on human relationships'. Jeremy Kingston, writing for Punch (24.7.68) felt that the story 'grips attention from the start and seldom lets it go'. Michael Billington for The Times (18.10.68), after the play had transferred to the Comedy, declared 'to me the play fulfils one of drama's most basic functions: it tells us about an area of life that few of us will ever experience at first hand'. Both he and Kingston agreed that Marowitz's direction was impeccable.

Only two reviews wholeheartedly condemned the play. One was published in The Stage (18.7.68), where the reviewer was clearly offended by the homosexual subject matter, and he ended by blaming the director. The other, by Harold Hobson, was a tougher attack altogether on the theatre enterprise as a whole, as experienced through this play (see pp.144-5).

From the dark, claustrophobic atmosphere of the Open Space club setting, Fortune and Men's Eyes transferred to the pink and genteel Comedy Theatre in the West End. It received a great deal of publicity as it was only the second play since censorship had ended on 26 July 1968 to show male nudity on stage (the first having been Hair at the Shaftesbury). The Daily Telegraph (12.10.68) claimed that it was the first time a male nude had appeared in full lighting on the West End stage. The nudity, the homosexuality, and the scatological language were what now concerned the tabloid reviewers: 'Nude actors come into the light' (Daily Mail 4.10.68); 'Strong stomachs and broad minds only' (Evening Standard, 18.10.68). Emphasis was laid on the fact that the Lord Chamberlain had previously forbidden the play performance rights in its original form. Many mentioned the number of people who walked out from the first night performance, and Milton Shulman (Evening Standard, 18.10.68) added: 'I doubt if there is a viable commercial audience for this kind of outspoken social realism'. It seems he was right - the play lasted only until the end of November.

Undoubtedly the club theatres of the 1960s had a different clientele from the West End theatres, and this possibly accounted for certain changes in the production which Marowitz allowed. Although the play itself was largely unchanged, the audience was not subjected to any of the physical discomfort which it had experienced at the Open Space. The public was no longer finger-printed as it came in, nor was it exposed to anything resembling prison procedure. The sirens and loudspeakers still blared across the auditorium to remind the audience of the prison setting, but the sensation of being trapped in it with the characters was no longer felt to the same extent. According to John Higgins (Financial Times, 18.10.68), Al Mancini, who played the part of Queenie the transvestite, was allowed to overplay his drag scenes which, while remaining highly comic, were not in tune with the other performances. This would seem to be borne out by the number of reviewers who referred to the acting in terms which suggested caricature and high camp.

It is also true to say that Marowitz's production had been specifically tailored to fit the Open Space's auditorium and the building as a whole, so it was natural that there were difficulties when the play transferred to

another venue. The production used the entire theatre building to create its effect, and since the Open Space itself was suitably dingy, uncomfortable and altogether suggestive of the penitentiary, the creation of a 'total environment' was successful. In a production of Britannicus at the Studio, Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith (27.5.81), directed by Christopher Fettes, the same effect was attempted (a darkened auditorium with armed guards marching up and down while the public waited for the action to begin), but it was not entirely successful. The effect was ludicrous because the audience had just walked in from a foyer which looked more like a plush hotel lounge than anything else. The director of this show, unlike Marowitz in his production at the Open Space, had seriously miscalculated the effect of his idea because he had not taken into account the incongruity between the created illusion in the studio and the reality of the theatre surrounds. Oliver Pritchett of the Guardian (19.10.68), reviewing Fortune and Men's Eyes for the second time, remarked that although the production had lost 'remarkably little ... it's hard to shake the stalls bar bonhomie', and Simon Trussler for the Tribune (25.10.68) commented that the transfer 'has transformed the production's eye-witness intimacy into more or less conventional proscenium-archery - with the audience as targets instead of participants'. The effect was obviously not so disastrous as at the Lyric because the rest of the production was still excellent, but the extra charge it had had in the Tottenham Court Road premises had gone. There Marowitz had achieved a startling and dramatic entrance for his characters, where actors and audience suddenly became almost indistinguishable, such was their proximity. The tiny space and stage with audience on three sides had been an integral part of the director's conception of the play, which was inevitably lost when it transferred to a traditional theatre, and the play no longer had the same impact on the spectators.

No other environmental production was attempted until 1970, for although it had proved a popular experiment, it was also a very expensive way of setting a play. It was not until 1970 that Marowitz decided to try it again, with two productions running one after the other. The first of these was a charity performance of a dramatised reading of the transcript

of The Chicago Conspiracy (published in Open Space Plays, pp.77-149), compiled by John Burgess. It had two showings on 24 August (originally only one performance had been scheduled, but the demand for tickets was such that it was presented to two full houses on the same day). The cast was an amateur one headed by the writer William Burroughs in the part of Judge Julius Hoffman, and all proceeds were to be sent to the "Chicago Conspiracy Trial Fund" to help those who still had appeals pending. According to Wardle (The Times 25.8.70) Marowitz, who directed the production, deliberately chose non-professionals for the parts because he felt that the most appropriate people to speak for the participants were members of the American public, and, where possible, Americans who had suffered at the hands of the American judicial system.

The text of The Chicago Conspiracy was taken from literature already published about the notorious trial which had taken place after the riots following the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1968. The defendants were accused of trying to initiate a revolution which would overthrow the government, and Burgess's reconstruction of the salient points of the trial sought to show that the court proceedings were corrupt and that the true conspiracy was created by the government itself. In Wardle's introduction to the published text and in his review of the production (see above) he stated firmly that the dramatisation was not concerned with finding villains, but gave a fair hearing to both sides of the question. As proof of this he cited the scene where the actor playing Bobby Seale, a black defendant, sitting in the audience at the Open Space, was bound and gagged in a most savage fashion because he kept demanding his rights. Although the audience's sympathies were with Seale, he said, the production also showed his 'thunderous self-righteousness' (Open Space Plays, p.80) so that there was a feeling of relief when his tirade was forcibly stopped. The judge too had his moments of pathos, apparently due to William Burroughs' rendering of the role (The Times 25.8.70). Wardle claimed that the production was open-minded without an over-emphasis on the martyrdom of individuals. This must have been a result of sensitive direction from Marowitz, because a reading of the text arouses a feeling of horror at the perversion of justice at every stage of the proceedings, and there seems to be no kindness shown to the prosecuting counsel or the judge.

The parts were read, and although the cast seemed under-rehearsed at first (Daily Telegraph 25.8.70) the audience rapidly became involved with the events. Marowitz used his by now familiar technique of making the audience feel part of the action. The production attempted to set up trial conditions, so that the public were frisked by 'American police' as they entered to take their place as spectators at the original trial. Recorded crowd sounds helped to create the atmosphere of a busy court room, and members of the cast planted in the audience encouraged verbal reaction from the spectators. The brutalities that the actual trial practised on some of the accused were not shirked, and fighting was effectively simulated in the 'court room'.

The adaptation began with a loudspeaker announcing the sentences of each of the defendants, preceded by a photograph of the relevant person flashed onto a screen. Each of the characters summed up in a few sentences what he felt about the court proceedings. Then followed a series of scenes which led up to the end of the trial, each preceded by captions projected onto a screen which revealed the content of the scene to follow and in some cases commented on it. This Brechtian narrative technique did not appear to create a sense of detachment in the audience, but simply clarified and linked each separate scene.

Although there were only two performances the press was unanimous in its opinion that Marowitz had staged a valuable documentary play which ought to have reached a wider audience than a small club could hope to accommodate, and the implications of its incorporation into the works presented there are discussed later (pp.151-2). In its theatrical context it resembled its predecessor, Fortune and Men's Eyes, but its substance was more radical and subversive.

The second major production was Palach by Alan Burns, directed by Marowitz and presented on 11 November 1970 for four weeks. Alan Burns had written his first novel in 1961 and had already established a reputation for himself as a novelist before he met Marowitz in 1969. In the Guardian (30.4.70) Angus Wilson had referred to him as 'one of the two or three most interesting new novelists working in England'. Marowitz asked him to write

a play for the Open Space, which he subsequently did, but the production was shelved for a time because money for it could not be found. The Arts Council refused a request for an extra fifteen hundred pounds, and it was not until an anonymous donation of five hundred pounds was sent for the production that work could be started on it.

In his play, Burns had tried to recreate the atmosphere and theme expressed in Breughel's picture The Fall of Icarus. Just as no one takes any notice of Icarus as he disappears beneath the waves and the rest of the world goes about its business, so Palach, the Czech student who burned himself as a protest at the Soviet invasion of his country, perished in a futile and despairing gesture, which was forgotten as soon as it had been performed. This sacrifice, which is at the heart of the play, was not allowed to take a central position in the structure of the work. The production focused for only a few moments on the letter that Palach had written to his countrymen, after which his words were swallowed up by other events happening elsewhere in the auditorium. At no point in the production was there any attempt to show the physical act of martyrdom on stage. Burns was making the point that the essence of the martyrdom lay in the futility of the act, and that the 'knowledge' which Palach expressed in the letter, that his would not be the final sacrifice if the people did not respond to his plea to help create freedom for Czechoslovakia, was false. The villains of the piece were not the invading Russians, nor the characters on stage, but the media who control our responses and who decide how much importance they will allow us to attach to a political act. The critic for the Guardian (12.11.70) felt that because of the writer's treatment of the martyrdom, the play foundered for want of a centre, and others felt that the chaos evoked by the production was not helpful in establishing its point.

In keeping with the spirit of the play, Ian Brakewell, the designer, had the walls of the theatre covered with random lists of words beginning with P. The name of Palach was included amongst them, but it was not given prominence (Open Space Plays, p.195). Four stages were set against the walls, connected to each other by planks. The audience sat in the centre so that they were surrounded by the action'. Often different scenes were

being enacted at the same time on different stages, and as the audience entered to take their places, televisions were blaring out random programmes. The playwright's initial idea had been to recreate something of the atmosphere of a fairground, with music and bustling activity surrounding the spectators, who would themselves wander round the different 'booths'. The idea of the audience moving about as well as the actors proved impracticable in the small theatre, but the feeling of intense activity was maintained. The idea of enveloping his audience in a total environment was one which appealed to Burns, but which he warily chose to stand back from during certain moments of the play. As soon as the audience had assembled, the various activities which had been going on before the house lights dimmed, ceased, and a long blackout ensued with a recorded dialogue between director and playwright as they mulled over their forthcoming play, Palach. A totally realistic conversation was given another dimension by virtue of the fact that it was disembodied and that none of the points made were actually concluded, so that the voices faded out as another thought started. This perhaps superfluous piece of Brechtian distancing (the device is not used anywhere else in the play, and seems to be largely irrelevant) served the purpose of explaining what should have been evident without explanation by the end of the play. The voice of Burns was heard to say,

The characters occupy their time in chat, which is 'not communication, comprehension, understanding, but rather indicates a particular style of life. Their idle talk is the sign of alienation, an incapacity to relate to anything at all'. The action occurs off-stage and creates forebodings which 'cast their shadow over idle talk'. (p.197)

If, however, the message that the play was to communicate was unambiguous, and uncomplex, it was what made for clarity through the seeming chaos of the action. In Confessions of a Counterfeit Critic Marowitz was later to acknowledge his un-Artaudian tendency to wish to 'cleanse the corruptions of society', but being attracted towards some of Artaud's theories of staging he felt that it ought to be possible to reconcile a 'high styled theatre' with one 'which isn't decadent, arty or ballslessly aesthetic'⁴². An attempt to realise this synthesis was made by using Artaud's idea of an acting area surrounding the audience, with much of the effect of the following scenes created by the growing noise level where the coherence of language was lost. Indeed some of the scenes employed only sound and

mixed movement, such as the simultaneous scenes with the students maintaining 'a quiet background of rhythmical sounds', the boy and girl miming a factory routine with 'appropriate sounds', and Mum and Dad who conversed in advertising slogans (p.202). In the scene which followed the reading of the letter, a visual image of the boy's decision to go through with his self-immolation was accompanied by finger snapping and a 'rapid pattering of hands on thighs' (p.227), which built the tension to breaking point before the scene switched abruptly to something else. Even when language was used in a recognisable form, it was given a new shape. In order to demonstrate the monotony and triviality of their lives, Mum and Dad were given Ionesco-like conversations which consisted of groups of, what were, for them, key words :

Dad (reads newspaper): Paper, paper, paper, paper, paper ...
 Mum (washes dishes): Dishes, dishes, dishes, dishes, dishes ...
 (pours coffee): Coffee, coffee, coffee, coffee, coffee ...
 (p.200)

or they conversed in advertising slogans:

These are spoken with great variety of tone and emphasis, following the course of domestic rows, reconciliations, etc.

Mum: What makes a shy girl get intimate?
 Dad: What we want is Watney's.
 Mum: Don't say brown, say Hovis.
 Dad: Bovril puts beef into you.
 Mum: Bovril puts beef into you.
 Dad: Bovril puts beef into you. (p.202).

Through the clichés used by the members of the family and the vicious and vulgar jokes of the priest, a developing line of coherent thought gradually emerged through the character of the boy who eventually adopted the persona of Palach. He was the only character in the play who tried to understand the motives of the young Czech, and his thoughts had to be discerned through the jumbled conversations of the other characters. Finally simultaneous action on all four stages ceased, and a spotlight was focused on the boy/Palach. The students drew lots, a voice gave an eye-witness account of the situation, and the boy read out the letter. After that moment of clarity, confusion took hold again until the end, where the boy gave up trying to make people listen and sat down in the audience and hopelessly observed the continuing turmoil on stage.

The first performance of this 'happening' presented the focal scene differently. Instead of creating the one moment of indisputable truth, however quickly it might have been concealed again, as the second version did, it disguised the letter in the same way that the characters' previous thoughts had been delivered, i.e. amidst the cacophany of other monologues taking place simultaneously. Whatever were the reasons for changing the scene after the first night, the re-working of the scene quite clearly gave the production the focus that so many of the critics thought it lacked.

Nikolas Simmonds, who had already played Marowitz's Macbeth and Hamlet, besides small parts in various other Open Space productions, played the boy, and gave, according to Harold Hobson (The Sunday Times, 15.11.71), a superb performance as the 'quietly desperate Palach'. Most critics gave reasoned accounts of the show, and most were impressed by the director's handling of the four stages and the simultaneous acting on them. Only The Stage (19.11.70) carried a vitriolic attack on what the critic called 'a garble of words, tricks, exercises'; together with the critic for the Daily Telegraph (12.11.70) he found nothing original in the methods of staging. Yet what Marowitz had done with this production was to move away from an environmental presentation which stressed the convention of experiencing reality at first hand to a more expressionistic form which suggested the essence of a confused and confusing world, with a population at once alienated from any real moral values and also ultimately unable to escape their implications. This final point was admirably exemplified by trapping the audience physically in the middle of the action.

The move away from the realistic culminated in the Marowitz production of Picasso's The Four Little Girls in 1971. The idea for the production was originally conceived as a way of participating in the festival arranged to celebrate Picasso's ninetieth birthday. Money was slowly raised, but not in time to open for the birthday on 28 October⁴³. The target of £6,000 was eventually reached (the Open Space's total grant for the year was £5,000), and for a week the theatre was closed in order to transform its interior into the dream world which the four little girls of the play inhabit.

Picasso and Artaud had been friends, and they had shared many artistic ideals, which to some extent explains Marowitz's interest in the play. He draws an analogy between the stage directions used in Les Cenci and The Four Little Girls and describes the feel of the play as surrealistic.⁴⁴ Most critics were captivated by Marowitz's 'imaginative response' (Sunday Telegraph, 19.12.71) to the problems inherent in the text, and described at length the startling images such as the cage which descended to incarcerate the girls, the chalice of wine which also descended from the roof at the end of the play, the different coloured spots which covered each girl in turn as she expounded the importance of colour, and so on. None of them mentioned the acting except to say that it was just what was needed. Marowitz was praised for shaping the play, not only by cutting but 'by polarising its emotions between the gay and the sinister, and sustaining this contrast even in the straight nursery games' (The Times, 17.11.71).

Although the 'environment' for the production was ostensibly the work of three designers, Robin Don, Carolee Schneemann and Penny Slinger, it was Don who took the initiative in an impossible situation where three creative artists are asked to design one set. Don has a deep-rooted concern with the texture of a stage set (clearly seen in his later design for The Shrew), which blended with Marowitz's conception of the production as a whole and which he (Marowitz) clarified in The Act of Being (p.159).

In 1968 Fortune and Men's Eyes had turned the theatre into a prison, with the audience treated as if they were inmates. Marowitz had forced the audience to enter the theatre in an unconventional manner for both this production and The Four Little Girls; in the first he made them descend a fire-escape, and in the other he had had made an especially small entrance to the auditorium so that people should feel a little like Alice entering her Wonderland fantasy world. The first was, however, dependent on good naturalistic acting from the cast which involved the audience in their emotional conflicts, leaving nothing to the imagination. The Four Little Girls relied upon the set to interpret in visual terms the poetic imagery used by the girls.

The audience, who sat upon the pink plastic grass where the girls played, became a part of their inner life - the landscape which described the limits of their world was both easily visible and tangible. The effect was more like experiencing a kinetic Chagall painting demanding an imaginative leap from the audience, which a thoroughly naturalistic production like Fortune and Men's Eyes did not. Unlike any of the other environmental pieces, it was the artificiality of the setting which was most important - as Marowitz said, it was necessary to 'obliterate the theatre' (The Act of Being, p.159). The production demonstrated Marowitz's ability to respond poetically to the challenge of a poetic play.

4. New Writers:

a. American

In the first four years of the Open Space's existence Marowitz welcomed a large number of American plays into his theatre, sometimes directing them himself, at other times making his theatre available for other companies bringing in productions which interested him. He is quoted in Plays and Players (October 1972) as having said 'I've kept wanting not to do American plays', though the number of productions perhaps belies this claim (out of 33 programmes between 1968 and 1971, 19 were American). There is no doubt that Marowitz was interested in importing the best of Off-off Broadway (Marowitz's term for theatres set up in tiny basements or cafés), where the fringe tradition was firmly established, and his comment in the introduction to his Off-Broadway Plays 2, seems to be more to the point: 'The Open Space theatre rapidly became a kind of extra-territorial Off-Broadway outpost'. The kind of plays which he chose to present were written to be performed in conditions very like those provided by the Open Space, and the plays' influence was bound to be felt by British playwrights who were only just beginning to explore the possibilities of fringe theatre. By 1972, when Marowitz was able to set up his permanent company, many more British playwrights were making contributions to the repertoire, with plays which were also tailored to performance conditions.

The over-riding concerns of the American works presented at the Open Space were disillusionment with the country's values and a criticism of its imperialistic wars and of war in general. The form of the plays tended to be conservative in that a small number of characters were presented naturalistically, and with great psychological minuteness. In the Plays and Players article (see above), Marowitz said of the American tradition in drama 'One always feels that every new play is some little wriggle in an individual's psychoanalytical development'. His description fitted most of the plays which formed the American season at the end of 1969. The plays chosen for the following discussion reflect the typical thematic content of the American drama presented at the Open Space and the staging techniques it required. The director Walter Donohue was to become an important figure there, both for his qualities as a director and for his choice of lunch-time

repertoire, so that his productions have been examined in some detail. The Tooth of Crime, despite all the controversy which surrounded it, represents a fusion of all that was best in the American work staged in the theatre's first four years whilst displaying an originality that the other plays did not.

The first main-house programme of American plays, both directed by Marowitz, was made up of two one-act plays, The Fun War by Geoffrey Bush, and Muzeeka by John Guare; both presented themes in an anti-naturalistic fashion. The Fun War dealt with the Spanish-American war, and in a programme note Marowitz explained that

a large part of the text ... is drawn from actual historical sources. None of the events depicted are fictitious. All of the characters represent real people. Every seeming absurdity of 'invention' actually happened during the years when America embarked on the foreign policy which has led -inexorably - to the Korean "police actions", Latin American "interventions" and the Vietnam War.
(OS Progs)

The critic for the Financial Times (26.2.69) felt that the programme note was more stimulating than the play, which did not present a clear picture of the history. Characters such as Roosevelt and Admiral Dewey appeared as cartoon figures, and the very short scenes were punctuated with blackouts, spots, explosions and patriotic music (Daily Telegraph, 26.2.69). Although Marowitz's direction was described in the Financial Times (26.2.69) as 'inventive', and in Plays and Players (April 1969) as a 'caricatured music-hall style', the play flagged and it received no good notices.

Muzeeka, an Off-Broadway award winner in 1967, was reviewed more favourably and was generally considered the better play of the two. It is about a young man, Jack Argue, who is destroyed by American society and more specifically by American materialism and the Vietnam war⁴⁴. After finding out that he enjoys killing, he kills himself. The staging of the play was original - four stage hands were used as props: they formed chairs for the characters to sit on, they carried on posters, made sound effects and sometimes joined in the action. Paul Jones, the pop singer, in his stage debut, played the part of Argue, but even his presence did not draw the audiences. For a publicity stunt before the opening he and another actor, Chris Malcolm, were pulled along the Tottenham Court Road in the

bathtub used in The Fun War to represent the American fleet. The Daily Mirror (22.2.69) carried a photograph, but the play closed after eleven performances. John Russell Taylor pinpointed the reason for the play's lack of appeal when he said:

Mr. Guare depends too heavily on a set of specifically American conditioned reflexes for his dramatic effect, instead of giving his hero ... any very vividly individualised life of his own ... I suspect this is a brand of domestic wine which just does not travel.
(Plays and Players, April 1969)

Taylor's criticism suggests that lack of detailed characterisation was what led to the confusion that the second play generated. The comment that it was too American to be understood by the English was a recurrent one in the reviews of the following productions, most notably The Tooth of Crime, by Sam Shepard.

Because these were Open Space productions they lost the theatre a great deal of money (obviously the production costs were incurred by the management), but this did not deter Marowitz from presenting a whole season of American plays at the end of the year.

One of his reasons for forging ahead with the American season was the sponsorship offered by the American Embassy in London, where it was arranged that the actors should be paid on a profit-sharing basis⁴. Each of the eight plays was to have been performed on six consecutive nights, which, if done under the terms of the Esber Standard Contract, would have cost the management more than three thousand pounds. Equity decided to threaten the actors with a three month suspension if they played for anything below the minimum rate (then £12 a week), and Marowitz was forced to cancel the shows. Marowitz and Ed Berman of Inter-Action decided to join forces in a formal protest (Berman had also been involved in profit-sharing productions), in order to give fringe theatre the special status which it so clearly lacked. The main points which they drew up were:

a. All the actors had been in unanimous agreement with the deal, and under Equity's conditions the season could never have been undertaken.

b. It was vital to recognise that the dozen or so fringe theatres, which often seated only fifty people, were not able to operate like the commercial theatres.

c. The special status of these theatres had been tacitly acknowledged by Equity since they had often in the past knowingly permitted their members to work for very small wages and often for nothing at all. By doing this they had recognised the fact that in an overcrowded profession any opportunity to work might create subsequent opportunities for paid work.

In the draft copy of the statement prepared for the Department of Employment and Productivity Marowitz intimated that Equity was run along totalitarian lines which implied that the union's members needed protecting against themselves, and he cited Russia's occupation of Czechoslovakia as an example of this argument put into practice. Actors themselves are afraid of combatting a union that can deprive them of work, and therefore he wished, as management, to help bring this problem of fringe theatre work out into the open, and to help push Equity into the drafting of new and more appropriate regulations. Unfortunately for fringe theatre the whole project got no further than the draft stage and a little publicity, because almost as soon as the threat to suspend the actors had been publicised Equity decided to withdraw the ruling and instead simply cautioned the actors not to work under such conditions. The productions were on again, and at the end of the season a triumphant statement appeared in the Evening Standard (27.8.69): 'The actors have earned more than double the amount they would have received from the flat rate'.

The season finally started on 12 August with two one-act plays by Mike Veller, which were to be the most successful of the collection. The plays were all chosen as representative of the Off-Broadway writing of the previous five years, and Marowitz considered that collectively they gave a clear idea of what was happening on the American fringe (The Times, 18.7.69). Of the two Veller plays, Now There's Just the Three of Us claimed most critical attention, and most reviews spoke enthusiastically about it.

The overall effect was naturalistic - the set depicted a rather dilapidated flat with a view of other apartment blocks from the window. The dialogue, however, was far from naturalistic. Although full of colourful American slang, it was heightened and exaggerated as the situation became more overtly sexual. In both plays the artificiality of the language was underlined by the style of acting which accompanied it. The Times (13.8.69) described it as comedy dependent on 'bold exaggeration', but it also remarked that 'it never severs its contact with naturalistic situation'. This gave a feeling of the extraordinary within the ordinary which obviously delighted its audiences. Like Joe Orton, Weller had flouted the taboos of language with great gusto, and found a poetic idiom within the vernacular, though his plays did not contain the same stringent criticism of society that Orton's did.

The plays ran for two weeks, the second week netting over £500 in box office receipts. This meant that the members of the company earned over £20 a week, and a second season at the end of the scheduled run of plays had a similar success.

The following programme of two plays by Israel Horowitz, Rats and The Indian Wants the Bronx, was of importance because it introduced to the public a new director who was to have considerable influence on later productions at the Open Space. Walter Donohue, also an American, first impressed Marowitz with his work on a production at Bristol University in 1969 (Tom Paine by Paul Foster). His direction had been influenced by Joseph Chaikin's The Serpent, which Marowitz also admired⁴⁰. He invited Donohue to present the show at his theatre, which he was able to do for one night only because his students were all involved with their final examinations. Nevertheless Marowitz felt that an association between Donohue and the Open Space might be a valuable one, and he next asked him to work as his assistant on the production of Macbeth. When Michael Rudman, who had agreed to direct the Horowitz plays, dropped out at the last minute, Donohue was given his chance to have sole charge of a production. Reviews criticised his direction (The Stage, 4.9.69, called it 'sloppy'), but he was to continue his work for Marowitz until 1972, when he directed his final play there, The Tooth of Crime.

None of the plays presented in the American season had the same financial success that the Veller plays had enjoyed, though none of them did badly, and on the whole audiences were glad to see what Off-Broadway had to offer. It is not possible to give accurate box office figures since the records are incomplete, but the general picture is that the remaining plays did about half as well as the first two⁴².

The controversy over the showing of Warhol's film Flesh (see pp.135-6) paved the way for the presentation of Rosalyn Drexler's two plays, Hot Buttered Roll and The Investigation, which dealt openly and directly with the American world of pornography. Billed as 'An Evening in Bad Taste', they caused considerable dissent among the critics as to their intrinsic merits. Opinion seems to have been divided between those who thought Hot Buttered Roll, which was the shorter of the two plays, banal and The Investigation, substantial and rigorously critical of society; those who thought the opposite to be true, and those who disliked both plays with equal vehemence.

Hot Buttered Roll was set against a back-drop of silk and satin pop-art, which the critic for The Stage (26.2.70) described as approaching 'the ultimate in sexual vulgarity'. This critic, together with Nicholas de Jongh (Guardian, 20.2.70), found the play the more satisfactory of the two. Using information supplied by Marowitz in a lengthy programme note explaining and defending the plays (a practice which Marowitz discontinued, as he explained to students at the Polytechnic of North London, 3.12.81, because it provided an easy outlet for lazy critics), de Jongh described Drexler's world as 'possessed by bad taste of a particular variety: the vulgarity of ham-fisted eroticism and sexual titillation'. He went on to say,

The manner of suggesting this world is violent caricature, so that there is a nice relationship between form and content, accentuated by Mr. Marowitz's exuberant direction.

The play is set in the bedroom of an old man who makes love to a dummy. He is attended by a transvestite nurse who panders to his tastes because he is after the old man's money. The world of American pornography was clearly summed up in the image of the sick-room with its purple pillows

and satin sheets, so the general air of decadence could not be said to have been included for its own sake.

De Jongh was not as enthusiastic about The Investigation, which attacked American justice through the story of an innocent boy, charged with rape. The play dropped the grotesque manner of presentation that had characterised the first and lapsed into naturalistic acting and sentimentality. Irving Wardle, writing for The Times (21.2.70), disagreed. He found an uneasy feeling of complicity with the raw material in the first play, but not in the second. The final image of the play was given a typical Marowitzian twist as the brutish policeman slowly turned his pistol towards the members of the audience before the lights went down, thus implicating them unambiguously in the play's message.

Certain critics disliked the plays intensely (see Drama, Summer 1970, and Plays and Players, April 1970), and felt that the greatest display of bad taste was by Marowitz himself, who had chosen to present the works. For plays as controversial as these it would have been unlikely to find the critics unanimous in their opinions, and the varied and, in the main, favourable criticism must have pleased the management, who were interested in provoking and outraging a complacent public.

Donohue's next work with the Open Space was as co-director on Flash Gordon and the Angels by David Zane Mairowitz one year later. In Donohue's own words, the attempt was a disaster (Donohue in interview 14.6.84). Marowitz was away for the greater part of rehearsal time and when he came back he was horrified at what he saw. By that time it was too close to the opening night for any radical changes to be made, and Marowitz took his name off the credits in the programme. Donohue blames himself for mis-casting the play. Instead of using good English actors he had felt it necessary to use an American cast, and had only been able to find mediocre actors. He had no blame for the play, which is a portrayal of the American system that has used its heroes as puppets to be disposed of when they are of no more use.

Although Donohue himself was not satisfied with the production, and Marowitz disowned it, it was not viewed in quite the same way by the critics. A number of them liked it, though it apparently lacked the fun one expects from a comic strip cartoon, and did not use the stage space at the Open Space with any originality²⁰. The critic for Plays and Players (April 1971) felt that apart from one or two lighting effects, such as the use of a strobe and psychedelic patterns projected on to a screen, the play might just as well have been heard on radio.

After this production Donohue's work was restricted to the lunch-time shows, which did not have the same prestige value as the main house productions. Here his work steadily improved, so that in the months before the permanent company was established and just after, some of the most exciting Open Space programmes that were presented were his.

Three months later, another American double-bill showed Marowitz's continuing interest in presenting new American plays to a British audience. Sweet Bros and Next by Terence McNally had both run for two years on Off-Broadway, but although this might suggest that they had been in some way innovative, there was nothing in their form which could be termed experimental. The first is a monologue by a young man who has captured a girl, stripped her and tied her to a chair, where she sits, centre stage, naked, throughout the entire performance. This was of course the factor which labelled the play 'experimental' and caught the eye of the press, provoking critical argument as to the intrinsic value of the play.

The boy's monologue contains criticism of society in general, but he speaks in particular of his fantasy life and personality problems²¹. In a programme note, McNally said the plays are about 'the politics of human relationships' (OS 13/37), but there is little else which links this play to Next, which is a revue sketch (according to critics a very funny one) about a middle-aged man who is called up and has to undergo a humiliating medical examination, at the end of which he is told that he is unfit and will therefore be rejected by the panel. Having started out trying desperately to avoid being drafted, he is paradoxically upset to find that

he is considered unfit to join. Both plays show how power struggles might be reversed and how potent a dream is the desire to dominate.

Most critics attributed the success of Sweat From to the female nude who graced an otherwise unadorned stage. The proximity of the audience to the action caused the sensation, not anything inherent in the text or form of the play. If we are to believe the anecdote printed in the Guardian (5.8.71), it was the nude that attracted the audiences and not the plays themselves:

Outside the Open Space Theatre in Tottenham Court Road for the past three weeks has stood a life-sized model of a naked blonde ... Sadly, on Sunday, some cad stole the naked model. Houses fell immediately. So few people came that the performance had to be cancelled. Advance bookings plummeted.

It took two days and about £7 to make a new Jane figure. The replacement arrived 45 minutes before Tuesday's curtain-up. The siren went straight outside, and the theatre was back to fifty per cent filled before you could say Lord Longford.

Even if the successful run of this double-bill is to be attributed to its sensationalism, it must be recognised that the intimacy provided by the small stage and auditorium made it particularly suitable for a play which is dependent upon the actor's ability to portray nuances of emotion - according to most reviews, Peter Marinker, playing the young man, gave a convincing performance.

The next, and most interesting, of the American plays during the Open Space's initial years was Sam Shepard's The Tooth of Crime, presented by the newly formed permanent company and directed by Marowitz and Donohue²². It showed a radical departure from the staging techniques of the McNally plays, even though Shepard himself would have preferred something more naturalistic. The idea for the play was taken from a meeting between Elvis Presley and David Bowie (before Bowie became famous) and subsequently shows what happened to Elvis, whose talent was taken over by the media, in a country where failure is not tolerated. The play is not merely a portrait of this particular star, but a portrait of any man who has been taken over and abandoned in the same way.

Act One creates a character, Hoss, who is continually shifting position - sometimes he is the giant he was in the past, in control and unbeatable, sometimes he is weak and vacillating, but gradually a character emerges who is going through a nervous breakdown as his confidence is slowly stripped from him. This part of the play relies upon an imaginative performance from the actor. The second half of the play dramatises the man's internal conflict through his encounter with Crow, a new kind of "star", ruthless and lacking in integrity. Shepard develops a series of boxing bouts between the two men, which symbolise and give concrete theatrical form to the anguish which Hoss feels; this leads eventually to Hoss's suicide.

It was Marowitz's idea that there should be three rounds to the boxing match, one of which Hoss is to win. Originally Shepard had written in only two, both of which Hoss lost. The extra scene he supplied at the time is not incorporated into the text for the production but was, according to Donohue, a very important addition. Again it supplied a momentary victory for Hoss - during this round he wins by relating the history of the blues, revealing an integrity which Crow could neither match nor understand. The play ends with his suicide.

Marowitz had already shown Shepard's play Icarus's Mother at lunch-time when it was given its first London performance (20.3.71), and he was very enthusiastic about directing the premiere of The Tooth of Crime. He scheduled it for performance in July 1972, but found that pressing engagements were to take him out of the country during the play's rehearsal period. He decided to ask Donohue, who had just assisted him with the revival of Hamlet, to co-direct.

Before he left the country Marowitz abruptly stopped work on his very effective pre-play improvisations, moves were blocked, and a form was rapidly superimposed upon the play which had little to do with the work already done. His rehearsal exercises were loosely connected to the play text and were exploratory by nature, so that the rigid structure which he forced on his actors because of his imminent departure (according to Donohue, often moving his actors contrary to the stage directions implicit in the dialogue) hindered them from understanding and creating the

characters that Sam Shepard had envisaged. Donohue found the actors in a state of bewilderment. He discussed the problem with Shepard and decided, while Marowitz was away, to start again from the beginning, allowing the actors to move as they felt the characters dictated and not as the director had ruled.

On Marowitz's return Donohue explained how he had altered the production, and the company did a run through for him. Marowitz would not, however, agree on the change of emphasis which Shepard himself wished to see, and the production was altered yet again. Shepard had attended rehearsals to begin with, but he began to absent himself when he found Marowitz unwilling to listen to him, or to re-think his conception of the play.

The rest of the production time was very tense, with Marowitz refusing to listen to any one, even when the play was patently not working. His mistakes were two-fold. Firstly he wanted Hoss, played by Malcolm Storry, to project the image of a super star, a giant of his time, who falls at the first knock his confidence receives. Without the feeling of the character teetering on the edge of failure and breakdown the play loses all suspense. According to Donohue, Marowitz realised this, but because of company tension he saw it too late, and although he tried to do something about it at the preview stage it was not possible to do anything substantial. Secondly he chose a set which was much too gimmicky and cluttered to allow the essential human emotion to communicate itself to the audience. Shepard stipulates in his text that there should be 'a bare stage except for an evil looking black chair with silver studs and a very high back, something like a pharaoh's throne but simple, centre stage' (p.1). At the Open Space the throne was placed beneath a giant theatrical mirror frame which was studded with coloured light bulbs. Behind it was a reflecting substance which also carpeted the floor, suggesting the actor in his dressing room faced with a reflection of himself which he cannot escape because everything reflects his image. It is a nightmare world where the real self has been lost. The chair which dominates the scene was very ornate, looking like a medieval state throne. The design for the play is difficult to accomplish since it must appear futuristic, bizarre and sinister without

diminishing the actors. The world which the characters inhabit is a combination of the pop world, the drug culture and gangster land. Successive productions failed to realise all this in their sets and retain the simplicity which the text demands. Jim Sharman directed it at the Royal Court a year later, and The Performance Group in New York did a revival in 1973, but according to Donohue neither of these was any nearer a correct realisation of Shepard's work.

Donohue's view was that there should be something about the throne to suggest the electric chair. Hoss says at the end of the play, with a gesture indicating the stage in general, 'You win all right ... All this collection of torture' (pp.19-20). Hoss is king and the stage is his kingdom, the central symbol of which is the chair/throne which has him trapped and writhing. His costume, black and studded with silver, is an extension of his throne as a reminder of how far he has identified himself with his public persona.

The musicians were not placed behind a screen as the stage directions suggest, but at the side of the stage on a rostrum where they could be seen as part of the act. This was a factor in helping to create the atmosphere of the play. Electronic music is essential to it - not only does it recreate the rock era, but it also hints at a technological wilderness which is the future (Shepard said to Donohue that the whole play was electric). The New York production failed in part because the group refused to use electric guitar music since none of them could perform it and they would not bring in an outsider. At the Open Space the audience responded to the music as if they were at a live rock concert - it played a vital part in generating the sort of frenetic excitement that is a part of Hoss's life-style.

The play opened with a view of Hoss standing with his back to the audience and his profile showing in dim light. De Jongh felt that this image was representative of the general line which the directors had taken on the production as a whole. That, like the central character's obsession, the concern was with the presentation of an image or a series of images rather than with the human beings depicted (Guardian 18.7.72). Shepard

believed his play was dependent upon characterisation - Marowitz had denied this fundamental concern of the play and tried to develop instead a stylised pattern of images which had nothing to do with the personal conflict being fought out within the central character, Hoss. This conflict in Act 1 is expressed through soliloquy, song, monologue and dialogue with his retinue. At one point he adopts his father's voice, and alternating it with his own he creates a conversation in which he attempts to reassure himself of his humanness. He is a man who has lost his sense of self and has allowed himself to be manipulated by the world he functions in:

They're all countin' on me. The bookies, the agents, the Keepers. I'm a fucking industry. I even affect the stocks and bonds. (old) You're just a man, Hoss. (p.22)

In the second act the isolation of certain images worked well in the context of the action. The strip which Betty, Hoss's old girl friend, performs towards the end began at the back of the stage in its own light as she moved slowly forward until she was very close to the audience. The final suicide of Hoss with his back to the audience was subdued, with the gun-shot fired off-stage. No extra means were used and the intensity of the emotion was generated through the actor's performance. Marowitz has often publicly confessed to a mistrust of actors, and although in this instance he allowed the actor alone to hold the stage, for the rest of the production he tended to compensate for his lack of confidence in them by using theatrical devices which were not always effective or appropriate. Many critics were bemused by the strange language of the play that Shepard had created in order to suggest a sub-culture, and the critic for the Financial Times (18.7.72) concluded, as Taylor had suggested of Muzeeka, that the play was aimed at an American audience.

Sam Shepard did not see the production as it was presented to the public. He had booked his sailing back to America on a date which ought to have enabled him to see the opening night, but when Marowitz saw that his first night was to clash with another, he postponed it, so that Shepard was on his way home before it had opened. He attempted to persuade Marowitz that he was not within his legal rights to do this, but Marowitz prevailed, and after much unpleasantness Shepard departed, leaving the critics and

public to misunderstand his play, as he saw it, yet ironically to some critical acclaim and box-office success²⁴.

In many ways these American plays were eminently well suited to the Open Space environment, with their small casts and tendency to explore states of mind induced by external influences. From the selection of plays presented here it is impossible to generalise about what effects were most successful - whether it was the naturalistic setting of the Weller plays or the theatrical symbolism of the sets for Hot Buttered Roll; whether it was the presentation of the minutiae of a young man's psyche in Sweet Eros or the complex symbolic language and form of The Tooth of Crime. It is clear that the British plays which followed Blue Comedy had assimilated some of these techniques, culminating in Sam Sam in which Griffiths forged something of excellence which was peculiarly British.

b. British

Although it was part of the official policy at the Open Space to present the works of new writers, most of the new British plays written by playwrights who have since become famous were relegated to the lunch-time spot with minimal publicity. Many of them received excellent direction, supported with good performances, but they were not allowed to develop into anything more than interesting examples of new plays, and there seemed to be no real attempt to publicise the Open Space as a theatre which nurtured new talent. The following plays have been chosen to illustrate firstly why the Open Space was criticised for not putting its experimental claims into effect, and merely taking advantage of the new freedom from censorship; secondly to demonstrate the British insistence on naturalism and how well it could work at the Open Space; and thirdly to show how suitable a space the theatre offered for a play using music-hall and other techniques which consciously attempted to avoid the conventions of naturalism. The last two plays discussed in this section are overtly political and in this respect broke new ground in the selection of British plays performed there.

Of the main house productions during the first four years, only seven plays were by British playwrights, and the first of these was by Paul Ableman, who had written his first successful play, Green Julia, in 1965, and who had also worked with Brook and Marowitz on the Theatre of Cruelty season. His work, Blue Comedy, sparked off a controversy amongst theatre critics about the kind of plays an avowedly experimental theatre ought to be presenting. Blue Comedy consisted of two one-act plays, Madly in Love and Hank's Night - they were billed as sex comedies and as such received pre-performance publicity because the lead actress, Sarah Atkinson, refused to appear naked at the end of Hank's Night. This play is a farce about two wealthy suburban couples who end a conventional dinner party with an orgy suggested by one of the guests. The play shows how the suggestion is taken by the different characters and how the desire for it fluctuates until the orgy finally happens at the end of the play. The nude scene would have been the final fling before the black out to show that the orgy was about to happen. Equity had not yet stepped in to help actors and directors over the question of nudity on stage, and although Marowitz said 'I asked Miss

Atkinson to remove her underclothes only because that is what the script requires' (Sunday Telegraph, 13.10.68), she was not obliged to and did not. It could not be said to have ruined the show, though it perhaps added a coyness where none was intended.

The other play, Madly in Love, is about a male virgin who, desperate to lose his virginity, persuades a psychiatrist friend to allow him to treat a schoolgirl who suffers from a compulsion to obey orders. It is a slight story with great potential for farce, and most of the critics enjoyed it for its sparkling dialogue and smooth action.

The plays were a financial success, and the four week run was extended by two weeks, with the last performance on Sunday 1 December. The box office returns had started at £320.2s.6d for the first week and dwindled to £156.0s.6d by the end of the fourth week, but it was nevertheless decided that the plays should continue to run. The total box office returns for the six-week period were £1,270.4s.6d. Out of this actors' salaries at seven pounds a week for the rehearsal period and twelve pounds a week for performances had to be paid, plus 5% for royalties due to the playwright. After deducting the other running costs it can be seen that the theatre could not exist without help from other sources and that a £100 guarantee against loss from Camden Council was a help, but not sufficient. The play did however sell to Bernard Delfont and Donald Albery for presentation in the West End, and although it was not actually performed until 21 April 1970 (and then at the Yvonne Arnaud Theatre in Guildford), the Open Space received £1,000 as a non-returnable advance on account of any sums which might become due in the event of a transfer**.

The two plays which followed, written by Stanley Eveling, were of a much more serious nature, though they broke no new theatrical ground. The programmes for the two shows were printed as one to encourage those who saw the first, to see the second. In order to emphasise the seriousness of the plays, a long interview between Marowitz and Eveling was printed in the programme, discussing the nature of this playwright's art and his attitudes towards the problems expressed in his plays. The first, The Lunatic, The Secret Sportsman and the Woman Next Door, was described by Eveling as

a kind of summation of the absurdity of our cultural inheritance. On the one hand you have the idealised man as the aggressive, liberal, self-assertive, dominating, masculine figure, - the Sportsman ... and on the other hand, you have this extraordinarily spiritualised ideal ... of the Untouchable Man, the man who is beyond the body ... It seemed to me that I could present these like symbiotic twins who could never escape from each other and who never wanted to be together.

(OS Progs)

If this sounds a prolix and weighty summary of the play's theme, the production itself was, according to Vardle in The Times (4.12.68), 'almost a clown show'. If the programme notes suggested pretentiousness (see Daily Telegraph, 4.12.68, and Punch, 11.12.68), Vardle made the opposite claim: 'the objection, indeed, is not to its pretensions but to moments of vaudeville banality'. The play was directed by Max Stafford-Clark, first at the Edinburgh Festival, and had then been taken to Amsterdam and presented at the Mickery Theatre before coming to the Open Space.

The second play, Come and Be Killed, directed by Michael Blakemore, was written in a naturalistic manner and was likened to Look Back in Anger by more than one reviewer⁶⁶. To begin with, press reaction was slow - a fact attributed by the management to the opening being too close to Christmas. A letter was therefore sent out to all the critics who had failed to attend the opening, re-inviting them (OS 10/19). The result was that the critics eventually came, their reviews were good, but the public did not respond as well as the management had hoped and the play came off after 11 January 1969 instead of at the end of the month as had been assumed in the letter. It did marginally less well than Lunatic in box office returns, but the expense of the naturalistic set was £451 as opposed to the £20 used to create the scene in Lunatic⁶⁷. Perhaps the subject matter and conventional structure of Come and Be Killed was not appealing, but it is most likely to have failed to attract because of the late press recognition and because it was Christmas - a notoriously bad time for theatres that do not offer specifically seasonal entertainment.

The play was about the moral implications of abortion and the ways in which human beings usually avoid confronting the important issues. In his programme interview, Eveling said that he had used a naturalistic style 'because I wanted to make people smell the blood; to make them experience

the dead, decaying foetus'. This he appears to have achieved, but at the expense of alienating potential audiences.

Just as the Off-Broadway playwrights had found that performance conditions similar to those at the Open Space were particularly well suited to plays depicting emotional conflict between characters, so British playwrights exploited the same idea. Come and Be Killed was followed by Find Your Way Home by John Hopkins (1970) and Curtains (1971) by Tom Mallin - two more examples of small cast plays presenting intense and passionate situations. Hopkins had written extensively for film and television, but this was only his second stage play - the first, This Is Your Story, was performed at the Royal Court in 1968. Find Your Way Home dealt with a marriage destroyed by a male homosexual affair. It revealed at length the feelings of the three people involved, a technique which some critics found cliché-ridden and others painfully true to life. Most critics found it necessary to comment on the homosexual content of the play because Hopkins had opposed the conventional moral position which treated homosexuality as a disease. Again critics could not agree on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the production. The critic for the Financial Times (13.5.70) liked the portrayal of the heterosexual relationship but not the homosexual one, and the critic for the Guardian (13.5.70) took the opposite view. Simon Trussler for the Tribune (22.5.70) felt that the Open Space Theatre was too small to take the melodramatic quality of the play, but Wardle in The Times (13.5.70) commented that the Open Space was well suited as 'a compression chamber for the passions'. This was the sort of constructive controversy on which an experimental theatre could thrive, and houses were good.

Curtains received similar notices, with critics responding well to the 'probing psychological drama' (The Times, 20.1.71) but objecting to any departure from the naturalistic illusion. More interesting were three plays which were written in a different mode, using music-hall techniques which were built into the plays' structure. They were all directed by Marowitz, whose inclination was always away from naturalism. The first two were one-act plays by Peter Barnes, who had previously had a success with his first play The Ruling Class at the Nottingham Playhouse in November 1968

with a subsequent transfer to the Piccadilly Theatre, London (26.2.69). Leonardo's Last Supper and Monday Demons were written especially for the Open Space in a spirit closer to the provocative nature of experimental theatre than any of the new British plays so far presented. In his introduction to the play text, Barnes wrote 'And so the aim is to create, by means of soliloquy, rhetoric, formalized ritual, slapstick, songs and dances, a comic theatre of contrasting moods and opposites, where everything is simultaneously tragic and ridiculous'". John Napier, who had designed the set, had created 'a ghost-train setting of cobwebs, bones and spidery tentacles' (Sunday Telegraph, 7.12.69). At the theatre's entrance hung a golden skeleton amidst cobwebs, and one reviewer likened the theatre's appearance to Count Dracula's castle (The Stage, 11.12.69). The feeling of the unexpected, heralded by the set, was immediately followed up in the action and language of the plays. Leonardo's Last Supper opened with a modern-sounding lecture on the Renaissance in Italy coming over loudspeakers, followed immediately by a cortege of four cantors chanting the 'Miserere' over a corpse. The bier was laid on stage, and with an abrupt change in the lighting the actors performed a thoroughly modern and jazzy knees-up. By contrast, the set for Monday Demons was entirely dominated by a mound which was later revealed to be the excrement of St. Eusebius (played by Joe Melia). The language used by the play's only two characters was a mixture of modern slang and mock medieval prose.

Unlike the Hopkins and Mallin plays, the imaginative theatrical form of these plays made up for any lack of thematic content. The plays were light-weight farces where the patter of jokes and farcical action were all-important. This was not so of Trevor Griffiths' play Sam Sam, which was presented in 1972²². Here the music-hall techniques concealed serious political statements of the kind that were to characterise all Griffiths' later work.

This was his first full-length play (though the second, Occupations, had been performed previously, at the Stables Theatre Club, Manchester, in 1970, and also by the R.S.C. at The Place in London, 1971); and it was so well received by the public that its run was extended. The play uses a blend of naturalistic and non-naturalistic techniques, though the naturalism

of the second half has been chosen to represent and reflect the bourgeois values which the play attacks. However, as so often in this theatre, it seems to have been the non-naturalistic first half which appealed to the critics, several of them failing to identify the inherent parody of the naturalistic form in part 2. Griffiths himself has said that the second half of Sam Sam was 'to a certain extent, an attempt to have a critical discourse with that form' (in interview 4.12.84).

The play dramatises the life of Sam 1 and Sam 2 who are brothers - they are both played by the same actor. The first half depicts a working-class Sam through a series of monologues presented as music-hall turns together with sketches of his life with his wife and mother. The second half shows Sam 2 who has, through his education and ambition, attempted to reject his origins for a middle-class life style. His wife and in-laws form the conflicting groups for the second half.

Act I creates the working class environment of Sam 1. Although the stage directions require a bathroom set it is the 'essence without superfluous detail' (Guardian, 10.2.72) which John Napier provided. What the critics did not mention was the comic effect caused by the trucking in of the complete bathroom set. According to Griffiths it became a 'mobile mise-en-scene in the variety show tradition' which contributed to what he referred to as the 'cartoon element in the production' (in interview 4.12.84). It creaked and groaned its way on to the stage in semi-darkness (it was not possible, in any case, to black out the stage area completely) and no attempt was made to hide the mechanics of the setting from the audience. Marowitz again used the lack of sophistication of his theatre facilities to comic advantage so that even the off-stage whispers of the actors became a part of the total comic effect. Some of the older actors had difficulty in adapting to the working conditions at the Open Space, and every night they would let the audience know that they were unhappy with the lack of facilities when their off-stage voices could be heard complaining as they bumped into each other or knocked things over. It was not that these interjections were incorporated into the production; they were there simply because you could not eradicate them - and to the delight of Griffiths and the audience they added to the atmosphere of music-hall

comedy which he had hoped to convey through the play. However, though he found this technique of 'cartoonising' one of the most successful elements of the production, he also felt that it was not balanced properly against the realistic mode which was also part of the play's structure. The final result was that there was not enough realistic context against which to set the cartoon, in order to clarify the playwright's targets.

Lighting was used to give fluidity to the changes from one dramatic mode to the other, and by using bright spot lighting six or eight different playing points were picked out. In the first act, Sam (Nikolas Simmonds) performed like a stand-up comic and his routines were lit in this way. He addressed the audience directly, and according to Griffiths the audiences both loved it and were wary of being drawn into the action in this way. They were audiences who had in the recent past experienced the work of Pip Simmons, so that when Sam handed a bowl of batter to a member of the audience sitting in the front row there was a frisson of expectation and anxiety as he wondered what the next move might be. Griffiths' use of this technique is dramatic and apt - content and form blend, and it foreshadowed his later and more successful play Comedians (successful in that it reached a wide audience through the West End stage and television adaptation). Griffiths said in an interview in Time Out (4.2.72) that through Sam Sam he wished 'to hit somebody - it's got to leave blood on the face', a comment which is given a visually dramatic image in Comedians as Gethin Price pricks his dummy, a representative of the bourgeoisie, with a pin, and it begins to bleed.

Trevor Griffiths has referred to the structure of the play as 'two slabs', and he discussed at length with Marowitz the possibility of writing a bleak but funny scene around the grave of Sam's father with the two Sams present, in order to tie the two halves together. However, the difficulties inherent in a final scene of this nature led him to abandon the task and to trust to the tenuous links already present. Act II starts in a similar way to Act I. This time Sam 2 is not doing a music-hall act, but rehearsing a speech he is going to make as a politician. A spot light was used against a darkened stage to pick out Sam, just as it was in Act I, but this time the technique disappeared after the first scene. Sam's mother from Act I

returned to make an appeal on behalf of her other son, Sam 1, and Sam 2's voice is said in a stage direction to move 'closer to Sam 1's though the distance is not entirely spanned' (p.28). The storay relationship between Sam and his wife in Act I is mirrored by the equally disastrous pairing of the couple in Act II, with the lack of understanding between both sets of parents stressed in both acts. However, Griffiths gives the first half of his play an extra dimension as he makes Sam point to and comment upon the techniques he is using:

Sam (directly to audience). You can clear off for a bit if you like.
See what we're up to, can you? Both of us talking away, neither of us listening, makes the point very nicely, no communication, you know the stuff. (pp.11-12)

Later he does an imitation of a 'Hampstead-intense voice' and at the end of the speech he says, 'all right then, let's try someat else then, shall we? How about this' - and he leads into a flash-back scene between his drunken father and beaten-up mother (pp.18-19). It is a clichéd scene which is given validity by Sam's comment at the end, 'How's that then? That a bit better? that a bit closer to your authentic working class drudgery is it?'

In the second half the clichéd scenes are left to speak for themselves, as if the playwright is now determined to take himself and his characters seriously, and consequently the majority of the critics felt that the play had lost its originality and had lapsed into sentimentality. This seems to be what the critic in Plays and Players (April 1972) meant when he said 'the surrender to form is ultimately self-defeating'. Griffiths found the audiences' attention upon the play was intense and focused, but although they were engaged with the play from the beginning to the end, they were more attuned to the methods of the first half which comments directly upon itself than with the less reflexive and more realistic second half. Marowitz complained that England had never had an avant garde, but he had already earned himself the reputation of promoting experimental theatre, and his audiences and the critics were eager for plays with a critical approach to form.

According to Griffiths, the aspect of the play which had attracted Marowitz's attention was the Strindbergian element in the second half - the conflict between the male and the female. For Griffiths this was only one

aspect of a play which was essentially about class conflict and 'the illusory nature of so-called class mobility' (interview, 4.12.84), and he felt that the production lacked social specificity. Nikolas Simmonds was acclaimed unanimously by the critics and was described in The Times (10.2.72) as an 'actor of prodigious emotional intensity and grasp of character'. This was precisely what Griffiths thought was missing from the performance. Though he does not deny Simmonds's technical achievement, he found that the performance was only 'adjacent' to the part. Simmonds had the knowledge and experience of Sam's class, but somehow suppressed or refused to acknowledge it. According to Griffiths, Simmonds missed the pain and tended to patronise Sam 1. There was a feeling that as an actor he was saying to the audience, 'I know this character and I will mediate the play to you accordingly' (interview 4.12.84). Simmonds got the part because he was at the time the first actor in Marowitz's newly, but not yet officially, formed repertory company, and Griffiths had to accept a casting he would not necessarily have chosen. Even if this prejudiced his view of the production, there was no lack of commitment to it on his part, and he regularly attended rehearsals, where he was impressed with Marowitz's disciplined approach to his work as director and with his dedication to the play.

One other play of predominantly British origin deserves mention for its attempt to fashion a new style of playing, and that is Lay-By, created by the Portable Theatre Company, originally for the Edinburgh Festival. In the group were Trevor Griffiths, Howard Brenton, David Hare, Snoc Wilson, Stephen Poliakoff, Hugh Stoddart and Brian Clark, though according to Griffiths 90% of the writing was done by Hare, Wilson, Brenton and himself. Brian Clark walked out after two or three weeks of working on the project.⁴⁹ The story, taken from an account in the newspapers, recounts in its own way the elements surrounding a motorway rape case. The play is aggressive and angry. It attacks complacency about corruption and injustice in society by depicting realistically (though comically) scenes of sexual perversion in the pornography trade. During the performance the audience were made to feel implicated in the seedy voyeuristic society as house lights went up and pornographic photographs (pasted on to four foot boards so that they should not be taken out of the theatre) were handed

round for their scrutiny. According to Brenton and Wilson (Plays and Players, November 1971) even in a theatre the size of the Royal Court this implication was lost, and the play degenerated into a small revue. In the Open Space Theatre where there was no proscenium arch to hinder audience/actor contact, the play became much more 'dangerous' (Brenton). The very dinginess of the theatre and its position in the Tottenham Court Road, surrounded by sex shops and cinemas showing sub-pornographic films, lent a feeling of the play's environment to the production.

One of the complaints made by the critics was that there was no unity of style in the production as a whole, reflecting sharply the fact that the play was written by seven authors. However, it might well be argued that the mixture of styles was used deliberately to confound the audiences' expectations in order to attack their complacency. The characters are not given psychological consistency - they are there simply as pawns in the playwrights' game to demonstrate by word or action a point of view. The final image is of bodies being pulped - a shocking but comic visual symbol of what becomes of people and their reputations after death. The play was not mystifying - its very lack of subtlety was a part of its aim. It was meant to shock and alienate its audiences. Wilson in interview (Plays and Players, November 1971) claimed 'We have alienated permanently a section of the British theatre-going public'.

The conspicuous lack of new British writing in the evening presentations at the Open Space was to an extent compensated for by the work put on in the lunch-time spots. Those British plays provided a greater variety of form and content than the American ones had, and Marowitz could be considered to have been at fault in not giving a more prominent status to new British playwrights, who were ready and eager to use his kind of theatre.

