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Dissemination of Culture through a Translational Community: German Drama in English Translation on the London West End Stage from 1900 – 1914

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by

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Dedicated to the memory of Lisa Esch

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INTRODUCTION

> Translation like all (re)writings is never innocent. There is always a context in which translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed. (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990:11)

This thesis seeks both to chart the dissemination of German drama on the London West End Stage between 1900 and 1914 and to provide an account of the ideological factors which inevitably underlie such a considerable programme of translational activity. In other words, the play a particular group or individuals decide to translate, the nature of the translational choices and strategies which are employed at every stage of the translation process, the particular time, place, and manner of staging, and the issues of reception are never ideologically neutral events. Translation always exists within a historical and cultural context. The main set of premises for a study of this kind - indeed, for all work which might come under the heading *Descriptive Translation Studies* - is the notion that all translation involves re-writing (see Lefevere 1985), that such re-writing "is never innocent" (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990:11), and that "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (Hermans 1985:11). It should be stressed, however, that although Descriptive Translation Studies might be described as the dominant methodology within the relatively new discipline of Translation Studies this thesis represents one of the first extended attempts to apply that methodology to the English stage.

During the period under examination, massive generic and structural changes occurred on the London stage, in British theatre generally, and even with regard to British cultural attitudes. These changes were partly achieved through the work of such cultural innovators

as William Archer, Jacob Thomas Grein, Harley Granville Barker, and George Bernard Shaw. Comprising the core of the movement at the turn of the century which is now thought of as modern English theatre[1], all these practitioners - with the exception of Shaw[2] - were also, at the same time, involved in translation of German playtexts. Crucially, the present thesis examines the role and function of the translation of plays within the development of modern English theatre.

It is important to note that, until now, the role played by translation within the transition from nineteenth-century theatre to twentieth-century theatre, including the changes in attitude toward theatre generally, is a subject that has largely been ignored. Biographies on Barker and Grein, for example, mention their respective translational activities only in passing, invariably failing to attach any significance to such activities. Furthermore, scholarship on Barker as a playwright systematically refuses to acknowledge his work as a translator, thereby implying that translation is a 'second-rate' activity, unworthy of critical attention. Only William Archer's work as a translator receives a little attention - even here, however, it is his role as an Ibsen translator which receives attention, not his work as a translator of German plays. This thesis argues that any examination of translation during this period must not only offer theoretical insights into the purpose and the context of

[1] It can be argued, of course, that "1890 marks the beginning of modern drama in England, as the date of Shaw's lecture on 'The Quintessence of Ibsenism'" (Innes 1992:4-5). However, the period under examination here witnesses the cementing of this modern trend in the commercial West End theatre.

[2] Shaw did translate one German play after World War One. In order to help his German translator and friend to overcome financial difficulties, Shaw translated Siegfried Trebitsch's *Frau Gittas Sühne* under the title *Jitta* (see Holroyd 1991: 67). A detailed examination of this translation would, however, exceed the limitations of this thesis and, as such, all that can be offered at this point is a call for a future research project to explore Shaw's work as a translator.

translation but should also add to our understanding of this particular period of theatre history[3].

Furthermore, this thesis entirely rejects such a view of translation as a second-rate activity, stressing instead its importance with regard not only to our understanding of the relationship between two cultures but, crucially, to our understanding of the target culture. As Sirkku Aaltonen points out:

> [t]he aim of a translated text is very seldom, or never entirely, to provide an introduction to the Other or to mediate the Foreign. Instead the foreign work is given the task of speaking for the target system and society. (Aaltonen 2000:48)

Not only has the importance of translation during this particular period generally been underestimated, but also German theatre (in English translation) in particular has never received the attention the subject deserves. Michael Patterson's bibliography on German theatre, containing some 17,537 references, lists only five books under the heading 'Dramaturgy and Translation' (see Patterson 1996). Three of those titles deal with problems of playtext translation in general (Bednarz 1969, Fischer-Lichte 1988, Paul & Schultze 1991), and one title assesses post-war translations of classical German plays into English (Mengel 1994). Only one title (Scholz 1918) deals with translations of German playtexts contemporary to the period under investigation in this thesis.

Karl Scholz's *The Art of Translation - With Special Reference to English Renditions of the Prose Dramas of Gerhart Hauptmann and Hermann Sudermann* (1918) meticulously compares the target texts to the source texts in order to provide a detailed listing of what he

[3] That is not to say that this thesis claims to examine certain issues, such as the relationship between text and performance, that are of importance specifically to Theatre Studies, but rather that theatre history could benefit from a consideration of translation as part of that history. DTS scholars have long argued that the dependence of British culture (and not only British culture) on foreign cultural models has been written out of the history books. For a more detailed discussion of this issue see Lambert et al. (1985:149-163).

describes as inaccuracies and omissions in the target text. Scholz uses these 'inaccuracies' in order to prove that not all translators are as fluent in German as maybe they should have been. Amusing as his list of grammatical 'howlers' is, Scholz does not differentiate between translation with the primary aim of publication and translation with the primary aim of performance. The debate regarding the listing of errors in translation versus the concern with motivated change of the source text occurred as recently as 1996. Timothy Buck and Lawrence Venuti had a very public argument regarding those two extremely different attitudes toward Translation Studies, which was initiated by the former's article in the *Times Literary Supplement* on Helen Lowe-Porter's translations of Thomas Mann's novels[4]. However, Descriptive Translation Studies' main focus is "less on what translation should have been, could have been, or might have been, [...] [but instead] on what it *is* [...] how it appears to be, how it presents itself to us" (Hermans 1999a:6) (his italics).

Scholz's study is not concerned with "what [translation] is" nor with the function of translation within a culture, the purpose of translation within a historical and cultural context, but with the establishment of prescriptive rules[5] for the act of translation.

> The primary object is to enunciate those principles of translation which, in my opinion, may be conducive to raising the art of translation of the modern prose drama to a higher plane of perfection [...] (Scholz 1918:1)

The "higher plane of perfection" can only be reached if a translation is an "*exact reproduction, a complete transcript, of the thought and spirit of the original work*" (Scholz 1918:4) (his italics) and his argument is based upon the notion of linguistic and cultural faithfulness - the belief in the possibility of ideal equivalence. Thus, rather than offering critical insights into the purpose of and manipulation within translation, Scholz's prescriptive study becomes an important primary source in order to establish the

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[4] For a detailed recollection of the incident see Hermans (1999a:1-4).

contemporary concept of translation as developed by what is sometimes referred to as the academy (so called because the rise of the university as an institution resulted in a shift of power, at least as far as high culture was concerned, away from 'amateur' translators towards the academic translator with verifiable diplomas and qualifications and a belief in the importance of accuracy). It could be argued that Scholz's prescriptive study is a result of the changes regarding concepts and practices of translation that occur during the period under investigation in this thesis. Specifically, this was the period when translation practice and concepts of translation became consolidated into a clear form of translational practice, resulting partly in a prescriptive concept as articulated by the academy and partly in the modern concept of acculturation (see Aaltonen 2000 & Bassnett 2000). Prior to this period the act of stage translation was not necessarily a clearly defined process as Hale (2000:65) points out in his study on nineteenth-century stage translation. This thesis, unlike previous studies, is concerned, therefore, with a historical period during which a modern concept of stage translation became crystallised.

Scholz's prescriptive study is not only a revealing primary source, illuminating the contemporary concept of translation, but also an example of the 'old school' of translation studies where the texts - source and target - are treated in isolation from their respective cultural and historical contexts. This thesis, on the other hand, should be seen as a continuation of the 'new school' of Descriptive Translation Studies, and, thus, firmly based on the notion that

> [...] it is quite clear that translation can no longer be analysed in isolation, but that it should be studied as part of a whole system of texts and people who produce, support, propagate, oppose, censor them. (Lefevere 1985:237)

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[5] See Hermans (1999a) for an excellent account of the development from prescriptive to non-prescriptive Translation Studies.

It is the "whole system of texts and people" that forms the basis of the structure of this thesis with individual chapters dealing with such matters as cultural context, translators' biographies, the translator as an individual and the translator as a member of an interpretative community, the support, opposition to and censorship of translations, and the translation strategies employed for the rewriting of texts.

Before examining the contents of each chapter in more detail, we need to consider the rationale underlying the construction of the database on which this thesis is based.

This database consists of a comprehensive record of productions of German plays in English translation on the West End Stage from 1900 to 1959 (see Appendix III). Toury's definition of translation has been adopted in order to decide which performances to include within the database. Toury states that

> a 'translation' will be taken to be any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture [...]. (Toury 1985:20)

As soon as a review, a playbill, or a newspaper advertisment presented the performance as that of a German play translated into English, that particular production was recorded in the database.

All productions of target texts have been included in this list, whether the target culture identifies them as a version, an adaptation, or, indeed, a translation. As Susan Bassnett-McGuire argues, "[...] the whole question of defining 'translation' as distinct from 'version' or 'adaptation' [becomes a nonsense]" (Bassnett-McGuire 1985:10).

This corpus of data is subject, of course, to a number of restrictions in order to focus the study and facilitate a qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. Firstly, it only includes productions of plays which were performed in the West End. The exception to this rule is the conscious inclusion of performances at the Court Theatre. (Not strictly speaking within

the geographical boundaries of the West End, the theatre has been included because of its central role regarding the use of translated material within a commercial setting.) With regard to the institutional definition of the corpus, pub theatres, music halls and opera houses have all been excluded as belonging to substantially different cultural traditions.

The second restriction concerns the type of performances that has been included in the list. Only text based productions have been included: opera, operetta and mime have been entirely disregarded. Furthermore, no attempt has been made to identify and include either pseudo-originals (translations disguised as originals) or pseudo-translations (originals disguised as translations)[6]. Only when a source author is mentioned, either on theatre bills, listings, or reviews has the production been listed.

Thirdly, no differentiation, relative to inclusion or exclusion, has been made between Austrian and German plays; the classification 'German drama' refers to the language rather than national boundaries. This is not a political decision but should be seen as a linguistic one which underlines the close relationship between contemporary theatre in Vienna and Berlin.

The data has been collected in accordance with what Antony Pym terms the reductive or deductive method.

> The [...] [approach] involves the use of lists to extract corpora, which can then be subjected to a series of operations including the application of working definitions, the plotting of distribution across space and time, and explanatory analysis of the resulting forms. This method might be called reductive, since it starts from a large list and attempts to reduce it to a smaller field of some more specific importance; its common (though not only) mode of operation is called deductive. (Pym 1998:38)

The main source that has been used in order to derive a more specific corpus is J. P. Wearing's *The London Stage* (1990). The data found in *The London Stage* has been cross-

referenced with and supplemented by theatre reviews and theatre listings in various contemporary newspapers, including *The Stage*, *The Times*, *The Era*, *The Sketch*, *The World* and *The Illustrated London News*.

The corpus encompasses a relatively large time-span, 1900 to 1959. This was necessary in order to identify the existence of specific pockets of translational activity. As might be expected, the number of translations in production decreases at certain times corresponding to socio-political events during the first half of the twentieth century. For example, from the outbreak of World War I until 1920 no German plays in translation were produced in the West End, and, similarly, only one playtext in translation appeared in the West End between 1936 and 1945. Thus, the size of the corpus was pivotal to the choice of a temporal framework for the overall thesis. Of course, this thesis cannot examine all aspects of interest and pockets of translational activity within such a large corpus for the obvious reasons of focus and depth, but by concentrating on the first period of such activity we hope to provide a basis for the analysis of translation in performance in the future. This approach also permits us to develop theoretical insights into the specific cultural context and offer a methodological and cultural framework for future research.

In addition to examining an important corpus of translations in production, the present work also examines an, until now, overlooked chapter in London theatre history. Chapter 1, 'German Language Theatre in the West End', elucidates the history of German language theatre in the West End in general and the history of the *Deutsches Theater in London* in particular. Commentators have so far ignored the existence of the *Deutsches Theater* and in this thesis, based on extensive original newspaper archival sources, the history of this

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[6] Pym defines pseudo-translations as "original texts [...] presented and received as translations" (Pym 1998:60)

Theater is described for the first time. Furthermore, this thesis tries to outline not only the history of the *Deutsches Theater* and German language theatre in general, but also its relation to contemporary playtext translators and, thus, its importance to stage-translation history. As such, Chapter 1 offers an original account of the history of the *Deutsches Theater* and provides a cultural and historical backdrop to the translational activities under investigation in the later parts of this thesis.

Chapter 2, 'The Translational Community', and Chapter 3, 'The Community and the Individual', examine the purpose of translations through an investigation of the translators themselves and provide an in-depth assessment of both the group and the individuals through an investigation of biographical data.

Chapter 2 examines the translators as a group and assesses previous approaches which investigate English translators of German texts, notably Rosemary Ashton (1980) and Susan Stark (1999). It argues that, as the act of translation should be defined as a creative process where meaning is produced through (re)writing of text, literary theory should be used in addition to translation theory as a tool in the analysis of the available and accumulated data[7]. Thus, this chapter introduces the notion of the interpretative community as a method of analysis and argues that Stanley Fish's (1980) concept of the production of meaning through interpretative communities (rather than through either texts, readers, or authors) is crucial to the understanding of the group of translators under investigation as

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and pseudo-originals as "translated texts [...] presented and received as originals" (Pym 1998:60).

[7] The marginalisation of literary theory as a method of analysis in translation studies is in itself a political act, emphasising the instituted qualitative difference made between source and target text. It is such a marginalisation that this chapter refuses to endorse.

well as of the act of translation itself[8]. Furthermore, Chapter 2 attempts to answer Theo Hermans' call for an investigation of how "Bourdieu's fields [...] might be applied to translation studies" (Hermans1999c:140) and, following a consideration of various theoretical models which have been developed to examine the interaction of particular groups of translators, tries to show that the translational community can best be described as a dynamic, fluid, and flexible intersection of various fields, such as theatre practice, translation practice, and literary practice. Having attempted to establish these theoretical insights, this chapter sets out to present a more precise account of the translational community under investigation through an examination of biographical links between the various individual translators themselves.

Chapter 3 turns its attention to the selection of source texts for translation by the individual members of this community and asks how characteristics and areas of common interests, described in Chapter 2, relate to the individual selection of source texts. It tries to show that Bourdieu's concept of taste (see Bourdieu 1996) is pivotal to the understanding of the selection process. The selection of source texts by members of the translational community are then examined in more detail and the chapter attempts to establish that the selection process is a manifestation of taste in Bourdieu's sense and, at the same time, a display of ideology. As such the discussion in this chapter builds on Maria Tymoczko's (2000) research into translation and political engagement, examining how the ideology of the individual members and the translational community as a whole is made manifest. As a result of these considerations, the chapter reflects on concepts of the avant-garde, asking

[8] Examining the translators and the translations emphasises that both, people and their activities of text production, are of equal importance to this thesis.

whether the translational community should be understood as a community which displays the ideology of and functions as an avant-garde movement.

Chapter 4, 'Reviews - Expectations and Sanctions', seeks to establish the nature of contemporary expectations of a 'good' translation for the stage. Methodologically, this chapter is firmly grounded in Bassnett's claim that

> [...] the study and practice of translation is inevitably an exploration of power relationships within textual practice that reflect power structures within the wider cultural context. (Bassnett 1996:21)[9]

In the light of this statement, this chapter considers the reception of translations as performance texts and the apparent evaluative statements made about them by theatre reviewers. It should be stressed, however, that this thesis does not attempt to examine the relationship between playtext and performance practice, a subject which would require a separate thesis to explore adequately. Even though an assessment of such a relationship is of importance to Theatre Studies, this thesis is first and foremost concerned with the translation of playtexts and questions arising out of Translation Studies. That said, this chapter does address aspects of performance in the sense that contemporary expectations of translations of playtexts are expressed primarily through theatre reviews. The examination of contemporary theatre reviews is, thus, the central concern of this chapter. The chapter considers how reviews deal with issues of genre, structure, source, and authorship and attempts to reveal how both overt and covert sanctions are applied regarding the target text embedded within the performance review. Consequently, this chapter represents an attempt to outline the prevalent contemporary stage translation discourse.

[9] Susan Bassnett's statement is, of course, a basic assumption inherent in all the chapters within this thesis. It does, however 'take centre stage' in the argument presented in Chapter 4.

Crucially, this chapter addresses a central question within Translation Studies regarding the primary position of equivalence within concepts of translation. Theo Hermans in particular observes the need to examine "why it [equivalence] has played and continues to play such a key part in the common perception and the self-perception of translation" (Hermans 1999b:58).

Chapter 5, 'Playtexts in Translation - A Comparative Analysis', attempts to ascertain translational behaviour patterns through an examination of the target texts themselves. The analysis of the target texts is informed by the findings of the earlier chapters in that an attempt is made to establish whether the previous findings, arguably on a macro-level, are reflected by actual translational behaviour on the micro-level of target text production. In order to answer this question, Chapter 5 examines the translators' prefaces and compares three target texts to their respective source texts as well as to each other.

The overall structure of this thesis recognises the need to analyse and study translation in context and not in isolation. It studies people as well as texts, establishes cultural and historical contexts, and examines structures of text production, support, opposition, and censorship. This thesis attempts to offer theoretical insights as well as illuminate a previously ignored part of theatre history, namely the role of the *Deutsches Theater*, and it hopes that both translation theory and Theatre Studies in general will benefit from these findings.

Finally, a few remarks concerning the apparatus of this thesis need to be made. All German quotes have been translated into English by the researcher, unless otherwise stated, and

those translations have been placed within square brackets. The paradox of including such translations in a thesis about translation, which becomes particularly clear in Chapter 5, is obvious. The decision, however, has been made to include those translations in order that any reader who is not fluent in German should be able to follow the arguments presented easily, especially with regards to Chapter 1 and Chapter 5, which make extensive use of sources in German.

The appendices are aimed at illustrating and providing the data upon which this thesis relies. Appendix I consists of a programme published by the *Deutsches Theater*; Appendix II provides a list of all performances during the nine seasons of the *Deutsches Theater*'s existence; Appendix III consists of a complete listing of all productions of German plays in English translation from 1900 to 1959 (the principal corpus underlying the present work); and Appendix IV provides an edited transcript of Penelope Wheeler's *The Green Cockatoo*, a translation of Arthur Schnitzler's *Der grüne Kakadu*, which only exists in manuscript form in the Lord Chamberlain's Archive. This transcript of the manuscript has been included as Chapter 5 relies heavily on an analysis of this translation.

Last but not least, we now turn our attention briefly to the personal dimension of the present researcher. As Said observes, quoting Gramsci, in his seminal work *Orientalism*:

> [...] "[t]he starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory [...] therefore it is imperative at the outset to compile such an inventory" (Gramsci 1975 as cited by Said 1995:25)

Much of the personal investment in this study derives from my position of being a German in Britain, having studied drama both in Germany and Britain and now teaching theatre

history in this country.[10] The realisation that my own cultural and educational circumstances can best be described as 'neither here nor there' (which is not to be understood as a negative but rather a privileged position to be in) has first led me to become interested in the phenomena of translation - translation as what Michaela Wolf describes, "the in-between" or "third space" (see Wolf 2002:188-9). In some respects this study of German plays in English translation has been an attempt to more fully comprehend the mechanics, functions, and roles of cultural exchange, and, more specifically the manipulation of text. It is such an attempt to understand why certain playtexts, source authors, and performances, which took on a very specific meaning in the context of my own acceptance of a specific canon[11], meant something so different to my peers, colleagues, and friends in Britain that led me to pursue this interest further. What I would like to contribute through this present thesis is a better comprehension of the process of stage translation as a "third space" and an awareness of its importance to cultural and, more specifically, theatrical history.

[10] For a more detailed discussion on remote biography and personal history in relation to research projects see Lofland & Lofland (1993).

[11] The acceptance of such a canon is, of course, closely linked with my educational background.

Chapter 1: German Language Theatre in the West End 1900 - 1914: A History of the *Deutsches Theater in London.*

When the data for this thesis was first collected, it became apparent that between 1900 and 1914 a surprisingly large number of theatre productions were performed in the German language. This number was far greater than the number of productions of English translations of German plays at any time between 1900 and 1959. Further research into the history of these German language productions, primarily the extensive consultation of contemporary newspapers and respective theatre reviews, led to the discovery of a number of permanent German theatre companies which remained active on the London West End Stage until the outbreak of World War I. Given that very few references to these German theatres exist in the literature on theatre history (and then only in passing), namely in Schoonderwoerd's and Orme's biographies of Jacob Thomas Grein, this discovery would seem to demand further study.

Furthermore, as the following chapter will establish, the core members of the translational community, as discussed in Chapter 2, were all affiliated with one of the German theatre companies, the *Deutsches Theater in London*, be it as founders, members of the management, critics or actors. As such, with regards to the majority of translators under investigation, their activities as theatre practitioners partly manifest themselves in the history of the *Deutsches Theater in London.* Besides the involvement of the translators with the *Deutsches Theater*, the majority of playtexts translated by the translational community were produced by the *Deutsches Theater* in the original. In some cases, the German productions precede the translations and performances on the English stage. Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to establish a concise historical background of German language

theatre in the London West End from 1900 until the outbreak of World War I, in order to establish a cultural and historical context for the translational activities under discussion in this thesis. Indeed, this chapter should be read in parallel with the remainder of this thesis, providing a cultural and historical backdrop to the translational activities under investigation in the following chapters.

The most prominent, and arguably the most important, of the German language theatres, was the *Deutsches Theater in London*, founded by Jacob Thomas Grein, who was also active as a translator of German playtexts. The *Deutsches Theater* opened its doors on 30 January 1900 and closed after nine seasons in 1909. During the first season the *Theater* hosted at least 70 performances and produced at least 33 plays by more than 20 playwrights. The ninth and last season, on the other hand, offered merely three different productions and finished after fifteen performances.[12] Considering this somewhat rapid demise, this chapter tries to elucidate the history of the *Deutsches Theater* as well as subsequent German language theatre in London.

One approach is to examine German societies and clubs in London and places the *Deutsches Theater* as well as other attempts to establish German language theatre in the West End in this context of emigrant life. The main source for this succinct history is the *Londoner Zeitung Hermann*, a weekly newspaper founded by German emigrants for the German community in London. As J. L. Flood states:

> Appearing at weekly intervals from 1859 to 1914, *Hermann* - a newspaper now virtually forgotten - gives an unrivalled picture of what the German community in London was thinking about contemporary world events and

[12] See Appendix II for production details.

> British affairs. It also proves to be a mine of information about what the Germans (many of them 1848 exiles) were actually doing in London.[13]

Hermann, renamed *Londoner Zeitung Hermann* in 1869[14], reported on the development of the *Deutsches Theater* from 1899, the year in which its foundation was announced, until 1909, the year of its closure. This newspaper provides not only reviews of the productions but also articles on the management, programming and financial situation of the *Theater* as well as other German language theatres. Moreover, the *Deutsches Theater* itself and various other Clubs and *Vereine* regularly advertised their performances in the *Londoner Zeitung Hermann*. The information found in this weekly paper builds the basis of the following reconstruction. Furthermore, English newspapers, like *The Times*, *The Sketch*, *The Era*, *The Stage*, *The Sunday Special* and *The World*, regularly reviewed productions and reported on the situation of the *Deutsches Theater*. Therefore, the history of German language theatre in the West End has been conceived through a variety of primary and secondary sources, where the newspaper articles and original programme notes of the *Deutsches Theater* have proved more reliable, or rather more informative and valid, than, for example, personal recollections that appear in biographies of J. T. Grein and Harley Granville Barker.[15] However, this chapter does not claim to provide a definitive history of all aspects of German language theatre in London but a specific history. Apart from a few key-players the following chapter does not attempt to, for example, discuss in any great detail the casting of German actors or, indeed, the biographies of the majority of the actors and managers

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[13] As quoted by IDC publishers in correspondence to Dr. Alan Deighton, 31 August 1998.

[14] See correspondence between IDC Publishers and Dr. Alan Deighton, dated 31 August 1998. The *Londoner Zeitung Hermann* will from now on be referred to as *LZH*.

[15] Of course, methodological dangers arise when relying uncritically on newspapers as historical documents. As Peter H. Mann points out, "it is important to recognize under what pressures newspaper correspondents work [...]. It is not surprising, therefore, that at times newspapers publish news which is wrong" (Mann 1985:73-4). With the *LZH* being a weekly paper, misleading articles as a result of time pressure, under which the daily papers find themselves, cannot be totally disregarded but at least minimised. Furthermore, whenever possible more than one source has been used in order to validate factual information. The bias inherent in any

involved. The main emphasis lies on a discussion of the aims and objectives of the *Deutsches Theater*, the programming, German emigrant and English native reactions to German language theatre and, importantly in the context of this thesis, the various connections to the translational community, regarding the introduction of certain German plays and playwrights as well as the translators themselves. Future research may offer the possibility of a more detailed study of the *Deutsches Theater*, whereas, as mentioned above, the function of this chapter within the context of this thesis is to provide a cultural setting, or rather framework, for the following analysis of translational activity.

1.1 German Emigrants in London

The existence of German language theatre in Britain at the turn of the century indicates a large enough community of German speakers to sustain such performances. As there were several attempts to provide if not permanent then at least seasonal German language theatre in London a closer look at the make-up and development of the German speaking community and their specific cultural outlets in London is needed in order to establish the reasoning behind and success of such ventures.

Ever since the Jutes, the Angles and the Saxons settled in England around 450 (see Kinder & Hilgemann 1987:129), there had always been Germans in England. But the number of German speaking émigrés during the nineteenth century increased significantly. There are no reliable statistics for the time before the mid-nineteenth century but from 1861 until 1911 the number of Germans in Britain rose from 28,644 to 50,599 with about 50% of all

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paper is in itself of interest to the analysis of the attitude toward the *Deutsches Theater* and has been taken into account when appropriate.

Germans in Britain living in London (Panayi 1996:7). Wilhelm Brand[16], himself a native German resident in London, recalls in his contemporary account of 'Germans in London', a chapter in his book *London Life Seen with German Eyes*, an incident which can be seen as representative of the steady growth in numbers of German émigrés in London:

> Some time ago, there appeared in the *Times*, under the heading "Where are the Germans?" a letter from a London firm [...]. But if the letter appeared under the heading "Where are the Germans?" itself contained the answer - "In London!" (Brand 1887:114-116)

Outside the capital the main areas of settlement were Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford and Hull.[17]

One can distinguish between six different types of German émigrés in London. There were the Germans who arrived in the port on their way to America, ran out of money and, therefore, stayed. These Germans were mostly working class and left Germany for economic reasons. There was a group of Germans who came to London to enhance their language skills and work prospects by having worked abroad for a while. This group consisted of German waiters, teachers, governesses, clerks etc., and made up the largest contingent of German émigrés in London. Some of these Germans returned to Germany after a while, some settled down and married natives. Brand pays particular attention to this

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[16]Brand's account differs from that of Panayi's as Brand estimates the number of Germans in London to be 40,000 rather than 28,000: "[...] there are a very large number of Germans in London, amounting to fully 40,000 persons" (Brand 1887:117). Schoonderwoerd, the author of a biography about J. T. Grein, estimates the number of Germans living in London at an even higher level than Brand: "There were about 150,000 Germans living in London, some 50,000 of whom had become naturalised British subjects [...]" (Schoonderwoerd 1963:141) Schoonderwoerd takes these numbers straight from a column written by Grein in the *Sunday Special* on 8 October 1899 and does not offer further proof. Panayi relies mostly on official records which do not account for Germans who were not, for one reason or another, registered. I will, therefore, assume that the 'real' number lies somewhere between the three estimates.

[17]The reason for Germans in Manchester and Leeds was mostly economic as these were cities at the heart of the industrial revolution. Liverpool and Hull were on the route to North America and a number of Germans stayed in these cities as they ran out of funds to finance their journey. An additional factor for the German settlement in Hull was the large number of German sailors who frequented the port and either married or started other work in Hull.

group in his account of Germans in London. He puts emphasis on the numbers of clerks and businessmen:

> Germans do not come to England for all the same reasons for which Englishmen go to Germany. They don't come to England for pleasure, or at least not to stay more than a few weeks; neither do they come to economize, and but seldom to perfect themselves in art and science! [...] Chiefly men engaged in businesses of the most varied description. [...] - the City is full of Germans - only too full, from an Englishman's point of view. (Brand 1887:119)

waiters:

> German waiters flourish especially well in England, as they do all the world over, and no class on the whole does itself and the Fatherland so much credit. [...] But the most serious competition which the waiters have to endure is of their own making, and is due to the large number of immigrants, many of whom are glad enough if they can get a living as servants in a gentleman's house. (Brand 1887:122-123)

and teachers:

> [...] as for the teachers of the German language, male and female, there is a perfect army of them. [...] Thus it has long been the custom for the modern philologist of Germany to come to England for a time [...] before entering upon appointment at home - a most praiseworthy proceeding! (Brand 1887:123)

The third group consisted of German musicians, members of German brass bands who came regularly to England for summer tours and spent most of their time in London, but traveled to other cities as well.

> In one department the Germans are particularly strong, that of music in the widest sense of the word. [T]hey are represented in the streets by the brass bands, which are always exclusively German [...]. (Brand 1887:123)

Another contemporary, Valentine Williams, later to be foreign correspondent for Reuters in Berlin and one-time Schnitzler translator (Williams 1938), observes the number of German waiters and musicians in London during the late nineteenth century.

> My knowledge of modern Germany and of the German language at the time was precisely nil. My actual acquaintance with Germans was restricted to the somewhat nondescript specimen [...] waiters and [...] German bandsmen, in queer tarnished military caps and walrus moustaches who would play 'Ach, du lieber Augustin!' and 'Klänge aus dem Wienerwald', outside our house at Notting Hill on Thursdays. (Williams 1938:64)

The fifth group did not leave Germany because of economic reasons but came as political refugees. A rise in numbers of political émigrés can be observed shortly before and after the 1848 revolution, and later during the nineteenth century when Bismarck introduced the *Sozialistengesetze*[18] and the situation in Germany with regard to freedom of press generally worsened. Karl Marx is probably the most prominent German emigrant who came to London shortly after the 1848 revolution (see Ashton 1986:251).

The sixth group consisted of rich Germans who made their way to London for a variety of reasons. There are some who opened banks or branches of their companies in England, the Schroeder Bank or Siemens, for example. Others visited relatives and stayed, while some just came to London because it seemed a fashionable city like Paris or Berlin. With improved transport, railways, steam boats, and ferries, the journey out of Germany had become easier during the nineteenth century.

The German speaking émigrés in London lived in a variety of areas. There was not one place which consisted mainly of Germans and represented the heart of the community. Instead the émigrés lived in certain boroughs according to their class status.

> Thus in the wretched East End, near Whitechapel, many labourers and vagabonds drag out a wretched existence. In the North, especially in Islington, there is a large settlement of small tradespeople and mechanics; while more to the North-west and West, about Hampstead and Bayswater, and more particularly in the South-eastern suburbs, Camberwell and Forest Hill, dwell most of the German merchants who go daily to the City. (Brand 1887:117)

[18]Anti-Socialist Laws, 1878: Reichs-Gesetzblatt No 34, Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie. Vom 21. Oktober 1878, Paragraph 1: "Vereine, welche durch sozialdemokratische, sozialistische oder kommunistische Bestrebungen den Umsturz der bestehenden Staats- oder Gesellschaftsordnung bezwecken sind zu verbieten. Dasselbe gilt von Vereinen, in welchen sozialdemokratische, sozialistische oder kommunistische auf den Umsturz der bestehenden Staats- oder Gesellschaftsordnung gerichtete Bestrebungen in einer den öffentlichen Frieden, insbesondere die Eintracht der Bevölkerungsklassen gefährdenden Weise zu Tage treten. Den Vereinen stehen gleich Verbindungen jeder Art." (Deutsche Bundestagspresse 1984:233). The German SPD reacted with party conferences in Switzerland and London and illegal newspapers. Kaiser Wilhelm abolished these laws in 1890 in an attempt to win over the left wing parties after he dismissed Bismarck as Reichskanzler.

The only area where there was not a large group of Germans living at any one time was South London. Otherwise Germans spread fairly evenly throughout the capital. By the end of the nineteenth century there seemed to be concentrations of Germans both in the East End and West End of London (Panayi 1995:93). The middle-class Germans had, however, more in common with the English middle class than with other working-class Germans. Germans founded communities according to their social status, very similar to the class system in Victorian London, which led to a wide variety of different clubs, societies, and entertainment.

1.2 *Vereine* and Clubs

The most prominent club among them was the *Deutscher Verein für Kunst und Wissenschaft* or *German Athenaeum* as it was known. Its main aim was not so much to provide a political platform for Germans but to offer upper and middle-class Germans the "opportunity for social intercourse [...] and [...] the enjoyment and furtherance of art and science" (Brand 1887:125). Becoming a member was foremost a matter of class and only secondly a matter of nationality.

> It [the German Athenaeum] has its club-house at 93, Mortimer Street, W., and always shows praiseworthy hospitality to any distinguished sons of the Fatherland who visit London. The club counts among its members a good number of men belonging to the best German families in London, and also a fair number of Englishmen. It consists of two princes, some 50 artists and men of learning, and more than 200 gentlemen who are engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits. (Brand 1887:125)

Probably the largest society with regard to membership numbers was the *Turnverein* or *Gymnastic Society*. It was founded in 1861 (*LZH* 2 November 1901:5) and had, according to Brand, more than a thousand members with more than half being English natives (Brand 1887:126). The objective of the *Turnverein* was, as quoted by Brand, "[T]o get German

gymnastics appreciated in England" (Brand 1887:126), which was probably as close to a quasi-political statement as can be found when looking at most of the German clubs in London.

Most of the societies established by Germans during the late nineteenth century contained English as well as German members, as the two examples given above demonstrate. In all cases, however, "the main aim focused on the maintenance of German culture in a generally non-political way" (Panayi 1995:190).