5. Lunch-Time and Late Night Theatre

As soon as the theatre opened the management decided to launch lunch-time theatre, and an improvised play called Coma was directed by Marowitz during the run of Fortune and Men's Eyes. Lunch-time theatre was a fairly new phenomenon in London, and it was clear from one critic's response that this was his first encounter with it - he was much more concerned with the 'bizarre idea' of eating and watching a play at the same time than with the play itself (Plays and Players, September 1968).

The production was sparsely attended, and the idea was dropped in favour of late-night theatre. Again the intention was to show plays which featured experimental staging techniques, and much of the work performed was developed through group exercises. Even though the Open Space received good publicity for their attempts to open up a new market, the public could not be persuaded to make late-night visits a habit. Some of the plays were interesting (for example, Mike Leigh, who had been assistant director at the R.S.C. in 1967 and who became well-known for his B.B.C. studio plays in 1975-76, devised an entertainment for them called Bleak Moments), and reviewers were willing to acknowledge the importance of this new departure. However, in common with the rest of London theatre, the Open Space failed to recruit new audiences, and the experiment was abandoned in 1972 after a substantial effort had been made.

Meanwhile, a year after the initial failure to launch lunch-time theatre, the management tried again, but with no better result. Nevertheless, the notion of lunch-time theatre was beginning to take a hold on the British public's imagination. Plays and Players had sporadically run a column entitled 'Lunch and Late-Night Line-Up' since 1969. In the latter half of 1970 it appeared every month, and by 1971 'Late-Night' had been dropped from the title, leaving the new heading 'Lunch Line-Up' to appear regularly until September 1971. After that lunch-time shows continued to be dealt with under the more general designation, 'Fringe'.

The first success that the Open Space had with its lunch-time presentations was in February 1971 when the R.S.C. brought in three plays,

one British and two American. This prestigious company gave impressive performances and a necessary boost to the Open Space's fortunes, even though most critics did not like the plays. The first, Gum and Goo by Howard Brenton, was a good choice since his work was already well-known to reviewers (he had been awarded an Arts Council Bursary and was joint winner of the John Whiting Award for Christie in Love in 1969), and the play itself benefited from the intimate and bare surroundings. The other two, Icarus's Mother by Sam Shepard and Grant's Movie by Mike Veller, also dramatised the theme of violence in society as Gum and Goo had done, thus setting a trend of dealing with political matters in the lunch-time theatre at the Open Space.

These three were followed by a spate of American plays, so that Jonathan Hammond (writing for Plays and Players in September 1971) might be forgiven for assuming that there was a clear-cut policy of turning the Open Space into an off-Broadway cellar. Even the main house programmes at this period were American. Marowitz confounded all such surmises by subsequently presenting, with the exception of one or two productions, nothing but British plays at lunch-time. In fact, as Walter Donohue explained (in interview 14.6.84), he and John Burgess were reading the new scripts which came in to the Open Space, and they were allowed to put on what they liked. It is for this reason that British playwrights were given a chance to show their work - Donohue felt very strongly that one of the Open Space's prime objectives should have been to promote new native writing. Both men were interested in political theatre, which explains the new emphasis on left-wing plays. Amongst those which they chose were works by some of today's most celebrated British writers: Howard Brenton, David Edgar, William Trevor, and Howard Barker. The following discussion centres on three plays directed by Donohue which show his resourceful use of the space within a very small budget, and his ability to recognise good plays. They show, too, how intense an experience theatre could be in what might have seemed unpromising surroundings. They represent the best of the lunch-time output at any time during the history of the Open Space.

Donohue's first British play was Ritual of the Dolls by George McEwan Green (who has not since achieved fame), a violent and acute study of the

emotions. It had been premiered at Sheffield, having won the N.U.S. award for Leicester University under the title Out of the Box. Under Donohue's direction in the tiny basement its effect was devastating. The set, which was adapted from the one used for the current main-house production of The Critic as Artist, created the illusion of a giant toy-box which housed the dolls who were to enact the drama. The action itself was a mixture of the naturalistic and the stylised - the actors' movements were choreographed so that they looked like toys. Donohue attributes the success of the disturbing moments in the play to the naturalistic way in which he treated those parts of the story which dealt with the true events being re-enacted by the dolls. In order to reach the heart of the emotion, he had used improvisatory techniques with his actors before finally using the script. A measure of his success in finding and exploiting the tensions within the text can be judged from the following anecdote. The author, who had not been present during rehearsals, sat in on one of the final run-throughs. At the end of the performance he left without a word to any one. Two days later he returned to apologise for his lack of comment and explained that he had been deeply shocked by the extreme violence inherent in a play which he had written. He was appalled at his lack of awareness, yet fully cognisant of Donohue's achievement. Only one review of the play appears to exist, and the reviewer nominated it 'lunch-time play of the month' (Plays and Players, August 1971).

Donohue's other two productions were of plays by Howard Brenton. The first, A Sky Blue Life, was found by Burgess in a pile of scripts submitted to the Open Space for reading. The play was a combination of a biography of Gorky and extracts from his works, and it was decided that it could be produced on a budget of ten pounds for the set. Vardle called it 'poverty theatre' in his review (The Times 20.11.71), perhaps without realising quite how little Donohue had had to create a set. The bare floor and back wall were painted black. Slogans were chalked up on the wall by various characters to provide any necessary information for the audience during the performance, and any props were brought on by the actors. The physical feat of crossing the river Volga was accomplished through mime; the different locations were indicated upon the back wall. Donohue was described by de Jongh (Guardian 19.11.71) as resourceful in his use of

lighting, but most critics were impressed by the very strong cast of six actors, and Donohue himself has said that the play was successful because the cast was outstanding both at creating character and at suggesting their surroundings⁴.

The second of the Brenton plays, How Beautiful With Badges, was commissioned for the Open Space and was therefore written with their stage space in mind⁵. The play concerns two groups of characters - two Hell's Angels, who are discovered as the play opens reclining centre stage on a bright green ramp of artificial grass, and a boy scout and his companion. A violent clash is the result of their meeting and the play ends with a ritualistic flaying of the scout and his friend by the Hell's Angels. The play shows how people erect defences - in this case the badges they wear are emblematic of the uniforms behind which they hide. Humanity is forgotten and the violence becomes anonymous. It was a very powerful production which did not leave its audience indifferent. At least one person known to the author fled from the auditorium vowing never to return.

Robin Don, who designed the set, took his inspiration from the paintings of Francis Bacon which depict a man trapped in a cage, screaming with pain and horror, unable to escape from life (Don in interview 5.6.82). He designed a cube made from white elasticated ropes (like those used to strap luggage on to the back of a motor cycle) which was suspended on thin black chains from just below the ceiling to just above the floor. It hung free and was flexible so that it might be twisted into any desired shape. The white of the ropes was stark against the black flat which covered the back of the stage. The centre area of the flat dropped down like a drawbridge to reveal upon its surface bright green artificial grass, and leaving an area behind the flat which was bright blue with clouds floating by. At one point in the play the cloud answers a question put to it by Molester (one of the Angels) - a taped voice was used which was put on a reverberator to make it sound supernatural, as Molester by this time was high on drugs. The white cube which encompassed the action ensured that the focus of attention was the man caught in the trap. It also enhanced the artificiality of the action - the theatrical image which was being used to counterpoint the reality of the viciousness of fanaticism. Sound effects

such as the birds singing were deliberately made to sound realistic in order to contrast with and create a tension between the real world and the strange surreal things which were happening on stage. At certain points during the action Jesus was seen staggering across the back of the stage carrying a large and heavy cross (approximately fifteen feet long). He never spoke, but appeared to be a hallucination of Molester's. Images like this were so bizarre that they became comic - in fact the piece of stage business which always produced the greatest laugh of the performance was when Jesus lay on the cross and with his hammer knocked a nail through one hand, only to find that he was unable to hammer one in through the other. The action was also extremely realistic, with a quantity of blood spurting over the audience, who were only two feet away. Horror and comedy (the hallmark of Brenton's style in his early plays) were blended in this symbolic action. When discussing the production with the author, Walter Donohue said that he had been unable to capture satisfactorily the comic surface of this very serious play.

The play moved towards its climax where Gut and Molester (played by Malcolm Storry and David Schofield), standing on either side of the ramp, rhythmically beat the two others (played by Antony Milner and Ian Flavin) with chains. Donohue enhanced the tension with the use of strobe lighting, which gave the action a feeling of frenzy. The critic Garry O'Connor, writing in the Financial Times (3.5.72), disliked the lighting effects, complaining that they hurt his eyes, and the critic for the Daily Telegraph (3.5.72) was glad when it stopped - a tribute indeed to the author's and director's intention. Nicholas de Jongh (Guardian 4.5.72), on the other hand, praised the 'superlative visual energy and excitement in the strobe-light fighting'. At one point a piece of flesh appeared to be cut from one of the victims, and a piece of raw and dripping meat was handed into the action. It was not meant to trick the audience into thinking that a piece of flesh had actually been torn from the man's body, but to present a clear and apposite image of the brutality that was taking place on stage. Brenton's writing is compressed, pared down into strong visual images, and is extremely effective in an acting space which is small and 'dangerous' with the minimum of scenery and only a limited capacity for creating illusionary effects. It was this aspect of the production which so

impressed Irving Wardle (The Times 3.5.72). The very end of the play was unnaturally quiet as the character Tone delivered a monologue about the past which formed him. Even those critics who did not like the play acknowledged its peculiar force²³.

Judging from the regular lunch-time reviews which appeared in Plays and Players during 1971 and 1972, the quality of lunch-time theatre at the Open Space was higher than at other venues. While Jonathan Hammond and Nigel Andrews were giving good notices to plays presented there (witness Plays and Players for July, August, and September 1971), Andrews was also defending the poor quality of some of the other lunch-time shows by talking of the need to take risks:

Any alternative to West End theatre is welcome, not because West End theatre is bad but because it has to play safe ... Bad plays are a natural hazard if we wish to create an effectively wider choice of available theatre. (Plays and Players, August 1971).

Marowitz himself had written an article in Spring 1971 for Ink in which he attacked the plays performed in lunch-time cellars as 'tame slivers of old telly plays, toss-offs by writers too undernourished to provide full-length work'²⁴. In typical fashion, he had picked on a real weakness of lunch-time theatre and failed to acknowledge any of its strengths. His comments led to a rebuttal made by John Ford in Time Out (7.5.71), accusing Marowitz of sour grapes because he had not been granted the finances to run a permanent company. It is curious that Marowitz should have found it necessary to condemn so wholeheartedly the work done at his own theatre, particularly when he took no active interest in the choice of lunch-time repertoire. During 1972-73 and 1975-76, when he had formed a company, shows appeared with regularity, and their standard was high. On the whole, the lunch-time shows during the latter part of the Open Space's term at the Tottenham Court Road theatre were not as adventurous as the earlier ones, and critics did not give full support. Even for the revival of Brenton's Christie in Love (first performed on 23 November 1969 at Oval House) there were very few reviews, though de Jongh in the Guardian gave it an enthusiastic write-up (22.7.76). Only one play, Split, by Mike Veller, was given a lunch-time showing at the new premises in the Euston Road, on 19 July 1977, and despite his earlier successes only four reviews are to be found in the cuttings book for that period.

In 1972, lunch-time theatre had been given a fillip with the formation of A.L.T. - Association of Lunchtime Theatres - whose aims were:

to promote lunchtime theatre, to present principally new and neglected plays and playwrights, to provide alternative venues for actors, directors and designers, and to encourage audiences by making theatre more accessible¹⁰.

By 1976 other organisations had taken its place and the interest in lunch-time theatre had dried up. This, and the theatre's less central position in the Euston Road, were the factors most likely to have made the theatre give up its lunch-time presentations. In times when resources were scarce they were a luxury the management could not afford, especially since the work could not be defended on the grounds of an overwhelming demand.

Personality of the Management

In the world of theatre it is always the name of the artistic director that is remembered for the success or failure of a production, and it is, of course, on his productions that a theatre's reputation is based. It is therefore not surprising that the Open Space became synonymous with the name of Charles Marowitz even though it was publicised at the beginning as a joint venture of Marowitz's and Thelma Holt's. Marowitz himself was, then as now, a journalist and writer as well as a director, which meant that his name was brought more often to public notice than hers was, and since he hesitated neither to go into print about any grievance that he had nor to support a controversial issue over the law and theatre in general, he quickly brought to the Open Space a sense of adventure and notoriety which was at once its glory and its downfall.

It has become clear through conversations with those who worked at the Open Space that without the work of Thelma Holt the enterprise would never have got started, let alone have continued to run for twelve years. It is significant that the theatre survived for only two years after her resignation, the final year of which limped along with her help as administrator of the Round House. She 'built both theatres' (her own description), she recruited support from wealthy patrons, she kept relations between actors and Marowitz sweet during their many difficult moments, she kept him up to schedule with his written work for the theatre, she took up the actors' cause when accommodation on tour was appalling, she sent the Soho protection racket gangs packing when they tried to extort money, and she dealt with crises such as the police raid during the showing of Andy Warhol's Flesh (3.2.70).

Her approach towards people - colleagues, the public and authorities - was fundamentally different from that of Marowitz, which was often unnecessarily high-handed and tended to alienate those who were initially his most ardent supporters. He has confessed to a dislike of actors (P.N.L. lecture, 3.12.81) who in his opinion are nearly all stupid and totally self-centred - an attitude which naturally communicated itself to those who worked under him and created friction and an atmosphere of distrust

between them. Thelma Holt, on the contrary, claims to love working with actors (she herself acted for Marowitz for many years) and provided a very necessary foil to the Marowitz arrogance.

This arrogance worked both for and against Marowitz and the work he was trying to do. It meant that he was willing to go against popular opinion in an attempt to bring new life to the West-End theatre. He thrived on outraging complacency and was always willing to present plays that set themselves against accepted values. In Fortune and Men's Eyes he had been quick to exploit the theatre's new found freedom from censorship, and actors had appeared naked on stage. The play dealt openly with homosexuality, a theme which was pursued again in Find Your Way Home by John Hopkins (12.5.70).

Critics' opinions of the plays' worth clashed, and this had the advantage of enhancing the theatre's reputation for presenting slightly risqué pieces. Two other events before and after this production developed into public debates over censorship and they have rumbled on over other plays ever since 1968. The first of these was concerned with the controversial Flesh, the second film to be shown in a season of late-night programmes which had opened with Norman Mailer's Beyond the Law. The Open Space policy was to present the 'best products of the New Cinema Movement' (Guardian, 12.12.69), and for three weeks Flesh had an uninterrupted run. Then, suddenly, on the evening of 3 February, thirty-two policemen burst into the auditorium, seized the screen and projector, confiscated all the club membership files, and took the names and addresses of all those present. Jimmy Vaughan, the film's distributor, who happened to be present that evening, immediately phoned the film censor John Trevelyan, who came round directly to see what was happening. He arrived after the police had left but made his position clear to Thelma Holt and others present: he had permitted and encouraged the showing of the film on club premises, though he had not granted it a certificate for general release. Later, when the court hearing took place on 15 May 1970, obscenity charges were dropped, but Marowitz and Holt were fined £200 for breach of licensing regulations. It was alleged that only a very small number of those present at the film

showing were members of the club, and the directors of the company pleaded guilty to this charge.

These events received huge publicity from the press, and the question of censorship, and of this police raid in particular, was raised in the House of Commons. The Times (13.3.70) printed a report of the debate where Callaghan, then the Home Secretary, supported the police action (according to the Spectator for 21.3.70 because of the forthcoming elections). Callaghan's view was opposed by Michael Foot, who spoke in favour of a more liberal attitude towards the arts, but the Home Secretary would not be moved.

In an article printed in the Guardian on 6 March, Marowitz clarified his own attitude. He did not believe that the repressive forces in Great Britain were in a majority, nor did he wish people who disagreed with him any ill-will. What he wished to draw attention to was the fact that the repressive minority was well organised, with a great deal of money and power. He saw the need for a similarly well organised and financed body to combat their attempt to limit the freedom of the arts. Although he was unable to continue showing the film immediately, and this inevitably meant loss of income, the publicity his theatre received can only have helped his cause, and the audiences came in force to see the film when it returned to the Open Space on 17 March. The £200 fine, which the magistrates had ordered to be paid within twenty-eight days, could have crippled the company's trip to Italy, which was planned for May, but the papers announced on 16 May that Andy Warhol had offered to pay the fine for them, and that the proposal had been gratefully accepted.

From being the centre of a debate which actually saw the two principals in court, they moved to another where, although the law was not invoked, considerable press coverage was generated. The production which caused the furore was A Nativity Play staged by Warehouse La Mama, an English off-shoot of La Mama, led by Beth Porter. In this play the part of God was taken by a nude actor and the Holy Family was represented as a 'set of swingers' (The Times 17.12.70). The play was the alleged cause of an outburst by Lord Eccles (Minister for the Arts) at the City of London

Conservatives' forum when he announced that he was to have talks with Lord Goodman, chairman of the Arts Council, to devise a system to deal with pornographic and blasphemous productions performed under the auspices of theatres which received Arts Council grants (Guardian, 26.1.71). De Jongh's Guardian article went on to analyse the implications of Eccles's remark that it was perfectly all right if people wanted to go into a cellar and see "some revolting extension of striptease" if it was a privately funded show. He roundly condemned Eccles's position, and was seconded by Marowitz in a Guardian article (28.1.71) where he called for more support from the bigger, 'better-heeled' companies such as the National and the R.S.C. Many of the critics disliked the production, and Harold Hobson added his voice to the clamour of those who wished to see the Arts Council support withdrawn. Reasons for the dislike were diverse; the critic for Plays and Players (February 1971) felt the company was not as inventive as it had 'been in the past. Wardle (The Times 17.12.70), while treating the show seriously, thought that it was the 'Beth Porter Show' and not an ensemble piece of work, and de Jongh found it 'too infantile and too stupid to review'. However, as de Jongh so rightly pointed out, the Eccles proposals meant that these respected critics were not to be allowed to differ in their points of view, and companies, such as this one, which had done good work in the past, no longer had the right to fail. In the Evening Standard for 22.1.71 Marowitz is quoted as having said that Lord Eccles did not make it clear whether or not his attack was simply provoked by stage nudity, but that it seemed obvious to him that it was 'a form of political censorship aimed at removing subsidies from groups that are not establishment orientated'. It was an indictment of a theatre, he said, if it had not produced anything which could be described as inflammatory. In his opinion theatre ought always to move away from established values to question and to re-assess, and a theatre which shied away from any controversy which might arise from this, was not fulfilling its most valuable function.

If the tone of Marowitz's article here was reasonable, it was perhaps because the discussion of censorship was broadly based and not specifically an attack on his theatre. When defending his own theatre his tone was always more belligerent and hectoring. In the programme for Find Your Way Home he attacked the Arts Council for effectively refusing to increase their

grant from the previous year's £3,000⁰⁰. In 1969 they had been given a grant of £1,500 with guarantees-against-loss which brought it up to approximately £3,000. In 1970 the Arts Council withdrew the guarantees and increased the grant to £3,000; Marowitz accused them of 'patent arithmetical deception'. He then sniped at the Arts Council policies in general and suggested that the theatres which received subsidy were those that had representatives in the Arts Council's 'inner circle'. This was a charge which Marowitz made in his exposé of the Arts Council printed in the Guardian (19.11.71), where it formed the crux of his argument which condemned the body for unfairly distributing its wealth. His opening paragraph stated that he had undertaken some research into the mechanism of the Arts Council because of his own sense of frustration at lack of subsidy. Having declared his emotional involvement with the facts he was to expose he chose a rhetorical and heavily ironical form of address: 'if, by justice, we mean the hidden use of influence in order to obtain public monies, then the Arts Council of Great Britain is a just organisation. If, by justice, we mean the making of arbitrary decisions under the guise of democratic procedure, the Arts Council of Great Britain is a just organisation', and so on. He then named people and organisations of whom he was critical, and in doing so made some mistakes for which he was quickly taken to task in the stream of correspondence which followed. For instance, Moran Caplat (General Administrator, Glyndebourne) corrected his allegation that the Glyndebourne Festival was state subsidised (Guardian, 23.11.71), and Hugh Villatt (Secretary General for the Arts Council) pointed out that Chairman Lambert had served only three years and not eight as Marowitz had suggested. His exaggerations and distortions, though few, were enough to throw some discredit on the article, but they were not sufficient to detract from the importance of what he had to say. The correspondence which followed was by no means entirely unsympathetic, and in Plays and Players (January 1972) an article lamented the fact that 'so far no-one has really picked up the gauntlet that he [Marowitz] so angrily flung down'. The reviewer also called him 'a persistent thorn in the side of the Establishment', which aptly describes his relationship with all official bodies during the life-time of the Open Space.

Hugh Jenkins, M.P., chosen by Jennie Lee to sit on the Arts Council, wrote a generalised rebuttal of Marowitz's charges, stating that 'his conclusions are muddled and many of his facts are wrong' (*Guardian* 25.11.71). He did not make a detailed defence and finished by asking Marowitz to look at his own achievement to find the reasons for lack of subsidy. Marowitz's reply to this was to mention the awards his productions had received on the continent and to remind Jenkins that for one production he had received £2,600 from Wiesbaden - more than his annual grant from the Arts Council of Great Britain (*Guardian*, 30.11.71).

Marowitz ended his article by saying that he was sending a report of his findings to Sir Alan Marre, Ombudsman and Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration. The outcome of this appeal was recorded in the *Guardian* (3.12.71), where it was stated that the Ombudsman could do nothing since the act appointing him to his position excluded the Arts Council (appointed by Royal Charter) from the bodies whose actions he could examine.

Marowitz's calculated attacks on the Establishment were always couched in highly emotive terminology. Here he had referred to the members of the Arts Council as the 'cultural mafia', and in his tussle with Equity in 1969 over the American season (see pp.105-6) he had drawn an analogy between those who run Equity and the Russians who had sent in the occupying forces to Czechoslovakia. He was quite capable of infuriating those he attacked, but if he was looking for support then it was not necessarily the best way of finding it. In the Arts Council exposé, before officially enlisting the help of the Ombudsman, he announced that he was preparing a submission of charges against the Arts Council, in the full knowledge that he was appealing to a government agency, 'without teeth or temperament to attack'. In the event the Ombudsman was legally unable to help, but it was this sort of aggressiveness, together with the presupposition that everyone was indisposed towards justice, that alienated him so often from those who might have helped.

His response to people and situations was always vigorously spontaneous and extravert. His meeting with Alan Burns illustrates his

impetuosity which could generate creative energy. The story is told in the *Guardian* (30.4.70) of a local dignitary at the Harrogate Festival in 1969 who spoke at a public assembly of the need for modern artists to remember the affairs of the spirit, and, as an example of one who needed to be reminded, cited Alan Burns. Burns, who was present, leapt from the audience, snatched the microphone from the speaker and recited Artaud's poem 'Shit to the Spirit' ('Chiote à l'Esprit', 1947). At this Marowitz, also in the audience, strode across the stage, crying 'I commission you to write a play'. The result of this dramatic intervention was the production of *Palach* a year later. This characteristic of acting on the spur of the moment was also responsible for his enthusiasm and tenaciousness in the choice of new plays such as *Sam Sam* and *The Tooth of Crime*, where he stuck with determination to his initial reaction, until he was finally able to present them.

This impetuosity also generated hostilities, particularly when, in the heat of the moment, Marowitz would threaten legal action for an affair which did not warrant it. Malcolm Storry, one of the longest serving actors of the permanent company which was formed in 1972, told how this company came to an untimely end (in interview 17.5.85). Candida Fawsitt, who was playing in Arrabal's *And They Put Handcuffs on the Flowers*, injured herself and was unable to perform. The actors wanted to cancel the show; Marowitz wanted to tape her voice so that the others could act around it. Ian McDiarmid, Malcolm Storry and Tony Milner all said that they were unwilling to do this. Instead of coming to some agreement over the situation, Marowitz dragged Equity into the argument, asking to have these three actors banned from the stage for life! What had been a very stimulating year's work for the actors (of whom Storry, at least, had been totally committed to the enterprise) ended with deep bitterness on all sides. Just as some of the analogies we have seen Marowitz draw in his vituperative articles are hyperbolic, so his reaction to an awkward situation lacked proportion, and he destroyed in one sweep a company which had produced the most consistently good work which his theatre ever presented. It was also as a result of bad relations with an actor that the so-called 'pink bath scandal' broke in June 1977, after which Thelma Holt resigned and the Open Space drew slowly to a close.

He quarrelled with writers, actors and directors, with some more bitterly than with others; he and Sam Shepard could not agree on how his play should have been directed, which meant that Shepard absented himself from rehearsal as much as possible; Ableman had problems with Marowitz's attitude to cutting and altering his text (OS 13/12); Andrew Carr blamed Marowitz for the failure of his play Hanratty in Hell; Walter Donohue was not asked to direct again after his part in the production of The Tooth of Crime; and so on.

Perhaps because of his reputation as a pugnacious critic of those who stood in his way, and even of those who did not - witness his attack on some lunch-time groups which had appeared with some success at his own theatre (Plays and Players July 1971), other reviewers were to be found being unjustly hostile to his work. John Higgins of the Financial Times, one of the few critics to attend the first night of Stanley Eveling's play Come and be Killed, wrote a sarcastic review because of a mix-up over times of performance (19.12.66). He was patently too annoyed by it to give the play any serious consideration; only the last part of the article bothered to mention it, and that was written in the same flippant tone as the rest of the article. Higgins's opening sentence asked 'Has success spoiled the Open Space?' - an exaggerated response to a trivial error and a damaging question to put before the public, for a theatre struggling for survival.

Marowitz was quite naturally incensed, and he wrote to the Editor trouncing Higgins for his unfair article. It is worth quoting in full since the Financial Times did not publish it:

Dear Editor,

Does John Higgins, your erstwhile and hypersensitive drama critic really believe that readers of the Financial Times prefer a description of a first-night ticket mix-up to a critical appraisal of the work of a new playwright? Reading his account of events, it would appear that the Open Space elaborately devised a diabolical stratagem specifically designed to harass the press. The facts are that letters announcing a 7.30 opening went out with all press tickets and the rest was left to the adapting-intelligences of the reviewers all of whom, Higgins included, managed to make this herculean rearrangement.

But it really is obscene that three quarters of a drama review should be devoted to whimsical putter (sic) concerning front-of-house trivia instead of exploring the implications of a play which, in my biased opinion, is the best yet written by Stanley Eveling; a play which concerns the vast question of moral responsibility in regard to

life (birth) and death (abortion) and which is treated seriously and, in my opinion, tellingly by an author writing out of personal conscience.

Criticism has reached a sorry state of affairs when these matters can be dispensed with while a critic indulges a strained sense of humour in a vain attempt to divert his readers. If Higgins loathes the play, let him reason out - both the play and his loathing of it, but let's have an end to critical twaddle for the sake of its own puerile self²⁷.

A member of the public who wrote a letter to The Stage (20.3.69) making a similar complaint was treated in much the same way as Higgins had been, but with less justification. Marowitz seized the opportunity of replying (2.4.69) and was not in the least apologetic to those who had been inconvenienced by administrative inefficiencies but merely emphasised the need for subsidy, without which the theatre could not really be expected to run smoothly. His comments may have been justified but perhaps a less antagonistic tone would have helped his relations with the theatre-going public. His response to this situation was typical of all his dealings with adverse criticism; he never humbled himself before the public or the critics to gain their support but was always straightforward and often rude where it might have been more useful to be tactful. It was usually left to Thelma Holt to make good any damage, as she did in 1977 when Marowitz publicly announced that he was banning Bernard Levin from the first night of his production of Variations on the Merchant of Venice (Sunday Times, 15.5.77) in support of a production of The Devil is an Ass at the R.S.C. Levin had condemned the production because some of the dialogue had been updated to make it comprehensible to a modern audience. Marowitz, along with Trevor Hunn and Stuart Burge, rounded on Levin for his reactionary view, and because of the nature of his own collage work on Shakespeare's play Marowitz mockingly withdrew his invitation to its opening night. He was forced to submit to theatre critics led by Milton Shulman who threatened to black the Open Space if Levin was not invited, and it was Holt who made the conciliatory noises in the papers revoking the ban.

One of the reasons that his theatre ran so long (most fringe theatres have a much shorter life than the Open Space had) was his willingness to engage in battle with authority. He used shock tactics in his productions

and in his dealings with public and press. His criticism was always vigorous and entertaining though sometimes misguided (the reviewer in Plays and Players for January 1972 said 'the English theatre would certainly be a lot duller without Charles Marowitz') and it was perhaps his enjoyment of the wrangles in which he became entangled that sometimes led him to kick harder and more indiscriminately than he ought.

In retrospect the joint venture can be seen to have been highly productive, even though criticisms have been made of different aspects of it. It was an interesting partnership with both the artistic director and his leading actress as associate directors of the whole enterprise. This pattern was followed after Thelma Holt left, with Nikolas Simmonds taking her place (he had directing as well as acting aspirations), but at this time the Open Space was already beginning to fold. Holt's ambitions as an actress did not seem to stand in the way of her managerial responsibilities (or vice-versa) and she never took on a role which she could not successfully accomplish, though she confessed in interview that she never felt happy with Portia in Variations on the Merchant of Venice. When Marowitz's work elsewhere took him away from the Open Space, Holt would control everything, though she never directed any of his shows. Though they no longer work together, Holt still expresses her admiration for Marowitz's work and ideals, and pays tribute to his qualities as a director by saying she had never acted, nor ever will act, for any other.

Summary of the Theatre's Achievement

Charles Marowitz had always complained that there was no theatre movement in England which could be described as avant-garde, and he publicised his intention to rectify the situation at the Open Space. This naturally laid his work open to criticism of a specific sort, and he was continually forced onto the defensive by theatre critics who felt that he had done nothing to further truly experimental theatre.

The first two productions Fortune and Men's Eyes and Blue Comedy, were particularly vulnerable to attack on this account because the first play's structure was naturalistic and the second play was a West-End sex comedy, more risqué perhaps than most but with no real surprises in its form or content. In fact, according to Irving Wardle, 'commercial comedy has repeatedly broken the rules; but Mr Ableman sticks to them as firmly as ever' (The Times, 22.10.68).

Both Harold Hobson of the Sunday Times and Irving Wardle of The Times joined in attacking Charles Marowitz and his enterprise on the grounds that he had led the public to expect experimental theatre and instead was offering 'wholly old world stuff' (Sunday Times, 14.7.68). Hobson criticised the content of Fortune and Men's Eyes for being sub-Genet, and went on to say that in any case Genet was not a fit model for experimental theatre. Naturally Marowitz did not submit quietly to the criticism, and he firmly rebuked Hobson for his inaccurate judgment of the play's prescriptions. The work was, he stressed, 'a straight-forward naturalistic play with absolutely no experimental pretensions' (Sunday Times, 28.7.68). Hobson had argued that 'an avant-garde theatre does exist, both on stage and screen, and it has definable characteristics', but subsequently gave only an imprecise definition of what he meant, i.e. that experimental drama must take account of the violence which has entered our lives in the last ten years. In his reply Marowitz was able to argue with some validity, therefore, that the play did fulfil Hobson's personal definition of the avant-garde since it has come to terms with 'the violence prisoners inflict upon one another because of the values society inflicts upon them'.

Perhaps because of the pre-performance publicity that Blue Comedy had received (the lead actress had refused to appear nude at the end of Hank's Night), the management tried to raise the status of the two sex-comedies by writing a note in the programme defending them and drawing parallels with established classics of the theatre such as Shakespeare and Molière²². The author of the note (signing himself 'Jack Point'), acknowledged the fact that the plays needed defence only because of prevailing attitudes and the connotations of the term 'sex-comedy'. The management were obviously aware that they were vulnerable to attack from those critics who were waiting to see adventurous work performed at the Open Space, and the claim that these two plays were an example of the 'prancing little steps in a direction the theatre can take' now censorship had been abolished, was an attempt to counteract such criticism. Point's final comment, 'it will be interesting to see if, as a result of the greater freedom he can now exercise, the English Playwright will tackle the situations which, ostensibly, have been denied him' certainly echoed the hopes of serious theatre-goers after the abolition of censorship, but seems in the light of the two plays in question a pretentious and unsuitable remark to make. Vardie voiced the objection, as Hobson had done in his reaction to Fortuna and Men's Eyes, that these plays were 'appearing at the wrong address' (The Times, 22.10.68). A few days later he related his criticism of the two plays and of the Open Space Theatre to theatre in general and its 'new-found freedom of speech':

There seems at present to be acres of new expressive territory available; theatrical radicals have been demanding it for years, but now it is theirs they seem uncertain of how to fill it. The conquest was worth the effort and long overdue: but it would be sourly ironic if a determination to exercise its new rights led the experimental stage merely into projecting the salacious vacuities of commercial entertainment on a larger scale. (The Times, 26.10.68)

In their reply (The Times 8.11.68), Holt and Marowitz re-stated the case they had previously put to Hobson:

one cannot begin to talk about "experimental" theatre unless there exists a permanent group of actors conducting the experiment. There is no such thing as an "experimental show" outside the context of a permanent group of actors. If there is, it is a novelty or a calculated piece of unorthodoxy. Experiment, either in science or art, is predicated on continuity. (Sunday Times 28.7.68).

In the letter to the The Times they stressed, in addition, the need for 'aesthetic breakthrough', a point which Vardie's comments only implied.

Throughout the history of the Open Space Marowitz was to argue that lack of funding led him away from his objectives - he was continually attacked for it, even by those who eventually held the efforts of the Open Space Theatre in esteem; witness Wardle, who in a review of The Difference by Peter Bergman (1971) spoke worriedly of the theatre's

split personality. For behind the bold radical figure it normally cuts, there lurks a hack comedian awaiting his chance to torpedo the enterprise with a string of feeble wisecracks' (The Times, 26.4.71).

In 1976, just before the theatre moved to the Euston Road, Marowitz outlined what, in his view, were the aims and the achievements of the Open Space Theatre (Plays and Players, October 1976). It was still his contention that the Open Space had failed to produce the experimental theatre it had striven for because it was not properly funded. He extended here his definition of what he felt his theatre ought to have been: 'a theatre which is more concerned with process than product; more intent on exploring techniques and evolving material'. Yet in 1969 his collage Hamlet had brought together the process and the product in a work which was generally admired for its originality of content and presentation - and the funding for this had been minimal.

At the end of 1968 Irving Wardle (The Times 21.12.68) had been pessimistic about the future of experimental theatre in England. Because it was, he said, merely 'an extension of the American under-ground', he did not see much hope of its flourishing in a country whose 'imagery and rhythm' was 'entirely alien'. He saw the Americans as having a tradition of acting ensembles behind them (he mentioned the Becks' Living Theatre and Chaikin's Open Theatre) which meant that they had something to build on in the future. England, he claimed, had nothing except the music-hall tradition to fall back on for improvisatory techniques. For this reason he felt that Marowitz, in hoping to create an acting ensemble 'pledged to rescuing the theatre from literature', had simply created a myth 'to provide hope in playless times'.

Marowitz's collage Hamlet controverted Wardle's assessment of the situation. The play, which he had already directed in 1965 and 1966 for

performance abroad, and which had finished its Italian tour with a run at the Jeannetta Cochrane Theatre in London, was revived and played to an enthusiastic public and press in July 1969. Only Thelma Holt remained from the original cast, but Nikolas Simmonds, who had previously played Marowitz's Macbeth, took on the role of Hamlet - a continuity in casting which merely suggested the beginnings of a permanent company. The critic for Plays and Players (September 1969) had this to say about the play: 'the cast ... achieve the type of assured ensemble discipline that would probably be the talk of the town if they came from the Continent or America'.

Fringe theatre, and the off-Broadway productions and happenings which seemed particularly suited to the unconventional venues which housed them, were treated with scepticism by most critics, and their attitude to these imports was paradoxical. On the one hand there were those who, like Wardle, felt that the English could never hope to emulate them, and there were others who patronised the productions and the writing. B.A. Young had this to say of Mike Veller's work: 'the plays are neat little squibs, uncommonly well composed for the work of a young American' (Financial Times, 19.8.69), and Helen Dawson in the Observer (17.8.69) paid the actors this doubtful compliment for their parts in Now There's Just the Three of Us: 'the acting ... is above average for a studio production'. If major critics were reacting to fringe theatre in this way it is not surprising that the Arts Council was to prove so tentative with its financial support.

One of the English groups of the period whose influence was felt by playwrights and directors was the Pip Simmons Group, formed in 1968. They were more popular with audiences on the Continent than in Britain, perhaps because of their choice of American subject matter - and when they brought a production, Superman, first devised in 1969, to the Open Space in 1970, most critics were mystified by it. On the night the critics went, audience numbers were very small; and the resulting reviews could not have helped to attract a larger public. It appears that although the play copied the American cartoon style of characterisation (grotesque figures with comic strip dialogue) the play as a whole lacked the clarity and simplification of narrative and message that a good cartoon offers. Only Peter Ansorge in Disrupting the Spectacle (pp.30-33) treated the show sympathetically, but

those working at the Open Space continued to experiment with Simone's methods despite lack of critical support.

Marowitz's production of Palach used stereotyped, cartoon characters and was misunderstood by at least one critic, who talked of the play as being 'all message, at the cost of character, plot, dialogue and drama' (Daily Telegraph, 12.11.70). He complained that he was wearied by the 'superannuated techniques' the play employed. This would appear to be a misguided criticism since there had been no concerted attempt in England to break through the naturalistic form of staging which prevailed, and the influence of groups like the Living Theatre and Pip Simmons was relatively little known. Companies such as Le Grand Magic Circus and Mnouchkine's Théâtre du Soleil had not yet performed in England, and Barrault's adaptation of Rabalaia had not at this time been seen in its English version at the Round House²². To talk, therefore, of techniques as 'superannuated' when they had neither been exploited in Britain nor received the full impact of similar work from the continent seems a premature and unjust attempt to discredit the originality of Marowitz's work.

Burns had provided a scenario for Palach which was really only the bare framework of the production. Marowitz and he worked together to fill out the body of the work through improvisation of dialogue and sound with the actors. Some of the dialogue was confirmed as text, some remained improvised on the night of performance. For instance the published text describes a scene where a character is questioned by the rest of the cast, in response to which the character picks out an answer from a bowl with slips of paper in it²³. The stage direction tells us that a different set of answers was produced each night and that all answers were optional. The onus on the actors themselves to produce useful material for the 'happening' was greater than that put upon them by Marowitz in his production of Macbeth. Although in that play they had worked towards their goal through improvisation, the actual text of the play was supplied in its final form by Marowitz. In reference to Palach Marowitz is quoted as having said to Ronald Hayman, 'the actors in this show have probably made a greater contribution than any group of actors, with the possible exception of Littlewood's, have ever made to anything' (The Times, 7.11.70).

The other major influence on British writers and directors reflected in the work presented at the Open Space during its first years came from the group called the People Show whose productions depended upon 'a bringing together, or clash of opposing images and styles'⁷¹. Howard Brenton, who had four plays presented at the Open Space (Gum and Goo, Sky Blue Life, How Beautiful with Badges, and Christie in Love), was an exponent of this method. In his production note to Christie in Love he described his dramatic devices: 'a kind of dislocation, tearing one style up for another, so the proceedings lurch and all interpretations are blocked'⁷². The People Show was not at the time a new phenomenon (it had been in existence since 1965), but when they put on a show at the Open Space press coverage was very sparse with only a couple of reviewers to enthuse over it (Irving Vardie in The Times, 20.8.71, and David Jay, Times Educational Supplement 17.9.71); although critics kept calling for experimental work they were often unwilling to go and see it.

The People Show used no set, only a number of props scattered about like so much old junk. Any suggestion of locale was created, as the play progressed, by one of the actors, who chalked up cliffs, waves, etc., on any available surfaces. An audience had to be willing to make the same sort of imaginative leaps as the actors were continually making, with their unconventional use of the props. In a tiny theatre like the Open Space there was no place for members of the audience who were not prepared to enter into the spirit of the production. In this respect A Sky Blue Life showed their influence, and though it was probably unintentional on the part of the management, it is possible to trace in 1971 the emergence of a house-style which had broken away from naturalism and overcome the theatre's limitations with regard to that form, by creating an approach to the space which elicited a different response from audiences and required a different attitude to the material from actors and directors. Both the plays introduced by other companies, and those inspired by Marowitz, showed an awareness of alternative techniques which had hitherto been missing from the year's programme as a whole. Twelve out of the twenty-two productions in 1971 used anti-naturalistic devices, whereas in the previous year only four had done so, one of which was the Pip Simmons show, so much disparaged by the critics, and two more were Marowitz's own productions.

Marowitz himself had always eschewed naturalism - in 1978 Alan Pearlman, who was then his associate director, said, 'our basic commitment is to new writing of a non-naturalistic kind, although we do not exclude naturalistic plays from the repertoire since very often that is all that is available' (in interview 15.11.78). The Open Space was, because of its physical peculiarities - its size and lack of sophisticated equipment - well suited to anti-illusionist theatre, though that is not to say that naturalism of a certain kind did not flourish there. Simon Trussler, writing for the *Tribune* (3.1.69) about Stanley Eveling's play Come and Be Killed, said:

the Open Space Theatre, for all its experimental intentions, is in fact an uncannily appropriate environment for the intellectual squalor of John Wapier's naturalistic setting. The audience neither looks through a fourth wall nor a picture frame, but practically rests its feet on the domestic hearth

and it was true of many other productions which were intense studies of emotional relationships (witness the overwhelming effect of the production of David Rudkin's *Ashes*) where the set was required to be sordid and the theatre's own limitations did not pose an awkward contrast to the desired illusion. The audience's proximity to the actors and action could not fail, if the production and the acting were good, to generate an intimacy and involvement with the play which was totally subjective. A play like *Blue Comedy*, which was presented there basically as a potential West-End transfer, needed a conventional drawing-room set with the audience seated at a distance in order to help preserve the illusion. The production failed to take into account the requirements of the Open Space, even down to the detail of allowing the actors 'to project as though they were playing to the upper circle at Drury Lane' (*Plays and Players*, December 1968). Conversely, the impact of the naturalistic production of *Fortune and Men's Eyes*, which had thoroughly exploited the Open Space environment, was considerably lessened when it transferred to its West-End venue.

Between 1968 and 1976, when the Open Space was at its Tottenham Court Road premises, the new kinds of drama presented there might be summarised thus: 1. Productions of the classics treated in a radical, and sometimes unrecognisable, way; 2. American imports from off-Broadway, only a small number of which used new forms; 3. New British writing which tended

towards cartoon characterisation and political content; 4. Productions which used the whole theatre building to create an environment which was part of the play.

The Open Space did not have any particular commitment to political theatre, though there were periods in its history when several plays of a political nature came together. The Chicago Conspiracy was the first play with an overtly political concern to be staged there, and it received an enthusiastic response, even though it dealt with a specifically American event. A production in 1969 of David Marowitz's Law Circus, a satire on justice, did not capture the public's imagination in the way that Chicago Conspiracy did, partly because it had no specific trial on which to base its satire - a reconstruction of facts which have their own satire inherent in them is a very forceful comment upon the times. A play which was given as little exposure as The Chicago Conspiracy (see p.96) could not be seen as directly influencing the course of English political theatre, but it did mirror a growing interest in such work. In December 1970, Joan Littlewood was prevented from presenting a production at Stratford East dealing directly with what she believed were the fundamental causes of the Ronan Point disaster in 1968, because of the risk of libel. Instead she had to disguise her concern in a supposedly eighteenth century satire called The Projector where, according to most critics, the satirical point was largely lost⁷². The Open Space, as a club theatre, had been able to present its material in a straightforward manner, and because the issues were American, no authorities objected to it.

Billington wrote in the Guardian for 25 October 1971 that there was at that time a lack of political theatre in England, and cited the Open Space as being one of the few theatres that had shown any engagement with political matters. Together with The Chicago Conspiracy he mentioned Palach, the play produced by Marowitz and Burns, but although the subject of the play was ostensibly Jan Palach who had burned himself to death to express his hatred of the Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia, the play did not in any way concern itself with the political situation there, it merely used the situation for its own ends.

It was not until new British playwrights were featured in lunch-time theatre at the end of 1971 that any consistent pattern of left-wing political writing could be discerned at the Open Space. This was mainly instigated by Walter Donohue and John Burgess, who were reading and choosing plays for performance. They were given complete freedom of choice for the lunch-time spots as long as it did not interfere with Marowitz's own ideas for the main house shows. Burgess was allowed to commission plays from any playwrights he cared to approach as long as he offered no more than £1 to the writer! This is how David Rudkin's Ashes came to be written for the Open Space. Burgess related (in interview, 25.7.85) how he had also commissioned John Arden to write a play, which was written under the title The Ballygumbeen Bequest, and sent to the Open Space where Marowitz insisted on reading it himself. He sent it back to Arden saying that it was too political - so Arden took it elsewhere²⁴. Marowitz liked to put on controversial plays, but evidently had no wish to become known as a director specialising in left-wing material, though he later chose to present Clax by Howard Barker (1975) - a passionately political and moral story about a man involved, as one of the under-privileged, in the class war after the Second World War. It was Donohue who commented in interview that Marowitz never gave the same publicity to plays by playwrights other than himself. As a journalist he had access to means of publicising productions which others had not, and he exploited them at every opportunity for his own work. Other plays, such as Claw and David Edgar's Excuses Excuses, succeeded despite his lack of interest in them, and in Donohue's view it was a pity that he did not do more to promote new playwrights instead of, or as well as, his own concern with stylistic advances which themselves were limited and ultimately sterile and repetitive. Much of the best of the new writing was relegated to lunch-time performance, and it was, to a certain extent, the view of Thelma Holt and Nikolas Simmonds (who later became an associate director) that Marowitz ought not to have neglected his role as promoter of new writing.

Charles Marowitz's fundamental concern was with breaking down the conventional presentation of character - although he wished to create a central character in his works (e.g. Hamlet, Macbeth, Voyzack, Artaud, etc.) he chose means other than the conventional naturalistic ones to do so. So

he used three actors to convey Macbeth's tormented personality; he disrupted the sequence of events in Hamlet; he created modern scenes in The Shrew which paralleled the Shakespearean ones, and so on. The one technique which remained constant in all his own works was a strong emphasis on visual symbolic images which economised on action and dialogue and which provided a clear indication of the play's theme. Thus, in Hedda, the play opens with an image of Hedda's father standing sternaly downstage right; this is followed by a silent scene between the two of them, first with Hedda dominated physically by her father, and secondly with her father subjugated to Hedda's whip; Macbeth opens with Lady Macbeth performing a black magic ritual on an effigy of Macbeth; Hamlet with Hamlet and Fortinbras standing still in front of him like a mirror image. Sometimes then the visual symbols would consist of whole scenes representing a particular aspect of the play's theme, and these aspects would be presented in a non-naturalistic fashion. At other times it would be an extended moment which might recur at key points throughout the play. A favourite device was the spotlight on one character, which would slowly tighten until the only part of the body which could be seen was the head. This created the sense of isolation which engulfs most of his leading characters (Hamlet, Voyzeck, Artaud, etc.) and at the same time suggested the drama which is occurring in the mind of the character.

In his own work these kinds of techniques worked very well for a time, though over the years there seems to have been very little progression from the initial idea, and what was once new and impressive began to fail to make the same impact. Marowitz was also inclined to use the same techniques indiscriminately for plays which needed another style of production. For instance, having been attracted, initially, by the stylised second half of The Tooth of Crime, he decided to ignore its other qualities and to present it in terms of external images which were both literally dazzling and also confusing. The Guardian review (18.7.72) commented that the production 'concentrates superbly with lights and artifice on the projection of externals', but unfortunately it concealed the meaning of the play. It is not surprising, then, that Irving Vardle was wide of the mark when he said: 'I think I know what it is getting at. The play is about the use of style as a weapon' (The Times 18.7.72). He went on to say that

style was used as 'an instrument of assault', which was true of the boxing match sequence but ought not to have been allowed to obscure the rest of the play.

Despite the fact that it had not been possible, during the years that the Open Space premises were in Tottenham Court Road, to adhere to a policy of what plays should be presented there, a certain pattern of characteristics emerges in retrospect and it becomes clear that there were themes that attracted Marowitz more than others, and conversely that those offering the plays for presentation were attracted by his theatre because they knew what Marowitz liked and knew his theatre space would suit them.

Of his own works - his adaptations and Artaud at Rodez - the two themes which dominate are the conflicts roused between men and women because of their driving sexual instincts and the isolation of man from, and disillusionment with, his society. Sometimes treated separately, these themes are usually linked and interwoven. In 1982 Marowitz published an anthology of three adaptations of modern classics by Ibsen and Strindberg entitled Sex Wars, which is a heading under which most of his own work might be listed⁷⁸. Plays which he chose to direct by other people (there were twenty of them at the Tottenham Court Road premises) reveal his interest in sexual politics rather than social or party concerns, and even in plays which were perhaps more angled towards other issues, the sexual implications were often given greater emphasis (witness the production of Sam Sam, see pp.124-5).

The alienation of man from his society and his concomitant sense of isolation is present in all of Marowitz's protagonists. The most familiar figure in his collage work is that of the small and insignificant individual beset by a hostile world. This image was given powerful theatrical form in his production of Voyzeck as the eponymous hero was encircled by military figures who were all costumed in outsize uniforms stuck onto cardboard frames which made them seem larger than life. Malcolm Storry who played the Sergeant is well over six feet anyway, and towering over David Schofield who played Voyzeck, the threat of the establishment over the individual was given nightmarish proportions and emblematic significance.

The crushing or the constraint of the individual by superior forces was given expression in the many plays performed at the Open Space which used a prison setting. The theatre opened with Fortune and Men's Eyes, which was followed by others such as Grant's Movie, Manratty in Hall, And They Put Handcuffs on the Flowers, and finally the Swedish play Seven Girls, about girls in a reformatory, brought this era of the Open Space to a close. In these plays, prison in one form or another, was the literal location for the action. Many others used a metaphorical prison as their main theme, and so we see men and women depicted as being trapped by their own tortured and often obsessive perception of life (outstanding examples here are Four Little Girls, Ashes, Sweet Eros, Christie in Love and How Beautiful with Badges). Marowitz was greatly helped by having Robin Don as his designer (he was not employed on a permanent basis, but nevertheless from 1971 onwards he designed a significant number of productions); Don's concern in his stage design was to show man locked in a self-constructed cage (see p.130).

Together with the idea of man's literal and metaphorical prison goes Marowitz's own sharpened awareness and criticism of so-called justice. It was not only in the productions at the Open Space that this theme predominated - it also governed his response to many of the situations he generated while he was director there. His cry was always for fairness in the allocation of subsidy for fringe theatre, in Equity's dealings with actors, in his tussles with the law over what material might be presented at his theatre, over the libellous allegations made about the appropriation of goods meant for the theatre for his own personal use (known at the time as the 'pink bath scandal') and so on. His scepticism about the law was confirmed in 1974 when he was arrested for loitering with intent in a department store after having watched a make-up demonstration attended solely by women shoppers. In 1975 he wrote an account of the experience for the Guardian (28.5.75) and described how it influenced his treatment of Measure for Measure. 'A healthy disrespect for the law is the best way of combating its tendency towards human corruption' is how he summed up the situation, and it is, he claimed, what the play Measure for Measure is about. A 'healthy disrespect' for establishment authority in general characterised all Marowitz's dealings during the years at Tottenham Court

Road. It eventually led to the demise of the theatre project altogether (perhaps the 'healthy disrespect' finally allied itself with the 'tendency towards human corruption'), though while it flourished, often at the centre of some controversy, it was what gave the enterprise its artistic energy, in tandem with the steadying influence of Thelma Holt's unstinting support.

Notes to the Open Space Theatre

1. Charles Marowitz, The Act of Being (London, 1978), pp.2-3.
2. Charles Marowitz, ed., Open Space Plays (Harmondsworth, 1974) p.7.
3. Open Space Plays. pp.11-12.
4. See the programme for Fortune and Men's Eyes by John Herbert, OS Progs.
5. A copy of this request is in OS 1/13.
6. See Open Space Plays. p.9.
7. A copy of the lease for 1973 is in OS 10/8
8. A clear statement of Marowitz's view of the situation is contained in a speech he prepared for Camden Council (undated), OS 14/1.
9. There is a case-book study of Hedda, by Kathleen Dacre, in The Drama Review. 25(1981), no.2, pp.3-16.
10. Leaflet in Cuttings Book 1, OS archives.
11. Open Space Plays. pp.10-11.
12. Charles Marowitz and Simon Trussler, eds., Theatre at Work (London, 1967), p.154 .
13. The above letters are to be found in OS 1/12.
14. Some of the exercises used for the production of Macbeth are included in, Charles Marowitz, The Marowitz Shakespeare (London, 1978), pp.70-79.
15. The Marowitz Shakespeare. p.24.
16. The Marowitz Shakespeare, p.15.
17. The cost of the sets for Fortune and Men's Eyes and Blue Comedy can be found in Appendix 2.
18. Wilson Knight, The Wheel of Fire (London 1961), p.158.
19. The Wheel of Fire. p.152.
20. OS archives, Director's Copy and lighting plot, Macbeth.
21. References made to Shakespeare's text are taken from The Arden Shakespeare (Suffolk, 1972).
22. All page references to the play A Macbeth are taken from The Marowitz Shakespeare.
23. All interpretations of Simmonds's characterization are taken from the annotations in his rehearsal script, OS archives.
24. The Marowitz Shakespeare, p.15.
25. The Marowitz Shakespeare, p.14.
26. See: Guardian, 21.5.69; Plays and Players, July 1969; Daily Telegraph, 21.5.69; Tribune. 6.6.69.
27. See Appendix 2.

28. First performed in a shorter version for Peter Brook's Theatre of Cruelty, 1963.
29. The Marowitz Shakespeare, p.14.
30. Charles Marowitz, The Marowitz Hamlet, (London, 1968), pp.11-50. All other references to the text are taken from this edition.
31. A condensed version of this production was filmed at the Open Space for Late Night Line-Up, and transmitted on 30.12.69. It is stored by the B.B.C. at Television Centre.
32. In Othello is not discussed at length here, despite its importance in the history of the Open Space, because it has been fully documented by John Burgess in an article for Theatre Quarterly, 2(1972), no.8, pp.68-91 which was later reprinted in The Act of Being, pp.163-196.
33. Favourable reviews from, Evening Standard (27.5.71), Financial Times (27.5.71); less favourable or ambiguous reviews, Guardian (27.5.71), The Times (27.5.71).
34. Georg Buchner, Woyzeck (London, 1979), p.xxii.
35. Charles Marowitz, Artaud at Rodez (London, 1977).
36. Marowitz's full reply can be found in OS 10/7. An abbreviated version appeared in the Sunday Times 4.1.76.
37. The Act of Being, p.159.
38. Not 10 June as stated by Catherine Itzin, Stages in the Revolution (London, 1970), p.366.
39. For the financial position at the end of the production see Appendix 2.
40. Introduction to Fortune and Men's Eyes, in Open Space Plays, pp.15-16.
41. It is interesting to note that the Théâtre du Soleil's production of 1789, which used similar staging techniques, opened in Milan on 10 November 1970.
42. Charles Marowitz, Confessions of a Counterfeit Critic (London, 1973), p.8.
43. Full production details are contained in, The Act of Being, Appendix 3, pp.148-162.
44. The Act of Being, p.150.
45. Charles Marowitz, ed., Off-Broadway Plays 2 (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.10.
46. John Guare, Muzeeka, in Off-Broadway Plays 1 (Harmondsworth, 1970), 1970, pp.139-161.
47. All the following information is taken from publicity leaflets and a draft copy of the statement made by Marowitz for the Department of Employment and Productivity, OS 13/40.

48. For a description of this production, see Peter Ansorge, Disrupting the Spectacle (London, 1975), pp.28-29, and John Lahr, Acting Out America (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp.122-135.
49. OS 9/6. For a list of the plays included in the American Season, see Appendix 1.
50. See The Times, 17.2.71; The Stage, 25.2.71; Sunday Times, 21.2.71; Financial Times, 17.2.71.
51. Terrence McNally, Sweet Eros, in Off-Broadway Plays 2, pp.43-56.
52. All references to the play are to the unpublished text, used for the Open Space production: Sam Shepard, The Tooth of Crime, OS archives.
53. In Charles Marowitz's most recent book on directing, Prospero's Staff (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1986), his attitude towards actors seems to have mellowed (see p.74).
54. See correspondence, OS 13/37.
55. OS 13/12. Appendix 2 shows a full breakdown of income and expenditure.
56. See Tribune, 3.1.69, The Stage, 24.12.68, Sunday Telegraph, 5.1.69.
57. See Appendix 2.
58. Peter Barnes, Collected Plays (London, 1981), p.122.
59. All references to the play are to the unpublished text, used for the Open Space production: Trevor Griffiths, Sam Sam, OS archives.
60. For information on the genesis of the play see Plays and Players, November 1971, 'Getting the Carp out of the Mud'.
61. No script has been traced. Actors appearing were Ian Flavin, Susan Levy, Antony Milner, Stephen Moore, Diana Quick, and Donald Sumpter.
62. A photo-copy of the unpublished manuscript is in the OS archives.
63. Financial Times (?); The Stage 18.5.72; Guardian 4.5.72.
64. This article has not been traced, but it is extensively quoted in Plays and Players, July 1971.
65. Quoted in Stages in the Revolution, p.136.
66. OS Progs. Marowitz's figures do not correspond exactly with the official figures (see Appendix 3).
67. A copy of the letter can be found in OS 10/19.
68. Programme in OS archives, Cuttings Book 1.
69. First performances by, Le Grand Magic Circus in England, 20 December 1972; 1782, 12 October 1971; Rabelais at the Round House, 18 March 1971.
70. Open Space Plays, p.220.
71. Disrupting the Spectacle, p.39.
72. Howard Brenton, Plays for the Poor Theatre, (London, 1980), p.26.

73. Howard Goorney, The Theatre Workshop Story (London, 1981), p.137.
74. The first professional production was by 7:84 Company, Edinburgh Festival, 21 August 1972.
75. The Father was presented at the Open Space in the Euston Road theatre, on 7 November 1979, and Hadda at the Round House, on 5 August 1980.