A number of German societies were established with the particular aim to produce German language theatre in London. The majority of these clubs did not perform in the West End but in venues outside the centre, closer to the communities for whom their services were intended. These *Vereine* "provide for theatrical performances, dramatic recitals, dancing and singing, and all the usual social amusement for both sexes" (Panayi 1995:185) but, as Rosemary Ashton describes it:

> [...] it was, by common consent, the hardest of all to succeed in the arts, both because of the large number of musicians and artists among the exiles and because of what most Europeans thought of as Britain's hostility to art and music, though not literature. Moreover, those who sought work suffered from the need to find a patron and the intense jealousy of native rivals. Germans may have been particularly vulnerable, as Prince Albert [sic] regularly taken to task after his arrival as Prince Consort in 1840 for filling the royal household with German servants, artists, and librarians. (Ashton 1986:174-5)

The biggest society that offered regular theatre productions outside the West End was the *Deutscher Gewerbe- und Theater-Verein*. Founded in 1884 (*LZH* 12 June 1909) it was registered under the Friendly Societies Act in 1896 (*LZH* 6 January 1900) and remained at the same venue until 1914. No records can be found after 1914 and it is safe to assume that the *Deutscher Gewerbe- und Theater-Verein* was closed down under the Alien Restrictions Act. It was directed by a committee or board of directors which was elected by all members

of the *Verein*. An appeal was published on 16 September 1899 in the *Londoner Zeitung Hermann* for all members to attend a general meeting in order to elect a new committee. This is, however, the only appeal published in this paper between 1899 and 1914. The *Verein* either changed its structure, which is doubtful with regard to the German understanding of a *Verein* where it is essential that at least a chairman, a deputy, and a treasurer are elected, or it used other means of inviting its members to participate in elections. Unfortunately, no documents to verify either option can be traced but as the latter is far more likely it is safe to assume that the structure stayed essentially the same (*LZH* 16 September 1899). It was based in the East End, 28-30, East Road, City Road, and offered food and drink, a bowling alley, regular dances, and on Sundays either performances by a German male choir or theatre (*LZH* 6 January 1900). Not only was it the biggest society offering regular theatre performances but it seems to be the only one that did not suffer from great financial strain during the last few years before the outbreak of the First World War as it remained financially independent through the variety of activities and entertainment it offered. It was first and foremost a venue for dancing and bowling and the offer of theatre was restricted to Sundays as well as certain times of the year. The programming concentrated on *Volkstheater*, *Schwänke*, and in general comedies, popular with the East End audience. The *Gewerbe- und Theater-Verein* never attempted to move into the West End or even achieve critical acclaim, but saw itself as providing popular German entertainment. It advertised regularly in the German weekly *Londoner Zeitung Hermann* and all the theatre performances were reviewed there as well. As can be seen from the style of the advertisement (see fig. 1) and the entertainment on offer, the *Gewerbe- und Theater-Verein* was a peculiarly German affair, using the Old German typescript, in line with the typeset used by the *LZH*, and offering amusements such as the 'second large

sausage eating event' alongside meetings of the chess-club and performances by the choir 'Edelweiss'.

1.3 The *Deutsches Theater in London*

As mentioned earlier, more important for German theatre in London was the *Deutsches Theater in London*, which was regarded as being a kind of National German Theatre in London. The *Deutsches Theater* opened at St. George's Hall, Langham Place, on 30 January 1900[19], under the direction of Karl Junkermann who was responsible to the *Committee of the German Theatre in London*. Karl Junkermann was the son of August Junkermann, who had his own touring company in Germany and was an acquaintance of the Dutch born theatre critic and entrepreneur Jacob Thomas Grein, himself an emigrant in London. Grein's wife, Alix Augusta Grein, alias Michael Orme, mentions in her account of the founding of the German theatre that August Junkermann performed at St. George's Hall in 1899 with his touring company. According to her, these performances convinced Grein to establish a German theatre in London (Orme 1936:167). However, Schoonderwoerd, although he refers to Alix Grein's account in his own biography of Grein, claims that he could not find any playbills to verify these performances (Schoonderwoerd 1963:141). Furthermore, he states in the foreword to his biography of Grein that, "she [Michael Orme] had at times permitted her memory to be her guide rather than documented fact" (Schoonderwoerd 1963:VII). To what extent this implies that Orme is wrong is debatable. There are, however, other instances, apart from August Junkermann's alleged season at St. George's Hall, where documentation has not been found or is in conflict with her

statements. For example, Orme claims that the *Deutsches Theater* moved to the Comedy Theatre in its third season (Orme 1936:173), whereas it hired the Comedy for the first time in October 1900 for its second season. One can, therefore, assume that Grein knew August Junkermann and his company before the establishment of the *Deutsches Theater* but not necessarily through performances at St. George's Hall prior to it. Nevertheless, August Junkermann agreed, after he and his son were approached by Grein, to bring "the company with which August Junkermann is now touring in the great towns of Prussia, [...] to London in its entirety (twenty-four members)" (Grein 1900:82) for the first season which was organised by Karl. Grein, who was, among other things, the theatre critic for the weekly paper *Sunday Special*, had been campaigning or rather thinking about a *Deutsches Theater* for quite some time and on 8 October 1899 he announced in his column *Premières of the Week* the establishment of the *Deutsches Theater* and laid out its objectives.

> Now, after a lapse of several years, the attempt will once more be made to establish a German theatre in the British capital. [...] [W]e will be able to maintain a bi-weekly theatre of their [the German settlers] own in London, provided that it meets with their approval. [...] The German colony will patronise a theatre which is not more expensive than the average playhouse at home. They will patronise a theatre where their classics, their renowned contemporaries, their modern progressionists find worthy representation. They will, finally, patronise a theatre which, without devoting itself to the cult of extremes or claiming attention which might interfere with social duties and attention to our own English stage, will afford plenty of amusement and gradual acquaintance with the best playwrights and the foremost actors of modern Germany. (Grein 1900:80-1)

This announcement not only describes the aims of the *Deutsches Theater* as catering for the German community in London, but implies the attempt to establish the *Theater* as an integral part of the West End theatre landscape. Grein's careful wording, so as not to allude to his own non-native status, when talking about "*our own* English stage" suggests that the

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[19] *LZH*, 18 November 1899: "Eröffnung des Deutschen Theaters in London: 30 Januar 1900; St George's Hall, Langham Place, W., Abonnements Bedingung, sowie ähnliche Auskunft mündlich und schriftlich vom Theater-bureau, 110 St. Martin's Lane, W.C., Zimmer No. 2".

Deutsches Theater, as opposed to the *Gewerbe- und Theater-Verein*, intends to attract an English native audience and introduce them to German playwrights and actors. As such, the *Deutsches Theater* attempts to be inclusive rather than exclusive, which is underlined by both the advertisements for the performances as well as the programme notes to the individual productions. The design and style of the advertisements placed in the *LZH* can best be viewed in comparison with the advertisements placed by the *Gewerbe- und Theater-Verein*. If the latter is an exclusively German affair, then the style of former hints at a more inclusive nature (see fig. 2) by using a typescript that is more easily comprehensible to non-native Germans. Furthermore, the programme notes[20] include not only advertisements in English and German but also a reference to Grein's column in the *Sunday Special* for further information on the *Deutsches Theater*. The notes themselves are in English, giving comprehensive summaries of the plays by act, therefore making the performances accessible to non-native Germans. The attempt to build up a regular English native audience seems to be of considerable importance to Grein himself as well as to the *Deutsches Theater*.

To what extent the *Deutsches Theater* managed to meet these objectives will be discussed below. It seems, however, that Grein chose the right time for such a venture to have a chance of success. As Williams describes in his autobiography:

> [i]n the year 1900, which was when I left school, German prestige was at its zenith. Stirred from their Victorian lethargy by Germany's growing commercial rivalry, the British were beginning to discover that, as a race, we were woefully deficient in the knowledge of foreign tongues: all over the globe the highly-trained, active and polyglot German commercial traveller was beating ours, hands down. As a foreign language, German, it was averred, was more necessary to the young Briton at the outset of his career then French [...] (Williams 1938:63-4)

[20] See Appendix I.

Assuming that not only the Williams family shared this belief in the necessity to speak German, there was a good chance that the audience for the *Deutsches Theater* would not only consist of native speakers, enhancing the chances of financial survival.

Grein formed a committee for the management of the theatre, "consisting of H. A. Hertz and A. Schulz Curtius, with Grein himself as President"[21], to which Karl Junkermann was responsible. According to Grein's wife, Hertz, who translated Schnitzler's *Komtesse Mizzi* in 1913[22], played a vital role in raising the necessary funds by approaching Anglo-German businessmen for financial support (Orme 1936:168). Apart from financial gifts received from wealthy Germans the *Deutsches Theater* financed itself through subscriptions and subsidies from the German Embassy under Count Wolff-Metternich.

> Der Direktor des Deutschen Theaters in London [...] hat vom kaiserlichen Botschafter in London, Grafen Wolff-Metternich, *wieder* einen Zuschuß für die nächste Saison erhalten. (*LZH* 21 September 1907) (my emphasis)
>
> [The director of the *Deutsches Theater in London* received, *once again*, a contribution towards the next season from the imperial ambassador in London, Count Wolff-Metternich.]

The *Deutsches Theater* never owned a building but hired venues for each season and attempted to be an integral part of the London West End. This proved to be very expensive.

> We know full well that the German element in London is not strong enough to allow of the constant occupation of a regular theatre - none of which is to be let under £3,000 to £5,000 a year [...] (Grein 1900:81)

The *Deutsches Theater*, therefore, stayed for the first season at *St. George's Hall*, Langham Place[23], which was a music-hall off Regent Street. This first season, lasting from January to the end of May, proved very successful among Germans as well as English natives:

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[21] *LZH*, 26 May 1900: "Im Comité befinden sich u.A. die Herren A. Schulz-Curtius, H. A. Hertz und J. T. Grein" [Mr. A. Schulz-Curtius, Mr. H. A. Hertz, and Mr. J. T. Grein, amongst others, form the committee.]

[22] See Chapter 2.

[23] St. George's Hall, Langham Place was taken over by BBC Variety in November 1937 and the BBC owned it until 1940. The *Radio Times* of 26 November 1937 gives a short history of St. George's Hall, saying that "[d]uring 1900 and 1901 seasons of German plays were given", but no other records of that time are available. Neither the BBC Archive, which holds only legal documents relating to the take-over, nor the Theatre Archive, Victoria and Albert Museum know of any surviving documents relating to St. George's Hall.

> Die Vorstellungen, die zur Zeit unter der Direktion des Herrn Karl Junkermann in der St. George's Hall die Deutschen in großer Anzahl versammeln, zeigen, daß, wenn wirklich etwas Gutes geleistet wird, sich die deutsche Kolonie durchaus nicht ablehnend verhält, um ein derartiges Unternehmen zu unterstützen und daß auch die Engländer begierig sind, die Werke deutscher Meister kennen zu lernen, und ebenfalls in den Vorstellungen nicht fehlen. (*LZH* 10 February 1900)
>
> [The productions, under the direction of Karl Junkermann and currently performed at St. George's Hall, are drawing a large number of Germans. This shows the German colony will not refuse its support for such a project when good quality has been achieved. The English, too, are eager to get to know the works of the German masters and are not lacking in attendance.]

Thus, it seems that the aim to be inclusive, to build up an English native audience, was achieved to a certain extent during this first season. The artistic and economic success made it possible for the *Deutsches Theater* to move out of *St. George's Hall* and to rent the *Comedy Theatre* in the heart of the West End as a temporary home for the second season, which started on 12 October 1900 with Ludwig Fulda's *Jugendfreunde.*

The second season finished badly as Karl Junkermann fell out with the *Committee* over the question of who was to announce the beginning of the third season. He was promptly sacked and replaced by Hans Andresen and Max Behrend who had been actors and members of the *Committee* since the *Deutsches Theater* was founded.

> Die Direktion des deutschen Theaters in London versendete nunmehr ebenfalls ein Cirkular, in welchem sie mittheilt, daß Herr Karl Junkermann die Ankündigung einer dritten Saison des Deutschen Theaters ohne Erlaubnis oder Kenntnis des Comitès [sic] für die Vorstellung im Comedy Theatre gemacht habe. Herr Junkermann sei mit dem ersten Mai seinen Verpflichtungen gegenüber der jetzigen Gesellschaft entbunden. Es wird hinzugefügt, daß alle Einzelheiten betreffend die dritte Saison des deutschen Theaters in gegebener Zeit bekannt gemacht würden. Nun ist aber in dieses Cirkular eine weitere Mittheilung eingefaltet, wonach es von der Unterstützung, die in den nächsten sechs oder sieben Wochen die deutschen Aufführungen erhalten, abhängig sei, ob eine dritte Wintersaison dieser Gesellschaft stattfinde oder nicht. Uns scheint, daß beide Parteien am besten thun, mit ihren weiteren Ankündigungen solange zu warten, bis sie genau wissen, was sie nicht wollen. (*LZH* 16 February 1901)
>
> [The management of the *Deutsches Theater* has sent out a circular which says that Karl Junkermann has announced the third season of the *Deutsches*

> *Theater* at the Comedy Theatre without the permission or knowledge of the committee. Herr Junkermann will be released from all his responsibilities to the committee with effect from the first of May. Details regarding the third season will be announced in due course. There happens to be a second notification added to the circular which announces that the third season depends upon the support the German performances will receive over the next five or six weeks. It seems to us that both parties should wait with their announcements until they know exactly what they don't want.]

Neither Schoonderwoerd nor Alix Augusta Grein mention this argument in their respective biographies of Grein, but rather portray the change in director as an artistic decision.

> Two German actors, Hans Andresen and Max Behrend, had come more and more to the fore as directors of plays, and from the fourth season they shared the management of the German Theatre in London with Grein and H. A. Hertz [...] (Schoonderwoerd 1963:145)

Hans Andresen was the principal romantic lead, previously working at the *Karlsruher Hoftheater*, and Max Behrend was described as a character actor from the *Berliner Stadttheater* (Purdom 1955:163). Both Max Behrend and Hans Andresen took over the management of the company in an unofficial capacity as early as 1901. By 1902 the advertisements for the *Deutsches Theater* named both as the official directors of the forthcoming fourth season (*LZH* 20 November 1902). Karl Junkermann leaving the *Deutsches Theater* and a strained financial situation, compared to the success of the first season, led to the return to *St. George's Hall* for their third season.

Max Behrend stayed with the *Deutsches Theater* until 1905 when he returned to Germany to work primarily for the *Municipal Theatre* in Mainz (Orme 1936:173 & Schoonderwoerd 1963:145). Behrend, never as involved with the *Deutsches Theater* as Hans Andresen, pursued a moderately successful career in the English language theatre at the same time. He started working for the *Premier Club* in 1901, a matinee theatre society founded by Grein, where he directed, among other plays, translations of Sudermann.

> Herr Max Behrend, der Charakterdarsteller des 'deutschen Theaters in London', ist zum Ober-Regisseur und artistischen Leiter des jüngst von dem Londoner Sonntagsblatte 'Sunday Special' gegründeten Premièren-Theaters,

> eine Art 'Freie Bühne', ernannt worden. Unter den projektierten Aufführungen befinden sich zwei Werke von Sudermann 'Das Glück im Winkel' und die 'Schmetterlingsschlacht' natürlich in englischer Übertragung. (*LZH* 1 June 1901)
>
> [Herr Max Behrend, the character actor at the *Deutsches Theater in London*, has been named as the head-director and artistic manager of the recently founded Premier-Theatre. The Premier-Theatre has been founded by the London Sunday paper *Sunday Special* and is a kind of 'Freie Bühne'[24]. Among the planned productions are two plays by Sudermann, 'Das Glück im Winkel'[25] and 'Schmetterlingsschlacht', of course in English translation.]

Furthermore, Behrend supervised the production of *Old-Heidelberg* at the *St. James's Theatre* in March 1903[26] and, after his return to Germany in 1905, came back to London at least once to direct the production of Schnitzler's *Light of Love* in a translation by Valentine Williams at *His Majesty's Theatre* in May 1909[27].

Hans Andresen on the other hand remained the director of the *Deutsches Theater* until it closed down in 1909. He did not attempt to pursue a career as a director of English language productions to the same extent Behrend did. According to Schoonderwoerd, Andresen did direct a few productions for Grein's *Premier Club* after Behrend returned to Germany (Schoonderwoerd 1963:147) and he directed at least one production for the *Incorporated Stage Society*, if not very successfully according to some of the English reviews.

> The Stage Society's production "Midsummer Fires" was an excellent version by Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Grein of the best of the Sudermann plays that I recollect; but although Herr Andresen directed the production, the general effect in the external elements was quite un-Teutonic, and since the sentiments and ideas are in many respects peculiarly German, the effect was unconvincing. (*The Sketch* 23 May 1906)

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[24] 'Freie Bühne' in the sense of the 'Freie Bühne Berlin' or 'Théâtre Libre' in Paris.

[25] *Das Glück im Winkel* was translated by Grein himself under the title *A Happy Nook* and performed at the Court Theatre on 25 June 1901 (see Appendix III). No sources have been found to verify a performance of *Schmetterlingsschlacht* in an English translation. The play, however, was produced in German by the *Deutsches Theater* in February 1902 and repeated in 1902 and 1906.

[26] "George Alexander secured the services of Max Behrend to supervise the English production at the close of the German season in 1903" (Orme 1936:174)

[27] See *The Times*, 15 May 1909: "[...] and it [*Light O'Love*] is admirably acted under the superintendance of Herr Max Behrend."

Andresen was foremost known and respected as the director and manager of the *Deutsches Theater*. The only German language projects he embarked on outside the confines of the season of the *Deutsches Theater* were the occasional German productions performed at theatres other then the ones hired, for example a production of *Schneewittchen und die sieben Zwerge* by Görner performed at the *Scala Theatre* on 26 December 1906[28]. It can be assumed that Andresen lived in London for most of the year until 1907 when he started work as an actor at the *Neues Theater Berlin*, an engagement he pursued after the theatre season of 1906.

> [...] Herr Andresen kehrt nach Deutschland zurück [...] für sein erstes Auftreten am Neuen Theater Berlin [...] (*LZH* 4 May 1907)
>
> [Herr Andresen returns to Germany for his first performance at the *Neues Theater Berlin*]

Hans Andresen and Max Behrend seemed to work together for the first few seasons as actors/managers, a truly nineteenth century tradition. Their management and production style, however, seems closer to that of a director in the modern sense of the word than the nineteenth century British tradition of actor management. Purdom, in his account of Harley Granville Barker's life, states that "[t]he features of his [Behrend's] productions were team work and the care given to the smallest parts" (Purdom 1955:164). Barker himself apparently was directed by Behrend in a production at the *Comedy Theatre* in 1901 (Purdom 1955:13) and Vedrenne worked at the *Deutsches Theater* during its first season.

> To Mr. Schultz-Curtius and his able lieutenant, Mr. Vedrenne, a most sincere vote of thanks is due that he should after only one year, have steered his good ship into such pleasant waters. (*The Sketch* 24 October 1900)[29]

However, Behrend's influence on Harley Granville Barker as a director and translator and on the Vedrenne / Barker seasons at the *Court* must be the subject of a separate inquiry.

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[28] See *The Stage*, 27 December 1906 & *The Times*, 27 December 1906.
[29] See Appendix I.

Very little evidence, apart from Purdom's account, has been found to support the idea that Barker's own work as a director was directly influenced by Behrend. Barker's relationship with the *Deutsches Theater* and with Behrend in particular will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. The notion of a kind of apprenticeship, however, has too remain speculative.

The double role as actors as well as producers and managers was probably taken on by Andresen and Behrend not only for traditional but also for economic reasons. The ensemble consisted of August Junkermann's company staying in London each season with support by leading actors from Munich, Berlin, Hannover, etc., contracted for certain performances. This was quite an expensive way of running a theatre ensemble but at the same time one of the main advertising advantages, which was increasingly important the greater the financial difficulties became.

> [...] So kurz die Saison auch ist, so wird sie doch dank dem ausgezeichneten Repertoire und den Kräften, die zu verpflichten es Herrn Andresen gelungen ist, zu einer höchst anziehenden zu werden. Eine Reihe interessanter Novitäten ist in Aussicht genommen, und dazu erhält das Personal, das diese Neuheiten zur Darstellung bringen soll, gute Namen [...] mit den Mitgliedern des Münchener Hoftheaters Fräulein von Hagen, Fräulein Rabitow und den Herrn Albert Heine und August Weigert in den Hauptrollen. Als ersten Komiker hat Herr Andresen Herrn Karl Wilhelm Büller für sieben Vorstellungen gewonnen, zugleich Frau Barbou-Müller vom Münchener Hoftheater. [...] (*LZH* 9 March 1907)
>
> [[...] As short as this season is, it promises to turn into a very attractive one, thanks to the repertoire and the talents Hans Andresen has managed to secure. A series of interesting new plays are planned and the ensemble, which is going to present these novelties, has been enhanced by some good names [...] members of the Munich Court Theatre, Fräulein von Hagen, Fräulein Rabitow, Herr Albert Heine, and Herr August Wegert for the main parts. Herr Andresen has won over Herr Karl Wilhelm Büller to act as first comedian for seven performances, and at the same time secured Frau Barbou-Müller from the Munich Court Theatre [...]]

As the above quotation indicates the seasons became shorter every year and by 1908 lasted only two weeks[30]. After the third season at St. George's Hall the *Deutsches Theater*

[30] See Appendix II.

performed, apart from their fifth and ninth season at the *Royalty Theatre*, at the *Great Queen Street Theatre*.[31] Even though the financial situation started to deteriorate considerably in 1906 with the audience becoming smaller and smaller the *Deutsches Theater* did not move back to *St. George's Hall*. Fewer German natives came to see the productions and the much-needed English audience started to stay away completely.

> Das englische Publikum, das in frühen Jahren gern die Vorstellungen der deutschen Künstler besuchte, hielt sich fast vollkommen zurück. (*LZH* 16 May 1908)
>
> [The English audience, which used to enjoy the performances of the German artists during the early years, stayed away nearly completely.]

A year earlier, the *LZH* published a letter from a German in London to the German Stage Union, the *Bühnengenossenschaft*, warning Germans of the expenses incurred when performing in London.

> [...] dürfte ein Wort der Warnung wohl am Platze sein. Obwohl das hiesige deutsche Theater, das seit Jahren unter der Leitung von Hans Andresen steht, immer mit Ehren bestanden hat, sowohl in künstlerischer wie finanzieller Beziehung, wäre es durchaus verfehlt, wollte man in der Heimat annehmen, es harrten hier derer goldene Berge, die uns Gaben deutscher Bühnenkunst bescheren wollen. Nicht ohne triftigen Grund hat Direktor Andresen seit diesem Jahr seine Spielzeit auf nur wenige Wochen beschränkt, während in früheren Jahren vier Monate und länger gespielt wurde. Doch selbst in dieser kurzen Zeit war zur Sicherstellung seines Unternehmens eine ansehnliche Garantiesumme nötig [...] Aus eigenen Kräften oder mit ungenügender Unterstützung kann sich aber vorläufig hier noch kein deutsches Theater, welcher Art es auch immer sei, halten. Die Tageskosten sind ungeheuer hoch, während die Teilnahme der deutschen Kolonie nicht hinreichend ist, von dem spärlichen Besuch der Engländer gar nicht zu reden. [...] So sehr man nach solchen erstklassigen Darbietungen in der englischen Presse verlangt hatte, blieben doch die erhofften Kassenergebnisse aus. (*LZH* 29 June 1907)
>
> [[...] A word of warning is called for. Even though the local German theatre, for years under Hans Andresen's management, always existed honourably, not only with regard to artistic quality but also with regard to finance, it would be wrong to assume back home that there are golden mountains in London which bless us with gifts of German stage art. Not without reason

[31] According to Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson in *The Lost Theatres of London*, Great Queen Street Theatre was also known as the Novelty, the Jodrell, Penley Theatre, and Kingsway. The building was sold to a development company and demolished in 1959 (see Mander & Mitchenson 1968).

> has director Andresen shortened the season this year to a few weeks, whereas previous seasons would last four months and longer. But a considerable sum is needed as guarantee for even such a short period of time [...] For the time being, no German theatre, no matter what kind, would be able to survive with only one's own efforts or insufficient subsidy. Daily costs are enormously high, while the participation of the German colony is insufficient, not to mention the sparse attendance by the English. [...] No matter how much the English press has called for such first class performances, the hoped for box-office returns fail to materialise.]

The considerable reduction in audience numbers both with regard to German speakers as well as English speakers and the ever increasing financial burden meant that the seventh season, running from October 1905 until May 1906, was the last full season of the *Deutsches Theater.* The eighth season, rather than running over two years, started in April 1907 and as such 1906 should be seen as the beginning of the end of the *Deutsches Theater.* Not only did the reduced numbers coming to see the performances have a financial consequence but the effect is visible in the programming as well.

The programming[32] of the *Deutsches Theater* during the first few seasons answered Grein's call for a theatre that would represent "classics, [...] renowned contemporaries, [and] modern progressionists" (Grein 1900:80). Andresen tried to offer a varied programme and included German and European classics, Ibsen, Sudermann and Hauptmann alongside the new comedy by writers like Schoenthan and Kadelburg as well as plays by contemporary Austrian playwrights like Schnitzler, whose work was regularly translated and performed on the London stage from around 1905. By 1911 Schnitzler was best known in England for the *Anatol* plays, translated and produced by Harley Granville Barker. Sudermann's *Heimat* and Meyer-Förster's musical comedy *Alt-Heidelberg* were particular favourites of the English audience and both plays are among the most performed German plays in English translation during the first half of this century. However, Andresen was criticised by the

German papers and the German audience alike and in order to fill the house saw himself pressured into staying with the safe option of comedy.

> [...] Allem Anschein nach steht uns in dieser Saison das leichtere Genre bevor, und die Direktion thut gut, die Klippen eines 'schweren' literarischen Programmes sorgsam zu umgehen. Das soll kein Vorwurf für die arbeitslustigen Leiter der jungen Bühne sein: ein deutsches Theater an der Themse wird trotz allen Unterstützungen und Garantiezeichnungen seitens der hiesigen deutschen Kolonie wohl kaum je in der Lage sein, die überaus hohen Summen aufzubringen, die nun einmal notwendig sind, um Monate hindurch im Auslande eine erstklassige, das moderne ernstere Repertoire gut beherrschende Schauspieltruppe zu erhalten - und man sage, was man wolle: ein gut gespielter Moser oder Kadelburg ist noch immer besser als ein schlecht gespielter Ibsen oder Tolstoi [...] (*LZH* 20 November 1902)
>
> [The next season consists apparently of the lighter genre and the management have done well to carefully avoid the dangers of a 'heavy' literary programme. This is not meant as a reproach against the hard working leaders of this young stage: a German theatre by the Thames will not be able to raise the enormous sums needed to keep a first class ensemble, able to master the modern, serious repertoire, despite all the support and certificates of guarantee on the part of the German colony. A well played Moser or Kadelburg is better than a badly played Ibsen or Tolstoi [...]]

Only a few weeks later, following the performances of *Alt-Heidelberg*, the *LZH* made another comment regarding the difficulty of staging serious drama.

> [...] Wir möchten nochmals mahnen den ikarischen Flug aufzugeben. Auch das Lachen ist gute Kunst und in unseren Tagen gar so nötig und gesund [...] (*LZH* 20 December 1902)
>
> [We would like to warn them again to abandon this flight of Icarus. Laughter is good art too, and these days much needed and healthy [...]]

The English newspapers, on the other hand, were asking for more contemporary and innovative programming and questioned the attraction the German comedies held for the English native audience.

> [...] If the German Theatre were to continue itself to this sort of thing, or immature work such as Hauptmann's play, "College Crampton", its presence would not be very welcome, despite the excellent quality of the acting. Fortunately, it has given and will give other works of greater originality, or, at least, freshness of idea and treatment. (*The Sketch* 2 December 1903)

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[32]See Appendix II.

and

> The German Theatre has begun its sixth season in an unsensational fashion by the production of a four-Act farcical comedy [...] "Die Grosstadtluft", by the well-known playwrights Oscar Blumenthal and Kadelberg [sic], [it] is not exactly a masterpiece of wit or humour, or, indeed, quite worth coming from Germany to perform [...] (*The Sketch* 16 November 1904)

As mentioned earlier, however, even though the English press called for a more 'literary' programme, this did not necessarily ensure the attendance of an English audience. The only real success a German classic had, according to the *Londoner Zeitung Herrmann*, was a series of afternoon performances of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*. They were aimed at schools and sponsored by an English benefactor, which made it possible to offer very cheap tickets indeed (*LZH* 16 May 1908). English critics, however, comparing the performance style and choice of plays to other English rather than German productions, were more favourable in their judgment, and *Die Weber* and *Faust*, amongst others, received very positive reviews.

> Since last week, there has been no noteworthy event in the playhouses save the production of "Die Weber" at the German Theatre, and I write half apologetically concerning a work so utterly foreign to the spirit of modern English drama. Yet Hauptmann's piece [...] may be regarded as the most important production during the present season of the Teutonic players, who for some years past have been setting an excellent example to our managements by reliance for success exclusively upon quality of play and excellence of acting throughout even long casts. (*The Sketch* 18 January 1905)

William Archer, a member of the translational community and acquaintance of Grein and also the reviewer in the weekly magazine *The World*, stressed the acting ability of the company and wrote poignantly:

> [...] *Die Weber* puts them [the German company] to a severe test, and they come out of it admirably. [...] It would take a column to distribute individually the praises which are justly due. [...] (*The World* 10 January 1905)

The English reviews were seldom negative, the production of *Faust* was described as "a very good representation indeed of the immortal tragedy" by the "German Company, whose

versatility is greatly to be admired" (*The Sketch* 9 January 1901), and the English press generally showed an interest in the overall development of the *Deutsches Theater*. Grein, of course, covered news regarding the *Theater* regularly in his own column in the *Sunday Special*. Other papers reported on forthcoming seasons quite regularly and *The Sketch* devoted a whole page to the approaching sixth season including photographs of and introductions to the leading actors and actresses (see *The Sketch* 9 November 1904). However, coinciding with the shortening of the seasons the interest in the *Deutsches Theater* diminished more and more and the closure in 1909 was hardly commented on by the London press.

1.4 The *Deutsche Volksbühne* and the *Deutscher Bühnenverein*

The *Deutsches Theater* was not, however, the only attempt to provide the German émigrés in London with a permanent German language theatre. Mrs. F. E. Driller founded the *Deutsches Volkstheater*, or *Deutsche Volksbühne*, in London in 1908 under the patronage of Jacob Thomas Grein[33] with the aim of providing affordable German language theatre to all Germans in London.

> [...] billige Vorstellungen [...], die auch den weitesten Kreisen zugänglich wären. Selbstverständlich soll mit diesem Plane durchaus nicht eine Gegnerschaft für unseren allbeliebten Direktor Hans Andresen geschaffen werden. (*LZH* 28 March 1908)
>
> [[...] cheap performances [...] accessible to the widest circle of people. Of course, this plan is not meant to create competition for our universally popular director Hans Andresen.]

[33] *LZH*, 20 February 1909: "Deutsche Volksbühne unter den Auspizen des Herrn Konsul J. T. Grein" ['Deutsche Volksbühne' under the auspices of Consul J. T. Grein]

The *Volkstheater* was not as professional as the *Deutsches Theater* had been, but very possibly developed from the theatre group of the *Deutscher Gewerbe- und Theaterverein*[34]. The *Volkstheater* spent the first season at the Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, before it moved to the Royal Court Theatre on Sloane Square in 1909. Similar to the fate of the *Deutsches Theater*, the *Volkstheater* could not afford the hire of the *Royal Court* in 1910 and had to move back to the Cripplegate Institute. The reaction to the *Volksbühne* by the English press was surprisingly positive at times, so much so that the *LZH* felt the need to report on such a review of the production of *Käthchen von Heilbronn* in *The Daily Mail.*

> Bemerkenswert sind übrigens die Zeilen, die die Daily Mail der Deutschen Volksbühne und der Aufführung widmet: "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn hat seinerzeit schon so viel Beurteilung erfahren, daß ein weiteres Lob überflüssig scheint [...] (*LZH* 6 March 1909)
>
> [By the way, the Daily Mail has written some remarkable lines on the *Deutsche Volksbühne* and its performance: " 'Käthchen von Heilbronn' has been commented on so many times before that further praise seems superfluous [...]]

However, even though the English press may have been positive about this particular performance, the interest in any German language theatre after the *Deutsches Theater* closed down was rather diminished. Similarly to the fate of the *Deutsches Theater*, however, the English Press, according to the *LZH*, called for modern German naturalist drama, Sudermann, Hauptmann, Schnitzler and the like (see *LZH* 6 March 1909).

As an attempt to combine efforts and to resurrect the *Deutsches Theater*, the *Deutscher Bühnenverein* was founded in 1910 (*LZH* 29 January 1910).

> Ist eine ständige freie deutsche Bühne in London lebensfähig? [...] Zur Besprechung dieser Frage hatte am Dienstag der Deutsche Bühnenverein London eine Versammlung einberufen, in der über die Schaffung einer ständigen freien deutschen Bühne in London des längeren eine interessante Diskussion gepflogen wurde. [...] (*LZH* 17 December 1910)

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[34] *LZH*, 11 April 1908: The *Deutsches Volkstheater* and the *Deutscher Gewerbe- und Theaterverein* seem to be synonymous in an advertisement for forthcoming productions under the direction of Peter Stoer.

> [Is a permanent free German theatre in London viable? [...] In order to discuss this question, the *Deutscher Bühnenverein* London organised a meeting on Tuesday during which a long discussion about establishing a permanent free German theatre was held [...]]

The *Bühnenverein* shared the Cripplegate Institute with the *Volkstheater* throughout 1910 but was then able to move back into the West End, namely to the Scala Theatre and His Majesty's Theatre. The *Bühnenverein* was not as ambitious as the *Deutsches Theater* had been. It did not attempt to match the artistic success of its predecessor nor did it try to perform as often.

> Es handelt sich hier keineswegs um eine täglich spielende Bühne, sondern um ein Ensemble, das regelmäßig von Zeit zu Zeit seine öffentlichen Vorstellungen im Cripplegate Institute, dem Saal wo bereits im März dieses Jahres der Deutsche Bühnenverein eine Vorstellung mit Erfolg organisieren ließ, geben wird. (*LZH* 17 December 1910)
>
> [This is certainly not a daily performing theatre, but an ensemble that will regularly, from time to time, give public performances at the Cripplegate Institute, a hall in which the *Deutscher Bühnenverein* has already successfully organised a performance in March of this year.]