THE ROUND HOUSE

The History of the Round House:

1. Centre 42

The history of the Round House as a theatre began with Arnold Vesker and his dream of an arts community for the people, which would encourage and develop their active involvement in the artistic life of the country. He blamed public apathy towards the arts on an educational system which did not sufficiently nourish an interest in the many different art forms and, more importantly for the genesis of Centre 42, on those public institutions which boasted of their concern for working people. In his Encore article 'Let Battle Commence' he attacked the Daily Mirror for ignoring its responsibility to enrich people's lives and challenged it to sponsor 'a film by Lindsey Anderson or a play at the Royal Court theatre, for its own readers'. His most serious challenge, however, was to the trade unions who were already formed into groups and who were therefore in a unique position to help their members experience fuller lives through the arts.

Vesker's vision of a fully subsidised workers' theatre was already being realised in France by Roger Planchon, who had moved his company to Villeurbanne, a suburb of Lyon, in 1958 where he took his work into the local factories and encouraged the audiences' participation in choosing the material for presentation. In 1960, when Vesker's campaign to persuade the trade unions to take a financial interest in a community arts centre for the people was well under way, he wrote an article for the New Statesman (3.9.60) which praised Planchon's efforts and pointed out the difference in subsidy between Planchon's theatre, which received £30,000, and Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop, which received £1,000 from the Arts Council in 1960. His article contained not only praise for their efforts but also a criticism of the nation's attitudes towards the arts as reflected in their response to the two ventures. He felt that neither France nor Britain had

understood or attempted to establish the principle that the arts are a nation's heritage and therefore for everybody and not the privileged few. In his view it was this which allowed both the companies to become fashionable and their work to become elitist entertainment.

Vesker's aim in writing his plays was

to write ... not only for the class of people who acknowledge plays to be a legitimate form of expression, but for those to whom the phrase "form of expression" may mean nothing whatsoever. It is the bus driver, the housewife, the miner and the Teddy Boy to whom I should like to address myself' ('Let Battle Commence', p.96)².

This opinion informed his concept of what an arts centre ought to be, and drew from many quarters criticism that he was patronising the workers. He was aware of the criticism even at this early stage of his campaign, and he acknowledged it in the article. Nonetheless, his belief in the necessity for someone to teach the world proper values and his faith in his own role as teacher remained unshaken for the time being.

At the end of the fifties Vesker was not alone in his anxiety over the state of the nation's culture. Not only were many playwrights, novelists and other artists creating works which attempted to define and comment upon working class life, but others were analysing it. In 1957, Richard Hoggart had published his book The Uses of Literacy, in which he examines changes in working-class culture during the last thirty or forty years³. Hoggart's main anxiety was 'the division between the technical languages of the experts and the extraordinarily low level of the organs of mass communication' (p.11). Vesker's emphasis was not so much on this division but on the 'low level' itself, and his concern was to elevate standards which were implicit in the machinery of 'mass communication'.

In April 1960 Vesker addressed students of Oxford University and participants in the Sunday Times Student Drama Festival on the reasons for Britain's lack of interest in the arts. Because in the lecture he accused the trade unions of neglecting their responsibilities towards the people in this respect, he had the lecture printed and sent to every trade union in the country. It was his first direct attempt to involve the unions in his vision of a country where arts of all kinds are considered a necessary part

of life. People, he believed, needed to be told about it and the trade unions, as representatives of the people, ought to have been the ones to do it; their failure to do so amounted to 'almost immoral' neglect:

I believe socialism ... to be not merely an economic organisation of society but a way of living based on the assumption that life is rich, rewarding and that human beings deserve it⁴.

Vesker did not at this stage make any practical suggestions as to what the unions might do to help, but two months later he sent another pamphlet to them which outlined some positive proposals⁵. The most important suggestion was that the T.U.C. should 'set up a commission to investigate and discuss what relationship the Trade Union movement should have to the cultural life of the community' (p.87). This was followed by a list of organisations that the unions might sponsor, such as a National Trade Union Orchestra, theatres for new industrial areas which had none, a grant system for the children of members who showed a particular talent, and so on. Four unions replied, A.C.T.U., N.A.T.S.O.P.A., and two smaller ones (New Statesman 30.7.60). A press conference was held after the New Statesman article appeared. According to Coppieters, the general secretary of N.A.T.S.O.P.A. 'thought that a resolution containing the essence of the venture might get the support of Congress' (p.91).

A week before the resolution was presented to Congress the New Statesman (3.9.60) ran an article written by five artists who gave their views on how the trade unions could best help the arts. Contributors to the article were Victor Pasmore, J.B. Priestley, Angus Wilson, Feliks Topolski and Alexander Goehr. Only Alexander Goehr, a composer of modern music, disagreed with the whole idea because he could not visualise financial support from an official socialist body, without political interests attached. Nevertheless, the largely sympathetic bias of the long article must have helped promote the cause, and the resolution (number 42 on the agenda), worded as follows, was passed on 8 September:

Congress recognises the importance of the arts in the life of the community especially now when many unions are securing a shorter working week and greater leisure for their members. It notes that the trade-union movement has participated to only a small extent in the direct promotion of plays, films, music, literature and other forms of expression including those of value to its beliefs and principles.

Congress considers that much more could be done and accordingly requests the General Council to conduct a special examination and to make proposals to future Congress to ensure a greater participation by the trade-union movement in all cultural activities.

(Coppieters, p.93)

Vesker's activity did not stop at this first tangible sign of success. He lectured to trade-unions all over the country and continued to bombard the press with articles in support of his aims. At this same period other artists had banded together to discuss the ways of reaching new audiences; group members included John McGrath, Doris Lessing and Shelagh Delaney, and they invited Vesker to join them. It was agreed that Vesker should head the group and the result was to be the formation of Centre 42 which took its name from the resolution passed in 1960. In his dissertation, Coppieters quotes the published aims of Centre 42, which were outlined in the Annual Report 1961-1962 Fortytwo:

Centre 42 will be a cultural hub which, by its approach and work, will destroy the mystique and snobbery associated with the arts. A place where artists are in control of their own means of expression and their own channels of distribution; where the highest standards of professional work will be maintained in an atmosphere of informality; where the artist is brought into closer contact with his audience enabling the public to see that artistic activity is a natural part of their daily lives...

The Fortytwo movement is a bid by a new generation of writers, actors, musicians, painters, sculptors, architects to relieve commercial managements of the burdens and responsibilities in shaping our culture; to assume this responsibility themselves and place art back into the lap of the community where, through familiarity and participation, they can revitalise their work by confronting a new audience and turn their art from a purposeless mess into a creative force.

(p.101)

On 4 September 1961, Centre 42 was incorporated as a Company Limited by Guarantee and on 6 October 1961 it was granted charitable status as a National Charity.

The Centre needed a base, a building from which to operate - a place where people might meet for purely social as well as artistic reasons, or where the public might meet the Centre 42 artists. It was also to provide the nucleus for events which would ultimately make their way to the provinces until centres were established all over the country. However,

before acquiring the building they were invited by the Wellingborough Trades Council to set up a festival in that area, and the committee decided that despite all the practical difficulties, including no money, they would go ahead with the scheme. As a result of this, five other Trades Councils asked them to mount similar festivals in 1962 and they decided, in order to do so, to postpone the founding of an actual centre.

The festivals generated enthusiasm in the provinces for the ideals of Centre 42 but proved disastrous in financial terms - so disastrous, in fact, that neither Centre 42 nor the Round House Trust which was formed later could wipe out the debts they incurred at this time. According to Coppieters the net cost of mounting the festivals was £48,700 and the box-office receipts were £3,215. They were given some assistance from trade unions, local councils, etc. so that their final debt stood at £39,639. The Gulbenkian Foundation gave a generous grant of £10,000 over two years and a further £3,000 in 1963 but other financial help was slow in materialising.

It was decided that as its next priority a home must be found for Centre 42. The lease on the Round House, Chalk Farm came up for sale and was being bought by Selincourt and Sons. Louis Mintz, already a well-known patron of the arts and managing director of Selincourt, was persuaded to donate the sixteen year lease to Centre 42; they received it in July 1964.

Meanwhile Vesker managed to interest Harold Wilson in the project. He recommended that George Hoskins, an economist and business man, should become Centre 42's fund raiser and financial adviser. Hoskins remained until 1977 when Thelma Holt took over after leaving the Open Space Theatre. His first job was to launch an appeal, and this he did on 17 July 1964 when the lease was handed over. Despite enormous efforts and £10,000 from Vesker, who sold the film rights to Chips With Everything, few were willing to donate. Loans were not forthcoming because Centre 42 possessed neither the freehold nor the promise from British Rail that they would sell it to them. In 1965 the Round House Trust was set up with Vesker as artistic director and Hoskins as administrator, but it was not given official status until 10 November, 1966. Many eminent and wealthy people acted as trustees

including Peter Hall, Louis Mintz and Eddie Kulukundis. The trust was established in order to separate fund raising from debts so that any money raised would not automatically be used to pay back debts incurred by Centre 42. As Coppieters explains:

there were two organisations : Centre 42, which aimed at the creation of a cultural/social centre functioning at a high artistic level and the Round House Trust, which existed in order to raise and administrate the funds necessary to bring into being and retain Centre 42's existence. (p.140)

In 1967 they obtained the freehold for £27,500.

The building, an old Victorian engine shed, could not be used without costly improvements and it was evident that there was not enough money to make it into the versatile arts community that Vesker wanted. The First Report December 1965-31st March 1971 has a description of the building as published in The Builder 1847, 'This building is a circular form, 160 feet in diameter in the clear of the walls. The roof is supported on 24 columns at equal distances, and forms a circular 40 feet in diameter (They mean radius: G.O.H.) from the centre of the building'. Designed in 1846, it was already obsolete by 1860 when it was turned into a goods shed. It was leased to V. & A. Gilbey Limited as a liquor store in 1869 and it is thought that the company added the wooden balcony which is still there. The total floor area of the Round House is '20,000 square feet of which 5,000 square feet is inside the pillars ... The floor area of the gallery is 15,000 sq. ft.' (First Report p.8).

By March 1967 staircases had been built, essential repairs carried out and simple lighting had been installed. The G.L.C. granted a licence for pop concerts to take place, so a certain amount of money came in from these events straight away. It was however, clear at this stage that the funds available were not enough for the necessary conversion work to take place. In August 1964 Vesker had written to René Allio, the designer who had worked with Planchon on his theatre project, outlining what he wanted from the Round House building. The letter is printed in Fears of Fragmentation (pp.52-62) and it demonstrates clearly how large and expensive were Vesker's expectations. In summary his requirements of the building were: that it should provide a flexible performing area; large and small, fully

equipped, rehearsal rooms; a gymnasium for the artists; a games room; dressing rooms; showers and bathrooms; dark room and cutting room; workshops to accommodate exhibition material; a large separate exhibition area; administrative offices; committee rooms; social area for youth clubs; restaurant, bar and a series of small lounges. He even wanted living quarters for resident artists but saw that they would need other buildings for this. There was recognition in the letter that his aims were idealistic but also a feeling that a degree of idealism was essential, if they were to get anywhere at all.

Hoskins decided that a new approach was necessary and that the conversion of the building should take place over a period of seven years (a strategy referred to as 'the seven year plan') and that no immediate attempt should be made to implement the changes necessary for turning it into an arts complex. One area was to serve all purposes, so exhibition and theatre space was also to act as a meeting place for those wishing to have a social evening. He also suggested that groups outside Centre 42 should be invited in to help out with cultural events.

Commercial events such as pop concerts were to be a major funding resource so that the centre's own work could gradually develop as their financial position improved. This decision worried Vesker on two counts. He saw his grand vision of an arts centre dwindling into what he had earlier called, 'simply another little artistic project'. He was also afraid that if Centre 42 allowed other organisations to take a major share of the programme the centre itself would not be able to establish its own artistic identity and that it would be too easy to drift into becoming just another building to house commercial enterprises.

In 1969 the first drama productions were brought in, and in 1970, Vesker formed a company to perform his play The Friends, which he himself directed. It was a disaster both financially for the Round House and personally for Vesker. It was booked in at the Round House for twelve weeks but according to Hoskins, after a two week run, the losses were so heavy that the backers wanted to close it, which they did after six weeks (see Coppieters, p.299). Oh! Calcutta! was brought in and Vesker resigned.

Ostensibly it was the failure to implement the artistic policy of Centre 42 (surely epitomised by the decision to bring in Oh! Calcutta!) which forced Arnold Wesker into resigning as artistic director of the Round House Trust in September 1970,

George Hoskins the administrator, and the trustees, really have no understanding of the social implications of Centre 42 and I think are much more concerned with or in love with the notion of possessing an unique architectural building which they have discovered they can exploit commercially ... they seem to be firmly entrenched in the notion of self support: they will only present work which can pay for itself. In other words, any Company that can afford to hire the building has it".

Like Charles Marowitz, though for different reasons, Arnold Wesker could not believe in the integrity of artistic purpose if profits were an important consideration. His clash with George Hoskins, as we have seen, was on ideological grounds. Although they had worked together in 1963 and 1964 on devising an appeal for £590,000 to buy and equip a building for their centre, their approaches to running the Round House, diverged sharply. Hoskins blamed Wesker for having created the £50,000 worth of debts incurred by Centre 42's provincial festivals. His contention was that these debts had to be paid off before any more money could be spent on the centre, and he saw only two ways of doing it - either by reverting to the use of the Round House as a warehouse or by forging ahead slowly, step by step, only converting the building as funds became available and aiming for independent artistic policy in the years to come (the 'seven year plan' referred to earlier). Wesker saw his ideals as being eroded by the increasing emphasis on commercialism favoured by Hoskins, who found no difficulty in persuading the other trustees that the Round House could be a viable commercial proposition. The relationship between the two men had deteriorated over the years to such an extent that it was in part responsible for Arnold Wesker's resignation. It was also Wesker's emotional intensity which finally caused the disaster with the production of his own play, The Friends (see pp.199-200). A few months after his resignation an article appeared in the Sunday Times (14.2.71), repeating that Hoskins was in the middle of negotiating the purchase of land to the south of the Round House on which to build a property which would be let and which would in turn help to finance the necessary improvements at the Round House. The

tone of the article was derisive - Vesker's ideals were dismissed as dreams and Hoskins' pragmatic approach was paraded as a triumph for the enterprise. There followed a sharp exchange of letters to the Sunday Times between Vesker and Hoskins in the subsequent weeks, and Vesker made it clear that he regarded Hoskins's attitude as a betrayal of friendship, a feeling which must have given considerable weight to his decision to resign. In his final letter he said,
the facts surrounding a conflict do not necessarily reveal the truth,
which is complicated and partly personal. Since I engaged George to
help raise funds his attempts to discredit me and Fortytwo hurt
bitterly, let me confess. (7.3.71)

2. Implementation of 'The Seven Year Plan'

One idea Hoskins had for making money was to buy up the land around the Round House and to construct a hotel and offices on it to bring in revenue for the Trust. The Observer Colour Supplement (11.1.70) ran an article in which it was stated that this commercial exploitation meant that the enterprise was now paying its way. It also stressed that the importance of the Round House lay in its use as a social centre rather than in its capacity as a theatre because it did not receive enough subsidy to develop this aspect. During Hoskins's term as Round House administrator, children's activities were the only events consistently subsidised by Camden Council, who, though normally generous with aid for cultural work in the borough, never showed any interest in the Round House as a theatre.

The plan for a hotel on the Round House premises did not materialise but in 1972 Louis Mintz financed a new office annex which also contained dressing rooms, workshops, storage etc. This was not completed until the end of 1974, though it was opened for Berkoff's presentation of The Trial in November 1973. These new facilities were leased to the Round House free of rent.

The 'News Letter' for January 1973 mentioned new stairs at the front entrance and the excavation of the vaults, for which Camden Council gave financial assistance. The earliest newsletters held in the Round House

archives are dated 1972. These were simply roneoed information about coming events at the Round House. Later they became modest brochures advertising not only coming attractions and ticket prices but also listing developments in the building works, and hopes for the future of the project. They were printed fairly consistently, sometimes by the month, sometimes by the season until 1983 and were mailed to those who paid a small sum of money for the privilege (in 1973 it was 50p. a year).

From 24 February - 24 March the building was closed for steel reinforcements to the floor before excavations could begin. This made room for the Theatre Downstairs - a small, studio-like space to take low-budget productions. It was eventually opened by Harold Wilson on 10 July 1975.

On 14 December 1973 Hoskins prepared a statement for the press which was obviously designed to provoke a response from the Arts Council:

The Round House Trust has made its case to the Arts Council that its magnificent spaces can only be continuously well used if it can exert greater control over the choice of shows it should present than has been possible till now. This means subsidy on the scale of the major provincial theatres, which is £1,000 per week or approximately £50,000 over a year. The Trust is now sufficiently hopeful of a change of policy by the Arts Council to adventure into the money-dangerous realms of promotion.

A letter from George Hoskins to Sir Hugh Villatt, the Secretary General (15.1.74), answers Sir Hugh's concern over the press article, and he defends his use of the phrase 'money-dangerous realms of promotion'. His carefully worded reply re-assured Villatt that 'ventures into direct promotion will follow as far as possible your precepts "very carefully and always well within available funds". Thus our policy for 1974/5 remains as put to you on 15 October, while its implementation depends on the response you are able to make'. Whether or not Hoskin's original public announcement made any difference to the Arts Council, the Round House received £24,500 for the year 1974-75, an increase on the previous year of £7,000.

In an article for *The Times* (28.1.74) Hoskins once again publicised the Round House's goal of promoting or co-promoting their shows. Hoskins' words, always couched in terms of future objectives imminently to be achieved, revealed 'this will mean that in the theatre at least the Round

House will have become master of what it presents'. At the end of the article he asks, 'And what if we were financially free to do whatever we liked?' His reply does not include Vesker's dream of work created at the Round House by artists working for it as part of a complex, but only that he might choose exciting productions from abroad, or attract 'outstanding directors' to work there. The aim of presenting experimental foreign companies was one which he adhered to throughout his period of administration and it is this that made the Round House justifiably famous. As successful artistic ventures he singled out Richardson's Hamlet, 1789, and Rabalaia, and included two companies - La Grand Magic Circus, and The Red Buddha Theatre - only one of the productions was British. He talked also of expanding the intake of music and contemporary ballet, of which the latter was eminently suited to the environment. Twyla Tharp, Ballet Rambert, and London Contemporary Dance Theatre made consistently successful use of the auditorium.

In the summer Newsletter 1974 Hoskins again emphasised the Round House's importance as a social centre, and he still talked of opening the gallery in the near future, to serve as exhibition, and community areas. He claimed, too, that they were about to enter the 'third and last phase' of the building plan:

The first phase ended in March 1973 when we received land, building and equipment to the worth of about £150,000. The second phase will end in December this year and will give us dressing rooms, stores, workshops, offices, studio theatre and the vaults ... The third phase which has just begun ... will take two years to finish and will cost £190,000 of which we expect public bodies and brewery loans (for the new restaurant) to find £70,000 so our public appeal will be for £120,000.

This last phase was to include new rostra and seating for the auditorium, but at no time during his administration did he entertain the idea of radically altering the stage and auditorium areas. This was left to Thelma Holt in 1979; her concern with the Round House was primarily with its theatre space and not its function as a social centre.

3. Thelma Holt's Alterations

In the spring of 1977, George Hoskins became ill and had to take leave of absence. The administration muddled along until July when it became clear that Hoskins was not going to be able to continue in his position. Thelma Holt, who had resigned from the Open Space earlier that year, was asked to organise the running of the theatre for three months, after which probationary period she was asked to stay on as the theatre's director. She agreed to stay provided the Arts Council was prepared to grant her a working subsidy for the theatre. For 1976-77 they had provided £39,000 which, in her view, was enough to maintain the building and no more. As a 'gesture of confidence' in her ability to re-animate work at the Round House they offered for the following year a subsidy of £47,500 and she decided to accept the post (Thelma Holt in interview 19.2.79).

For a year she continued the old policy of keeping the doors open for any one who would pay the rent. Meanwhile she re-organised the staff who were not in her opinion 'theatre people' and installed a personnel of twenty-two whom she had worked with before, including Celia Gulley who had been her assistant at the Open Space. Although Holt admired Hoskins's achievement she felt it was time that the theatre was managed by people who understood the arts and who recognised the existence and necessity of high standards in any creative venture. Hoskins himself was a business man and an economist, and in her opinion brought only an economist's values to bear on his theatre policies.

It was Holt's contention that although, because of the nature of artistic endeavour, success could not be guaranteed with every production, work should not be allowed to slip below a certain level because of its demoralising effect on those concerned with it and its tendency to depreciate those works associated with it by virtue of being presented in the same building. The reputation of those outstanding plays which had been presented during the past ten years became submerged beneath a mass of rubbish. She blamed in particular the Sunday night rock concerts which had become a source of annoyance to the local residents and which also created bad feeling amongst the companies who used the auditorium during

the week. The mess they created was giving the building a derelict air and a reputation for harbouring drop-outs and drug addicts. The problem of drug peddling was one which arose very early on in the life of the Round House and Hoskins mentions it on page 24 of The First Report. Thelma Holt claimed (in interview, 19.2.79) that when she arrived on the scene there was no longer a problem of drug trafficking, but unfortunately the Round House's reputation as a centre for drugs hung on. So her first positive move in changing policy was to discontinue the rock concerts, her second was to mount her own production, and her third was a decision to make the auditorium a more practical shape for theatre performance.

In some ways, Thelma Holt's ideals coincided with those of Arnold Wesker. One of these was a desire to have artistic control over what was presented at the Round House. Not only did she wish to choose what shows she invited in but she also wanted to produce her own at least twice a year (Thelma Holt in interview). Her first and only attempt was a production of Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, the last full scale venture before the conversion of the old auditorium. Peter Barnes directed it, using a cast without well-known stars (i.e. those who would draw in the public whatever the production). His idea was to use the whole of the downstairs area as the fairground so that the 'action' might continue before and after the performance of the play proper. They borrowed a genuine fairground collection from Vookey Hole in Somerset (donated by Lady Bangor) and built booths and stalls which contained both food and livestock. Typical fairground figures could be encountered strolling around selling their wares and inviting members of the audience to participate in various games or watch puppet shows. Even Shakespeare was there, trying to persuade the audience to go and see one of his plays instead of his rival's! Unfortunately the fairground ambience did not extend into the play performance and the star of the show became one of the stall inhabitants - a donkey who was born shortly after the play opened. After having beguiled its audience into mingling with actors and participating in the events staged all around and in the auditorium, the production then ignored them, with only one actor, Peter Bayliss as Justice Overdo, making any attempt to involve them in the action by direct address. The production, which had started so stunningly by using all the resources of the Round House, then

turned its back on them, and a conventional and unexciting rendering of Jonson's comedy ensued.

The audience were seated on wooden benches, there was sand and saw-dust on the floor and programmes were mock scrolls. The stage had audience on three sides and there were wooden slatted flats and booths at the back and round the sides (the designer was Robin Don). They tended to dwarf the actors and the acoustics were bad. The actors' performances seemed to lack exuberance and size, and there was a failure to take into account the kind of building they were playing in. Environmental theatre, so well exploited by Holt and Marowitz at the Open Space, did not flourish in this production as it ought to have done, because the director did not follow through his original concept and encourage his actors to bring to the performance all that he had created before the play began.

It was bad luck that there was another production of Bartholomew Fair running in London at the same time. Michael Bogdanov had done a modern setting of it at the Young Vic, and although the reviews for Barnes's production compared favourably with that one, they were not sufficiently enthusiastic to help attract good audiences. The Round House took £16,705 in box-office money for a total of twenty-seven performances. The benefit performances which took place to raise money for the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital did not even cover costs and Thelma Holt had to make a personal donation. It was undoubtedly an ambitious programme for a theatre without full subsidy to attempt - expensive to mount and unpopular because of the difficulties inherent in the text, and it was one which Holt was unable, alas, to repeat.

It was the decision to make the Round House a more efficient theatre, plus the idea of doing what the National Theatre had failed to do with their new buildings - that is, form a London venue for the best of the provincial shows - that made Thelma Holt look towards the Manchester Royal Exchange for inspiration. The Royal Exchange is a theatre which had been successfully converted from a Victorian building (also not originally a theatre), two and a half years previously, into an arena theatre. The major difficulties to overcome were similar - bad acoustics, poor sight-lines and

an unwieldy acting space. Many of the productions which had come into the Round House had made no attempt to use the circular area and had merely cut off a section of it by placing rectangular staging over one arc. It seemed to Holt a pity that a circular building should not be given the chance to exploit all the advantages of theatre-in-the-round, and she decided that it should have its natural shape defined by a new seating plan.

Since the buildings were similar, and both managements wanted to see productions from Manchester offered a London show-case, Richard Negri, the architect who conceived the idea for the Royal Exchange, and D.K. Jones, who had solved Manchester's acoustical problems, were asked to convert the Round House auditorium into a theatre-in-the-round.

On 6 March 1978 Thelma Holt wrote to Negri suggesting a ceiling cost of £9,000 for the project, taking £8,000 of that as their target with one thousand pounds to be regarded as contingency money. She mentions here the possibility of using skilled and semi-skilled workers from Camden's job creation scheme, and the fact that they already possessed a large quantity of timber, at the time on loan to Riverside Studios¹¹. Negri expressed concern in his reply (8.3.78.) that so little money was available for the project. However, when the contract between Thelma Holt and himself was finally signed on 4 January 1979 (not until the work was almost complete) the figures had not changed. Both he and D.K. Jones accepted small fees (£900 and £200 respectively) for their services.

In all, £23,535.36 was spent on the conversion and the same sum was raised from many sources (£5,000 was a personal loan from Eddie Kulukundis). The money was augmented with gifts from companies such as Sanderson's who supplied the paint free and from others who gave generous discounts¹². Not only was the auditorium altered but also the theatre's periphery: the existing shop was dismantled, a proper box-office installed and the entrance to the gallery cleared. In Thelma Holt's words (in interview), 'only the horrors have been removed and more of the original Round House has been exposed. Nothing has been spoiled'.

Hegri's plan involved a reduction in seating capacity from nine hundred and forty to six hundred. Although this meant a drop in potential profits, shows seldom filled 900 seats, and only half of the possible occupants could see properly. With the new plan every one would be able to see. The arena stage was timbered and there were six rows of stepped seating all the way round. As at the Royal Exchange there were seven aisles which formed entrances and exits for actors and audience. One row of seats was to be kept in the existing gallery and the front row of seats downstairs was to be kept for sale on the day of the performance. The auditorium was to remain flexible so that if a thrust stage was needed, it might be transformed with as little as thirty-two hours notice. The auditorium was enclosed with thick green drapes.

D.K. Jones designed a canvas umbrella baffle which was suspended from the roof above the central lighting rig. This ensured that the sound did not get lost in the huge dome. For those who complained that it hid one of the architectural beauties of the Round House, Thelma Holt's answer was that the practicalities of theatrical performance required its presence and that it was removable anyway. The centre of the rig could be lowered to any level and used as a flying stage. Although the baffle and rig were effective when in use, according to Thelma Holt they proved awkward to manipulate, which meant that in effect they were less flexible than they had been designed to be.

The design of the Royal Exchange was copied almost exactly and the transformation completed in eight weeks. The Round House was now ready to receive its first three productions from Manchester: The Ordeal of Gilbert Finfold, adapted by Ronald Harwood from the novel by Evelyn Vaughn; The Family Reunion, by T.S. Eliot; The Lady From the Sea, by Ibsen. At the time Holt felt it was the beginning of a long-standing relationship with this repertory company, which would encourage other regional reps to bring their work to London. The National Theatre had apparently formally announced that they could not afford to bring in regional theatre (Time Out 16.2.79) and there was no other theatre in London that could do it, so their function would be unique.

It proved difficult to agree on a contract between the two companies. The first draft was exchanged on 14 July, but three others were drawn up before the final contract was signed by Thelma Holt on 27 October 1978. The major changes between the first and last drafts were as follows: the final contract stated alternative arrangements if one of the projected productions fell through; it gave details of performances and matinees; staffing and pay and seat prices; it specified that the Royal Exchange should be responsible for its own publicity. The greatest difficulties were over the production of The Lady From the Sea because it was impossible to obtain firm dates from Vanessa Redgrave who was to star in it. Having taken three months to find mutually satisfactory terms for the two companies, Thelma Holt wrote to Laurence Harbottle, the solicitor dealing with it, 'Enclosed your copy of the contract. Hurrah! I am in such a catatonic trance now that I am not quite sure what we have done, but I have not married you have I?' (27.10.78).

In a prepared statement for the press, the Royal Exchange called the terms of the agreement 'very generous', but relations between the two companies were not always as smooth as this suggests. For instance, ill-feeling was caused when Michael Williams (associate artistic director at the Royal Exchange) wrote an angry letter to the Round House management (1.2.79) concerning an article in the Guardian (1.2.79) which he thought did not fairly acknowledge the part the Royal Exchange had played in the Round House conversion. The reply (2.2.79) was acerbic. Although this did not entirely characterise dealings between the companies it nevertheless explains some of the tensions which existed between them and their part in the seemingly interminable delays before signing. It also explains, to a certain extent, why it took so long (April 1981) for the second season of Royal Exchange productions to materialise at the Round House in April 1981.

Both managements had recognised the need to change the public image of the Round House if the project was to succeed. Thelma Holt had taken the first steps by getting rid of the punk concerts. Michael Elliott, artistic director of the Royal Exchange, saw that a publicity campaign needed to be launched and he therefore wrote to the Arts Council thus:

the biggest worry of all is whether the London audience can be persuaded to go to a building which has no successful tradition of presenting straight plays ... without this transformation I cannot see how it will find a future life. (12.7.78)

He asked the Arts Council to finance a publicity officer to instigate and supervise such a campaign. No reply to the letter is filed in Show File 22 but the success of the three productions demonstrates a new enthusiasm for the place. The transcript of the press conference held on 4 January shows that in order to break even they needed to play to 84% capacity houses. In a letter to her accountants, Thelma Holt claimed that they were still playing to 60% capacity and that they were near the end of the run of the first production.

The theatre, in its new form, remained open until 1983, when its subsidy was terminated. The Arts Council had been generous to the Holt administration (see Appendix 3) though not generous enough for her to run the theatre as she wished - i.e. promoting productions which were artistically interesting but not commercial. As Camden Council would not show an interest in the financial concerns of the theatre, the Arts Council, whose policy it then was to continue to subsidise only if the theatre's local council felt it worth supporting too, withdrew their help and the theatre had to close (Paul Collins, the present director of finance for the Arts Council, in interview 16.7.86). In the Spring of 1983, with a final boost from the Arts Council, Holt was able to close the premises and pay off all outstanding debts.

The Years 1968-1970: The First Productions:

1. Brook's Themes on The Tempest

Productions had been coming in to the Round House since 1968, the first of which are documented here because they set the pattern of future work in the building. The acting space was a difficult one and the companies which came in led the way in discovering how to make best use of it. The theatre's management was not going to be notable for presenting the works of new writers but for encouraging companies who were eager to explore the challenge of such a large and intractable stage area.

The first show, Themes on the Tempest, was brought in by Peter Brook in July 1968. Jean-Louis Barrault had commissioned and sponsored the work for his Théâtre des Nations and it was designed to explore 'the nature of acting and the theatre itself' (Observer 21.7.68). Brook had already supervised the celebrated Theatre of Cruelty season with Charles Marowitz (1963) followed by Marat/Sade (1964), and U.S. (1966). All this work had used, as its starting point, improvisation with the actors, and the production of Themes on The Tempest continued to explore the possibilities of this method. A programme note insisted that 'the spectator's interest and thus his participation is needed by the actors, but their aim is not to please or divert him'". This, then, was clearly not an experiment in popular entertainment but was a production more interested in finding new ways of communicating ideas without recourse to a common language. His actors came from all over the world, and as with his later work abroad, Brook was here attempting to communicate in a non-verbal way with his audiences, by using ritual chanting and symbolic gesture. As the programme stated, the project was intended to raise the questions:

What is a theatre? What is a play? What is an actor? What is a spectator? What is the relation between them all? What conditions serve this relationship best?

No attempt was made to turn the acting area into a conventional theatre. Although there were a pair of platforms the audience was encouraged to sit, stand or walk all the way round them, mingling with the actors. The auditorium and stage space looked like a circus ring (compare with Brook's Dream, 1970) with a white canvas tent hanging from the dome and a series

of mobile scaffoldings which were pushed around by the actors. Some members of the audience climbed up the scaffolding with the cast, others remained below, seated on low benches placed in various parts of the auditorium. Brook himself wandered through the audience during the performance, talking to them and trying to mould them into 'a homogenous personality' (Sunday Times 21.7.69).

Irving Vardle described the experiment as 'a series of physical explorations of key passages: the idea of a brave new world, the master and slave relationship, the quality of sexual delight and sexual misery' (The Times 19.7.68). Sometimes the company acted as an ensemble, sometimes the ensemble work broke down and smaller units of actors would take over. Whether the whole company was working at one moment, or an actor playing Prospero was seen swinging from the top of the scaffolding thundering out his lines, according to Vardle,

what it demonstrated was his [Brook's] unrivalled capacity for directing the audience's eye to single chosen details in the midst of elaborate spectacle, and for creating potent imagery such as that of a blind company reaching out their hands to explore the new world of each other's bodies.

The work was performed before an invited audience, and was described as a 'laboratory experiment' in the programme. The appeal of this kind of work was limited to a rather specialised audience, but was, as far as Brook's work is concerned, part of a development towards a kind of theatre whose popular appeal blossomed with the production of A Midsummer Night's Dream⁴. His later production of The Ik (January 1976), devised in Paris, did not need an invited audience; it received wide publicity both before and after performance, and has been well documented⁵. Brook's Dream was also done at the Round House during the R.S.C.'s Theatreground Festival in 1970.

2. The Hero Rises Up - John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy

In November of the same year, The Hero Rises Up, written and directed by Arden and D'Arcy, was the first full length play to be staged at the Round House. Appropriately enough, these two playwrights were already

well-known for their left-wing views and their dramatisations of political issues. Not only were their politics radical, but the two had already attempted alternative forms of theatre and The Hero Rises Up was no exception. It was an experimental production which employed improvisatory techniques, both in the way it was performed, and the content of the play itself. Unconventional staging was to be used to express an unconventional and deflationary view of Nelson, the national British hero. At the ~~same~~ time, the play was intended to show something of the nature of mankind in general, and the way in which society creates, moulds and abuses its 'great men'.

The show had been salvaged from a project for a Broadway musical with Bock and Harnick (the Fiddler on the Roof team) - a project which had been amicably discontinued after disagreements about the meaning and interpretation of the show. The script had been written but the final contract did not materialise, so the Arden team took away their text to use as they wanted, and the others kept for themselves the lyrics and tunes they had written. It was at this stage that Arden and D'Arcy decided to make the play into a ballad opera, to be staged under their own artistic control, in order to experiment 'in various popular theatre directions that a B'dway (sic) production would have inhibited' (Arden's letter to the author, 1.4.81). Arden also said that the difficulties encountered by the production team were rooted in the structural peculiarities of the building and the lack of technical facilities. There was nothing to help the echoing acoustic of the hall except a sounding board hanging from the roof, which apparently did not serve any very useful purpose; and the actors had difficulty in making themselves heard. There was no team of technicians to help in any crisis, so that when on the first night the amplifiers ceased to function, the management were unable to rectify the fault. The play relies for much of the time on the music, so that the lack of the special sound effects created by Boris Howarth proved disastrous.

His musical score was semi-improvised (the published text of the play specifies certain tunes for some of the songs, but leaves the rest to the imagination of the company; the most important feature of the band was a piano stripped of its case and played like a harp, which was wired up to

the amplifiers'*. Without these amplifiers the sound was lost, and unfavourably disposed critics were quick to seize on the failure as an example of professional and artistic incompetence.

Howarth and his wife, Maggie, had previously worked with Arden and D'Arcy informally at their home in Kirbymoorside in 1966, doing music, sets and costume for the first production of The Royal Pardon - a show improvised round bedtime stories the authors had told their own children; The Hero Rises Up was an extension of the kind of work they had done together. They also worked with them again on The Non-Stop Connolly Show in 1975 when it was presented at Liberty Hall, Dublin. This gave a sense of creative continuity to the work of the playwrights and Arden felt that 'the Round House production justified us in the direction we hoped we were going in' (Arden's letter).

According to Boris Howarth in a letter to the author (6.7.81), all scores of the music for The Hero Rises Up have been lost except for the two extracts entitled Kite Floats which have been reproduced in Appendix 4 to provide examples of his technique in writing atmospheric music. In his letter, Howarth described the kind of music he had created for the production which was essentially divided in to four parts:

1. The Songs. I think 50 in all, mainly adaptations of existing folk-tunes used as a vehicle for dramatic rather than musical expression. They had no formal accompaniment, but some of them may have been backed by any one or a combination of the other musical modes in operation.
2. Dramatic Punctuation. A wide range of percussive textures used to enhance and counterpoint important words and gestures.
3. Atmospheric Texture. Played live, but relayed quietly thru (sic) twelve speakers equally spaced around the balcony, falling like gentle rain and working subliminally...
4. Historical Wallpaper. A little trio played decaying tea-room selections from classics of the period. Occasionally, at dramatic high-points, melodic and harmonic disciplines would break down and the music would be used to augment Atmospheric Texture.

The trio playing Historical Wallpaper (piano, viola, and flute) and Dramatic Punctuation (drums, gongs, bells, and woodblocks) needed no amplification, but Atmospheric Texture used John Cage innovations: prepared piano with the keyboard removed, the whole laid flat and played with a

selection of different hammers, water gongs, amplified small sounds, toy pianos and a fire-organ (Howarth's own invention of glass organ-pipes activated by gas jets), all of which needed amplification. There was also a tape bank which augmented the sound of Atmospheric Texture; some instrumental pieces were added (Kita Floats was one of them), and recorded sea and boat sounds, some of which were taped on H.M.S. Victory in Portsmouth.

The stage consisted of a rostrum, forty feet wide, placed off-centre in the circular auditorium, with two small extension stages at either side of the front of the main stage each reached by a gang plank. Two sets of steps were placed back stage left and right and were used as entrances, though the stage could be reached from any part of the auditorium. A circular podium, on which the trio performed, was placed stage left of the main stage, and stage right there was a separate side-stage for the other sound effects. At the back of the rostrum was an enormous screen for a projected film and slide show created by Mark Boyle, which was described by Albert Hunt in New Society (14.11.68) as 'merely boring and distracting'. In his letter, Boris Howarth drew an analogy between the music and the sound effects which showed clearly the relevance of the light show to the production as a whole. The music, he said, was at once an aural version of Mark Boyle's scenery and an emotional barometer of the dramatic action. Originally the intention had been to seat the audience directly in front of the platform (the production was obviously not conceived as theatre-in-the-round despite the Round House's potential for such work), so that the film and scene titles would have been clearly visible to all members of the audience. However, because of the row which Arden and D'Arcy had had with the I.C.A. management (see p.184), the audience numbers were so great, that people were packed into the auditorium without proper seating facilities, and many of them did not experience the full impact of the visual effects. Many of the critics who arrived for the first night were without seats and naturally most of them grumbled. B.A. Young of the Financial Times (9.11.68) left at the interval even though a member of the audience offered him a table-top to sit on; Harold Hobson (Sunday Times 10.11.68) and the critic for The Stage (14.11.68) both expressed outrage at not being allocated seats. In his letter Arden explained that he and D'Arcy were at

the time asserting playwrights' and audiences' rights against reviewers', so special seats were not reserved for critics. In retrospect he acknowledged that this was probably a tactical mistake, but commented, 'it was all in the spirit of the times'.

The dispute which had bedevilled the show from the start began, Arden said, because

they [the I.C.A. management] were putting on another elaborate stage production at the same time in their own premises and it over-extended their then resources to be managers of both at the same time. We felt they were not exerting themselves to sell tickets for the Roundhouse but were concentrating their efforts far too much on the Mall building.
(Arden's letter 1.4.81)

In To Present the Pretence he defined the issues he and D'Arcy were fighting over:

our right as co-author-directors to compose our own publicity material, our right to manage the production the way we wanted it managed, and our right to determine the type of audience we thought would be best served by the show we were putting on'.

One of the practical ways in which Arden and D'Arcy tried to implement their own ideas about recruiting audiences was to set up a system of free seats which ensured that the Round House was full throughout the run, and people were packed so tightly that many were sitting sideways on to the stage. This meant that the film show, which was to have provided a background to the actors, could not be seen as such. Arden's own comment on this was that since the audience had got in free, he had assumed they would not grumble.

Alas, the English public don't think like that, or, at least, a significant number of those who don't are writers for the theatre-journals: so we had some really bitchy reviews in one or two places.
(Arden's letter)

The Round House had seemed an attractive venue for a production of their play. It had been hoped that the audience would promenade and participate, though it seems as if the over-crowding of the auditorium hindered this. Even Philip Hope-Wallace, writing for the Guardian (8.11.66) in sympathetic vein, remarked that despite Arden's opening speech, which invited the audience to walk around and complain if they could not hear,

people remained hunched in their places. The promenading was vital to the show since Arden and D'Arcy were specifically trying to make direct contact with their audience, among whom were agit-prop and political groups. The idea was to make the play relevant to modern day issues and not merely to present an historical extravaganza, no matter how unusual a portrait of Nelson it contained. Although the failure of the promenade effect could be attributed to audience numbers and lack of preparation time, it is possible that the conventional thrust staging inhibited the participation that the authors desired and that a more radical method ought to have been found in a building which was so different from a traditional theatre.

The play, which is subtitled A Romantic Melodrama and described in the published text as having used 'the style of "popular print", legend and ballad', achieved this effect through costume design and acting. The actors wore modern trousers and footwear with overstated period jackets and hats. Maggie Howarth, in a letter to the author (6.7.81), criticised the costume maker for not having exaggerated the costumes enough to realise the puppet-style convention that the directors required, though colours were heightened, which helped to give a feeling of the grotesque. An emphasis on large gesture was demanded of the actors to suggest that Nelson was one of the many puppets manipulated by society, and some of the actors had difficulty in performing convincingly in this manner. Henry Wolf, who played Nelson, was apparently a notable exception. The action, played against Boyle's massive backdrops, was picked out by a pair of two kilowatt follow-spots which made the actors appear to be tiny bright puppets set in front of the vastness of the sea.

Visual effects were not confined to the stage area. Maggie Howarth designed large sails, flags and banners to be hung on rigging mechanisms (all made by Inter-Action from Wilkin Street, NW5) which were activated by teams of well-drilled 'sailors' from the East 15 Drama School, scuttling about below stage and on the balcony, changing canvas and setting signals. The body of the auditorium was itself transformed for some scenes from the lower deck of a fighting ship to a vast baroque pageant arena where actors carried large processional images above their heads; the foyer was transformed with a wild, figure-head sculpture of Nelson made by John Fox

(founder in 1966 of the Welfare State Theatre Company). Thus the theatre itself was made an integral part of the production, creating one of the earliest English experiments in the theatre of total environment.

It had proved a difficult task to put on an experimental production in a building which was not built for the purpose, and which was still very much an unknown quantity. Back stage conditions were cold, dark and dirty and the I.C.A. had not organised things efficiently; the Round House had been double-booked for the week's run, so that each evening, almost before the show had finished, the cast had to leave the building in order that a rock band might take over. In addition to this, a conference on anarchism took place on one afternoon during the run, and some damage was caused to the materials the cast had had to leave in the building (Arden's letter). Yet, although the venture was beset with problems, none of them, according to Arden, would have been insurmountable, if there had been more time. One week was not long enough to get to grips with the peculiarities of the Round House, particularly since this was the first full length production staged there and the company had not the benefit of any one else's experience of the working conditions; but enough energy and atmosphere were generated for the more perceptive critics to see the value of the work. Philip Hope-Wallace in the *Guardian* (8.11.68) referred to the opera enthusiastically as 'a big top, a mob theatre ... historical drama in comic strip', and the R.S.C. offered Arden and D'Arcy work with them as a result of the production.

Though the critics had largely been scathing about it, audiences during the play's short run had been responsive. Howarth said that he remembered 'long and hearty ovations and no half-empty houses', and that there was an atmosphere of excitement amongst the public. The production had its weaknesses but Arden had tried something new - he had added pantomime and improvisatory techniques to a formally structured narrative, which confused many critics. Arden, in his letter, characterised the production as a 'do-it-yourself cultural effort' in which the local community had become involved. It had been supported by the participation of local teenagers from Inter-Action, also a Camden enterprise. They took part in crowd

scenes and helped to make masks and properties. This proved a mixed blessing. According to Arden the teenagers were:

nice kids but very wild, and drove our professional actors mad by their exuberance behind the scenes during the performance. One of them brought his dog in and another rode a bicycle around. Another of them said he liked playing a press-gang officer in the play because it enabled him to really show the actors what "the violence" was like. He nearly put one of the cast into hospital. We did have a curious mixture of the professional, the amateur and the juvenile in the company: and it did present a number of problems of social integration.

(Arden's letter)

It was the last time the Arden/D'Arcy team attempted to put their ideas into practice in a regular London framework. They disowned the performances of The Island of the Mighty by the R.S.C. in 1972 because of a similar dispute about authors' rights during production and their later work has been done on a much more independent basis.

The demand for artistic autonomy made by the co-authors was one with which Vesker sympathised and he made it clear in the Sunday Times letter (21.2.71) that he did not wish to denigrate the work which had come into the theatre, 'the Round House pursues a colourful existence and I'm not concerned to detract from it'. He had not envisaged local participation in the way that Arden and D'Arcy had accomplished it here. He saw the role of artist as separate from the role of those who would enjoy the product of the artists' creativity, and he believed there was a clear dividing line between professionals and amateurs. However, the kind of enthusiasm the show generated and the mingling of performers, playwrights and audience came closer to the spirit of Centre 42 than the other pre-resignation productions.

3. Richardson's Hamlet

The Hamlet which followed at the beginning of 1969 was the first major production to be presented at the Round House, that is in terms of the length of contract and its box-office success. It was given a great deal of pre-performance publicity, not least because Tony Richardson, the director, published a manifesto in which he put forward the aims of his

company, the Free Theatre. It was so called, not because they were offering free seats (though this was to be its ultimate goal), but because they were to free the theatre from the limitations imposed upon it by the proscenium arch. Their desire was to attract young audiences who were inhibited by the 'social habits' that go with proscenium theatre, so the emphasis was on a casual atmosphere and cheap seats. Seat prices went as low as two shillings and sixpence, and these were subsidised by seats which cost five pounds (this system of expensive seats subsidising cheap ones was adopted by the National Theatre when it first went into its South Bank building). Critics were asked to pay for their tickets. The manifesto declared that 'ideally all performances should be completely free. This is obviously for the future and depends on massive subsidy'.

The production had a mixed critical reception, though the presence of Nicol Williamson and Marianne Faithfull ensured full houses. First of all Richardson's manifesto caused controversy amongst critics who thought it naive and misguided. Albert Hunt in New Society (17.4.69) wrote a long article demolishing the arguments set out in the manifesto and criticising the production for proving as anachronistic as the productions it purported to reject. He and a number of other critics took issue with Richardson for his 'trivial' analysis of the reasons why young people do not attend the theatre (the necessity for advance bookings as well as the 'social habits'), but he was the only one to attempt an analysis of his own to counteract Richardson's claims. His argument was one which Charles Marowitz would have endorsed: that it was naturalism which bedevilled the English stage, not the proscenium arch itself, and although the set used in the Round House was non-representational 'all that holds the play together is a completely naturalistic portrait of Hamlet himself'.

Perhaps it was the hectoring tone of the manifesto that made the critics bristle: 'to restore impact to the theatre it must be liberated from the tyranny of any form. Each production can have its own shape of stage and audience'. It was a tone which certainly admitted no place for more traditional theatre - 'now a new revolution is needed to destroy, finally and completely, the form of the proscenium theatre' - but neither did it take into account any previous work done by experimental theatre

groups all over the world (and in the Round House itself). Indeed it was this aspect which annoyed Marowitz who had worked on his own collage version of Hamlet as early as 1963. He saw the manifesto as a mere device to publicise the production. The claims that Richardson made were not in themselves revolutionary, as Marowitz, in his usual hyperbolic manner, has pointed out:

The hoopla hooched up by Richardson for Hamlet concerned a woolly-minded concept called 'free theater' which, after the rhetoric subsided, turned out to be a plea for open staging and a blast at proscenium theatre; a crusade which is almost exactly 50 years old and which, in England, has already succeeded in places as far afield as Stoke-on-Trent and Bristol not to mention recent environmental breakthroughs at LANDA, Donmar, the three London fringe theaters, and the Round House itself.

(Confessions of a Counterfeit Critic p.149)

It is interesting that Marowitz is here berating Richardson, not simply for making pretentious claims about theatre in general but for making false claims about the nature of his own production - a charge which was levelled at the Open Space many times, often, as we have seen, with good reason.

Some critics found that the production itself made exciting use of the Round House space, others such as Milton Shulman and Irving Wardle felt that the acting area was not used to advantage and that the stage which the company had erected was 'unlikely to do anything to break the dreaded tyranny of the proscenium' (The Times 18.2.69). The annoyance of these critics, then, was prompted by the company's failure to fulfill their unequivocal, and in the critics' view arrogant, claims. A three-sided stepped platform was used with a projecting apron, bare of any props. At the back was a black screen - the only colour came from the flame and brown costumes designed by Jocelyn Herbert. According to her, the colour range was chosen to reflect the decadence of the court and was kept deliberately small. 'I use scenery to be evocative rather than decorative', she added (The Times 16.4.69). Beneath the dome was suspended a ring of limes - no attempt was made to hide them. The Ghost's voice echoed through the vaults repeating key words, such as 'unnatural' and 'murder' and only bright light on Hamlet's upturned face suggested its physical presence. Always dimly visible were the Round House's pillars and the maze of

passages and doors behind them at the edge of the auditorium so that 'the audience is enclosed in the same space as the play' (Spectator 28.2.69). As Auriol Stevens reported in the Observer Colour Supplement (11.1.70), the Round House is 'a space entirely dominated by the character of the building' and Richardson wisely chose to exploit this. In the same way that the sordid surroundings of the Open Space theatre helped create the prison environment of Fortune and Men's Eyes so the Round House itself managed to suggest the echoing halls of a sinister castle. However, here it was a much more difficult space to contend with because it was so enormous, and Richardson attempted to achieve a degree of intimacy with his audience by using a three-sided rostrum as stage. Instead of using the round spaces the building afforded he chose to erect a platform-stage which meant that the acoustics were better and sight-lines easier to manage. According to The Times (18.2.69) Nicol Williamson came right down to the audience for his soliloquies, snarled at them, and yet made no attempt to take them into his confidence.

In this production, just as in The Hero Rises Up, the director had tried to cope with the size of the building by diminishing it. A fixed platform was used which cut off a large section of potential acting space. Many directors who brought shows into the Round House used this rather conventional method of staging to counteract loss of sound (and too large an acting area), instead of shaping their productions in more radical ways. Even though Hamlet was played on a jutting platform, the actors made use of all parts of the stage for their entrances and exits, and the exceptionally wide acting arena forced the players to work at a 'gallop' so that the performance did not seem to stand still (Observer 23.2.69). Thames on the Tempest had attempted to exploit the vast circular void of the Round House by moving both the action and the audience from area to area. Arden had tried to do a similar thing with his audience but because of the overcrowding and the conventional shape of the rostrum the technique had merely caused confusion.

Productions of the classics, given new treatment, were to be a feature of Round House events in the years to come. The most notable of these was the Theatreground programme devised by John Barton for the R.S.C., in

which his adaptation of the Henrys, entitled When Thou Art King, was a feature (November 1970). Prospect also brought in, with some regularity, works by Shakespeare and his contemporaries as well as new plays, having found that the Round House auditorium was suitable for the minimal sets which they so often used (August 1973, November 1974, October 1975).

4. The Living Theatre and Freehold

Julian Beck and Judith Malina (The Living Theatre), who were primarily concerned with new ways of integrating actors with audience, followed closely on these first productions at the Round House with their four shows, Paradise Now, Frankenstein, Mysteria and Antigone. They had previously brought two spectacles to London, The Connection to the Duke of York's, where it was a failure, and The Brig to the Mermaid, where it was a success. Now they brought over a programme which moved further away from the structured play in an attempt to 'create an event'*. The first of these, Paradise Now, was developed as if it were a religious ritual involving both congregation and those aiding the rites. Richard Schechner who interviewed the Becks for The Drama Review found that the evening was conducted like the Yom Kippur service and that like the service it was to a certain extent a test of endurance (the show lasted between four and five hours). The Becks both denied the Jewish emphasis and stressed rather that the play was structured like any 'good ritual' (The Drama Review, p.26). The chanting and mingling with the audience were ideas which had been used by Peter Brook in The Tempest and which Charles Marowitz accused him of lifting directly from the Living Theatre when he described Brook's later production of Oedipus as 'elaborately-camouflaged second-hand goods' (Confessions of a Counterfeit Critic p.137). The Living Theatre, however, took the audience participation further than Brook. Malina: 'Anything I say to you in the lobby is very much part of the play. If Paradise Now can be said to have a direction, it is that I don't have to put on any kind of an act' (The Drama Review, p.26). She goes on to say that friendliness is not the aim of mingling and talking to the audience, and it was the open hostility of the company to its audience which antagonised so many of the critics and public, and meant of course that the impact of the play was going to be felt only by those who were already prejudiced in their favour.

They seemed to be prepared to lose even their staunchest supporters through this method. There was not a belief in revolution through persuasion, even though they termed themselves pacifists. In the article above, Beck described the process of creating *Antigone*, the last of the four "events" to be staged: 'the prologue to *Antigone* is real time - it takes just about that long to get hostile toward the audience, to spot each one and decide who you don't like'(p.41). Brook in *The Tempest* tried to find expression for the violence inherent in the play and to link it to the broader question of violence in our own society, but he did not attack his audience in the process. The Living Theatre were bent on rousing anger in their audiences and refused to respond to the heckling which they had deliberately induced. The company hurled insults at the audience as they rushed through the aisles and stripped down to G-strings in an attempt to force a reaction from them.

Of their four shows the one which pleased the critics most was *Frankenstein*. Like Brook, the company used scaffolding in the auditorium to represent different settings. The show opened with all kinds of deaths being enacted in the fifteen different cell-like compartments which the scaffolding formed. Later it functioned as the inside of the brain, a group of prison cells, and the cages of a zoo. The action was accomplished largely without words, the company preferring to use choric sound - murmurings, groanings, magnified heart beats etc. - to evoke and suggest rather than to state their effects. Brook had hoped to communicate without words with a multi-national company, and the Living Theatre was attempting something similar. Their version of *Antigone* was the only production which relied on words and here they tried to solve the problem of language barriers by improvising gesture which accompanied and interpreted it. They also spoke all of the narrative lines in the language of the country they were performing in.

Frankenstein was the only one of the four shows to rely upon something more than the human body to make its effects, though the scaffolding itself was always swarming with human bodies. Just as the structures in a circus-ring are always being used by the performers so that there is an interdependence between actors and apparatus, here the scaffolding formed

an integral part of the action. The monster was made with a pyramid of actors which stretched up to the top of the scaffolding (about twenty feet high) whilst the silhouettes of the rest of the cast could be discerned crowding all over it. Many of the critics were impressed by this, but Marowitz in 'An Open Letter to the Becks' (Plays and Players, June 1969) objected to their use of 'tableaux-vivants' and 'zealous physical expressionism' which he 'associated with bad drama school exercises'. He himself used the kind of exercises that the cast performed but not as an end in themselves, only as pre-performance aids. He was, however, himself prone to over-using the technique of the tableau-vivant even in his last adaptations with the Open Space, such as The Father and Hedda.

His letter to the Becks was by no means entirely critical. Indeed, he acknowledged them as a powerful influence on all modern theatre. 'Yours is', he said, 'the most fertilizing and significant theatre company in the world'. The Round House was admirably suited to the kind of show the Living Theatre produced. They did not want a proscenium stage even though they could adapt their work to one if they had to, but they much preferred large spaces in buildings such as sports arenas or amphitheatres. During their run at the Round House there was trouble with the police who had received complaints of indecent exposure from local residents, but the performances were not actually closed down.

In November of the same year, another American company, Nancy Neckler's Freehold, brought a production of Antigone to the Round House, where it played as a late-night show. Like the other plays before it, this production was concerned with communication through physical means rather than through language, and the movement and sound was used to illustrate the action. Although they used a stage which separated actors from audience they also used the auditorium for various effects. Shouts of 'What is man?' echoed from the far corners of the Round House and at the end the actors moved through the audience chanting slogans and making reference to contemporary events.

Their use of a classical text had similarities to the Marowitz collages in that they emphasised, to the exclusion of all other facets of the play,

the idea of the state versus the individual. Marowitz, in most of his works, extracted a theme from his chosen text and developed and expanded it so that often the original play offered no more than a framework for his own ideas. He also included in An Othello and The Shrew scenes of modern dialogue which had nothing to do with the original. Neckler's production made only one substantial change in the text, 'all pleas to "the Gods" were turned into appeals for "Love"' (Disrupting the Spectacle p.26) but at the end of the play the actors drew attention to the horrors of Biafra, Vietnam, and South Africa. This heavy underlining of an argument or point of view was something Marowitz also could not resist, to the detriment of his drama. The Living Theatre's version started by using Brecht's text but early in rehearsal they discarded it and improvised the dialogue. Many critics reviewing Neckler's Antigone disliked the interpolations because they felt that the production had already made the contemporary relevance explicit enough (witness The Times 1.12.69 and the Hampstead and Highgate Express 28.11.69).

Words used sparingly were replaced by mime and movement. Emotion was expressed physically and symbolically. The body of Polynices was seen on stage throughout the performance and each actor in the company took a turn as the corpse. At the end of the play the audience was invited to come up onto the stage and scatter dust on the body. In this way they were coerced into taking a positive though symbolic stand with Antigone against laws which deny the human spirit in mankind.

5. Berkoff's Metamorphosis

It is interesting that many of those companies of the late sixties and early seventies which considered themselves experimental were attracted to using the classics. By taking the framework of a well-known play already rich in meaning for a modern audience the work could be moulded by the company to shape new meanings which would be the more penetrating when placed in the context of the old play. The choice of material was not limited to the drama, but literary works were adapted, such as Kafka's Metamorphosis by Steven Berkoff and Gargantua and Pantagruel adapted by

Jean-Louis Barrault as Babalais. Historical and contemporary events were chosen to illustrate the ills within our own society, and very soon after Palach at the Open Space, Le Théâtre du Soleil performed 1789 at the Round House. Both of the French productions had more success in France where the original literary works and underlying French history were much better known.

Berkoff's adaptation of Metamorphosis was presented with another adaptation of a Kafka short story called In the Penal Colony. The two productions were in sharp contrast to each other - the former, highly stylised and worked out with geometrical precision, the latter a naturalistic portrayal of brutality and violence. Berkoff obtained the approval of the Kafka Trust for the venture and with a small company, no funding and a great deal of encouragement from Hoskins, presented his first professional production, having worked previously only with drama school students. Unlike the Becks or Meckler, Berkoff was not interested in trying to dissolve the natural barriers which exist between audience and actor on a conventional stage, though he was fascinated by the stage space itself and believed that in order to realise the full potential of a stage such as the one the Round House offered he needed to 'carve up the stage as if it were a giant cake' and to move his actors in a mathematically worked out design (Berkoff in interview, 7.7.81). The stage he used was a semi-circular rostrum with masking curtains at the back. If you were not seated centrally as one of the audience, the full effect of the 'beetle' mime was lost.

His method of working resembled more closely that of Marowitz with his company than the Beck's with theirs. Both he and Marowitz had an authoritarian approach to their work, though the difference here was that Berkoff was not only the director/writer, but also the star actor to whom every one else had to defer. According to George Little who played the Father in Metamorphosis Berkoff was a difficult man to work with because he was not prepared to explain but could only give orders and wait for the results he wanted. Rehearsals were therefore intensive and tense. Actors were used as puppets, designed to show off Berkoff's own expertise, and there was a great deal of friction in the company, which meant frequent

changes of cast in what was supposed to be a permanent company, The London Theatre Group. However, the public came to the production since the critics had been enthusiastic about Berkoff's performance, which was off-set by the angular scaffolding suggestive of 'an abstract sculpture of a giant insect'".

The family was placed at the front of the stage, while Berkoff as the 'beetle' was walled up at the back in a box which stood throughout both the productions. It was excluded from the main lighting and was lit by spot lights. Because of this positioning Berkoff was forced to keep miming throughout to keep the audience focused on him, and he did so even at the expense of up staging the other characters at crucial moments²⁰. It was a black and white production - the faces of the family were whitened, and in the scenes where the family freeze in different attitudes, the spotlight picked them out, and the effect was of an old-fashioned group photograph which had caught its subjects at an awkward moment. The visual impact of the play was very strong, and the music which accompanied it was abstract and atmospheric. Barely any stage furniture was used because, in Berkoff's own words, 'The actor's body is the environment of the stage rather than the set'²¹.

Subsequent Berkoff productions at the Round House used similar techniques - The Trial (adapted from Kafka's novel) in 1973 and Hamlet in 1980 used black and white staging with bright white light, and except for some essential props such as the door frames held by the company in The Trial and the chairs which bounded the dark stage in Hamlet, the stage was bare. In The Trial, mime was the company's main way of suggesting both the spiritual torment of Josef K and also the nightmare setting, where a physical labyrinth of corridors was evoked by the actors bearing the door frames. Groups of figures in both the plays froze in stylized attitudes while the focus was directed elsewhere. Jonathan Hammond, writing for Plays and Players (January 1974), felt that Berkoff was in danger of becoming creatively sterile (his Agamemnon was being performed at the same time as The Trial) and he was, in Hammond's opinion, using the same methods on two very different plays. In the 1980 production of Hamlet there was no sign of a move in other directions and in the same way that the Narowitz

collages, after a while, seemed to exploit the same old ideas, so Berkoff chose to adhere to his original principles. Box-office returns show that fewer seats were sold for Hamlet in 1980 than for The Trial in 1973 ²².

The same fate seemed to dog the Living Theatre, who on their return to the Round House in July 1979, with Prometheus, played to half empty houses and unenthusiastic critics. They were still shouting the same kind of slogans and inviting the audience to engage in 'revolutionary' activities with them, but the lack of response to their endeavours at rousing the rebellious spirit suggests that they needed to develop new ways of exciting their audiences.

6. Potter's The Son of Man; Genet's The Blacks; Vesker's The Friends

Plays followed in 1969 and 1970 by established, contemporary playwrights and others who had acquired a reputation for promising new works, but they failed to make much impact on the public when performed at the Round House, partly because they were not written with the theatre's unconventional performing space in mind. Dennis Potter's The Son of Man (directed by Robin Midgely), which had earlier caused such controversy when it was shown on B.B.C. television because of its unorthodox portrayal of Christ as an 'aggressive' and 'blustering' man (Guardian 12.11.69), now caused little excitement. The production had originated at the Phoenix in Leicester and naturally used a proscenium stage setting as it had done there, thereby ignoring the Round House's potential. The bare platform of the steeply raked stage was dominated by two giant T-shaped crosses. Some of the action was stylised with 'Artaudian groaning sessions', and fights and floggings were enacted in slow motion (Tribune 21.11.69) but prolonged scenes of violence, obviously influenced by the Brook/Marowitz season of Theatre of Cruelty lost their impact under this theatre's vault.

An attempt was made to break the proscenium frame of the play when the audience was used as the congregation for the Sermon on the Mount. Disciples moved amongst them, asking them to join hands with their neighbours as a sign of brotherly love. According to the critics, the

audience did not respond well to this invasion of their territory. The involvement with the play it required on their part had not been properly established and seemed merely to embarrass them.

A similar lack of enthusiasm greeted the Oxford Playhouse's production of The Blacks by Genet, in November 1969. The conventional staging used, which might have provided a feeling of intimacy between action and audience in another, smaller theatre, here failed to impress. Reviews were mixed and the staging was hardly mentioned by the critics who concentrated their attention upon the all black casting and low standard of acting. Both these plays were booked for three weeks. Other productions which came in had much shorter runs - sometimes only three nights. It was therefore only after a great deal of persuasion that Hoskins agreed to keep the Round House free for a twelve week run of Vesker's new play The Friends. However, public response to it was so poor that it had to come off after only six weeks. Vesker blamed its failure on the critics and in a long article in Theatre Quarterly, where he examined some of their reviews in detail, he analysed and defended his play²³. Garry O'Connor who had acted as Vesker's assistant director published in the same number, a production casebook of The Friends (pp.76-92) which makes it clear that problems with the show were more deep-rooted than Vesker's defence suggests²⁴.

Vesker himself does not appear to have expressed fears that the Round House might have been the wrong venue, but in 'The Diary of the Production', O'Connor describes the play as 'a piece of chamber music' and goes on to wonder how it will 'fare in the Roundhouse, which is everything but intimate' (p.79). The play concerns a group of seven people in their mid-thirties who are together waiting for the death of Esther, one of the seven, who has leukemia. It dramatises the tensions felt amongst these friends before she dies and explores their reactions after the death, which occurs at the end of Act 1. It is a wordy play which communicates emotion through long speeches, where nuances of voice, facial expression and gesture are essential to an understanding of the issues presented. The reference to chamber music is an apt one, and the Daily Telegraph reviewer (20.5.70) used the same phrase. He added that the Round House did not generate the right atmosphere for the subtleties of the 'drawing room play'.

In order to diminish the alarmingly open space of the Round House auditorium, the stage area used was enormous, though conventionally constructed with the audience seated in front of it. The stage was set as one large room with its different areas characterised by outsize props: Esther's bed with a picture of Lenin behind it, huge potted plants, a carved desk, and a recreation of the Crick-Watson model of the structure of the D.N.A. molecule of heredity. Critics commented on how well the set blended into the Round House surroundings, though this could not compensate for the lack of intimacy between the characters and the audience.

It is interesting that the rehearsal difficulties the cast experienced with Vesker were similar to those which arose during his time as administrator of the Round House Trust. He could not gain the confidence of his actors, just as he could not quite persuade those with power and money to trust his Centre 42 enterprise. To these people he appeared to be a dilettante, meddling in a profession which had labelled him amateur. The lack of trust led to blazing rows between Vesker and the actors, and Vesker and his colleagues on the administration, which finally necessitated his withdrawal from the enterprise. Full of good intentions - taking the cast of The Friends to live in his house before rehearsals began, so that they could get to know each other, and trying to set up an arts centre for everyone, he managed to incur intense dislike from his cast, and was indirectly accused by Jennie Lee of plotting a Communist take-over of the arts through Centre 42²⁵.

Vesker's emotional response to problems of administration made him difficult to work with in a capacity as organiser, as can be seen from the tone of a letter he wrote to Hoskins about the contract he was offered for the presentation of his play (20.2.70). He accused Hoskins of not standing by a verbal agreement made prior to the signing of the contract that they should be offered the building free of charge on the first Sunday:

Can't you see how monstrous it is for you to lend a building for a serious theatrical production, involving great expenditure, to people who cannot have total use of that building? We have to pack up Saturday nights like refugees.

Hoskins' reply showed annoyance yet restraint, 'it is the circumstances in which we operate - if we are to operate at all' (24.2.70). In response to

Vesker's complaint that other contractual terms were unfair, he took care to point out politely that the other companies who had performed there were content to accept the same contract (he listed their names) and he had therefore not deemed it necessary to alter it for Vesker²². The exasperation which these two men felt with each other could not continue much longer, and Oh! Calcutta! marked the end of an era, during which there had been at least an attempt to uphold some of the Centre 42 principles. By accepting this production with all its sensational pre-performance publicity and high priced seats, Vesker saw Hoskins as prostituting all Centre 42's ideals, by wholeheartedly embracing commercialism, thereby dealing the final blow to subsidised theatre at the Round House. Vesker resigned; Oh! Calcutta! was an unqualified box-office success, and transferred to the Royalty, as predicted, on 30 September 1970.

The Years 1971-1978

1. Foreign Companies

With the arrival of Jean-Louis Barrault and his English version of Rabelais a new pattern of events at the Round House was set. Foreign companies had already begun to use the premises, but from now on there was to be an emphasis on bringing in experimental work from abroad until George Hoskins retired in 1977. Rabelais first performed in Paris in 1968 and subsequently brought to the Old Vic in 1969, was created in the same sort of anarchistic spirit as The Hero Rises Up. There was the same desire to produce a fairground atmosphere and to use the whole of the available space in an unconventional manner. Barrault's experiment was done on a much larger scale, with more money and time to prepare the show for that particular auditorium. It had first been seen at the Elysée-Montmartre, a sports arena, so that Barrault had been well prepared for any difficulties the Round House might present.

The material for the show was taken from the five books by Rabelais which were presented with 'elements of La Mama, Bread and Puppet Theatre, pantomime, circus, political cabaret, and discothèque'²⁷. The following extract from Theatre Quarterly clearly shows the use Barrault made of the auditorium:

Rabelais is played on a cruciform stage standing just over three feet off floor level, the longest limb of the cross giving a possible run from end to end of sixty-one feet. The cross-piece is forty-three-and-a-half feet from end to end. At each end of the four limbs is a rectangular area - at the head, a ten-and-a-half foot square area with a three foot square trap in the centre. At the ends of the cross piece, and at the foot, the areas are ten-and-a-half feet by six-and-a-half feet.

Where the limbs intersect, there is an acting area seventeen-and-a-half feet square. The limbs of the cross are five feet three inches wide. Seats are arranged all round the stage, and advancing into the angles of the cross, with additional seats in the circular balcony. Vision and hearing vary drastically from different positions.

(p.90)²⁸

This prestigious production did not have the success the company had hoped for. Perhaps this was because it had already been performed at the Old Vic in 1969, albeit in French. Possibly, too, the performances did not

match up to those of the original cast, which included Barrault himself. The Theatre Quarterly article makes it clear that Barrault was intent, not upon creating a new experience out of the old, but recreating as exactly as possible the original performances (p.84). This may have had an inhibiting effect on English actors, but ironically the main cause of the critics' discontent seems to have stemmed from the adaptation to the Round House premises - ironically, because in theory the production was intended for a building resembling the Round House more closely than the Old Vic, where it had played to capacity houses. Most of the critics liked parts of the English version whilst complaining of the straggling and unstructured nature of the piece as a whole. The most difficult thing to deal with at the Round House was the sound - there were a great many effects used with microphones - and this increased the incomprehensibility of both dialogue and, in consequence, action. The public seemed to have been more mystified than beguiled by the spectacle. It had been hoped that the play would transfer to the West End after its run at the Round House but it closed on 24 April.

Continental acting companies were more used to the idea of performing in places that were not necessarily purpose built theatres, and it was Rabelais which led the way for others to come to England and perform in the one large venue which could take a non-proscenium-dependent production. In the same year Ariane Mnouchkine brought over her Théâtre du Soleil in 1789, which made a greater impact on the public and critics than Rabelais had done. Its political and historical basis was more readily identifiable to an English audience than the 'surrealistic fantasy' of Rabelais (Guardian 19.3.71), even though some critics complained that 1789's politics were naive and that English audiences were not sufficiently acquainted with French history to find it interesting or comprehensible. The play shows a group attempt to reinterpret the history of the French Revolution specifically from the point of view of the working classes. In The Times (13.10.71) Vardle makes the point that the show was a product of the 1968 student rebellion in Paris (just as Barrault's personal involvement with the events of 1968 had informed Rabelais). It had come from the Cartoucherie in Paris, an old ammunition factory, and found a good equivalent auditorium in the Round House²³.

The dimensions of the acting area that the company used were the same as a basket-ball court and around the outside edge were trestles used as stages. Each was 1.5 metres long, 4 metres wide and 3 metres deep. They were bolted together and arranged in groups of two and three, joined together with planks for bridges. At the back of the trestles were hung brightly coloured curtains and painted back-cloths. Actors could mount the stages by means of stairs and ladders. The audience stood in the middle area as they had in Palach at the Open Space, and the impression was one of a public square surrounded by the fairground trestles of times gone by. There was a bank of seats behind the trestles, but as B.A. Young commented, not a great deal could be seen from them (Financial Times 13.10.71). This was essentially a promenaders' show with the actors using the audience to help create much of the action (the most notable scene, and one which kindled the interest of most critics, was the storming of the Bastille where the various story-tellers joined the 'mob' in the auditorium, and for fifteen minutes or more there was story-telling, rising sound and drumming, and then the whole arena erupted into a 'kaleidoscopic fairground' (Guardian 13.10.71). Marowitz had intended his audience to walk around at his production of Palach, but had found his auditorium too small, and the idea had to be abandoned; the audiences for The Hero Rises Up were inhibited by the thrust-staging used and the over-crowding. In 1789 the technique was a success - there was enough space for the audience to choose which trestle they wished to watch at any time, and Mnouchkine had organised it so that when she wanted her audience watching in one direction, then that was where her actors would focus attention. Sometimes actors rushed through the crowd, which would rapidly part to allow them through; at other times scenes were being enacted simultaneously on different stages, and the audience's attention would be diffused. Sometimes scenes were played across the crowd and spotlights were used to pick out the various centres of interest.

Both Rabalais and 1789 used spectacular effects which the Open Space with its small resources could not hope to do, and these two productions naturally made a much bigger impact on the public than Palach, largely because of advance publicity and the size of the Round House auditorium.

Palach had employed many of the same anti-illusionist devices that the others had used (in 1789 actors interchanged their roles and put on make-up and costumes in full view of the audience). All three productions had been labelled by reviewers as 'total theatre'. The critic for The Stage (21.10.71.) claimed for 1789 that it was 'the most complete example' London had seen of 'total' theatre - a reviewer's generalisation but one which shows the extent to which this production gained popular support for its method of presentation.

The only major criticism the play received was that its political attitudes were misconceived and the facts over-simplified in order to express a particular view of the revolution. John Weightman of Encounter (December 1971) was contemptuous of a play which so misinformed its public of historical events. He called it an example of 'romantic leftism' endemic to France. The Guardian (13.10.71) dismissed such criticism because the show was great popular theatre. The form of the play had proved more interesting than its political content, and Mnouchkine in interview with Michael Billington explained that the final scene which turns the tables on the bourgeois audience and identifies them with the 'villains' of the piece never managed to outrage the Paris audiences, who, like those at the Round House, nightly cheered the spectacle of the procession of 'Gogol-like grotesques' (Guardian 25.10.71).

In the December edition of Plays and Players (1971) the reviewer suggested that the Round House was 'rapidly becoming established as an ideally flexible auditorium for round-the-clock-presentations of international experimental companies'. On the strength of two productions from France and the Living Theatre from America, this might seem a superficial judgement - merely a journalistic summary of the year's events. It proved, however, a genuine insight into the future success of the Round House where the most exciting and popular work presented was that which came in from abroad. Companies from France used it the most consistently, with productions such as The Last Lonely Days of Robinson Crusoe, From Moses to Man, and Les Grands Sentiments (Le Grand Magic Circus, 1972, 1974 and 1975 respectively); Le Palais des Merveilles (Jules Cordière, 1975); Le Pavillon au Bord de la Rivière (Théâtre de Gennevilliers, 1975); and

La Grande Eugène (Frantz Salieri, 1976). Besides American companies such as - The Living Theatre (1969 and 1979) Stomu Yamash'ta twice brought over his Red Buddha company from Japan with The Man From the East (1973) and Raindog (1975), both of which were well received, and had striking similarities to some of the French groups.

Of the French groups, Jérôme Savary's Le Grand Magic Circus was the one which returned most often to the Round House, with his second show running for sixty-six performances and playing to 51% capacity houses for the whole of their season (CF 3). Savary first started his group under the name of Le Grand Théâtre Panique, in 1966. In 1968 'Circus' was substituted for 'Théâtre' and in 1970 they adopted their present name and performed Zartan, Tarzan's Unloved Brother, which they performed in New York, where they developed the style which characterised their later work. Visual images predominated - dialogue and plot, if they existed at all, were secondary. Savary had worked with Arrabal in 1966 on a production of Labyrinth at the Mercury Theatre, London, but he had found Arrabal's approach to theatre too literary and had broken away to create his own kind of improvised theatre. This was not the same kind of improvisation which Mnouchkine developed with her company, where everything was rehearsed, though the dialogue came initially from the actors. Savary's group relied to a large extent on spontaneous improvisation so that the content of the show varied from performance to performance and did not always end in the same way. In an interview for Time Out in 1972 (SF 4, '26 December 1972', date unknown) Savary said 'you cannot rehearse communications' - and this was the essence of their style of playing.

Of the three productions, the first, Robinson Crusoe, was the most successful in artistic terms. There was closer contact with the audience who surrounded a central stage area. There were also four other rostra which jutted into the audience who either sat on the floor or in raked seats. Even the raked areas were included in events, as actors (often naked) clambered over and through the audience, or reclined on laps. The show also had just enough structure taken from the Defoe story to give events coherence, whereas From Moses to Man had a vast subject matter (its title includes the description "5000 Years of Love and Adventure") and

nothing to give it focus. The horseshoe shape of the stage for the latter show prevented that close contact with the audience that they had enjoyed in Robinson Crusoe²⁰. As if to correct the mistakes of From Moses to Mac, Les Grands Sentiments had a strong, clear, story-line which inhibited much of what the company was best at, namely burlesque created through the juxtaposition of contrasting images, and not sequential plotting.

As in all his circus shows, Savary himself appeared as ring-master. He was at once the narrator and master of ceremonies; he played various percussion instruments, and engaged in disputes with the audience, but without the real belligerence of the members of the Living Theatre. It is ironic that the reviewer for the Guardian (21.12.72) likened the 'non-specific chaos' of the proceedings to that produced by the Becks, whereas Savary himself disliked what they had done in the theatre. In the Time Out article he firmly stated:

The two greatest calamities of modern theatre are Grotowski and The Living. Not because of their work, but because of the influence they have had on young companies. They gave to the actors a sense of introspection instead of communication.

Savary's work was also dissimilar in that his aim was 'not to do political theatre but to do theatre politically'. Both the Becks and Mnouchkine had political messages in their work - Savary preferred to play for specific occasions, for instance, those where the mere fact of performing made a political statement, so that he performed in Persia at the Persepolis/Shiraz Festival (when Peter Brook directed Qorqani there) and managed to play in the streets to the people who would normally have had no access to European theatre.

Circus and pantomime were burlesqued. The company's only animals were creatures such as rabbits and hens - otherwise they were humans dressed as animals. In Robinson Crusoe there were a pantomime zebra and 'mad harlequins' (Observer 24.12.72) who chased each other through the audience. Often the circus acts were made to look deliberately amateurish, a quality which began by charming audiences but in later shows bored them, because they seemed to lose that appearance of deliberate shoddiness and to acquire one of actual shoddiness. Savary's own attitude to skill in the theatre was perhaps what, in the end, dampened long-term British interest in his work

(for his last show at the Round House there was an average of only 47% of the capacity house for twenty performances). His view was expressed in Time Out thus:

Anybody should be able to work with the Magic Circus. We don't have auditions. We say to people, 'If you are happy, you will be good; if you are not good, you won't be happy; if you are not happy, you will leave' ... I think a fat man walking down a street is doing corporal expression just as beautifully as Marcel Marceau, because he is expressing his own life.

Not only does this view endorse the notion that life is art and therefore good theatre but it is also an odd assertion by one who certainly wished to startle his audience by using witty and unusual images and who capitalised on the public's desire to be entertained by something different from everyday life.

Many of the images in Robinson Crusoe had a surreal quality to them: after the opening announcement, an ancient Robinson gazed upon a youthful and naked version of himself lying in a hammock. He was humming Fauré and was surrounded by a television set, a radio and an electric kettle. Later a three-foot plastic foot was found in the sand and a chicken was extracted from the body of a dead savage. Scenes changed location at speed for little or no discernible reason, and often there would be a violent change of tone. At one moment there was a carnival in progress, which then switched abruptly to a gruesome scene with Friday eating a man's entrails. Harold Hobson objected strongly to what he considered blasphemous images of Christ with his cross preparing to jump into a tub of water from a high ladder (Sunday Times 24.12.72), but these were the kind of iconoclastic images which audiences had seen before with the People Show and Portable Theatre, and in general they did not take exception to them.

The Red Buddha company employed some of the techniques described above, but was much more disciplined in the performance of its material. To begin with Yamashita was already well-known as one of the greatest percussion players in the world (Financial Times 1.2.73) and with the traditions of Kabuki theatre behind him, it was inevitable that these two precise arts should influence his work as creator/director. His first appearance in the West was at the Avignon Festival in 1972. He made a

brief appearance at the I.C.A. in August 1972 and then continued to play at the Théâtre Thorigny, Paris, until he came to London in 1973. The Man From the East (the company's first show at the Round House) took the theme of the Japan of yesterday and today, as seen through the eyes of an old cripple. At its climax was the bombing of Hiroshima, where the action froze and a light began to glow intensely on the horizon.

This was a production dependent on lighting effects, stylised gesture and music. It was, as most of the critics pointed out, a multi-media production, using music, mime, dance and dialogue to make its impact. Actors entered through the audience but there was no attempt at audience participation. Yamash'ta in an interview (Plays and Players, March 1973), alluded to comparisons made between his work and that of Le Grand Magic Circus, and said that he could not afford to have improvised action on stage since the intellectual content of his work was much more important than the visual. Here was aggressive political theatre given a popular form, where the images of death after an atomic explosion were close enough to present reality to stun the audience emotionally.

In his later production of Raindog, many of the same devices were used: a central stage focused the attention and screens behind it were used for specific lighting effects. Spots roamed the auditorium in time with the music (Listener 20.2.75), lending the show the appearance of a pop concert. Again a traditional Japanese story was used as the basis for the action, but this time the relevance to modern life was not obvious. Although critics acknowledged the technical prowess of the performers and director it was felt on the whole that the show battered home its effects with over-loud music. Audience members who could not take the decibel level were unable to escape because there was no interval. There were stunning effects but they were lost because they merged with the general turbulence.

Throughout Hoskins's administration at the Round House, the place had a reputation for Sunday rock concerts, and the Red Buddha company combined elements of rock and drama, so that they played to comparatively good houses for a long season - both shows ran for two months and Man From the East transferred to the West End. Le Grand Magic Circus might have found

it more difficult to attract the public on their first visit if the way had not been paved by Rabalaia and the highly successful 1789. Marowitz had used the idea of the circus ring as setting for his collage Hamlet in 1969, at the Open Space - this theatrical metaphor had been extended to encompass the whole building at the Round House and became a fashion which lingered there throughout its entire history.

Not all the successful foreign companies brought over shows which used the Round House space fully. Just as Oh! Calcutta! succeeded in spite of the auditorium, so did La Grande Eugène, an elaborate cabaret act which really needed an intimate setting, and it became the longest running show at the Round House, extending its original five-week season for another three months. The show, which had been running in France since 1970, brought with it a reputation for expert drag performances, though Salieri did not like it to be called a drag show, because he wanted it to be taken as a serious theatrical experience. The production reached a sophistication rarely seen in British cabaret. The auditorium was used with a stage eight metres deep and twelve metres wide with a false proscenium arch. A substantial apron area jutted out in front of the arch, thus diminishing the seating capacity of the house from 940 to 852. The tabs were plush, there were flats standing on stage, faced with aluminium sheets, to give bright reflecting surfaces, and the cyclorama was covered with silk (SF 12, 'General Correspondence' 2.4.76). In other words this was a show which had transferred from one type of environment - that of the expensive and decadent night-club - and brought all its trappings with it, to try to recreate the original. No attempt was made to harness the cavernous spaces of the Round House to the production, and the performance sparkled from its isolated pool of light. One reviewer, trying to show how the play dazzled despite its surroundings, likened the show to 'a sea-anemone on a work bench' (Financial Times 28.4.76).

Lord Delfont had put up most of the money to bring the show over, but when in July the box-office reached a low point he asked to withdraw his guarantee. A new advertising campaign was started, the Round House functioned with a reduced staff and matinees were cut, but from then on the show floundered, and it was only kept open because it was marginally more

expensive to go dark in August than to continue with small losses (SF 12, 'General Correspondence' 15.7.76). After its initial 'succès de scandale' with a limited audience it was unable to sustain public interest and was no longer a viable commercial concern.

2. Rock Musicals

The Round House had earned a notoriety early in its development with shows such as, Paradise Now (The Living Theatre) and Oh! Calcutta!, and the press was quick to label it a theatre for 'dirty shows'. This public image was perpetuated throughout the years of Hoskins's administration with extravaganzas such as The Canterbury Tales (1972), Decameron 73 (1973), Feast of Fools (1973-74), 120 Days of Sodom (1974) and later with shows such as La Grande Eugène (1976) and Lindsay Kemp's Salomé (1977). Hoskins was prepared to risk presenting a show which might cause a public furore where West End managements preferred to wait and see what happened in Chalk Farm. He also profited from a new spate of rock musicals, which carried their own brand of notoriety - this time because of their unconventional treatment of the classics or of stories from the Bible. The Round House had already acquired a regular 'rock' audience from its Sunday night concerts and its auditorium had proved ideal for hugely amplified music. The first rock musical presented there was Catch my Soul, directed by Braham Murray and Michael Elliott (it had opened in Manchester with the Theatre 69 Company and predictably transferred to the West End after its Chalk Farm run). It was followed by Godspell (1971), Rock Carmen and Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat (1972), all of which went in to the West End with varying degrees of success.

These musicals did not use experimental staging techniques, but were successful because of their commercial music scores and fashionable updating of dialogue and costuming. It was a review of 1789 in The Stage (21.10.71) which had commented that the Round House 'comes into its own' with the environmental staging, and certainly until 1976 environmental shows were the kind of productions which flourished there, achieving both financial success and a high artistic standard. In order to accommodate

shows of a different kind Thelma Holt had to work hard to change the Round House's public image.

The Years 1979-1983

1. The Association with the Manchester Royal Exchange

The season of plays from Manchester marked Holt's most serious attempt to alter the public's view of the Round House; all of the Royal Exchange productions were suitable for her new, in-the-round auditorium. The first play, The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold, was the least successful of the three, both financially and critically. All three plays deal with a central character's mental breakdown or readjustment, and in each case Michael Elliott who directed the productions, attempted to suggest in his settings and stage effects both a symbolic and a naturalistic dimension. Elliott is reported to have said that 'nothing in the theatre can work symbolically or metaphorically unless it works concretely first' (Observer 22.4.79). The stage for Gilbert Pinfold was made to resemble a ship's cabin, and Michael Hordern in the title role suggested the agonised feelings of a man trapped in such a confined space. When his mental anguish was at its peak, the production showed him 'marooned' by the voices which troubled him, 'relayed from actors placed in circular arrangements in each of the aisles and then coming closer, ominously patrolling around his living space' (Guardian undated); a complete musical score of weird sound effects helped create the play's claustrophobic atmosphere. It seems, however, that the production did not resolve the difficulties inherent in any play done in the round and according to the critic for the Guardian, Hordern was too often positioned so that large sections of the audience could not see him clearly. A comment in the Observer (18.2.79) sums up the feelings of a number of critics, 'the in-the-round staging ... compels Hordern, democratically offering everyone a view, to rotate constantly like a chicken on a spit'.

In the second production, T.S. Eliot's The Family Reunion, the natural hazards of staging in-the-round were avoided and Michael Elliott's policy of giving the play a solid basis in reality, before attempting to realise 'the spiritual dimension', was entirely successful. The drawing room set of heavy old settees and standard lamps, surrounded by an audience who could not help but be aware of each other, together with spotlighting effects when the dialogue changed from everyday banalities to the agonised soul-searchings of the chorus or protagonist, admirably suggested the worlds of

reality and fantasy encroaching on each other. The appearance of the Furies, huge (they were much taller than humans) and menacing - looking like members of the Ku Klux Klan as they swept in through the aisles from all sides and on to the stage - both shocked and terrified the audience. T.S. Eliot himself had no faith in the theatrical viability of these supernatural creations whom he claimed to have seen staged in every possible manner and whom he wished eventually to omit from performance, because he regarded them as a dramatic mistake²¹. His original conception was vindicated in this production where the Furies' size and number dwarfed the actors who became suddenly and palpably vulnerable, thus heightening the audience's fear that had already been kindled by the shock of their swift and silent entrance. Even the distant, subterranean rumblings of trains, always present at the Round House, helped to produce the right atmosphere. Most critics recognised that the production had achieved a remarkable 'reconciliation between ... poetry and naturalism' (Sunday Telegraph 22.4.79). The critic for the Evening News (20.4.79) was in a minority with his view that an audience all round deprived the set of its capacity to convince them that it was a drawing room.

The third and last of the plays presented in this season, The Lady From the Sea, was artistically less satisfying than its predecessor though in terms of its box-office returns it did better than either of the other two. The set, which caused a stir amongst the critics, impeded, rather than helped, the movement of the play. Michael Elliott had created an island of rocks surrounded by water through which Ellida splashed to make her first entrance. The fibre-glass rocks were difficult to negotiate and actors looked ill-at-ease on them, with the effect of slowing down the action and making the audience uncomfortably aware of what might happen if someone missed his footing. The enclosing band of water, three inches deep, never really managed to look anything more than symbolic, even though the actors at one point took a punt on it. This set design did not fuse the elements of social realism and mysticism which permeate the play. It functioned on a symbolic level only and Elliott seemed to have deliberately turned his back on the governing principle of his production of The Family Reunion.

Most accounts in the press praised Vanessa Redgrave's performance above all else. From her first, startling, entrance splashing barefoot through the water, wrapped in a towel, with her hair dripping down her back, she captivated the audience with her ability to make the character Ellida into a human being, tormented by a 'mystical hunger for the sea' (*Guardian* 17.5.79). Billington described clearly what most other critics seemed to feel - that she 'charts exactly Ellida's psychological crisis'. On the whole it was not felt that this central performance obscured the roles played by the rest of the company, though Sheridan Morley, the critic for *Punch* (30.5.79), saw the production as no more than a vehicle for Redgrave to make her come-back to the London stage. He did, however, acknowledge that his was a minority view.

The play ran for eight weeks, taking £97,420.72p (CF 53). Although this was slightly less on a weekly average than *The Family Reunion* made, it must be remembered that *The Lady From the Sea* ran exactly twice as long. The season finished on 7 July, and it was about this time that Michael Elliott was taken seriously ill with kidney trouble. Since the initial inspiration for the relationship between the Round House and the Royal Exchange had been his and Thelma Holt's, his ill-health became a major factor in the delays which ensued before a second season could be mounted. It had been their intention to waste no time in preparing for another, so that the public should not be allowed to forget the success of the first season. But in August 1979 relations between Williams and Holt became strained, as they failed to reach agreement on a new programme. Holt refused the suggestion of *The Cherry Orchard* and *The Lower Depths*, neither of which had opened in Manchester, on the grounds that *The Cherry Orchard* had just been revived at the National Theatre and at Riverside, and that *The Lower Depths* was a notoriously difficult play to sell (letter from Holt to Murray, 25.9.79)²².

Murray and Williams obviously thought that the real reason for refusing the two productions was firstly that they had not yet had any critical acclaim, and secondly that there were no stars who would ensure box-office success. They both wrote letters (Murray, 4.9.79 and Williams, 11.10.79) stressing that if the relationship was to flourish then shows

must be accepted on their artistic merit and not because of the stars who were in them, nor because of previous rave reviews from Manchester. They had come under criticism from their local council because they appeared to be adopting a policy of pre-London runs, which the council considered the wrong role for a regional repertory theatre to play. Murray emphasised again that their first season was acting as a 'bridge-head' - the first move in a game which they hoped to make a regular feature of their work in Manchester. Moves had been made to bring Tom Courtenay down in The Dresser, but without Michael Elliott negotiations had fallen through, and this too aggravated the tensions between Holt and Williams.

It was not until April 1981 that a new season of plays from the Royal Exchange opened at the Round House. It comprised: The Duchess of Malfi, directed by Adrian Noble, starring Helen Mirren and Bob Hoskins; Have You Anything to Declare by Hennequin, directed by Braham Murray, starring Brian Cox and Susan Littler; Waiting for Godot, directed by Braham Murray, starring Max Wall and Trevor Peacock; The Misanthrope, directed by Caspar Wrede, starring Tom Courtenay. They had all done well in Manchester, and all received good London reviews. However, the long gap between seasons predictably spoilt the chances of capitalising on the previous success, and it proved hard to re-animate public enthusiasm without the added boost which the Round House's new look had given to the first season. The newspapers seemed unwilling to give editorial coverage to the project (profiles on the actors and company etc.) and Michael Williams clearly blamed Holt for not doing enough in the way of publicity. At a meeting called on 23 April, Holt assured the company that £6,000 had been spent on publicity to which Williams replied that he could not see how.

Of the four plays, The Duchess of Malfi was the most popular, and it had been hoped that its financial success would help carry the little-known farce which followed. The leads in this farce were not well-known outside theatre circles, and despite excellent reviews, the production earned no more than £12,269.33p in box-office receipts for the whole of its four-week run (The Duchess of Malfi earned on average £16,471.18p per week, CF 72). Waiting for Godot and The Misanthrope both did better, though the former had played first at the Old Vic, so potential audience numbers were fewer.

The latter, according to Holt (in interview), contained a star who appealed only to a minority audience. Average weekly earnings for Waiting for Godot were £11,214 and for The Misanthrope, £7263 (CF 72).

2. Regional Theatre at The Round House

While negotiations were in progress with the Royal Exchange, Holt continued her search for suitable regional productions, and she speedily came to an arrangement with the Crucible in Sheffield to bring in The Glass Menagerie, starring Gloria Grahame. This seems to have angered Michael Williams, who felt that in some way Holt was being disloyal to the Royal Exchange. Holt firmly quelled the rumours that Sheffield was getting a better deal than Manchester (letter from Holt to Williams, 26.10.79). The terms of the contract were simple - the two theatres were to split the box-office takings in half after the costs of publicity, get-in and get-out had been deducted. There was to be no percentage for the star - Holt felt she could not afford this until she was provided with the necessary subsidy, and she pointed out in a letter to the associate director, Andre Ptasynski (11.10.79), that none of the stars in the Royal Exchange season had asked for this and she felt it would be unfair of her to make an exception (SF 23).

On the whole reviews were complimentary, and the Financial Times (24.11.79) remarked on the 'extravagant superstructure of a St. Louis fire escape ... and a grilled side walk to encircle the action', which suitably filled the Round House void. Despite this, the company played to 43.2% capacity houses during the three week run, so without subsidy the Round House could not afford to continue to implement the idea of provincial theatre in a London base.

It was, of course, much more complicated to arrange for a regional company performing a whole season of plays to come in, than it was for a single production lasting only three weeks. Before the Royal Exchange second season began, Holt had secured Season's Greetings by Alan Ayckbourn and his Scarborough company and Don Juan, a new version of the story by

Robert David MacDonald, directed by Philip Prowse at the Glasgow Citizens theatre. Again hopes were expressed that this might be the beginning of a permanent relationship between the theatres. It was Giles Havergal's hope that one season of their productions a year in London, would help to build up interest in audiences outside Glasgow (letter to Holt, 5.11.79, SF 25). Holt started a campaign to raise funds for the venture and the play was staged at the Round House on 3 December 1980. There was a good deal of support for it in the press, but critics were disappointed by the play which they found tedious, though not altogether lacking in Philip Prowse's sensational theatrical effects.²³

Holt had a financially disastrous two weeks with Season's Greetings; most critics found it merely repeated earlier Ayckbourn plays²⁴. It was, however, instructive to see a play of his performed in London with his own repertory company and none of the usual stars included for West End or National Theatre audiences. She, therefore, invited him back with a musical play, Suburban Strains, at the beginning of 1981. When she had first invited him to the Round House she spoke of a 'built-in audience' (letter to Ayckbourn 3.7.79, SF 31) following the success of the Royal Exchange season, but it became quite clear that she had miscalculated the long-term effects of the first Manchester season. There was no 'built-in audience' - reviews were quite good but the image of the Round House had not altered sufficiently for Ayckbourn enthusiasts to follow his work out to Chalk Farm. As he himself pointed out in a letter to Holt after the event,

my rather genteel followers from suburban London would never normally look for my name amongst the Round House small ads. In fact you stand to be expelled immediately from my fan club if you are seen to be carrying a copy of Time Out even for a friend.

(31.10.80)

Nevertheless, for Suburban Strains they attempted to improve on their first production by making the Round House auditorium a little smaller and more intimate, in line with the Scarborough environment. They screened off the top two rows of seats by bringing in the green curtains and placed a revolve on the stage area. The play failed dismally, matinees were cancelled and after thirty-eight performances the production had made only £13,780.83p in box-office receipts (CF 67).

Such was Holt's commitment to the idea of regional theatre at the Round House, and her belief in presenting exciting and worthwhile plays, whether they were likely to bring in the public or not, that she wrote to Ayckbourn offering him another season in 1981-82 should she receive subsidy and therefore be in a position to offer proper guarantees (letter 14.1.81, SF 31). No subsidy was granted and the opportunity never arose. By the end of the season the Round House had run into such debt that they could not settle their account with the Royal Exchange. They paid £2,000 on 12 May 1982, and the final settlement of £2,919.29p was made on 15 March 1983 before Thelma Holt left the Round House.

3. Summary of Holt's Achievement

Critics of Thelma Holt's auditorium changes (Steven Berkoff was one) felt that she had taken away from London the one venue which accommodated physically extravagant productions, thereby limiting the repertoire which could be satisfactorily staged there. He saw it as a deliberate move to make the Round House into a conventional theatre which would take in pre-West End runs, gathering a public following appropriate to such conditions (Berkoff in interview 7.7.81). Holt was aware of the criticism, and her choice of subsequent productions demonstrates amply that this was not her intention.

She still invited foreign companies to perform there, and out of the thirty-one productions which came before closure (excluding concerts), at least eleven were from abroad. They tended to be smaller than those which characterised the early and mid 70's, but this reflects changing artistic forms and tastes rather than indicating that the Round House could no longer accept experimental forms. One of the first foreign companies to use the new auditorium was the Teatr Studio of Warsaw who used a cruciform stage shape (compare Rabelais) for their production of Dante. The Round House was transformed into 'the underworld' according to the critic for the Hampstead and Highgate Express (7.9.79) and revolving stages and extravagant props were used. The auditorium was used imaginatively - in the words of the director, Jozef Szajna, theatre is 'the synthesis of all the

arts' (CF 50) and as with the old auditorium so the new prospered best when its particular spatial arrangements were given proper consideration.

Perhaps the most prestigious of the final productions was the two week run of Richard III performed by the Rustaveli company who came from Georgia. Although the Russian invasion of Afghanistan took place only a month before they were due to open in London (it occurred on 27 October 1979) and there was a good deal of anti-Russian feeling in Britain at the time, Holt did not cancel the arrangements, nor did she lose a significant amount of support for the venture, making in box-office returns £29,782.81 for only twelve performances. Holt knew that even if she played to full houses she could not cover the costs of bringing the company to England, and it is a demonstration of her artistic integrity that she asked them to come despite this knowledge. Having seen them previously at the Edinburgh Festival she was determined that their performance should reach a wider public. She secured Robert Maxwell as underwriter for the show and raised funds from the private sector. She incurred displeasure from those who normally expected to receive complimentary tickets, by refusing them, and she charged the, then, outrageous price of £7 and £4.50p a ticket, except for the gallery where despite bad sight-lines she charged £2.50p.

It was well worth the trouble - the critics were almost unanimous in their enthusiasm for this expressionistic interpretation of Shakespeare's tragedy with its great, central performance from Chkhikvadze. The production had all the hall-marks of previous successes at the Round House, such as 1789 and Le Grand Magic Circus. The new auditorium had in no way inhibited the pageant-like movement (tumbrils and processions, both solemn and festive) and circus-like atmosphere of the proceedings. The actors did not perform in the round but took away a section of the seating which left a gaping cavern at the back of the acting area from which characters emerged as if from the under-world, only to be swallowed up again by the tide of events. The stage area itself was covered in white scrim and the whole was encased in a gigantic, ragged and bloody tent. Shakespeare's play had been cut and altered, with new characters added who served a symbolic function. Queen Margaret was played as a witch and malevolent manipulator of fate and another character played the part of the Fool who

would comment on the action. This was all made clear to an English audience by the acting technique of the star, Ramaz Chkhikvadze and his company who employed stylised gesture. Props, too, were symbolic, with a throne reminiscent of a gibbet and the crown being an object of veneration for all the main characters who literally kicked it between them and followed it around as if mesmerized by it. The final battle scene between Richmond and Richard was fought as they emerged through slits in an outsized map of England which was held by the rest of the cast. Much of the action, normally played for dramatic or tragic effect, was given a comic twist - so murders were accomplished through stylised mime instead of with violence and bloodshed. As in the past it had been an appropriate place for generating the atmosphere of the big-top, with grand anti-illusionist acting, so it proved now that this was still the theatre's great strength.

It is also interesting that, of the thirty-one productions after the conversion, only six used the fully circular area. As had happened in the past, many companies adapted the space to a three-sided stage; theatre-in-the-round calls for productions deliberately staged to suit its shape - a factor which in itself would have limited the number of shows able to use the Round House. Holt had avoided this pitfall by keeping the seating flexible. Of course she had tried to change the theatre's image, but she had never been one to bend before the demands of commercial enterprise. She sincerely aimed to make of the Round House what Peter Gill made of the Riverside Studios in Hammersmith - a venue open all day for various artistic and cultural activities, with theatre as its hub. What she wanted was to get rid of the drop-out element so that she could encourage a wider section of society to attend. This she achieved, though the need for subsidy ultimately crippled her endeavours. She needed to have the resources to publicise her theatre with the same concentration that she had been able to command when she was subsidised for her conversion to the Manchester plan, and to keep the new image of the Round House before the public. She demanded the right to fail in her artistic endeavours just as Marowitz and Vesker had done, and like those two before her, she finally lost her enormous enthusiasm for the project in the face of insurmountable financial difficulties. Her directorship at the Round House lasted half as

long as Hoskins' but their ideologies were what made the crucial difference. Hoskins' methods were based on commercial and not artistic principles, and the work coming in was of a widely variable standard.

Holt had aimed for consistently high quality, continuing with only the best of what Hoskins had achieved, whatever the financial consequences. Unfortunately the government tendency at the time was to turn its back on subsidy for anything experimental. Wardle summed up what was happening in 1983:

Culture is being barricaded inside official fortresses housing nothing less than classics of impregnable reputé and proven drawing power. Free spaces for visiting foreign troupes, experimental events and what one can only call artistic hospitality are on the way out; together with the exhilaration and flashes of insight that only thrive in open conditions.

(The Times 3.1.83)

Other critics lent a sympathetic voice to the Round House's plight but no pressure of this sort made any practical difference at this stage.

Notes to the Press Room

1. Written for Encore magazine in 1958; the article is reprinted in The Encore Reader (1965), 96-103 (p.11).
2. The Kitchen and Chicken Soup with Barley had been written before his article appeared. The latter had had a success in July 1958 at the Royal Court.
3. Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy (London, 1957), p.11.
4. The lecture was entitled 'O Mother is it Worth It' and is reprinted in Arnold Wesker, Fears of Fragmentation (London, 1970), 11-19 (p.17).
5. Frank Coppieters' dissertation, Arnold Wesker's Centre 42, gives a detailed analysis of the proposals, pp.87-91, RH archives.
6. A copy of The First Report is to be found in SF Pre-1971 A.
7. Arnold Wesker, 'The Secret Reins, Centre 42', in Fears of Fragmentation, 39-50 (p.47).
8. The rehearsal period up to the first night has been documented by Garry O'Connor, 'Arnold Wesker's The Friends', Theatre Quarterly, 1(1971), no.2, 78-92.
9. Wesker in interview, 'The System and the Writer', New Theatre Magazine, 11(1971), no.2, 8-11 (p. 8).
10. The Press Statement (14.12.73) and Hoskin's letter (15.1.74) are contained in 'Press Releases to September 1974', RH archives.
11. This, and all subsequent information (unless otherwise stated) on the transactions between the Round House and the Royal Exchange during their first season, is contained in SF 22, 'General Correspondence'.
12. For a breakdown of income and expenditure see SF 22, 'Change Over'.
13. A copy of the programme notes is to be found in SF Pre-1971 A.
14. For a detailed description of Themes on the Tempest, see: Margaret Croyden, 'Peter Brook's Tempest', The Drama Review, 13(1969), no.3, 125-128.
15. Articles on (or partly on) The Ik include Ann McFerran, 'The Beginner's Mind', Time Out, 9.1.76, 12-15; Kenneth Tynan, 'Director as Misanthropist', Theatre Quarterly, 7(1977), no.25, 20-28 (pp.24-25); David Williams, 'A Place Marked by Life', New Theatre Quarterly, 1(1985), no.1, 39-54 (pp.47-54).
16. John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy, The Hero Rises Up (London, 1969), pp.8-9.
17. John Arden, To Present the Pretence (London, 1977), p.84.
18. Beck's own description, The Drama Review, 13 (1969), no.3, p.25.
19. Steven Berkoff, Metamorphosis, in The Trial and Metamorphosis (Ambergate, 1981), p.89.

20. It is interesting that in his revival at the Mermaid in February, 1986, another actor played the part of Gregor and although the staging was essentially the same, he remained quite still until the action required the focus on him.
21. Bruce Elder, 'Doing the Inexpressible Uncommonly Well', Theatre Quarterly, 8(1978), no.31, 37-43 (p.40).
22. Box-office returns are to be found in CF 2 (The Trial) and 64 (Hamlet).
23. Arnold Wesker, 'Casual Condemnations', Theatre Quarterly, 1(1971), no.2, 16-30.
24. Unnecessarily hostile critics of The Friends were Albert Hunt (New Society 16.7.70) and John Russell Taylor (Plays and Players July 1970).
25. Wesker in interview with Coppieters in Arnold Wesker's Centre 42, pp.297-8.
26. Correspondence in SF Pre-1971 File B, 'The Friends'.
27. Bill Vallis, 'Production Case Book: Jean-Louis Barrault's Rabelais', Theatre Quarterly, 1(1971), no.3, 83-97 (p.84).
28. See Appendix 4 for a diagram of the stage, photocopied from the 'Production Case Book', p.90.
29. 1789 has been documented in Différent: Le Théâtre du Soleil. Supplément à Travail Théâtral (Dole, février, 1976), pp.7-42.; Denis and Marie-Louise Bablet, 1789: Le Théâtre du Soleil ('Diapolivre' 1979), Paris: C.N.R.S.; Theatre Quarterly, 2(1972), no.8, 58-63. The text was published as a programme/text for the Round House production, by Calder and Boyars Ltd., 1971.
30. For a diagram, see Appendix 4.
31. See T.S. Eliot, Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot, edited by Frank Kermode (London, 1975), p.143.
32. All information on the Royal Exchange 2nd Season, unless otherwise stated, is contained in SF 30.
33. See, among others, Guardian and The Times 4.12.80; and Financial Times 5.12.80.
34. See, among others, Financial Times and The Times 15.10.80.

CONCLUSION

Management

Those responsible for creating the three enterprises were all people with forceful characters - a factor which helped establish the theatres' identities and reputations. Nye, Marowitz, Holt and Vesker all had enormous energy and enthusiasm for their work, and it must be acknowledged that this is what gave the impetus to their various undertakings. All were outspoken, but only Holt managed to remain consistently on good terms with those official bodies and wealthy personalities who might have helped her cause. The others often failed to promote good relations with the public or amongst their staff because their temperaments were such that working with others was difficult.

The joint management between Nye and Penrose was tumultuous because they were both actors and not administrators, and too often saw policy in terms of what it could do for themselves. Pat Nye has an aggressive manner, and she quarrelled easily with people who could have been useful. This meant that policy decisions which should have been taken together were often done without the consent of the other (e.g. the Lady Audley's Secret transfer). It is clear that the essential trust between successful partners was missing.

The Marowitz/Holt management could not have hoped to make a better team. Their confidence in each other's skills meant that theirs was a real joint management. Both have artistic dispositions, but Holt also has business acumen and tact (as Nye had not) so that she was able to smooth over problems which arose because of Marowitz's belligerence or neglect. Neither did she attempt to take the limelight from him in anything to do with the directorship of the company. Unlike Penrose, who was a frustrated aspiring actor, Holt was given ample opportunity to shine in her roles in the collages; her most remarkable performance was as Katherine in The Ehren. So the two did not encroach on each other's territory, but knew

very well where their own strengths and weaknesses lay. It is also clear that Holt could function on her own as artistic director of a theatre (witness her years at the Round House), whereas Marowitz could not. She left the Open Space, wishing to dissociate herself from the scandal and feeling that her relationship with Marowitz at the Open Space had run its course; Marowitz then gradually wound down its activities. She nevertheless gave him help after the lease had expired on the Edgware Road premises, and presented two of his shows at the Round House. It is interesting that in 1972 Charles Marowitz had somewhat prophetically said,

Something, I'm not sure what exactly, happened in '68. It had to do with the students in Paris, with Dubcek, with the Chicago riots at the Democratic Convention. It's going to continue sending out its waves until about 1978, I calculate. At that time I'd like to think that the Open Space will be closed and that something else will have taken its place. (Plays and Players, October 1972).

In fact it had a good ten years, with two more in decline - a long stretch for a fringe theatre.

Vesker and Hoskins, like Nye and Penrose, were not temperamentally suited to each other. Vesker, like Nye, involved himself emotionally with his project, taking any adverse criticism personally. Like Nye, he had put money as well as effort into the cause. Unlike Marowitz, he did not thrive on controversy, and came near to a breakdown over the Centre 42 affair. The tone of his many articles on the subject reflects a kind of bewilderment at hostility shown towards him. Vesker would not compromise on his principles; Hoskins thought those principles mistaken. Hoskins survived because he decided to continue without depending on subsidy, giving up eventually owing to illness. He could not be said to have stamped his personality on the Round House - his policies were too amorphous, and the repertoire was essentially determined by the place itself. It is noticeable that when the other directors stopped working at their theatres, no one else was able to take over successfully, such was the identification of the theatre with its artistic director. Hoskins was there for eight years as sole artistic director, but the Round House is not remembered during this period as his theatre, but simply as the Round House, and Thelma Holt did not have to contend with the problem of taking over a theatre which had become synonymous with the person running it.

Potential Audiences

During the Volfit and Nye seasons at the Bedford there was an attempt to create a 'family theatre' which would appeal primarily to the local community. Volfit of course already had a reputation for taking Shakespeare to the people, and there was nothing new about his artistic policies at the Bedford. His fame meant that he could expect audiences from all over London as well as from Camden Town. Pat Nye did not have the advantage of stardom (though she engaged some well known actors such as Dirk Bogarde, Albert Lieven and Bruno Barnabe), but hoped to capture a local and loyal following.

The Round House was started by Vesker as a community arts centre where artists of the highest calibre would pool their work, making it available to those who could not normally afford to indulge a taste for the arts. Again it was hoped that locals would support it, though Vesker also felt that the reputation of the artists using the venue would draw audiences from all over London and ultimately gain a national following for Centre 42.

The Open Space had no such pretensions. It was designed to appeal to those who were disenchanted with commercial theatre. Because it was a fringe theatre (i.e. outside the main stream both geographically and physically and by virtue of its repertoire) it was aimed at predominantly young and not necessarily local audiences.

Artistic Policy: Choice of Repertoire

It was essential that each of the managements should choose a repertoire of plays which would fulfil their aims, but only the Nye/Penrose company made a conscious effort in the early stages to produce the kind of material they thought would be suitable. Nye consistently tried to introduce new plays, but they invariably did less well than the revivals of melodramas. The new plays she used were either of very little artistic merit (e.g. Craven House and The Leopard), or their subject matter was too similar to that of the middle-class West End entertainment. During the

revival of The Chiltern Hundreds it became abundantly clear that this was not the right sort of show to draw the Camden public but Nye unfortunately decided to keep promoting new writers until the change in policy came too late to re-animate business.

At the Open Space theatre a different situation existed. Marowitz, like Vesker with his Centre 42, had always intended that his work should be subsidised. It was therefore essential to start with material which would attract full houses so that subsidising bodies could see there was a need for his theatre. New works which were not experimental at all but had popular appeal were produced at first (particularly those which contained material which would have been banned before 1966); this policy, however, created an image which was not what Marowitz had intended, though he was quite capable of capitalising on it. Only for brief periods was he able to present the work he really cared for.

Vesker wanted his work to influence the everyday lives of people who could not normally afford to enjoy the arts, and who had no tradition of doing so, but he was also concerned with raising the standard of their taste, so that it was not enough to give them the kind of entertainment they expected to enjoy. He never had the chance to put his policy into effect, but his choice would not have been made on commercial lines. Hoskins opposed Vesker's approach, and after Vesker had left, allowed in any company who would hire the building, so this theatre built up its own image in a haphazard fashion. The kind of shows which gravitated towards it had their similarities, and it became obvious which kind of plays were suited to the auditorium. In general they were company-created and relied on spectacle to make their impact. From the start works with an anti-establishment bias were performed there, and the Round House gradually gained the reputation for being a centre which attracted 'undesirable' characters, i.e. those who were looking for alternatives to the bourgeois ethos and who by their life-style undermined established society - a reputation which was expunged only after Thelma Holt had been there for a year.

Despite this reputation it housed many productions of interest which were genuinely experimental, even though it did not have an official policy of encouraging such works. New plays made little impact there - Brenton and O'Keefe had conspicuous failures with Joint Stock in August 1977, playing to 29% and 22% capacity houses respectively (see CF 38). Egon Downs was well-suited to the Round House auditorium, but the place had not established a reputation for interesting new works by political playwrights, and the public did not come. In his official statement of policy, Marowitz had talked of mixed-media events at the Open Space, but it was really the Round House which captured the market for this sort of theatre because its large performing area could easily accommodate it.

Both the Round House and Open Space survived a long time, precisely because, at certain times during their life-span they offered a genuine alternative to the West End - the Open Space as a result of management policy, the Round House primarily because of its building. Pat Nye wanted to establish a kind of regional repertory system in Camden Town; she had the theatre to do it with but could not stimulate public interest. She had no intention of offering anything which was controversial or high-brow, though she did wish to move away from variety, which had been the Bedford's original fare. It is ironic that before finally closing she felt she had to stoop to the nude revues which had also characterised its immediate post-war past.

Factors Influencing the Repertoire:

1. Finance

It can be considered difficult to sustain artistic integrity when it is once diluted with commercial concerns - this was the view taken by Vesker, who refused to stay with the Round House when he saw the measures that Hoskins was prepared to take to keep it open. Marowitz did not share this view, and tried for a while to produce commercially viable work at his theatre. Vesker believed that only full subsidy could produce artistic works of real worth, and when it became clear that neither the trade unions nor the Arts Council would give it, he gave up and let Hoskins go his own

way. The Arts Council did give grants to certain productions and activities, but as Paul Collins, the present Director of Finance for the Arts Council, said (in interview 16.7.86), recognition of the place as an arts centre came only in 1971-2, when it received its first substantial award of £7,500 and even that was not enough to maintain work of a non-commercial kind.

For Marowitz subsidy meant a capacity for laboratory theatre - i.e. theatre which could experiment with forms as a learning process for actor and director, where the finished product was not necessarily going to appeal to the ordinary public, as opposed to theatre enthusiasts.

A characteristic form that experimental theatre took in the late 60s and early 70s was that of the 'happening'. This type of theatre challenged an audience's preconceptions about the nature of theatre. The audience was forced to play a positive role in proceedings; their roles as spectators and the actor's role as communicator were in the process redefined. One of the ways of exploring this idea was to use a stage or stages on which different actions were taking place simultaneously, or to make the auditorium and stage space the same. Instead of an apparent narrative line, a series of theatrical images would be presented suggesting various themes. Sometimes the action and dialogue were so haphazardly improvised that the final effect was amateurish and confused. Often it was the spectacle itself which made the impact, and not the minimal dialogue.

Marowitz's attitude to this kind of experimental work was ambivalent. On the one hand he used many of the above methods in his collage work, on the other he profoundly disliked what he considered to be an obsession with 'techniques for their own sake' (Plays and Players, July 1971). The groups he named in the article as guilty of this excess were the Pip Simmons Group and Freehold, both of which performed at his theatre.