One of the objectives of the *Deutsches Theater* had been to introduce German plays to London and not just to cater for the needs of the German émigrés.

> [I]ts [Deutsches Theater] highest ambition would be reached if, from time to time, one of the plays produced made such an impression that a faithful translation should find its way into a first-rate London theatre. (Grein 1900:82)

The *Bühnenverein* though had no such ambitions and was more modest in its assumed role. Having witnessed the failure of the *Deutsches Theater* to survive the financial strains of a professional ensemble the *Bühnenverein* decided that "[d]ie ganze Sache dient ausschließlich zur Hebung des Deutschtums in London [...]" (*LZH* 17 December 1910) [the whole thing serves solely the improvement of 'Germanness'[35] in London].

The *Verein* was based on a membership only policy and had, therefore, a regular monthly income. The membership amounted to one shilling per month which allowed the member

to view one performance per month[36]. During the six years of its existence the artistic merit of the *Bühnenverein* improved considerably and the ensemble lost some of its amateur status (Orme 1936:178 & Schoonderwoerd 1963:183). However, it never achieved the critical acclaim and artistic respect the *Deutsches Theater* had been given. The *Deutscher Bühnenverein* continued in London until it had to close down under the Alien Restrictions Act in 1914.

1.5 The Final Curtain

The *Deutsches Theater* was widely accepted as the main representative of German language theatre in Britain. The productions were regularly reviewed by British newspapers like *The Times*, *The World*, *The Sketch* and, of course, *The Era* and *The Stage*. They were seen as part of the West End theatre landscape, and financially supported by the German Embassy. What then is the reason for the relatively sudden decline in audience numbers, especially English native audiences? If a mediocre ensemble like the *Deutscher Bühnenverein* could survive until the outbreak of the First World War, were there other than financial reasons for the closure of the *Deutsches Theater*? In order to establish those reasons, a closer examination of contemporary English society and the attitude to and of the German community in contemporary London needs to be examined more closely.

During the course of the nineteenth century and especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century English attitudes to plays from the Continent in general and Germany in particular changed radically. There are a number of reasons for this change. According to

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[35] 'Germanness' in the sense of German culture for Germans.

[36] *LZH*, 17 December 1910: "Es soll dies dadurch bewerkstelligt werden, daß der Verein unter sämtlichen in London ansässigen Deutschen agitiert und Mitglieder dem Vereine zuführt, die einen monatlichen Beitrag von 1s. zu zahlen haben, wofür ihnen der einmalige Besuch im Monat des genannten Theaters frei steht." [This is supposed to be organised in the following manner: the club will advertise among all Germans resident in

some translation scholars, the status of English as a world language is one of the reasons for the relatively small number of translations done in Britain today. The two causes for the emergence of English as a world language are the expansion of the colonial power Britain had and the emergence of the United States as a leading economic power (see Hale 2000:64), both of which became obvious during the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The reasons for the change in attitude to German Drama is not only due to English developing into a world language but also to changing political, diplomatic, and social attitudes towards Germany as a country. It could be argued that the near disappearance of German drama on the English stage by the beginning of the First World War was due to social and cultural attitudes underlined by the political relationship between Germany and England.

Since the Franco-German war, 1870-71, political and diplomatic attitudes towards Germany had remained fragile. After the German invasion of France in 1870, Britain viewed Germany as the main hostile power in Europe. Bismarck's attempts to improve the Navy, challenging Britain's position as the world's leading naval power, a unified Germany, and the surprise of the new type of war as fought against the French, made Britain very aware of Germany as a potential enemy in a war situation. In accordance with these changing political attitudes the British army, or rather individuals in the army, were asking for improvements in training as well as equipment and manpower. These individuals did try and convince not only the government but the general public too. Colonel Sir George Tomkyns Chesney wrote, 11 days after the armistice between France and Germany was signed, to *Blackwood's Magazine* asking them to publish a story of his which would "drive

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London and, thus, sign up members which have to pay 1s per month for which they can see one performance per month for free.]

home the need for a complete reorganization of the British Military system" (Clarke 1966:30).

Blackwood's Magazine agreed to publish the story, *The Battle of Dorking*[37], which described "a successful invasion of England, and the collapse of our power and commerce in consequence" (Clarke 1966:31). I. F. Clarke describes how successful *The Battle of Dorking* was:

> There had never been anything to compare with this in English fiction before Chesney wrote *The Battle of Dorking* - neither in method nor in quality. For Chesney has the unusual distinction that his success helped to launch a new type of purposive fiction in which the whole aim was either to terrify the reader by a clear and merciless demonstration of the consequences to be expected from a country's shortcomings, or to prove the rightness of a national policy by describing the course of a victorious war in the near future. ... After Chesney there were few of these tales that did not apply the techniques that had alarmed a nation, annoyed a Prime Minister, and amazed a continent. (Clarke 1966:38)

The Battle of Dorking was taken seriously not only in Britain but outside the country as well. It was translated into French, German, and a number of other languages and this type of story would appear in most European countries in order to bring a political message across to the wider public. In order to underline the success and the influence *The Battle of Dorking* had, it was one of the main reasons for the beginning of annual manoeuvres by the army to train and test staff in 1871. This short story, however, did not directly influence the decline of German language theatre in London. It was, however, the beginning of a new type of literature which dealt with imaginative wars, published in newspapers and magazines before printed as books, reaching a large number of people, and banking on mass-emotions of nationalism. During the late nineteenth century the emergence of mass literacy and mass journalism helped developing this type of serial as a very effective means

[37] The story was so successful that at least eight editions were printed between 1871 and 1914.

indeed (Clarke 1966:64). A logical development of these war stories is the spy story. With a country more and more worried about new wars, war technology, and national security, it is not surprising that its popular fiction turned towards spy stories, especially stories regarding German spies in England. Not only did these stories or serials change the attitude towards Germany and Germans, but political and diplomatic relations were strained at the same time, reasons for that being, amongst others, Kaiser Wilhelm's attitude and the Balkan crisis. These popular newspaper prints are a good indication for the mood of the general public, and some of the stories following the tradition of *The Battle of Dorking* did have political influence and were mentioned and discussed in Parliament. A good example for the influence this popular literature had, is the number of stories which were written as a reply to the first plans of a Channel tunnel. As Clarke observes:

> Propaganda of this kind was completely single-minded in its attempt to influence public opinion against the Channel Tunnel. It is clear from the popular appeal of some of these stories that the authors were in many ways anticipating the methods developed in the mass fiction of the eighteen-nineties, since several of them were clearly no longer written for an exclusively middle-class public, as Chesney had done with *The Battle of Dorking*. These stories show that in step with the increase in literacy and with the growing importance of the new electors following on the Education Act of 1870 and the various Reform Acts, the conduct of war was ceasing to be a private matter for the higher levels of the nation. It was rapidly becoming a matter for everyone, as the new daily newspapers would demonstrate in the last decade of the century. (Clarke 1966:113)

The most popular writer of German spy-stories at the beginning of the twentieth century was William Le Queux. He was a journalist of the new kind, writing for the *Daily Mail*. "In March 1906 the *Daily Mail* declared war on Germany in a serial story which proved to be the most sensational of all the pre-1914 imaginary wars" (Clarke 1966:144). The serial was called *The Invasion of 1910*, written by William Le Queux who was not only a journalist but apparently Queen Alexandra's favourite novelist (Clarke 1966:144). *The Invasion* was immediately translated into German where it appeared as a serial in a boys' magazine,

apparently with a different ending though[38], and it sold over a million copies in book form all over the world. The most fascinating part of this serial was the *Daily Mail's* advertising campaign. Sandwich boys were dressed up in German military uniform and walked down Oxford Street carrying posters saying that there would be a forthcoming invasion of Britain and the *Daily Mail* would cover it day by day (Clarke 1966:145). *The Daily Mail* placed special advertisements in the London newspapers and some of the provincial papers with maps showing districts the Germans would be invading next[39] (see fig 3). William Le Queux built on the idea of the German civilian in London as a spy of the German Kaiser with this and his other novels. *The Invasion* was incredibly successful and one of many signs of its popularity can be seen in the fact that companies such as OXO used references to the serial in their advertising (see fig. 4). Not only advertising campaigns are witness to the popular success of *The Invasion* but also the emergence of contemporary caricatures of the spy story. One such example is P. G. Wodehouse's *The Swoop - Or How Clarence Saved England*, a satire of the invasion story complete with maps and illustrations in which a young schoolboy single handedly saves England from the invading Germans.

The Invasion of 1910 and another very successful serial, *The Enemy in our Midst*, led ultimately to laws being passed in Parliament for the internment of Germans, the introduction of a curfew, and the Aliens Restriction Act. Germanophobia increased until after the First World War and popular "public opinion, meanwhile created an image of underground German power which prevented British victory in war" (Panayi 1995:202).

The Invasion of 1910 is obviously not directly responsible for the financial difficulties and the disappearance of German Drama in the West End, in translation and German language.

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[38] I have so far been unable to trace a copy of the German version.

[39] *Daily Mail*, 10 March 1906 and *Daily Mail*, 17 March 1906 print of a map to be "cut out by new readers for reference day by day as the story progresses".

It is, however, a symptom of local fears of German expansion. These public anxieties, symbolised by stories such as *The Battle of Dorking* and *The Invasion of 1910*, became ever more real and immediate and it is these fears that are related to the downfall of German language theatre. Hostility against Germans seems to have been much greater before and during the First World War than after or even during the Second World War. The Aliens Restriction Act had a devastating effect on the German theatre societies as clubs established by Germans for Germans were closed, curfews introduced and quite a number of immigrants either sent back to Germany or interned. The number of German émigrés shrank considerably during this time and never reached the same heights as during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. After the First World War, when Germans emigrated to Britain again, most of the social and cultural institutions, which gave help to émigrés before the Great War, no longer existed. Most of the German churches, which played a vital part in the German community in England, were closed down and only very few organisations remained or re-established themselves (see Ashton 1986; Panayi 1996).

The second half of 1906 seems to be the turning point in the history of the *Deutsches Theater* and it can be safely assumed that this development is linked to the rise of anti-German feeling, symbolised by such serials as *The Invasion of 1910*. The German weekly paper *Londoner Zeitung Hermann* showed immediate concern shortly before the *Daily Mail* published the first installment:

> Die Invasion Englands in 1910 - [...] Der Roman wird zuerst in einem der hiesigen Hetzblätter erscheinen, daß in einem Flugblatt ankündigt, das im ganzen Lande zur Verteilung gelangt und in London, Manchester, Liverpool und wahrscheinlich auch in anderen großen Städten, in jedem Haus abgeliefert wird. Der Feind, der in das Land eindringt, ist selbstverständlich Deutschland [...] Es steht zu befürchten, daß die Massenverbreitung einer

> solchen Schrift die deutsch-feindlichen Strömungen neu beleben wird [...] (*LZH* 17 March 1906)
>
> [The Invasion of 1910 - [...] The novel will be printed first in one of the local rabble-rousing papers. A flyer has been distributed by this paper across the whole country and will be delivered to every house in London, Manchester, Liverpool and most likely other big cities, announcing the forthcoming serial. The enemy invading the country is, of course, Germany [...] It is to be feared that the mass distribution of such a work will newly revive anti-German sentiment [...]]

The specific fear of invasion[40] rather than a more general awareness of a growing possible enemy could be seen as important to the changing attitudes to Germany in general and German theatre in particular.

> He [Williams' father] often spoke of the German menace, of Germany's growing challenge to Britain, both in the world markets and the sea. He [...] was filled with misgivings lest one day Britain, as softened by prosperity and as unprepared for war as the Second Empire had been, should in turn find herself confronted by this new and formidable opponent. (Williams 1938:64)

Thus, it could be argued that a combination of a variety of unfortunate circumstances in this specific historical and cultural context made the continuation of German language theatre in London impossible. Even though the *Deutsches Theater* achieved critical acclaim, especially during its early years, the German press gradually started to compare the productions more rigorously to productions performed in Germany itself which, naturally, led to more unfavourable reviews. As a result the influential *Londoner Zeitung Hermann* called for the *Theater* to concentrate on comedies and lighter entertainment. The English press, which viewed the venture favourably at the beginning, were, however, mainly

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[40] This fear, or even obsession, with a possible invasion of Britain can be observed in popular British fiction, following the tradition of the spy and invasion stories, all through the twentieth century. For example, General Sir John Hackett wrote a bestseller in 1978, the *Third World War, August 1985 - A Future History*, in which he argues against nuclear disarmament by describing a possible scenario of life after a Third World War. The book is written in a very similar style to its predecessors, *The Battle of Dorking* and *The Invasion of 1910*, in that it does not at any point admit to its fictional nature. West Germany, of course, as the battleground between East and West, plays a central role as do the maps, illustrations and advice from military experts. Hackett followed the success of his first novel with *The Third World War - The Untold Story* published in 1982. Other examples are Shelford Bickwell's *World War 3* in 1978, Kenneth Macksey's *Invasion - The Alternate History of the German Invasion of England, July 1940*, first published in 1980 and re-printed as recently as 2001, and Len Deighton's *SS-GB* published in 1991.

interested in establishing Naturalism on the English stage. The critic and translator William Archer is probably the most famous and influential advocate of this new theatrical development and he and his fellow supporters - Harley Granville Barker and George Bernard Shaw, to name but two - of writers like Ibsen, Hauptmann and Sudermann, lost some of their interest in the *Theater* once it put less emphasis on the German naturalist and realist movement and more emphasis on the production of new and established comedies. Regarding the audience, a similar reaction as described above can be observed. The English native audience was less inclined to watch the very culturally specific comedies whereas the German native audience may have been in agreement with the concerns voiced by the *Londoner Zeitung Hermann*. The decline in audience numbers, however, cannot only be attributed to the changes in programming. Although these phenomena coincide, they should not be perceived as an equational cause and effect. Rather, the two are inextricably linked as they influence each other simultaneously. As mentioned above, the attitude towards Germans and Germany in general changed quite considerably during the period in question. The decline in audience has to be seen in this context. With the development of an increasingly hostile attitude towards Germany, the English native audience had further reasons not to attend the *Deutsches Theater*. Similarly, the German native audience did not want to be necessarily recognised as German. It could be argued that the reasons for the closure of the *Deutsches Theater* and the disappearance of German language theatre in London lie within the artistic decision, commercial pressure and public attitude.

1.6 A Walk-On Part or a Major Role?

Even though German theatre disappeared from the West-End theatre landscape, what needs to be established is whether it had any impact on the English stage either during or after its

existence. Various kinds of impact are possible as the *Deutsches Theater* produced plays which were previously unknown to a London audience and introduced a German production style.

Assessing the impact of production style is problematic as this is very much dependent on a complex interaction of various cultural and theatrical influences on certain individuals. Combined with the lack of visual records of productions in question, it is difficult for such an assessment not to be subject to speculation. However, some tangible points of contact with regard to production style can be established. First of all there is John Eugene Vedrenne's work for the *Deutsches Theater.* The future manager of the Court Theatre, in partnership with Harley Granville Barker, worked for the *Deutsches Theater* during its successful early seasons. Hence, Vedrenne's position as business manager for the *Deutsches Theater* could be seen as a possible apprenticeship before his successful management of the Court Theatre. Harley Granville Barker himself, as mentioned earlier and in more detail in Chapter 2, had some contact with the *Deutsches Theater*; first and foremost through his connection with Jacob Thomas Grein but also through some work with Max Behrend and, of course, his later collaboration with Vedrenne. On a more general level, the English press, in its reviews of productions at the *Deutsches Theater*, more often than not comment positively on the acting and production quality, especially regarding naturalistic plays at a time when naturalism was not yet a fully established form on the London stage. *The World* claims, for example, that "our present German company is composed entirely of skilled character-actors. *Die Weber* puts them to a severe test, and they come out of it admirably" (*The World* 10 January 1905). Reviewing the production of *Die Wildente*, Archer states that "[...] there is the pulse of life in every word [...] a more admirable piece of character-acting I never saw" (*The World* 7 March 1905). Not only *The*

World is complimentary with regard to acting quality, *The Sketch* makes similar positive remarks, especially regarding the ensemble style of acting employed by the *Deutsches Theater*. Announcing the beginning of the second season, an article in the *Sketch* states that "an excellent *ensemble* is to be expected" (*The Sketch* 24 October 1900) and musing on the differences between French and German theatre the following observations are made:

> [...] we have a great traditional respect for the Gallic theatrical art. Up to now, however, most of the French seasons have been on the 'star-system', with a tail like a comet [...] and the plays have been 'star' plays; whereas the Germans have worked their success on the 'all round system'. *Alt-Heidelberg* is a case in point. It has no 'star' part, and is excellently acted throughout - brilliantly [...] (*The Sketch* 3 December 1902)

Such public discussions regarding the ensemble versus the star-system and the need of character-acting in naturalistic plays may have helped lead to the establishment and ever increasing acceptance of this new acting technique. Of course, The Barker-Vedrenne seasons at the Court Theatre received some of their critical acclaim because of the production style, the emphasis on ensemble work. As Kennedy states:

> [...] the production was what advanced the management's reputation. Playgoers recognized that a balanced ensemble performance could be more satisfying than one organized around a single virtuouso. [...] *The Era* saw something new and admirable about the acting of minor roles: "they had an air of reality and first-hand observation which made them genuinely interesting and artistic" (5 Nov, 1904:15). (Kennedy 1985:23)

Judging from contemporary reviews, a certain similarity between the work of Max Behrend and Hans Andresen at the *Deutsches Theater* and Barker and Vedrenne at the Court Theatre exists. To what extent this resemblance is the result of a direct influence is arguable. What can be assumed, however, is that the *Deutsches Theater* played a part, however small, in the establishment of a new acting style.

One of the clear aims and objectives of the *Deutsches Theater*, as formulated by Grein, was that of introducing new plays to the London stage. As quoted earlier, Grein hoped that "one of the plays produced made such an impression that a faithful translation should find its

way into a first-rate London theatre" (Grein 1900:82). Again, it is difficult to determine exactly to what extent Grein's hope was fulfilled. However, when looking at the dates of production of translations of German plays and the dates of production in the original, it seems highly likely that at least some new plays were successfully introduced by the *Deutsches Theater*. During its existence, only a few translations either existed before the production by the *Theater* or were of plays which had not been produced at all.[41] Plays by Hauptmann, Sudermann and Schnitzler were all premiered by the *Deutsches Theater* only to be followed by English productions. Grein himself started the trend by translating Sudermann's *Das Glück im Winkel* and producing it a year after the German performance in English under the direction of Max Behrend. Hauptmann's *Biberpelz* appeared five years after the *Deutsches Theater* production as *The Thieves' Comedy* at the Court Theatre, an English production of *Die Weber* followed a year after the German one, and *Die versunkene Glocke* was performed in English four years later. Edith Wharton's 1903 translation of Sudermann's *Es lebe das Leben* was preceded by four months by a German production and Grein's translation of *Johannisfeuer* was performed five years after its introduction by the *Deutsches Theater*. The *Deutsches Theater* only ever produced one play by Arthur Schnitzler, *Liebelei* in 1900, repeated in 1903, and it took nine years before an English translation by Valentine Williams found its way onto the West End stage. However, the production of *Liebelei* introduced the playwright Schnitzler and a number of his plays were translated for production subsequently. Barker and Christopher Wheeler translated both *Anatol* (1911) and *Das Märchen* (1912), Penelope Wheeler translated *Der grüne Kakadu* (1913) and H. A. Hertz, a member of the management committee of the *Deutsches Theater*, translated *Komtesse Mizzi* (1913).

[41] See Appendices II & III.

If it is assumed then that the *Deutsches Theater* did fulfil Grein's hope of introducing German plays to the West End stage and certain productions did lead to translations being undertaken, the selection process of the individual translators needs to be examined more closely, not only in the light of a possible involvement of the *Deutsches Theater* but, arguably more importantly, in the light of the translator as a theatre practitioner. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, translators such as William Archer, Harley Granville Barker, H. A. Hertz and Jacob Thomas Grein cannot be seen primarily as translators but what they all have in common is an involvement with contemporary theatre practice, either as critics, directors, playwrights, actors or managers. One question which needs to be examined is what role, or rather purpose, was allocated to the translation of playtexts by these translators (see Chapter 2 & 3). Furthermore, within such a cultural and historical context, the reception of translations as performance texts in the contemporary press needs to be investigated (Chapter 4) as well as the actual translations themselves (Chapter 5). Thus, not only does this chapter lead to certain lines of inquiry but also, having provided a historical and theatrical context for the translational activity under investigation in this thesis, a cultural framework for the following chapters has been established.

Deutscher Gewerbe- u. Theater-Verein

28-30, EAST ROAD, CITY ROAD, E.C.

Verwalter: **Balz Stoerl.** 477

Telegramm-Adresse: GEWERBE, LONDON.

☞ Der beste und größte deutsche Club Londons. | ☞ Speisezimmer u. Salon ersten Ranges. . . . .

Billard-Salon mit engl. und franz. Billards.

Unseren Mitgliedern zur gefl. Kenntnißnahme!

Dienstags: Abends 9 Uhr: Gesangverein „Zephyr." Kranken-, Unterstützungs- und Sterbekasse „Concordia." (Jeden 1. Dienstag im Monat.)

Mittwochs: Versammlung des Elberado Radfahrer-Clubs, der „Londoner Internationalen Typographia" und des Schach-Clubs.

Samstag, den 22. November, Abends 8½ Uhr:

Concert u. Ball d. Gesangvereins „Edelweiß."

Sonntag, den 23. November:

☞ **Gastspiel von Fräulein Lilly Roberts vom Schauspielhaus in Frankfurt a. M.**

„Goldfische."

Lustspiel in 4 Akten von F. von Schanthan und Gustav Kadelburg.

Künstlerische Leitung . . . . . Max Sylge.

Anfang punkt 8½ Uhr.

Samstag, den 29. November:

Zweites großes Wurstessen.

☞ In Vorbereitung: **Benefiz für Max Sylge.** Zwei Lustspiele aus dem Leben des „Alten Test[illegible]." 1. Abend: **„Die Anna Liese."** 2. Abend **„Wie die Alten sungen."** Eintrittskarten gelten für beide Abende.

Hermann Richters Nachweisbureau für Barbiere und Friseure ist täglich geöffnet.

Angenehmer Aufenthalt für Gehilfen.

Gute Speisen und Getränke.

Mittags- und Abendessen: Wochentags à 8d., Sonntags à 1s.

Fig.1: Advertisement for the *Deutscher Gewerbe- und Theaterverein*, *Londoner Zeitung Hermann*, 22 November 1902.

20. Dezember 1902.

Great Queen Street Theatre

Sole Proprietor: W. S. PENLEY.

Deutsches Theater

In London.

— VIERTE SAISON. —

Direktion: HANS ANDRESEN und MAX BEHREND.

688

Diesen (Freitag) Abend um 8.30:

sowie Sonnabend und Montag Abends 8.30.

Das Grosse Licht

☞ Die Box Office ist täglich von 10 bis 5 Uhr geöffnet. Wegen Abonnements wende man sich an die Direktion. Telephon: 4033 Gerrard.

Fig. 2: Advertisement for the *Deutsches Theater in London*, *Londoner Zeitung Hermann*, 20 December 1902.

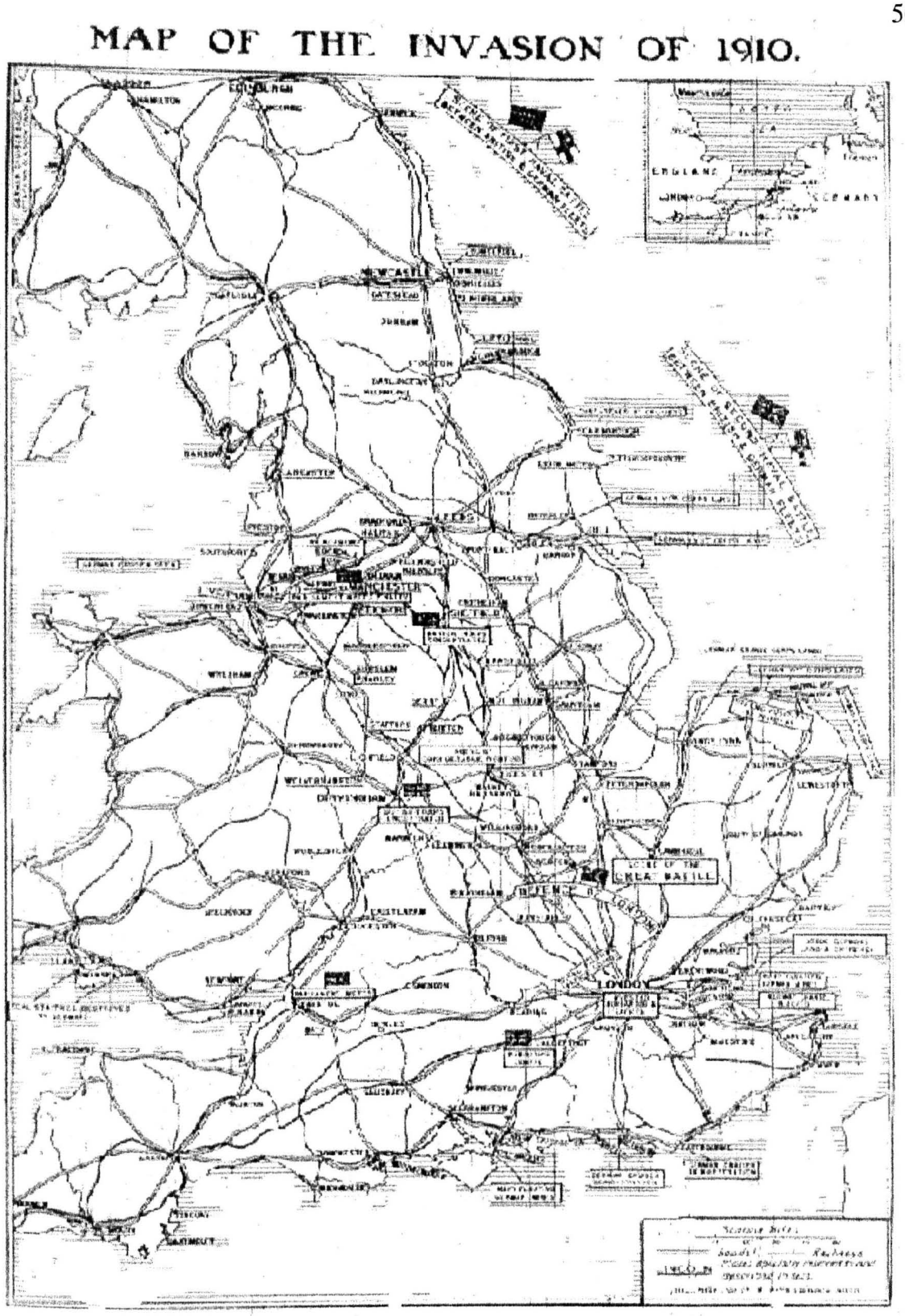

Fig. 3: Map of the Invasion of 1910, *The Daily Mail*, 17 March 1906.

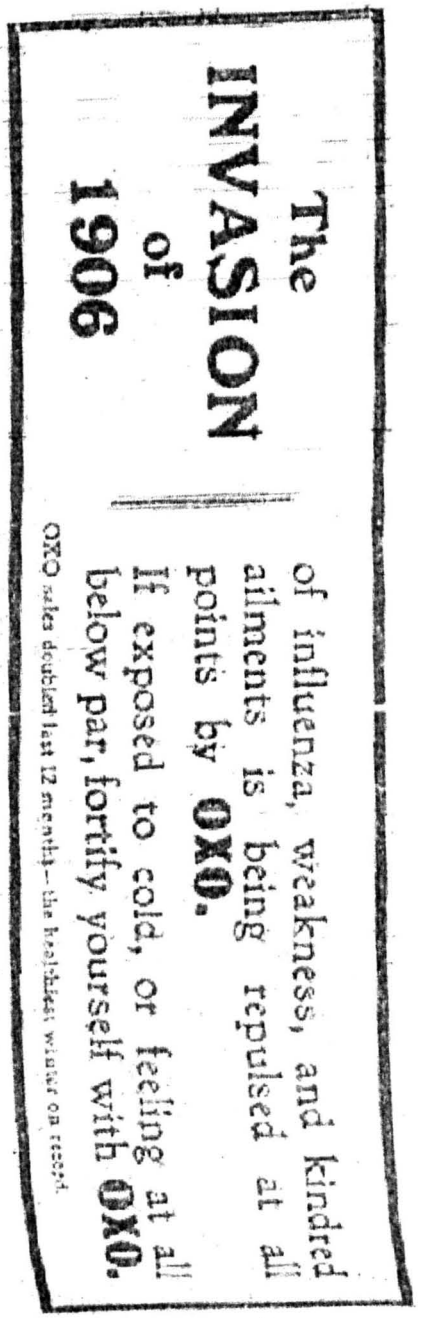

Fig 4: Advertisement for OXO, *The Daily Mail* 17 March 1906.

Chapter 2: The Translational Community

The aim of the following two chapters is to examine the purpose of translations through an investigation of the translators themselves. This chapter attempts to establish whether the translators in question can indeed be understood as part of a translational community and, consequently, the makeup and the common factors of such a translational community will be examined. As Stark comments:

> [T]he scholarship dealing with the influence of German texts follows two distinct methods. One is to focus on one specific author like Goethe or Kleist and then to trace his reception in reviews or translations of his writings. The other route is to focus as a starting point on a specific recipient or a circle of readers of German texts and to examine their various tastes. In the one case we have an author-oriented approach, in the other a reader-oriented approach. Both of these approaches are static in the sense that they pay little attention to the fact that the text itself, which is moved from its native environment to a foreign one, undergoes a drastic 'change of costume'. In order to overcome this deficiency I have employed a third structural principle to organise the story of textual transmission: it centres attention on the people responsible for shifting texts from one country to another, that is on the translators of these texts. (Stark 1999:22-3)

Similarly to Stark's work on English translations of German texts during the nineteenth century, this chapter, and Chapter 3, "centre attention" on the translators and argue that such an approach is consequential to the understanding of the dissemination of culture through translation. What is central to the following argument is what Stark hints at by criticising the "static" approaches that imply the notion of the stability of the text. Stark, however, does not take this criticism far enough as she suggests that there is a clear distinction to be made between author, translator and reader, thus perceiving the three as separate entities. Her work, like Rosemary Ashton's *Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought* (1980), focuses on academic or scholarly translations of academic or philosophical texts. Ashton is primarily concerned with Kant, Goethe, Spinoza and Feuerbach (Ashton 1980) and Stark herself equates the translators with intellectuals

(Stark 1999:175) and considers "the interest in and translation of German scholarly ideas" (Stark 1999:23). Both Stark and Ashton accept the distinction between author of the source text, translator and reader of the target text and, based on that notion, discuss the transmission and influence the author has on British culture or certain individuals, who are necessarily readers of the target text. As Sirkku Aaltonen argues, however, it is debatable "to what extent translators and authors exist as clearly separated categories, or whether they should be viewed as closely related species" (Aaltonen 2000:28).

Transposing the separation of author, translator, reader, as accepted by Stark and Ashton with regards to scholarly translation, onto the process of playtext translations, one needs to treat author, translator and reader, and therefore playwright, translator, audience and theatre practitioner, as separate entities. The translators of playtexts, however, cannot be disassociated from the theatre practitioner, or arguably playwright and audience, in quite the same way as the imposed separation upon the literary or scholarly translator from the author of the source text and the reader of the target text. It seems that the lowest common denominator of this specific group of translators is that all translators in question have some link or other with contemporary dramatic or theatrical work. The fact that some of these translations of playtexts have never been published, for example Penelope Wheeler's translation of *Der grüne Kakadu*, but only exist in manuscript form submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's Office, underlines the importance of the close connection of the theatre practitioner and the translator, which are in some cases even identical. It seems overall, that rather than being defined through certain academic or scholarly pursuits, these particular translators have other points of common interest.

Furthermore, as will be shown in this chapter, the group of translators of German plays at the turn of the century does not congregate around one figurehead as Stark observes to be

the case with literary and scholarly translators during the first half of the nineteenth century (Stark 1999:14). Another notable difference to the nineteenth century community is their locality as well as their temporality. According to Stark:

> [t]hose responsible for the dissemination of German texts in nineteenth-century England were scattered in time and region, but had certain techniques in common. (Stark 1999:22)

With the exception of Edith Wharton and to some extent Valentine Williams, all the translators in question here were very much centred in one region as they lived in or around London. Moreover, even though the present examination may seem to impose an artificial temporal framework, that framework, as set out in the Introduction, is defined by the socio-political nature of the twentieth century[42]. It can, therefore, be argued that spatial as well as temporal parameters exist. The term community in the sense of "immediacy or locality" (Williams 1977b:65) can be applied to this group of translators. However, locality alone is an insufficient determinant of community. What is central to the understanding of community in the context of this study is the notion of a 'community of interest', where the members of the community have certain characteristics in common as well as similarities and agreements, be they cultural, ideological or indeed translational. What most members of this group of translators have in common with each other, in addition to their activities as translators, is their direct and professional involvement with the theatre. The common interest, or rather the "quality of holding something in common" (Williams 1977b:65), is their work in, or related to, the theatre and their place within the development of modern British theatre. The exact nature of this commonality, the similarities and agreements, with regards to ideology and culture will be explored below. Likewise, the possibility of

[42] Temporal fissures within the twentieth century such as 1914, 1933, 1939, 1945 are points at which artistic and cultural movements are initiated and terminated by socio-political events. Thus following the initial database, which examines a 60 year period, it becomes apparent that periods of translational activity fall between these points of historical transition. See Appendix III.

common techniques, a translational commonality, will be examined in Chapter 5 where a selection of the actual translated texts are under investigation. Having established temporal and spatial parameters as well as common characteristics, a translational community arguably exists. The strength of this community and whether a sense of identity or belonging to such a community prevails will be considered below.

The fact that members of the translational community are not easily categorised as either author, playwright, translator, reader, or audience, but, more often than not, inhabit multiple categories simultaneously, makes it difficult, if not impossible, to adopt Stark's approach of strict separation. Furthermore, as argued above, text cannot be treated as a static or stable unit. The text, and this includes both the source and the target text, is "a consequence of [...] interpretative activities" (Fish 1980:15) and, therefore, it needs to be established who undertakes these 'interpretative activities'. If one assumes that an important part of the translation process itself is the act of interpretation as well as the act of text producing, another approach suggests itself. Fish's notion of the interpretative community (Fish 1980) offers a fourth approach to the three already identified by Stark. The method would not be an author- or reader-oriented approach, or even a translator-oriented approach as used by Stark, but an interpretative community-oriented approach. This would allow this inquiry not to have to accept the distinction made between author, translator, and reader and at the same time have the 'instability' of the text as its basis. As Fish states:

> Interpretative strategies are not put into execution after reading; they are the shape of reading, and because they are the shape of reading, they give texts their shape, making them rather than, as is usually assumed, arising from them. [...] Indeed, it is interpretative communities, rather than either the text or the reader, that produce meanings and are responsible for the emergence of formal features. Interpretative communities are made up of those who share interpretative strategies, not for reading but for writing texts, for constituting their properties. In other words these strategies exist prior to the

> act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around. (Fish 1980:13-14)

Exploring the notion of a translational community as an interpretative community as well as analysing the role of translations as texts produced by such a community within the context of theatre practice, necessitates an assessment of the relationships of the various translators with each other.

Having considered the approaches taken by previous assessments of English translators of German texts, notably Stark and Ashton, and appropriated and developed those approaches in line with Fish's notion of an interpretative community, the structure of the remaining chapter will be as follows. Firstly, methods of discussion of the role and function of such a group offered by translation theory, most notably Toury, Hermans and Simeoni, will be assessed (2.1). In order to examine this particular group of translators in more detail, biographical links will be explored (2.2) and, consequently, the common interest with regard to translation will be established in the context of the community's involvement with modern British theatre.

2.1 The Translators as a Sub-Set, an Intersection and an Interpretative Community

According to Toury, "[t]ranslating as an act and as an event is characterised by variability, it is historically, socially and culturally determined, in short, norm-governed" (Toury 1999:9). Norms have a graded and relative nature and the "favoured mode of behaviour" (Toury 1999:16) in groups of varying sizes has variations in its binding nature (Toury 1999:16). Furthermore, "agreements and conventions are constantly being negotiated [...] and if norms are one of their outcomes and modes of implementation in actual behaviour, it would

only be proper to inquire as to where those negotiations take place, in the case of translation" (Toury 1999:19).

Therefore, it could be argued that the role of a 'group' and the make-up of such a group is of importance to translation studies rather than concentrating solely on the analysis of the target text. Furthermore, on a more specific note, in order to understand the purpose that has been allocated to translations, as stated earlier, the group in question needs to be scrutinised more closely.

Toury, however, does not discuss in detail the role and function of individual groups as carriers of the negotiation process of norms, and Hermans remarks on the impersonality of the norms system (Hermans 1999a:135) which proves difficult when attempting to pay "more attention to real-life translators" (Hermans 1999a:135). He states further that "researchers [...] have increasingly turned to Bourdieu's sociology of culture in their search for models to discuss translation in its social context" (Hermans 1999a:131). Hermans himself makes more use of Luhmann as an addition to, rather than a replacement for, systems theory in order to deal "with what has become known as the crisis of representation in human sciences (Marcus & Fisher 1986:7-116)" (Hermans 1999a:150), namely the epistemological paradox of interpretation (Hermans 1999b:66). However, the relevance of Bourdieu, and Lury for that matter, to the examination of the role and composition of a group or community of translators, should not be disregarded. Of course, as with the use of Luhmann in Hermans' case, this should be seen as an addition to, rather than as a replacement for, the notion of norms in systems theory.

These complementary concepts are of relevance here as Bourdieu focuses on "the role of specific social groups as the carriers of aesthetic knowledge" (Lury 1996:79). Before

considering Bourdieu's influence on translation theory and his usefulness in this context, it is also the case that Lury's concept of lifestyle offers a model for behaviour which can be observed in the translational community in question. Lury incorporates Hebdige's notion of taste as an issue that "emerges at certain points as a quite explicitly political one" (Hebdige 1988:47) as well as his notion of modern consumer sensibility (Hebdige 1988) and defines lifestyle as follows:

> Lifestyle is [...] an instance of the tendency for groups of individuals to use goods to make distinctions between themselves and other groups of individuals, and thus supports the view that consumption practices can be understood in terms of a struggle over social positioning. (Lury 1996:80)

One of the hypotheses made earlier states that it may be the case that translations are used to further specific notions of the role and function of theatre, or at least are utilised as a tool to enhance the translator's part and/or success in his/her other ventures. If this is the case then the questions which need to be asked are, firstly, why Toury apparently does not attempt to explain this phenomenon and whether and how Lury's concept of lifestyle can offer any model or explanation for it.

In his article *A Handful of Paragraphs on 'Translations' and 'Norms'* (1999), which forms the basis of a debate about the concept of norms, Toury restricts discussion to professional translators - translators that either have been trained through an institutionalised education system and/or take up translation as their main profession. The element in his theory concerned with how an individual acquires translational norms (Toury 1999:25) is based upon the notion of his/her development as a translator.

> Others, probably the vast majority, pick up the conventions and norms pertinent to their job through a process of initiation within the culture itself [...] in the initial stages of one's development as a translator, the feedback directed at him/her is exclusively *external* [...] Little by little, however, translators may start taking potential responses into account too. They thus develop an internal kind of monitoring mechanism [...] Some translators may then go on to take active part in the re-negotiations concerning translational

> conventions which will sometimes result in the change of norms. (Toury 1999:26-7)

Even though some of the translators in question have undertaken more than one translation, especially Archer who, through his Ibsen translations, can probably be described as the most 'professional' of the community, not all of them have previous or subsequent translation experience. The above quotation would imply then that, even though Toury states that this "should not be taken as inevitable [...] there is nothing deterministic here" (Toury 1999:28), first-time and non-schooled translators display different or 'safer' norms and are certainly not involved in the re-negotiations concerning conventions.

Should, however, the earlier hypothesis hold true that mostly unschooled and 'unprofessional' translators use the translation event as a device to further and underline their development as theatre innovators or reformers, then Toury's notion of the development of the acquisition and re-negotiation of conventions falls short of offering a possible model for this phenomenon, and a theoretical model should be able to include this if it is not to be dismissed as a mere incoherent idiosyncrasy.

Lury's concept of lifestyle, which has not previously been applied to translation studies, proves useful in explaining the above data. Lury's claim that lifestyle is a part of a group's attempt to differentiate themselves from other groups in "a struggle over social positioning" is partly applicable to the translational community. As a group of theatre practitioners their work in and around the theatre is an attempt to differentiate themselves from the status quo of the theatre landscape and change the role and function of theatre. This can be seen with regards to Archer's and Barker's attempts to found a National Theatre, the 'discovery' of naturalism for the English stage, Grein's Independent Theatre as well as his *Deutsches Theater* and the overall involvement of the community with the notion of the New Woman. Their respective translation activities should be seen in this context where the translation

itself becomes part of the attempt to differentiate themselves from other groups of theatre practitioners. Furthermore, these translations not only differentiate the members of the translational community from other theatre practitioners but also from other translators since the primary aim of their translation activity is one of performance rather than publication.

Lury's claim can be adapted in order for it to have more resonance regarding translation. One such adaptation would read as follows:

Translation style is an instance of the tendency of groups of translators to use translation to make distinctions between themselves and other groups (of translators), and thus supports the view that translation practices can be understood in terms of a struggle over artistic/aesthetic positioning.[43]

Translation style is meant to include the process of selection and the translation act and, in this case, the performance or non-performance of the play in question as well. As this study deals with playtext translation linked to ensuing performances, it is, therefore, difficult to determine clearly whether the above is applicable to other types of translation also. It is likely, however, that similar behavioural patterns do occur.

The term 'translational community' needs to be further qualified as well. In accordance with the observations made regarding this particular community of translators, it is vital that the common denominator of a community is not only that of translation but also includes conjoint activities which are in relation to an adjacent or even overlapping area, i.e. theatre translation and theatre practice. Similarly the 'other groups or communities' do not

necessarily have to be qualified as consisting of translators but rather correspond to the conjoint activities of the former. If the translational community under observation here uses translation in order to make distinctions between themselves and others, the goal of distinctiveness does not inevitably aim at other translators but at other theatre practitioners/critics/commentators/audiences. For this particular instance then the translational community could be called a 'subset of translators' which can itself be a member of another set or sets.[44] The type of connection between the various sets is then partly expressed through translation, or rather translational behaviour.

Toury talks about translators belonging to more than one group but concentrates on the variations of norms and behaviour rather than how the overlap might manifest itself in the behaviour shown.

> Thus, even if it is one and the same person who engages in more than one activity, and/or belongs to more than one (sub)group, s/he may well abide by different norms, and manifest different kinds of behaviour, in each one of his/her roles and social contexts. The ability to manoeuvre between alternative sets of norms is of course an important aspect of social life, and its acquisition is an important component of socialisation. (Toury 1999:17)

It is here that the impersonality of the norms system proves especially difficult as the norms and, therefore, certain translational behaviour seems to be treated as being quite separate from an individual's circumstance in a given situation. One cannot deny the fact that the display of different kinds of behaviour, depending on the role of the person and the social contexts, occurs but what is missing is the notion that the different kinds of behaviour may influence and ultimately change each other. Thus this thesis, and this chapter in particular, places emphasis upon the individual. Here the notion of set theory seems particularly useful. Denominating this group of translators as a subset implies then that they can be

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[43] The struggle over artistic positioning is, of course, a dynamic process which underlines the organic nature of the translational community.

defined as a set whose members are all members of another given class or set. In order to define the set of translators more specifically and describe the fact the they belong to two other sets, namely other translators and other theatre practitioners, one could classify their characteristics as an intersection. This would imply that the set of elements that make up the group of translators are common to two sets. In order to express this general relationship and avoid lengthy description, the following formulae describe this phenomenon. If 'A' is taken as an abbreviation for the set of playtext translators in question, 'B' the set of contemporary theatre practitioners and 'C' the set of other translators then the formulae would read as follows:

$A \subseteq B$ $A \subseteq C$ $A \cap BC$

On a general level, the appropriation of Lury's notion of lifestyle and the use of set theory are useful tools to describe the community's behaviour in more theoretical terms as well as offering an explanation for it. What is most interesting for this study though, is how the intersection relates to the other sets, in particular A to B, and how these relations influence the modes of behaviour in the intersection. In other words, what is under investigation here is how belonging to the set of contemporary theatre practitioners (B) informs and influences the mode of behaviour of the members of the translational community (A) and vice versa. Therefore, a more detailed analysis of the particular behaviour patterns in this sub-set or intersection is needed. As argued above, the theory generated regarding translation in general (C) places some emphasis on the existence of groups of translators, but appears to

[44] As explained by Partee et al., "when every member of a set *A* is also a member of a set *B* we call *A* a subset of *B*" (Partee et al. 1990:9).

neglect the individual members of such groups.[45] At this point Bourdieu's concern with "how societies reproduce or maintain themselves over time, not simply as a set of individuals, but as individuals in certain groupings in certain relations of power to each other" (Lury 1996:83) and his notion of habitus offer some useful insights into the behaviour of this sub-set / intersection of translators. As mentioned before, Bourdieu has been used and appropriated by other translation theorists and among them, as Hermans observes, Daniel Simeoni (Hermans 1999a). One of Simeoni's concerns is that of the translator's "voluntary servitude" (Hermans 1999a:134) and by "exploring the usefulness of habitus for translation studies" (Hermans 1999a:134) links the idea of a translation habitus to the concept of norms (Hermans 1999a:134). According to Bourdieu, habitus is

> a system of lasting, transposable dispositions, which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transformations of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems. (Bourdieu 1979:83)

Simeoni appropriates this notion by claiming that "learning to translate means refining a social habitus into a specialized habitus" (Hermans 1999a:134) and he defines the so-called "translating habitus" as a "(culturally) pre-structured and structuring agent mediating cultural artefacts in the course of transfer" (Simeoni 1998:1). He then attempts to answer questions regarding the translator's 'servitude'. What needs to be queried at a later stage is not Simeoni's use of Bourdieu's notion of habitus but, rather, his claim that translators generally appear to develop subservience or servitude (Hermans 1999a:134; Simeoni 1998:7-8). Without developing this notion in great detail, Simeoni distinguishes between various types of subservience, namely:

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[45] Following the argument of the impersonality of descriptive translation studies, I will no longer refer to the various sets and sub-sets as A, B, and C. This rather inhuman way of describing groups of individuals has only been adapted for reasons of clarity and during the following discussion, I will either use individuals' names or, should this not be possible, refer to the community as a whole.

> subservient: to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself or even, in certain situations of close contact, to the subculture within which the task is required to make sense. (Simeoni 1998:12)

The concept of subservience needs to be further examined when looking at actual translations. It is, moreover, a concept that has been subject to change during our time. What can be assumed at the moment, however, is that there may be a possibility that certain translators in certain cultural contexts pretend to be subservient to one or more of the above notions, express their apparent servitude through introductions or translator's notes but display other, or even contradictory, behaviour during the actual translation process. Therefore, what should be under investigation is the perceptible need to appear subservient to the author and text for example as well as the circumstances of adherence and subversion.[46]

Aside from Simeoni's pronouncement of servitude, his appropriation of Bourdieu's concept of habitus offers possibilities of analysis regarding the choice of text as well as the choices made during the act of translation. Simeoni is primarily concerned with searching for a

> conceptualization to help account for: [...] the myriad determining choices made by translators in the course of translating [...] In other words: What drives the translators' decisions in practice, and how can this be? (Simeoni 1998:1-2).

Simeoni observes certain short-falls regarding the application of Bourdieu's notion of habitus to translation studies. In addition to Bourdieu's concept being limited to nation-states or state-societies (Simeoni 1998:20; Bourdieu 1979[47]), Simeoni claims that the field of translation cannot be understood as a specialised and organised field, displaying a structured system, and in that sense it differs from a literary field, "in which the participants knew of one another and occupied positions understandable in terms of those occupied by their most direct competitors" (Simeoni 1998:19). Rather, the field of translation has to be

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[46] This point will be further examined in Chapter 5 when analysing the actual translations themselves.

understood as a "pseudo- or would-be-field" (Simeoni 1998:19) which is much less organised than a literary field because of the "ingrained subservience of the translator" (Simeoni 1998:19). Whether subservience can be understood as such a central characteristic of translation will be discussed in a later chapter. What is most certainly questionable with regards to Simeoni's argument is the implication that translators do not know of each other and their respective positioning, and that the positions translators occupy cannot be understood in relation to each other, or rather (translational) competitors. As will be shown, the translators in question here certainly knew of each other and were very much aware of positions taken. Thus, they interact more fully and consciously as a community than Simeoni's theoretical account can allow. This is not to say that the assumption of the 'pseudo-field' itself is necessarily invalid, only the reasoning behind it is not applicable to this particular instance. Indeed, it could be argued that understanding the translational community as an intersection explains the existence of a "pseudo-field". As such, the field the translators in question occupy in this instance is defined by the notion of the intersection. Therefore, what gives the field its structure is the existence of such an overlap, such a sub-set or intersection. Indeed, a translation is being produced in such sub-sets and intersections, and therefore exists simultaneously in the set of playtext translators, the set of translators in general, and in the set of theatre practitioners. Conversely Simeoni comes to a similar conclusion, without recognising such a point, with his claim that "it is difficult to envisage actual products of translation as anything more than the results of diversely distributed *social* habituses or, specific habituses *governed by the rules pertaining to the field in which translation takes place*" (Simeoni 1998:19).[48] In other words, the specific

[47] See Richard Nice's Foreword to the second edition.

[48] Simeoni's use of the expression "anything more" suggests a certain negativity and implies a hierarchical relationship with the field of literary production mentioned earlier, which is certainly not endorsed by this

habitus can either be seen as appearing in the sub-set or, indeed, in the intersection with the set being equivalent to the field. Simeoni sees the value of the appropriation of Bourdieu's habitus for translation studies in the possibility to

> accommodate less ordinary cases [...] those few budding translators who we know hardly need any training [and] secondly, the new focus may reorient research to a certain extent towards the cultural group in which the translator acquired his training. (Simeoni 1998:25)

If "training" is understood quite loosely as 'first translation experience', this model can be appropriated for this specific case study as it would provide a theoretical basis where the norm system on its own, as discussed above, would fall short of offering a possible model. As the translational community and, therefore, the pseudo-field or intersection, lacks the aspect of formal training, the decision and ability to translate without such institutionalised schooling may lie within either the make-up of this pseudo-field, the intersection as a whole, or the individual translator's habitus. Furthermore, Gouanvic observes that "the literary translators' habitus influences the field of literature, i.e. the space which acts as a scene for the struggles between different literary producers to determine the shape of literature to come" (Gouanvic 2002:98) and it needs to be established whether this concept can be applied to the playtext translators, who are positioned within the intersection. Gouanvic argues that this struggle within the literary field does not take place on the level of consciousness but rather on the level of beliefs (see Gouanvic 2002:99). Therefore, what needs to be established is whether this is applicable to this particular translational community or whether indeed a more conscious struggle takes place.

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study. The observation that translation is governed by fields in which it is produced hints at a difference to the literary field but does not imply a hierarchical relationship between the two.

Thus, the assessment of methods of discussion and analysis of a translational community motivates and ratifies a biographical exploration of this specific pseudo-field, or rather intersection.

2.2 A Biographical Exploration of the Translational Community, the Pseudo-Field or Intersection.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there is no clear congregation around one figure-head but the connections are more circular than hierarchical. There does appear to be a core, however, and for reasons of structure more than emphasis, I will use William Archer as the starting point in order to explore the intricate relationships and connectives as he can be seen as the most publicly outspoken with regards to theatrical and dramatic as well as translation issues through his work as a critic and essayist.

William Archer, born in Perth in 1856, is best known for his Ibsen translations, his work as a theatre critic, and his collaborations with George Bernard Shaw and Harley Granville Barker. Barker and Archer both campaigned for most of their professional lives for a national repertoire theatre and Shaw's success as a playwright is indebted to Archer's and Barker's support (Kennedy 1985; Purdom 1955; Whitebrook 1993).

Archer was educated in Edinburgh where he was a pupil at George Watson's Boys' College, studying modern and ancient languages for two years before he enrolled in the Arts Faculty of Edinburgh University in 1872 (Whitebrook 1993:12-3). It is probable that Archer learned French and German at College and was fluent in Norwegian since members of his family lived in Norway and Archer spent a considerable amount of his childhood at the family estate Tolderodden in Larvik near Oslo (Whitebrook 1993). He moved to London in 1878 after his father agreed to help him financially if he were to undergo legal training

rather than embarking upon a career related to the theatre. Archer, however, spent most of his time writing various theatre related articles in the British Library and, whenever his financial situation allowed it, traveled extensively in Europe including his regular summer stay in Norway (Whitebrook 1993). It was in the British Library that Archer met Bernard Shaw and later on a group of left wing intellectuals among them Eleanor Marx, Karl Marx's daughter and fellow Ibsen translator (Kapp 1979a:192)[49]. Her translation of Ibsen's *En folkefiende* appeared in the Camelot Classic series of 1888 together with two of Archer's Ibsen translations (Kapp 1979a:248; Whitebrook 1993:73). In March 1884 Archer began work as a theatre critic for the weekly magazine *The World* where he stayed for the next 21 years (Whitebrook 1993).

Archer belonged to the movement that attempted to modernise the English stage by what seem to be his two main concerns, abolishing the perceived difference in status of literary and dramatic work at the same time as decreasing the influence French popular drama had on the English stage.

> He [Archer] pointed out that no English play for over a century, since the days of Sheridan, had been thought of as literature and therefore the first requirement was the creation of a modern drama fit for a National Theatre stage. At the moment, an unholy alliance of managers, critics, official censorship and audiences was smothering any hope of a drama of serious ideas with a blanket of sensational melodrama and comedy diluted from the French. If 'the drama of furniture and firearms' was really going to be bundled into the wings and replaced by plays of 'at least an undercurrent of seriousness', this alliance must be broken. If Victor Sardou, Eugène Labiche, Eugène Scribe and Emile Augier were to be displaced as authors for the English stage, new opportunities must be created. (Whitebrook 1993:50)[50]

Archer saw the role of translation very clearly as a means to break the alliance with French drama as well as creating new opportunities for native playwrights. As will be shown in Chapter 4, translation offers opportunities to the stage as well as to native writers to

[49] One can assume that, through her close friendship with G. B. Shaw, Eleanor Marx stayed in some form of

overcome these generic constrictions and propound and introduce a perturbation of existing forms and contents.

With Archer being the most outspoken of the translational community analysed here, his views and attitudes toward translation play a particularly important role. It awaits to be seen whether his ideas turn him into some sort of central force for the translational community or influence on the change of the translation process itself.

Archer's attempts to change the difference in status of literary and dramatic work brought him into contact with, amongst others, Henry James, a close friend of Edith Wharton's. Wharton, born in New York in 1862 into a wealthy family, received German lessons during her adolescence from Anna Bahlmann, a German native speaker, resident in the United States, who later became Wharton's secretary and literary assistant (Lewis & Lewis 1989:68). Wharton was fluent in at least Italian, French, and German and she developed her main language skills further on her travels to Europe during her childhood. Wharton, much like Archer, traveled most of her life and spent extensive periods in London as well as Paris where she died in 1937.[51] She never lived in Germany but visited the country quite regularly before the First World War. After the war, Wharton, according to Lewis, "would never be reconciled to modern Germany, nor ever to bring herself to visit the country again; but she was ready to reaffirm her loyalty to the older German literature", especially Goethe and Schiller, "and the German language" (Lewis 1993:394).

Wharton was approached by Mrs. Patrick Campbell to translate Sudermann's *Es lebe das Leben* and the play was produced in London at the New Theatre in March 1903[52], a year

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contact with Archer through most of his life.

[50] Archer's dislike of Sardou, Labiche, Scribe and Augier will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

[51] See Lewis 1993.

[52] See Appendix III.

after publication in the States[53]. Even though the legal aspects of being commissioned by Mrs. Campbell were not cleared until after Wharton finished the translation[54] and Edith Wharton did not seem to get on with Mrs. Campbell very well[55], she still decided to take on the translation. Her decision then to accept the commission appears to have been made on the grounds of her views about Sudermann's play. Lewis argues, in his biography of Wharton, that the play "appealed to her perhaps because of its well-developed analogies between political and sexual immoralities and its ironic worldly view of the conservative-liberal debate in both those spheres" (Lewis 1993:110). One could say, however, that not just the content of the play but also the tradition Sudermann followed and the structure he employed appealed to Wharton. The question why Wharton agreed to translate this particular play, however, will be explored further in Chapter 3.

Wharton was in contact with Archer at least once before she started work on Sudermann's play. During a stay in England in 1900, Wharton conversed with Archer, among others, regarding a possible production of a play she had written (Lewis 1993:96). Even though this production did not take place, it is very likely that she was aware of Archer's work both as a translator and a critic throughout his working life not only because of Archer's growing fame but also through her connection with Mrs. Patrick Campbell, contemporary of William Archer's and leading actress in Ibsen and Shaw plays (Whitebrook 1993), and through her friendship with Henry James. Archer and James exchanged correspondence

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[53] Hermann Sudermann, *The Joy of Living (Es lebe das Leben) - Translated from the German by Edith Wharton*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1902.

[54] Wharton mentions the legal ambiguity in a letter, dated 12 September 1902, to William Crary Brownell: "Then, as to the play [*Joy of Living*], I am still engaged in trying to find out whether Mrs. Campbell had any right to give me the publishing right." (Lewis & Lewis 1989:71)

[55] Wharton's negative attitude toward Mrs. Campbell becomes quite obvious in a letter, dated 6 November 1902, to Brownell: "Here is some twaddle from Mrs. Campbell. I have written her that, as she & her solicitor were both informed several months ago that you were to publish my translation of Es Lebe, it would have been perfectly easy for her to notify me or Mr. Scribner that she wished a note about the acting rights inserted. I

about James's dramatised novel *The American* and James knew of him through Archer's dispute with Edmund Gosse over the latter's translation of Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*. Edith Wharton met Gosse through James at the latest in 1908 and was introduced to Max Beerbohm, another link with Archer as he was an acquaintance of Beerbohm's (Whitebrook 1993:299). Another indication that Wharton was very much aware of Archer's work is that he attended some of the meetings of Wharton's Tuesday Lunch Club during the First World War (Lewis 1993:408). Even though by this time she had stopped translating, it is important to note that Archer was well enough acquainted with her to attend some of those meetings. Wharton appears to be one of the more detached members of this translational community but it is important to note that, even after she ceased to translate, she still belonged to the larger circuit of people connected to this movement as well as the New Women's movement. Wharton read Shaw's *Dramatic Opinions* and was impressed enough to send it to her acquaintance Robert Grant in January 1907 (Lewis & Lewis 1989:110) and during her stay in London in 1909 she was in contact with Mrs. Humphrey Ward. Writing to her friend Sara Norton, she states "I have seen the Wards several times [...] then last Sunday, Dorothy Ward & Beatrix came here to tea, so we have had several meetings, as you see" (Lewis & Lewis 1989:185)[56]. Archer knew of and was acquainted with Mrs. Humphrey Ward through his work with Gosse (Whitebrook 1993:147). He very briefly considered her as a possible member of the board of trustees for his New Century Theatre in 1897 (Whitebrook 1993:193) but Archer and Mrs. Ward seemed to have too many differences with regard to views on the role of theatre to ever work together closely. In 1905 Archer heard rumours that Mrs. Ward and Mrs. Edith Lyttleton were planning on opening their

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added that I would send her letter to you & that you would do 'whatever was practical' [...] Cela n'engage à rien - Don't bother to answer.[...]" (Lewis 1989:74-75).

[56] Dorothy Ward is Mrs. Humphrey Ward's daughter who very rarely left her mother's side (Sutherland 1990).

own repertoire theatre (Whitebrook 1993:233) and Whitebrook describes the result of a meeting between Ward and Lyttleton and Archer and Granville Barker as follows:

> He [Archer] procured an invitation to tea for himself and Barker with Mrs. Lyttleton and Mrs. Ward on 2 February 1905, to find out exactly what their repertory plans were. The result was that Mrs. Ward withdrew, and Archer and Barker discovered in Edith Lyttleton a woman who would become an enthusiastic and powerful supporter in the campaign for a National Theatre. (Whitebrook 1993:234)

William Archer's relationship with Harley Granville Barker was more straightforward and less dependent on mutual acquaintances than that with Edith Wharton. Barker, born in London in 1877 (Kennedy 1985; Whitebrook 1993:223), first approached Archer in 1898, asking him to read the manuscript for his play *The Weather-Hen* (Kennedy 1985:5), and remained one of his closest friends and collaborators until Archer's death in 1924. The collaboration between Archer and Barker was primarily concerned, as stated earlier, with the concept and possible foundation of a National Theatre and Barker was most certainly aware of Archer's views on translation and the reform of the English stage. Barker's work as a playwright complements his work as a translator. According to Kennedy, all of Barker's early work deals with "sexual morality and its relationship to human happiness" (Kennedy 1985:6) and, therefore, it is no great surprise that Barker showed particular interest in Schnitzler's work. He translated the Schnitzler play *Anatol* together with Dr. Wheeler as Barker himself did not speak German (Kennedy 1985:117), which adds importance to the fact that Barker himself is treated in most reviews, as will be seen in Chapter 4, as co-author to Schnitzler rather than as translator. Furthermore, Wheeler does not get a mention in any of the contemporary reviews nor is he acknowledged in the published version. This situation reminds one very much of the modern practice of the star system where famous playwrights are given credit for adaptation or translation, even though they worked from translations made for them by little known translators because of the

former's lack of knowledge of the source language. One such example, which coincidentally involves the same playwright, is Tom Stoppard's version of Schnitzler's *Liebelei*.[57] Concerning Barker, this circumstance changes somewhat with the translation of Schnitzler's *Das Märchen* as Wheeler is mentioned alongside Barker in the review in *The Era* on 3 February 1912.[58]

Christopher Wheeler, a medical practitioner and German speaker, and his wife Penelope, a fellow Schnitzler translator and actress who played the lead in *Das Märchen*[59], were close friends of Barker's and subsequently knew Archer as well. Christopher Wheeler was apparently a homeopathic physician (Purdom 1955:10) who not only translated Schnitzler with Barker but also had earlier translated *Friedensfest* by Hauptmann together with Janet Achurch as *The Coming of Peace* (Whitebrook 1993:225).

Janet Achurch and her second husband Charles Charrington seem to play an important role in this network of translators even though Achurch did not pursue her translation work further. Both of them though are connected to the Wheelers, Marx, Archer, Shaw, and Barker and, therefore, a short investigation of their relation to the translators in question seems appropriate. Achurch and Charrington both attempted to make a name for themselves as actors and the latter worked as a producer as well. According to Whitebrook, "their [the Charringtons'] best, indeed only, chance to create a reputation, they thought, lay with an unknown but contemporary play" (Whitebrook 1993:76). Achurch and Charrington offered

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[57] Arthur Schnitzler, *Dalliance with Undiscovered Country*, Translated by Tom Stoppard, London: Faber & Faber, 1986. For a more detailed discussion of Stoppard's adaptation of *Liebelei* see Bartholomew & Krebs 2000:1243. The practice of the star system is not an exception but a common occurrence especially in the English speaking theatre. As Bassnett points out, "it is common to market translations as being made by well-known playwrights, even if these have no access to the source language" (Bassnett 2000:100).

[58] *The Era*, 3 February 1912: "Das Märchen, English version, by C. E. Wheeler and Granville Barker, at the Little Theatre on Sunday, Jan. 28".

[59] *The Era*, 3 February 1912: "Miss Penelope Wheeler played Fanny Theren with keen intensity and deep feeling."

to produce the play *Scarlet Letter*[60], by Eleanor Marx's partner, at the Olympic Theatre in June 1888, which meant much needed financial help for Marx and Aveling (Kapp 1979:211).

Having noticed Archer through his co-publication of Ibsen plays with Eleanor Marx of the same year (Kapp 1979:211), they "asked him to prepare a new and accurate translation of *Et dukkehjem*" (Whitebrook 1993:74). Achurch starred in and Charrington produced the first production of Ibsen's *A Doll's House* in Archer's translation (Whitebrook 1993:84-5). Achurch's, Charrington's and Archer's careers stayed closely linked until the death of Janet Achurch in 1916 and Achurch became famous for her roles in Ibsen as well as Shaw plays.

George Bernhard Shaw met Achurch personally at Archer's house after he had seen her in the *Doll's House* production and she was the reason for the rift between him and Archer's wife Frances as Shaw declared his love for Achurch and Frances Archer reacted by banning him from the house (Whitebrook 1993:91-2). Shaw, even though nothing ever came of the affair, admired Janet Achurch as an actress and stayed quietly protective of her throughout her career (Whitebrook 1993:178).

Charrington and Achurch both belonged to the Stage Society, which was founded in 1899 with Charrington on the managing and Achurch on the reading committee (Whitebrook 1993:212). It was through the Stage Society that Barker met Achurch and Charrington and subsequently the Wheelers as well as Shaw. Barker starred in the production of Archer's Ibsen translation *The League of Youth*, which was produced by Charrington (Purdom 1955:8; Whitebrook 1993:224). Following this performance he was cast in Achurch's and Dr. Wheeler's translation of Hauptmann's *The Coming of Peace* and through Barker's involvement with this production at the Strand Theatre in June 1900 (Whitebrook

[60] Edward Aveling's play is an adaptation of Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* (Kapp 1979b:211).

1993:225) met the Wheelers as well as Shaw, who saw the production in order to decide whether to cast Barker in one of his own plays (Purdom 1955:10; Whitebrook 1993:225). Dr. Wheeler's interest in German theatre may be related to his profession of homeopathic medicine; Penelope Wheeler's translation of *Der grüne Kakadu* in 1913, two years after Barker's and Dr. Wheeler's version of *Anatol*, is far more literal than that of Barker and Wheeler but one can observe similar patterns of changes occurring in both translations.

Barker as well as Archer belonged to the movement attempting to modernise the stage.

> Barker's active career from 1900 - 1915 was the conscious effort of an innovator seeking a new kind of theatre for the new century. His chief aim was to demonstrate, by theory and practice, the inevitability of an endowed repertory company in London [...] To examine his contributions [...] is to witness, in specific, the genesis of the twentieth-century English theatre [...] (Kennedy 1985:4)

The year before Barker produced his version of *Anatol* he traveled to Berlin and saw some of Max Reinhardt's productions at the *Deutsches Theater* as well as attending rehearsals (Purdom 1955:114). According to Kennedy, among others, Barker introduced the notion of the director to the English stage (Kennedy 1985), and one can safely assume that his knowledge of Reinhardt's work had a direct influence on his own work as a director. However, not only his trip to Berlin in 1910 but also his earlier connection with the *Deutsches Theater* through J. T. Grein and subsequent work with Hans Andresen and, more importantly, Max Behrend are of significance. Probably even more so than Barker's contact with Reinhardt, as the former's relationship with Behrend and Andresen was at its strongest before the years at the Royal Court 1904 - 1907.

His association with Andresen and Behrend is important on two accounts. Firstly, Barker met both in their capacities as directors and it could be claimed that Barker's early work as a director has been influenced by both. Secondly, it is safe to assume that Barker knew of the work of the *Deutsches Theater in London* through Grein as well as Behrend and

Andresen, and Schnitzler, of course, was introduced to the London Stage by the *Deutsches Theater.*

The first aspect needs to be put into context with prevalent views on Barker's role in theatre history. Mazer describes Barker scholarship as follows:

> Because Barker the theatre artist is best known as a reformer, the scholar writing about his work in the theatre tends to emphasize the single-handed revolutionary "contribution" that Barker made; if Barker had not existed, these scholars seem to suggest, theatre history would not even have had the imagination to have invented him. And so Salmon writes at excessive length in support of his assertion that Barker "invented - so far as the English-speaking theatre, at least, is concerned - the director". And even McDonald [...] feels the need to distinguish Barker, not only from his actor-manager predecessors [...] but from contemporary directors such as [...] Boucicault." (Mazer 1987:45)

In the light of the above, Barker's contact with Andresen and Behrend takes on a different status and seems to underline the point Mazer is making, by paraphrasing Postlewaite, that "the work of individual theatrical innovators is simply the historical product of cultures which appreciate the very concept of innovation, and which value the contribution of individuals" (Mazer 1987:48) rather than attempting to prove that Barker "was ahead of his time" (Mazer 1987:48). The role translation plays in those 'appreciative cultures' appears to be quite considerable and will be further examined below.