It can be seen from most of his own work at the Open Space that his way of working on experimental forms was very controlled and limited by a carefully planned script. Even Palach, with all its improvised scenes and its many stages, was carefully orchestrated by Marowitz and Burns.

Spectacle was sometimes allowed to predominate (as in The Four Little Girls), but it co-existed with the careful cutting and shaping of the text. Although audiences at his environmental shows were invited to participate in the action, they were not harangued, bullied or even cajoled into actively working with the actors. Actors and audience did not interact, because there was a text which did not alter according to audience response; the exception to this was Palach. Marowitz's interest was not with theatre as therapy, nor was he concerned to stimulate an awareness of social and political ills, as were so many of the directors of contemporary experimental groups (among them Brook with his production of US, the Becks with their work at the Round House, Pip Simmons, and Nancy Meckler), where the audience was charged with the responsibility for those ills. His concern was with theatre as an art form which he wished to re-invigorate, and not with theatre as a means towards social change. Experiment, for Marowitz, meant not so much a reassessment of the relationship between the actor and audience, as between the audience and the classical text - i.e. the work of art itself. If experiment rests here, as it did with Marowitz, then it can become sterile and repetitive. When he allowed himself to probe further into the nature of experimental theatre, and to use some of those techniques he despised, he was capable of producing inspired work like The Four Little Girls.

Marowitz said many times that experimental work was only authentic when prepared by a permanent group of actors who had a communal sense of purpose and a desire to work and rework their (or rather his) ideas, with no sense of urgency for commercial success. He was not a director who believed in allowing the actors a great deal of freedom; the conception of the piece was his, and he carefully regulated its execution. One of the reasons he was difficult to work with was his unwillingness to consider a view contrary to his own, and he certainly did not value the judgment of many actors or directors. His disinclination to listen to others made him enemies, and sometimes encouraged a blinkered view of the artistic whole. Conversely, it meant that he developed an individual and original style which distinguished all his work. It is ironic in view of his attitude towards actors that he should feel so strongly the need for a permanent company. It suggests a much greater dependence on the actor's input of

individual or corporate creative energy than he was ultimately prepared to allow them. He was probably better at working with actors for short intensive periods than over a long stretch of time, which would produce all sorts of inter-personal tensions. The excellence of his pre-permanent company productions of *Hamlet* and *A Macbeth* (1969) is testimony to his ability to make the most of an ad hoc group's acting skills. He decided to keep his theatre working, despite lack of sufficient subsidy, and over the years the subsidy increased erratically. It can be seen from the figures to be found listed in the Arts Council Library that there was a big jump in the size of the grant both times that Marowitz formed a permanent company: 1971-72, £8,820, and 1972-73, £14,950; 1974-75, £26,754, and 1975-6, £39,310.

It can be seen that as subsidy to the Round House increased, so the standard of work presented there became consistently higher, though not necessarily more adventurous. Under Hoskins the plays that came in changed, to some extent, with the tide of fashion. During Thelma Holt's administration the most important development was the continuity of worthwhile productions. The Open Space was never granted the money it needed to maintain a permanent company, and when it was unable to finance another theatre building, the whole enterprise folded. During the period when subsidy improved, the repertoire became more Marowitz-orientated, with a predominance of his own work being presented. At the Bedford the financial situation influenced the drastic changes made to the publicised programme for season two, and the decision to bring in touring shows in season three, but they were unavailing because they came too late.

Pat Nye's only concern was to fill her theatre - her aims were not altruistic like Vesker's, or experimental like Marowitz's, but she simply failed to produce what the community wanted. Her battle was a difficult one because although she kept ticket prices low (as did each of the managements for various reasons) the country was still suffering from the war years when people needed their money for survival, not indulgence. Her theatre struggled for existence at a time when subsidy was not a

possibility, so it was a pity that she did not get a clearer idea of those people she was likely to attract to the Bedford. Her audience for Lady Audley's Secret gave her a lead, but she did not take it (and having seen the lack of success of the transfer, she might have seen that her audience was not synonymous with the West End). Even when she altered the repertoire to a series of melodramas and had good results with the burlesqued version of East Lynne, she did not manage to make enough money to continue.

A great deal of the money available to the Round House and the Open Space was raised from the private sector. Marowitz made money by establishing for himself a reputation in Europe and America, where he took his Shakespeare collages and Artaud at Rodez. Some of these shows originated abroad; An Othello was written by request for the Wiesbaden Festival in 1972, and Edda for the centennial festival of the Bergen National Theatre in 1978. In England (1973, 1974 and 1975) he presented Hamlet and The Shrew in conjunction with workshops for the Open University, where they formed part of the teaching programme. When he toured his collage work it was nearly always done together with special classes for University or drama school students - he worked extensively with David Hirst and his undergraduates at Birmingham University on his own collages and on Artaudian theory. Thelma Holt used her considerable skills at persuading companies and individuals to sponsor work, notably to finance the Open Space's opening and Marowitz's own productions. She also raised money for the Round House to bring the Rustaveli company to England, to bring provincial shows to London, and to support the building conversion which she embarked on at the end of 1978.

Pat Eye was dependent on the money which she and her colleagues and friends agreed to put up for the purchase of the Bedford. Actors and directors were chosen because they were interested in the project and were willing to help financially (e.g. Dirk Bogarde and Kenneth Tynan). After that she needed good houses in order to keep up the payments to the Pearlbergs and to maintain her company.

2. Environment and Buildings

Obviously the buildings and geographical situation influenced the fortunes of the three theatres. Both the Bedford and the Round House were accessible to all Londoners, but their situation outside the central theatre area meant that non-local audiences needed to travel farther. The Open Space, which was closest to the West End (near Oxford Street), had no local audience as such. It was very well situated to capture a lunch-time public - those who worked in the area, or those who were simply wandering by - but audiences were expected from all over London, particularly those who read the 'alternative theatre' pages in Time Out. Although the Open Space was closest geographically to the West End, it was, paradoxically, the Round House which supplied the West End with successful transfers (eg Oh! Calcutta!, Catch My Soul, Godspell, and others) cashing in on the fashion for sexually explicit shows (post-1966) and rock musicals. At the outset of the Open Space project two plays transferred to bigger theatres, Fortune and Men's Eyes to the Comedy, and Blue Comedy to the Yvonne Arnaud in Guildford, which helped the company financially, though it did not become a feature of their future policy.

The theatre buildings themselves determined the repertoire of plays performed, though the Open Space in particular used its very limited space imaginatively and in a great variety of ways. The theatre's name was not meant to denote a large area, but a flexible one - open to unlimited creative use. Its lack of sophistication and stage equipment was its virtue rather than a disadvantage, and even here, with a production like The Four Little Girls, the company managed to transform the theatre's drab appearance into a magical world. It had proved possible both to use the environmental dinginess to enhance a production (Fortune and Men's Eyes), and to create a wholly different locality, though the cost of building it was considerable.

The Round House was so vast that it was never possible to hide its features. Unless, therefore, a company was prepared to use fully what it had to offer the incongruities were too apparent for comfort (e.g. The Friends). Only shows such as La Grande Rugana, whose intrinsic originality was enough

to persuade an audience to attend, managed to survive in spite of their surroundings. It is clear that companies got to know the strengths and weaknesses of the building, so that, for instance, intimate naturalistic dramas ceased to be performed there.

The Bedford Theatre had a stage space that was difficult to use for naturalistic drama: it was very wide and shallow, and never lost its music-hall appearance. For Volfit's rather Victorian style of Shakespeare it worked well. For the musical version of Black-Eyed Susan the company were hampered by lack of stage depth and the action looked cramped. This does not, however, appear to have influenced Nye's choice of plays for the repertoire. Although it was an old music-hall theatre where the performers would have directly addressed the audience, only Lady Audley's Secret exploited its proximity to them.

Both the Round House and the Open Space made successful use of direct audience contact. Sam, Sam at the Open Space used music-hall turns for its main character; shows at the Round House often integrated actors with the audience, where the technique was more appropriate than at the Open Space because of the large auditorium. The Open Space and the Round House both attempted to develop the idea of 'total theatre' which had gained popularity through Richard Schechner in America, and it could be argued that the Bedford made some similar attempts without being aware of the concept, when the management decided to accentuate the Victorian feel of the old music-halls: front of house staff were dressed in period costume, selling programmes and pease pudding. Even before the melodrama season, for the production of Primrose and the Peanuts, Penrose had dressed his staff and decorated his foyer appropriately. Apart from this, Nye did not attempt any unusual staging, but accepted her theatre as it was. If Penrose's idea had the germ of 'environmental' theatre in it, Marowitz was the first to develop it, in 1968, at the Open Space, with Fortune and Men's Eyes, and he continued sporadically to do so until 1971 with The Four Little Girls. The Round House was turned into a circus big-top many times (sometimes for real circuses like Gerry Cottle's in 1976 and the Pickle Family Circus in 1981, and sometimes creating a metaphorical circus ring for shows like Brook's Themes on the Tempest and Le Grand Magic Circus).

Perhaps Thelma Holt made the fullest use of an environmental technique when she produced Bartholomew Fair in 1978.

The very nature of these two buildings - a Victorian engine shed and a basement that had served as an old people's centre - demanded a different approach to theatre. The one, tiny and intimate, worked best when the emotions of its audience were fully engaged in the action. This demanded total concentration from the actors and a high standard of acting. The other, vast and impersonal, worked best when rousing its audience to participate exuberantly in the staged events.

The physical condition of the theatres had a part to play in their history too. By the time Nye took over the Bedford, its structure had badly deteriorated, which factor she chose to ignore despite continual flooding in the basement and the glass roof which would not open, and by the time the B.B.C. contemplated taking it over the repairs necessary had become much too serious for them to consider buying it. The Round House too had structural faults which needed attention. When the first Hamlet was presented there the Council would not allow the company to use the gallery for the Ghost and they had to be content with lighting effects instead. It was later repaired, and during the Hoskins era money was constantly being raised to keep the building in working order. These funds were used not only to finance repairs but also to make improvements (to the rostra, the seating, etc.), all of which was an added financial burden for the management. The Open Space initially furnished its auditorium with moveable seating and rostra and the bare essentials for lighting a show; they made very few improvements during their ten years in Tottenham Court Road. Marowitz worked well with simple equipment, and relied on his actors to provide the effects for a production. The Round House extravaganzas often required special lighting and sound effects which the various companies would supply themselves (e.g. for Rabelais). Richardson's company installed a lighting board for Hamlet which they left there for the Round House's future use.

The actual appearance of the theatres from the outside must have played a part in their success and failure. The Round House is an imposing

building which stands with its entrance opening on to a main road. It was not a daunting building to enter, as were the Open Space and the Bedford; there was no mistaking its function because of the posters which adorned its walls. Both the Bedford and the Open Space had peculiarities which might have deterred potential audiences. The Bedford, although unmistakably a theatre, was situated in the rather run-down area of Camden High Street, and its curious long side entrance was dark and forbidding. Instead of entering the foyer directly from the street as one might have expected, there was a rather dark tiled corridor (some of the tiled passage could still be seen in the High Street in 1980), which would not have encouraged a new-comer to enter.

The Open Space premises were placed between strip clubs and cinemas showing sex films. Pedestrians might be forgiven for thinking it was one of these, particularly since the photographs outside often showed naked bodies, so that those entering would either have been people who knew what they wanted to see, or strip-joint clientele who had made a mistake.

3. The Historical Factor

It has already been mentioned that the Bedford was trying to function at a time when there was a general decline in the fortunes of many theatres, and the Bedford's failure to survive is linked with this tendency. The other two theatres were opened in happier times, when censorship had recently been abolished and there was a general willingness to experiment with the established cultural life of the country. The abolition of censorship in 1968 was a key factor in determining the type of production presented at both the Round House and the Open Space, and both managements took advantage of it. It was also a time at which government funds were forthcoming and there was official recognition that new theatrical enterprises needed Arts Council help. Though both managements complained about lack of funding, they benefited considerably from the new enthusiasm for fringe events. In the same way they were clearly victims of cutbacks in government spending during the late 70s and early 80s.

The new wave of experimental theatre after 1968 found a natural home in these two theatres. The hippy drug culture of the sixties for a time attracted a certain kind of audience to the Round House, which was counter-productive in terms of encouraging a local public. The Open Space never at any time aspired to being a social centre, and because of its more central position did not suffer in the same way. It was also a club theatre, which meant in theory that the public needed to join for a small fee before being allowed in. This was a necessary step for the theatre to take in order to circumvent all the usual theatre regulations (e.g. those relating to fire), to which it was impossible that the theatre should conform. It would also have eliminated casual audiences, except that it was not very strictly enforced (see the *Flash* disaster, p.135), and it was legally possible to join if one arrived early enough for membership to be effective on the same day.

The club at the Bedford was voluntary and was designed to attract a core of loyal supporters. This aspect of club membership was also important to the Open Space company as a source of identifiable and regular income. The kind of club that Nye envisaged was one which would give the theatre a room for socialising in and a quiet retreat for those who wanted to read. The Open Space had no such intentions, offering only the kind of facilities which appealed to theatre enthusiasts. In the Bedford's case it provided another example of Nye's confused ideas about potential audiences. Her kind of decorous club surroundings would not have appealed to anyone other than a middle class public and would have promoted the exclusive atmosphere that she wished to avoid. In the 50s, theatre was a predominantly middle class entertainment, and she had no real desire to change this.

The Round House did not form a club, but the public could pay for a regular newsletter, and it had the coffee bar open all day, with a bar open during licensing hours for anyone who cared to drop in; there was also a casual restaurant which often sold good food. Like the Bedford's club it was not meant only for those attending a play performance, but according to Thelma Holt (in interview 19.2.79), many of the people using the bar facilities at the Round House had nothing at all to do with the theatre and

would not have dreamed of going to see the plays. Those belonging to the Bedfordians Club would have been interested in seeing the plays, though not necessarily on the night they used the club room. Towards the end of Nye's directorship the mayor of St. Pancras had urged the public to make the Bedford 'a real cultural centre in St. Pancras' (programme 27.3.50). Nye and Vesker meant different things by the phrase 'cultural centre' - Vesker thought of the Round House as a home for all the arts, whereas Nye envisaged nothing more than theatrical activities at the Bedford. Nevertheless, for both of them, the phrase suggested hopes for building up something important to the community. Unfortunately Nye's enterprise survived for only one year after opening, Vesker's only two, though it had taken much longer than that to initiate his scheme.

Final Comment

The press, both national and local, gave each new venture a great deal of support, both in the form of publicity and of an initial willingness to attend shows. This did not mean that they were uncritical of policy and plays - often quite the reverse - but they helped each theatre to become known to a wider public. The Bedford, during the Nye/Penrose era, was given a boost by pre-opening publicity, and its activities continued to be publicised until the end because the theatre was trying to survive at a time when there was a dearth of interesting theatrical activity in London, but despite this Nye failed to capture an audience.

The Bedford was a music-hall in the popular tradition, but the importance of this type of theatre as an indispensable part of the population's entertainment had sharply declined, and the post-war community in Camden Town needed to see it replaced by something relevant to their age. The management's intention of founding a community theatre was laudable - the ideas of how to do it were at best hazy and led to only a temporary reprieve for the Bedford.

The Open Space was run by two people who were very much more in touch with new ideas on theatre and with what might attract a contemporary

audience. Instead of trying to resurrect something, as the Nye/Penrose management had done, they offered (when they were able to) something original and controversial. Controversy attracts the public, and the reviewers were often in violent disagreement about the merits of a production - an aspect which Marowitz was not slow to encourage. Even here the spirit of change waned, the Marowitz experiments became predictable and interest in his work decreased.

The Round House's most successful presentations were those which returned to the forms of popular entertainment (such as the circus and the open stage conditions of the Elizabethan theatre). However, they were not simply resurrections of old forms, but those forms used in exciting new ways with a particular voice for a twentieth century audience.

The nature of theatre in general, and of the fringe in particular, is ephemeral, though this does not deny it an influence on the future of theatre or a relevance for later generations. More than any other art form (if it is good theatre) it reflects changing tastes and conditions obtaining in contemporary society. Thus the desire to return to a secure and undemanding mode of life after the war years could be seen as characteristic of the successes at the Bedford Theatre (though they did not simply rehash the past but presented the old values in a new form), and the emphasis on alternatives to the status quo after 1968 (with student protests and the political changes in the world at large) could be seen as a parallel to the innovations on the fringe. If the failures outweighed the successes at the Bedford it was because Nye had not accurately judged Camden Town's potential audiences.

Theatre is also at the mercy of the changing times, and if it does not express those changes it becomes redundant. This is what happened to an extent at the Bedford and the Open Space, though it is arguable that had Marowitz been able to find a new building for his company his work might have gained some of its old sense of purpose and be with us still. The enormous cost of up-keep at the Round House necessitated large sums of money before any theatrical activities could begin, and the Arts Council was finally not willing to pay.

The Bedford's building should never have been allowed to deteriorate so far that huge sums of money were needed to restore it. Even if Nye had made a success of her family theatre she could never have earned enough money from it to renovate the building. It would have taken funds from other sources to support such a project. It is clear from her experience that it is not enough simply to want to own a theatre, or to be a good actress or artistic director. A good partnership is necessary where qualities of administration, diplomacy, artistic talent and an ability to raise funds combine for success. Of the three enterprises, the Open Space was the only one to find the right combination, so that innovative excellence and competent management kept it running for twelve years. The scale of this venture was much smaller than the other two - it operated in more modest surroundings, and Marowitz wisely chose to emphasise the need for imaginative acting and resourceful production techniques, thus presenting 'poor theatre' at its best. The fight for survival seems to have contributed to this theatre's success as well as to its final closure in that there was a determination to make use of every available expedient. It was the theatre's misfortune that the Holt/Marowitz partnership terminated because the will to prevail evaporated with it.

Subsidy provides the right to fail - Nye could not reckon on that right, and having made some wrong decisions initially could not continue to bring her entertainment to the locals. In harsh economic conditions the fringe, which was once essential for providing an outlet for new work, is now much less in evidence. The demise of the Open Space and the Round House is linked with the gradual erosion of subsidised London fringe theatre. Given that the arts are vital to the quality of people's lives and that theatre is one of those which could reach large numbers of the population, there is a need for the government to recognise its diversity and to show a practical concern for its continuance. The Bedford and the Open Space theatres have been demolished - the Round House still stands in Chalk Farm Road. Their contribution to the life of British and even world theatre at various stages of their history has been invaluable, and what can be learnt from their histories should be instrumental in creating new and significant theatre for the future.

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Ibsen, Henrik, Hedda Gabler, adapted by Charles Marowitz as Hedda

Ibsen, Henrik, Hedda Gabler, adapted by Charles Marowitz as Hedda (actor's copy)

Ionesco, Eugene, Macbett, translated by Charles Marowitz (lighting plot)

Magdalany, Philip, Boo Hoo

Marowitz, Charles, Artaud at Rodez (lighting plot)

Pontac, Perry, The Old Man's Comforts (actor's copy)

Shakespeare, William, Macbeth, adapted by Charles Marowitz (actor's copy)

Shakespeare, William, Macbeth, adapted by Charles Marowitz (director's copy)

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The Reunion, Sight-Seeing, The Street Corner
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APPENDIX 1: Play Lists

Chronological List of Productions at the Bedford Theatre

F.J. Butterworth's Season (except where otherwise stated, all plays were presented by The Richmond Players)

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>COMPANY</u>	<u>DATE</u>
<u>While the Sun Shines</u>	Terence Rattigan		14.04.47
<u>Night Must Fall</u>	Emlyn Williams		21.04.47
<u>Flare Path</u>	Terence Rattigan		28.04.47
<u>Jane Steps Out</u>	Kenneth Horne		05.05.47
<u>White Cargo</u>	Leon Gordon		12.05.47
<u>George and Margaret</u>	Gerald Savory		19.05.47
<u>Pink String and Sealing-Wax</u>	Ronald Pertwee		26.05.47
<u>The Third Time Lucky</u>	Arnold Ridley		02.06.47
<u>Pygmalion</u>	G.B. Shaw		09.06.47
<u>Rookery Nook</u>	Ben Travers		16.06.47
<u>Pick-Up Girl</u>	Elsa Shelley	The New Lindsay Theatre Company	23.06.47
<u>The Shop at Sly Corner</u>	Edward Percy	The New Lindsay Theatre Company	30.06.47
<u>While Parents Sleep</u>	Anthony Kimmins		07.07.47
<u>Frieda</u>	Ronald Miller		14.07.47
<u>All This is Ended</u>	Jack Aldridge		21.07.47
<u>Ten Little Niggers</u>	Agatha Christie		28.07.47
<u>Meet the Wife</u>	Lynn Starling		04.08.47
<u>On the Spot</u>	Edgar Wallace		11.08.47
<u>Without the Prince</u>	Philip King		18.08.47
<u>Arsenic and Old Lace</u>	Joseph Kesselring		25.08.47
<u>They Walk Alone</u>	Max Catto		01.09.47
<u>Is Your Honeymoon Really Necessary</u>	E.V. Tidmarsh		08.09.47
<u>Candida</u>	G.B. Shaw		15.09.47
<u>The Two Mrs. Carrolls</u>	Martin Vale		22.09.47
<u>Smilin' Through</u>			29.09.47
<u>Ladies in Retirement</u>	Reginald Denham,		06.10.47
	Edward Percy		
<u>Damaged Goods</u>	Brieux		13.10.47
<u>Camille</u>	Dumas		20.10.47
<u>No Medals</u>	Esther McCracken		27.10.47
<u>Private Lives</u>	Noel Coward		03.11.47
<u>Man About the House</u>	F.B. Young		10.11.47
<u>Love from a Stranger</u>	Agatha Christie		17.11.47
<u>The Amazing Doctor Clitterhouse</u>	Barre Lyndon		24.11.47
<u>Peg O' My Heart</u>	J. Hartley Manners		01.12.47
<u>Jane Eyre</u>	Charlotte Bronte		08.12.47
<u>Blackmail</u>	Charles Bennett		15.12.47
<u>Ambrose Applejohn's Adventures</u>			22.12.47
<u>Hip Hip Zoo Rav</u>		The Roberts Brothers	29.12.47

Donald Wolfit's Shakespeare Season

<u>The Merchant of Venice</u>	31.01.49
<u>Macbeth</u>	07.02.49
<u>Twelfth Night</u>	14.02.49
<u>Macbeth</u>	21.02.49
<u>Much Ado about Nothing</u>	28.02.49
<u>King Lear with Twelfth Night as the matinee</u>	07.03.49
<u>The Merry Wives of Windsor</u>	14.03.49

The plays then went into repertory

<u>Hamlet</u>	04.04.49
<u>Othello</u>	18.04.49

The plays then went into repertory until 22 May.

Douglas Seale's Shaw Season for Donald Wolfitt

<u>Pygmalion</u>	23.05.49
<u>The Ince of Perusalem. and Candida</u>	30.05.49
<u>Arms and the Man</u>	06.06.49
<u>Major Barbara</u>	13.06.49
<u>The Apple Cart</u>	20.06.49
<u>Mrs. Warren's Profession</u>	27.06.49

Donald Wolfitt's Return

<u>The Master Builder</u>	Ibsen	04.07.49
<u>Harlequinade. a variety programme</u>		11.07.49

The Nye/Penrose seasons

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>DIRECTOR</u>	<u>DATE</u>
<u>Lady Audley's Secret</u>	C.H. Hazelwood	Judith Furse	17.10.49
<u>A Wind on the Heath</u>	Ronald Adam	Joan Swinstead	31.10.49
<u>A Guardsman's Cup of Tea or</u>	Thomas Browne	John Penrose	14.11.49
<u>Her Right to Love</u>			
<u>The Chiltern Hundreds</u>	William Douglas Home	Joan Swinstead	28.11.49
<u>The Crooked Billet</u>	Dion Titheradge	Noel Howlett	12.12.49
<u>The Shaughraun</u>	Dion Boucicault	Judith Furse	24.01.50
<u>The Leopard</u>	Dorothy Lang	Joan Swinstead	06.02.50
<u>Primrose and the Peanuts</u>	Peter Wildeblood	Gordon Crier	27.03.50
<u>Craven House</u>	Diana Hamilton	Ken Tynan	13.03.50
<u>East Lynne</u>	John Oxenford	Gordon Crier	27.03.50
<u>Trilby</u>	George Du Maurier	Judith Furse	17.04.50
<u>The Silver King</u>	adapted by Paul Potter		
	Henry Arthur Jones,	Gordon Crier	08.05.50
	Henry Hermann		
<u>The Bells</u>	Leopold Lewis	Ken Tynan	29.05.50
<u>Black Ey'd Susan</u>	Douglas Jerrold	Gordon Crier	19.06.50

Shows televised from the Bedford, listed in 'Programmes as Broadcast', from the B.B.C. Written Archives:

<u>Variety on View</u>		27.10.46
<u>Variety on View</u>		24.11.46
<u>Variety on View</u>		26.01.47
<u>Variety on View</u>		27.04.47
<u>Variety on View</u>		01.06.47
<u>Without the Prince</u>	Philip King	22.08.47
<u>Have a Go</u>		26.10.47
<u>Lady Audley's Secret</u>	C.H. Hazelwood	Judith Furse
<u>Music Hall</u>		25.10.49
<u>Turn it Up (Jimmy Jewel, Ben Warris)</u>		18.08.51
		24.11.51

PLAY

Jimmy Jewel and Ben Warris
Pot Luck, with Charlie Chester
Life Begins at Sixty
Pot Luck
The Howerd Crowd, with Frankie Howerd
Music Hall
Pot Luck

DATE

15.12.51
26.12.51
28.12.51
09.01.52
12.01.52
19.01.52
23.01.52

Chronological List of Productions at the Open Space

(LT) = Lunch-time; (LN) = Late-night

PLAY	AUTHOR	DIRECTOR	DATE
1. <u>Fortune & Men's Eyes</u>	John Herbert	Charles Marowitz	11.07.68
2. (LT) <u>Come</u>	Open Space Company	Charles Marowitz	22.07.68
3. (LN) <u>Keep Tightly Closed in a Cool Dark Place</u>	Megan Terry	Roger Hendricks Simon	08.08.68
4. <u>Blue Comedy</u>	Paul Ableman	Charles Marowitz	21.10.68
5. (LN) <u>One Autumn Evening</u>	Friedrich Dürrenmatt	Fredrick Proud	01.11.68
6. (LN) <u>The Ringa Ranga Roo</u>	Eliza Ward	Eliza Ward	13.11.68
7. (LN) <u>An Exhibition of Stammering & Stuttering</u>	Jack Sheperd & Roger Booth		17.11.68
8. <u>The Lunatic, The Secret Sportsman & The Woman Next Door</u>	Stanley Eveling	Max Stafford-Clark	03.12.68
10. <u>Come & Be Killed</u>	Stanley Eveling	Michael Blakemore	17.12.68
9. (LN) <u>Cirkus</u>	Hakan Strangberg	Hakan Strangberg	26.12.68
19. <u>Fucknam</u>	Tuli Kupferberg		31.12.68
11. (LN) <u>Puny Little Life Show</u>	The Scaffold	The Scaffold	09.01.69
15. (LN) <u>War</u>	J-C van Itallie	Roger Hendricks Simon	30.01.69
16. <u>One is One & All Alone & Ever More Shall Be So</u>	Julian Chagrin	Julian Chagrin	04.03.69
14. <u>The Fun War</u>	Geoffrey Bush	Charles Marowitz	25.03.69
<u>Muzeeka</u>	John Guare	Charles Marowitz	25.03.69
13. <u>A Whitman Portrait</u>	Paul Shyre	Paul Shyre	17.04.69
20. (LN) <u>Metamorphosis</u>	Kafka, adapted by John Abulafia		24.04.69
18. <u>Macbeth</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		20.05.69
21. (LN) <u>The Law Circus</u>	David Mairowitz	David Mairowitz	06.06.69
23. <u>Programme of Pop Films</u>			24.06.69
12. <u>Theatre Seminar</u>			07.07.69
22. <u>Hamlet</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		07.07.69
24. <u>Season of American Plays (see 25 - 28 inc)</u>			12.08.69
25. <u>The Body Builders</u>	Mike Weller	Roland Rees	12.08.69
<u>Now There's Just the Three of Us</u>	Mike Weller	Roland Rees	
26. <u>Rats</u>	Israel Horowitz	Walter Donohue	26.08.69
<u>The Indian Wants The Bronx</u>	Israel Horiwitz	Walter Donohue	
27. <u>Birdbirth</u>	Leonard Melfi	Roland Rees	02.09.69
<u>Halloween</u>	Leonard Melfi	Roland Rees	
28. <u>An American Package: The Hunter and the Bird</u>	Van Itallie	Roger Hendricks Simon	08.09.69
<u>Ex-Miss Copper Queen on a Set of Pills</u>	Megan Terry	Roger Hendricks Simon	
<u>The loveliest Afternoon of the Year</u>	John Guare	Roger Hendricks Simon	
<u>Botticelli</u>	Terence McNally	Roger Hendricks Simon	
30. <u>Don't Gas The Blacks</u>	Barry Reckord	Lloyd Reckord	20.10.69
31. <u>Are Critics Necessary</u>			16.11.69
29. <u>Leonardo's Last Supper</u>	Peter Barnes	Charles Marowitz	04.12.69
<u>Noonday Demons</u>	Peter Barnes	Charles Marowitz	
32. <u>Open Space Movies</u>			06.12.69
36. <u>Alas Poor Fool</u>	Neil Mundy	Nicholas Young	19.01.70
33. <u>Hot Buttered Roll</u>	Rosalyn Drexler	Charles Marowitz	19.02.70
<u>The Investigation</u>	Rosalyn Drexler	Charles Marowitz	
35. (LN) <u>New Victorian Line</u>	Tony Jason	Leslie Rocker	04.03.70
34. (LN) <u>Bleak Moments</u>	Mike Leigh	Mike Leigh	16.03.70
40. <u>Find Your Way Home</u>	John Hopkins	Kevin Billington	12.05.70
18. <u>Macbeth</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		18.06.70
41. (LT) <u>Box & Cox</u>	John Mortimer		06.07.70
42. <u>The Civil War (rock concert)</u>	Bill Russo		27.07.70
43. <u>Chicago Conspiracy</u>	John Burgess	Charles Marowitz	24.08.70
45. <u>Superman</u>	Pip Simmons Co.	Pip Simmons	15.09.70
38. (LN) <u>Creatures of the Chase</u>	Willard Manus	Walter Donohue	24.09.70

PLAY	AUTHOR	DIRECTOR	DATE
46. <u>Stuff</u>	The Scaffold	The Scaffold	27.10.70
37. <u>Palach</u>	Alan Burns	Charles Marowitz	11.11.70
48. (LN) <u>XXXXX Nativity</u>	Billy Hoffman & Wherehouse La Mamma	John Vacarro	16.12.70
47. (LN) <u>PC Plod</u>	The Scaffold	The Scaffold	12.01.71
39. <u>Curtains</u>	Tom Mallin	Michael Rudman	19.01.71
50. (LT) <u>Gum & Goo</u>	Howard Brenton	Janet Henfrey	22.02.71
51. <u>The Cuban Missile Crisis</u>	John Ford	Albert Hunt	15.03.71
49. <u>Flash Gordon & the Angles</u>	David Mairowitz	Walter Donohue	16.03.71
52. (LT) <u>Icarus's Mother</u>	Sam Shepard	David Benedictus	20.03.71
53. (LT & LN) <u>Grant's Movie</u>	Mike Weller	David Benedictus	29.03.71
55. (LT) <u>The Difference</u>	Peter Bergman	Charles Marowitz	20.04.71
54. <u>A New Communion for Freaks. Prophets & Witches</u>	Jane Arden	Jane Arden	29.04.71
56. (LT) <u>Tira Tells Everything There is to Know About Herself</u>	Mike Weller	Walter Donohue	10.05.71
57. (LT) <u>Ritual of the Dolls</u>	George McEwan-Green	Walter Donohue	?
44. <u>The Critic As Artist</u>	Oscar Wilde, adapted by Charles Marowitz		26.05.71
58. <u>International Association of Theatre Critics Congress</u>	Terrence McNally	Charles Marowitz & Mick Rodger	30.05.71
59. <u>Sweet Eros</u>	Terrence McNally		12.06.71
Next			
61. <u>The People Show No. 39</u>	The People Show Group		19.08.71
62. <u>My Foot My Tutor</u>	Peter Handke	Ronald Hayman	29.09.71
Home Front	Martin Walser	Ronald Hayman	29.09.71
63. (LT) <u>Your Humble Servant</u>	Robert Robertson	Robert Robertson	05.10.71
65. <u>Lay By</u>	Portable Theatre Co.	Snoo Wilson	20.10.71
64. (LT) <u>George & Moira Entertain a Member of the Opposite Sex to Dinner</u>	John Grillo	John Burgess	27.10.71
67. <u>Bluebeard</u>	Charles Ludlam	Charles Ludlam	16.11.71
66. (LT) <u>A Sky Blue Life</u>	Howard Brenton	Walter Donohue	18.11.71
17. <u>The Four Little Girls</u>	Pablo Picasso	Charles Marowitz	15.12.71
68. <u>Sam Sam</u>	Trevor Griffiths	Charles Marowitz	09.02.72
69. (LT) <u>Edward - The Final Days</u>	Howard Barker	Roger Coward	15.02.72
72. <u>Sylveste Again: Yet Another Evening With Sylveste McCoy (human bomb)</u>	Ken Campbell	Ken Campbell	03.03.72
71. <u>The Writers' Lot</u>			06.03.72
70. (LN) <u>The Creditors</u>	Strindberg	Roger Swain	22.03.72
22. <u>Marowitz Hamlet</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		22.04.72
74. (LT) <u>How Beautiful With Badges</u>	Howard Brenton	Walter Donohue	02.05.72
60. <u>An Othello</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		07.06.72
75. <u>The Tooth of Crime</u>	Sam Shepard	Charles Marowitz & Walter Donohue	17.07.72
76. (LT) <u>Phoenix & Turtle</u>	David Mowat	Peter Watson	03.08.72
77. <u>Alpha Alpha</u>	Howard Barker	Peter Watson	11.09.72
78. (LT) <u>Playing with Fire</u>	Strindberg	Peter Watson	07.11.72
79. <u>The Old Man's Comforts</u>	Perry Pontac	Charles Marowitz	21.12.72
80. <u>Man of Destiny</u>	Bernard Shaw	Charles Marowitz	18.01.73
81. <u>Woyzeck</u>	Georg Büchner	Charles Marowitz	19.02.73
82. (LT) <u>Rosencrantz & Guildenstern</u>	WS Gilbert	Stuart Mungall	06.03.73
83. <u>The Cage</u>	Rick Cluchey	Rick Cluchey	03.05.73
84. (LT) <u>The 47th Saturday</u>	William Trevor	Jeremy Young	03.05.73
85. <u>Bang</u>	Howard Barker	Ron Daniels	23.05.73
73. <u>The Houseboy</u>	Irving Wardle	Charles Marowitz	13.06.73
86. <u>Excuses Excuses</u>	David Edgar	Christopher Parr	16.07.73
87. (LT) <u>The Local Stigmatic</u>	Heathcote Williams	David Farnsworth	15.08.73
88. <u>And They Put Handcuffs on the Flowers</u>	Fernando Arrabal	Petrika Ionescu	12.09.73
89. <u>The Shrew</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		01.11.73

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>DIRECTOR</u>	<u>DATE</u>
90. (LT) <u>Apropos of the Falline Sleet</u>	Dostoyevski, adapted by Robert Stephens		14.11.73
91. <u>Ashes</u>	David Rudkin	Pam Brighton	09.01.74
92. <u>The Collected Works</u>	David Mowat	Peter Stevenson	13.02.74
93. <u>Marriage de Luxe</u>	Serge Behar	The Roy Hart Theatre	03.04.74
<u>Biodrama</u>	Serge Behar	The Roy Hart Theatre	03.04.74
<u>Ich Bin</u>	Paul Portner	The Roy Hart Theatre	03.04.74
94. (LT) <u>A Nevolent Society</u>	Mary O'Malley	Francis Fuchs	01.05.74
95. <u>Sherlock's Last Case *</u>	Matthew Lang	Charles Marowitz	24.03.74
96. <u>Schippel</u>	Carl Sternheim	Mike Ockrent	17.10.74
99. <u>The Kid</u>	Robert Coover	Chris Hayes	05.12.74
97. <u>The Snob</u>	Carl Sternheim	Charles Marowitz	18.12.74
98 (LT) <u>Mr. Poe</u>	Robert Nye	John Abulafia	07.01.75
100. <u>Claw</u>	Howard Barker	Chris Parr	01.02.75
102. <u>The Trial of Mary Dugan</u>	Bernard Veiller	?	12.03.75
101. <u>Celebration</u>	Keith Waterhouse, Willis Hall	Bernard Kricheski	19.03.75
103. <u>Measure for Measure</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		28.05.75
104. (LT) <u>Prisoner & Escort</u>	Charles Wood	Nikolas Simmonds	24.06.75
106. <u>Meira Shore (folk singer)</u>			03.07.75
105. <u>Iphigenia in Tauris</u>	Goethe	John Prudhoe	22.07.75
107. (LT) <u>Down Red Lane</u>	B.S. Johnson	John Abulafia	29.07.75
22. <u>Hamlet</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		Aug 1975
108. (LT) <u>Rosalind</u>	J.M. Barrie	James Mason	20.08.75
109. (LT) <u>The National Theatre</u>	David Edgar	Peter Stevenson	14.10.75
110. <u>Ten Long Years</u>	Roger Hibitt	?	02.11.75
111. <u>Brecht-Tucholsky Evening</u>	Eva Meier	Eva Meier	08.12.75
<u>Frank Wedekind</u>			
112. <u>Artaud at Rodez</u>	Charles Marowitz	Charles Marowitz	17.12.75
89. <u>The Shrew</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		23.12.75
115. <u>Anatol</u>	Arthur Schnitzler	Charles Marowitz	11.02.76
114. (LT) <u>Dialogue Between Friends</u>	Garry O'Connor	Peter Watson	17.02.76
116. (LT) <u>Sense of Loss</u>	Alan Drury	Timothy West	09.03.76
117. (LT) <u>Logue for Lunch</u>	Christopher Logue		27.04.76
118. <u>Love Us & Leave Us</u>	Peter Terson & Paul Joyce	Paul Joyce	03.06.76
121. (LT) <u>Christie in Love</u>	Howard Brenton	Andrew Carr	July 76
119. <u>Hanratty in Hell</u>	Andrew Carr	Charles Marowitz	01.07.76
120. <u>Seven Girls</u>	Carl-Johan Seth	Carl-Johan Seth	12.08.76
122. <u>Variations on the Merchant of Venice</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Charles Marowitz		17.05.77
123. <u>Interview with Glenda Jackson</u>		Charles Marowitz	05.06.77
113. <u>Mecca</u>	E.A. Whitehead	Jonathan Hales	06.07.77
125. <u>Cirrus (rock concert)</u>			18.07.77
126. (LT) <u>Split</u>	Mike Weller	David Freeman	19.07.77
127. <u>Twelfth Night</u>	Shakespeare	Michael Gearin-Tosh	07.09.77
128. <u>Suicide in B Flat</u>	Sam Shepard	Kenneth Chubb	17.10.77
124. <u>Censured Scenes from King Kong</u>	Howard Schuman	Colin Bucksey	18.11.77
129. <u>A Day For Ever</u>	Michael Sharp	Madhar Sharma	01.02.78
130. <u>Penta (dance group)</u>			28.02.78
131. <u>Steps, Notes & Squeaks (Dance)</u>	Maina Gielgud		14.03.78
132. <u>Orpheus</u>	Stephen Rumbelow	Stephen Rumbelow	20.03.78
133. <u>Cool Million</u>	Robert Walker	Robert Walker	22.04.78
134. <u>The Ball Game</u>	Tom Thomas	John Fortune	29.05.78
135. <u>Jazz Cabaret</u>	Mike Westbrook		04.07.78
136. <u>Three Black & Three White</u>	L.O. Sloan	L.O. Sloan	11.07.78
<u>Refined Jubilee Minstrels</u>			

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>DIRECTOR</u>	<u>DATE</u>
137. <u>Boo Hoo</u>	Philip Magdalany	Charles Marowitz	27.07.78
138. <u>End Game</u>	Samuel Beckett	Rick Cluchey	18.10.78
<u>Krapp's Last Tape</u>	Samuel Beckett	Samuel Beckett	
139. <u>A Respectable Wedding</u>	Bertolt Brecht	Mike Ockrent	12.12.78
140. <u>Brimstone & Treacle</u>	Dennis Potter	Robert Chetwyn	07.02.79
141. <u>Venus in Furs</u>	Moving Being	Geoff Moore	21.03.79
142. <u>PS Your Cat is Dead</u>	James Kirkwood	Richard Marquand	17.04.79
143. <u>Fifty Words: Bits of Lenny Bruce</u>	Danny Brainin	Danny Brainin	June 79
144. <u>A Life in the Theatre</u>	David Mamet	Alan Pearlman	18.07.79
148. <u>A Mime Master Class</u>	Miklos Kollo	Miklos Kollo	24.08.79
145. <u>The Private Life of the Third Reich</u>	Bertolt Brecht	Nikolas Simmonds	12.09.79
147. <u>Weekly Play Readings:</u>			
<u>In Australia I Will</u>	Andrew Carr	beginning	22.10.79
<u>A Visitor for Xmas</u>	Barbara Creagh		
<u>Dirty Tricks</u>	Michael Gill		
<u>Before Dawn</u>	Kerim Arawi		
<u>Daddy</u>	Keith Dorland		
<u>A Turn for the Worse</u>	Peter Tegel		
<u>Fladge & Vadge</u>	Brendan Gregory		
<u>Home & Dry</u>	Jo Shallis		
146. <u>The Father</u>	Strindberg	Charles Marowitz	07.11.79

Chronological List of Productions Presented by the OS in Other Theatres

149. <u>Jump</u> , Nottingham Playhouse	Larry Gelbert	Charles Marowitz	16.08.71
transfer to Queen's, London			26.08.71
150. <u>Rule Britannia</u> , King's Head, London	Howard Barker	Charles Marowitz	06.01.73
151. <u>Macbett</u> , Belgrade, Coventry	Eugene Ionesco	Charles Marowitz	July 73
152. <u>Ubu Roi</u> , Jeannetta Cochrane, London	Jarry, adapted by Spike Milligan	Charles Marowitz	25.02.80
153. <u>The Strongest Man in the World</u> , Round House, London	Barry Collins	Charles Marowitz	08.07.80
154. <u>Hedda</u> , Round House, London	Ibsen, adapted by Charles Marowitz		05.08.80

* In his most recent anthology of plays, Potboilers (London, 1986), Marowitz amusingly discloses that he is the author of Sherlock's Last Case.

Chronological List of Main-House Productions
at the Round House

Numbers following the play titles refer to the cuttings books in which reviews appear.
(LN) = Late-night

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>DIRECTOR</u>	<u>DATE</u>
<u>Themes on the Tempest</u>	Shakespeare, adapted by Peter Brook		17.07.68
<u>The Hero Rises Up</u> (3)	John Arden,	John Arden,	06.11.68
<u>Hamlet</u> (3-6)	Margaretta D'Arcy	Margaretta Darcy	
<u>Frankenstein</u> (5,6,9)	Shakespeare	Tony Richardson	17.02.69
	The Living Theatre	Julian Beck,	04.06.69
		Judith Malina	
<u>Mysteries</u> (5,6,9)	The Living Theatre	Julian Beck,	06.06.69
		Judith Malina	
<u>Paradise Now</u> (5-7,9)	The Living Theatre	Julian Beck,	09.06.69
		Judith Malina	
<u>Antigone</u> (5,6,9)	The Living Theatre	Julian Beck,	11.06.69
<u>Jenny</u> (6,7)	Shane Connaughton	Gavin Richards	30.06.69
<u>Metamorphosis</u> (7)	Kafka, adapted by Steven Berkoff		09.07.69
<u>In the Penal Colony</u> (7)	Kafka, adapted by Steven Berkoff		09.07.69
<u>The Preacher</u> (7)	Alex Oduro		? .08.69
<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	Shakespeare	Monica Norton	13.08.69
<u>Macbeth</u> (7,8)	Shakespeare	David Weston	09.09.69
<u>Son of Man</u> (8,9)	Dennis Potter	Robin Midgley	12.11.69
<u>Oh What a Lovely War</u> (8)	Joan Littlewood	Kevin Palmer	? .12.69
(LN) <u>Antigone</u> (8)	Sophocles	Nancy Meckler	19.11.69
<u>Roberts Brothers Circus</u> (8,9)			26.12.69
<u>The Blacks</u> (9)	Genet	Minos Volanakis	03.02.70
<u>Oh Democracy</u>	Aristophanes, adapted by George Eugeniou		02.03.70
<u>Keep Tightly Closed in a Cool Dark Place</u> (10)	Megan Terry	Roger H. Simon	16.03.70
<u>This Foreign Field</u> (10)	Alan Sillitoe	Bill Martin	23.03.70
<u>The Friends</u> (10,11)	Arnold Wesker	Arnold Wesker	19.05.70
<u>Carnival</u>	Independent Theatre		02.07.70
<u>Oh! Calcutta!</u> (11-16,43,66)	devised by Kenneth Tynan		27.07.70
<u>When Thou Art King</u> (16,18)	Shakespeare, adapted by John Barton		03.11.70
<u>Arden of Feversham</u> (16,18)	Buzz Goodbody		05.11.70
<u>King John</u> (16,18)	Buzz Goodbody		09.11.70
<u>Dr. Faustus</u> (16,18)	Marlowe	Gareth Morgan	23.11.70
<u>A Midsummer Night's Dream</u> (16,18)	Shakespeare	Peter Brook	04.12.70
<u>Richard III</u> (16,18)	Shakespeare	Terry Hands	07.12.70
<u>Hamlet</u> (16,18)	Shakespeare	Trevor Nunn	08.12.70
<u>Catch My Soul</u> (16,17)	Jack Good	Michael Elliott	21.12.70
(LN) <u>The Black Box</u> (18)	John Epstein	John Epstein	21.12.70
<u>Rabelais</u> (18,19)	Jean-Louis Barrault	John-Louis Barrault	18.03.71
<u>Confrontation in the Roman Forum</u>	Hans Keuls	Warren Jenkins	04.05.71
<u>Maybe That's Your Problem</u>	Lionel Chetwynd	Charles Dennis	08.06.71
<u>Titus Andronicus</u> (21)	Shakespeare	Keith Hack	13.07.71
<u>Pork</u> (21)	Andy Warhol	Andy Warhol	02.08.71
<u>Skyvers</u> (22)	Barry Reckord	Pam Brighton	08.09.71
<u>1789</u> (23)	Le Theatre du Soleil	Ariane Mnouchkine	12.10.71
<u>Godspell</u> (27, 102B)	Stephen Schwartz	John-Michael Tebelak	17.11.71
<u>Lila: The Divine Game</u> (30)	Rufus Collins	Joe Donovan	07.02.72
<u>Black Macbeth</u> (30A)	Shakespeare, adapted by Peter Coe		23.02.72
(LN) <u>The Deformed Transformed</u> (30)	Lord Byron	Stephen Rumbelow	02.03.72
<u>Quetzalcoatl</u> (31)	Berta Dominguez	David Cohen	28.03.72
<u>The Wheel</u> (32A)	Bettina Jonic,	Geoffrey Reeves	11.05.72
	Charles Robinson		

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>DIRECTOR</u>	<u>DATE</u>
Murray Louis Dance Company (32)		Murray Louis	31.05.72
<u>Gizelle Tomorrow</u>	Graziella Martinez	Graziella Martinez	13.06.72
<u>The Footlights Revue</u> (41)	Barry Brown	Barry Brown	26.06.72
<u>Rock Carmen</u> (33)	Herb Hendler	Irving Davies	13.07.72
Korean National Dance (32A)			04.09.72
<u>Mother Earth</u> (25)	Ron Thorson	Terry Palmer	20.09.72
<u>England's Ireland</u> (25)	Portable Theatre	David Hare, Snoo Wilson	09.10.72
<u>Stand and Deliver</u> (29)	Wolf Mankowitz	Wendy Toye	24.10.72
<u>Joseph and the Amazing</u>	Tim Rice, Andrew	Frank Dunlop	08.11.72
<u>Technicolour Dreamcoat</u> (29)	Lloyd-Webber		
(LN) <u>To a World</u> (35)	Iris Scaccheri	Iris Scaccheri	09.11.72
<u>Robinson Crusoe</u> (38)	Le Grand Magic Circus	Jerome Savary	20.12.72
<u>The Man from the East</u> (36,38)	Stomu Yamash'ta	Stomu Yamash'ta	29.01.73
<u>Kingdom Coming</u> (39)	Bill Snyder	John Acerski	30.04.73
<u>Pilgrim's Progress</u>	Bunyan, adapted by Peter Albery	Denis Carey	03.06.73
<u>The Mutation Show</u> (41)	Open Theatre	Joseph Chaikin	04.06.73
<u>The Mother</u> (42)	Brecht	Jonathan Chadwick	02.07.73
<u>Footlights 73</u> (41)		Stephen Wyatt	03.07.73
Nigerian Dancing Troupe (42)			23.07.73
<u>Decameron 73</u> (43)	Peter Coe	Peter Coe	06.08.73
<u>The Royal Hunt of the Sun</u> (47)	Peter Shaffer	Toby Robertson	28.08.73
<u>Pericles</u> (47)	Shakespeare	Toby Robertson	30.08.73
<u>Twelfth Night</u> (47)	Shakespeare	Toby Robertson	05.09.73
<u>Decameron 73</u> (46)	Peter Coe	Peter Coe	25.09.73
<u>The Trial</u> (45)	Kafka, adapted by Steven Berkoff		22.11.73
<u>Agamemnon</u> (45)	Aeschylus, adapted by Steven Berkoff		29.11.73
<u>Feast of Fools</u> (37,45)		Jim Hiley	20.12.73
<u>From Moses to Mao</u> (47-48)	Le Grand Magic Circus	Jerome Savary	25.01.74
<u>Ballet Rambert</u> (49)			17.04.74
<u>Twyla Tharp Dance</u> (50)			15.05.74
<u>Les Veuves</u> (50)	Francois Billetdoux	Francois Billetdoux	29.05.74
<u>Go West Young Woman</u> (52)	Pam Gems	Sue Todd	11.06.74
<u>Les Capoeiras de Babia</u> (53)	Brazilian Dance Company		31.07.74
<u>Henry IV Part 1</u> (54)	Shakespeare	Kenny McBain	09.09.74
<u>Henry IV Part 2</u> (54)	Shakespeare	Kenny McBain	10.09.74
<u>120 Days of Sodom</u> (55)	de Sade, adapted by Guiliano Vasillico		11.10.74
<u>Matt Mattox Jazzart Dance Company</u> (53)			23.09.74
<u>The Highwaymen</u> (56)	Schiller	H. Pilikian	12.11.74
<u>Henry V</u> (59)	Shakespeare	Kenny McBain	27.11.74
<u>Henry IV Part 1</u> (59)	Shakespeare	Kenny McBain	29.11.74
<u>Henry IV Part 2</u> (59)	Shakespeare	Kenny McBain	30.11.74
(LN) <u>The Exception and the Rule</u>	Brecht	Gareth Jones	06.12.74
<u>Autosacramentales</u> (55)	Calderon de la Barca	Victor Garcia	18.12.74
<u>Sankofa</u> (dance) (59)		G. Kwame Dziku	14.01.75
<u>Raindog</u> (58)	Stomu Yamash'ta	Stomu Yamash'ta	06.02.75
<u>Ballet Rambert</u> (64,66)			02.04.75
<u>The Taming of the Shrew</u> (65)	Shakespeare	Mervyn Willis	03.06.75
<u>Renga Moi</u> (66,69)	Abafumi Company	Robert Serumaga	29.07.75
<u>Le Palais des Merveilles</u> (70)	Jules Cordiere	Jules Cordiere	30.09.75
<u>Pilgrim</u> (70)	Bunyan, adapted by Jane McCulloch	Toby Robertson	13.10.75
<u>Le Pavillon au Bord de la Rivière</u> (70)	Le Theatre de Gennevilliers	Bernard Sobel	13.11.75
<u>Black Explosion</u>	Black Theatre of Brixton		25.11.75
<u>The Journal of Anais Nin</u> (70)	Moving Being	Geoff Moore	02.12.75

PLAY	AUTHOR	DIRECTOR	DATE
<u>Les Grands Sentiments</u> (73)	Le Grand Magic Circus	Jerome Savary	16.12.75
<u>The Ik</u> (71-73)	Colin Turnbull, adapted by Peter Brook		15.01.76
<u>The Journey</u> (73-74)	Philippa Burrell	John Balliol	31.03.76
<u>La Grande Eugène</u> (75)	Frantz Salieri	Frantz Salieri	24.04.76
<u>Ondeko-Za</u> (dance) (76)		Tagayasu Den	14.10.76
<u>Gerry Cottle's Circus</u>			03.11.76
<u>Mr. Punch's Pantomime</u> (76-77)		Lindsay Kemp	21.12.76
<u>Flowers</u> (77)	Genet, adapted by Lindsay Kemp		31.01.77
<u>Salomé</u> (77-78)	Oscar Wilde	Lindsay Kemp	28.02.77
<u>Illuminatus</u> (80)	Ken Campbell and Chris Langham		02.05.77
<u>The Red Devil Battery Sign</u> (78-79)	Tennessee Williams	Burt Shevelove	08.06.77
<u>Ballet Rambert</u> (78)			05.07.77
<u>Epsom Downs</u> (79-80)	Howard Brenton	Max Stafford-Clark	07.08.77
<u>A Mad World My Masters</u> (78.80)	Barry Keefe	William Gaskill	08.09.77
<u>Sleak</u> (80)	C.P. Lee	Charlie Hanson	04.10.77
<u>Do You Love Me</u>	R.D.Laing, adapted by Edward Petherbridge		29.11.77
<u>The Importance of Being Earnest</u>	Oscar Wilde	Tenniel Evans	29.12.77
<u>Streamers</u> (81-82)	David Rabe	Leslie Lawton	23.02.78
<u>The Hunch</u> (81-82)	Hauser Orkater		22.03.78
<u>Big Sin City</u> (82)	Neil, Lea and John Heather		01.06.78
<u>Ballet Rambert</u> (82,84)			11.07.78
<u>Bartholomew Fair</u> (82)	Ben Jonson	Peter Barnes	03.08.78
<u>The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold</u> (83-84)	Ronald Harwood	Michael Elliott	13.02.79
<u>Don Quixote</u> (84)	Giovanni Paisiello	Tom Hawkes	28.03.79
<u>Variete Variete</u>	Oskar Schlemmer	Belfrid Foron	03.04.79
<u>The Family Reunion</u> (83-85)	T.S. Eliot	Michael Elliott	17.04.79
<u>The Lady from the Sea</u> (83-85)	Ibsen	Michael Elliott	15.05.79
<u>Prometheus</u> (85)	The Living Theatre	Julian Beck, Judith Malina	10.07.79
<u>Dante</u> (86)	Dante, adapted by Josef Szajna		03.08.79
<u>A Midsummer Night's Dream</u> (86,100)	Shakespeare		18.09.79
<u>London Contemporary Dance Theatre</u> (86)		Robert Cohen	02.10.79
<u>The Glass Menagerie</u> (86)	Tennessee Williams	Peter James	12.11.79
<u>The Pig Organ</u> (85.87.88)	Richard Blackford, Ted Hughes	Michael Hackett	03.01.80
<u>The Weavers</u> (88-89)	Gerhart Hauptmann	Paul Marcus	13.02.80
<u>Richard III</u> (87-88)	Shakespeare	Robert Sturua, (Rustaveli Company)	28.01.80
<u>Only in America</u> (88-89)	Ned Sherrin	Ned Sherrin, David Yakir	07.04.80
<u>Hamlet</u> (88-89)	Shakespeare	Steven Berkoff	28.04.80
<u>The Strongest Man in the World</u> (89-90)	Barry Collins	Nikolas Simmonds	03.07.80
<u>Hedda</u> (90)	Ibsen, adapted by Charles Marowitz		31.07.80
<u>Life Swappers</u> (90)	Roger McGough	Simon Gammell	09.09.80
<u>Season's Greetings</u> (90-91,99)	Alan Ayckbourn	Alan Ayckbourn	14.10.80
<u>Don Juan</u> (91-92)	R.D. MacDonald	Philip Prowse	03.12.80
<u>Circus Oz</u> (90-92)			04.11.80
<u>The Canterbury Tales</u> (92)	Chaucer, adapted by Phil Woods	Michael Bogdanov	16.12.80
<u>Suburban Strains</u> (92-93)	Alan Ayckbourn	Alan Ayckbourn	02.02.81
<u>The Duchess of Malfi</u> (91,93-94)	Webster	Adrian Noble	31.03.81
<u>Have You Anything to Declare</u> (94)	Hennequin	Braham Murray	13.05.81

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>DIRECTOR</u>	<u>DATE</u>
<u>Waiting for Godot</u> (93,95)	Beckett	Braham Murray	10.06.81
<u>The Misanthrope</u> (95-96)	Molière	Caspar Wrede	01.07.81
<u>Iphigenia in Lixourion</u> (95-96)	Petros Katsaitis	Spyros Evangelatos	25.08.81
<u>Mephisto</u> (96-97)	Klaus Mann, adapted by Ariane Mnouchkine	Gordon McDougall	30.09.81
<u>The Pickle Family Circus</u> (97-98)			14.12.81
<u>Edward II</u> (98-100)	Brecht	Roland Rees	24.02.82
<u>Zarathustra</u> (101-102)	Ariadone Company of Japan	Ko Murobushi	07.04.82
<u>Othello</u> (101)	Shakespeare	Floorboards Theatre Company	04.05.82
<u>Gormenghast</u>	Mervin Peake, adapted by Jonathan Petherbridge		26.05.82
<u>Gioconda and Si-Ya-U</u>			
<u>Tristan and Isolte</u>	The Talking Band of New York		06.07.82
<u>The Cherry Orchard</u> (102A,102B,102)	Chekhov	Mike Alfreds	09.08.82
<u>Mariedda</u> (102A,102B)	Akroama of Sardinia		15.09.82
<u>Diary of a Hunger Strike</u> (103-104)	Peter Sheridan	Pam Brighton	11.11.82

For cuttings on Centre 42 see books 1,2,5,18
For cuttings on the Round House see books 37,99,102A

APPENDIX 2: Accounts for the Open Space Theatre,
1968-1969

CAMDEN PLAYHOUSE PRODUCTIONS LTD.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

The Directors have pleasure in submitting the Accounts of the Company for the period 30th April, 1968 to 30th June, 1969, and report as follows:

1. Deficit

The excess of Expenditure over Income for the period is £158.