Purdom claims, in his biography of Barker, that Hans Andresen and Max Behrend had a profound influence on him (Purdom 1955:21) and that

> Barker owed much to the two Germans who came to London at the end of the last century, when J. T. Grein had the idea of establishing a German theatre here. These men were the romantic actor, Hans Andresen, from the Karlsruher Hoftheater, and the character actor, Max Behrend, from the Berlin Stadttheater. Both were members of a company that Grein, with Carl Junkermann and H. A. Hertz [...], set up at the St. George's Hall, afterwards at the Great Queen Street Theatre (later called the Kingsway). Andresen became the director of the German company, and Behrend its producer. That Barker learned much of the technique he was soon to develop from these men there can be little doubt - Behrend in particular. [...] The features of his

> [Behrend's] productions were team work and the care given to the smallest parts. (Purdom 1955:163-4)

Purdom is more than likely referring to Behrend's, and for that matter the *Deutsches Theater*'s, ensemble work and even though he does not offer any further proof regarding Andresen's involvement or influence on Barker, the latter did experience Behrend's approach at first hand as he appeared in a production which was directed/produced by Max Behrend in March 1901 at the Comedy Theatre (Purdom 1955:13). Behrend worked quite regularly outside the *Deutsches Theater* even after his official departure.[61] He was involved with Grein's Premier Club and directed the production of *A Happy Nook* in June 1901 (Orme 1936:172). Furthermore, he directed *Old-Heidelberg* at the St. James's Theatre in March 1903[62] and also the production of Schnitzler's *Light O'Love*, in a translation by Valentine Williams, at His Majesty's Theatre in May 1909[63]. It can be assumed that Barker at least knew of those productions, if not actually attending some of them.

It could be argued that Barker's connection with Andresen and indeed Behrend is a superficial one, however, not only Barker but Vedrenne as well had contact with the *Deutsches Theater* in London. As early as October 1900, Vedrenne was working at the *Deutsches Theater*, four years before his collaboration with Barker at the Royal Court Theatre began. Vedrenne worked with the *Deutsches Theater* for at least the second season and *The Sketch* mentions his involvement in its review of Fulda's *Jugendfreunde*, the opening production of the second season.[64]

> To Mr. Schultz-Curtius and his able lieutenant, Mr. Vedrenne, a most sincere vote of thanks is due that he should, after only one year, have steered his good ship into such pleasant waters. (*The Sketch*, 24 October 1900)

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[61] See Chapter 1.

[62] "George Alexander secured the services of Max Behrend to supervise the English production at the close of the German season in 1903" (Orme 1936:174).

[63] See *The Times*, 15 May 1909: "[...] and it [*Light O'Love*] is admirably acted under the superintendence of Herr Max Behrend."

[64] See Appendix II.

Whatever the directorial debt Barker owes to Behrend, Barker felt the need to mention Grein, through whom he met Behrend, in a speech made at a dinner for him and Vedrenne in 1907 (Purdom 1955:64; Whitebrook 1993:266). Purdom recalls the event as Barker claiming that "they were standing on the shoulders of older men, mentioning J. T. Grein, William Archer, and William Poel" (Purdom 1955:64).

Grein, apart from being the founder of the Independent Theatre, the *Deutsches Theater* in London and the Premier Club, was a translator in his own right and translated, among other plays, Sudermann's *Das Glück im Winkel* for the above mentioned English production in 1901 under the title *A Happy Nook*[65], and *Johannisfeuer* by the same author under the title *Midsummer Fires* which was produced by the Stage Society in 1906[66]. He had known Archer since the mid 1880s and secured Archer's support in the founding of the Independent Theatre in 1891 (Whitebrook 1993:111-2). According to Whitebrook, the "inaugural production [...] would be the premiere, in William Archer's translation, of *Ghosts*" (Whitebrook 1993:112).[67]

Archer's and Grein's relationship was not in any case as close as that of Archer and Barker, but their professional lives kept overlapping and they fought for some causes on the same front whereas on others they openly disagreed with each other. With regard to the basic idea of a National Theatre, Archer and Grein agreed, although they saw the role of such an institution quite differently. Where Archer and Barker perceived the role of a National Theatre not to be controversial but to be "national, representative, and popular" (Whitebrook 1993:231), Grein understood the function to be that of an "advanced theatre"

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[65] See Appendix III.
[66] See Appendix III.

(Whitebrook 1993:231) and very much as a continuation of the Stage Society or the Independent Theatre.

Furthermore, the main point of disagreement seems to have been views on theatre censorship. Archer and Barker both were openly and publicly campaigning for the exigent abolishment of censorship whereas Grein appears to have been less extreme in his views on or rather actions against the Lord Chamberlain's office and worked with the censor rather than against him. Grein accepted cuts to Archer's translation *The Visit* of Edward Brandes' play *De Besuch* (Whitebrook 1993:138), and according to Purdom, he refused to stage Shaw's banned *Mrs. Warren's Profession*[68] for the Independent Theatre (Purdom 1955:14). However, Stephens argues that Grein not so much refused to stage the play as was unable "to find a theatre manager willing to take the risk staging such a boldly controversial and unlicensed play" (Stephens 1980:145). Furthermore, contrary to the contention between Archer and Grein as implied by Whitebrook, Findlater argues that

> [i]t took a Dutchman, J. T. Grein, to launch the challenge to the censor, and an Irishman, George Bernhard Shaw, to back it up with plays. [...] Grein, then twenty-nine, resolved to inaugurate his Independent Theatre society with *Ghosts* (as the Freie Bühne had done) [...] [F]ive years later [1914], another of the Chamberlain's men, a former drama critic of *The Observer*, was especially invited to a private performance of *Ghosts* and was so impressed that he encouraged J. T. Grein to submit it again and got the play through in four weeks, over thirty years after it was written. (Findlater 1967:82-3)

Whatever the exact attitude toward the censor, points of agreement between Grein, Archer and Barker can be found in relation to the notion of the New Woman. One could argue that

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[67] As opposed to *A Doll's House*, *Ghosts* was not licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office. The Royalty Theatre, where the play was performed on 13 March 1891, saw itself unable to offer further performance dates as it was in a position were its theatre license was under threat (Johnston 1990; Stephens1980).

[68] Shaw submitted *Mrs. Warren's Profession* to the Lord Chamberlain's Office for license in 1898, the same year as its publication as part of *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant* and four years after it had been written. The play in its entirety was refused license until 1926. According to Stephens, Shaw submitted a shortened version of the play, omitting the entire second act, and was granted a license for this abbreviated version. The first performance of the play as a whole was a private production by The Stage Society in January 1902 (Johnston 1990; Stephens 1980). The issues surrounding the banning of the play will be discussed in more detail in 3.3.

once more Grein seems less extreme in his views than Archer and Barker, who directed *Votes for Women!* in 1907[69], whether the former did or did not refuse to stage Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. Findlater, who seems to accept the rejection on Grein's part, puts this refusal into context though and claims that both Archer and Grein were shocked by the play (Findlater 1967:92). Nevertheless, through Grein's involvement in the staging of Ibsen plays, for example *Ghosts*, he was one of the few theatre practitioners who showed open support to the women's movement. As Whitebrook argues, "on the 'woman question', as on many others, the mainstream theatre managed to protect itself from the assaults of Archer, Ibsen, Grein and Shaw at the Saturday Review" (Whitebrook 1993:170).

However close or distant Grein was from Archer's and Barker's ideals and views, the former plays an important role in the translational community first of all as a contemporary translator of Sudermann, secondly for introducing especially Barker to aspects of German theatre and thirdly for creating a link between two Schnitzler translators, Valentine Williams and H. A. Hertz, and the London based translation community.

Williams' translation of Schnitzler's *Liebelei*, entitled *Light O'Love*, was produced at His Majesty's Theatre in 1909. Williams, born in London in 1883 (Williams 1938:37), learned German not at school but was sent by his parents to Germany in 1901 in order to acquire a firm knowledge of the language and, therefore, to increase his chances of a career (Williams 1938:63-4). Following in his father's footsteps, Williams worked in Berlin as a foreign correspondent for Reuters from 1904 - 1910 (Williams 1938). There he met Tree's company performing *Antony and Cleopatra, Richard II, Hamlet, Twelfth Night, The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Trilby* at the Royal Opera House in 1907 (Orme 1936:180;

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[69] As opposed to *Mrs Warren's Profession*, *Votes for Women!* was licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office as Viscount Althorp, the then Lord Chamberlain, was advised by the private secretary to the King that Edward VII would have no objections to the subject matter (Johnston 1990:34).

Schoonderwoerd 1963:149; Williams 1938:132). Grein organised this tour on a visit to Berlin previously and as the main point of contact between Tree's company and the General-Intendant to the Emperor's theatres, Graf von Hülsen-Hässler (Orme 1936:179; Schoonderwoerd 1963:149), Grein traveled with the company to Berlin. Williams, who was courting one of the leading actresses and his future wife Alice Crawford (Williams 1938:129), met both Tree and Grein and, according to his autobiography, showed Tree his translation of Schnitzler's *Liebelei.*

> He [Tree] liked an English version I made of Arthur Schnitzler's well-known play *Liebelei* and put it on at the Afternoon Theatre, which he ran in conjunction with His Majesty's, under the title *Light O'Love.* (Williams 1938:132)

Whether Tree or Grein approached Behrend is unclear, although Grein seems the more likely; Behrend, however, directed this production of Schnitzler's play in 1909. Williams had no direct working relationship with the theatre but it is worth noting that he abandoned his career as a journalist in 1922 to start a career as a writer or, as he describes it, switching from "regular journalism to authorship" (Williams 1938:374).

The other Schnitzler translator in question is H. A. Hertz who does not get a mention in either Archer's, Barker's, Wharton's or Marx's biographies. His contact with the above rests upon his relationship with Grein. Whether he knew any of the other translators personally is unknown, although it is likely that he at least knew of all of them and possibly Penelope Wheeler personally. His contact with Grein, however, as is the case with Valentine Williams, establishes him as a member of the translational community. Hertz translated Schnitzler's *Komtesse Mizzi,* which was performed under the title *Comtesse Mizzi* at the Aldwych for the Stage Society in March 1913 as part of a double bill with

Penelope Wheeler's Schnitzler translation *The Green Cockatoo.*[70] Hertz was, as we saw in Chapter 1, on the first management committee for the *Deutsches Theater in London* and responsible for securing some of the funding. It is likely, therefore, that he knew Vedrenne through his involvement with the *Theater* and he certainly stayed in contact with Grein throughout most of the latter's career.

One could argue that all the above form the translational community, some of them being more central then others, depending on spatial closeness as well as on the strength of common interest. What they have in common above all is their strong connection to theatre practice whether in the capacity as actors, directors, critics, managers, or writers. The weaker the links between the various translators are, the less the people concerned are connected to the West End Stage outside their translation activities. This is certainly the case with regards to Williams and Louis N. Parker. Parker was a schoolteacher in Dorset where he translated Ibsen's *Rosmersholme* (Whitebrook 1993:100) and Sudermann's *Heimat* as well as writing his own plays. Parker reached some sort of success with his play *Disraeli* (Whitebrook 1993:364), which enjoyed some success in the West End for a while, and co-wrote several other plays, one of them with Mrs. Humphrey Ward called *Agatha.*[71] His version of Sudermann's *Heimat* was not produced, however, until April 1923 when it was performed at the Playhouse[72] and again at the New Theatre in May 1930[73], replacing Winslow's *Magda* which was published in 1896 and used as a performance text until then.

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[70] See *The Times*, 11 March 1913 & Appendix III; Penelope Wheeler's translation was used for a production of *The Green Cockatoo* 7 months later at the Vaudeville as well. See Appendix III and *The World*, 28 October 1913.

[71] Archer uses *Agatha* as an "instructive example of the 'failure' to make a dramatically obligatory scene" (Archer 1926:184) and asserts that rather then making the play "explicit and partly intellectual" (Archer 1926:186) Mrs. Humphrey Ward and Louis N. Parker create something "implicit, inarticulate and wholly emotional" (Archer 1926:186).

[72] See Appendix III.

[73] See Appendix III.

The difference between Williams and Parker is that the former can be linked directly to the translational community and the former's work was used for production before World War One. Even though Parker co-wrote a play with Mrs. Humphrey Ward, who had some connection with Archer (Whitbrook 1993:170), this does not qualify him as a member of the community. Not only is this connection too tenuous but Mary Ward's deep conservatism, her attitude to the theatre in general and the suffragette movement in particular (Sutherland 1990) exclude her firmly from this group of practitioners.

The same phenomenon can be observed when examining the more obscure translators. Christopher Horne, for example, whose biography is not known, translated Schnitzler's *Letzte Masken* as *In the Hospital* for a production at the Court Theatre in February 1905 during the Barker/Vedrenne management[74]. A month later Barker and Vedrenne chose his version of Hauptmann's *Biberpelz*, entitled *The Thieves' Comedy*[75], for production[76]. The fact that Barker and Vedrenne selected two of his renditions and neither had been published but both only exist in manuscript form implies that Horne had some sort of contact with at least those two if not Archer as well.

Horace B. Samuel on the other hand translated Schnitzler's *Der grüne Kakadu* under the title *The Green Cockatoo*, published it in 1913 with Gay & Hancock Ltd., the same year of Penelope Wheeler's unpublished but performed version of the same play, and had to wait until July 1948 before his rendition was used for a production at the Lyric Theatre Hammersmith.[77]

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[74] See Appendix III; *In the Hospital* received its license from the Lord Chamberlain's Office on 27 February 1905, a day before the performance opened at the Royal Court. See Lord Chamberlain's Archive, Manuscript No. 88.

[75] See Lord Chamberlain's Archive, Manuscript No.: 65156 K.

[76] See Appendix III.

[77] See Appendix III.

What needs to be noted is that there seems to be some sort of correlation between translations made for publication and those made for production, and the production history of the respective renditions. In other words, the closeness in time of production to the date of translation seems to indicate a purpose allocated to the translation itself. This may seem an obvious correlation to observe and superfluous to mention but it is an important point to consider when examining the perceived roles and functions of translations. There appear to be at least two exceptions to this correlation though. The first one is the translator Grace Frank who published a collection of four one-act plays by Sudermann in 1912 and whose version of *The Last Visit* was used for production by the Little Theatre in May 1913[78].

The second is Mary Morison, a Hauptmann translator whose translations of *The Weavers* and *Lonely Lives* were used for productions in London. The former play was produced by the Stage Society at the Scala Theatre in 1906 and the latter at the Strand in 1901 and revised at the Court in 1912. Both plays were published before their production dates, *Lonely Lives* in 1898 and *The Weavers* in 1899.

What can be said with certainty about this particular community, especially the inner core of Grein, Hertz, Barker, Archer and the Wheelers, is that they all have common features and common interests regarding the role and function of theatre and drama (and are all associated with Shaw for that matter). It is not so much an overarching interest in Germany and German theatre that is the combining factor, even though all of them have some sort of connection to at least the language if not the country. What is striking about this community is that none of the translators involved are Germanists and most of them do not have an academic or scholarly background, indeed, very few can even be described as professional

[78] See Appendix III.

translators. Rather it may be the case that the translations are used to further their notions and ideas about the role of theatre and their own careers.

This exploration of the biographies of the individual translators has shown that a community of interest exists as the inner core are all concerned with modernisation and innovation - the literalisation of the stage. Furthermore, the community as an intersection is flexible and fluid. Translators join the intersection only at the point of translational activity when they choose to translate, and therefore attach value to the work of, for example, Schnitzler, Sudermann, and Hauptmann.

Having established the make-up and common factors of the translational community, we now need to turn our attention to the individual members of this community in order to consider the process of selection of both playwright and playtext in relation to this pseudo-field, or rather intersection.

Chapter 3: The Community and the Individual – A Question of Taste?

According to Jean-Marc Gouanvic, "different choices of texts [are] obviously connected with the translators' tastes based on their acquired habitus" (Gouanvic 2002:98) and the aim of this chapter is to examine the specific choices of the core members of the translational community. Once the display of taste through the selection process has been examined, this chapter will attempt to put such a display into a cultural and ideological context.

We can assume that most translators to some extent made a personal choice, according to their particular taste, of playtexts to be translated, escaping partially the publishers' imposed constraints, as most plays were translated for the stage rather than a readership. Thus, taste needs to be considered as an important factor in the selection. Of course, the translators still had to consider theatre audiences and in most cases the censor, but in Barker's case, for example, he does not have to answer to a theatre manager/producer and most members of the community/intersection do not have to rely upon being commissioned for translation but can integrate their choice and work with their practical work as theatre founders, directors etc.. As such, the observation of a certain taste apparent in the whole community, namely the choice of Sudermann, Hauptmann and Schnitzler for translation, needs to be analysed in the light of the intersection or pseudo-field and as such its relationship to the habitus of the individual translators needs to be established.

Bourdieu defines habitus as

> an objective relationship between two objectivities, [which] enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation, the meaning of which is produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition. (Bourdieu 1996:101)

What is of importance to this study is the "relationship between practices and a situation" - the relationship between the translational practice and the cultural situation the translators find themselves in. This relationship is partly expressed through the selection of source author and source text and, thus, the selection itself is dependent upon "categories of perception and appreciation". In other words, whatever the individual translators perceive and appreciate as being worthy of translation, and thus of value to the domestic theatre, is produced by their own domestic ideological and artistic context. Appreciation, perception and selection of, in this case, specific playtexts is, of course, a display of taste and Bourdieu argues that

> [t]aste, the propensity and capacity to appropriate (materially or symbolically) a given class of classified, classifying objects or practices, is the generative formula of life-style, a unitary set of distinctive preferences which express the same expressive intention in the specific logic of each of the symbolic sub-spaces, furniture, clothing, language or body hexis. (Bourdieu 1996:173)

As this study is concerned with translation for the stage, Bourdieu's list of "sub-spaces" should be replaced with the various sets which make up the translational community. In other words, the "distinctive preferences", the "intention", of the members of the translational community should be expressed through their work as actors, directors, playwrights, theatre critics, and, crucially translators. The intentions expressed through the translators' work as playwrights and critics, for example, should be reflected in their selection of source author and source text and vica versa. Thus, the intersection, the point at which translational action, or rather translational selection and practice, occurs, interacts with the sets that make up this intersection. This is not to say that a 'clash' of tastes occurs, but rather the intersection, the pseudo-field, as a whole holds a set of general distinctive preferences which in turn are expressed through the set of specific distinctive preferences of

the individual members. It is such a consideration of the relationship between the respective sets and translational selection that we now turn to.

3.1 The Selection Process

What could be seen as one of the most striking common features of this community, as mentioned in Chapter 2, is that none of the translators involved are Germanists and most of them do not have an academic or scholarly background. This stands in direct opposition, as outlined in Chapter 2, to earlier translators of German texts. As well as Stark, Ashton observes that translators of German texts during the nineteenth century were mostly Germanists and more interested in philosophy and literature than plays, with the exception of Goethe and Schiller (Ashton 1980). Furthermore the German works both Stark and Ashton examine have been mainly translated for publication in academic journals rather than intended for production.

This set of non-Germanist, non-scholarly, non-professional translators choose to concentrate on three German language playwrights who, even though their work is essentially different, all have one characteristic in common: they have all, at one time or another, been related to the new form of realism/naturalism[79]. Hauptmann and Sudermann were seen as the two major representatives of German realism/naturalism even though Sudermann is indebted to eighteenth century domestic tragedy as well as the French

[79] The reason why realism and naturalism are referred to here as one is that both terms are extremely ambiguous and the usage of these two terms is extremely divergent. As Innes points out, "each term tends to be used more imprecisely than other literary or artistic designations, and both have been defined in various competing, even mutually exclusive ways" (Innes, 2000:3). Innes argues further that "it would seem more helpful - as well as being truer to the historical facts - to understand both 'Naturalism' and 'Realism' as applying to the movement as a whole" (Innes 2000:6). Even though he argues for a certain distinction to be made, namely between theoretical basis and stage techniques employed (Innes 2000:6), this seems to create more confusion in this case than add clarity. With regard to this discussion, it seems more important that the

tradition of Sardou and Dumas fils. What is interesting to note though is that Allardyce Nicoll mentions Sudermann in the same chapter as Barker and Galsworthy (Nicoll 1947) and classifies him as writer of domestic tragedy and problem plays whose *Magda* is an early example of the modern woman with "the spirit of the twentieth century striving to fight out a way against the traditions of the nineteenth" (Nicoll 1947:386). The main difference between Sudermann and Hauptmann, apart from the former being extremely popular with audiences, is that Hauptmann achieved greater critical acclaim for his early works than Sudermann. Sudermann's success "depended largely on its theatrical effectiveness and the opportunities it afforded the actors" (Robertson 1953:608) rather than being justified by so-called literary quality of his work. Hauptmann on the other hand received the Nobel Price for literature and even though his work during the Third Reich is seen as problematic he is still considered as part of the canon of great German playwrights.

Schnitzler on the other hand was seen as the major representative of Austrian realism, which was influenced by the fin de siècle (Robertson 1953:612). However, his writing has more often than not been compared to contemporary French drama rather than German.

This common feature[80] of the three playwrights in question is perceptibly related to the fact that they have been chosen for translation by this particular group. Grein, Archer and Barker were all involved in the introduction of naturalism to the London stage as well as the development out of this movement of the socially aware and political problem play, most notably represented by Shaw. Archer's attempt to abolish the difference in status of literary and dramatic work and his attempt to create new opportunities for native playwrights explains to some degree his interest in German realism especially as all three playwrights in

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members of the translational community regard the playwrights in question as part of one movement. Therefore, the two terms will be used as one from now on.

question wrote prose as well. Grein's establishment of the Independent Theatre, a clear counterpart to the French *Théâtre Libre* and the German *Freie Bühne*, and Barker's involvement with Archer and Shaw accounts partly for their interest. It is obvious then that their interest in Sudermann, Hauptmann and Schnitzler is certainly based on their plans and actions for the innovation of British theatre. The interest in non-British and non-French drama can be understood as a feature of the relationship of this intersection with the set of other theatre practitioners: the playtexts are used for and because of the struggle over artistic positioning as well as in order to vindicate and advocate their specific taste. Furthermore, none of the translators in question seem to attempt to promote certain authors in that none of them embark on a translation project encompassing the entire works of one particular playwright. Indeed, it could be argued that the choice to translate is subservient to the need to promote the translators' own visions and ideologies.

What needs to be established in more detail, however, is, with regards to habitus and the pseudo-field, whether similar visions and ideologies can be observed, and, with regards to the display of taste, why specific translators chose specific playwrights.

3.1.1 William Archer

Archer's attempt to abolish the perceived difference between literary and dramatic work, trying to 'literarise' the stage[81], is obvious not only in his writings but also in his choice of source texts for translation. Archer justifies this attitude in the preface to the third edition of *Play-Making – A Manual of Craftmanship*, first published in 1912, when answering to a criticism voiced by George P. Barker which implies that Archer fails to differentiate between literary and dramatic texts (Archer, 1926:xi).

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[80] This common feature is a manifestation of the general distinctive preferences of the translational community as a whole.

> I have always been more interested in the drama as an intellectual product than as a vehicle for acting. [...] I do not see what advice one can give the playwright except "Make your written or printed text as self-explanatory as you can within the prescribed limits, and think of the added illumination of performance as immensely desirable, indeed, but not indispensable". [...] No doubt there have been, and are, many plays in which the author (often an actor himself) relies almost entirely on the actors to put meaning into a text, which, if any one dreamed of reading it, would seem bald, spasmodic and possibly imbecile. [...] But they do not pretend to be literature or aspire to be read by any one except the producer and the prompter. (Archer 1926:xi-xii)

He obviously attaches a value judgement to the distinction he makes between the playtext that attempts the status of literature and the one that is written for performance only. It could be argued that Archer's attitude, therefore, is more retrogressive then progressive in that he displays a very similar attitude to the one that caused the perceived distinction between literary and dramatic work in the first place. Archer, however, states that he abhors untheatrical theatre (Archer 1926:172) and he does not fail to distinguish between various forms of literature. Rather what can be observed is the attempt to establish theatre as an art form. Furthermore, his criticism of the production reliant dramatic text has to be seen in context with contemporary theatrical practices, the prevalent star-system for example. As Archer argues:

> [...] "cutting a part to the measure" of a star [is] a process which seldom results in work of permanent value. If Sardou had been a dramatist of the highest rank, we could only have deplored the fact that in his later years he became a playwright-in-ordinary to Sarah Bernhardt. (Archer 1926:xiii)

This then leads us back to Archer's apparent dislike of playwrights such as Sardou, Labiche, Scribe and Augier as claimed by Whitebrook (Whitebrook 1993:50). Discussing the influence French playwrights had on writers such as Pinero and Jones, Nicoll claims,

> that in the world of drama construction may be too excellent. It may rise to such a pitch that it becomes positively mechanical. French writers such as Sardou, Scribe, and Augier had taught to playwrights the secret of this construction. (Nicholl, 1947:362)

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[81] See Chapter 2.

Archer seems to argue along the same lines[82], in that he maintains that French writers in particular are keen on using a certain logic within their play structure which is "easily [...] misapplied" (Archer 1926:225). Furthermore, Archer offers Sardou's *Spiritisme* as an example of such "defective logic" (Archer 1926:225) and asserts that Jones and Pinero fall into a similar trap (Archer 1926:227-8). Archer is quite cynical in his description of this seeming characteristic of French writers "who regard logic as one of the peculiar faculties of their national genius [and] are apt to insist upon it in and out of season" (Archer 1926:225). Even though he regards Sardou as the main transgressor, Labiche, Scribe and Augier are not viewed with a substantially different attitude. Furthermore, Scribe and Labiche in particular are criticised for using a questionable, or rather 'unmodern' and unnaturalistic, timescale in their plays[83].

The main premise for Archer's criticisms is that he views dramatic writing as an art form and he states that

> an accomplished dramatist [...] cannot analyse his own practice, and discriminate between that in it which is of universal validity, and that which may only be good for him, but would be bad for anybody else. If he happened to be a great man, he would inevitably [...] seek to impose upon his disciples his individual attitude to life; if he were a lesser man, he would teach them only his tricks. (Archer 1926:7)

It is the reliance on theatrical and dramatic tricks that Archer seems to disagree with most, and he seems to find just that in the later plays of the above named French playwrights, especially Sardou and Scribe[84]. However, it should be noted that Archer does not claim that Augier, Labiche and Sardou are particularly inferior playwrights as he does recognise their

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[82] Whether Nicoll relies on Archer's argument here or not is not conclusive. Nicholl does not make any direct references to Archer in his text but does mention some of Archer's work in his bibliography.

[83] Archer criticises the fact that both Scribe and Labiche "transcend the limits of possibility" through the representations of too many hours within a single act, implying that their plays only work because they are not dealing with serious issues (Archer 1926:110).

[84] Trewin appears to agree with Archer to some extent in that he characterises Jones' and Pinero's work as being under the shade of Sardou and toying "with a commercial brand of Ibsen" (Trewin, 1951:24).

individual talents. Instead, he notably argues against the widespread imitation of those playwrights' works. As Innes states, "Victorian domestic drama is discredited by clichés imitated from Sardou" (Innes 1996:9)[85] and he observes that the well-made play is

> defined by subordination of psychological accuracy or social themes to a purely structural logic [...which] had become synonymous with extreme (and inevitably fatal) responses to mundane problems. (Innes 1996:11)

If we assume then that Archer's main objective can be described as opposing established structures, the notion of the avant-garde needs to be considered. According to Koebner, certain established and pivotal characteristics of the avant-garde are the opposition to institutionalised codes and structures, a deviation from traditional formulae and rules of portrayal as well as the search for a new audience (Koebner 1995:89)[86]. Archer's criticism of the French tradition and the resulting predominance of the well-made play should be placed within this context and seen as an attempt to change prevalent structures and formulae. As stated earlier, it was Archer's aim to re-establish the dramatic text as literature, moving away from imitation towards individual creative artistic output, to determine the theatre as an acknowledged art form and to locate a new educated and liberal audience that would attend a National Theatre. He saw this best achieved trough the establishment of naturalism and realism on the British Stage, especially during the latter part of the 1890s. His Ibsen translations are certainly part of the attempt to realise these aims and his translations of German plays should be seen in this context. His choice to translate Hauptmann does then seem appropriate. As stated above, Hauptmann was acknowledged as one of the major representatives of naturalism and realism in Germany, especially with regard to his early work. The naturalistic drama had been accepted by

[85]Innes claims that this particular discreditation is due to both Archer's and Shaw's polemic, which is expressed by the latter mainly in 'The Quintessence of Ibsenism' (Innes 1996).

[86] Koebner argues further that the avant-garde necessarily opposes bourgeois values. To what extent that is the case regarding Archer is questionable and will be discussed in more detail below.

audience and practitioners alike in Germany as early as the late 1890s (Fischer-Lichte, 1993:241) and the avant-garde movement on the continent[87] was calling for a radical deliterisation of the theatre with emphasis on the director being responsible for theatre as an art form through production rather then text by the first half of the 1900s. This was not the case in Britain, however, and as Innes argues:

> The history of modern European theatre is largely the record of these extreme and short-lived moments [of avant-garde factions]; and it is noticeable that from this *avant-garde* perspective Britain barely rates a mention. Although continental trends have been imported [...] they have exerted relatively little influence on the development of British drama as a whole. (Innes 1996:2)

Furthermore, Innes claims that "it is largely due to Shaw that British drama [...] is distinct from the European tradition" (Innes 1996:2). However, it should be argued that this notion of the individual determining a development or establishing certain formal features to this extent is a fallacy as the notion of the interpretative community according to Fish has not been taken into consideration. As quoted earlier, Fish states that "it is interpretative communities [...] that [...] are responsible for the emergence of formal features" (Fish 1980:14) and text, therefore, does not "issue from an independent and arbitrary will; rather it proceeds from a collective decision" (Fish 1980:11). Consequently, even though Shaw's importance and influence on the development of British theatre is not being questioned here, it must be seen in context and this context of the interpretative community needs to be examined more closely.

Archer's choice to translate Hauptmann should be seen as more complex than just answering to his attempt to introduce naturalism and realism to the British Stage. As Hugh F. Garten argues in the first English book on Hauptmann, there are certain parallels to be

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[87] Even though Edward Gordon Craig in Britain was one of the people who called for this deliterisation (Fischer-Lichte 1993), he left London as early as 1908 in order to pursue his work on the continent.

observed between Hauptmann and Shaw as they were contemporaries and were both displaying a certain antagonism to a society based on middle-class values. Garten states, however, that the parallels end there as "Shaw was [...] a rationalist and a moralist" whose characters "are impersonations of ideas" whereas Hauptmann is "essentially a tragedian" and "his approach to human problems is emotional". Furthermore "he is never concerned with ideas, but always with human beings" and, as opposed to Shaw, messages are "not explicitly stated [..] but implicit in their [the characters'] actions and their sufferings" (Garten 1954:12). Regarding Shaw, there seems to be a certain agreement between Gartner's analysis and Archer's viewpoint. Archer is very much convinced of Shaw's talent and importance to the British stage. He does, however, disagree with Shaw on certain issues of style and taste and uses his works as frequent examples in *Play-Making*. Archer states that "Shaw is not, primarily, either a character-drawer or a psychologist, but a dealer in personified ideas" (Archer 1926:290). Besides, Shaw is characterised as "a writer who professed to place reason before caprice" (Archer 1926:236) and Archer seems to see his main fault as a playwright in writing lengthy stage-directions in the style of essays giving more information about the characters and the play itself than becomes apparent through the dialogue, and therefore "he [Shaw] inevitably [...] slackens his endeavour to make them [the characters] express themselves as completely as may be in their own proper medium of dramatic action and dialogue" (Archer 1926:55-6).

Hannele, chosen by Archer for translation in 1894 after its premiere at the court theatre in Berlin, the Königliches Schauspielhaus, on 14 November 1893 (Fischer-Lichte 1993:241), seems to embody the opposite to what Archer criticises in Shaw. It is a play based on emotion and mystical belief, rather than reason, and it is dramatic dialogue and action that captures any inherent message.

Hanneles Himmelfahrt is arguably Hauptmann's first play where he moves away from a rigorous naturalism and toward a more romantic, religious and fairy-tale-like plot. The 14-year-old Hannele tries to commit suicide in order to escape her alcoholic father and join her dead mother. She is saved, however, only to end up on her death-bed in a poorhouse. The remainder of the play portrays her fantasies, induced by fever, in which, among others, one of her teachers appears as the Saviour who leads her to heaven. The play ends with the doctor pronouncing Hannele dead. What does not become clear during the play is whether Hauptmann attempts to convince an audience that he portrays hallucinations according to medical reality, and therefore staying in line with realism, or whether a mystical belief includes the celestial as reality (Kienzel & Nedden 1990:486).

Archer himself compares Hauptmann and Shaw in that he claims that "Mr. Shaw [is] too much concerned with ideas to probe into character. In Germany, Hauptmann [...] [is] a psychologist" (Archer 1926:291) and he asserts that even though there is no battle of will "*Hannele* is [...], nevertheless, a deeply moving drama" (Archer 1926:25).

Archer's choice of source text is closely related to his notions of the role of theatre and the dramatic text and the choice of Hauptmann as the author of the source should be understood in this context. However, the choice of *Hannele*, rather than, for example, the more naturalistic and arguably political *Die Weber* or *Einsame Menschen*, neither of which had yet been translated for the stage, makes a possible analysis of the selection process more complex. The selection process of the source text in this case is dependent on the relationship between the various sets that make up the intersection as well as on the notion of the interpretative community. Regarding the intersection, the choice of this particular source text is a manifestation of Archer's relationship with the status quo theatre community. His attempts to 'literarise' the stage can be understood as being based on the

romantic notion of the artist, or genius even. Archer's criticisms of playwrights that obviously imitate and even copy French writers, and the reliance of the French writers themselves on a certain structure, can be understood as being political as well as romantic. Firstly, his effort can be conceived as being part of the struggle over cultural hegemony between France and Great Britain. More importantly regarding the theatrical status quo, Archer's attempt to establish theatre as an art form argues for the existence of the romantic genius. As quoted above, Archer views the great playwright as somebody who is unable to "analyse his own practice", therefore implying that creative inspiration is quite distinct from, if not opposed to, learned logic and structure. Imitation as well as explanation is consequently 'anti-artistic'. As such, Archer seems to imply that in order for the British stage to achieve cultural hegemony the playwright needs to be understood as an individual artist in the romantic tradition. In this sense, his choice to translate *Hannele*, a play which is "deeply moving" despite its lack of certain expected structural elements - "the battle of will" - promotes his own ideology.

Understanding Archer's selection as being subject to the promotion of the translator's own ideology rather than the promotion of a certain playwright is consequential to the role the selection plays with regard to the interpretative community. Thus, it can be argued that Archer's choice of *Hannele* is a manifestation of a "stability in the make-up of interpretative communities and therefore in the opposing positions they make possible" (Fish 1980:15). Archer and Shaw belong arguably to the same interpretative community and the translation of *Hannele* can be seen as not only a manifestation of the stability of interpretative communities but more specifically a manifestation of the opposing positions Archer and Shaw hold within this stable interpretative community. Therefore, opposing

positions are possible not only between divers communities but also within a specific community.

3.1.2 Edith Wharton

Similarly to Archer, Wharton's decision to follow Mrs. Patrick Campbell's request to translate Sudermann's *Es lebe das Leben* seems to be subject to the furtherance of her own ideology rather than the commendation of Sudermann as a playwright.

Sudermann, using a structure indebted to Lessing's 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel' or domestic tragedy, and reminiscent of the well-made play and the tradition of Sardou, appears the most conservative of the three writers. He was discovered in Germany by Oskar Blumenthal, theatre critic, playwright, and owner of the *Lessing Theater* in Berlin. Blumenthal opened the *Lessing Theater* in 1887 and needed to find new playwrights whose work would be popular with the audience in order to secure the financial survival of the theatre. Blumenthal premiered Sudermann's *Die Ehre* in 1889 and the production was so successful that it remained on the programme until 1898 (Freydank 1995:128-9).

Wharton reaffirms her loyalty to older German literature after the First World War, especially Goethe and Schiller, as mentioned in Chapter 3, and the tradition Sudermann follows seems to fit her 'taste' in plays and/or literature. Furthermore, not only do the structure and tradition emerge as a factor in Wharton's selection but also the relatively conventional content of the play. *Es lebe das Leben*, set in Berlin around 1899, deals with immorality and politics in so far as the wife, Beata, of a middle aged conservative politician, Count Kellinghausen, is haunted by a past affair with a younger man, Richard, who is supposed to replace her husband at the next election. The socialist opposition threatens to print these allegations and Beata is driven to suicide in order to save Richard

from dueling her husband or taking his own life. As a secondary story-line Richard's son writes a left-wing pamphlet against dueling, though without much effect as it is dealt with as the result of youthful inexperience.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Lewis claims that the play consists of "well-developed analogies between sexual immoralities and politics". How "well-developed" these analogies are is debatable; what is evident, however, is the fact that the play is quite cautious in content. It does offer a leading role for a female actress but is quintessentially holding on to nineteenth century gender roles and refuses to endorse or even discuss any of the issues related to the New Woman movement. As such the play can be seen as more closely related to Jones and Pinero than Ibsen or even Hauptmann and Schnitzler. As Clarke argues:

> The figure of the woman with a past is a commonplace of Victorian fiction. [...] [T]he dramatic possibilities of the figure [...] and the threat she was perceived to represent to the fabric of society, became a frequent feature of society drama. The woman with the past was titillating and exciting but safely and reassuringly contained by a dramatic action which imposed appropriate punishments for unorthodox behaviour. (Clarke 1989:31)

"Appropriate punishment" in the case of *Es lebe das Leben* is Beata's suicide, a dramatic action which seems familiar from plays such as Pinero's *Second Mrs. Tanqueray*.[88] In addition to similarities with well-made plays by authors such as Pinero and Jones, *Es lebe das Leben* relies upon a content very popular with domestic melodrama, "a sub genre that focused on the trials and tribulations of women both good and bad [which] dominated the [Victorian] English theatrical venue" (Hadley 1995:133). As Hadley argues further:

> By the mid-nineteenth century [...] melodrama on and off the stage seemed to narrow its range, becoming less politically partisan and more domestic and gendered. In these plays, the curtain fell on the solitary woman in a flood of light. [...] Theatrical entrepreneurs were always eager for the scripts devoted to the moral plight of women. (Hadley 1995:133)

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[88] No attempt is made to argue that Sudermann was directly influenced by Pinero, even though *The Second Mrs Tanqueray* was written nine years prior to *Es lebe das Leben*. This is meant purely as an example of prevailing European fashion in dramatic writing.

Apart from the conservatism displayed with regard to the female characters, the play portrays politics to a certain extent as indecent even though it is practised by gentlemen. One could argue that the play holds a certain anti-republican sentiment, although this analysis is debatable as the main characters, who are responsible for the suicide of Beata, all belong to the German aristocracy. However, this fictional account of German politics accuses politicians, and politicians' wives for that matter, of sexual indecency, the only cause which is portrayed not only to lead to their moral demise but necessarily also to their political demise. In that sense there is no clear distinction made between the private and the public, which is especially noticeable in the fact that Beata's suicide is a political act, even though the cause lies within the private sphere. Whereas the suicide in plays like *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* can be understood as confirmations of the status quo, the suicide in *Es lebe das Leben* takes on a more complex role. The concept of the eroticised heroic political suicide is well established with regards to the discourse relating to the French Revolution. As Bernadette Fort states:

> [...] under the increasing clash of political factions and the rise of extremist politics, not only did suicide become a more and more real option, but its nature changed as well: the urge to die with the beloved was transferred to the nation, and heroic political suicide became eroticized [...]. (Fort 1991:25)

With regards to the French Revolution, the heroic political suicide was an option entirely reserved for men and "simply not an option for women" (Fort 1991:26) and therefore "sealed their exclusion from the public sphere" (Fort 1991:26). However, even though in this case the political suicide is committed by a female character, this is not to say that the play opens up the public sphere to women. Beata's reasoning is entirely private and emotional, whereas the male political suicide has to be, by its very nature, consciously political. Therefore, the male political suicide results in public martyrdom whereas Sudermann's female political suicide results in private martyrdom. Hadley's claim that "the

melodramatic mode [is] a mixed method of conversation and of subversion" (Hadley 1995:138) appears to underline the earlier statement made that similarities can be observed between Sudermann's play and domestic melodrama.

Even though the content may be cautious or even conservative and bordering on the melodramatic, certain characteristics of naturalism/realism can be found both with regards to content and with regards to structure. Sudermann adheres to the unities of time and space, monologues are disguised through dialogue, and the play itself discusses to some extent the notions of social and environmental determination and heredity. The character of the Prince in particular seems to agree with certain naturalist viewpoints. His statements about natural law, the absurdity of divine rights and the exploitation of citizens through the government are especially poignant as he is, in relation to the aristocracy represented in the play, of highest nobility. This is not to say that *Es lebe das Leben* is a radical political play, rather it incorporates certain fashionable themes in a safe and permissible manner.

Overall the content of the play tends to confirm Wharton's conservatism and her dislike of the women's movement which can be clearly seen in the references in Chapter 2 to her friendship with Mrs. Humphrey Ward. As Shawn Gillen (unpublished) argues, Wharton holds "socially conservative views" (Gillen unpublished) and seems to favour the notion of an "authoritarian and decidedly conservative and homogenous nation" over democracy. One could argue that Wharton holds similar views to the ones expressed by Beata when the latter exclaims: "If only the noblemen who want to rule could get on without it [democracy]!" (Sudermann 1902: 33)

The content as well as the structure, the tradition the play has come out of, can be seen as corresponding to Wharton's own ideologies. Therefore, Wharton's selection of Sudermann's *Es lebe das Leben* is informed by at least two factors. First of all, as argued

above, it is a question of personal taste in that the source text corresponds with some of Wharton's own characteristics, for example a notable conservatism as well as a claim, or pretense, of realism combined with a certain sentimentality. Secondly, this particular choice can be understood as a feature which underlines the more detached connection with the translational community, as Wharton, not being a theatre practitioner herself, belongs to a different intersection, that of the literary author and playtext translator. She does, however, belong to the interpretative community, or set of playtext translators, and her choice can be conceived as another form of the manifestation of Fish's claim of the opposing positions a stable interpretative community makes possible. Furthermore, from a methodological point of view, Wharton, belonging to the set of prose writers rather than theatre practitioners, is to be viewed as a control element to the specific translational community as an intersection under investigation here. Thus, the observed differences between Wharton's display of taste and the general taste of the translational community support the claim made in the introduction to this chapter that the distinctive preferences of the various sets are reflected within the distinctive preferences of the individual translators.

3.1.3 Jacob Thomas Grein

Grein, like Wharton, even though he is more closely involved with the translational community with regards to space and possibly ideology, chose to translate Sudermann. The argument that the translator's choice is more dependent on his or her own ideology and vision than the writer's is to some extent more problematic with regards to Grein.

Grein translated two plays by Sudermann, *Das Glück im Winkel* with Alice Greeven[89] and *Johannisfeuer* with his wife. *Das Glück im Winkel* was produced under the title *A Happy*

[89] Schoonderwoerd claims that the co-translator was Alice Greeven (1963:148) whereas the name A. Green appears in other sources (see Appendix III).

Nook[90] in 1901 at the Court Theatre by Grein's own Premieres' Club[91] and *Johannisfeuer* followed under the title *Midsummer Fires*[92] in 1906 at the Scala Theatre produced by the Incorporated Stage Society. Both plays were introduced to the London stage by the *Deutsches Theater* in 1900 and 1901 respectively and Grein, the founder of the *Deutsches Theater*, was certainly aware of Sudermann's success in Germany as well as abroad, especially with regards to the success of *Heimat* in the light of visiting productions starring Eleanore Duse and Sarah Bernhardt as well as regular English language productions[93].

Grein seems to be the only member of the translational community who had a general interest in German theatre and believed the German theatre to be superior to the British and in some cases even the French. As Grein himself recalls:

> My first acquaintance with the foremost theatre in Germany has been something akin to a revelation. [...] The *Deutsches Theater* [Berlin] is the first theatre in Europe, because it weds art to nature in a unique way. The acting is brilliant and there are no stars [...] and the acting is so good, that the Comédie Française or even Antoine could not have bettered it. (*The Sunday Special*, 01/04/00 cited by Schoonderwoerd 1963:143-4)

His theatrical vision can be understood as attempting to introduce not only German plays, but also German acting and the German structure of the theatre to Britain. In a criticism of the Stage Society, for example, Grein calls for an "*intendant*" in order to save the Stage Society from "drifting towards irresolution" and instead to develop "policy" (Britain 1982:176), the *intendant* being the German version of the artistic director. It could be argued that Grein's vision was to 'Germanise' or even 'Europeanise' the British stage as opposed to Archer and to some extent Shaw and Barker as well whose vision it was to create a new, distinctly British drama. After the early success of the *Deutsches Theater*,

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[90] Submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's Office under the title *A Happy Nook*. The manuscript, however, indicates that the play was originally translated as *A Lee in the Storm*.
[91] The production was directed by Max Behrend (see Appendix III).
[92] Submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's Office under the title *Midsummer Flames*.
[93] The reaction to those visiting productions will be examined more closely in Chapter 4.

Grein toyed with the idea of opening a French language theatre in London, *La Petite Comédie Française*, alongside the German one (Schoonderwoerd 1963:150), only to be subject to severe criticism by Archer. Archer "appreciated what Grein was doing for the cause of the national drama" (Schoonderwoerd 1963:150) but argued that

> The whole theory of the drama as an international product is a survival from the bad old times [...] The better a play is - the more intimately true to the life of its own country - the less likelihood is there of its being properly understood in other countries. [...] A self-respecting nation should be self-sufficient in its dramatic activity. By all means let us follow the works of modern dramatists, and learn from them; but let us not suffer them to come between us and our own fundamental duty of portraying and interpreting our own national life in our own language. (*The Morning Leader* 04/06/01 cited by Schoonderwoerd 1963:151)

This statement by Archer not only depicts his own vision, namely that of translation as a means to teach native playwrights, but also delineates Grein's notion of a European or even international theatre. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Grein was born in the Netherlands and emigrated to London in his twenties. His personal background may then be regarded as one of the reasons for this distinct view on theatre and translation as his first experiences of theatre and in the theatre were of a more 'European' nature than that of Archer or Barker. In that sense Grein does not share the nationalistic attitudes of Archer and views the role of translation quite differently. He is constantly comparing the original with the translation and his criticisms of, for example, previous Sudermann translations follow a different set of values. Grein seems to consider production alongside text when he impugns translations. As Schoonderwoerd illustrates, Grein claims Wharton's translation of *Es lebe das Leben* to be "not fine" but "fair" but states that the title has been "utterly mistranslated". Furthermore, the production with Mrs. Patrick Campbell in the leading female role[94] showed once more how Sudermann was "the victim of his interpreters" (Schoonderwoerd

[94] New Theatre, June 1903 (see Appendix III).

1963:148). Although compared to Grein's statements about other Sudermann translations, comments made about Edith Wharton's translation seem almost celebratory. As Grein remarks in *The Sunday Special*, the English translation of *Sodoms Ende* was

> so badly translated, so incompetently pruned and so indifferently acted, that, but for a few familiar scenes, Sudermann would probably not have recognised his own child. (*The Sunday Special* 18/03/03)

Grein himself chose the two plays by Sudermann that are labelled either the worst or the best of his work, depending on the critic. According to Robertson, *Das Glück im Winkel* is "one of his best plays, if only because he is here in close touch with his East Prussian homeland" (Robertson 1953:608) whereas *Johannisfeuer* "showed little power of adaptation" (Robertson 1953:609). Kienzel and Nedden on the other hand state that

> *Ein* Werk Sudermanns aber verläßt den Umkreis der gehobenen Theaterkolportage und pocht an die Pforte der Dichtung - das 1900 erschienene *Johannisfeuer.* (Kienzel & Nedden 1990:501)
>
> [But one of Sudermann's plays leaves the higher levels of trashy theatre and knocks on poetry's door - *Johannisfeuer*, published in 1900.]

Grein obviously thought that both plays were well suited to translation and, more importantly, performance in London and, rather than viewing his translations as an addition to already existing Sudermann translations, he viewed them as presenting an opportunity to adopt a certain acting and performance style.

In the light of the above, it could be argued that Grein sees the role of theatre translation as being a means to introduce not only foreign plays but also a foreign production method. In that sense, the foreign text is not there to be appropriated by the native system but the native system is to be appropriated and even changed by the foreign text. His choice to translate two Sudermann plays needs to be understood as being informed by the above attitude. Sudermann, as stated earlier, was extremely popular in Britain as well as in Germany and the general consensus among critics, scholars and theatre practitioners alike seems to be

that Sudermann's theatrical effectiveness is the reason for this popularity. Therefore, Sudermann as a playwright becomes an obvious choice to translate if the attempt is made to introduce a foreign acting and production style. Additionally, as stated earlier, Sudermann's work can be seen as incorporating the popular tradition of the well-made play with characteristics of naturalism. Consequently, his work is not too alien from the British tradition, itself indebted to the well-made play and writers such as Sardou and Scribe, for the work to be suitable for a transference to a different theatrical structure, but it is also sufficiently different to offer an angle of change. As such, Sudermann may be seen by Grein as what Archer so dismissively terms "international drama". As can be argued with regard to Archer and Wharton, it is Grein's theatrical ideals that first and foremost inform the selection process where Grein views the two plays as suitable in order to bring about change to the native system. Furthermore, even though Grein and Archer disagree with regards to the value of 'international drama' they do have a common interest in changing the native system. The opposition they hold within their stable interpretative community is one that relates to the change itself and that becomes a question of translation and nationalism, in that Grein values translation as an addition to the native drama whereas Archer appears to view translation as a means to develop a native drama, rather than add to it. Furthermore, Grein's choice of text is a display of his taste which is based upon his acquired habitus, his cultural and theatrical context.

3.1.4 Harley Granville-Barker, Christopher (Charles E.) & Penelope Wheeler

Barker and the Wheelers translated three Schnitzler plays between them, namely *Anatol*, *Das Märchen* and *Der grüne Kakadu*. The reason why they are dealt with together is that all three of them co-translated plays. Barker and Wheeler worked together on *Anatol* (1911)

and *Das Märchen* (1912) and according to the manuscript for *Letzte Masken*, translated by Christopher Horne under the title *In the Hospital*, Wheeler and Barker submitted this play to the Lord Chamberlain's Office in 1902[95]. Penelope and Christopher Wheeler translated *Der grüne Kakadu*[96] in 1913 under the title *The Green Cockatoo.*

Barker's knowledge of Schnitzler can probably be related to his knowledge of Grein's *Deutsches Theater* and Behrend's and Andresens' work, as Schnitzler's *Liebelei*[97], the first production of a Schnitzler play in London, was first performed in 1900 as part of the first season at the *Deutsches Theater.* Furthermore, he travelled to Germany in 1909/10[98] and may have heard about him there, although Barker was there primarily to observe Max Reinhardt's work at the *Deutsches Theater*, Berlin (Purdom 1955:114). The Wheelers may have been introduced to Schnitzler through the *Deutsches Theater* in London as well but it could be speculated that Christopher Wheeler as a medical doctor with interests in homeopathy and the theatre may have noticed Schnitzler because of the fact that both were trained in medicine and both interested in the theatre.[99]

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Barker's choice to translate Schnitzler may be based on the similarity in concern about sexual morality and human happiness (Kennedy 1985:6). Margery Morgan on the other hand argues in her introduction to the collected works of Barker that

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[95] See Manuscript No. 88, Lord Chamberlain's Archive.

[96] See Manuscript No. 1475, Lord Chamberlain's Archive.

[97] As a comment on a statement made by Grein regarding Schnitzler plays in 1922, in particular *Reigen*, Schoonderwoerd claims that "no records of production of *Liebelei* or *Anatol* are available. During the Vedrenne-Barker season at the Court Theatre *In the Hospital*, in one act, was the only Schnitzler play produced" (Schoonderwoerd 1963:251). Contrary to this claim, the programme of the *Deutsches Theater* lists *Liebelei* as being performed in March 1900 and again in 1903 and *Anatol* was performed with Barker in the title role at the Scala Theatre in 1911.

[98] According to Purdom (1955), Barker travelled to Germany the year before he translated *Anatol* which would mean 1909, whereas Morgan claims that he travelled in 1910 (Morgan 1993).

[99] This could not be verified as the British Medical Association refused me access to their archives.

> [t]here was a will [...] to include good popular drama in the repertoire (and Granville-Barker, Lillah McCarthy and Nigel Playfair did make one venture into a music hall bill at the Palace Theatre with a little comedy by Schnitzler). (Morgan 1993:xxx)[100]

However patronising this statement is with regard to Schnitzler as a playwright, it indicates Barker's concern with theatrical practicalities. Morgan claims that Barker's own *Roccoco* (1917) and *Vote by Ballot* (1917) were written in order to provide "a curtain-raiser" or to be used in situations where "a one-act play by a prentice playwright might need companion pieces to make up a programme" (Morgan 1993:xxx). Kennedy's and Morgan's claims are not, however, mutually exclusive in that they both support the notion that it is Barker's own views on theatre and playwriting that inform his selection of foreign language texts. Both statements though need to be validated further.

If one attempts to argue that Barker's choice to translate Schnitzler is based upon certain similarities in concerns and subject matters, both Barker's work and Schnitzler's *Anatol* and *Das Märchen* need to be investigated more closely.

According to Ian Clarke, a leitmotif in Barker's work is his

> understanding of the structures and codes of Edwardian society [...] and he developed techniques which mediated more effectively the complexities and contradictions of those structures and codes. (Clarke 1989:94)

To this extent Barker's work is then very much based on his own historical and social context and it becomes quite difficult to compare him to Schnitzler's work which most certainly is not concerned with Edwardian codes and societal structures. That is not to say that Schnitzler does not deal with codes and structures prevalent at the turn of the century only that Clarke seems to attribute a specific cultural context to Barker's work. However, Kennedy's observation regarding sexuality and morality does not necessarily have to be

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[100] It can be assumed that Morgan is not aware of the production of the whole *Anatol* cycle (*Keepsakes* was added to the production on 18 March 1911, seven days after the opening performance) at the Little Theatre in

seen as being in opposition to the above. At least two of Barker's early plays, *Waste* and *The Madras House*, both written before the translation of *Anatol* and *Das Märchen*, deal with sexuality and gender as well as prevailing codes and structures. Clarke describes the difference between *Waste* and the contemporary society drama as practised by Pinero and Jones:

> The difference [...] lies only partly in Barker's treatment of illicit sexual relations between Henry Trebell and Amy O'Connell. More radically, the play refutes the validity of those dominant social and ethical codes which control relations between the sexes and whose function as a system of validation lies at the ideological centre of the society drama. (Clarke 1989:83)

In this sense Schnitzler and Barker seem more related than Clarke's previous statement indicates in that Schnitzler, especially in *Anatol*, portrays the stagnation which is caused by the prevailing codes of a decadent society. All seven scenes of *Anatol* reveal the same illusions, projections and resentments (see Perlmann 1987:38) and no solution or even development is possible, with the structure of the cycle underlining this notion of the circular. In that sense the validity of social and ethical codes may not be refuted the same way that Barker attempts to dispute them but their manifest unsuitability still becomes apparent.

With regard to Barker's *The Madras House* (1910), the similarities between structure and content in Barker's and Schnitzler's work is more apparent. As Clarke points out:

> *The Madras House* [...] is his [Barker's] most extensive exploration of the position of the women in society. Its structure departs from the dominant Edwardian drama in that it depends not upon a developed plot but a series of loosely connected vignettes which each examine different aspects of the oppression of women. The vignettes are linked by the presence in each of them of Philip Madras who functions more as a sensitive commentator than a participant. (Clarke 1989:88)

March 1911 in which both Nigel Playfair and Lillah McCarthy appear. The production at the Palace Theatre she seems to refer to offered only parts of the *Anatol* cycle (see *The Times*, 13 March 1911 & 20 March 1911).

Similarly, *Anatol* does not rely or depend upon plot but consists of seven scenes only connected through the male character Anatol and to some extent Max who appears in five of the seven scenes. This episodic structure illustrates the depersonalisation and interchangeability of the female characters with Max, similarly to Philip Madras, taking on the role of the commentator rather than the active participant. The role of Max and the role of the female characters will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 but what can be said with certainty so far is that there are obvious similarities between the two plays not only with regard to structure but also themes. As well as similarities with *Anatol*, parallels between *The Madras House*, and other works by Barker such as *Waste*, and *Das Märchen* can be observed. As Perlmann points out, Schnitzler's early plays deal with sociopolitical questions, hypnosis and duelling for example, but also always incorporate a discussion of the situation of women in society (see Perlmann 1987:61). *The Madras House* and *Das Märchen* seem to treat a very similar subject matter from two different angles. In *The Madras House*, "the thematic link between the [...] girls [...] lies in repression of their sexuality" (Clarke 1989:89-90) and "the only structure which would provide them with appropriate employment and sexual experience" (Clarke 1989:90) as accepted by the middle class is marriage. In *Das Märchen*, Schnitzler explores the theme of the 'woman with a past' or rather the 'fallen girl' in that all attempts, as prescribed by the middle-class structure, by the mother of Fanny, the main character, to find a suitable husband for her daughter are in vain as even Fanny's former lover marries a virgin rather than a girl with a past. Barker criticises the social institution of marriage as restricting in a similar way to Schnitzler. However, Barker fails to explore the possibilities of a career and economic independence as an alternative and his female characters end up as spinsters. It seems as if Schnitzler is taking the criticism one step further in that he displays the impossibility of

love in and the repulsive nature of the institution of middle-class marriage (see Perlmann 1987:63). He does, however, and this is where it could be argued that he goes further than Barker, offer his female characters a justification for their rejection of the social and moral code and allows them to choose rather than be "doomed to spinsterhood" (Clarke 1989:90). Where Barker implies that "any positions which challenge the dominant structures of relations between the sexes are inadequate" (Clarke 1989:91), Schnitzler portrays Fanny as being conscious of the situation and offers the choice of financial independence as an alternative.

Having established very briefly the similarities[101] in both playwrights' works with regard to structure and content, it can be argued that those have informed the selection process. As argued with regards to Archer, Wharton and Grein, it is the translator's own ideology and vision which seem to play an extremely important part in the selection process. With regard to Wheeler, as argued earlier, the reason for his involvement in the translation process lies with the fact that Barker's knowledge of German was not good enough in order to undertake the translation by himself. It could be argued then that Barker certainly was the driving force as the theatre professional behind the selection and Wheeler may not have had much input. This is, of course, speculation but the little knowledge about both Christopher and Penelope Wheeler's lives and circumstances makes it impossible to argue otherwise. Penelope and Christopher Wheeler's translation of Schnitzler's *Der grüne Kakadu* will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 and analysed with regard to differences in translations for performance and for publication.

[101] The differences, which may to some extent be dependent on cultural context, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

What the examination of the individual selection processes demonstrates is that the choice of source author and text is, indeed, a display of taste, based on the individual's habitus as well as their position within the intersection of the various sets. Furthermore, these preferences and appreciations of certain foreign texts all seem to indicate that it is the translators' own visions and ideologies that are furthered through the selection process. As such, the selection process, as a display of taste as well as ideology, should be seen in the context of the struggle within the field of theatre to determine the shape of theatre to come (see Gouanvic 2002:98). Where Gouanvic claims that this struggle takes place on the level of belief rather than consciousness, the above assessment suggests that, certainly with regard to Archer, Grein, and Barker, this struggle is indeed a conscious one.

3.2 Innovators, Modernists or Members of the Avant-garde?

Having considered the individual choices made by some of the translators, it can be argued that at least part of the translation process, namely the selection of source text, is indeed dependent on the individual taste of the translator and the taste of the translational community as a whole, where the former manifests itself in the choice of individual playwright and text, the latter in choice of genre, namely that all members of this particular translational community chose naturalistic/realistic texts as their source. Thus, with taste being pivotal to selection, the selection itself becomes necessarily an ideological or political act. As Maria Tymoczko argues:

> most translators undertake the work they do because they believe the texts they produce will benefit humanity or impact positively upon the receptor culture in ways that are broadly ideological. (Tymoczko 2000:26)

Furthermore, translations are always necessarily political and ideological because of their innate partiality (Tymoczko 2000:24). Not only is translation inevitably an expression of ideology or a political act because of the translators' motivation and the partiality of

translation itself but also because it can be understood, as argued above, as a manifestation of taste. Any manifestation of taste is always a political act, whether it is class-bound, as Bourdieu argues through his concept of habitus, or transgressive of class-boundaries.

Relying on Tymoczko's argument in this manner may be seen as problematic as the translational community this study deals with is a relatively small cultural elite and Tymoczko argues that

> It is a particularly questionable business to argue for the transformative value of changing attitudes of a small avant-garde after a century filled with repression, suppression and even extermination of cultural élites. (Tymoczko 2000:26)

Tymoczko considers this point to be of extreme importance, so much so that she sees the need to repeat it in her argument. She states in her conclusion

> [a]nd after recent history, which has demonstrated repeatedly how easily élites can be purged, wiped out, eliminated and swept aside, it is difficult to have confidence in the effectiveness of movements oriented to a literary élite. (Tymoczko 2000:41)

This argument seems ambivalent in that it is, on the one hand, an obvious condemnation of repression, suppression and extermination, on the other, however, by denying an avant-garde movement or a literary/cultural elite the possibility of transformative powers, repressive and suppressive itself. As such questioning not only the validity of arguing for the existence of transformative value with regard to avant-garde movements but also denying its very existence, can be seen in itself as a form of extermination. Furthermore, the statement implies a very narrow time-margin in which an avant-garde can exist, namely from the beginning of the Third Reich onward (see Tymoczko 2000:26) and therefore disputes the previous generations.

Moreover, the cultural elite this study deals with oriented itself on a literary elite but not exclusively so. In that sense Tymoczko's findings regarding translation and ideological engagement are useful and applicable to the translational community in question.

As the members of the translational community are widely accepted as theatrical innovators, it needs to be examined whether the process of selection can, therefore, be seen as a means to disseminate a modernist or even avant-garde ideology. Therefore, the ideology in question needs to be examined more closely in order to establish whether this translational community functions as an avant-garde movement. Furthermore, the discussion needs to return to Tymoczko and the effectiveness of disseminating ideology through a translational community.

Claiming that the translational community in question forms an avant-garde is questionable and it could be argued that, rather than forming an avant-garde movement, the translational community is inherently modernist. As Jochen Schulte-Sasse argues, modernism and the avant-garde are quite often used interchangeably as a result of "an inability to see that the theoretical emphases of modernists and avant-garde writers are radically different" (Schulte-Sasse, 1984:xv). Peter Bürger distinguishes between modernist and avant-garde by claiming that:

> the avant-garde turns against both - the distribution apparatus on which the work of art depends, and the status of art in bourgeois society as defined by the concept of autonomy. (Bürger, 1984:22)

Schulte-Sasse qualifies this distinction made by Bürger further by arguing that "modernism may be understandable as an attack on traditional writing techniques, but the avant-garde can only be understood as an attack meant to alter the institutionalized commerce with art" (Schulte-Sasse 1984:xv). Regarding Bürger's distinction, the translational community appears more modernist than avant-gardist. The community certainly questions and turns against the status of theatre as art within their bourgeois society, but it is more difficult, if not impossible, to argue that the likes of Archer, Barker, Grein or even Shaw turn against

the distribution apparatus per se. Likewise, considering Schulte-Sasse's assessment, the community, again, appears modernist. Their concern lies primarily with writing techniques, the attempt to abandon the traditional, or rather nineteenth-century, techniques and the creation of a new British drama, a transcendence of established genres. However, regarding the attempt to alter the "institutionalized commerce with art", it becomes more difficult to adhere to the notion of the modernist translational community. It could be argued that the effort to establish a National Theatre is not only based on the attack on writing techniques, but is also an attack on the established, institutionalised commerce. It is not the case that the community attempts to de-institutionalise theatre, quite the opposite, as the theatre as an institution is the basis for the concept of a National Theatre. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the community attacks the existing institutionalised commerce, only, of course, to replace it with an alternative institutionalised commerce, therefore, altering the type of institutionalisation. At this point then, the differentiation between the community as modernists or as avant-gardists becomes blurred. Not only does Schulte-Sasse not qualify the degree of alteration, but both Schulte-Sasse and Bürger base their respective theories of the avant-garde solely on the avant-garde movement on the continent. As quoted earlier, Innes states that in relation to the discussion of avant-garde movements within the theatre, "Britain barely rates a mention" (Innes 1996:2). Furthermore, Michael T. Saler criticises Bürger, and therefore followers of his distinction between modernists and avant-gardists like Schulte-Sasse, for being too absolute. He claims that

> Bürger's dialectical opposition of modern formalists with the avant-garde is problematic [as] it does conflate modernism with formalism, rather than presenting formalism and functionalism as antinomic aspects within modernism itself. (Saler 1999:7)

In other words, the avant-garde needs to be understood as part of, rather than in opposition to, modernism. Saler does not, however, question the basic premise that the avant-garde is

concerned with functionalism, the role of art within society rather than accepting art as "self-reflexive, independent of all moral or utilitarian concerns" (Saler 1999:7). Archer, Grein and particularly Barker are most certainly concerned with morality and utilitarianism. Concepts of morality seem central not only to the naturalist movement, but also, as argued earlier, to Barker's own work as a playwright. Additionally the involvement with the women's movement and the notion of the new woman necessarily includes dealing with notions of morality, and what could be argued is a common feature of most of the plays in question is the concept of "relativistic morality" (Innes 2000:18). Regarding the theatre in general, Shaw, even though arguably not a member of this translational community but influential to it, states, in his preface to *Overruled*, that "it is ridiculous to say, as inconsiderate amateurs of art do, that art has nothing to do with morality" (Shaw 1934:110). The translational community's concern with utilitarianism needs to be seen in the context of Fabianism. As Williams argues, "Fabianism, in the orthodox person of Sidney Webb, is the direct inheritor of the spirit of John Stuart Mill; that is to say of utilitarianism refined by experience of a new situation in history" (Williams 1977a:183). Granville Barker joined the Fabian Society in 1901 (Salmon 1983:60) and Archer gave lectures at the Fabian Summer Schools (Britain 1982:209). The Charringtons, and, of course, Shaw, can be seen as the major Fabian influences on the translational community. Grein, however, was never a member of the Fabian Society although, through his involvement with the Stage Society and his connection with Barker, Archer, Shaw and the Charringtons, had close working relationships with some Fabians. He did, however, not endorse the 'democratic' organisation of the Stage Society. This is not necessarily a reflection on his own political stance but, regarding the theatre, his viewpoint was quite clear: "No theatre is possible unless there be one dominating spirit" (Britain 1982:176). What seems central to the Fabian

notion of theatre is that it should be a public utility, with theatres "free and accessible to all" (Britain 1982:82) as its role in society is both one of education and of entertainment. Egalitarian as this concept may appear, a certain elitism can be detected and as Britain argues, an elitist attitude, especially relating to the arts, can be found within the Fabian Society. He argues that

> as for the appreciation of such art forms [music, drama, opera], the impression was given that this depended on the audience's having been educated or refined in a like manner to their traditional upper-class sponsors and brought up in the image of this privileged minority. (Britain 1982:226)

However, there are not only elitist but also "anti-elitist and anti-exclusivist impulses" (Britain 1982:270) within the Fabian Society and this tension may be due to the fact that the Fabian Society was a purely middle-class organisation. As Britain observes:

> all membership records and contemporary observations testify to the almost exclusively middle-class origins of the Fabian adherents [...] and it [Fabian Society] deliberately aimed most of its propaganda at securing future converts from the middle-class. (Britain 1982:6-7)

With the translational community being actively or passively influenced by the Fabian Society, it can be argued that the community itself is not anti-bourgeois. Socialist tendencies, with regard to theatrical as well as translational activity, may be present, but it is a socialism of evolution rather than revolution (see Williams 1977a:187).