2. Directors

Mr. G. Marowitz
Miss T. Nolt

3. Principal Activities of the Company

To present dramatic works and to explore new techniques in writing, acting and direction.

By Order of the Board

A.A. HILL

Secretary.

24th July, 1969.

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Fortune and Men's Eyes"

9th July, 1968 to 4th October, 1968.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	3,297	
Programme Sales	128	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	586	
Royalty Income	506	
Grant: The Arts Council	<u>350</u>	4,867

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	1,770	
Royalties and Rights	227	
Set Design and Construction	517	
Lighting	126	
Costumes, Wigs and Make-up	215	
Rehearsal Facilities	5	
Programmes and Printing	422	
Miscellaneous	<u>142</u>	3,424

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	1,269	
Rent and Rates	640	
Electricity	80	
Publicity	664	
Telephone	96	
Miscellaneous	<u>140</u>	2,889

COST OF PRODUCTION

6,313

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 1,446

London Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Keep Tightly Closed in a Cool Dark Place"

8th August, 1968 to 21st September, 1968.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	253	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	<u>165</u>	418

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	203	
Royalties and Rights	15	
Set Design and Construction	57	
Lighting	8	
Costumes, Wigs and Make-up	27	
Miscellaneous	<u>20</u>	330

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	355	
Rent and Rates	179	
Electricity	22	
Publicity	173	
Telephone	27	
Miscellaneous	<u>22</u>	792

COST OF PRODUCTION

1,122

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 707

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Bliss Comedy"

22nd October, 1968 to 30th November, 1968.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	1,316	
Programme Sales	90	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	267	
Royalty Income	900	
Grant: The Arts Council	380	
Camden Borough Council	<u>100</u>	
		3,053

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	614	
Royalties and Rights	64	
Set Design and Construction	607	
Lighting	42	
Costumes, Wigs and Make-up	29	
Rehearsal Facilities	5	
Programmes and Printing	154	
Miscellaneous	<u>145</u>	
		1,660

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	975	
Rent and Rates	290	
Electricity	36	
Publicity	381	
Telephone	44	
Miscellaneous	<u>63</u>	
		1,389

COST OF PRODUCTION

3,049

PRODUCTION PROFIT transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

2 4

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"One Autumn Evening"

1st November, 1965 to 9th November, 1965.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	42	
Members' Subscriptions' allocated to this production	<u>39</u>	81

DEBIT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	15	
Royalties and Rights	37	
Miscellaneous	<u>21</u>	

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	85	
Rent and Rates	43	
Electricity	5	
Publicity	41	
Telephone	6	
Miscellaneous	<u>9</u>	
	<u>189</u>	73

COST OF PRODUCTION

	<u>262</u>	
<u>PRODUCTION LOSS</u> transferred to Income and Expenditure Account		£ 181

Garden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Blushing, Stammering and Stuttering"

15th November, 1968 to 23rd November, 1968

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	49	
<u>Less: Due to Tenant Company</u>	<u>21</u>	28
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production		<u>31</u>
		59

DEDUCT:

PRODUCTION OVERSEAS

Production and Front of House Salaries	12 1/2	
Rent and Rates	3 1/2	
Electricity	4	
Publicity	33	
Telephone	5	
Miscellaneous	<u>2</u>	
		<u>202</u>

COST OF PRODUCTION

<u>PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income and Expenditure Account</u>	<u>202</u>	
		<u>6 10</u>

Gordon Flaxman Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Lunatic"

3rd December, 1968 to 14th December, 1968.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	177	
<u>Less: Due to Tenant Company</u>	<u>91</u>	
Programme Sales		83
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production		9
		<u>86</u>
		178

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Royalties and Rights	10	
Set Design and Construction	20	
<u>Programmes and Printing</u>	<u>46</u>	
		76

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	186	
Rent and Rates	94	
Electricity	12	
Publicity	90	
Telephone	14	
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	<u>20</u>	
		<u>416</u>

COST OF PRODUCTION

492

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 314

Condem Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Kings. House. Boy"

5th December, 1968 to 12th January, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	208	
Programme Sales	10	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	<u>62</u>	360

REDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	44	
Royalties and Rights	3	
Set Design and Construction	6	
Rehearsal Facilities	2	
Programme and Printing	<u>45</u>	100

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	135	
Rent and Rates	68	
Electricity	9	
Publicity	76	
Telephone	10	
Miscellaneous	<u>15</u>	313

COST OF PRODUCTION

413

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 53

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Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Come and Be Killed"

20th December, 1968 to 11th January, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	237	
Programme Sales	19	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	<u>165</u>	421

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	642	
Royalties and Rights	15	
Set Design and Construction	451	
Lighting	13	
Rehearsal Facilities	4	
Programmes and Printing	45	
Miscellaneous	<u>60</u>	1,230

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	355	
Rent and Rates	179	
Electricity	22	
Publicity	187	
Telephone	27	
Miscellaneous	<u>40</u>	810

COST OF PRODUCTION

2,040

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 1,619

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Cirkus"

26th December, 1968 to 4th January, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	183	
Programme Sales	9	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	<u>94</u>	286

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	32	
Set Design and Construction	<u>22</u>	

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	203	
Rent and Rates	102	
Electricity	13	
Publicity	170	
Telephone	15	
Miscellaneous	<u>83</u>	
	<u>526</u>	54

COST OF PRODUCTION

	<u>580</u>	
<u>PRODUCTION LOSS</u> transferred to Income and Expenditure Account		£ 294

Garden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

The Scaffold: "The Pomy Little Life Show"

9th January, 1969 to 1st February, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	658	
Programme Sales	13	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	<u>86</u>	757

DEBIT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	190	
Royalties and Rights	302	
Set Design and Construction	7	
Programmes and Printing	<u>18</u>	517

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	186	
Rent and Rates	94	
Electricity	12	
Publicity	197	
Telephone	14	
Miscellaneous	<u>20</u>	483

COST OF PRODUCTION

1,000

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

2 243

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Mae"

30th January, 1969 to 2nd March, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	112	
Less: Due to Tenant Company	<u>2</u>	103
Programme Sales		3
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production		<u>63</u>
		169

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	63	
Set Design and Construction	<u>30</u>	93

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	135	
Rent and Rates	68	
Electricity	9	
Publicity	69	
Telephone	10	
Miscellaneous	<u>15</u>	<u>306</u>

COST OF PRODUCTION

399

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 230

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Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"One and One" Julian Chagrin

3rd February, 1969 to 29th March, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	665	
Programme Sales	17	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	<u>274</u>	956

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	355	
Set Design and Construction	17	
Programmes and Printing	<u>14</u>	386

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	592	
Rent and Rates	298	
Electricity	37	
Publicity	337	
Telephone	45	
Miscellaneous	<u>65</u>	1,374

COST OF PRODUCTION

1,760

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 804

=====

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Fun War" and "Musicals"

24th February, 1969 to 6th March, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	117	
Programmes Sales	7	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	86	
Grant: Camden Borough Council	<u>230</u>	460

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	565	
Royalties and Rights	6	
Set Design and Construction	413	
Costumes, Wig and Make-up	43	
Rehearsal Facilities	7	
Programmes and Printing	17	
Miscellaneous	<u>60</u>	1,111

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	186	
Rent and Rates	94	
Electricity	12	
Publicity	139	
Telephone	14	
Miscellaneous	<u>20</u>	465

COST OF PRODUCTION

	<u>1,576</u>	
<u>PRODUCTION LOSS</u> transferred to Income and Expenditure Account		£ 1,116

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Whitman Portrait"

16th April, 1969 to 27th April, 1969.

INCOME

From Tenant Company	780	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	<u>86</u>	866

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	78	
Set Design and Construction	14	
Programmes and Printing	19	
Miscellaneous	<u>14</u>	125

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	186	
Rent and Rates	94	
Electricity	12	
Publicity	96	
Telephone	14	
Miscellaneous	<u>20</u>	422

COST OF PRODUCTION

	<u>542</u>	
<u>PRODUCTION PROFIT</u> transferred to Income and Expenditure Account		£ 319
		<u><u> </u></u>

Condens Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Metamorphosis"

17th April, 1969 to 27th April, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	177		
Less: Due to Tenant Company	<u>72</u>		
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production		104	
		<u>63</u>	167

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Set Design and Construction		9	
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PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	135		
Rent and Rates	68		
Electricity	9		
Publicity	66		
Telephone	10		
Miscellaneous	<u>15</u>		
		<u>303</u>	

COST OF PRODUCTION

312

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 145

Garden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Tom Paine"

28th April, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	32	
Less: Due to Tenant Company	<u>18</u>	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production		14
		<u>8</u>
		22

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Set Design and Construction	1
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PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	17
Rent and Rates	9
Electricity	1
Publicity	8
Telephone	1
Miscellaneous	<u>2</u>
	<u>38</u>

COST OF PRODUCTION

39

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income and Expenditure Account

£ 17

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Macbeth"

20th May. 1969 to 22nd June. 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	2,335	
Programme Sales	52	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production	235	
Grant: The Arts Council	<u>225</u>	2,847

DEDUCT:

DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS

Artists' Salaries	1,580
Travelling to Germany	425
Set Design and Construction	336
Lighting	56
Costumes, Wig and Make-up	107
Rehearsal Facilities	35
Programmes and Printing	28
Miscellaneous	<u>13</u>

2,580

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	507
Rent and Rates	255
Electricity	32
Publicity	281
Telephone	38
Miscellaneous	<u>56</u>

1,169

COST OF PRODUCTION

1,749

PRODUCTION LOSS transferred to Income
and Expenditure Account

£ 902

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

PRODUCTION ACCOUNT

"Law Circus"

7th June, 1969 to 14th June, 1969.

INCOME

Box Office Receipts	41	
Less: Due to Tenant Company	<u>21</u>	
Members' Subscriptions allocated to this production		20
		<u>42</u>
		67

DEDUCT:

PRODUCTION OVERHEADS

Production and Front of House Salaries	102
Rent and Rates	51
Electricity	6
Publicity	49
Telephone	8
Miscellaneous	<u>11</u>

COST OF PRODUCTION

	<u>227</u>
<u>PRODUCTION LOSS</u> transferred to Income and Expenditure Account	£ 160
	<u> </u>

Garden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

<u>PRODUCTION LOSSES</u>		
"Fortune and Men's Eyes"	1,446	
"Keep Tightly Close in a Cool Dark Place"	707	
"One Autumn Evening"	181	
"Lunatic"	314	
"Blushing, Stammering and Stuttering"	148	
"Rings, Rangs, Rocs"	53	
"Come and Be Killed"	1,619	
"Cirkus"	294	
"Scaffold"	243	
"War"	230	
"One and One"	804	
"Fun War" and "Musicka"	1,116	
"Metamorphosis"	145	
"T. Paine"	17	
"Macbeth"	902	
"Law Circus"	160	
		8,379
<u>PRODUCTION OVERHEAD EXPENSES</u>		
Rent and Rates	2,659	
Light and Heat	334	
Salaries and Wages	5,277	
Publicity	2,543	
Legal and Professional Charges	146	
Accountancy Fees	256	
Repairs and Renewals	293	
Depreciation: Furniture, Fixtures & Fittings @ 10% p.a.	97	
Improvements to Premises	104	
Insurance	127	
Telephone	398	
Printing, Postage and Stationery	86	
Membership Expenses	180	
Bank Charges	105	
Sundries	161	
	12,766	
<u>Less: OVERHEADS CHARGED TO PRODUCTIONS</u>	<u>11,792</u>	
		973
		9,352
		=====

FOR THE PERIOD 30TH APRIL, 1968 TO 30TH JUNE, 1969.

<u>PRODUCTION PROFITS</u>		
"Blue Comedy"	4	
"Whitman Portrait"	<u>319</u>	
<u>MEMBERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS</u>	2,445	323
Less: Allocated to Productions	<u>2,445</u>	-
<u>DONATIONS</u>		5,490
<u>GRANTS</u>		
The Arts Council	2,250	
London Weekend Television Ltd.	<u>450</u>	
		2,700
<u>BAR SALES</u>	1,393	
Less: Bar Purchases	<u>1,107</u>	
	286	
Add: Bar Stock at 30th June, 1969	<u>196</u>	
		482
<u>LUNCHTIME REVUES</u>		
Box Office Receipts	71	
Less: Expenses	<u>58</u>	
		13
<u>WORKSHOP ACTING CLASSES</u>		
Membership Income	22	
Less: Expenses	<u>8</u>	
		14
<u>HIKE OF THEATRE</u>		172
<u>EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME</u>		
<u>carried to BALANCE SHEET</u>		158
		<u>9,352</u>

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE PERIOD 30TH APRIL, 1968 TO 30TH JUNE, 1969.

<u>EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME (Note 1)</u>		158
After charging:		
Directors' Remuneration	1,205	
Auditors' Remuneration	126	
Depreciation of Fixed Assets (Note 2)	<u>201</u>	
	1,532	
	<u><u> </u></u>	
<u>BALANCE AT 30th June, 1969</u>		<u><u>£ 158</u></u>

NOTES ON THE ACCOUNTS

1. The Excess of Expenditure over Income is arrived at after crediting the following :-

(a) GRANTS RECEIVABLE

The Arts Council	2,250
London Weekend Television Ltd.	<u>450</u>
	£ 2,700

(b) DONATIONS RECEIVED

£ 5,490

2. FIXED ASSETS

	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Depreciation</u>	
Improvements to Premises	604	104	500
Furniture, Fixtures and Fittings	<u>874</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>777</u>
	1,478	201	1,277
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

3. The Company is limited by guarantee without a Share Capital and is registered with the Charity Commission.

Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

BALANCE SHEET

LOANS

Repayable on Demand	1,450
---------------------	-------

CURRENT LIABILITIES

Members' Subscriptions in Advance	621
Box Office Receipts on Uncompleted Productions	4
Creditors and Accrued Charges	1,296
Grants in Advance	<u>2,150</u>
	4,071

C. MAROWITZ)	Directors
.....		
T. BOLT (Miss))	
.....		

£ 5,521

To the Members of Camden Playhouse Productions Ltd.

In our opinion, the above Balance Sheet and annexed Income and Expense
accounts at 30th June, 1969, and of its results for the period ended on that date
London

24th July, 1969.

AS AT 30TH JUNE, 1969.

<u>FIXED ASSETS</u> (Note 2)		1,237
<u>CURRENT ASSETS</u>		
Cost of Productions in Progress	367	
Stock at the lower of cost or net realisable value	196	
Debtors and Prepayments	1,229	
Deposits	125	
Cash at Bank	1,892	
Cash in Hand	<u>114</u>	
		3,923
<u>FORMATION EXPENSES</u>		203
<u>DEFICIT</u>		
Income and Expenditure Account		<u>158</u>
		<u>£ 5,521</u>

ture Account and Notes give a true and fair view of the state of the Company's
and comply with the Companies Acts 1948 and 1967.

RIDLEY BRYAN & CO.,
Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

**APPENDIX 3: Arts Council grants for the Open Space Theatre
and the Round House.**

Arts Council of Great Britain: Subsidy

Open Space Theatre: Camden Playhouse Productions

YEAR	GRANT
	£
1968/69	2,355
1969/70	2,236
1970/71	4,190
1971/72	8,820
1972/73	14,950
1973/74	21,750
1974/75	26,754
1975/76	39,310
1976/77	37,895 (16,000 of which was allocated for building expenses)
1977/78	41,000
1978/79	46,200
1979/80	51,000
1980/81	45,000

Round House Trust Limited

1971/72	7,500
1972/73	10,000
1973/74	17,500
1974/75	24,500
1975/76	48,394
1976/77	39,000
1977/78	47,500
1978/79	77,500
1979/80	79,500
1980/81	92,500
1981/82	147,650
1982/83	57,045

Grant figures quoted in the press often do not correspond with those quoted in the official Arts Council records. The press tended to simplify figures to give a general impression, rather than an accurate one. Figures within the official records do not always tally either, because of hidden expenses, or small grants made for particular projects which are not listed.

**APPENDIX 4: Reproductions of music extracts and
staging and auditorium plans:**

Two fragments of Kite Floats, written by Boris Howarth for the first production of The Hero Rises Up at the Round House in 1968.

1844-2.

KITE FLOATS
for 2 pianos

PAGE 4

13

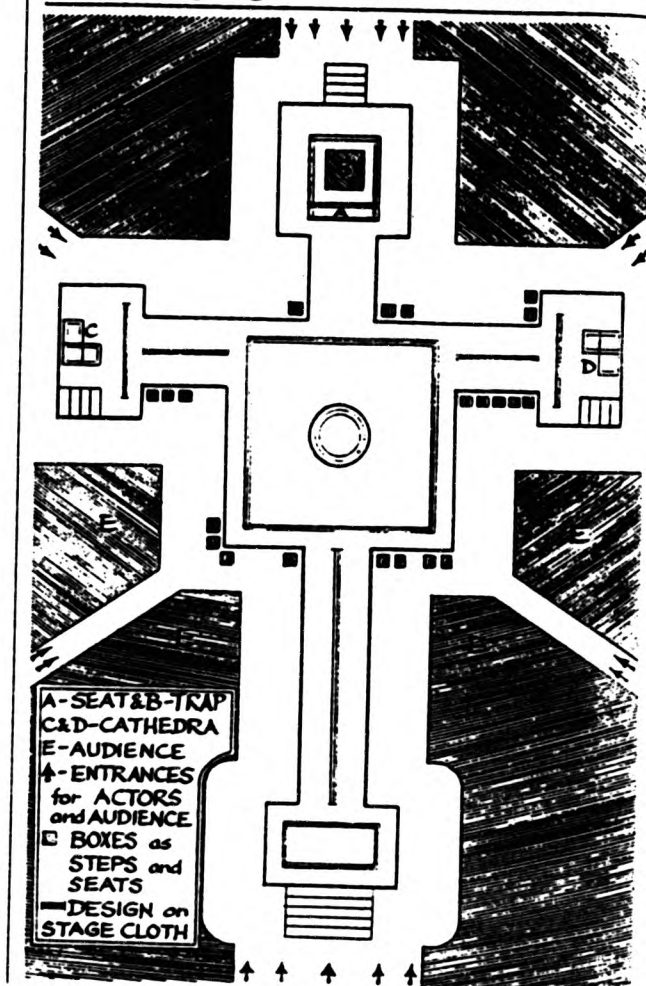
14

15

16

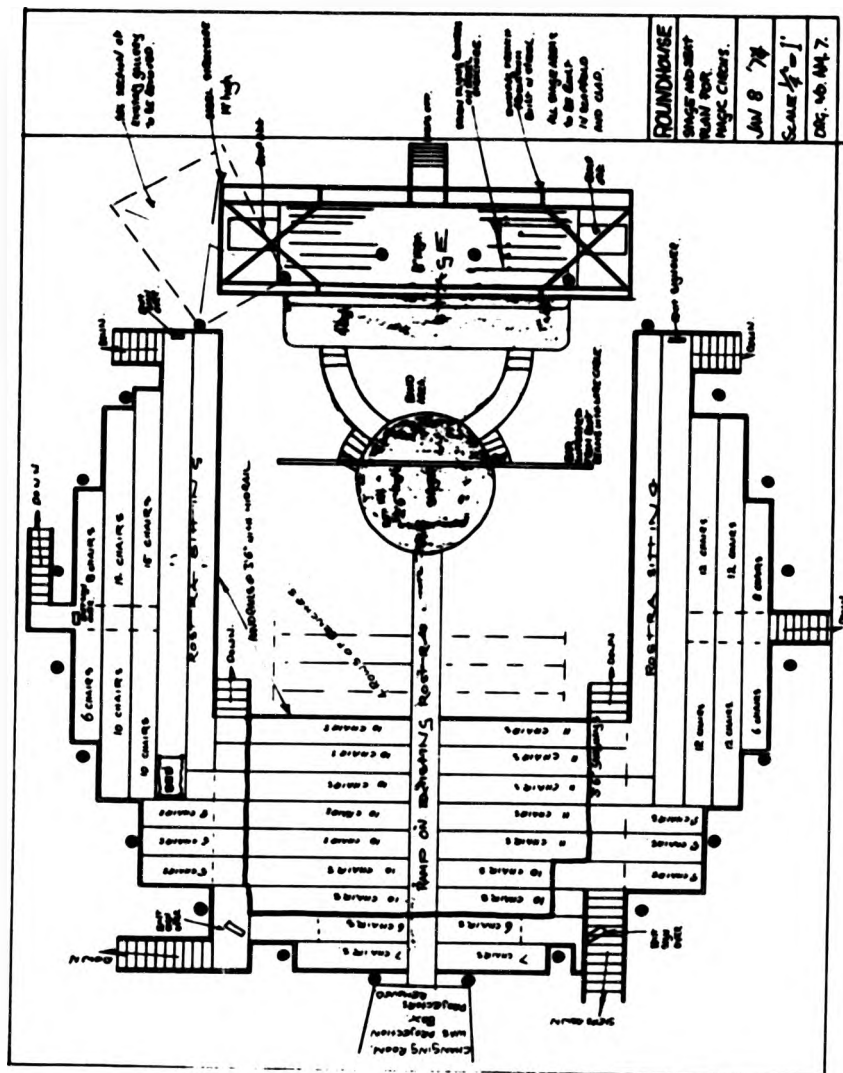
KITE FLOATS
for 2 pianos

The Staging and Auditorium



Rabelais at the Round House, reproduced
from Theatre Quarterly, 1(1971), no.3, p.90.

The staging and auditorium of From Moses to Mao, by Le Grand Magic Circus, at the Round House.



INDEX TO OPEN SPACE CUTTINGS BOOKS
(with preceding list of Journals etc.)

Alphabetical List of Journals etc. and Abbreviations used (in brackets)

AAA

Abingdon Herald
American Abroad
The Australian

BBB

Bad News
Barking & Dagenham Advertiser
Barnet Press
Barrow News
Bath & Wiltshire Evening Chronicle
Bath Weekly Chronicle
Beckenham & Penge Advertiser
Bedfordshire Times
Birmingham Evening Mail (B Eve Mail)
Birmingham Post (BP)
Books & Bookmen
Bookseller
Brentford & Chiswick Times
British Weekly
Bromley Times
Buckinghamshire Examiner
Buckinghamshire Free Press

CCC

Camden Journal
Campaign
Chelsea News
Cheltenham Chronicle
Cherwell
Christian Science Monitor (CSM)
Cinema Today
Citizen
City Press
Clapham & Lambeth News
Classical Music Weekly
Contemporary Review
Cosmopolitan
Couldson & Purley Advertiser
Country Life
Coventry Evening Telegraph
Coventry Standard
The Critic

DDD

Daily American
Daily Express (D Ex)
Daily Mail (D Mail)
Daily Mirror (D Mir)
Daily Record
Daily Sketch (D Sketch)
Daily Telegraph (DT)
Dance and Dancers
Dancing Times
Derby Evening Telegraph
Derbyshire Times
Disc
Drama
Duncaster Evening Post

EEE

Eastern Daily Press
Eastern Evening News
East Kent Mercury
Echo Pictorial
Economist
Enfield Weekly Herald
Essex County Standard
Estates Gazette
Evening Advertiser
Evening Argus
Evening Chronicle
Evening Citizen
Evening Dispatch
Evening Echo
Evening Gazette
Evening Gazette, Colchester
Evening Herald (E Herald)
Evening News (EN)
Evening News & Dispatch
Evening Post (EP)
Evening Post, Nottingham (E Post, Nottingham)
Evening Press (E Press)
Evening Standard (ES)
Evening Star
Evening Telegraph & Post (Evening Tel&Post)
Evening Times (ET)
Evening Times, Glasgow (ET, Glasgow)
Express & Star
Express & Star, Wolverhampton

FFF

Fashion
Faversham News
Field
Films & Filming
Financial Times (FT)
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
Frankfurter Rundschau
Freethinker
Fulham Chronicle

GGG

Gay News
The Glasgow Herald
Gloucestershire Echo
Göteborgs-Posten
The Guardian (G)
Guardian Journal (G Journal)
Guildford Times

HHH

Haagsche Courant
Hackney Gazette
Ham & High Express (Ham&High Exp)
Hampshire Telegraph
Hampstead News
Harpers Queen
Harrogate Advertiser
Harrow Observer & Gazette
Hertfordshire Hemel Hempstead Gazette (Herts HH Gaz)
Hinckley Times
Horley Advertiser

III

Illustrated London News (Ill Lon News)
International Times
Investors Review
Irish Independent (II)
Isis
Islington Gazette

JJJ

Jewish Chronicle (Jewish Chron)
Journal for Cabdrivers Unity (J Cabdrivers U)

KKK

Kensington News & W London Times
Kensington Post
Kent & Sussex Courier
Kent Evening Post
Kentish Observer
Kilburn Times
Kine Weekly
Klinische Reportage

LLL

Lady
Lancashire Evening Post
Leatherhead Advertiser (Leatherhead Adv)
Leicester Mercury
Lemington Spa Courier
Life of Faith
The Listener
Liverpool Daily Post (Liverpool D Post)
Liverpool Echo
Los Angeles Times (LA Times)
Luton Evening Post

MMM

Magus Kings College Union
Maidenhead Advertiser
Malvern Gazette
Manchester Evening News (Manch Eve News)
Melody Maker
Middlesex Advertiser & Gazette
Middlesex Chronicle
Middlesex County Times
MidSussex Times
Mitcham News & Mercury
Montag
Morning Star (M Star)
Morning Telegraph (Morning Tel)
Municipal Journal
Music & Musicians
Music Week

NNN

19
Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Switzerland
New Musical Express (New Mus Exp)
The News
News of the World
New Society (New Soc)
New Statesman (New S)
New York Times (NYT)
Nora
Northamptonshire Evening Telegraph (Northh Ev T)
North Eastern Evening Mail
The Northern Echo
North London Press (NL Press/NLondon Press)
North Western Evening Mail
Now
Nürnberg Zeitung

OOO

The Observer (O)
Oldham Evening Chronicle
Oxford Mail
Oxford Times

PPP

People
Peterborough Citizen & Advertiser
Peterborough Evening Telegraph
Petticoat
Plays and Players (P&P)
Politiken
Die Presse, Vienna
Pretoria News
Punch

QQQ

Q International
Queen

RRR

Radio Times (RTimes)
Record Mirror
Reveille
Richmond & Twickenham Times (Rich&Twick Times)
Rochdale Observer
Rugby Advertiser

SSS

The Scotsman (Sc)
Scottish Daily Express (SDEx)
Screen International
She
Shields Gazette
Shropshire Journal
Shropshire Star
Sight & Sound
Sounds
South East London Mercury
Southern Evening Echo
South London Press
South Shields Gazette
South Wales Argus
South Western Star
Spectator
St Marylebone&Paddington Record
St Pancras Chronicle
The Stage
The Star, Johannesburg
Stoke Newington & Hackney Observer (StokeN&Hackney Obs)
Streatham News
Street Life
Sun
Sunday Express (SEx)
Sunday Independent
Sunday Mirror (S Mir)
Sunday People
Sunday Press
The Sunday Record Call
Sunday Telegraph (S Tel)
Sunday Telegraph Magazine
Sunday Times (ST)
Surrey Advertiser
Surrey Comet
Surrey Herald
Sussex Express
Sutton & Cheam Advertiser (Sutton&Cheam Adv)

TTT

The Tablet
Tagesspiegel, Berlin
Die Tat, Zürich
Tatler & Bystander
Telegraph & Argus
Thames Valley Times
Time & Tide
Time Out
The Times (The T)
Times Educational Supplement (TES)
Times Literary Supplement (TLS)
Tit-Bits
Today's Cinema
Tottenham & Edmonton Weekly Herald (Tot&Edm Weekly Her)
Tottenham Weekly Herald (Tot Weekly Her)
Tribune (Trib)
La Tribune de Geneve
TV Times

VVV

Vaderland
Variety
Village Voice
Vogue

WWW

Walthamstow Guardian
Watford Evening Echo
West Berlin Radio
Western Mail
Western Morning News
Western Times (Exeter)
West Herts & Watford Observer
West London Observer
West London Weekly
Westminster & Marylebone Chronicle (Westminster&Marylebone Chron)
Westminster & Piccadilly News
West Norwood & Dulwich News (WNorw&Dulw News)
West Sussex County Times
West Sussex Gazette
What's On (WO)
Willesden & Brent Chronicle
Wimbledon News
Wood Green Weekly Herald
Woman's Journal with Flair
Worcester Evening News (Worc Ev N)
Worthing Gazette
Worthing Herald

YYY

Yorkshire Evening Press
Yorkshire Gazette & Herald (Yorkshire Gaz&Her)
Yorkshire Post

INDEX OF CUTTINGS BOOKS

For title of play see play list, Appendix 1 where the title is printed next to its number. Numbers in brackets next to the play number refer to other cuttings books which contain articles on the same play.

SECTION A: reviews and publicity profiles (Publ P) are listed in alphabetical order of the journals in which they appear. Publicity articles and handouts (Publ A) are listed in chronological order.

BOOK 1				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
1(9)	Reviews	<u>American Abroad</u>	?	20
		<u>D Ex</u>	19.07.68	11
		<u>D Ex</u>	24.07.68	9
		<u>D Ex</u>	18.10.68	17
		<u>D Mail</u>	18.10.68	18
		<u>D Mir</u>	26.07.68	3
		<u>D Mir</u>	18.10.68	18
		<u>DT</u>	04.10.68	16
		<u>DT</u>	12.07.68	11
		<u>DT</u>	12.10.68	15
		<u>EN</u>	18.10.68	20
		<u>ES</u>	18.10.68	18
		<u>FT</u>	24.07.68	4
		<u>FT</u>	24.07.68	11
		<u>FT</u>	18.10.68	19
		<u>Glasgow Herald</u>	19.10.68	22
		<u>G</u>	12.07.68	11
		<u>G</u>	18.10.68	16
		<u>G</u>	19.10.68	22
		<u>Ill Lon News</u>	26.10.68	23
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	25.10.68	22
		<u>New S</u>	19.07.68	12
		<u>O</u>	20.10.68	21
		<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1968	46
		<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1969	46
		<u>P</u>	24.07.68	11
		<u>P</u>	24.07.68	9
		<u>P</u>	24.07.68	12
		<u>Queen</u>	31.07.68	13
		<u>Sc</u>	14.10.68	16
		<u>The Stage</u>	18.07.68	11
		<u>The Stage</u>	01.08.68	5
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.10.68	23
		<u>Sun</u>	04.10.68	14
		<u>Sun</u>	18.10.68	20
		<u>The Sunday Record Call</u>	20.10.68	47
		<u>ST</u>	14.07.68	11
		<u>ST</u>	28.07.68	2
		<u>The T</u>	18.10.68	17
		<u>Trib</u>	25.10.68	23
		<u>La Tribune de Geneve</u>	03.12.68	10
		<u>Variety</u>	?	12
		<u>WO</u>	25.10.68	23
		<u>?</u>	?	9

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
1(9)	Publ P	<u>D Mail</u> , Al Mancini, actor	04.10.68	14
	Publ A	programme	?	7
		?	?	8
		?	?	8
		?	?	8
		<u>G</u>	04.07.68	17
		<u>WO</u>	01.10.68	15
		<u>D Mail</u>	04.10.68	17
		<u>G Journal</u>	04.10.68	14
		<u>Liverpool D Post</u>	04.10.68	14
		<u>FT</u>	08.10.68	15
		<u>FT</u>	08.10.68	22
		<u>Queen</u>	09.10.68	15
		<u>WO</u>	11.10.68	15
		<u>EN</u>	16.10.68	14
		<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1968	21
2	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1968	49
3(3,4,5)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1968	25
	Publ A	programme	?	24
4(4,5,8)	Reviews	<u>BP</u>	23.10.68	33
		<u>D Ex</u>	22.10.68	32
		<u>D Mail</u>	22.10.68	30
		<u>D Mir</u>	22.10.68	31
		<u>DT</u>	22.10.68	29
		<u>Drama</u>	Winter 68	34
		<u>EN</u>	22.10.68	31
		<u>FT</u>	22.10.68	31
		<u>FT</u>	27.11.68	38
		<u>G</u>	22.10.68	32
		<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	25.10.68	37
		<u>Ill Lon News</u>	02.11.68	36
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	25.10.68	22
		<u>Lady</u>	07.11.68	35
		<u>M Star</u>	23.10.68	30
		<u>New S</u>	01.11.68	36
		<u>Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Switzerland</u>	23.12.68	32
		<u>NYT</u>	21.10.68	34
		<u>O</u>	27.10.68	34
		<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1968	37
		<u>P</u>	30.10.68	35
		<u>Sc</u>	21.10.68	32
		<u>Sc</u>	24.10.68	37
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.10.68	38
		<u>Sun</u>	22.10.68	31
		<u>S Tel</u>	27.10.68	33
		<u>ST</u>	27.10.68	33
		<u>The T</u>	22.10.68	29
		<u>The T</u>	26.10.68	33
		<u>The T</u>	26.10.68	48
		<u>Trib</u>	08.11.68	35
		<u>Westminster&Marylebone Chron</u>	06.12.68	35

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
4(4,5,8)	Publ P	Bookseller, Paul Ableman, playwright British Weekly, Sarah Atkinson, actress D Sketch, Sarah Atkinson EN Isis, Paul Ableman NL Press, Jonathan Lynn, actor St Marylebone & Paddington Record, J Lynn She S Tel, Sarah Atkinson	01.02.69 17.10.68 14.10.68 19.10.68 30.04.69 18.10.68 18.10.68 Apr 1969 13.10.68	38 28 27 28 39 30 36 39 27
	Publ A	programme D Mir WO Jewish Chron WO EN P&P P&P P&P	 01.10.68 11.10.68 18.10.68 18.10.68 19.11.68 Nov 1968 Nov 1968 Jan 1969	 26 48 27 30 27 36 25 28 38
5	Reviews	D Mail DT G New S The Stage The T	 11.11.68 11.11.68 11.11.68 ?.11.68 14.11.68 11.11.68	 43 43 42 42 43 42
	Publ A	programme The Stage EN The Stage The Stage	 17.10.68 26.10.68 31.10.68 07.11.68	 40 41 5 41
6(2)	Reviews	M Star P&P The T	14.12.68 Jan 1969 21.12.68	45 45 45
	Publ A	Coventry Standard	15.05.69	44
7	Reviews	G La Tribune de Geneve	18.11.68 12.12.68	47 47

BOOK 2			
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE P NO
8	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	04.12.68 3
		<u>FT</u>	04.12.68 3
		<u>G</u>	04.12.68 2
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	04.12.68 4
		<u>NYT</u>	?
		<u>P&P</u>	Feb 1969 20
		<u>P</u>	11.12.68 6
		<u>STel</u>	08.12.68 5
		<u>ST</u>	08.12.68 5
		<u>The I</u>	04.12.68 2
		<u>Watford Evening Echo</u>	05.12.68 4
	Publ P	<u>ES, Stanley Eveling, playwright</u>	?
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	12.11.68 1
		<u>The Glasgow Herald</u>	13.11.68 1
9	Reviews	<u>The Listener</u>	09.01.69 11
		<u>The Stage</u>	02.01.69 11
		<u>ST</u>	29.12.68 9
		<u>The I</u>	30.12.68 11
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	24.10.68 9
		<u>Queen</u>	18.12.68 8
		<u>The Stage</u>	19.12.68 8
		<u>The Stage</u>	22.12.68 9
		<u>G</u>	24.12.68 10
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.12.68 9
10(4,6)	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	19.12.68 14
		<u>New S</u>	03.01.69 18
		<u>O</u>	05.01.69 20
		<u>O</u>	05.01.69 22
		<u>P&P</u>	Feb 1968 20
		<u>P</u>	15.01.69 22
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.12.68 16
		<u>S Tel</u>	05.01.69 20
		<u>S Tel</u>	05.01.69 21
		<u>ST</u>	22.12.68 15
		<u>The I</u>	04.01.69 19
		<u>Trib</u>	03.01.69 17
		<u>Watford Evening Echo</u>	23.12.68 16
	Publ P	<u>The T, Stanley Eveling</u>	04.01.69 23
11(3,16)	Reviews	<u>ES</u>	10.01.69 32
		<u>P&P</u>	Mar 1969 15
	Publ P	<u>D Ex, The Scaffold</u>	31.12.68 27
		<u>D Mail, The Scaffold</u>	06.01.69 32
		<u>Melody Maker, The Scaffold</u>	23.11.68 24
		<u>Melody Maker, The Scaffold</u>	14.12.68 26
		<u>Melody Maker, The Scaffold</u>	11.01.69 33
		<u>M Star, The Scaffold</u>	08.01.69 31
		<u>New Mus Ex, The Scaffold</u>	11.01.69 33
		<u>News of the World, The Scaffold</u>	12.01.69 34
		<u>S Tel, The Scaffold</u>	05.01.69 30
		<u>WO, The Scaffold</u>	03.01.69 29
	Publ A	<u>New Mus Ex</u>	14.12.68 25
		<u>O</u>	22.12.68 27
		<u>Melody Maker</u>	28.12.68 27
		<u>Evening Gazette</u>	01.01.69 27
		<u>The Stage</u>	02.01.69 28
		<u>WO</u>	03.01.69 28
		<u>New Mus Ex</u>	04.01.69 28

BOOK 3				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
11(3,16)	Reviews	EN P&P P Record Mirror The Stage The T Watford Evening Echo WO ?	29.01.69 Mar 1969 29.01.69 18.01.69 16.01.69 15.01.69 10.01.69 17.01.69	8 15 7 4 4 3 3 4 9
	Publ P	D Ex, The Scaffold EN, Roger McGough ES, The Scaffold Evening Tel & Post Malvern Gazette, The Scaffold Melody Maker, The Scaffold M Star, The Scaffold New Musical Express, The Scaffold New Musical Express, Cartoon of the Scaffold	24.01.69 29.01.69 13.01.69 16.01.69 06.02.69 18.01.69 13.01.69 25.01.69 25.01.69	6 8 2 3 9 5 1 6 7
	Publ A	P Watford Evening Echo P&P	22.01.69 30.01.69 Feb 1969	5 8 8
3(1,4,5)	Reviews	P&P	Mar 1969	15
6	Reviews	P&P	Mar 1969	15
	Publ A	The Stage	10.04.69	10
12	Publ A	ES Village Voice The Stage WO P&P	21. ? .69 20.03.69 27.03.69 28.03.69 May 1969	29 12 11 10 11
13(4)	Publ A	The Stage The Stage	10.04.69 17.04.69	10 10
14(4,7,10,15)	Reviews	D Ex DT FT M Star P&P The Stage Sun S Tel ST Watford Evening Echo	03.03.69 26.02.69 26.02.69 28.02.69 Apr 1969 ? .69 26.02.69 02.03.69 02.03.69 03.03.69	25 28 28 28 11 24 27 24 24 24
	Publ P	D Ex, Paul Jones, actor Disc, Paul Jones Duncaster Evening Post, Paul Jones EN, Paul Jones EN, Paul Jones ES, Paul Jones Melody Maker, Paul Jones Record Mirror, Paul Jones	14.02.69 22.02.69 21.03.69 20.03.69 20.03.69 06.02.69 22.02.69 08.03.69	26 26 28 26 27 26 27 25

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
14	Publ A	FT The Stage WO WO D Mir New Mus Ex Trib P&P	13.02.69 13.02.69 21.02.69 21.02.69 22.02.69 01.03.69 14.03.69 Apr 1969	25 25 26 26 27 24 25 11
15	Reviews	DT FT FT Jewish Chron P&P The Stage	01.02.69 03.02.69 03.02.69 07.02.69 Mar 1969 06.02.69	13 13 14 14 15 13
	Publ P	Chelsea News, Roger Hendricks-Simon, director DT, Roger Hendricks-Simon	14.03.69 15.03.69	33 33
	Publ A	The Stage, P&P	30.01.69 Mar 1969	13 14
16(4,5)	Reviews	City Press P&P P&P P Queen The Stage ST Tatler & Bystander Tot&Edm Weekly Her Trib	13.02.69 Mar 1969 May 1969 12.02.69 19.02.69 06.02.69 09.02.69 May 1969 28.03.69 21.02.69	19 16 20 19 20 18 18 20 20 20
	Publ P	City Press, Julian Chagrin, mime Coventry Standard, Julian Chagrin D Ex, Linda Thorson, actress D Mail, Linda Thorson D Mir, Linda Thorson ES, Julian Chagrin Fashion, Julian Chagrin Ham&High Exp, Julian Chagrin Hampstead News, Julian Chagrin North London Press, Julian Chagrin StokeN&Hackney Obs, Julian Chagrin WO	10.04.69 24.04.69 01.03.69 01.03.69 01.03.69 04.02.69 May 1969 14.02.69 21.02.69 21.02.69 21.02.69 07.02.69	18 17 16 17 17 17 34 19 22 21 23 18
	Publ A	ST O Today's Cinema P&P	? 16.02.69 19.02.69 Mar 1969	16 19 19 16
17(5,6,7,8)	Publ A	ES G Journal	25.02.69 01.03.69	30 29
18(4,5,6,7,8, 9,10)	Publ A	G The T Kilburn Times P&P	? 27.01.69 07.03.69 Mar 1969	30 29 33 29
19	Reviews	The Stage	09.01.69	30

BOOK 4

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>		
13(3)	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	17.04.69	1		
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.04.69	2		
		<u>Watford Evening Echo</u>	17.04.69	2		
	Publ P	<u>ES</u> , Paul Shyre, playwright & director	16.04.69	1		
	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	07.04.69	1		
<u>The Stage</u>		10.04.69	1			
<u>G</u>		15.04.69	1			
20		Publ P	<u>Herts NH Gaz</u> , John Abulafia, playwright & director	18.04.69	3	
	Publ A	<u>ST</u>	20.04.69	3		
		<u>FT</u>	24.04.69	3		
	18(3,5,6,7,8,9,10)	Reviews	<u>The Australian</u>	05.07.69	17	
			<u>Enfield Weekly Herald</u>	30.05.69	10	
<u>G</u>			21.05.69	6		
<u>Ham&High Exp</u>			06.06.69	13		
<u>Ill Lon News</u>			31.05.69	7		
<u>Jewish Chron</u>			30.05.69	8		
<u>New S</u>			30.05.69	8		
<u>O</u>			25.05.69	8		
<u>O</u>			01.06.69	8		
<u>Petticoat</u>			19.07.69	21		
<u>P&P</u>			Jul 1969	16		
<u>Queen</u>			11.06.69	11		
<u>Spectator</u>			21.06.69	14		
<u>The Stage</u>			29.05.69	8		
<u>The Stage</u>			10.07.69	17		
<u>Sun</u>			21.05.69	6		
<u>Sun</u>			26.05.69	7		
<u>ST</u>			25.05.69	7		
<u>The T</u>			21.05.69	7		
<u>Tot&Edm Weekly Her</u>			30.05.69	10		
<u>Trib</u>			06.06.69	12		
Publ P			<u>VO</u>	30.05.69	8	
			<u>Cherwell</u> , Charles Marowitz, adaptor, director	14.05.69	5	
			<u>The T. Charles Marowitz</u>	05.05.69	5	
Publ A		programme: <u>Macbeth</u>	?	4		
		<u>G</u>	?	6		
		<u>The T</u>	03.05.69	5		
		<u>Kilburn Times</u>	09.05.69	4		
		<u>D Ex</u>	16.05.69	5		
		<u>Queen</u>	09.07.69	20		
		<u>City Press</u>	31.07.69	21		
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1969	16		
		4(1,5,8)	Publ P	<u>EP</u> , Sarah Atkinson	30.05.69	10
		14(3,7,10,15)	Publ P	<u>EN</u> , Paul Jones	05.07.69	16
				<u>New Mus Exp</u> , Paul Jones	28.06.69	15
21	Reviews	<u>The Stage</u>	12.06.69	12		
		<u>The Stage</u>	12.06.69	14		
		<u>The T</u>	09.06.69	10		
	Publ A	<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	06.06.69	14		

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
22(5,6,7,8,9, 14,15,20)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	17.07.69	19
		<u>DT</u>	11.07.69	18
		<u>G</u>	11.07.69	18
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	11.07.69	18
		<u>New S</u>	25.07.69	20
		<u>New S</u>	25.07.69	25
		<u>O</u>	13.07.69	19
		<u>O</u>	20.07.69	25
		<u>Spectator</u>	?	25
		<u>The Stage</u>	?	24
		<u>S Tel</u>	?	24
		<u>ST</u>	?	24
		<u>Trib</u>	25.07.69	19
		?	?	19
	Publ P	<u>D Ex</u> , Natasha Pyne, actress	21.06.69	15
		<u>Telegraph&Argus</u> . Nikolas Simmonds, actor	21.06.69	15
	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	18.06.69	14
		<u>EN</u>	23.06.69	16
		<u>The Stage</u>	26.06.69	15
		<u>O</u>	06.07.69	16
		<u>ST</u>	13.07.69	23
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1969	20
		<u>City Press</u>	14.08.69	26
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1969	19
16(3,5)	Publ P	<u>Oxford Mail</u> , Julian Chagrin	05.07.69	17
		<u>Oxford Times</u> , Julian Chagrin	04.07.69	20
		<u>Oxford Times</u> , Julian Chagrin	04.07.69	20
		<u>S Mir</u> , Linda Thorson, actress	03.08.69	22
23	Publ A	<u>O</u>	22.06.69	14
		<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	27.06.69	18
10(2,6)	Publ P	<u>Sc</u> , Stanley Eving	07.07.69	18
3(1,3,5)	Publ A	<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1969	20
24(5)	Publ A	<u>Jewish Chron</u>	18.07.69	20
		<u>The T</u>	18.07.69	21
		<u>ES</u>	01.08.69	21
		<u>G</u>	02.08.69	21
		<u>O</u>	10.08.69	23
		<u>S Tel</u>	10.08.69	22
		<u>ST</u>	10.08.69	22
		<u>ES</u>	27.08.69	31
25(5,6,10)	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	13.08.69	28
		<u>EN</u>	13.08.69	27
		<u>ES</u>	13.08.69	28
		<u>FT</u>	15.08.69	28
		<u>FT</u>	19.08.69	27
		<u>G</u>	13.08.69	27
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	15.08.69	29
		<u>O</u>	17.08.69	26
		<u>Sc</u>	18.08.69	29
		<u>The Stage</u>	14.08.69	29
		<u>Sun</u>	13.08.69	28
		<u>S Tel</u>	17.08.69	29
		<u>ST</u>	17.08.69	27
		<u>The T</u>	13.08.69	26
		<u>Watford Evening Echo</u>	14.08.69	26

<u>PLAYS</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
25(5,6,10)	Publ P	<u>People</u> , Phillipa de Gobeo, actress	31.08.69	32
26(5)	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	27.08.69	32
		<u>O</u>	31.08.69	30
		<u>Sun</u>	27.08.69	31
		<u>S Tel</u>	31.08.69	32
		<u>ST</u>	31.08.69	30
		<u>The T</u>	27.08.69	30
27(5)	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	03.09.69	31

BOOK 5				
PLAYS	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
27(4)	Publ A	Watford Evening Echo	04.09.69	1
		ST	07.09.69	2
		City Press	11.09.69	3
		The Stage	11.09.69	3
22(4,6,7,8,9, 14,15,20)	Reviews	B Eve Mail	31.12.69	21
		G	01.01.70	21
		P&P	Sep 1969	1
	Publ P	Eastern Evening News, Jonathan Newth, actor	18.04.70	34
		ISIS, Charles Marowitz, director	01.11.69	10
		South Shields Gazette, Natasha Pyne	04.04.70	34
		Telegraph&Argus, Nikolas Simmonds, actor	21.05.70	34
		TV Times, Natasha Pyne	15.10.70	42
		Yorkshire Gaz&Her, Natasha Pyne	17.04.70	34
	Publ A	P&P	Sep 1969	1
		P&P	Sep 1969	2
		ES	29.12.69	18
		R Times	30.12.69	18
26(4)	Reviews	City Press	04.09.69	1
		Jewish Chron	05.09.69	1
		P&P	Oct 1969	4
		The Stage	04.09.69	1
		WO	05.09.69	1
	Publ A	P&P	Oct 1969	4
28	Reviews	D Ex	09.09.69	2
		D Mail	09.09.69	2
		DT	09.09.69	2
		Jewish Chron	12.09.69	2
		The Stage	25.09.69	2
		Sun	09.09.69	2
		Watford Evening Echo	09.09.69	2
24(4)	Reviews	Drama	Win 1969	40
		S Tel	14.09.69	2
	Publ A	P&P	Oct 1969	4
25(4,6,10)	Reviews	P&P	Oct 1969	4
	Publ P	Drama, Sheila Scott-Wilkinson, actress	Win 1969	37
		ES, Mr Curtis, owner of M. Weller's play And Now There's Just the Three of Us	23.01.70	19
		ES	11.08.70	40
		G, Sheila Scott-Wilkinson	19.06.70	35
		Liverpool Daily Post, Sheila Scott-Wilkinson	14.10.69	5
		Liverpool Echo, Sheila Scott-Wilkinson	16.06.70	35
		Manch Eve News, Sheila Scott-Wilkinson	05.03.70	37
		P&P, Mike Weller, playwright	Nov 1970	43
		ST, Sheila Scott-Wilkinson	28.06.70	35
	Publ A	Glasgow Herald	12.02.70	40
		DT	12.09.70	41

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
29(11,18)	Reviews	City Press	11.12.69	15
		D Ex	05.12.69	14
		D Mail	05.12.69	13
		DT	05.12.69	14
		Drama	Spr 1970	22
		ES	05.12.69	14
		FT	05.12.69	14
		Jewish Chron	12.12.69	16
		Middlesex County Times	26.12.69	22
		M Star	06.12.69	13
		New S	12.12.69	16
		O	07.12.69	13
		P&P	?	22
		P	17.12.69	17
		Spectator	13.12.69	16
		The Stage	11.12.69	15
		S Tel	07.12.69	15
		ST	07.12.69	13
		The T	05.12.69	14
		The T	13.12.69	17
		Today's Cinema	10.12.69	15
		Trib	19.12.69	18
	Publ P	City Press, Joe Melia, actor	08.01.70	36
		G, Peter Barnes, playwright	06.01.70	22
		Kilburn Times, Joe Melia	30.01.70	36
		The Stage, Joe Melia	22.01.70	37
		The T, Peter Barnes	06.12.69	13
	Publ A	The T	04.10.69	4
		ES	22.10.69	18
		G Journal	05.11.69	10
		The T	07.11.69	10
		FT	08.11.69	10
		ST	23.11.69	12
		D Ex	26.11.69	12
		The T	26.11.69	12
		FT	05.12.69	14
		ES	19.12.69	17
		FT	31.12.69	22
		P&P	Dec 1969	12
		Bookseller	08.08.70	42
30(7)	Reviews	City Press	30.10.69	8
		D Ex	20.10.69	6
		ES	21.10.69	8
		FT	21.10.69	6
		Jewish Chron	31.10.69	9
		Middlesex County Times	24.10.69	8
		New S	24.10.69	8
		O	09.11.69	10
		P&P	Dec 1969	12
		P	29.10.69	8
		The Stage	23.10.69	7
		The T	21.10.69	7
		Today's Cinema	22.10.69	7
	Publ A	Kine Weekly	? 69	4
		EN	09.10.69	5
		FT	14.10.69	5
		The Stage	16.10.69	6

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
	Publ A	WO	17.10.69	6
		WO	17.10.69	6
		ST	19.10.69	6
		P&P	Nov 1969	9
		P&P	Dec 1969	12
17(3,6,7,8)	Publ A	P&P	Oct 1969	4
		ES	10.11.69	10
16(3,4)	Publ P	Leicester Mercury, Julian Chagrin	07.10.69	5
		Mitcham News&Mercury, Julian Chagrin	14.08.70	36
		Richm&Twick Times, Julian Chagrin	14.08.70	36
		Streatham News, Julian Chagrin	14.08.70	36
		Sutton&Cheam Adv. Julian Chagrin	17.08.70	35
31	Reviews	New S	21.11.69	11
	Publ A	EN	12.11.69	11
		The Stage	20.11.69	11
		WO	21.11.69	11
32(6,7)	Reviews	G	12.12.69	16
		Ham&High Exp	12.12.69	16
		Kine Weekly	13.12.69	17
		New S	12.12.69	15
		ST	14.12.69	17
		S Tel	14.12.69	17
		The T	11.12.69	15
	Publ A	FT	02.12.69	13
33	Reviews	City Press	26.02.70	27
		Drama	Sum 1970	25
		G	20.02.70	26
		O	?	25
		P&P	Apr 1970	25
		Spectator	27.02.70	27
		The Stage	26.02.70	27
		ST	01.03.70	27
		The T	21.02.70	26
	Publ P	D Sketch, Maggie Wright, actress	05.02.70	25
		EN, Maggie Wright	30.03.70	34
	Publ A	P&P	Jan 1970	20
		The Stage	12.02.70	26
34(7,9,10)	Reviews	DT	17.03.70	23
		FT	17.03.70	23
		New S	27.03.70	23
		S Tel	22.03.70	23
		The T	17.03.70	23
35	Reviews	DT	06.03.70	24
		EN	13.03.70	24
		FT	06.03.70	24
		The Stage	12.03.70	24
		The T	06.03.70	24
	Publ P	ES, Caroline Wrench, actress	24.02.70	36
	Publ A	ST	15.02.70	26
		The Stage	05.03.70	24

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
35	Publ A	<u>WO</u>	06.03.70	24
		<u>The Stage</u>	19.03.70	24
36(7,10)	Reviews	<u>?</u>	<u>?</u>	2
		<u>P&P</u>	Mar 1970	28
	Publ P	<u>The Stage</u> , Christopher Scouler, actor	30.09.70	37
	Publ A	<u>P&P</u>	Mar 1970	28
4(1,4,8)	Reviews	<u>ES</u>	22.04.70	31
		<u>Leatherhead Adv</u>	17.04.70	31
		<u>Surrey Comet</u>	25.04.70	31
	Publ P	<u>Herts HM Gaz.</u> Jonathan Lynn	22.05.70	35
	Publ A	<u>Sutton&Cheam Adv</u>	05.03.70	29
		<u>DT</u>	07.03.70	29
		<u>Surrey Comet</u>	07.03.70	29
		<u>The T</u>	10.03.70	29
		<u>Guildford Times</u>	11.03.70	29
		<u>Surrey Comet</u>	15.04.70	30
		<u>Vogue</u>	15.04.70	30
		<u>The Stage</u>	16.04.70	30
		<u>Surrey Advertiser</u>	17.04.70	30
		<u>Surrey Herald</u>	17.04.70	30
		<u>West Sussex County Times</u>	17.04.70	30
37(6,7)	Publ P	<u>G</u> , Alan Burns, playwright, novelist	30.04.70	32
		<u>TES</u> Alan Burns	18.09.70	43
	Publ A	<u>G</u>	16.05.70	32
18(3,4,6,7,8,9,10)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1970	42
	Publ P	<u>E Star</u> , Ursula Mohan, actress	01.08.70	35
3(1,3,4)	Publ P	<u>City Press</u> , Megan Terry, playwright	26.03.70	39
38(6)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1970	43
39(6,7,18)	Publ A	<u>Sc</u>	12.10.70	43

BOOK 6				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
40(7,8,17)	Reviews	Beckenham & Penge Adv	23.09.71	2
		Beckenham & Penge Adv	23.09.71	2
		Drama	Oct 1970	2
		D Ex	13.05.70	4
		D Mail	13.05.70	4
		D Mir	13.05.70	4
		DT	13.05.70	4
		EN	13.05.70	4
		ES	13.05.70	4
		ES	13.05.70	3
		FT	13.05.70	4
		G	13.05.70	3
		New S	13.05.70	3
		O	22.05.70	6
		P&P	17.05.70	5
		P	Aug 1970	7
		Queen	20.05.70	5
		Spectator	17.06.70	6
		The Stage	23.05.70	6
		S Tel	21.05.70	5
		ST	17.05.70	5
		The T	17.05.70	5
		Today's Cinema	13.05.70	3
		Trib	22.05.70	6
		WO	22.05.70	6
		Yorkshire Evening Press	22.05.70	6
			16.05.70	5
	Publ P	ES, Margaret Tyzack, actress	13.05.70	3
	Publ A	ST	19.04.70	1
		ES	24.04.70	1
		The Stage	30.04.70	1
		The T	01.05.70	1
		Echo Pictorial	02.05.70	1
		FT	05.05.70	1
		DT	09.05.70	1
		ST	10.05.70	1
		O	10.05.70	3
		P&P	Aug 1970	7
18(3,4,5,7,8,9,10)	Reviews	?	?	11
		Daily American	21.05.70	11
		D Ex	?	11
		EN	?	13
		G	19.06.70	14
		O	21.06.70	8
		P	?	13
		S Tel	21.06.70	8
		S Tel	?	9
		ST	21.06.70	14
	Publ A	Evening Tel & Post	?	12
		The Stage	05.03.70	8
		ST	08.03.70	8
		FT	19.03.70	10
		E Herald	20.03.70	10
		E Press	26.03.70	10
		Manch Eve News	26.03.70	10
		Shropshire Star	26.03.70	10
		FT	31.03.70	12
		N London Press	03.04.70	12
		The T	21.04.70	12