Having established a concern with morality and utilitarianism, it is still questionable whether the translational community can be defined as an avant-garde movement. The middle-class origins are not necessarily obstacles, the pro-middle-class attitudes, however, are. According to Williams, the avant-garde can be defined through three characteristics the various avant-garde movements have in common. Firstly, there is a new "emphasis on creativity", secondly, a "rejection of tradition" and thirdly, and importantly, "all these movements, implicitly but more often explicitly, claimed to be anti-bourgeois" (Williams 1994:52). A similar argument can be found with Koebner who asserts that the avant-garde

necessarily opposes bourgeois values (Koebner 1995). Regarding the translational community, the 'emphasis on creativity', the 'rejection of tradition' and, as shown earlier, the deviation from traditional formulae and rules of portrayal as well as the search for a new audience are all applicable. It is, however, the community's belonging to the bourgeoisie, the acceptance, if not endorsement, of bourgeois values that makes it impossible to label the translational community an avant-garde. They may be opposed to certain bourgeoise values, but only in the sense of wanting to replace one set of values with another, adaptation and change rather than abolition. What could be argued, however, is that they can certainly be understood as a pre-avant-garde and a modernist community, especially relating to their concern with the introduction of Naturalism to the London stage. As Williams states, "Naturalism was indeed one of its [Modernism's] major early manifestations" (Williams 1994:66).

Whatever the label attached to this community, be it that of innovator, reformer or modernist, the group is one of a cultural elite, fluent in foreign languages, able to travel abroad extensively and, of course, at the heart of the London theatre landscape. Furthermore, these innovators or reformists all felt the need to disseminate their individual, or rather community ideas, concepts, and notions of theatre, in order to make those envisaged innovations become reality. Thus, their translational activity becomes part of and is influenced by this dissemination of ideology, the translation is actively engaged with the cultural or theatrical struggle the community is part of. Tymoczko argues that such an engagement can only be successful and effective if

> there is a group of translators acting in concert and if the translators as a group operate within the context of larger cultural and political movements, which might include the production of other textual forms [...] as well as diverse forms of activism and direct community organization. (Tymoczko 2000:41)

This statement implies a consciousness on behalf of the translators on a multitude of levels. Firstly, the translators have to be conscious of the group, a certain community identity has to exist. Secondly, the translators have to be conscious of the purpose they are allocating to the translational activity, and thirdly, the translational activity needs to be consciously positioned within the cultural movement or struggle. Chapter 2 has established that a translational community exists and it can be assumed that the core members are conscious of a community identity. Furthermore, as established in Chapter 2 and in more detail in this chapter, the purpose that has been allocated to translation is one of disseminating ideology and theatrical visions, and, as argued above, Gouanvic's assertion that the struggle is taking place on the level of belief cannot be applied to the core members of this community. Rather, the translational activity is very much influenced by and positioned within the conscious struggle over the future of theatre. Thus, the translational community as a whole and the individual selection process of source author and text as a display of taste and ideology should be seen as an attempt to successfully and effectively engage with the contemporary cultural and theatrical struggle - the dissemination of culture through translation.

In order to establish how effective this engagement is, to what extent cultural, or, more specifically, theatrical, ideology is disseminated through translation, what needs to be examined further is to what extent the findings of these two chapters relate to, or are mirrored within, contemporary translation discourse as well as the actual translational behaviour as displayed in the produced target texts. Of course, this assessment needs to be undertaken in the context of theatre practice and the wider cultural context this translational community exists in. Thus, Chapter 4 will examine theatre reviews as sources for display of

translational discourse, and Chapter 5 will analyse the translational behaviour of the director, Harley Granville Barker, and the actress, Penelope Wheeler, with the investigation of the target texts being subject to the theatrical context as well as contemporary cultural trends.

Chapter 4: Reviews - Expectations and Sanctions

The aim of this chapter is to examine theatre reviews as a source of translational discourse, namely the attitudes to and expectations of playtext translation in the context of performance. An attempt willll be made to outline the value system used to judge translations of playtexts for performance through an analysis of contemporary reactions to and discussions of such translations in performance. As Hermans, cited by Schäffner, points out:

> something which, as far as I know, has not yet been done is a study of [...] what leads reviewers to give positive or negative comments on translations. I think we need studies on the reception of translations, on evaluative statements about translations, statement [sic] made both in the past and present. (Schäffner 1999b:87)[102]

Of course, this chapter is not only of importance because it "has not yet been done", but because it is necessary in order to further establish the cultural context of the translations under discussion. The process of the dissemination of culture through a translational community can only be established and examined when the attitudes to translation are determined: the "evaluative statements" that Hermans refers to. Furthermore, with regard to the argument within Chapter 2 and 3, the purpose that has been allocated to translations by the translators themselves only becomes meaningful when seen in context with the purpose allocated to translations by the *non-translator* or *recipient* of translation. Moreover, regarding Chapter 5, choices made by individual translators need to be seen in the context of contemporary translation discourse in order to establish the significance of those choices made.

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[102] Schäffner 1999b is a transcript of a debate between (in the order of appearance) Peter Newmark, Gideon Toury, Theo Hermans, Christina Schäffner, Kirsten Malmkjær, Peter Bush, Said Faiq, Gunilla Andermann, Alexandra Lianeri, Loredana Polezzi, Myriam Salama-Carr, Margaret Rogers, Abdulla Al-Harrasi, Beverly Adab, Jean-Pierre Mailhac, and Mark Shuttleworth.

At this point then Toury's notion of sanctions needs to be examined more closely. According to Toury, "the notion of norms always implies sanctions; actual or at least potential, whether negative (to those who violate them) or positive (to those who abide by them)" (Toury 1999:16). A sanction then can be understood as any type of evaluation, be it positive or negative, in response to a translational act. As Schäffner argues, "norms function in a community as standards or models of correct or appropriate behaviour and of correct or appropriate behavioural products" (Schäffner 1999a:5). Therefore, the value system used to judge translations is, in other words, a display of conventions transformed into a norm, or a norm collective, as norms are "regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group - as to what is conventionally right or wrong, adequate and inadequate - into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations" (Toury 1999:14). Toury argues further that norms specify "what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted" (Toury 1999:14). As norms are not tangible, the value system as a norm, or norm collective, can only be understood through the display of sanctions. Sanctions can be both negative and positive and Hermans argues that

> reviewers or readers frequently react to the translations of novels and other works [...] These are also a type of sanction, indicating the sort of expectations that audiences have when they are confronted with translated texts. (Schäffner 1999b:86)

The reviewer becomes central to the display of expectation, especially with regard to a historical study such as this, where the response of the audience of the time is very difficult, if not impossible, to access. Therefore, contemporary reviews, appearing regularly in newspapers, have been selected as the main source of information in order to ascertain the accepted conventions, or even the norm collective. In addition to the rationale outlined above, further reasons for the choice of reviews as the main source of information are evident as the underlying emphasis of the whole of this thesis is on translations for

performance. As stated before, a number of the translations only exist in manuscript form and were never published in book version. The contemporary reception of the individual translations is only to be found within the reception of the performances, rather than other outlets such as literature reviews. Thus, the review as a commentary on both the performance and the translations themselves is central to this chapter. Of course, many theatre historians experience difficulties when attempting to write about performances or performance styles since the performance itself is of a very limited temporal existence and cannot be re-created. As Michael Patterson points out:

> When the curtain falls after a theatre performance, the text of the play is the only substantial record that remains. For the rest, the style of performance has to be deduced from various fragments of information. (Patterson 1981:2)

With the "text of performance" being so fleeting, more durable "fragments of information" need to be consulted. What remains after the performance is, of course, the "text of the play", in the case of this study, the text of the translation itself, which will be examined closely and in detail in Chapter 5. Further "fragments of information" regarding the attitude to the translated playtext for performance need to be found and one such fragment is the text of the review. Thus, as mentioned above, the review then is of critical importance as it is a significant source of information, which this chapter relies upon in order to determine accepted conventions regarding translation as well as performance practice.

Patterson describes the contemporary review as a source "which suffers from certain inadequacies" (Patterson 1981:2) just like any other historical source, as the ideal unbiased record does not exist. He goes on to describe the value of the contemporary review as a source of information including a discussion of the problematic nature of the review as a reliable and meaningful source. He states that

> These [contemporary reviews] are obviously a major source of information. They suffer, however, from the journalistic pressure of providing a response

> to a new theatrical event: the work itself will be usually discussed in some detail, the reaction of the audience will be recorded, and usually little space remains for any analysis of the theatrical style of the performance. Moreover, the contemporary reviewer may lack perspective: a set design may appear startlingly innovative when in fact, in the light of later developments, it may be more properly regarded as a minor modification to an existing style. (Patterson 1981:3-4)

The characteristics of the review Patteron criticises with regards to it being a major source of information, may prove invaluable for the examination here. The fact that the review will discuss the work itself, or rather the content of the play, at length is, in this case, rather more of a positive than a negative characteristic of the review as a source. Furthermore, the notion of the lack of perspective in the contemporary reviewer is relative. What this chapter tries to establish is not the 'correct' way of viewing translation, the possibility of which is in relation to the present context of the research doubtful, but rather, more importantly, the notions of quality, role and development of translation contemporary to the translations themselves. Should a "minor modification" or issue with regard to translational practice be regarded as "startlingly innovative" or of importance by the contemporary reviewer, then it is exactly this discrepancy in view and attitude toward translation that is of concern and significance in attempting to understand the value system at work. Additionally, Patterson describes the formulaic structure of the newspaper review where the review itself answers to certain expectations regarding its role and function within its cultural and theatrical context. However, in this instance this should not be regarded as an "inadequacy", but, instead, as a relevant source of information itself. The function and role of the review is, of course, of importance but also, with the existence of such a relatively strict formula, any deviation is of significance and offers valuable information regarding the importance that is attached to certain aspects or issues which led to the deviation in the first place. Hence, taking all of the above into account, it can be acknowledged that the contemporary theatre

review proves to be a very meaningful source indeed for a critically and methodologically aware research.

Having established the review as a significant source of information we must now turn our attention to what kind of information can be extracted from the review. First of all, what the primary concern of the reviewer is as far as the translation is concerned needs to be determined. Indeed, as Hermans asks, what "leads the reviewer to make positive or negative comments". Thus, the review is approached as a metatext, containing information on expectations and concerns with translation. This, of course, cannot be viewed in isolation but should be seen in the context of genre and dramatic structure as well as the creation of an image of a different culture. As claimed within Chapter 2 and 3, the main concern of the translational community regarding translation is the furtherance of their own ideology, more specifically the establishment of a new national type of drama - the literary, naturalistic theatre text and performance. Therefore, translation is used as a means to transcend generic constraints; genres as "conventionalized forms of text" (Hatim & Mason 1990:5) are appropriated, changed and developed by the translational community and, as Terry Hale argues, "generic rules [are] internalised and modified through translation and adaptation" (Hale 1999:234). Thus, translation could be perceived as having an active part in the evolvement of genre and dramatic style. Genre, however, is not an *a-priori* concept, but rather, as Tudor states, "genre notions [...] are a set of cultural conventions. Genre is what we collectively believe it to be" (Tudor 1976:122). Therefore, it needs to be considered to what extent these new sets of cultural conventions are acknowledged and reflected upon by the review as, without an acknowledgment or acceptance of those sets of conventions, a new genre cannot come into existence. Furthermore, all translations, acknowledged as such,

necessarily create an image of the foreign and what will be considered below is how the review perceives and portrays this image in the domestic context of the performance.

The sample of reviews which has been collated for this chapter is comprised of reviews of all 35 productions of German drama in translation, with the productions having taken place in the West End from 1900 - 1914.[103] The reviews under scrutiny have been taken from a variety of daily and weekly newspapers, including *The Times*, *The World*, *The Sketch*, *The Era* and *The Illustrated London News*. These papers have been selected on the basis that all of them regularly reviewed theatre productions, including productions of German plays in English translation. Furthermore, the majority of papers selected for analysis are weekly papers with *The Times* acting as a representative of the daily quality broadsheet. The space given to theatrical reviews in the weekly papers far exceeds the space allocated to them in the dailies and, therefore, the amount of information contained within the review is much greater. The reviews in *The Times*, for example, very rarely exceed half a column whereas *The Sketch* provides a whole section entitled *The Stage from the Stalls* and occasionally adds full-page spreads with more in-depth reports on certain theatres and actors (see Chapter 1). Wherever possible more than one review per production has been examined in order to be able to determine whether certain views on the production and the translation can be perceived as shared views rather than specific opinions of the individual reviewer. As far as this study is concerned, the reviews in *The World* until 1905 are of particular interest as they were written by William Archer. As a central member of the translational community, his discussions of translation within the theatre review occupy a particular role within this analysis and will be discussed in detail below. Archer turned his column into an

[103] See Appendix III for detailed listing of productions.

ardent defender of the new naturalistic drama, especially Ibsen's work, a tradition which *The World* follows after his departure. Contrary to reviews in other papers, Archer openly discusses issues of translation, even though he does not mention any translators by name. Because of the size of the sample and the wealth of information contained within it, it is necessary to focus the argument below. Therefore, rather than presenting all sources used, examples are given which are, unless stated otherwise, typical of the findings within the overall sample.

Apart from Archer, none of the reviews openly discuss issues of translation. Although that is not to say that they ignore translation. Instead, their attitudes towards it are hidden within the discussions of production quality and play content and quite a number of reviews fail to mention the name of the translator. It could be argued that this refusal to acknowledge the translator negates translation not only as a creative but also as an interpretative act. Furthermore, it is assumed that source- and target-text are essentially identical, where the process of communication between audience and performance is 'undisturbed' by a third party, namely the translator. Therefore, it could be argued that, implicitly, the notion of equivalence is recognised. One such example is the review of the production of Valentine Williams' translation of Arthur Schnitzler's *Liebelei.*

> Schnitzler's *Liebelei* [...] produced at His Majesty's Theatre by the Afternoon Theatre under the title "Light O'Love" [...] (*The Sketch* 26 May 1909:206)

Rather than stating that a translation of Schnitzler's play is produced, the review implies that the only alteration to the source-text is its title. Earlier examples from the same paper, however, even though the translator is not named either, seem to draw more attention to the existence of a target-text, a translation. A review of *Old-Heidelberg*, 19 March 1903, St.

James' Theatre, for example, states that "certainly the St. James's is able to give a very good account of the English version of Herr Meyer-Förster's play" (*The Sketch* 25 March 1903). Using the term "version" rather than translation implies an accepted difference between source- and target-text but no qualitative statement regarding the version is made[104]. Such qualitative statements, or rather sanctions, do appear in reviews at a later date. *The Era*, the only paper which follows the strict formula of listing the target-title, the translator, source-text author and source-text title in the heading of reviews, references the translation in a subordinate clause only in the main body of a review in 1901.

> *Lonely Lives*. A Drama in Five Acts, Translated by Mary Morison from Gerhart Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen*. Produced at a Matinee at the Strand Theatre on April 1st.
>
> [...] Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen*, a translation of which by Mary Morison was produced under the auspice of the Stage Society [...] (*The Era* 6 April 1901)

From 1912 onwards, however, comments on the quality of the translation are included in the reviews. In 1912, the review comments on "the excellent version" (*The Era* 3 February 1912) of *Das Märchen* and in 1913 the review on *Comtesse Mizzi* states that the play has been "well translated by Mr. H. A. Hertz" (*The Era* 15 March 1913). Such overt sanctions appear earlier in *The Sketch*, where, in this particular case, the original title is not given, but the translator mentioned.

> 'In the Hospital', by Arthur Schnitzler - very well translated, I fancy, by Christopher Horn [sic] [...] (*The Sketch* 8 March 1905)

Quite crucially, attributing the title of the translation to the author of the source implies, as do the earlier examples, the notion of equivalence. Two issues become apparent within these examples above - the notion of equivalence being linked to sanctions given, and, with

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[104] What cannot be established with certainty at this point is whether a conscious differentiation between 'version' and 'translation' is made or whether the two terms are used interchangeably. Bassnett argues that the use of 'version' with regard to theatre translation is used in order to consciously differentiate it from

the appearance of overt sanctions within the reviews, it could be argued that a crystallisation of a concept of stage translation can be observed. Thus, an emerging concept of stage translation needs to be seen in relation to previous, nineteenth century attitudes to translation. As Hale argues, "there was no real consciousness amongst those involved in the theatre between original authorship, adaptation and translation" (Hale 1999:226). An example which illustrates this point can be found in *The Strand Magazine*. Although, mainly dealing with prose and only very few dramatic texts, *The Strand Magazine* published not only British literature but regularly included translations of continental works. It seems though that as late as 1895 the only reference to the source-text was a sub-heading stating "From the Italian" or "From the French". The July 1895 volume, for example, includes *Starved into Submission - From the Italian*, and the August volume contains *The Three Valleys - A Story for Children - From the German* (Newness 1895:236). Stating the country of origin as a source for the text published necessarily implies a notion of originality but without the original being attributed to an author or the English version attributed to a translator, a conscious concept of translation, adaptation or authorship is not manifest. Thus, in the light of Hale's observation, neglecting to mention the author or translator is not a surprise, as that was commonplace. What is more interesting than the omission of source-text author and translator, is when they are simultaneously acknowledged. In September of the same year, *A Hero* (Newness 1896:313) is published and with it not only the name of author and translator but also a short biography of the author himself. The short biography is not repeated, but it seems that from September 1895 onwards, the name of author and translator both appear below the title of the work. Thus, a conscious differentiation between author and translator is made and, therefore, a

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'translation'. In that instance, 'version' implies a "degree of variation from the source text, so that a

differentiation between source- and target-text. Of course, this differentiation does not appear all that suddenly but is part of a gradual process of a crystallisation of a concept of translation. The fact that countries of origin are mentioned earlier can be seen as part of this process.

If, indeed, a crystallisation of a concept of stage translation, in parallel to prose translation, occurs within the space of a few decades, what needs to be established are the particulars of such a concept. As mentioned above, notions of equivalence are becoming apparent within some of the reviews already quoted. However, the notion of equivalence is a highly contentious one as it suggests, to a certain extent, that equal value politically, ideologically and linguistically can be achieved. As Hermans argues, "the viability of equivalence" (Hermans 1999b:133) needs to be questioned if not disregarded, although "equivalence has become part of the way we habitually think of translation" (Hermans 1999a:97), but he argues further that "without problematizing it [equivalence] it destroys the possibility of critical interrogation" (Hermans 1999a:97). What needs to be investigated then is "why equivalence figures prominently in [...] concepts of translation" (Hermans 1999b:133). As equivalence cannot function as a viable concept of translation but only as an illusion, any concept of translation that holds on to that notion must necessarily appropriate it. In other words, different kinds of illusions of equivalence must exist. Thus, what needs to be determined is why the concept of stage translation under investigation here incorporates the notion, or rather illusion, of equivalence, and how exactly it is defined. In other words, the investigation of the reviews needs to examine why the concept of equivalence features in the concept of stage translation and how it is defined.

'translation' might be perceived closer to the original" (Bassnett 2000:100).

A closer examination of the reviews may disclose more specifically what is understood by equivalence, which, as Anthony Pym and others argue (as paraphrased by Hermans), is "a belief structure [...] a pragmatically necessary illusion" (Hermans 1999a:98).

As stated above, the more detailed observations and criticisms of the translation tend to be hidden within the discussion of the content of the plays and the production quality and, therefore, a closer examination of these covert sanctions is needed.

An interesting discussion of a translation in the domestic performance context in relation to covert sanctions can be found in the review of Sudermann's *Es lebe das Leben*, translated by Edith Wharton under the title *The Joy of Living* (see Chapter 3).

> [...] It is rather painful [...] to have to say that an English company has failed to do justice to a German play [...] Certainly the faults were due to no conscious effort to Anglicise the piece: it may not have seemed very German, it certainly was not very English. Part of the difficulty lay in the untransmissability of some of the ideas: there is nothing radically foreign to English or French minds in the ideas contained in 'A Doll's House', but we are out of touch as a people with the ultra-Tory ideals suggested in 'Es lebe das Leben', or the views about dueling and suicide contained in it. [...] Justice requires me to say that the piece, despite some cuttable scenes, is interesting and intelligent, and it has several remarkable fine scenes based upon a strong idea.[...] (*The Sketch* 1 July 1903)

Within this review are several issues that need to be discussed. First of all, a certain cultural and theatrical superiority to Germany is claimed not only through the implications of the first sentence, in as much as it implies that English companies by their very quality normally do justice to German plays, but also through the later assertion of a kindred spirit with the French, insinuating that both, the French and the English, are in essence more modern in attitude than the Germans. Thus, a relationship of cultural hegemony is established. Furthermore, the translation is criticised in an underhand manner for not anglicising the play enough. Thus, it is evident that, within the concept of stage translations,

it is not so much a direct correspondence that is expected but rather a reaction, on behalf of the translator, to the transmissability and "untransmissability" of ideas. However, even though the idea of anglicising the play through translation is evident, the translator is not mentioned and the German and English title are used interchangeably. It could then be argued that an illusion of equivalence is still evident, and what is questioned is the 'translatability' of the play rather than ideal equivalence. A very similar attitude toward *The Joy of Living* is displayed in a review of the same production published in the *Illustrated London News*.

> [...] But English playgoers may find its [*The Joy of Living*] atmosphere of German politics and its drama drowned in an ocean of talk. In the very throes of passion its characters sit down to debate points of honour and claims of party. (*The Illustrated London News* 4 July 1903)

Fundamentally, what is criticised within this review is not only the cultural difference with regard to dramatic tradition but it also unequivocally distinguishes the two nationalities and their respective cultural characteristics. Where the English are more emotionally adept, the Germans 'drown' passion in words, are somewhat detached from emotional tragedy. Thus, reviews, at a 'banal' level, cultivate and reproduce national stereotypes, which contribute to claims of a unique identity (see Billig 1995:81).

The demand of changes to the original content of the play within a translation is not only made in relation to *The Joy of Living*, but also with regard to *Old-Heidelberg*.

> A great deal of noise and bustle, a suggestion of foreign gaiety, a sentimental, strained love-story, an appeal to our interest in Royalty, and a clever attempt at a picture of German University life - though I think we were entitled to a student duel - are sufficient, when some superfluous talk has been removed, to enlist the public in favour of Mr. Bleichmann's clever adaptation of 'Alt-Heidelberg'. (*The Sketch* 25 March 1903)

The overt sanction of attributing "clever" to the translation is linked to the more covert one of criticising the lack of a "student duel". Similarly to the review above, the criticism

concentrates on stereotypes regarding German culture. Where the above establishes German political life as ultra-Tory and quintessentially old fashioned, here German student life must, in order to achieve a higher entertainment value on stage, include a duel. Of course, one play's duel is another play's downfall in that, with regard to *The Joy of Living*, dueling is represented as a serious threat to life and a sign of conservatism (see Chapter 3) whereas an *Old-Heidelberg*-style duel represents sportsmanship, comradeship and a rather fetching scar. Thus, it could be argued that similarly to the review on *The Joy of Living*, what is expected of the translation is an alteration of the source-text in order to meet the requirements and expectations of the receiving culture. Rudolf Bleichmann's translation is "clever" in as much as it, apart from the student duel, creates an image of the foreign which is entertaining as it complies with stereotypes of "foreign gaiety" and "German University life". Additionally, the play provides the audience with a sentimental love story without deviating from a conventional dramatic structure.

A review on the same production of *Old-Heidelberg*, published in *The Era*, offers similar reliance on national stereotypes with England in the position of cultural hegemony.

> [...] Every nation has its own illusions and student life is one of the most cherished and well-established 'dream-fancies' of Germany. And it must be owned to that the merry 'burschen' make a brave show on the stage. [...] The success of *Old-Heidelberg* at the St. James's on Thursday was achieved, not by any striking opportunities for acting, but by the magnetic influence of joyous, exuberant animal life. [...] In cold blood we must admit that *Old-Heidelberg* has its defects. [...] Far too much fuss is made about the 'ruler' of a petty German State, whose territory and responsibilities probably do not exceed those of many rich English squire. The heroine, too, is a bold 'minx', who lets herself be hugged and hauled about by all comers, and does not refuse to go off to Paris with a young man. But with students' song ringing in our ears, and with the lights of Heidelberg reflecting in the blue Neckar, we are in no mood for severe criticism [...] (*The Era* 21 March 1903)

A quintessentially romantic image is presented of German landscape as well as of German student life, but demonstrating an awareness of the falseness of this idyll. However, the

display of "animal"-like masculinity makes up both for the indecent femininity displayed and the mundaneness of German royalty, compared to the superior English aristocracy.

What is displayed within all of these reviews above is, as Edward Said has termed it, a "flexible positional superiority" (Said 1995:7) toward Germany, establishing a cultural leadership, or rather hegemony. Cultural hegemony needs to be understood as being dynamic and tending, as Gramsci states, to "presuppose that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed" (Forgacs 1988:211). Therefore, the dynamics of cultural hegemony lie within the constant need to reassure and re-establish the right to and position of cultural leadership and the need to "make sacrifices" of a cultural kind (Forgacs 1988:211).

Thus, the dynamic of hegemony is central to the function of reviews, as the review simultaneously re-asserts hegemony and makes cultural sacrifices. Therefore, the review needs to be recognised as a cultural practice with contradictions integral to it. Indeed, in many respects these contradictions themselves express the dynamic nature of the process. The review initially recognises the foreign as a cultural power through the act of choosing to review translated plays in production. Also, once the review identifies certain artistic qualities, the foreign is further enhanced as a cultural power. However, this recognition, this 'making a sacrifice', is in a dynamic relationship with the re-assurance of the domestic cultural hegemony. For identifying and judging artistic qualities of the foreign within the context of domestic cultural attitudes then establishes and re-assures hegemony over the foreign. Such obvious comparisons between the domestic and the foreign (as the previous examples demonstrate) establish and serve to re-assert cultural leadership. Also, taking this into account, the fact that the value and quality of the source-text, the foreign, is defined by,

and in relation to, the domestic culture, establishes and re-assures cultural leadership. In other words, the mere fact that the target culture feels able to judge the source text puts the former in a position of power. This explains why the notion of equivalence is so crucial to the concept of translation. With the review aiding an establishment and re-assurance of cultural hegemony, the translated play, the target text, needs to be regarded merely as a foreign play, an example of the foreign over which hegemony is to be established. If equivalence is not believed in, but accepted as an illusion and thus disregarded as a viable concept of translation, the target-text would no longer be the foreign. As such, the translation as a creative and interpretative act of re-writing would then no longer represent fully the foreign, but necessarily the domestic. Consequentially, the target-text would have to be treated as a domestic cultural output, rather than a foreign cultural output. In return, this would disrupt the dynamics necessary for cultural hegemony and the reception of translation could no longer be part of this dynamic. Of course, equivalence is an illusion, translation is a creative act of re-writing, but – and this is of vital importance – the need to assure and establish flexible cultural leadership requires equivalence to be central to the concept of translation. This centrality of equivalence in the emerging concept of stage translation becomes particularly obvious in the following review:

> It is, of course, interesting to see in what way the works get changed in the process of adaptation, though, indeed when Mr. L. N. Parker is responsible for the English version we expect and get an admirable fidelity to the original source. Despite the curious inequality of his own work, one finds throughout his contributions to the stage a strong artistic conscience which causes him to respect the labours of fellow-craftsmen. [...] [I]n 'Magda', for instance, has given a play which would, I fancy, have decided even the closest observer into the belief that it was an original work. (*The Sketch* 2 December 1903)

Even though Parker's translation of Sudermann's *Heimat* was replaced in production by Winslow's translation until 1923[105], this review offers valuable insights into the contemporary concept of translation and offers a possible definition of equivalence. Equivalence, in this case, can be understood as representing "respect" for the author of the source, being faithful and accurate regarding the source whilst, at the same time, producing a translation that is at no point recognised as such. Equivalence is then itself a contradictory concept since it is comprised of the notion of fidelity and accuracy but at the same time calls for linguistic fluency. Therefore, not only is the belief in equivalence, as stated above, integral to translation as part of the struggle over cultural hegemony, but the specifics of the notion of equivalence itself can be understood in relation to the dynamics of cultural hegemony. The inherent "respect" for the author of the source, the acknowledgment of the artistic quality of the source, on the one hand, and the expectancy of fluency, therefore establishing linguistic hegemony as part of the overall cultural hegemony, on the other, complement each other in a similar dynamic to the one described above (that is the necessity to achieve an equilibrium between the dominant group (or culture) that exercises hegemony and the subordinate group (or culture) over which hegemony is exercised).

A number of other reviews underline this argument and illuminate such a hegemonic dynamic. A review of the production of Rudolf Bleichmann's translation *Love's Carnival*, for example, states the following:

> 'Love's Carnival' is rather too pretty a name for the new piece at the St. James's [...] For 'Rosenmontag' is somewhat an ugly play, whether accepted as a study of abnormal temperament or picture of the cruel effects of German military despotism. (*The Sketch*, 23 March 1904)

[105] See Chapter 2 & Appendix III.

Not quite as serious and damning as the above, but, nevertheless, displaying a rather patronising attitude toward German drama in translation is the following extract from a review in *The Times*:

> The play [*Light O'Love*], as we understand, is very successful in Austria and Germany, has a simple story [...] they have been drinking *bruderschaft* and doing all sorts of amusing Austrian things [...] (*The Times* 15 May 1909)

The above discussion of the function of a concept of translation within the struggle for cultural hegemony displays certain attitudes that are very similar to what Venuti terms the "translator's invisibility" (Venuti 1995) and his claim that "translations, like any cultural practice, entail the reproduction of values" (Venuti 1998:1). Within the framework of cultural hegemony, the reproduction of values can concern either the values inherent in the target culture or the reproduction of values of the source culture as understood or constructed by the target culture and, therefore, reflecting the values of the target culture. Among the most obvious values displayed within the reviews are those of morality. Reviews of the production of *Comtesse Mizzi*, for example, regularly refer to the sexual immorality contained within the play. *The Era* states that

> granted the non-existence of certain moral laws in the relations of the sexes, Arthur Schnitzler's one-act-play, 'Comtesse Mizzi', produced by the Incorporated Stage Society, at the Aldwych Theatre, resolves itself into a comedy of modern life. (*The Era* 15 March 1913)

The Sketch is rather more harsh in its review of the same performance:

> I doubt whether 'Comtesse Mizzi' will be revived, because, although quite amusing, it has a vein of cynical unmorality [sic] which will never be accepted by the English audience. (*The Sketch* 19 March 1913)

The Times, on the other hand, demonstrates the previously observed patronising attitude:

> A foreign University Professor talked some time ago of the veiled polygamy and polyandry which, he said, formed the basis of modern society. If the author of *Comtesse Mizzi* is to be believed, the veil, at any rate as far as modern Austria is concerned, is worn rather for ornament than for decency. [...] Well, you must remember, it all happens in (or near) Vienna, and perhaps it isn't true. (*The Times* 11 March 1913)

Indecency and immorality are portrayed in all three examples as a foreign prerogative and all three reviews underline that the play is not only set in Vienna but also written by an Austrian. A similar attitude is demonstrated by the Reader's Report, written for the Lord Chamberlain's Office in order to grant license for a public performance.

> A rather long-winded study of free-and-easy relationships à la Veinnoise [...] Unedifying but not [so] flagrantly offensive that it may not be Recommended for License. (Lord Chamberlain's Archive, Manuscript No. 1467)

"Veinnoise" is underlined in blue pencil[106] in the original manuscript, indicating that the Lord Chamberlain himself saw the need to stress the foreign aspect of the play. *Comtesse Mizzi* may not improve the morality of the English audience but, in the context of cultural hegemony, the display of indecency acts as a means to differentiate the superior domestic morality from the inferior foreign one. This differentiation is only possible, however, if the translation is indeed seen to be equivalent to the original. However, this is not to say that translations cannot function as a challenge to the values of a target culture. Within the dynamic of a cultural hegemony the public production of such challenges to moral values is at once a means to establish such power and at the same time a sacrifice of the cultural kind, a compromise in order to form an equilibrium.

Challenges made to the target culture are not limited to those of a moral nature but also include challenges of dramatic structure and genre. *The Era* above, stresses the one-act nature of *Comtesse Mizzi*, and at the same time attempts to allocate a genre description to it, describing the play as a 'comedy of modern life'. The review uses inverted commas regularly not only in order to stress the indecency of the play but also in order to stress the generic unconventionality.

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[106] The blue pencil of the censor has taken on a near mythical status, so much so that John Johnston not only entitles his history of the Lord Chamberlain's Office *The Lord Chamberlain's Blue Pencil*, but also dedicates

> [...] The Count's eighteen years of "domestic" happiness since the death of his wife with his mistress Lolo Langhuber, is about to be ended [...] The "comedy" was played in easy style by the members of the cast. [...] Mr. Athol Stewart was cleverly polished and pertinent as Prince Egon, who, under the conditions, would have been the "villain of the piece" [...] (*The Era* 15 March 1913)

"Domestic" appears in inverted commas because of the nature of the relationship, and, similarly, so does "comedy" because of the nature of the play. Generic restrictions and moral values are combined in the criticism of the review. *Comtesse Mizzi* cannot be classed as a comedy without inverted commas just as Prince Egon, who "would have been the "villain of the piece"", not only with regard to the generic convention of comedy but also with regard to the reproduction of moral values, is not necessarily presented as such. Thus, there appears to be a connection between accepted genre characteristics and accepted moral codes. Indeed, as Tzvetan Todorov states:

> [g]enres communicate indirectly with the society where they are operative through their institutionalization. [...] a society chooses and codifies the [speech] acts that correspond most closely to its ideology. (Todorov 2000:200)

Todorov, however, argues further that

> [i]t is because genres exist as an institution that they function as 'horizons of expectations' for readers and as 'models of writing' for authors. (Todorov 2000:199)

The review in *The Era*, by ascribing the play to a sub-genre of comedy, attempts to provide a certain "horizon of expectation" for the theatre audience and at the same time tries to prevent the play being classed as a 'genre proper' and, therefore, a "model of writing" by undermining its correspondence to prevalent notions of decency.