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
18	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>FT</u> <u>Films & Filming</u>	23.04.70 May 1970 18.06.70 Jul 1970	12 12 14 15
32(5,7)	Reviews	<u>Kensington News&W Lond</u> <u>ST</u> <u>Today's Cinema</u>	24.07.70 12.07.70 02.10.70	17 17 16
41	Publ A	<u>G</u>	31.07.70	18
42	Reviews	<u>Melody Maker</u>	01.08.70	18
43	Reviews	<u>?</u> <u>?</u> <u>DT</u> <u>The T</u>	<u>?</u> <u>?</u> 25.08.70 25.08.70	19 19 20 20
	Publ A	<u>The T</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>ES</u> <u>O</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>D Mir</u>	07.08.70 13.08.70 20.08.70 23.08.70 23.08.70 24.08.70	19 20 19 20 20 20
45	Reviews	<u>D Mail</u> <u>D Mail</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>Morning Tel</u> <u>P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>The T</u>	17.09.70 16.09.70 16.09.70 16.09.70 24.09.70 23.09.70 24.09.70 20.09.70 20.09.70 16.09.70	22 23 23 23 22 22 22 22 22 23
	Publ A	<u>WO</u>	11.09.70	23
38(5)	Reviews	<u>DT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u>	26.09.70 28.09.70 01.10.70 04.10.70	24 24 24 24
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	24.09.70	24
46	Reviews	<u>DT</u> <u>ES</u> <u>Liverpool Daily Post</u> <u>O</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u>	28.10.70 29.10.70 28.10.70 01.11.70 Dec 1970 05.11.70 01.11.70 01.11.70	26 26 28 26 35 28 26 26
	Publ P	<u>D Ex, Polly James, actress</u>	05.11.70	29
	Publ A	<u>Daily Record</u> <u>D Mir</u> <u>The T</u> <u>Shropshire Star</u> <u>Shields Gazette</u>	15.10.70 15.10.70 19.10.70 27.10.70 27.10.70	28 29 28 26 29

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
37(5,7)	Reviews	DT Drama Enfield Weekly Herald FT G G P&P P The Stage The Stage S Tel ST The T	12.11.70 Apr 1971 27.11.70 12.11.70 12.11.70 12.11.70 Jan 1971 02.12.70 12.11.70 19.11.70 15.11.70 15.11.70 12.11.70	30 31 31 30 30 30 31 31 27 31 27 30 27
	Publ P	The T, Charles Marowitz; Alan Burns	07.11.70	27
	Publ A	ES ES	18.09.70 05.11.70	27 27
39(5,7,18)	Reviews	? EN ES FT FT G Jewish Chron New S P&P ST The T	? 20.01.71 20.01.71 20.01.71 20.01.71 21.01.71 20.01.71 29.01.71 29.01.71 Mar 1971 24.01.71 20.01.71	33 33 32 32 32 32 32 33 33 33 32
	Publ P	G, Tom Mallin, playwright R Times, Tom Mallin	26.01.71 29.06.72	33 33
	Publ A	? Sc	? 21.12.70	32 69
47(7,9)	Reviews	? DT FT G Melody Maker The Stage ST The T	? 14.01.71 14.01.71 13.01.71 23.01.71 21.01.71 17.01.71 14.01.71	34 35 34 34 34 35 35 35
	Publ P	? , John Gorman, actor, playwright Kilburn Times, Sheila Tanklovitch, actress Melody Maker, John Gorman Melody Maker, John Gorman Melody Maker, John Gorman Willesden&Brent Chronicle, Sheila Tanklovitch	? 26.03.71 06.02.71 13.02.71 23.01.71 26.03.71	35 73 34 34 34 73
	Publ A	?	?	34
48	Reviews	D Mir Drama FT P&P S Tel ST The T	04.12.70 Apr 1971 17.12.70 Feb 1971 20.12.70 20.12.70 17.12.70	36 37 37 36 37 37 37
	Publ A	G	05.12.70	36

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
49	Reviews	DT ES FT G Jewish Chron O P&P P&P P&P P The Stage S Tel ST The T WO	17.02.71 17.02.71 17.02.71 17.02.71 17.02.71 21.02.71 Mar 1971 Mar 1971 Apr 1971 03.03.71 25.02.71 21.02.71 21.02.71 17.02.71 26.02.71	39 38 39 38 38 39 39 40 40 39 40 38 38 39 40
	Publ P	?, David Mairowitz, playwright	?	40
	Publ A	G Journal ST P&P	21.12.70 14.02.71 Apr 1971	38 38 40
50(7)	Reviews	DT DT FT G P&P The Stage The T	23.02.71 23.02.71 23.02.71 23.02.71 Apr 1971 25.02.71 24.02.71	41 41 42 41 42 41 41
	Publ A	The Stage ST	18.02.71 21.02.71	42 42
51(7)	Reviews	? DT ES G Jewish Chron New Soc New S O The Stage S Tel ST The T The T Trib	? 16.03.71 16.03.71 20.03.71 19.03.71 18.03.71 02.04.71 21.03.71 25.03.71 ? 28.03.71 05.03.71 16.03.71 02.04.71	43 45 44 44 44 44 46 44 46 46 46 43 45 46
	Publ P	Telegraph&Argus, Albert Hunt, director	07.08.71	43
	Publ A	Telegraph&Argus Telegraph&Argus The Stage The Stage ES D Mir The T Telegraph&Argus Telegraph&Argus	06.02.71 20.02.71 11.03.71 11.03.71 13.03.71 16.03.71 17.03.71 20.03.71 31.03.71	43 43 43 45 45 43 43 46 46

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
52	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	23.03.71	45
		<u>ST</u>	21.03.71	45
53	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	03.04.71	48
		<u>G</u>	31.03.71	47
		<u>P&P</u>	May 1971	47
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1972	54
		<u>The T</u>	31.03.71	47
	Publ P	<u>D Ex</u> , Jean Gilpin, actress	02.04.71	47
	Publ A	<u>O</u>	28.03.71	48
32(5,7)	Reviews	<u>G</u>	24.12.70	48
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	?	48
54	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	13.05.71	51
		<u>D Ex</u>	06.05.71	49
		<u>D Tel</u>	06.05.71	49
		<u>Drama</u>	Jun 1971	52
		<u>EN</u>	23.04.71	49
		<u>G</u>	06.05.71	50
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	14.05.71	50
		<u>The Listener</u>	03.06.71	50
		<u>The Listener</u>	17.06.71	51
		<u>The Listener</u>	24.06.71	52
		<u>The Listener</u>	01.07.71	52
		<u>ST</u>	09.05.71	49
		<u>The T</u>	06.05.71	49
	Publ P	<u>S Wales Argus</u> , Jane Arden, playwright	19.05.71	50
	Publ A	<u>D Mir</u>	25.03.71	49
		<u>G</u>	30.03.71	49
		<u>?</u>	06.04.71	49
		<u>The Stage</u>	15.04.71	49
		<u>P&P</u>	May 1971	51
		<u>P&P</u>	May 1971	51
		<u>O</u>	02.05.71	51
55	Reviews	<u>?</u>	?	53
		<u>FT</u>	?	53
		<u>P&P</u>	Jun 1971	53
		<u>The Stage</u>	06.05.71	53
		<u>The T</u>	26.04.71	53
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	22.04.71	53
56	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	11.05.71	54
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1972	54
		<u>S Tel</u>	09.05.71	54
	Publ P	?, Maureen Lipman, actress	?	54
57	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1971	55
44(7,19)	Reviews	<u>?</u>	?	55
		<u>Books&Bookmen</u>	Aug 1971	57
		<u>City Press</u>	03.06.71	55
		<u>D Ex</u>	27.05.71	57
		<u>D Mail</u>	27.05.71	56
		<u>DT</u>	27.05.71	56
		<u>E Herald</u>	05.06.71	58
		<u>ES</u>	27.05.71	57
		<u>FT</u>	27.05.71	57

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
44(7,19)	Reviews	<u>Frends</u>	08.07.71	54
		<u>G</u>	27.05.71	57
		<u>G</u>	04.06.71	59
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	04.06.71	56
		<u>The Listener</u>	03.06.71	56
		<u>New S</u>	04.06.71	55
		<u>The Stage</u>	03.06.71	56
		<u>ST</u>	27.06.71	54
		<u>The T</u>	27.05.71	57
		<u>Trib</u>	04.06.71	54
		<u>WO</u>	04.06.71	56
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	15.04.71	55
		<u>G</u>	05.05.71	54
		<u>The Stage</u>	20.05.71	54
		<u>Sun</u>	16.06.71	55
58	Reviews	<u>G</u>	02.06.71	59
		<u>The Stage</u>	03.06.71	58
		<u>The T</u>	01.06.71	58
	Publ P	ES, Charles Marowitz, adaptor/director	13.08.70	21
		The Times, David Mercer, playwright	05.06.71	59
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	13.05.71	55
		<u>FT</u>	27.05.71	58
		<u>DT</u>	29.05.71	58
		<u>ES</u>	29.05.71	58
		<u>O</u>	30.05.71	58
59	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	14.07.71	61
		<u>ES</u>	14.07.71	61
		<u>FT</u>	14.07.71	61
		<u>G</u>	05.08.71	59
		<u>G</u>	15.07.71	60
		<u>International Times</u>	?	60
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	23.07.71	60
		<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1971	60
		<u>The Stage</u>	22.07.71	61
		<u>S Tel</u>	18.07.71	62
		<u>ST</u>	18.07.71	62
		<u>The T</u>	14.07.71	60
		<u>Tot Weekly Her</u>	23.07.71	62
	Publ P	<u>Leicester Mercury</u> , Mick Rodger, co-director	27.07.71	67
		<u>Spectator</u>	10.07.71	61
	Publ A	<u>S Tel</u>	20.06.71	60
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.06.71	60
		<u>O</u>	04.07.71	61
		<u>The Stage</u>	08.07.71	67
		<u>WO</u>	09.07.71	61
		<u>Spectator</u>	10.07.71	61
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1971	61
		<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1971	61
149	Reviews	<u>G</u>	01.09.71	64
		<u>Leicester Mercury</u>	17.08.71	64
		<u>WO</u>	10.09.71	64
	Publ P	EN, Warren Mitchell, actor	15.07.71	63
		E Post, Nottingham; Warren Mitchell	24.07.71	65
		E Post, Nottingham; Warren Mitchell, Sheila Steafel, actress	14.08.71	70
		ES, Warren Mitchell	15.07.71	63
		G Journal, Warren Mitchell	11.08.71	64
		G Journal, Warren Mitchell	28.07.71	65

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
149	Publ P	<u>Jewish Chron</u> , Warren Mitchell <u>S Tel</u> , Warren Mitchell	06.08.71 18.07.71	64 63
	Publ A	<u>WO</u> <u>FT</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>DT</u> <u>Derbyshire Times</u> <u>Today's Cinema</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>The T</u> <u>Derbyshire Advertiser</u> <u>WD</u> <u>G</u> <u>EN</u>	25.06.71 19.07.71 22.07.71 24.07.71 30.07.71 03.08.71 04.08.71 05.08.71 05.08.71 11.08.71 12.08.71 13.08.71 19.05.71 19.07.71	65 63 63 64 65 65 65 64 64 65 65 64 66 67
17(3,5,7,8)	Publ A	<u>WD</u> <u>G</u> <u>EN</u>	13.08.71 19.05.71 19.07.71	64 66 67
60(8,9,10,11)	Publ A	<u>P&P</u>	Jun 1971	66
25(4,5,10)	Publ P	<u>EN</u> , Michael J. Pollard, actor <u>WO</u> , Michael J. Pollard,	06.04.71 16.04.71	73 69
22(4,5,7,8,9, 14,15,20)	Publ P	<u>Islington Gazette</u> , Edward Phillips, actor	30.04.71	69
32(5,7)	Reviews	<u>FT</u> <u>M Star</u>	26.03.71 02.04.71	71 71
	Publ P	<u>Express&Star</u> , Andy Warhol, director <u>Kine Weekly</u> , Andy Warhol <u>Oxford Mail</u> , Andy Warhol	02.08.71 31.07.71 02.08.71	70 70 70
	Publ A	<u>WO</u> <u>Kensington News&W Lond Times</u>	20.02.71 05.03.71	72 72
10(2,4)	Publ P	<u>Evening News & Dispatch</u> , Stanley Eveling	09.01.71	74

BOOK 7				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
61(8)	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	20.08.71	1
		<u>The Stage</u>	26.08.71	1
		<u>The T</u>	20.08.71	1
		<u>TES</u>	17.09.71	1
62	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	07.10.71	3
		<u>DT</u>	30.09.71	2
		<u>ES</u>	12.10.71	2
		<u>FT</u>	01.10.71	2
		<u>G</u>	04.10.71	2
		<u>O</u>	10.10.71	3
		<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1971	3
		<u>The Stage</u>	16.09.71	3
		<u>The Stage</u>	07.10.71	3
		<u>S Tel</u>	03.10.71	2
		<u>The T</u>	30.09.71	2
	Publ P	<u>G. Martin Walser, playwright</u>	17.11.71	3
	Publ A	<u>Bookseller</u>	25.09.71	2
		<u>S Tel</u>	26.09.71	2
		<u>FT</u>	27.09.71	2
		<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1971	3
		<u>ST</u>	10.10.71	3
63(8)	Reviews	<u>?</u>	?	4
		<u>D Mail</u>	?	4
		<u>The Stage</u>	?	4
	Publ P	<u>Hinckley Times, Robert Robertson</u>	24.03.72	27
		<u>Leicester Mercury, Robert Robertson, actor, deviser</u>	21.03.72	27
64	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	28.10.71	4
		<u>The Listener</u>	04.11.71	6
		<u>The Stage</u>	11.11.71	6
		<u>ST</u>	31.10.71	4
		<u>The T</u>	28.10.71	4
	Publ P	<u>TV Times, Donna Reading, actress</u>	11.11.71	6
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	14.10.71	4
65	Reviews	<u>D Mail</u>	21.10.71	5
		<u>ES</u>	27.10.71	5
		<u>G</u>	21.10.71	5
		<u>O</u>	24.10.71	5
		<u>S Tel</u>	24.10.71	5
		<u>The T</u>	20.11.71	6
		<u>WO</u>	29.10.71	5
	Publ P	<u>?, Snoo Wilson, playwright</u>	?	5
		<u>G. Howard Brenton, David Hare, Snoo Wilson, playwrights</u>	17.01.72	16
		<u>P&P, Howard Brenton, David Hare, Snoo Wilson</u>	Nov 1971	6
66(9,10)	Reviews	<u>?</u>	?	7
		<u>?</u>	?	7
		<u>DT</u>	19.11.71	7
		<u>FT</u>	19.11.71	7
		<u>G</u>	19.11.71	7
		<u>O</u>	28.11.71	6
		<u>The T</u>	20.11.71	6

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
66(9,10)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1972	7
		<u>ST</u>	21.11.71	7
		<u>Time Out</u>	?	6
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	11.11.71	7
		<u>Time Out</u>	19.11.71	7
		<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1971	7
67	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	25.11.71	10
		<u>DT</u>	17.11.71	9
		<u>EN</u>	17.11.71	9
		<u>ES</u>	17.11.71	8
		<u>FT</u>	17.11.71	8
		<u>G</u>	17.11.71	8
		<u>O</u>	21.11.71	9
		<u>New S</u>	26.11.71	10
		<u>The Stage</u>	25.11.71	10
		<u>S Tel</u>	21.11.71	9
		<u>Time Out</u>	19.11.71	9
		<u>Time Out</u>	26.11.71	10
		<u>The T</u>	17.11.71	8
	Publ A	<u>S Tel</u>	10.10.71	8
		<u>The Stage</u>	11.11.71	8
		<u>Spectator</u>	13.11.71	36
		<u>Time Out</u>	26.11.71	9
17(3,5,6,8)	Reviews	<u>CSM</u>	31.12.71	16
		<u>DT</u>	17.12.71	13
		<u>DT</u>	17.01.72	16
		<u>ES</u>	16.12.71	13
		<u>FT</u>	17.12.71	13
		<u>II</u>	29.12.71	17
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	24.12.71	15
		<u>O</u>	19.12.71	14
		<u>New S</u>	24.12.71	15
		<u>P&P</u>	Feb 1972	17
		<u>P</u>	19.12.71	14
		<u>S Tel</u>	19.12.71	14
		<u>ST</u>	19.12.71	14
		<u>The T</u>	17.12.71	14
	Publ P	<u>Brentford&Chiswick Times, Susan Penhaligon,</u>	22.12.71	15
		<u>EN, Yvonne Parrott, actress</u>	16.02.72	17
		<u>EN, Yvonne Parrott</u>	22.02.72	31
		<u>ES, Yvonne Parrott</u>	16.02.72	17
		<u>Islington Gazette, Yvonne Parrott, Jackie</u>	07.12.71	12
		<u>Collier, June Page, Valerie McBride, actresses</u>		
		<u>Liverpool D Post, Yvonne Parrott</u>	18.02.72	31
		<u>SDEX, Yvonne Parrott</u>	18.02.72	31
		<u>Thames Valley Times, Susan Penhaligon</u>	21.12.71	15
		<u>Worthing Herald, Susan Penhaligon</u>	28.01.72	17
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	27.07.71	12
		<u>DT</u>	25.11.71	12
		<u>S Tel</u>	28.11.71	12
		<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1971	12
		<u>The Stage</u>	02.12.71	12
		<u>WO</u>	10.12.71	12
		<u>EP</u>	11.12.71	13
		<u>G</u>	17.12.71	13
		<u>ST</u>	19.12.71	13
		<u>ES</u>	24.12.71	15

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
17(3,5,6,8)	Publ A	<u>P&P</u> <u>RTimes</u> <u>ES</u> <u>P&P</u>	Jan 1972 20.01.72 26.01.72 Feb 1972	15 16 17 17
68(8,18)	Reviews	<u>D Mail</u> <u>D Ex</u> <u>DT</u> <u>EN</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>Jewish Chron</u> <u>New S</u> <u>O</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Ex</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>ST</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>The Times</u> <u>TES</u> <u>Tf1b</u> <u>WO</u>	11.02.72 10.02.72 10.02.72 10.02.72 10.02.72 10.02.72 10.02.72 10.02.72 18.02.72 18.02.72 13.02.72 Apr 1972 16.02.72 17.02.72 13.02.72 13.02.72 06.02.72 13.02.72 04.02.72 18.02.72 25.02.72 03.03.72 10.02.72 25.02.72 18.02.72 25.02.72	18 18 19 21 18 19 19 19 21 21 19 18 20 20 20 19 19 19 18 21 31 19 20 21 21
	Publ P	<u>Horley Advertiser, Vanda Godsell, actress</u>	05.05.72	25
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>WO</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>O</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>WO</u> <u>P&P</u>	27.01.72 Feb 1972 Feb 1972 Feb 1972 04.02.72 11.02.72 18.02.72 03.03.72 05.03.72 17.03.72 17.03.72 Apr 1972	18 18 18 18 18 20 20 21 20 28 20 20
69	Reviews	<u>Drama</u> <u>G</u> <u>O</u> <u>P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>ST</u> <u>Time Out</u>	Jul 1972 17.02.72 20.02.72 08.03.72 24.02.72 20.02.72 25.02.72	22 22 22 22 22 22 22
	Publ A	<u>EN</u> <u>The T</u> <u>O</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u>	14.02.72 17.02.72 20.02.72 25.02.72 17.03.72	22 22 22 21 28

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
70(9,11)	Review	<u>D Mail</u>	24.03.72	23
		<u>DT</u>	24.03.72	23
		<u>Field</u>	06.04.72	26
		<u>FT</u>	27.03.72	23
		<u>G</u>	24.03.72	23
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	31.03.72	25
		<u>The Listener</u>	30.03.72	25
		<u>O</u>	26.03.72	24
		<u>P</u>	05.04.72	26
		<u>The Stage</u>	13.04.72	26
		<u>S Tel</u>	26.03.72	24
		<u>ST</u>	02.04.72	25
		<u>Time Out</u>	31.03.72	26
		<u>Time Out</u>	07.04.72	25
		<u>The T</u>	27.03.72	24
	Publ P	<u>ES, Gemma Jones, actress</u>	10.04.72	26
		<u>Sun, Gemma Jones</u>	16.03.72	23
	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	08.03.72	23
		<u>The Stage</u>	09.03.72	23
		<u>The T</u>	09.03.72	23
		<u>S Tel</u>	19.03.72	23
		<u>ST</u>	10.03.72	23
		<u>Time Out</u>	24.03.72	27
		<u>P&P</u>	Apr 1972	23
		<u>Drama</u>	Jun 1972	22
		<u>Rich&Twick Times</u>	14.04.72	26
		<u>O</u>	16.04.72	26
		<u>ST</u>	16.04.72	26
71	Reviews	<u>P</u>	15.03.72	29
		<u>Sc</u>	11.03.72	29
		<u>TES</u>	07.03.72	29
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	02.03.72	31
		<u>Time Out</u>	03.03.72	31
		<u>ST</u>	04.03.72	23
		<u>Spectator</u>	05.03.72	23
22(4,5,6,8,9, 14,15,20)	Reviews	<u>G</u>	27.03.72	24
	Publ P	<u>Evening News & Dispatch, Charles Marowitz, adaptor, director</u>	18.03.72	24
		<u>Kent Evening Post, Nicholas Clay, actor</u>	28.01.72	31
		<u>Watford Evening Echo, Christopher Cazenove, actor</u>	18.03.72	28
	Publ A	<u>Glasgow Herald</u>	16.03.72	24
		<u>Sc</u>	20.03.72	24
		<u>Sc</u>	23.03.72	25
		<u>Evening News & Dispatch</u>	25.03.72	25
		<u>FT</u>	29.03.72	25
72(8)	Publ P	<u>EN, Ken Campbell, director</u>	19.02.72	31
	Publ A	<u>Time Out</u>	24.03.72	27
37(5,6)	Reviews	<u>Middlesex Chronicle</u>	10.12.?	34
	Publ P	<u>The Stage, Penelope Nice, actress</u>	30.03.72	27

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
34(5,9,10)	Publ P	<u>G</u> , Mike Leigh, director	27.03.72	28
51(6)	Publ A	<u>Telegraph & Argus</u>	04.03.72	29
73(10,11)	Publ P	<u>G</u> , Irving Wardle, playwright	07.01.72	33
	Publ A	<u>EN</u>	17.01.72	31
39(5,6,18)	Publ P	<u>ES</u> , Tom Mallin, playwright	18.01.72	33
	Publ A	<u>Evening Dispatch</u>	27.11.71	34
		<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1971	35
18(3,4,5,6,8,9,10)	Publ A	<u>G</u>	28.01.72	33
14(3,4,10,15)	Publ P	<u>Record Mirror</u> . Paul Jones	11.12.71	34
32(5,6)	Reviews	<u>Telegraph & Argus</u>	06.11.71	36
		<u>Telegraph & Argus</u>	09.11.71	35
47(6,9)	Publ P	<u>Faversham News</u> . The Scaffold, actors	22.10.71	35
	Publ A	<u>BP</u>	13.11.71	35
40(6,8,17)	Publ P	<u>Couldson & Purley Advertiser</u> . John Hopkins, playwright	01.10.71	36
36(5,10)	Publ P	<u>Shropshire Journal</u> . Nicolas Young, director	22.10.71	36
30(5)	Reviews	<u>G</u>	12.11.71	36
44(6,19)	Publ P	<u>The T</u> , Timothy West, actor	28.08.71	37
50(6)	Publ P	<u>19</u> , Madeleine Cannon, actress	Oct 1971	37

BOOK 8

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
72(7)	Reviews	<u>D Mail</u>	01.04.72	1
		<u>E Herald</u>	15.04.72	1
		<u>G</u>	22.03.72	1
		<u>P</u>	29.03.72	1
		<u>The Stage</u>	13.04.72	1
		<u>Time Out</u>	07.04.72	25
		<u>The T</u>	22.03.72	1
	Publ A	<u>Time Out</u>	31.03.72	1
22(4,5,6,7,9, 14,15,20)	Reviews	<u>D Ex</u>	24.04.72	4
		<u>FT</u>	28.04.72	2
		<u>Glasgow Herald</u>	24.03.72	3
		<u>G</u>	22.04.72	2
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	28.04.72	2
		<u>The Listener</u>	?	4
		<u>P</u>	03.05.72	4
		<u>Sc</u>	29.03.72	3
		<u>ST</u>	30.04.72	3
		<u>Time Out</u>	02.05.72	3
		<u>Trib</u>	28.04.72	3
		<u>WO</u>	28.04.72	2
	Publ P	<u>Time Out, Charles Marowitz, director</u>	21.04.72	2
	Publ A	<u>Göteborgs-Posten</u>	29.12.71	28
		<u>Evening News & Dispatch</u>	01.04.72	3
		<u>O</u>	25.04.72	2
		<u>Time Out</u>	28.04.72	4
		<u>Time Out</u>	28.04.72	4
		<u>Time Out</u>	19.05.72	4
		<u>Bath Weekly Chronicle</u>	08.06.72	26
		<u>Bath&Wilts Evening Chronicle</u>	29.07.72	26
60(6,9,10,11)	Reviews	<u>Barnet Press</u>	23.06.72	14
		<u>D Ex</u>	09.06.72	7
		<u>D Ex</u>	09.06.72	24A
		<u>D Mail</u>	09.06.72	7
		<u>DT</u>	09.06.72	6
		<u>DT</u>	09.06.72	24A
		<u>Drama</u>	Oct 1972	14
		<u>EN</u>	09.06.72	7
		<u>EN</u>	09.06.72	24A
		<u>ES</u>	29.07.72	14
		<u>FT</u>	09.06.72	6
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	16.06.72	12
		<u>The Listener</u>	22.06.72	10
		<u>New S</u>	16.06.72	12
		<u>O</u>	11.06.72	7
		<u>O</u>	11.06.72	24A
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1972	12
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1972	14
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1972	24B
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1972	26
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1972	26
		<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1972	15
		<u>P</u>	21.06.72	14
		<u>Sc</u>	10.06.72	10
		<u>Spectator</u>	17.06.72	12
		<u>The Stage</u>	15.06.72	10
		<u>S Tel</u>	11.06.72	24A

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
60(6,9,10,11)	Reviews	<u>ST</u>	11.06.72	7
		<u>ST</u>	11.06.72	10
		<u>ST</u>	11.06.72	24 A
		<u>Time Out</u>	16.06.72	11
		<u>Time Out</u>	23.06.72	11
		<u>The T</u>	09.06.72	24 A
		<u>TES</u>	16.06.72	11
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.06.72	14
		<u>Trib</u>	23.06.72	13
		<u>WO</u>	16.06.72	11
	Publ P	<u>EN</u> , Judy Geeson, actress; Charles Marowitz & Thelma Holt	02.06.72	6
		<u>ES</u> , Judy Geeson	26.05.72	6
		<u>ET</u> (Glasgow), Judy Geeson; Charles Marowitz & Thelma Holt	22.06.72	11
		<u>Sun</u> , Judy Geeson	13.05.72	5
	Publ A	<u>TV Times</u> , Rudolph Walker, actor	14.10.72	11
		<u>ET</u>	07.04.72	5
		<u>The T</u>	22.04.72	5
		<u>ES</u>	25.04.72	5
		<u>EN</u>	26.04.72	5
		<u>D Mail</u>	04.05.72	5
		<u>ES</u>	16.05.72	29
		<u>The Stage</u>	18.05.72	5
		<u>P&P</u>	Jun 1972	10
		<u>P&P</u>	Jun 1972	10
		<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	02.06.72	10
		<u>Time Out</u>	02.06.72	10
		<u>ST</u>	04.06.72	5
		<u>ES</u>	09.06.72	7
		<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	09.06.72	13
		<u>Time Out</u>	09.06.72	12
		<u>D Ex</u>	27.06.72	13
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1972	12
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1972	13
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1972	14
74(16)	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	03.05.72	8
		<u>FT</u>	03.05.72	9
		<u>G</u>	04.05.72	8
		<u>The Stage</u>	18.05.72	9
		<u>The T</u>	?	9
	Publ A	<u>O</u>	30.04.72	8
		<u>ST</u>	30.04.72	8
		<u>ES</u>	02.05.72	8
		<u>Time Out</u>	12.05.72	9
		<u>Time Out</u>	12.05.72	9
75(9,10,12)	Reviews	<u>Time Out</u>	19.05.72	9
		<u>DT</u>	18.07.72	16
		<u>ES</u>	18.07.72	17
		<u>FT</u>	18.07.72	16
		<u>G</u>	18.07.72	16
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	21.07.72	17
		<u>New S</u>	04.08.72	18
		<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1972	15
		<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1972	15
		<u>The Stage</u>	27.06.72	18
		<u>Time Out</u>	01.09.72	17
		<u>Time Out</u>	11.08.72	20

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
75(9, 10, 12)	Reviews	<u>Time Out</u>	18.08.72	20
		<u>The T</u>	18.07.72	16
		<u>Trib</u>	11.08.72	18
	Publ A	<u>Time Out</u>	23.06.72	18
		<u>The Stage</u>	06.07.72	16
		<u>ES</u>	15.07.72	16
		<u>ST</u>	16.07.72	17
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1972	17
		<u>ES</u>	05.08.72	18
		<u>FT</u>	16.08.72	18
		<u>Time Out</u>	25.08.72	15
		<u>D Ex</u>	28.08.72	18
76(9)	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	04.08.72	19
		<u>G</u>	10.08.72	19
		<u>P</u>	30.08.72	20
		<u>The Stage</u>	10.08.72	19
		<u>S Tel</u>	20.10.72	19
		<u>Time Out</u>	18.08.72	20
		<u>Time Out</u>	25.08.72	20
		<u>Time Out</u>	01.09.72	19
		<u>Time Out</u>	08.09.72	20
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	03.08.72	19
		<u>Barnet Press</u>	25.08.72	19
77(9)	Reviews	<u>Barnet Press</u>	15.09.72	22
		<u>D Mail</u>	19.09.72	22
		<u>DT</u>	19.09.72	22
		<u>EN</u>	19.09.72	23
		<u>ES</u>	19.09.72	22
		<u>FT</u>	19.09.72	21
		<u>G</u>	19.09.72	21
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	22.09.72	23
		<u>O</u>	24.09.72	28
		<u>P&P</u>	Oct 1972	24B
		<u>P</u>	27.09.72	23
		<u>Sc</u>	20.09.72	23
		<u>The Stage</u>	21.09.72	23
		<u>S Tel</u>	24.09.72	31
		<u>ST</u>	24.09.72	31
		<u>Time Out</u>	15.09.72	23
		<u>Time Out</u>	22.09.72	24
		<u>The T</u>	19.09.72	21
	Publ P	<u>The T, Miriam Karlin, actress</u>	?	21
	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	24.08.72	21
		<u>The Stage</u>	31.08.72	22
		<u>Time Out</u>	08.09.72	31
		<u>WO</u>	08.09.72	21
		<u>Time Out</u>	22.09.72	24
		<u>Time Out</u>	22.09.72	24
		<u>P&P</u>	Oct 1972	22
63(7)	Publ P	<u>Cheltenham Chronicle, Robert Robertson, actor</u>	26.08.72	27
		<u>Sc, Robert Robertson</u>	10.07.72	26
68(7, 18)	Publ P	<u>Göteborgs-Posten, Ann Henning, actress</u>	03.02.72	28
		<u>Surrey Advertiser, Vanda Godsell, actress</u>	28.04.72	29
		<u>Norw&Dulw News, Vanda Godsell</u>	05.05.72	29
	Publ A	<u>Haagsche Courant</u>	02.02.72	29

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
60(6,7,17)	Publ P	<u>Express & Star</u> , John Hopkins, playwright	13.06.72	28
17(3,5,6,7)	Reviews	<u>GÖTEBORGS-POSTEN</u>	29.12.71	29
4(1,4,5)	Publ P	<u>Maidenhead Advertiser</u> , Jonathan Lynn, actor	12.05.72	29
61(7)	Publ P	<u>Time Out</u> , Jeff Nuttall & the People Show	07.04.72	30
18(3,4,5,6,7,9,10)	Publ P	<u>Eastern Evening News</u> , Nikolas Simmonds, actor	29.04.72	30

BOOK 9				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
18(3,4,5,6,7,8 10)	Reviews	<u>The Stage</u>	25.06.70	1
	Publ P	<u>Reveille, Nikolas Simmonds, actor</u>	28.10.72	13
		<u>Telegraph & Argus. Nikolas Simmonds</u>	04.11.72	13
77(8)	Reviews	<u>Drama</u>	Dec 1972	3
		<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1972	2
		<u>Time Out</u>	13.10.72	2
	Publ P	<u>Sunday Independent, Carol Hazell, actress</u>	01.10.72	1
		<u>West Herts & Watford Observer, Miriam Karlin, actress</u>	13.10.72	2
		<u>West Herts & Watford Observer, Miriam Karlin, actress</u>	27.10.72	13
70(7,11)	Publ P	<u>S Tel, Brian Cox, actor</u>	15.10.72	3
47(6,7)	Publ P	<u>East Kent Mercury, Glenn Swanborough, director</u>	05.10.72	3
75(8,10,12)	Reviews	?	16.09.72	5
	Publ P	<u>Harpers Queen, Sam Shepard, playwright</u>	Jan 1973	5
78(10)	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	13.11.72	12
		<u>G</u>	11.11.72	6
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	10.11.72	6
		<u>The Stage</u>	16.11.72	12
		<u>S Tel</u>	12.11.72	6
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	02.11.72	6
76(8)	Publ P	<u>Islington Gazette, David Mowat, playwright</u>	17.11.72	13
79(10)	Reviews	?	?	22
		<u>City Press</u>	04.01.73	31
		<u>D Mail</u>	22.12.72	15
		<u>D Mail</u>	?	22
		<u>DT</u>	22.12.72	16
		<u>ES</u>	27.12.72	14
		<u>FT</u>	22.12.72	16
		<u>G</u>	22.12.72	15
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	05.01.73	31
		<u>O</u>	24.12.72	18
		<u>P&P</u>	Feb 1973	22
		<u>P</u>	03.01.73	18
		<u>The Stage</u>	04.01.73	18
		<u>S Tel</u>	24.12.72	16
		<u>The T</u>	22.12.72	16
		<u>TES</u>	05.01.73	31
	Publ P	<u>ES, Perry Pontac, playwright</u>	05.01.73	31
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	16.11.72	14
		<u>The T</u>	16.11.72	14
		<u>The T</u>	17.11.72	14
		<u>EN</u>	22.12.72	15
		<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1973	18
66(7,10)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1973	20
	Publ P	<u>G, Walter Donohue, director</u>	02.01.73	20

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
150(10)	Reviews	G S Tel ST	10.01.73 11.01.73 14.01.73	21 21 22
	Publ A	O The T ST	21.12.72 04.01.73 07.01.73	21 21 21
22(4,5,6,7,8, 14,15,20)	Publ P	19, Chrisopher Cazenove	Feb 1973	23
1(1)	Publ P	The Stage. Al Mancini, actor	22.02.73	23
80(10)	Reviews	City Press D Mail D Mail DT ES FT PT G P&P P&P P The Stage S Tel The T WO	25.01.73 18.01.73 19.01.73 19.01.73 19.01.73 19.01.73 20.01.73 18.01.73 Feb 1973 Mar 1973 14.02.73 25.01.73 21.01.73 18.01.73 26.01.73	25 34 32 33 33 33 32 33 25 25 24 24 32 32 24
	Publ A	Tot Weekly Har Enfield Weekly Herald	12.01.73 19.01.73	34 24
34(5,7,10)	Publ P	The T, Mike Leigh, playwright	28.02.73	26
81(10)	Publ A	RTimes	08.03.73	26
60(6,8,10,11)	Reviews	Montag	10.07.72	28
82(10,11)	Reviews	DT DT O O The Stage The Stage ST Time Out	10.03.73 10.03.73 11.03.73 11.03.73 15.03.73 15.03.73 18.03.73 16.03.73	29 29 29 30 30 30 30 30
	Publ A	WO	16.03.73	30
18(3,4,5,6,7, 8,10)	Publ A	Evening Citizen	13.03.73	34

BOOK 10				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
81(9)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	01.03.73	3
		<u>City Press</u>	01.03.73	6
		<u>D Ex</u>	20.02.73	1
		<u>D Ex</u>	20.02.73	5
		<u>D Mail</u>	20.02.73	2
		<u>DT</u>	20.02.73	5
		<u>Drama</u>	Apr 1973	9
		<u>ES</u>	20.02.73	2
		<u>Frankfurter Rundschau</u>	?	6
		<u>FT</u>	20.03.73	3
		<u>FT</u>	24.03.73	5
		<u>G</u>	20.02.73	1
		<u>G</u>	20.02.73	2
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	23.02.73	5
		<u>The Listener</u>	08.03.73	2
		<u>New S</u>	09.03.73	2
		<u>O</u>	25.03.73	4
		<u>P&P</u>	Apr 1973	6
		<u>Sc</u>	21.02.73	4
		<u>The Stage</u>	? 03.73	3
		<u>S Tel</u>	25.02.73	4
		<u>ST</u>	25.02.73	5
		<u>The T</u>	20.02.73	1
		<u>The T</u>	20.02.73	2
		<u>The T</u>	23.03.73	3
		<u>Trib</u>	16.03.73	4
		<u>Wood Green Weekly Herald</u>	09.03.73	4
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	25.01.73	6
		<u>FT</u>	16.02.73	6
		<u>FT</u>	19.03.73	3
		<u>Yorkshire Post</u>	23.03.73	3
		<u>P&P</u>	Apr 1973	4
60(6,8,9,11)	Publ P	<u>Evening Advertiser</u> , Rudolph Walker, actor	17.03.73	7
		<u>G Journal</u> , Rudolph Walker, actor	21.03.73	7
		<u>North Western Evening Mail</u> , Rudolph Walker	24.03.73	8
		<u>RTimes</u> , Judy Geeson, actress	12.04.73	8
		<u>Shields Gazette</u> , Rudolph Walker	24.03.73	8
36(5,7)	Publ P	<u>Worthing Gazette</u> , Nicholas Young, director	31.01.73	8
34(5,7,9)	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	14.02.73	8
25(4,5,6)	Publ P	<u>Manch Eve News</u> , Sheila Scott Wilkinson, actress	04.04.73	8
	Publ A	<u>The Listener</u>	15.02.73	9
150(9)	Reviews	<u>Drama</u>	Apr 1973	9
78(9)	Reviews	<u>Drama</u>	Apr 1973	9
79(9)	Reviews	<u>Drama</u>	Apr 1973	9
80(9)	Reviews	<u>Drama</u>	Apr 1973	9
82(9,11)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	May 1973	16

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
83	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	10.05.73	13
		<u>D Ex</u>	04.05.73	10
		<u>D Mail</u>	07.05.73	12
		<u>DT</u>	04.05.73	11
		<u>ES</u>	04.05.73	11
		<u>FT</u>	04.05.73	10
		<u>FT</u>	05.05.73	11
		<u>G</u>	04.05.73	11
		<u>G</u>	04.05.73	13
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	11.05.73	12
		<u>New S</u>	11.05.73	12
		<u>The Stage</u>	10.05.73	12
		<u>Sunday People</u>	06.05.73	12
		<u>S Tel</u>	06.05.73	12
		<u>ST</u>	06.05.73	14
		<u>The T</u>	04.05.73	11
		<u>WO</u>	11.05.73	11
	Publ P	<u>D Ex</u> , Rick Cluchey, actor, director, playwright	02.05.73	10
		<u>D Mail</u> , Rick Cluchey	03.09.73	13
		<u>Lancashire Evening Post</u> , Rick Cluchey	22.09.73	13
	Publ A	<u>ST</u>	29.04.73	10
		<u>EN</u>	02.05.73	10
		<u>The Stage</u>	03.05.73	14
		<u>Oxford Mail</u>	26.05.73	13
		<u>Barrow News</u>	21.09.73	13
84	Reviews	<u>ES</u>	08.05.73	14
		<u>G</u>	09.05.73	14
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1973	15
		<u>The Stage</u>	10.05.73	15
		<u>S Tel</u>	06.05.73	14
		<u>ST</u>	06.05.73	14
		<u>The T</u>	09.05.73	14
	Publ P	<u>The Stage</u> , Doreen Mantle, actress	17.05.73	15
75(8,9,12)	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	13.06.73	21
		<u>P&P</u>	May 1973	16
85	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	24.05.73	17
		<u>ES</u>	30.05.73	17
		<u>FT</u>	24.05.73	17
		<u>FT</u>	26.05.73	17
		<u>G</u>	31.05.73	17
		<u>The Stage</u>	07.06.73	18
		<u>ST</u>	03.06.73	18
		<u>Trib</u>	08.06.73	18
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	17.05.73	17
18(3,4,5,6,7,8,9)	Reviews	<u>Pretoria News</u>	25.04.73	19
	Publ P	<u>Liverpool D Post</u> , Rosslyn Main, manager	12.09.73	41
151	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	12.06.73	21

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
73(7,11)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u> <u>D Ex</u> <u>D Mail</u> <u>DT</u> <u>Drama</u> <u>EN</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>Investors Review</u> <u>Jewish Chron</u> <u>The Listener</u> <u>M Star</u> <u>New S</u> <u>O</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Ex</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>The T</u> <u>Trib</u> <u>WO</u> <u>WO</u>	21.06.73 14.06.73 14.06.73 14.06.73 Oct 1973 14.06.73 14.06.73 14.06.73 14.06.73 16.06.73 14.06.73 29.06.73 22.06.73 21.06.73 16.06.73 22.06.73 23.06.73 Sep 1973 27.06.73 17.06.73 17.06.73 17.06.73 17.06.73 14.06.73 22.06.73 22.06.73 29.06.73	27 23 24 23 28 23 24 24 25 24 28 26 26 25 26 21 34 27 25 25 25 23 28 26 27
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u> <u>The T</u> <u>City Press</u> <u>WO</u> <u>Spectator</u> <u>P</u> <u>Tot Weekly Her</u> <u>Wood Green Weekly Herald</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>The Stage</u>	24.05.73 28.05.73 ?.06.73 01.06.73 16.06.73 20.06.73 22.06.73 22.06.73 Jul 1973 05.07.73	23 23 28 24 24 26 26 27 28 27
86(11)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u> <u>City Press</u> <u>D Mail</u> <u>DT</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>Jewish Chron</u> <u>New S</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>The T</u>	26.07.73 26.07.73 17.07.73 17.07.73 17.07.73 12.07.73 17.07.73 20.07.73 20.07.73 Sep 1973 25.07.73 26.07.73 22.07.73 22.07.73 17.07.73	30 33 31 31 32 31 32 33 32 34 33 33 32 32 31
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u> <u>D Ex</u> <u>FT</u>	12.07.73 16.07.73 21.07.73	31 31 32
66(7,9)	Publ P	<u>P&P</u> , Walter Donohue, director	Aug 1973	34

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
87	Reviews	<u>Drama</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>The T</u>	Dec 1973 28.08.73 17.08.73 20.08.73 23.08.73 19.08.73 16.08.73	36 35 35 36 35 36 35
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	16.08.73	35
88(11,12,15)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u> <u>D Mail</u> <u>DT</u> <u>Drama</u> <u>EN</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>Jewish Chron</u> <u>The Listener</u> <u>O</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>WO</u>	20.09.73 18.09.73 13.09.73 Dec 1973 13.09.73 13.09.73 13.09.73 13.09.73 15.09.73 13.09.73 21.09.73 20.09.73 16.09.73 Nov 1973 19.09.73 20.09.73 16.09.73 16.09.73 21.09.73	40 39 38 36 37 38 38 38 37 40 40 40 40 39 39 39 38 39
	Publ P	<u>G, Fernando Arrabal, playwright, director</u>	12.09.73	37
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u> <u>The T</u> <u>D Ex</u> <u>The Stage</u>	23.08.73 29.08.73 10.09.73 06.11.73	37 37 37 36
14(3,4,7,15)	Publ P	<u>P&P, Paul Jones, actor</u>	Oct 1973	41
89(11,12,15)	Reviews	<u>D Mail</u> <u>DT</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>Jewish Chron</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>The T</u>	06.11.73 02.11.73 02.11.73 06.11.73 02.11.73 09.11.73 04.11.73 04.11.73 03.11.73	44 45 46 44 45 45 44 44 46
	Publ A	<u>ES</u> <u>The T</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>D Ex</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>FT</u>	09.10.73 10.10.73 11.10.73 29.10.73 Nov 1973 03.11.73	43 43 43 43 45 43
90	Reviews	<u>DT</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>The T</u>	15.11.73 03.12.73 17.11.73 22.11.73 18.11.73 25.11.73 15.11.73	48 49 49 49 50 49 46

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
90	Rub1 P	ES, Robert Stephens, actor, director	14.11.73	42
	Rub1 A	EN	09.11.73	48
		ES	09.11.73	48
		D Ex	12.11.73	48
		The Stage	15.11.73	48
		The Stage	22.11.73	49

BOOK 11

PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO		
89(10, 12, 15)	Reviews	<u>E Herald</u>				
		<u>FT</u>	01.12.73	2		
		<u>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</u>	02.11.73	27		
		<u>Frankfurter Rundschau</u>	17.12.73	4		
		<u>Freethinker</u>	?	19		
		<u>The Listener</u>	Dec 1973	4		
		<u>P&P</u>	20.12.73	4		
		<u>Politiken</u>	Dec 1973	2		
		<u>The Stage</u>	09.01.74	1		
		<u>ST</u>	15.11.73	27		
		<u>WO</u>	09.12.73	1		
				14.12.73	2	
	Publ A	<u>Evening Argus</u>	27.03.74	29		
91(12, 15, 16, 18)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	17.01.74	17		
		<u>D Ex</u>	10.01.74	7		
		<u>D Mail</u>	10.01.74	7		
		<u>DT</u>	10.01.74	8		
		<u>EN</u>	10.01.74	10		
		<u>ES</u>	10.01.74	13		
		<u>FT</u>	10.01.74	10		
		<u>FT</u>	12.01.74	9		
		<u>Freethinker</u>	Feb 1974	16		
		<u>G</u>	10.01.74	6		
		<u>Investors Review</u>	25.01.74	17		
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	18.01.74	5		
		<u>Klinische Reportage</u>	?	18		
		<u>LA Times</u>	02.02.74	17		
		<u>New S</u>	18.01.74	15		
		<u>New S</u>	08.03.74	16		
		<u>O</u>	13.01.74	8		
		<u>P&P</u>	Mar 1974	11		
		<u>P&P</u>	Mar 1974	12		
		<u>P</u>	30.01.74	8		
		<u>The Stage</u>	17.01.74	7		
		<u>S Tel</u>	13.01.74	9		
		<u>ST</u>	13.01.74	13		
		<u>TES</u>	18.01.73	13		
		<u>The T</u>	10.01.74	6		
		<u>Trib</u>	08.02.74	16		
			Publ P	<u>P&P</u> , Lynn Farleigh, actress Peter McNery, actor Pam Brighton, director Ian Collier, actor Penny Ryder, actress	Mar 1974	11
			Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	20.12.73	5
		<u>The T</u>	02.01.74	5		
		<u>ES</u>	19.01.74	9		
82(9, 10)	Publ P	<u>Worthing Gazette</u> , Stuart Mungall, director	17.04.74	14		
86(10)	Publ P	<u>West London Observer</u> , Chris Parr, director	26.04.74	14		
73(7, 10)	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	21.01.74	14		

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
92	Reviews	?	?	25
		<u>City Press</u>	21.02.74	23
		<u>D Mail</u>	14.02.74	20
		<u>DT</u>	14.02.74	21
		<u>EN</u>	14.02.74	22
		<u>ES</u>	14.02.74	21
		<u>FT</u>	14.02.74	22
		<u>G</u>	?	23
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	22.02.74	22
		<u>New S</u>	?	22
		<u>The Stage</u>	21.02.74	24
		<u>S Tel</u>	?	23
		<u>ST</u>	?	24
		<u>The T</u>	14.02.74	20
	Publ P	<u>The Stage</u> , Peter Stevenson, director	02.05.74	23
		<u>The Stage</u> , Louisa Martin, actress	?	25
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	07.02.74	20
		<u>Wimbledon News</u>	15.02.74	25
		<u>FT</u>	16.02.74	22
29(5,18)	Publ P	<u>G</u> , Peter Barnes, playwright	03.05.74	26
93	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	?	29
		<u>DT</u>	04.04.74	28
		<u>ES</u>	09.04.74	29
		<u>G</u>	05.04.74	28
		<u>S Tel</u>	07.04.74	29
		<u>The T</u>	04.04.74	28
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	28.03.74	28
		<u>The T</u>	30.03.74	28
94(12,17,18)	Reviews	<u>ES</u>	07.05.74	32
		<u>FT</u>	02.05.74	31
		<u>FT</u>	04.05.74	31
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	10.05.74	31
		<u>The Stage</u>	09.05.74	32
		<u>The T</u>	02.05.74	31
		<u>The T</u>	02.05.74	32
60(6,8,9,10)	Publ P	<u>Derby Evening Telegraph</u> , Rudolph Walker, actor	21.03.74	33

BOOK 12				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
91(11,15,16,18)	Publ P	EP, Pan Brighton, director	24.07.74	1
		FT, Pan Brighton	23.07.74	17
86(10,11)	Publ P	The Stage. Chris Parr, director	24.07.75	1
89(10,11,15)	Reviews	Evening Argus	01.05.74	3
		G	31.05.74	6
		O	09.06.74	5
		Mid-Sussex Times	09.05.74	14
		Southern Evening Echo	14.05.74	6
		The Stage	13.06.74	14
		ST	02.06.74	4
		Time Out	14.06.74	14
		TES	21.06.74	16
	Publ P	Mid-Sussex Times, Charles Marowitz, director	16.05.74	7
	Publ A	Southern Evening Echo, Charles Marowitz	11.05.74	5
		West London Weekly	?	6
		Mid-Sussex Times	11.04.74	2
		Mid-Sussex Times	11.04.74	2
		Sussex Express	11.04.74	2
		Evening Argus	20.04.74	2
		Southern Evening Echo	20.04.74	2
		Kent & Sussex Courier	26.04.74	2
		Sussex Express	26.04.74	2
		The West Sussex Gazette	02.05.74	5
		Sussex Express	03.05.74	4
		Peterborough Evening Telegraph	06.05.74	3
		Peterborough Citizen & Advertiser	07.05.74	3
		Hampshire Telegraph	09.05.74	4
		The News	10.05.74	5
		Hinckley Times	17.05.74	6
		The T	17.05.74	4
		Leicester Mercury	20.05.74	5
		The Stage	23.05.74	6
61(7,8)	Publ P	P&P, The People Show	May 1974	4
94(11,17,18)	Reviews	The Tablet	11.05.74	5
75(8,9,10)	Reviews	New S	21.06.74	13
		Trib	14.06.74	10
	Publ P	Kilburn Times. Sam Shepard, playwright	15.03.74	8
		The T, Sam Shepard	01.06.74	9
		The T, Sam Shepard	06.06.74	10
91(11,15,16,18)	Reviews	P	05.06.74	11
83(10)	Reviews	FT	10.07.74	15
95(13,14,16)	Reviews	City Press	01.08.74	26
		D Ex	29.07.74	22
		DT	21.07.74	21
		EN	25.07.74	22
		FT	25.07.74	21
		FT	27.07.74	23
		G	29.07.74	23
		O	28.07.74	25
		New S	02.08.74	23

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
95(13, 14, 16)	Reviews	<u>Spectator</u>	?	26
		<u>The Stage</u>	01.08.74	25
		<u>S Tel</u>	28.07.74	24
		<u>ST</u>	28.07.74	21
		<u>Time Out</u>	02.08.74	25
		<u>WO</u>	02.08.74	25
	Publ A	<u>FT</u>	09.07.74	18
		<u>The Stage</u>	11.07.74	18
		<u>EN</u>	12.07.74	18
		<u>The T</u>	18.07.74	22
		<u>ST</u>	21.07.74	18

BOOK 13

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
95(12, 14, 16)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	01.08.74	3
		<u>D Ex</u>	29.07.74	1
		<u>EN</u>	25.07.74	1
		<u>ES</u>	25.07.74	1
		<u>S Tel</u>	28.07.74	1
		<u>Tatler & Bystander</u>	Sep 1974	3
		<u>Time Out</u>	23.08.74	2
		<u>The T</u>	25.07.74	1
		<u>Trib</u>	09.08.74	3
		<u>ST</u>	11.08.74	2
91(11,12,15, 16,18)	Publ P	<u>P&P, Pam Brighton, director</u>	Aug 1974	1
96	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	24.10.74	13
		<u>D Ex</u>	28.10.74	16
		<u>DT</u>	18.10.74	11
		<u>EN</u>	18.10.74	10
		<u>ES</u>	21.10.74	11
		<u>ES</u>	21.10.74	12
		<u>G</u>	18.10.74	10
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	25.10.74	16
		<u>The Listener</u>	24.10.74	13
		<u>O</u>	20.10.74	12
		<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1974	18
		<u>P</u>	30.10.74	15
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.10.74	12
		<u>S Tel</u>	20.10.74	11
		<u>S Tel</u>	20.10.74	12
		<u>ST</u>	20.10.74	10
		<u>Time Out</u>	25.10.74	13
		<u>The T</u>	22.10.74	12
		<u>TLS</u>	25.10.74	16
	Publ A	<u>FT</u>	17.09.74	6
		<u>The Stage</u>	03.10.74	6
		<u>P&P</u>	Oct 1974	6
		<u>FT</u>	16.10.74	10
		<u>EN</u>	31.01.75	25
97	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	24.12.71	27
		<u>DT</u>	19.12.74	21
		<u>ES</u>	?	18
		<u>FT</u>	20.12.74	21
		<u>G</u>	19.12.74	21
		<u>New S</u>	03.01.75	18
		<u>O</u>	22.12.74	20
		<u>P&P</u>	Feb 1975	30
		<u>P</u>	01.01.75	24
		<u>ST</u>	22.12.74	20
		<u>Time Out</u>	03.01.75	22
		<u>TES</u>	03.01.75	31
		<u>The T</u>	19.12.74	21
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	22.11.74	16
		<u>FT</u>	26.11.74	17
		<u>FT</u>	02.12.74	17
		<u>The Stage</u>	05.12.74	18
		<u>O</u>	15.12.74	20
		<u>ST</u>	15.12.74	20

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
98(14)	Reviews	<u>ES</u>	15.01.75	26
		<u>FT</u>	08.01.75	26
		<u>G</u>	10.01.75	26
		<u>The Stage</u>	16.01.75	25
		<u>S Tel</u>	19.01.75	27
		<u>Time Out</u>	17.01.75	27
	Publ A	<u>Sc</u>	05.09.74	17
		<u>The Stage</u>	09.01.75	26
99	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	04.12.74	19
		<u>FT</u>	06.12.74	19
		<u>The Stage</u>	05.12.74	19
100(11,14,15 18)	Reviews	<u>City Press</u>	?	31
		<u>D Ex</u>	03.02.75	28
		<u>D Mail</u>	31.01.75	31
		<u>DT</u>	31.01.75	31
		<u>EN</u>	31.01.75	28
		<u>ES</u>	31.01.75	29
		<u>FT</u>	31.01.75	32
		<u>FT</u>	01.02.75	29
		<u>G</u>	31.01.75	29
		<u>S Tel</u>	02.02.75	28
		<u>ST</u>	02.02.75	29
		<u>The T</u>	03.02.75	28
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	20.01.75	30

BOOK 14				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
98(13)	Reviews	P&P	Mar 1975	1
101	Reviews	The Stage	10.06.75	1
	Publ A	The Stage	06.03.75	11
100(11,13,15,18)	Reviews	City Press	06.02.74	3
		Jewish Chron	05.02.75	2
		New S	07.02.75	4
		P&P	Mar 1975	5
		Spectator	08.02.75	3
		The Stage	06.02.75	2
		ST	09.02.75	3
		Die Tat. Zürich	08.02.75	4
		Trib	14.02.75	2
		Vogue	Feb 1975	4
		WO	07.02.75	2
	Publ P	G, Howard Barker, playwright	05.03.75	10
102	Publ P	ES, Paula Ustinov, actress	20.03.75	13
103	Reviews	City Press	05.06.75	26
		D Ex	30.05.75	22
		D Mail	29.05.75	24
		DT	29.05.75	23
		ES	30.05.75	22
		FT	02.06.75	24
		G	?	20
		The Listener	05.06.75	29
		New S	06.06.75	29
		O	15.06.75	30
		P	04.06.75	26
		The Stage	05.06.75	22
		S Tel	08.06.75	22
		Tatler & Bystander	Jul 1975	37
		Time Out	27.06.75	22
		The T	29.05.75	21
		Trib	13.06.75	29
	Publ P	ES, Ciaran Madden, actress	16.05.75	17
		G, Charles Marowitz, director, playwright	28.05.75	25
		ST, Charles Marowitz	25.05.75	19
	Publ A	The Stage	24.04.75	17
		ST	18.05.75	18
		The Stage	22.05.75	18
		Evening Gazette	29.05.75	18
		P&P	Jun 1975	18
		S Tel	01.06.75	22
		WO	13.06.75	29
95(12,13,16)	Publ A	Surrey Advertiser	23.05.75	27
22(4,5,6,7,8,9,15,20)	Publ A	The T	10.06.75	28
		Cosmopolitan	Jul 1975	30
		FT	21.07.75	38

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
104	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	25.06.75	33
		<u>G</u>	?	32
		<u>The Stage</u>	19.06.75	33
		<u>ST</u>	29.06.75	32
		<u>ST</u>	06.07.75	34
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	19.06.75	32
105(15)	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	19.06.75	33
		<u>S Tel</u>	13.07.75	36
106	Publ P	<u>Melody Maker</u> , Meira Shore, singer	05.07.75	36
107(15)	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	17.07.75	38
		<u>FT</u>	18.07.75	38

BOOK 15				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
105(14)	Reviews	<u>?</u>	<u>?</u>	14
		<u>FT</u>	23.07.75	1
		<u>FT</u>	26.07.75	1
		<u>G</u>	23.07.75	1
		<u>The Listener</u>	31.07.75	3
		<u>The Stage</u>	31.07.75	1
		<u>S Tel</u>	27.07.75	1
		<u>ST</u>	27.07.75	1
107(14)	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	30.07.75	4
		<u>FT</u>	01.08.75	4
		<u>G</u>	31.07.75	4
		<u>New S</u>	08.08.75	3
		<u>The Stage</u>	14.08.75	3
		<u>S Tel</u>	03.08.75	3
		<u>The T</u>	30.07.75	4
	Publ P	<u>S Tel</u> , Timothy West, actor	20.07.75	1
108(18)	Reviews	<u>Abingdon Herald</u>	28.08.75	10
		<u>FT</u>	21.08.75	9
		<u>FT</u>	23.08.75	9
		<u>The Stage</u>	28.08.75	10
		<u>The T</u>	21.08.75	9
22(4,5,6,7,8,9,14,20)	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	06.08.75	7
		<u>FT</u>	<u>?</u>	7
		<u>G</u>	22.08.75	8
		<u>South East London Mercury</u>	14.08.75	5
		<u>Time Out</u>	05.09.75	5
		<u>The T</u>	06.08.75	6
	Publ A	<u>South London Press</u>	29.07.75	8
		<u>The Stage</u>	14.08.75	5
91(11,12,16,18)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1975	10
	Publ P	<u>ES</u> , Peter McEnery, actor	30.01.76	29
		<u>G</u> , Pam Brighton, director	18.02.76	30
		<u>Shropshire Star</u> , Peter McEnery	05.02.76	
100(13,14,11,18)	Publ P	<u>ES</u> , Howard Barker, playwright	03.09.75	11
		<u>P&P</u> , Howard Barker	Dec 1975	11
96(13)	Publ A	<u>P&P</u>	Oct 1975	11
109	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	15.10.75	12
		<u>FT</u>	20.10.75	12
		<u>P</u>	22.10.75	14
		<u>S Tel</u>	19.10.75	13
		<u>Time Out</u>	24.10.75	13
		<u>The T</u>	16.10.75	13
	Publ A	<u>FT</u>	30.09.75	12
		<u>The Stage</u>	02.10.75	12
110	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	31.10.75	15
		<u>G</u>	03.11.75	15

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
111(17)	Reviews	<u>The Stage</u>	04.12.75	15
112(16)	Reviews	DT	18.12.75	18
		DT	18.12.75	19
		FT	18.12.75	18
		FT	20.12.75	19
		G	10.12.75	18
		G	17.12.75	22
		G	18.12.75	19
		G	18.12.75	25
		Jewish Chron	26.12.75	21
		New S	26.12.75	23
		O	28.12.75	23
		P&P	Feb 1976	25
		<u>The Stage</u>	24.12.75	17
		<u>S Tel</u>	28.12.75	17
		<u>ST</u>	28.12.75	21
		<u>Time Out</u>	02.01.76	26
		<u>The T</u>	18.12.75	20
		<u>The T</u>	18.12.75	20
	Publ P	D Mail, Linda Hayden	05.12.75	17
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	27.11.75	16
		<u>ST</u>	30.11.75	16
		<u>The Stage</u>	04.12.75	16
		<u>The Stage</u>	11.12.75	16
		<u>Time Out</u>	19.12.75	16
		<u>ST</u>	21.12.75	21
		O	28.12.75	22
89(10,11,12)	Reviews	FT	29.12.75	24
		G	10.12.75	24
		P&P	Feb 1976	25
		<u>The Stage</u>	31.12.75	25
		<u>Tatler & Bystander</u>	Feb 1976	27
		<u>The T</u>	24.12.75	24
14(3,4,7,10)	Publ P	<u>Oxford Mail</u> , Paul Jones, actor	06.02.76	28
113(18)	Publ P	<u>ST</u> , E.A. Whitehead, playwright	08.02.76	30
114	Reviews	DT	18.02.76	32
		DT	18.02.76	33
		EN	?	33
		FT	19.02.76	32
		FT	21.02.76	33
		G	18.02.76	32
		G	18.02.76	33
		<u>S Tel</u>	22.02.76	33
		<u>S Tel</u>	29.02.76	33

BOOK 16

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
115	Reviews	<u>Country Life</u>	04.03.76	11
		<u>The Critic</u>	?	5
		<u>D Mail</u>	12.02.76	1
		<u>DT</u>	12.02.76	4
		<u>EN</u>	?	7
		<u>ES</u>	12.02.76	2
		<u>FT</u>	12.02.76	1
		<u>FT</u>	14.02.76	6
		<u>G</u>	12.02.76	3
		<u>The Listener</u>	19.02.76	8
		<u>New S</u>	20.02.76	4
		<u>Nürnberg Zeitung</u>	26.02.76	40
		<u>O</u>	15.02.76	3
		<u>P</u>	25.02.76	5
		<u>Spectator</u>	21.02.76	8
		<u>The Stage</u>	19.02.76	7
		<u>S Ex</u>	15.02.76	7
		<u>S Tel</u>	15.02.76	6
		<u>ST</u>	15.02.76	6
		<u>Time Out</u>	27.02.76	4
		<u>The T</u>	12.02.76	3
		<u>The T</u>	14.02.76	7
		<u>WO</u>	20.02.76	2
	Publ P	<u>South London Press, Prunella Scales, actress</u>	05.03.76	10
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	05.02.76	7
		<u>The T</u>	06.02.76	1
		<u>FT</u>	09.02.76	2
		<u>S Tel</u>	15.02.76	1
116	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	10.03.76	13
		<u>ES</u>	17.03.76	14
		<u>FT</u>	13.02.76	12
		<u>FT</u>	12.03.76	13
		<u>G</u>	10.03.76	13
		<u>PaP</u>	Apr 1976	16
		<u>S Tel</u>	14.03.76	15
		<u>ST</u>	14.03.76	12
		<u>The T</u>	10.03.76	13
	Publ P	<u>TV Times, Timothy West, actor, director</u>	22.04.76	20
11(3)	Publ P	<u>Liverpool Echo, Roger McGough, poet, actor</u>	25.03.76	17
112(15)	Reviews	<u>Frankfurter Rundschau</u>	?	39
		<u>Frankfurter Rundschau</u>	12.01.76	39
		<u>Tagesspiegel, Berlin</u>	?	38
		<u>Die Presse, Vienna</u>	?	39
		<u>West Berlin Radio</u>	?	40
	Publ P	<u>O, Clive Merrison, actor</u>	11.04.76	18
117	Reviews	<u>TES</u>	07.05.76	20
	Publ P	<u>Street Life, Christopher Logue, poet, perfor-</u>	01.05.76	21
		<u>mer</u>		
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	22.04.76	21
		<u>S Tel</u>	25.04.76	21
		<u>ST</u>	25.04.76	21
		<u>WO</u>	30.04.76	21
		<u>Street Life</u>	01.05.76	20
		<u>O</u>	02.05.76	20

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
91(11,12, 15,18)	Reviews Publ P	<u>P&P</u> <u>D Ex</u> , Peter McNery, actor <u>P&P</u> , David Rudkin, playwright	May 1976 11.06.76 May 1976	22 30 23
118	Reviews Publ P Publ A	<u>DT</u> <u>DT</u> <u>G</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>The T</u> <u>EN</u> , Sandra Scriven, actress <u>The Stage</u> <u>Street Life</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>Time Out</u>	02.06.76 03.06.76 02.06.76 10.06.76 11.06.76 16.06.76 02.06.76 14.05.76 13.05.76 29.05.76 Jun 1976 04.06.76	27 26 27 29 29 27 26 26 27 27 26 27
119(17)	Reviews Publ P Publ A	<u>D Ex</u> <u>DT</u> <u>EN</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>Jewish Chron</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>ST</u> <u>WO</u> <u>?</u> , Billy Hamon, actor <u>The Stage</u> <u>The T</u> <u>WO</u>	02.07.76 02.07.76 02.07.76 02.07.76 02.07.76 03.07.76 05.07.76 02.07.76 09.07.76 08.07.76 04.07.76 04.07.76 09.07.76 ? 24.06.76 24.06.76 25.06.76	33 32 33 34 32 33 33 33 34 34 36 35 37 31 32 32 32
100(13,14, 15,18)	Publ P	<u>ST</u> , Howard Barker, playwright	11.07.76	36
74(8)	Publ P	<u>G</u> , Howard Brenton, playwright	09.07.76	36

BOOK 17

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
120	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	13.08.76	1
		<u>EN</u>	13.08.76	2
		<u>FT</u>	13.08.76	2
		<u>FT</u>	14.08.76	1
		<u>FT</u>	16.08.76	5
		<u>G</u>	13.08.76	3
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	20.08.76	12
		<u>The Listener</u>	19.08.76	13
		<u>O</u>	15.08.76	3
		<u>P&P</u>	Oct 1976	18
		<u>The Stage</u>	?	11
		<u>S Tel</u>	15.09.76	11
		<u>ST</u>	15.08.76	16
		<u>Time Out</u>	?	11
		<u>Time Out</u>	27.08.76	12
		<u>The T</u>	13.08.76	2
		<u>The T</u>	13.08.76	16
		<u>WO</u>	20.08.76	14
	Publ A	?	?	1
		<u>DT</u>	12.08.76	1
119(16)	Reviews	<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1976	10
		<u>Spectator</u>	10.07.76	8
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.07.76	8
121	Reviews	<u>G</u>	22.07.76	10
		<u>S Tel</u>	25.07.76	9
40(6,7,8)	Publ P	<u>ES</u> , John Hopkins, playwright	23.02.77	27
111(15)	Publ P	<u>O</u> , Eva Meier, actress	10.04.77	28
		<u>Western Times</u> (Exeter), Eva Meier	15.04.77	28
122(18)	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	06.05.77	30
		<u>The Stage</u>	12.05.77	30
		<u>WO</u>	13.05.77	30
		<u>D Ex</u>	21.05.77	30
123(18)	Publ A	<u>ES</u>	17.05.77	31
94(11,12,18)	Publ P	<u>Westminster&Pimlico News</u> . Mary O'Malley, playwright	27.05.77	31

BOOK 18				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
122(17)	Reviews	<u>D Mail</u>	18.05.77	1
		<u>DT</u>	18.05.77	2
		<u>EN</u>	18.05.77	1
		<u>ES</u>	18.05.77	2
		<u>FT</u>	18.05.77	2
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	20.05.77	3
		<u>New S</u>	27.05.77	3
		<u>P</u>	25.05.77	2
		<u>P</u>	01.06.77	4
		<u>Spectator</u>	28.05.77	1
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	26.05.77	1
		<u>S Tel</u>	22.05.77	2
		<u>Tatler & Bystander</u>	Aug 1977	4
		<u>The T</u>	18.05.77	2
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	06.05.77	1
		<u>WO</u>	03.06.77	4
		<u>O</u>	05.06.77	4
		<u>Time Out</u>	17.06.77	4
		<u>Time & Tide</u>	24.06.77	4
94(11,12, 17)	Publ P	<u>Bucks Free Press, Mary O'Malley, playwright</u>	17.06.77	5
		<u>G, Mary O'Malley</u>	11.08.77	5
		<u>The Northern Echo, Mary O'Malley</u>	25.06.77	5
123(17)	Publ A	<u>ST</u>	05.06.77	5
124(20)	Reviews	<u>EN</u>	22.11.77	20
		<u>ES</u>	22.11.77	21
		<u>FT</u>	22.11.77	20
		<u>FT</u>	26.11.77	21
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	25.11.77	21
		<u>New S</u>	25.12.77	21
		<u>O</u>	27.11.77	21
		<u>Spectator</u>	24.12.77	22
		<u>The Stage</u>	01.12.77	22
		<u>S Tel</u>	27.11.77	21
	Publ P	<u>Time Out</u>	02.12.77	22
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.12.77	22
		<u>The T</u>	22.11.77	16
		<u>WO</u>	25.11.77	20
		<u>The Glasgow Herald, Dennis Lawson, actor</u>	19.12.77	22
		<u>Harpers Queen, Michael White, impresario</u>	Apr 1978	32
		<u>Screen International, Howard Schuman, playwright</u>	26.11.77	22
		<u>Sight & Sound, Howard Schuman</u>	Oct 1977	21
		<u>ST, Howard Schuman</u>	06.11.77	20
		<u>Time Out, Howard Schuman</u>	18.11.77	21
125	Publ A	<u>Melody Maker</u>	18.06.77	8
		<u>WO</u>	11.11.77	20
		<u>Time Out</u>	18.11.77	16
		<u>ES</u>	19.11.77	20
		<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1977	22
	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	19.07.77	8
		<u>Melody Maker</u>	16.07.77	8
		<u>Record Mirror</u>	16.07.77	8
		<u>Sounds</u>	16.07.77	8

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
126	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	20.07.77	9
		<u>The Stage</u>	11.08.77	9
		<u>Time Out</u>	29.07.77	9
		<u>The T</u>	20.07.77	9
	Publ A	<u>Time Out</u>	15.07.77	9
		<u>WO</u>	15.07.77	9
		<u>The Stage</u>	21.07.77	9
		<u>Time Out</u>	22.07.77	9
113(15)	Reviews	?	?	10
		<u>D Ex</u>	09.07.77	10
		<u>D Mail</u>	13.07.77	13
		<u>EN</u>	08.07.77	13
		<u>FT</u>	11.07.77	11
		<u>Harpers Queen</u>	Jul 1977	11
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	15.07.77	13
		<u>The Listener</u>	14.07.77	12
		<u>New S</u>	15.07.77	13
		<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1977	11
		<u>P</u>	20.07.77	13
		<u>Spectator</u>	16.07.77	10
		<u>The Stage</u>	21.07.77	11
		<u>S Tel</u>	24.07.77	11
		<u>ST</u>	10.07.77	11
		<u>Time Out</u>	15.07.77	12
		<u>Time Out</u>	22.07.77	10
		<u>Trib</u>	22.07.77	12
		<u>WO</u>	15.07.77	12
	Publ P	?, Ted Whitehead, playwright	?	10
		<u>Derbyshire Times</u> , Glyn Owen, actor	22.07.77	8
	Publ A	<u>G</u>	30.07.77	12
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1977	13
91(11,12, 15,16)	Publ P	<u>The T</u> , Peter McNery, actor	19.07.77	14
108(15)	Publ P	<u>Mid Sussex Times</u> , Jim Mason, director	03.11.77	14
127	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	?	15
		<u>G</u>	13.09.77	15
		<u>The Stage</u>	29.09.77	15
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.09.77	15
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	11.08.77	15
		<u>WO</u>	09.09.77	15
		<u>ES</u>	13.09.77	15
100(13,14, 15,16)	Publ A	<u>Evening Gazette</u>	01.10.79	17
128	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	19.10.77	18
		<u>ES</u>	17.10.77	18
		<u>FT</u>	18.10.77	18
		<u>New S</u>	04.11.77	19
		<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1977	19
		<u>The Stage</u>	27.10.77	19
		<u>Tatler & Bystander</u>	Jan 1978	19
		<u>Time Out</u>	21.10.77	18
		<u>Time Out</u>	04.11.77	19
		<u>The T</u>	18.10.77	18

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
128	Publ A	<u>The T</u> <u>WO</u>	06.10.77 14.10.77	19 18
29(5,11)	Publ P	<u>Screen International</u> , Peter Barnes, playwright	3.12.77	23
39(5,6,7)	Publ P	<u>The T</u> , Tom Mallin, playwright	31.01.78	23
129	Reviews	<u>DT</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>New S</u> <u>O</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>Spectator</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>ST</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>The T</u>	03.02.78 02.02.78 02.02.78 04.02.78 02.02.78 10.02.78 05.02.78 Apr 1978 11.02.78 09.02.78 05.02.78 10.02.78 02.02.78	24 24 25 24 24 24 25 25 25 25 25 24
	Publ A	<u>The T</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>WO</u> <u>FT</u>	21.01.78 26.01.78 27.01.78 28.01.78	24 24 24 23
130	Reviews	<u>DT</u> <u>EN</u> <u>G</u> <u>M Star</u> <u>O</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>Time Out</u>	03.03.78 06.03.78 03.03.78 07.03.78 05.03.78 30.03.78 10.03.78	26 26 26 26 26 26 26
	Publ A	<u>EN</u> <u>The T</u> <u>WO</u>	10.02.78 16.02.78 03.03.78	26 26 26
131(19,20)	Reviews	<u>Classical Music Weekly</u> <u>D Mail</u> <u>D Mail</u> <u>Dance&Dancers</u> <u>Dancing Times</u> <u>EN</u> <u>EN</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>G</u> <u>G</u> <u>M Star</u> <u>O</u> <u>O</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>S Tel</u> <u>Tatler & Bystander</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>The T</u> <u>The T</u> <u>TES</u>	01.04.78 16.03.78 27.04.78 Jul 1978 May 1978 15.03.78 31.03.78 15.03.78 21.03.78 11.03.78 15.03.78 27.03.78 19.03.78 23.04.78 30.03.78 19.03.78 26.03.78 Jun 1978 17.03.78 16.03.78 02.05.78 28.04.78	29 28 29 29 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
131	Publ P	<u>Classical Music Weekly.</u> Svetlana Beriosova, dancer	03.06.78	28
		<u>Dance&Dancers.</u> Svetlana Beriosova	Apr 1978	29
		<u>EN,</u> Maina Gielgud, dancer	29.03.78	29
		<u>ES,</u> Robert Chenciner, financier&producer	18.04.78	
		<u>The Stage.</u> Maina Gielgud	09.03.78	29
		<u>Time Out.</u> Maina Gielgud	10.03.78	28
	Publ A	<u>Dancing Times</u>	Mar 1978	28
		<u>ST</u>	12.03.78	28
		<u>Camden Journal</u>	17.03.78	28
		<u>Time Out</u>	17.03.78	28
		<u>DT</u>	23.03.78	29
		<u>The T</u>	15.04.78	28
		<u>EN</u>	21.04.78	29
		<u>Time Out</u>	21.04.78	28
132	Reviews	<u>G</u>	21.03.78	30
		<u>O</u>	26.03.78	30
		<u>The Stage</u>	06.04.78	30
		<u>The Stage</u>	13.04.78	30
		<u>Time Out</u>	24.03.78	30
		<u>Time Out</u>	31.03.78	30
		<u>Time Out</u>	07.04.78	30
	Publ A	<u>EP</u>	17.03.78	31
		<u>Camden Journal</u>	14.04.78	30
68(7,8)	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	01.06.78	33
		<u>FT</u>	06.06.78	33

BOOK 19				
PLAY	ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
133	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	24.04.78	1
		<u>G</u>	28.04.78	1
		<u>O</u>	30.04.78	1
		<u>The Stage</u>	04.05.78	1
		<u>Time Out</u>	21.04.78	1
		<u>Time Out</u>	24.04.78	1
		<u>Time Out</u>	28.04.78	1
		<u>Time Out</u>	12.05.78	1
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	20.04.78	1
		<u>Time Out</u>	28.04.78	1
		<u>P&P</u>	May 1978	1
134	Reviews	<u>D Ex</u>	03.06.78	2
		<u>D Mail</u>	02.06.78	2
		<u>DT</u>	01.06.78	3
		<u>EN</u>	31.05.78	2
		<u>FT</u>	01.06.78	3
		<u>FT</u>	03.06.78	2
		<u>G</u>	31.05.78	3
		<u>Jewish Chron</u>	02.06.78	2
		<u>P</u>	07.06.78	2
		<u>The Stage</u>	08.06.78	2
		<u>S Tel</u>	04.06.78	2
		<u>The T</u>	31.05.78	3
	Publ P	<u>EN, John Bird, actor</u>	19.05.78	3
		<u>EN, John Bird</u>	21.06.78	2
		<u>EN, Deborah Norton, actress</u>	29.05.78	3
		<u>ES, Deborah Norton</u>	26.05.78	3
		<u>Jewish Chron, Maureen Lipman, actress</u>	02.07.78	2
		<u>S Tel Magazine, John Bird</u>	04.06.78	2
		<u>ST, Deborah Norton</u>	11.06.78	2
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	20.05.78	3
		<u>The Stage</u>	25.05.78	3
		<u>Time Out</u>	26.05.78	3
		<u>WO</u>	26.05.78	3
		<u>G</u>	27.05.78	3
		<u>ST</u>	28.05.78	3
		<u>P&P</u>	Jun 1978	2
		<u>Time Out</u>	02.06.78	2
		<u>Time Out</u>	16.06.78	2
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.06.78	3
135	Reviews	<u>FT</u>	26.06.78	4
		<u>Melody Maker</u>	15.07.78	4
		<u>Melody Maker</u>	24.06.78	4
		<u>New Mus Ex</u>	15.07.78	4
		<u>Sounds</u>	29.07.78	4
		<u>The Stage</u>	13.07.78	4
		<u>ST</u>	09.07.78	4
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.06.78	4
	Publ P	<u>FT, Mike Westbrook, jazz artist</u>	15.12.78	11
		<u>FT, Mike Westbrook</u>	28.02.79	17
		<u>G, Mike Westbrook</u>	16.12.78	11
		<u>Ham&High Exp, Mike Westbrook</u>	30.06.78	4
		<u>Melody Maker, Mike Westbrook</u>	02.12.78	11
		<u>NorthhEvT, Mike Westbrook</u>	14.05.79	22
		<u>Time Out, Mike Westbrook</u>	08.12.78	4
		<u>WO, Mike Westbrook</u>	07.12.79	43

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
135	Publ A	WO	23.06.78	4
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.06.78	4
		WO	30.06.78	4
		WO	30.06.78	4
		<u>Melody Maker</u>	01.07.78	4
		<u>Music Week</u>	01.07.78	4
		<u>The Stage</u>	06.07.78	4
		WO	07.07.78	4
		<u>Sounds</u>	17.02.79	2
136	Reviews	DT	13.07.78	5
		ES	14.07.78	5
		FT	13.07.78	5
		FT	15.07.78	5
		G	07.07.78	5
		U	12.07.78	5
		<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	14.07.78	5
		<u>The Stage</u>	20.07.78	5
		<u>Time Out</u>	07.07.78	5
		<u>The T</u>	14.07.78	5
		<u>The T</u>	15.07.78	5
		TES	28.07.78	5
		<u>WorcEvN</u>	12.08.78	5
	Publ P	<u>Time Out</u> , Lenny Sloan, performer	14.07.78	5
	Publ A	ES	04.07.78	5
		G	08.07.78	5
		<u>Time Out</u>	14.07.78	5
137	Reviews	DT	28.07.78	6
		EN	28.07.78	6
		ES	28.07.78	7
		<u>Express & Star</u>	27.07.78	6
		FT	28.07.78	6
		FT	31.07.78	7
		G	28.07.78	6
		<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	04.08.78	6
		<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	28.07.78	7
		<u>JCabdriversU</u>	?	6
		<u>The Listener</u>	10.08.78	7
		<u>New S</u>	04.08.78	7
		O	30.07.78	7
		<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1978	7
		P	09.08.78	7
		<u>Spectator</u>	05.08.78	6
		<u>The Stage</u>	03.08.78	7
		<u>S Tel</u>	30.07.78	7
		ST	30.07.78	7
		<u>Time Out</u>	04.08.78	6
		<u>Time Out</u>	11.08.78	6
		<u>Time Out</u>	18.08.78	6
		<u>Time Out</u>	08.09.78	6
		<u>The T</u>	28.07.78	7
		WO	04.08.78	6
	Publ P	ES, Janet Suzman } actresses	14.07.78	6
		Estelle Kohler }		
		Georgina Hale }		
		ES, Estelle Kohler	08.09.78	7

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
137	Publ P	<u>RTimes. Janet Suzman, actress</u> <u>Shropshire Star. Janet Suzman</u> Estelle Kohler actresses Georgina Hale	12.10.78 27.07.78	7 6
		<u>S Tel. Janet Suzman</u> <u>Tit-Bits. Georgina Hale</u>	23.07.78 03.08.78	6 7
	Publ A	<u>ES</u> <u>The T</u> <u>FT</u> <u>ES</u> <u>FT</u> <u>ES</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>EN</u> <u>EN</u> <u>WO</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>FT</u> <u>The T</u>	26.05.78 05.06.78 15.06.78 16.06.78 19.06.78 23.06.78 Jul 1978 Jul 1978 01.07.78 14.07.78 21.07.78 21.07.78 22.07.78 24.08.78	6 7 7 7 7 6 6 6 7 6 6 6 6 6
154(20)	Reviews	<u>The Stage</u>	31.08.78	8
131(20)	Publ P	<u>G. Maina Gielgud dancer</u> <u>The Stage. Maina Gielgud</u> <u>Western Mail. Maina Gielgud</u>	08.09.78 29.12.78 20.11.78	8 11 11
138(20)	Reviews	<u>DT</u> <u>Gay News</u> <u>G</u> <u>Magus Kings College Union</u> <u>M Star</u> <u>O</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>The T</u> <u>The T</u> <u>TES</u>	20.10.78 02.11.78 19.10.78 22.11.78 26.10.78 22.10.78 Dec 1978 02.11.78 10.11.78 17.11.78 24.11.78 12.10.78 20.10.78 27.10.78	9 9 9 10 9 10 10 10 10 10 9 10 9 9
	Publ P	<u>EN. Rick Cluchey, actor</u>	14.10.78	10
	Publ A	<u>EN</u> <u>Camden Journal</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>WO</u> <u>WO</u> <u>Time Out</u> <u>Hem&High Exp</u> <u>WO</u>	04.08.78 13.10.78 13.10.78 13.10.78 20.10.78 27.10.78 10.11.78 10.11.78	9 9 9 10 9 10 10 10
139	Reviews	<u>Bad News</u> <u>DT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>FT</u> <u>The Listener</u> <u>New S</u> <u>P&P</u> <u>The Stage</u> <u>S Tel</u>	14.12.78 14.12.78 13.12.78 16.12.78 11.01.79 22.12.78 Feb 1979 21.12.78 17.12.78	12 12 12 12 13 13 13 13 12

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
141	Reviews	?	?	21
		<u>DT</u>	26.03.79	20
		<u>EN</u>	23.03.79	21
		<u>ES</u>	23.03.79	21
		<u>Sc</u>	? 79	20
		<u>The Stage</u>	05.04.79	21
		<u>Time Out</u>	23.03.79	20
		<u>Time Out</u>	30.03.79	20
		<u>Time Out</u>	06.04.79	20
	Publ A	<u>Time Out</u>	30.03.79	20
		<u>WO</u>	16.03.79	20
		<u>WO</u>	16.03.79	20
142	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	21.04.79	24
		<u>ES</u>	20.04.79	24
		<u>FT</u>	20.04.79	24
		<u>FT</u>	23.04.79	24
		<u>G</u>	23.04.79	23
		<u>Kent Evening Post</u>	25.04.79	25
		<u>New S</u>	04.05.79	26
		<u>O</u>	06.05.79	26
		<u>O</u>	29.04.79	25
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1979	27
		<u>Q International</u>	Apr 1979	26
		<u>Q International</u>	?	27
		<u>Sennet (London Student Paper)</u>	02.05.79	27
		<u>The Stage</u>	10.05.79	25
		<u>S Tel</u>	22.04.79	23
		<u>Time Out</u>	13.04.79	23
		<u>Time Out</u>	27.04.79	25
		<u>Time Out</u>	04.05.79	26
		<u>Time Out</u>	11.05.79	26
		<u>Time Out</u>	18.05.79	27
		<u>Time Out</u>	25.05.79	27
		<u>WO</u>	20.04.79	23
		<u>WO</u>	27.04.79	25
	Publ P	<u>D Mail, Christopher Gable, actor</u>	17.05.79	26
		<u>ES, James Kirkwood, playwright</u>	05.03.79	24
		<u>ES, John Kay, producer</u>	23.05.79	27
		<u>News of the World, Marilyn Galsworthy, actress</u>	08.04.79	23
		<u>The Stage, John Kay</u>	24.05.79	27
		<u>S Ex, Marilyn Galsworthy</u>	15.04.79	24
	Publ A	<u>Time Out</u>	20.04.79	23
		<u>FT</u>	21.04.79	23
		<u>EN</u>	23.03.79	23
		<u>ES</u>	23.03.79	23
		<u>The Stage</u>	19.04.79	24
		<u>Time Out</u>	27.04.79	24
		<u>P&P</u>	May 1979	27
		<u>The Stage</u>	03.05.79	25
		<u>The Stage</u>	03.05.79	26

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
139	Reviews	<u>Time Out</u>	05.01.79	13
		<u>Time Out</u>	19.01.79	13
	Publ P	G, Mike Ockrent, director	16.07.79	22
	Publ A	P&P	Dec 1978	12
		P&P	Dec 1978	12
		P&P	Jan 1979	12
		The Stage	07.12.78	12
		<u>Time Out</u>	08.12.78	12
		G	12.12.78	12
		The Stage	14.12.78	12
		<u>Time Out</u>	15.12.78	13
		Harrogate Advertiser	08.09.79	44
140	Reviews	?	?	15
		?	?	18
		?	?	19
		?	?	19
		DT	09.02.79	14
		Evening Echo	13.02.79	15
		EN	08.02.79	14
		ES	08.02.79	14
		FT	08.02.79	14
		Freethinker	Mar 1979	18
		G	08.02.79	14
		The Listener	15.02.79	15
		The Listener	22.02.79	15
		M Star	01.03.79	15
		New S	16.02.79	15
		P	21.02.79	15
		Spectator	17.02.79	14
		The Stage	15.02.79	15
		<u>Time Out</u>	16.02.79	15
		<u>Time Out</u>	02.03.79	18
		Trib	09.03.79	18
		Trib	09.03.79	18
		Vogue	Apr 1979	18
		WO	16.02.79	16
	Publ P	ES, Dennis Potter, playwright	17.05.79	22
		Sun, Dennis Potter	10.02.79	14
	Publ A	P&P	Feb 1979	15
		P&P	Feb 1979	15
		<u>Time Out</u>	02.02.79	14
		WO	02.02.79	14
		G	03.02.79	14
		Evening Echo	09.02.79	14
		<u>Time Out</u>	09.02.79	14
		<u>Time Out</u>	09.02.79	14
		FT	10.02.79	14
		TV Times	10.02.79	14
		<u>Time Out</u>	16.02.79	15
		<u>Time Out</u>	23.02.79	15
		<u>Time Out</u>	09.03.79	18
		<u>Time Out</u>	16.03.79	18
88(10)	Publ P	FT, Arrabal, playwright	07.03.79	16

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
143	Reviews	<u>Islington Gazette</u>	08.06.79	28
		<u>O</u>	03.06.79	28
		<u>Time Out</u>	01.06.79	28
		<u>Time Out</u>	22.06.79	28
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	07.06.79	28
		<u>The Stage</u>	14.06.79	28
		<u>The Stage</u>	13.12.79	42
		<u>The Stage</u>	13.12.79	42
144(20)	Reviews	<u>The Barnet Press</u>	10.08.79	31
		<u>ES</u>	19.07.79	30
		<u>FT</u>	19.07.79	29
		<u>FT</u>	20.07.79	29
		<u>G</u>	19.07.79	30
		<u>New S</u>	27.07.79	31
		<u>O</u>	22.07.79	30
		<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1979	30
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1979	31
		<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1979	31
		<u>P</u>	01.08.79	30
		<u>The Stage</u>	02.08.79	30
		<u>Time Out</u>	27.07.79	30
		<u>Time Out</u>	10.08.79	31
		<u>Time Out</u>	17.08.79	31
		<u>Time Out</u>	24.08.79	31
	Publ A	<u>EN</u>	15.06.79	29
		<u>ES</u>	05.07.79	29
		<u>The Stage</u>	12.07.79	29
		<u>WO</u>	13.07.79	29
		<u>G</u>	14.07.79	29
		<u>Time Out</u>	20.07.79	29
		<u>Time Out</u>	27.07.79	30
		<u>Time Out</u>	03.08.79	30
145	Reviews	<u>DT</u>	13.09.79	33
		<u>ES</u>	13.09.79	33
		<u>FT</u>	13.09.79	32
		<u>G</u>	13.09.79	33
		<u>M Star</u>	20.09.79	34
		<u>O</u>	16.09.79	33
		<u>P&P</u>	Nov 1979	34
		<u>P</u>	26.09.79	34
		<u>The Stage</u>	30.09.79	34
		<u>S Tel</u>	16.09.79	33
		<u>Time Out</u>	21.09.79	33
		<u>Time Out</u>	28.09.79	34
		<u>Time Out</u>	05.10.79	34
		<u>Time Out</u>	12.10.79	34
	Publ P	<u>ES, Harriet Walter, actress</u>	10.09.79	32
	Publ A	<u>The Stage</u>	30.08.79	32
		<u>ES</u>	31.08.79	32
		<u>The Stage</u>	06.09.79	32
		<u>Time Out</u>	07.09.79	32
		<u>WO</u>	07.09.79	33
		<u>Time Out</u>	14.09.79	33
		<u>Time Out</u>	21.09.79	32

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
146(20)	Reviews	DT	10.11.79	37
		EN	09.11.79	36
		ES	09.11.79	35
		FT	09.11.79	36
		FT	12.11.79	36
		G	09.11.79	36
		Jewish Chron	16.11.79	37
		The Listener	15.11.79	37
		The Listener	20.12.79	39
		M Star	15.11.79	38
		P&P	Dec 1979	39
		P	21.11.79	38
		Spectator	17.11.79	38
		The Stage	22.11.79	38
		S Tel	11.11.79	37
		ST	18.11.79	37
		TES	16.11.79	38
		Time Out	16.11.79	38
		Time Out	23.11.79	39
		Time Out	30.11.79	39
		Time Out	07.12.79	39
		The T	13.11.79	40
		WO	16.11.79	38
	Publ P	Camden Journal, Denholm Elliot, actor	19.10.79	35
		Camden Journal,	09.10.79	36
		ES, James Griffiths, actor	22.10.79	35
		ES, Denholm Elliot	26.10.79	35
		S Tel, Diane Cilento, actress	21.10.79	35
	Publ A	ES	17.08.79	44
		Hackney Gazette	23.10.79	35
		Time Out	02.11.79	36
		WO	02.11.79	35
		G	03.11.79	35
		G	08.11.79	38
		The Stage	08.11.79	37
		O	18.11.79	36
		Time Out	14.12.79	39
44(6,7)	Publ P	O, Timothy West, actor	27.01.80	41
147	Publ A	Time Out	19.08.79	44
		The Stage	04.10.79	45
		The Stage	25.10.79	43
148	Publ P	The Stage, Miklos Kollo, mime	23.08.79	44
	Publ A	The Stage	23.08.79	44

BOOK 20

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
146(19)	Publ P	<u>Walthamstow Guardian</u> . Diane Cilento, actress	15.02.80	1
22(4,5,6,7,8,9,14,15)	Publ P	<u>Streatham News</u> . Petrinella Ford, actress	16.05.80	4
		<u>Wimbledon News</u> . Petronella Ford	16.05.80	4
152	Reviews	<u>ES</u>	01.04.80	3
		<u>P&P</u>	Jun 1980	3
		<u>The Stage</u>	10.04.80	3
		<u>The T</u>	02.04.80	3
	Publ P	<u>Oldham Evening Chronicle</u> . Charlie Drake, actor	25.01.80	1
	Publ A	?		1
		<u>Now</u>	22.02.80	2
		<u>The Stage</u>	27.03.80	2
		<u>WO</u>	28.03.80	2
153	Publ P	<u>D Mir</u> . Michael Attwell, actor	06.06.80	6
		<u>Sun</u> Michael Attwell	06.06.80	6
		<u>Time Out</u> . Barry Collins, playwright	04.07.80	5
124(18)	Publ P	<u>WO</u> . Carrie Fisher, actress	06.06.80	4
138(19)	Publ P	<u>Oxford Mail</u> . Rick Cluchey	14.06.80	7
	Publ A	<u>The T</u>	14.07.80	7
131(18,19)	Publ P	<u>Dance&Dancers</u> . Maina Gielgud, dancer	Jun 1980	8
		<u>G</u> . Maina Gielgud	03.06.80	9
144(19)	Publ P	<u>G</u> . Freddie Jones, actor	26.07.80	10
154(19)	Reviews	<u>M Star</u> .	14.08.80	13
		<u>P</u>	20.08.80	13
		<u>The T</u>	08.10.80	13

SECTION B: these cuttings do not discuss specific plays. They are all listed chronologically and are divided into three categories - Open Space management; Newspaper correspondence; Open Space and theatre in general.

BOOK 1

<u>ARTICLES</u>	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
OS Management	<u>ST</u>	09.06.68	2
	<u>G</u>	17.10.68	3
Newspaper correspondence	<u>ST</u>	28.07.68	10
	<u>The T</u>	08.11.68	47
OS&theatre in general	<u>FT</u>	26.09.68	3
	<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1968	49
	<u>Trib</u>	11.10.68	16
	<u>C</u>	19.10.68	5
	<u>The Sunday Record Call</u>	20.10.68	47
	<u>The T</u>	26.10.68	33
	<u>The T</u>	26.10.68	48
	<u>The T</u>	21.12.68	45
OS Management	<u>G</u>	12.12.68	25
OS Management	<u>FT</u>	20.12.68	30
	<u>ES</u>	18.01.69	30
	<u>Nova</u>	Feb 1969	32
	<u>D Mail</u>	06.03.69	29
	<u>The Stage</u>	02.04.69	10
	<u>Kentish Observer</u>	22.04.69	12
Newspaper correspondence	<u>G</u>	14.03.69	33
	<u>The Stage</u>	20.03.69	33
	<u>The Stage</u>	02.04.69	10
OS&theatre in general	<u>DT</u>	30.12.68	33
	<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1969	31
	<u>The Stage</u>	02.04.69	10
	<u>TV Times</u>	10.04.69	11
	<u>WO</u>	11.04.69	11
	<u>The Stage</u>	24.04.69	11
	<u>DT</u>	21.05.69	11
OS Management	<u>ST</u>	20.04.69	4
	<u>St Marylebone&Paddington Record</u>	02.05.69	5
	<u>ST</u>	22.06.69	15
	<u>G</u>	02.08.69	21
	<u>ES</u>	06.08.69	26
	<u>The Stage</u>	07.08.69	23
Newspaper correspondence	<u>Ham&High Exp</u>	25.04.69	4
OS&theatre in general	<u>Kilburn Times</u>	09.05.69	6
	<u>DT</u>	30.05.69	9
	<u>G</u>	24.07.69	19
	<u>D Mail</u>	25.08.69	31
	<u>Drama</u>	Sum 1969	2

BOOK 5			
ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
OS Management	<u>P&P</u>	Sep 1969	1
	<u>P&P</u>	Oct 1969	4
	<u>ES</u>	24.10.69	8
	<u>Liverpool D Post</u>	21.11.69	11
	<u>Rochdale Observer</u>	20.12.69	19
	<u>Shropshire Star</u>	19.01.70	36
	<u>Citizen</u>	06.03.70	37
	<u>Gloucestershire Echo</u>	06.03.70	37
	<u>G</u>	15.04.70	39
	<u>G</u>	15.05.70	39
	<u>EN</u>	31.08.70	42
	<u>Campaign</u>	11.09.70	41
	<u>E Star</u>	19.09.70	38
	<u>ES</u>	16.10.70	43
	<u>Life of Faith</u>	21.02.70	40
Newspaper correspondence	<u>Drama</u>	?	44
OS&theatre in general	<u>South Wales Argus</u>	19.09.69	2
	<u>Sc</u>	22.09.69	3
	<u>S Tel</u>	28.09.69	3
	<u>ST</u>	12.10.69	5
	<u>Evening Argus</u>	30.10.69	9
	<u>G</u>	31.10.69	9
	<u>W Star</u>	31.10.69	9
	<u>Liverpool D Post</u>	19.12.69	18
	<u>DT</u>	29.12.69	18
	<u>Drama</u>	Win 1969	19
	<u>Drama</u>	Win 1969	40
	<u>S Tel</u>	11.01.70	41
	<u>ST</u>	11.01.70	41
	<u>G</u>	13.01.70	41
	<u>ES</u>	15.01.70	19
	<u>G</u>	12.02.70	40
	<u>Rochdale Observer</u>	07.03.70	40
	<u>DT</u>	27.04.70	39
	<u>ES</u>	01.05.70	33
	<u>St. Pancras. Chronicle</u>	08.05.70	30
	<u>Trib</u>	03.05.70	30
	<u>TES</u>	19.06.70	39
	<u>II</u>	20.08.70	42
	<u>Drama</u>	Sum 1970	39
	<u>Eastern Daily Press</u>	02.11.70	42
	<u>Sun</u>	12.11.70	43

BOOK 6			
ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
OS Management	<u>D Sketch</u>	17.09.70	25
	<u>ES</u>	02.01.71	44
	<u>Melody Maker</u>	20.02.71	74
	<u>G</u>	09.03.71	41
	<u>Camden Journal</u>	08.04.71	48
	<u>The Stage</u>	15.04.71	48
	<u>The Stage</u>	29.04.71	51
	<u>Western Morning News</u>	19.07.71	67
	<u>ES</u>	20.07.71	67
	<u>Guilford Times</u>	14.06.72	7
Newspaper correspondence	<u>G</u>	28.01.71	36
OS&theatre in general	<u>Gloucestershire Echo</u>	?	45
	<u>?</u>	?	68
	<u>G</u>	?	69
	<u>P</u>	29.07.70	73
	<u>Luton Evening Post</u>	17.08.70	15
	<u>Evening Citizen</u>	16.12.70	70
	<u>Sun</u>	24.12.70	37
	<u>Evening Chronicle</u>	24.12.70	71
	<u>The T</u>	31.12.70	19
	<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1971	31
	<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1971	69
	<u>Spectator</u>	02.01.71	69
	<u>G</u>	06.01.71	70
	<u>DT</u>	06.01.71	71
	<u>ES</u>	22.01.71	37
	<u>G</u>	26.01.71	36
	<u>P&P</u>	Feb 1971	74
	<u>D Ex</u>	04.02.71	37
	<u>Freethinker</u>	20.02.71	72
	<u>FT</u>	26.02.71	73
	<u>ST</u>	28.02.71	72
	<u>Music&Musicians</u>	Mar 1971	74
	<u>P&P</u>	Mar 1971	74
	<u>B Eve Mail</u>	13.03.71	72
	<u>The T</u>	19.03.71	72
	<u>WO</u>	19.03.71	73
	<u>The T</u>	29.03.71	71
	<u>Oxford Mail</u>	03.06.71	58
	<u>The Stage</u>	18.03.71	44
	<u>FT</u>	01.04.71	73
	<u>DT</u>	04.06.71	66
	<u>DT</u>	05.06.71	66
	<u>The Stage</u>	24.06.71	66
	<u>Sc</u>	05.07.71	66
	<u>DT Magazine</u>	23.07.71	68
	<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1971	55

BOOK 7			
ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
OS Management	<u>Watford Evening Echo</u>	21.09.71	37
	<u>BP</u>	25.09.71	37
	<u>Harrow Observer&Gazette</u>	05.11.71	36
	<u>S Tel</u>	07.11.71	11
	<u>West Herts&Watford Observer</u>	12.11.71	35
	<u>S Tel</u>	14.11.71	11
	<u>The Stage</u>	20.01.72	17
	<u>ST</u>	20.02.72	30
	<u>ES</u>	22.02.72	31
	<u>ES</u>	09.03.72	30
	<u>The Stage</u>	09.03.72	26
	<u>Jewish Chron</u>	10.03.72	30
	<u>ES</u>	04.04.72	27
Newspaper correspondence	<u>G</u>	23.11.71	11
	<u>G</u>	25.11.71	11
	<u>G</u>	30.11.71	10
	<u>ST</u>	02.01.72	34
	<u>ES</u>	14.03.72	30
	<u>ES</u>	16.03.72	29
OS&theatre in general	<u>19</u>	Aug 1971	37
	<u>P</u>	18.08.71	37
	<u>G</u>	25.10.71	36
	<u>DT</u>	08.11.71	11
	<u>Spectator</u>	13.11.71	11
	<u>G</u>	19.11.71	35
	<u>G</u>	03.12.71	10
	<u>Economist</u>	04.12.71	10
	<u>FT</u>	30.12.71	34
	<u>P&P</u>	Jan 1972	34
	<u>Sc</u>	10.01.72	33
	<u>G</u>	11.01.72	33
	<u>ES</u>	19.01.72	32
	<u>ST</u>	23.01.72	32
	<u>Harpers Queen</u>	Feb 1972	33
	<u>P&P</u>	Feb 1972	32
	<u>Liverpool D Post</u>	04.02.72	32
	<u>P&P</u>	Mar 1972	31
	<u>Spectator</u>	11.03.72	30
	<u>Sunday Press</u>	12.03.72	30
	<u>G</u>	14.03.72	29
	<u>Barking&Dagenham Advertiser</u>	17.03.72	28
	<u>G</u>	18.03.72	30
	<u>Time Out</u>	31.03.72	26
	<u>The Stage</u>	06.04.72	27

		BOOK 8	
ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
OS Management	D Mir	21.09.70	25
	Worthing Herald	14.04.72	30
	ES	17.04.72	30
	West London Observer	20.04.72	30
	ST	02.07.72	13
	Ham&High Exp	22.09.72	25
	P&P	Oct 1972	25
Newspaper correspondence	RTimes	20.07.72	27
OS&theatre in general	?	?	26
	P&P	?	27
	Vogue	?	27
	The T	Apr 1972	8
	New Soc	11.05.72	29
	Kent&Sussex Courier	29.06.72	12
	P&P	07.07.72	28
	P&P	Aug 1972	26
	ST	Aug 1972	27
	The Stage	10.09.72	27
	P&P	14.09.72	27
	P&P	Oct 1972	24B
	P&P	Oct 1972	24B
		BOOK 9	
OS Management	EP	31.10.72	10
	?	?	11
	South Western Star	08.12.72	10
	Spectator	13.12.72	17
	The Stage	28.12.72	10
	P&P	Jan 1973	20
	Sc	20.01.73	28
	Harpers Queen	Feb 1973	23
	Essex County Standard	09.02.73	28
	G	08.03.73	28
	The Stage	02.11.72	7
	The Stage	09.11.72	7
Newspaper correspondence	The Stage	09.11.72	7
	The Stage	16.11.72	9
	P&P	Jan 1973	19
	P&P	Jan 1973	19
OS&theatre in general	P&P	Oct 1972	12
	P	11.10.72	4
	City Press	26.10.72	8
	FT	28.10.72	8
	P&P	Nov 1972	8
	P&P	Nov 1972	9
	FT	04.11.72	8
	ES	08.11.72	10
	FT	16.12.72	19
	P&P	Jan 1973	17
	P&P	Jan 1973	17
	P&P	Jan 1973	17
	P&P	Jan 1973	19
	DT	01.01.73	20
	P&P	Feb 1973	27
	Municipal Journal	02.03.73	27
	WO	02.03.73	27
	ES	07.03.73	26
	P&P	Apr 1973	27
	P&P	Apr 1973	27

		BOOK 10	
ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
OS Management	<u>The Stage</u>	?	28
	<u>FT</u>	31.03.73	7
	<u>Drama</u>	Apr 1973	9
	<u>Bromley Times</u>	07.06.73	22
	<u>Coventry Evening Telegraph</u>	15.06.73	29
	<u>Leamington Spa Courier</u>	29.06.73	29
	<u>DT</u>	01.08.73	33
	<u>G</u>	14.09.73	41
	<u>The Stage</u>	01.11.73	47
	?	?	50
	<u>The Listener</u>	15.02.73	9
	?	Apr 1973	7
OS&theatre in general	<u>The Star. Johannesburg</u>	14.04.73	19
	<u>P&P</u>	May 1973	16
	<u>Yorkshire Evening Press</u>	22.05.73	21
	<u>G</u>	28.05.73	19
	<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1973	20
	<u>O</u>	23.06.73	21
	<u>New S</u>	13.07.73	22
	<u>Trib</u>	13.07.73	34
	<u>FT</u>	26.07.73	34
	<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1973	34
	<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1973	34
	<u>ES</u>	04.09.73	36
	<u>Liverpool Daily Post</u>	12.09.73	41
	<u>ES</u>	18.09.73	41
	<u>Jewish Chron</u>	21.09.73	41
	<u>WO</u>	12.10.73	43
	<u>Chelsea News</u>	02.11.73	42
	<u>Fulham Chronicle</u>	02.11.73	42
	<u>Westminster & Pimlico News</u>	02.11.73	42
	<u>Kensington Post</u>	02.11.73	42
	<u>ES</u>	12.11.73	47
	<u>SC</u>	12.11.73	42
	<u>M Star</u>	27.11.73	50
		BOOK 11	
OS Management	<u>Spectator</u>	08.12.73	3
	<u>Ham&High Express</u>	22.02.74	26
OS&theatre in general	<u>FT</u>	08.04.74	26
	<u>Spectator</u>	13.04.74	30
	<u>The T</u>	04.05.74	26

<u>ARTICLES</u>		<u>BOOK 12</u>		
	<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>	
OS Management	<u>The Stage</u>	16.05.74	4	
	<u>Evening Gazette</u>	31.05.74	10	
	<u>Harpers Queen</u>	Jun 1974	13	
	<u>Evening Gazette, Colchester</u>	07.06.74	13	
	<u>Surrey Advertiser</u>	14.06.74	15	
	<u>Spectator</u>	29.06.74	17	
	<u>Derby Evening Telegraph</u>	18.07.74	17	
	<u>Cinema Today</u>	25.05.74	8	
OS&theatre in general	<u>P&P</u>	Jul 1974	15	
		<u>BOOK 13</u>		
OS Management	<u>Spectator</u>	31.08.74	4	
	<u>P&P</u>	Sept 1974	5	
	<u>Vaderland</u>	29.08.74	14	
	<u>G</u>	13.11.74	17	
	<u>TES</u>	03.01.75	25	
Newspaper correspondence	<u>ST</u>	05.01.75	22	
	<u>Spectator</u>	14.09.74	5	
	<u>Spectator</u>	28.09.74	5	
	<u>The T</u>	15.10.74	9	
	<u>ST</u>	03.11.74	9	
OS&theatre in general	<u>DT</u>	12.08.74	15	
	<u>D Mail</u>	30.09.74	7	
	<u>FT</u>	30.09.74	8	
	<u>ES</u>	01.10.74	8	
	<u>G</u>	22.11.74	17	
	<u>FT</u>	27.12.74	23	
	<u>Sc</u>	06.01.75	27	
		<u>BOOK 14</u>		
OS Management	<u>EN</u>	14.02.75	6	
	<u>G</u>	14.02.75	6	
	<u>Bedfordshire Times</u>	14.02.75	11	
	<u>G</u>	17.02.75	7	
	<u>G</u>	26.02.75	9	
	<u>ES</u>	13.03.75	8	
	<u>G</u>	13.03.75	14	
	<u>DT</u>	14.03.75	14	
	<u>The T</u>	05.04.75	14	
	<u>Ham&High Express</u>	11.04.75	16	
	<u>The Stage</u>	17.04.75	16	
	<u>ES</u>	22.05.75	27	
	<u>S Tel</u>	29.06.75	28	
	<u>ST</u>	27.04.75	16	
Newspaper correspondence	<u>The Stage</u>	12.06.75	28	
	<u>ES</u>	13.06.75	31	
	<u>G</u>	07.07.75	34	
	<u>Time Out</u>	28.03.75	12	
OS&theatre in general	<u>Vogue</u>	01.04.75	15	
	<u>ES</u>	26.06.75	31	

<u>ARTICLES</u>		<u>BOOK 15</u>		
		<u>JOURNALS ETC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
OS Management		<u>Bromley Times</u>	28.08.75	10
		<u>ES</u>	10.10.75	12
		<u>ES</u>	13.10.75	12
		<u>The T</u>	01.12.75	15
		<u>FT</u>	08.12.75	15
		<u>FT</u>	12.12.75	15
		<u>The Stage</u>	18.12.75	15
Newspaper correspondence	<u>ST</u>		04.01.76	26
OS&theatre in general	<u>Woman's Journal with Flair</u>	Aug 1975	2	
	<u>P&P</u>	Aug 1975	8	
	<u>S Tel</u>	14.09.75	11	
	<u>NYT</u>	23.11.75	14	
	<u>C</u>	06.01.76	28	
	<u>The Stage</u>	05.02.76	29	
		<u>BOOK 16</u>		
OS Management	<u>Bucks Examiner</u>	05.03.76	12	
	<u>ES</u>	03.05.76	21	
	<u>ES</u>	27.05.76	29	
	<u>D Ex</u>	25.05.76	28	
	<u>D Mail</u>	28.05.76	28	
	<u>New S</u>	04.06.76	26	
	<u>ST</u>	20.06.76	31	
	<u>Time Out</u>	25.06.76	32	
	<u>WO</u>	09.07.76	31	
	OS&theatre in general	<u>DT</u>	27.02.76	9
<u>The T</u>		27.02.76	9	
<u>Sc</u>		28.02.76	9	
<u>Sc</u>		28.02.76	10	
<u>The Stage</u>		04.03.76	10	
<u>The Stage</u>		18.03.76	12	
<u>Sc</u>		02.04.76	14	
<u>RTimes</u>		15.04.76	19	
		<u>BOOK 17</u>		
OS Management	<u>ES</u>	06.02.76	16	
	<u>C</u>	03.08.76	16	
	<u>DT</u>	13.08.76	17	
	<u>C</u>	25.08.76	15	
	<u>C</u>	01.09.76	16	
	<u>D Mail</u>	09.09.76	7	
	<u>BP</u>	10.09.76	6	
	<u>P&P</u>	Oct 1976	18	
	<u>FT</u>	02.10.76	15	
	<u>The Stage</u>	07.10.76	16	
	<u>Estates Gazette</u>	09.10.76	17	
	<u>Screen International</u>	09.10.76	17	
	<u>The Stage</u>	23.12.76	22	
	<u>ES</u>	?	77	
	<u>The Stage</u>	03.02.77	23	
	<u>WO</u>	11.03.77	24	
	<u>WO</u>	11.03.77	26	
	<u>ES</u>	31.03.77	23	
	<u>C</u>	01.04.77	23	

BOOK 17			
ARTICLES	JOURNALS ETC	DATE	P NO
OS Management	ST	03.04.77	23
	DT	04.04.77	24
	FT	06.04.77	24
	WO	08.04.77	26
	The Stage	14.04.77	24
	WO	15.04.77	26
	FT	26.04.77	25
	The I	29.04.77	29
	FT	04.05.77	25
	WO	06.05.77	30
	ST	15.05.77	29
	ES	16.05.77	29
	?	?	6
	?	?	6
	FT	13.07.76	6
OS&theatre in general	WO	31.12.76	19
	RTimes	01.01.77	22
	S Tel	02.01.77	21
	ES	04.01.77	22
	The Stage	06.01.77	20
	DT	07.02.77	27
	FT	26.03.77	27
BOOK 18			
OS Management	Ham&High Express	?	33
	ES	01.06.77	6
	ES	02.06.77	6
	G	03.06.77	6
	WO	10.06.77	6
	ES	14.06.77	7
	ES	15.06.77	7
	G	16.06.77	7
	G	20.06.77	7
	Shropshire Star	21.06.77	5
	The Stage	23.06.77	6
	G	28.06.77	6
	WO	15.07.77	12
	EN	05.08.77	14
	Time Out	08.09.77	6
	Enfield Weekly Herald	09.09.77	14
	Music Week	15.10.77	17
	ES	26.10.77	17
	Jewish Chron	09.12.77	23
	WO	03.02.78	26
	The Stage	09.02.78	26
	ES	27.02.78	27
	P&P	Mar 1978	30
	Morning Star	02.03.78	27
	The Stage	02.03.78	27
	ES	06.03.78	26
	The Stage	09.03.78	26
	EN	10.03.78	26
	ES	10.03.78	27
	Time Out	10.03.78	27
	EN	13.03.78	27

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JOURNALS ETC
North Eastern Evening Mail
G
Yorkshire Post
ES
ES
ES
G
Time Out
P&P
Express & Star, Wolverhampton
WO
Spectator
ES
Time Out
The Stage
ES
Evening Echo
G

Newspaper correspondence

OS&theatre in general

G
WO
G
WO
ES
M Star
The Stage
WO
DT
G
The Stage
WO
WO
DT
P&P
WO
S Tel
WO
M Star
Dance & Dancers
Spectator
Time Out
WO
WO
ES
EN
DT

<u>DATE</u>	<u>P NO</u>
13.03.78	27
14.03.78	31
14.03.78	26
16.03.78	26
16.03.78	27
21.03.78	29
21.03.78	30
31.03.78	30
Apr 1978	26
01.04.78	32
14.04.78	32
15.04.78	26
08.05.78	27
12.05.78	32
01.06.78	27
12.06.78	27
11.07.78	33
12.07.78	33
23.03.78	27
14.04.78	32
03.07.77	12
10.06.77	5
27.06.77	7
14.07.77	16
04.08.77	14
26.08.77	
22.09.77	16
01.10.77	17
03.11.77	16
04.11.77	17
02.12.77	23
18.12.77	23
Feb 1978	26
10.03.78	27
19.03.78	31
24.03.78	27
30.03.78	31
Apr 1978	29
01.04.78	31
09.06.78	33
23.06.78	33
07.07.78	33
20.07.78	33
21.07.78	33
14.08.78	33

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BOOK 19

JOURNALS ETC

DATE P NO

Newspaper correspondence
OS&theatre in general

<u>The Stage</u>	09.11.78	11
<u>S Tel Magazine</u>	12.11.78	11
<u>Rugby Advertiser</u>	17.11.78	11
<u>P&P</u>	Dec 1978	8
<u>ES</u>	18.01.79	16
<u>C</u>	31.01.79	16
<u>The Stage</u>	15.02.79	16
<u>The Stage</u>	15.02.79	16
<u>EN</u>	22.02.79	16
<u>The Stage</u>	01.03.79	17
<u>ES</u>	02.03.79	17
<u>Clapham & Lambeth News</u>	16.03.79	17
<u>WO</u>	11.05.79	25
<u>G</u>	22.05.79	22
<u>WO</u>	25.05.79	28
<u>WO</u>	08.06.79	22
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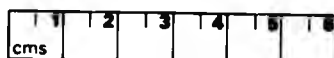
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