That stated, more positive reactions to plays in translation which do not correspond to genres established in the target culture can be found. *The Sketch*, for example, even though

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the book "to the Lord Chamberlains who wielded the blue pencil and to their Examiners of Plays" (Johnston 1990).

it emphasises the length and nature of Schnitzler's *Der grüne Kakadu*, in translation by Penelope Wheeler under the title *The Green Cockatoo*, similarly to *The Era*, comments positively on the generic differences observed.

> "The Green Cockatoo", also by Schnitzler, author of the "Anatol" plays, is quite remarkably strong, and despite, or perhaps on account of, its curious length, ought to be very valuable on some occasions: it is a one-act drama that lasts about an hour and represents an episode at the beginning of the French Revolution, in a style sometimes broadly comic, at others, luridly melodramatic, and towards the end, grimly tragic. The general law about not deceiving the audience is violated in it several times, so cleverly that valuable effects are obtained by the breaches. Why it is described a "Grotesque" I do not know [...] (*The Sketch* 19 March 1913)

Rather than inventing a new sub-genre, as *The Era* does with regards to *Comtesse Mizzi*, *The Sketch* discusses *The Green Cockatoo* by describing what it is not in terms of genre, but at the same time attributing certain generic characteristics to it, stressing the transgression of generic conventions through, what Alastair Fowler terms, "combination of repertoires [which] is one of the most obvious means of generic change" (Fowler 2000:234). A later review of the same play, this time performed at the Vaudeville, is as complementary but offers less detail in terms of generic description, although, importantly, what the play is not (i.e. melodramatic or commonplace) becomes a means of description.

> [...] "Collision" after far too short a run at the Vaudeville, has been replaced by two dramas somewhat unusual in form, for they fill the bill, although each is, nominally at least, in one act. [...] Arthur Schnitzler's work, "The Green Cockatoo", the second piece, is a brilliant, thrilling piece of sensationalism. [...] For once in a way we have a play concerning the French Revolution that is not commonplace or melodramatic. (*The Sketch* 29 October 1913)[107]

Thus, it is the exceptional status of the play in terms of genre that is of interest to the reviewer and, as Todorov states, "in order to be an exception, the work necessarily presupposes a rule" (Todorov 2000:196). Not only does the play presuppose a rule but also

[107] The other play in this double-bill is Hermann Ould's *Between Sunset and Dawn*.

the reviewer in his/her analysis, and through the recognition of exception through the reviewer, the exception itself can become the rule.

> [...] no sooner is it [the work] recognized in its exceptional status than the work becomes a rule in turn, because of [...] the critical attention it receives. (Todorov 2000:196)

That stated, the translational act can then be understood to function as a means to transcend generic convention, not only offering experimentation to the translator but also offering the native playwright an impetus to modify and internalise generic rules (see Hale 1999:234). A direct call for using a foreign play, which does not correspond to established genres in the target culture, as a 'model of writing' can be found in reviews of Hauptmann's plays *Der Biberpelz* and *Die Weber*. The review of *Der Biberpelz* in translation and production was written by William Archer for *The World* and will be discussed in detail below. The review of *Die Weber* deals with the production of the play by the *Deutsches Theater*[108] and is so articulate in its call for a new 'model of writing' that it is worth quoting from at some length.

> Since last week there has been no noteworthy event in the playhouse save the production of "Die Weber" at the German Theatre, and I write half apologetically concerning a work so utterly foreign to the spirit of modern English drama. [...] It is a play almost destitute of plot, gloomy and painful, ending without a conclusion, possessing neither hero nor heroine, and making no concessions to the public taste for gaiety, prettiness or humour. [...] The piece is what one may call a "public question" play - a term I use because the valuable phrase "problem play" has acquired an unfortunate second meaning confining it to matter concerning illicit love. It is a remarkable fact, or must seem so to a foreigner, that we import all our "public question" plays. [...] Now there are many people quite contented that drama should keep off public questions, and it is generally assumed that the Lord Chamberlain takes this view. [...] Nevertheless, in a country such as Germany, which in many aspects of life is groaning for lack of liberty [...] "Die Weber", despite the scandal it created, has after a struggle, received official sanction. It seems strange that in a land which we proudly regard as the mother-home of liberty there should be any censorship of plays, except perhaps - and even this is doubtful - on the ground of decency. [...] The

[108] See Chapter 1 and Appendix II for details.

> constant confinement of ideas for the theatre to ideas from the theatre is bound to have a sterilising result commonly seen in limited classes kept artificially pure by limitation of area of marriage. What on earth would have become of our drama but for the foreign invasions and the services of the adapters and translators? Perhaps, in despair, our dramatists would have gone to the human life around them for aid. (*The Sketch* 18 January 1905)

Similarly to earlier examples, the description of what the play is not gives an insight into the conventions which are expected to be fulfilled by the domestic drama. A plot with a clear conclusion, a hero or heroine and some "prettiness" and "humour" are all dramatic conventions expected to be fulfilled at least in part. Thus, the lack of those conventions not only indicates that generic rules exist but also that the play is "utterly foreign" not only with regard to language and source but, importantly, with regard to content and structure. The reviewer sees the need, similarly to one of the reviews in *The Era* quoted above, to invent a genre classification in order not to generate expectations similar to those of the native "problem play". What it calls for is a change in genre through what Fowler terms "topical invention" (Fowler 2000:233) where the form and structure of the "problem play" is used for a realistic and socially aware dealing with "human life". The review consciously views translations and adaptations as "a major way of filling in gaps" (Toury 1995:27) but, crucially, does so through a "syntax of hegemony by which the part [...] represents the whole" (Billig 1995:88). The first person plural in statements such as "a land **we** proudly regard', '**our** drama' and '**our** dramatists" (my emphasis), relates not only to the reviewer and his/her readers but makes a claim to represent not only the native theatre audience but the whole nation and, thus, "represents the national culture" (Billig 1995:88). As Billig argues, "the very syntax of the first person plural seems to invite such claims" (Billig 1995:88). Furthermore, by using terminology such as "foreign invasion", the somewhat abstract struggle for and the need to establish cultural hegemony is expressed through very real images of war, importantly those of invasion. The threat of invasion, as discussed in

Chapter 1, is an effective technique used to call for changes in the domestic culture. Thus, translation as a means to challenge generic constrictions is connected to the struggle for cultural hegemony.

Hauptmann's *Die Weber* was produced in English translation 23 months after the production at the *Deutsches Theater*, and, judging by the enthusiastic reception above, it could be expected that the English translation in production would receive similar positive critical responses. However, the same newspaper that so ardently praised *Die Weber* is rather less enthusiastic when confronted with the English translation.

> "The Weavers" was not a very wise venture of the Stage Society. To watch it was a fearful joy, "a pleasure that was almost a pain", a pain by no means a pleasure. There are power and remarkable characterisation in Hauptmann's treatment of the strike of starving Silesian weavers, but no art and little artifice. We were appalled, perhaps convinced, by its picture of suffering, and interested by clever if not great acting, and glad when it was over, even though they were thrilling moments and the study of the mob became at times most enthralling. (*The Sketch* 19 December 1906)

Attributing the title of the translation to the author of the source, without mentioning the translator, implies that source and translation are equivalent. Furthermore, criticising the play for lack of art and artifice undermines the fact that translation functions as a much needed means to transcend generic conventions and seems to express the opposite attitude to the earlier review of the *Deutsches Theater* production. This adverse treatment of *Die Weber* and *The Weavers* shows the complexity and contradictory nature of the treatment of the foreign artistic output. Both are seen in the context of domestic cultural output, but the former, produced within the confines of the *Deutsches Theater*, is treated as an example of a much needed domestic dramatic development, and the latter, produced in English translation by an English company, is used in order to demonstrate the superiority of the target culture. Thus the translation in production is seen as having to correspond much more closely to the target culture than the foreign original. As Sirkku Aaltonen argues,

> The aim [of a translated theatre text] is not that the audience be brought close, or made more familiar with the foreign tradition, but rather that the foreign tradition is, to a greater or lesser extent, transformed according to the different conditions of specific fields of reception. (Aaltonen 2000:48)

Thus, the foreign tradition, confined to its own culture in the form of the *Deutsches Theater*, can be praised on the grounds of its difference from the native tradition and for its innovatory character, whereas a translated playtext, defined by its location within the domestic performance tradition, needs to correspond to a far greater extent to the source tradition and theatrical conditions.

However, a review where a mixture of the above attitudes is displayed is the following:

> The Stage Society's production "Midsummer Fires" was an excellent version by Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Grein of the best of the Sudermann plays that I recollect; but although Herr Andresen directed the production, the general effect in the external elements was quite un-teutonic, and since the sentiments and ideas are in many respects peculiarly German, the effect was curiously unconvincing. [...] It is typical of modern German art that it should be free from the snobbish touch so common in ours. Probably some British playgoers would find the play more thrilling if the story concerned people with handles to their names instead of some East Prussian farming folk. (*The Sketch* 23 May 1906)

There is the overt sanction of "excellent version" with both translators mentioned, J. T. Grein being quite a prominent member of the translational community under examination, and also the claim that the production style needs to represent the foreign in order to make the transmissability of ideas possible. Therefore, notions of equivalence, transference and transmissability are all inherent in the review. Furthermore, translation as developing genres, especially regarding "topical invention" is acknowledged in that the snobbery of the British audience relates to the class of the characters portrayed.

The notion of equivalence and the challenges to the target-culture, be they generic or moral, function within the dynamic of cultural hegemony as well as the reception of other target-language translations. Sudermann's play *Heimat* achieved international fame, offered a

leading female role and was played by actresses such as Mrs. Patrick Campbell in England, Sarah Bernhardt in France and Eleanore Duse in Italy. Both Sarah Bernhardt and Eleanore Duse took their productions of *Magda* to London[109] and the reactions to revivals of those productions[110] in the form of reviews display an attitude to foreign concepts of translation.

In the review of the revival of Duse's *Magda* production in *The Era* the translator is mentioned alongside the author in the title heading of the review, thus following the formula of the translation in production review. The formula consists of listing target title, translator, source-text author, source-text title, as established above. No further mention of the translator is made in the main body of the review; comments regarding the quality of the translation are, however, made alongside criticisms of the production style.

> The transference of *Magda* from German to an Italian atmosphere lessens the general effect of the play, and there is naturally, in the mounting of the Italian version at the Lyceum, no attempt made at scenic significance in the Schwartze interior. (*The Era* 12 May 1900)

The above extract indicates that the concept of differential translation is certainly acknowledged and even, to a certain extent, part of the concept of translation. However, differential translation has only validity with regard to other-target languages. Not only does the review display a feeling of superiority with regard to the quality of theatrical performances as, apparently, the Italians have, "naturally", not yet grasped the concept of significant set design, but the review also demonstrates a feeling of superiority with regard to translation quality. It could be argued that the review has been written with the experience of at least two German language production of *Heimat*: the Ducal Court Company of Saxe-Coburg performed Sudermann's play at Drury Lane in 1895 (see *The*

[109]According to *The Era*, 6 September 1902, Eleanor Duse first performed Magda in London on 12 June 1895 at Drury Lane, and Sarah Bernhardt performed Magda a year later, on 19 June 1896 at Daly's, followed by Mrs. Patrick Campbell as Magda on 31 June 1896 at the Lyceum. Elaine Aston, however, claims that Duse and Bernhard both appeared as Magda on the London stage in 1895, Sarah Bernhardt on 10 June and Eleanore Duse on 12 June 1895 (see Aston 1989:108).

Era, 6 September 1902) and the *Deutsches Theater* in February 1900, only four months before the Italian production[111]. If the German productions were seen as a prototype one would expect open comparisons between the German language productions, the source text and the various target texts and target productions. However, the reviews of *Magda*, whether relating to the Duse production or the production starring the American actress Nance O'Neill two years later, only ever compare actresses rather than the overall productions. Comments regarding text are made but as, examples above have demonstrated already, the text is not qualified as either source or translation.

> Neither in feature nor in voice does she [Eleanore Duse] quite realise for us the Magda suggested by the text. (*The Era* 12 May 1900)

Not only does the above quotation fail to differentiate between source and various target texts, but the text is understood as a source for character analysis and as such it is suggested that there is a 'correct' and 'incorrect' reading of the text, and as a result of that reading there must necessarily be a more correct and more incorrect translation. It further implies that the English understanding of the text and, therefore, the character is superior to that of the Italian. Furthermore, the "syntax of hegemony" is used where the "us" in the extract above can either represent the newspaper but also the whole of the London theatre audience, or even the national culture. Thus, the review as a whole displays a hegemonic attitude toward other target languages and production styles and at the same time holds on to the notion of equivalence. Various other reviews of this particular performance display a similar attitude toward the translated text and the production style, although degrees of assumed superiority may vary. *The Sketch*, for example, does not mention any of the

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[110] See Appendix III for details.
[111] See Appendix II for details.

translators, be they the Italian or the English versions, but implies that the only difference between the various 'Magdas' lie within the performance quality of the main actresses.

> [...] Her [Duse's] Magda is as wonderful as ever in its poignancy, power and restraint, and demands, as well as deserves, lavish praise and the hearty applause accorded to it. At the same time, it will confirm many of our playgoers in their admiration for Mrs. Campbell when they find that she holds her own to such a surprising extent in the immensely difficult task of presenting Sudermann's wayward heroine. (*The Sketch* 16 May 1900)

This review suggests that the relationship between original source and actress is essentially undisturbed by the translator. Thus, not only is the relationship between audience and performance undisturbed by the translator but also the relationship between source, or, indeed, author's intent, and translator. Therefore, not only does this establish the translator as having a passive and peripheral role within the production process, but also it confirms notions of transference and equivalence to be essential to the concept of stage translation. At the same time as praising Duse's performance, however, the review sees the need to remind the audience of the quality of the 'native' version of Magda, simultaneously acknowledging the foreign artistic quality of the international star and establishing the artistic quality of the domestic actress as equal. Even though the review in *The Sketch* is overall quite positive, a sense of superiority regarding production style is apparent.

> It seems a pity that she [Duse] still clings to her singular refusal to 'make up' according to the accepted and essential methods of the stage. (*The Sketch* 16 May 1900)

This statement could be understood as nothing more than a personal criticism of Eleanore Duse were it nor for the modifiers "accepted" and "essential". Thus not only is the domestic method of staging conventionalised but it is also exalted.

The review in *The Times* of the same production is probably the most complimentary comment on Duse's acting and Italian production style.

> The four acts of the piece were played so briskly, and with such brief intervals, that they were all over in less than two hours and a half. This is an

> example from Italy by which our native managers might well be invited to profit. (*The Times* 11 May 1900)

However, the attitude toward translation in performance is very similar to the examples given from *The Era* and *The Sketch*.

> [...] she [Eleanore Duse] opened last night with a stock piece of her repertory, Sudermann's *Magda*. What she makes of that we all know: something very fine, something all the finer perhaps for not being exactly the thing which the author intended. (*The Times* 11 May 1900)

As in the other examples given, no mention is made of the translator or even the language of the performance. Furthermore, "Sudermann's *Magda*" implies that translation is seen as nothing more than a transference and it is suggested, as in the examples above, that the interpretative relationship between actress and playwright is essentially undisturbed.

Two years later, in 1902, *Magda* is performed again on the West End stage. The production, starring the American actress Nance O'Neill, uses a new translation by G. Winslow rather than Louis N. Parker's translation. *The Times*, very unforgiving in its criticism of Nance O'Neill, takes the opportunity to refer to previous productions, starring Duse, Bernhardt and Campbell, and makes no reference at all to the source text or culture.

> Whether she [Nance O'Neill] can act tragedy, however, remains to be seen. All that we can say at present is that she cannot act Magda - as we conceive Magda ought to be acted. (*The Times* 2 September 1902)

As previously observed, the prevalent concept of stage translation assumes that translation is not an interpretative act, but that the interpretative act happens between actor/actress and playwright's intent.

Holding on to this concept of the undisturbed interpretative relationship between stage representation and the original source culture or text is more problematic when the translator and the main actor are one and the same person. Harley Granville Barker translated, produced and starred in a production of Arthur Schnitzler's *Anatol* in 1911 (see

Chapter 3 and 5). Apart from *The Era*, all papers reviewed the production at the Little Theatre and all reviews attempt to hold on to both equivalence and, subsequently, the undisturbed interpretative relationship. *The Times*, although it lists Granville Barker as the translator in the heading of the review, only refers to Barker the actor within the main body of text and not to Barker the translator.

> Mr. Granville Barker plays Anatol with delightful tact and finish, and with a certain freshness, agreeable as it is in itself, is so far out of the character as to be almost cherubic [...] (*The Times* 13 March 1911)

By only referring to Barker's acting style, claiming that he is indeed to a certain extent "out of character" and at the same time neglecting to mention Barker as a translator, the translational act is regarded as nothing more than a transference of text. Interpretation and styles of representation are discussed with regard to the performance itself and the double role Barker takes on as translator and actor is disregarded and the interpretational act only related to the performance itself. The role of the translator is thus reduced to the role of a transcriber who does not interfere with the relation between actor and source.

The Sketch is more ambiguous in its description of Barker's role regarding the production of *Anatol.*

> Anatol, as portrayed by Arthur Schnitzler and Granville Barker, is not a vicious fellow in the ordinary sense of the word. (*The Sketch* 22 March 1911)

This comment does not seem to draw a distinct line between Barker as a translator and Barker as an actor and it is not quite certain which role the review refers to. It could either be argued that Barker is alluded to as a co-author to Schnitzler, or it could be argued that Barker's role as translator is dismissed completely as it is at no point in the review mentioned overtly that he does occupy both parts. If that is the case, then the attitude portrayed within this particular review imitates the one displayed in *The Times.* The function of the actor is therefore perceived as being one of portrayal and representation in

close connection to the source and unconcerned with the translational act. However, *The World* attributes both roles, that of the actor and that of the translator, to Barker. It is important to note at this point that, by 1911, William Archer was no longer writing for *The World* and, therefore, the issues discussed and commented upon within the review are not related to Archer's and Barker's close personal and professional relationship as discussed in Chapter 2.

> If the *Anatol* sketches had not been so delicately treated by Messr.s [sic] Arthur Schnitzler and Granville Barker they might have appeared quite ugly. [...] This [*A Christmas Present*] and the succeeding dialogue [*An Episode*], in which Anatol moralises over old love-letters, old dead flowers, old locks of hair, re written [sic] with an especially delicate touch, and Mr. Granville Barker's paraphrase appears to have preserved with complete success the Viennese sparkle of Arthur Schnitzler. (*The World* 14 March 1911)

The first line of the above quotation refers to Barker the actor and reinforces the above conception of the relationship between actor and playwright. Quite crucially, however, the review qualifies Barker's role as a translator as being that of a 're-writer' and 'paraphraser'. Therefore, it is at this point that Barker, as a translator, assumes the new mantle of the 'active translator'. A new translational discourse is introduced, namely translation as an act of re-writing rather than transference. Whereas before no real distinction was made between 'version' or 'translation', and transference and equivalence were central to the concept of stage translation, another dimension is introduced. This is not to say that equivalence has been denounced. Even though the concept of translation as re-writing has been introduced, preservation of the original is still the standard against which Barker's paraphrase is to be measured and sanctions given. Similarly to the earlier calls for anglicising the target text, the understanding of equivalence has been adapted rather than dismissed. With equivalence being an illusion, a belief system rather than an immutable reality, altering the illusion is not only possible but also necessary in order to function pragmatically.

In addition to the introduction of the notion of translation as re-writing, the review in *The World* makes a direct comparison between *Anatol* and Barker's work as a playwright. Discussing the "moral frivolity" of the character Anatol, the review closes by stating the following:

> Yet I must confess that when I left I was faintly regretful to have been so vastly entertained. What, I wonder, would Mr. Barker's own Philip Madras say to Anatol? (*The World* 14 March 1911)

Crucially, the review attributes ownership of Philip Madras, the main character in Barker's play *The Madras House* (see Chapter 3), to Barker whereas the character Anatol is not included in this claim of creative ownership. Thus, the review may use the concept of re-writing, but, importantly, the understanding of re-writing as manifested here does not allow for a claim to authorship, or rather ownership. Hence, there still is a hierarchical distinction made between the author of the source and the writer of the target text, in that the former is seen as the creator and the latter as the preserver.

However, Barker, as a translator, is treated quite differently to the other members of the translational community, in that he receives far more attention for his role as a translator than other members of the translational community. Not even William Archer, as the translator of Hauptmann's *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* is dealt with in a corresponding manner. *The Illustrated London News*, for example, mentions Archer as the translator but is in essence typical of other reviews in that the translator is conceived of as not being involved with the interpretative act.

> A very delightful rendering of Gerhart Hauptmann's dream-poem, 'Hannele', was that which was given at the Scala some nights ago by the Play Actors's Society in Mr. Archer's translation [...] (*The Illustrated London News* 25 April 1908)

Using the passive removes the responsibility for the "delightful rendering" from Archer as the translator and implies that it was achieved through the Play Actors rather than the

translation. *The World* does not mention Archer at all in a review of the same play performed seven months later at His Majesty's, but implies all through the review that source and target are indeed equivalent.

> [...] *Hannele*, for example, Hauptmann's exquisite dream-poem which was acted last week at His Majesty's [...] nothing to spoil the tender appeal of Hauptmann's fascinating revelation of a child's mind [...]. (*The World* 15 December 1908)

Even though Barker is treated more prominently than other translators, the reviews regarding Barker's translation of *Anatol* do not display a fundamentally different concept of stage translation, equivalence is still integral to it and so is the translator as the non-creative writer. What needs to be established is why Barker's role as a translator receives more recognition than the rest of the translational community. The most obvious difference between Barker and the other members of the translational community is that he is the only one who takes part in the production as an actor and not only a translator. Perhaps, as was suggested earlier, the interpretative act is seen as being located between author and actor and Barker, taking on both functions simultaneously, blurs the boundaries between the author - actor, author - translator, and translator - actor relationships. Furthermore, Barker is the only member of the translational community who, by this stage in his career, is an acknowledged and critically acclaimed playwright in his own right. As such his creative writing is viewed in relation to his translational work as demonstrated by the above comparison between his 'own' character and his 're-written' character. Additionally and crucially, Barker has established himself not only as an actor and playwright but also as a director, therefore questioning not only the positioning of the interpretative act further but also the responsibility of the creative and artistic quality of the performance as a whole. Therefore, the gradual replacement of the actor/manager by the director/playwright on the English stage (see Innes 1996:30) is initiated, and, thus, the relationship between actor and

playwright is being mediated by the director. A review in *The Sketch*, as early as 1902, discusses the relationship between actor and playwright and claims that the hierarchical relation between actor and dramatist is vital to the quality of production in particular and English theatre in general.

> The production of 'Magda' brings forward vividly the fact that there are two theories radically different concerning the relation of actor to drama - the one that the player exists to present the play, and the other that the play exists to present the player. Probably few would have quite the courage to say that the actor's art is higher than the dramatist's, though something very much like that proposition has been put forward. [...] That, so far as real drama is concerned, the player's function is lower than the dramatist's seems to me so obvious as to need no demonstration, and yet the triumph of the actor and his influence on drama have been greater than those of the author. [...] The consequence of this in the long run, I believe, [to] be fatal to English drama [...] (*The Sketch* 10 September 1902)

With Archer's and, indeed, Barker's attempt to literarise the stage the emergence of the director/playwright takes on the role of re-adjusting the hierarchical dependence between playwright and actor[112]. The position of the translator, however, is not discussed and, therefore, ascribed a rather peripheral role. Only when the director, the translator and the actor become one, and, therefore, the boundaries less clear, is the translator dealt with as a more prominent creative influence on the production process. This becomes particularly clear when examining the following remarks made about a production of another translation by Barker. In this case, however, Barker does not take on the triple role of translator/director/actor, but is only visible in the production process in the role of the translator.

> *Das Märchen*, Arthur Schnitzler. English Version, by C. E. Wheeler and Granville Barker, at the Little Theatre on Sunday, January 28th.
>
> Mr. C. E. Wheeler and Mr. Granville Barker must have had a sympathetic task in preparing their excellent version of the German dramatist's work,

[112] This, of course, can be seen as the beginning of the move towards a director's theatre where the directorial, rather than the playwrights', concept takes on the central role. Prominent examples of the so-called director's theatre are Peter Brook, Peter Stein, Arianne Mnouchkin and Robert Wilson.

> which was presented by the Adelphi Play Society at the Little Theatre on Sunday; for the story deals with a serious human problem, and the conclusion is sufficiently depressing. (*The Era* 3 February 1912)

Barker's and Wheeler's translation is referred to as "version", similarly to earlier reviews of translations in production, rather than as a paraphrase or, indeed, re-write. The overt sanction "excellent" is still attributed to the translation but no differentiation is made between subject matter of the original and other aspects of the translational act. The translational act then is not seen as a creative act but as an act of transference of content, the difficulty thus being the endurance of a particularly depressing plot or theme. The assigned level of difficulty would, therefore, be in direct relation to the level of seriousness of the source. On the whole, the above review mirrors the concept of stage translation as one of transference, and, therefore, the reason for the distinct nature of the *Anatol* reviews cannot only be the fact that Barker is the translator. However, what makes the *Anatol* production special is Barker's direct and pronounced involvement with the whole of the production process. Thus, the public manifestation of the intersection, as defined in Chapter 2, leads to the translational act being moved from the periphery to a more central position with regards to the interpretative relationships inherent in the production process.

So far, the analysis of reviews has shown that the covert sanctions of the translational act combined with the appearance of overt sanctions indicate not only that a crystallisation of a concept of stage translation occurs but also that the translational act is part of the dynamic of cultural hegemony. Indeed, integral to the concept of stage translation is the notion of equivalence, although an equivalence that allows for reactions from the translator according to domestic cultural circumstance. Thus, the need for the illusion of equivalence is embedded in the notion of the reception of the translational act as being integral to the

struggle for cultural hegemony. As a part of the dynamic of cultural hegemony, translation at once represents a foreign artistic quality and establishes the domestic culture as the agent of hegemonial power. The relationship then between translation and cultural hegemony not only exists between target and source culture but also in relation to other target cultures. That stated, translation not only functions as a means to establish domestic cultural hegemony but also presents a challenge to domestic values, be they moral or generic, because of the necessity to make cultural sacrifices in order to establish an equilibrium through which hegemonial power can be retained and controlled.

However, when examining the sample of reviews, a notable exception becomes apparent: the exception being another prominent member of the inner circle of the translational community, William Archer. Archer, translator, critic and reviewer, is the only reviewer who deals overtly with translational issues in his reviews for *The World*. Thus, his position within the intersection, the pseudo-field of translation, seems to manifest itself not in the way other reviews deal with him as a translator, as is the case with Harley Granville Barker, but in the way he deals with the particulars of the concept of stage translation in his own reviews.

William Archer's reviews of target texts in production deal with questions of selection, genre and quality and add interesting insights to the attitudes to the translational act and to the concept of stage translation. Archer never seems to mention the name of the translator in question although he does discuss the particulars of the translational process. Thus it becomes apparent that Archer views the personality of the translator to be of no or only very little importance to the translation itself. His reviews do, however, evince the existence of choices made by the translator and their significance. Typical of Archer's reviews in *The*

World is that of Hauptmann's *Biberpelz*, translated by Christopher Horne under the title *The Thieves' Comedy*, and this is worth quoting from at length.

> [...] Frau Wolff, in the *original*, speaks the broadest Berliner jargon, and the words may be said to carry their intonation with them. But it is flatly impossible to find an *equivalent* in a foreign tongue for a local dialect. Why should a Berlin washwoman talk Cockney English? or Somersetshire? or Yorkshire? Instead of helping the *illusion*, it would put the local colour all wrong. The translator has accordingly given Frau Wolff only few vulgarisms of speech which belong to no particular locality; and therein he has chosen the lesser of two evils. [...] (*The World* 28 March 1905) (*my emphasis*)

Archer lays down two ground rules of translation in this extract from the review. The first is concerned with the overall aim of translation for the stage and the second with the cultural aspects of dialect. He argues that the aim of translation is to create an illusion of equivalence, although he questions whether it is possible to achieve. The notion of illusion, as mentioned in the review, does, however, refer not only to the illusion of equivalence within translation but also to the creation of illusion of life on stage. Archer, as discussed in Chapter 2, is pivotal to the introduction of naturalism to the English stage, with regards both to the dramatists' work and the production style. Hauptmann's *Biberpelz* is one of the very few examples of a naturalistic comedy and, as such, required a new acting and production style in line with the development of Naturalism. The creation of an illusion of real life on stage thus is central to Archer's argument and includes both the translation as well as the overall mode of performance. The importance Archer attaches to the choice of dialects in translation then needs to be seen in this context. Not only does the transference of dialects become important because of the notion of equivalence in translation but because of the naturalistic nature of the play. The dialect then is inextricably linked to the performance, and Archer stresses that "the words carry their intonation with them", emphasising the connection of dramatic text with dramatic performance. According to Archer, the cultural aspects of dialect are first and foremost related to locality. The obvious

relation to class is implicit in his critique and in order to preserve the class bias of the original, he justifies the use of "vulgarisms" by the translator. This, of course, demonstrates Archer's own class bias in that he seems to equate vulgarisms with the lower classes. Archer's claim that introducing vulgarisms to a neutral accent, rather than attempting to find an equivalent dialect, is the "lesser of two evils" stresses his belief in ideal equivalence, but at the same time implies that he is very much aware that the source and the target can never be interchangeable. Thus, a certain flexibility is apparent regarding the concept of equivalence. His views on dialect and accents in stage translations are reiterated by the Academy only a few years later. Karl Scholz, in his doctoral thesis on Sudermann and Hauptmann translations, dated 1918, comes to a very similar conclusion. Scholz argues that

> [...] to translate naturalistic dialect drama into an English or American dialect simply for the sake of using English deviating from normal literary English [...] tends to destroy, rather than reproduce the real significance of the language of the original. In each and every instance the language must be suited to the character or types of character employing it. (Scholz 1918:37)

Similarly to Archer, Scholz emphasises the naturalistic qualities of the play in question and he states, with particular reference to Horne's translation, that

> Charles John Horne's version of Hauptmann's *Der Biberpelz* displays ignorance of German dialect, but reproduces the spirit of the original quite faithfully by employing a highly colloquial, and even vernacular English well adapted to the nature of the characters portrayed in the drama. (Scholz 1918:61)

The basis of Scholz's argument is that the aim of translation is to "*give an exact reproduction, a complete transcript, of the* thought *and spirit of the original work.*" (Scholz 1918:4) (his italics) and where Archer's concept of equivalence and transference seems more flexible, Scholz's notion is dogmatic, disregarding the performance aspect of playtext translation entirely. Archer classifies his discussion of the translation of dialects as one of performance by stating that "I have dealt with the acting first because it is what chiefly

concerns us" (*The World* 28 March 1905), whereas Scholz's treatment of dialects in translation is purely a matter of the "exact reproduction" of the source. It could be argued that Archer's position within the intersection not only manifests itself through the more detailed discussion of the translational act but also in his understanding of the concept of stage translation. It seems that stage translation is, in this context, dealt with as being part of the production process rather than as an act of writing, independent from production, as is the case with Scholz's analysis of the translation process. Archer stresses this point by comparing the translation not to the source text but to German language productions. He is one of the few critics who speaks German fluently enough to compare target and source text, but he does not refer to the printed version of the play, when making comparisons.

> [...] It happens that I have seen this play acted both by its original cast in Berlin and at our own German Theatre; and with both these productions the performance at the Court can very well hold its own [...] (*The World* 28 March 1905)

Thus, it becomes evident that Archer's concept of stage translation is inextricably linked to performance and, in line with his critical writing, Archer's concern with genre and dramatic structure underlines this point.

> [...] The translator - otherwise most judicious - has done it [the play] some injustice in calling it by its alternative title, or rather description, *The Thieves' Comedy*. Its original title, *The Beaver Coat*, would have been much more suitable; firstly, because it centres our attention on that article of attire and thus carries forward the interest from the first act to the third; secondly, because it does not arouse false expectations, such as the word 'comedy' inevitably awakens in an English audience. The play is not, in our sense of the word, a comedy at all. It is a low-life picture which happens, incidentally to be comic. [...] That is the pity of admitting the word 'comedy' into the title: it necessitates a mental readjustment on the part of any spectator who has no other means of knowing what awaits him; and in the theatre there is no time for readjustments. (*The World* 28 March 1905)

Archer's criticism of the title of the play in translation is based not upon notions of equivalence or transference, but domestic dramatic tradition. The title of the source, he argues, is to be seen in relation to dramatic structure. The play consists of four acts: during

the first and third Frau Wolff commits a theft, the beaver coat is stolen during the third act. The second and fourth acts portray von Wehrhahn's unsuccessful attempts to solve the respective crimes. The title then serves, according to Archer, as a means to underline the importance of the repetition of both theft and attempted solving of the crime. Furthermore, not only is the title to be seen in relation to dramatic structure and, hence, in relation to the establishment of audience interest, but including a genre description creates a "horizon of expectations". Archer does not argue that *Biberpelz* is not a comedy per se, but he argues that it is not an English comedy. Thus, the translator, or rather the translational act, needs to take domestic cultural circumstance, i.e. dramatic tradition, into account, certain expectations of dramatic convention have to be met, especially once they have been aroused by, for example, the title of the play. Furthermore, this argument stresses the strong relationship between translated playtext and production as Archer claims that readjustments of genre expectations need more time than is available to a theatre audience. Hence, transcending genre restrictions and at the same time influencing the construction of genre itself is a slow process and any concept of stage translation needs to take this gradual development into account. That is not to say that playtext translation cannot transcend genre restrictions at all. Indeed, Archer argues that

> In one respect, if no other, the production of Hauptmann's *Biberpelz* at the Court Theatre is an event of the first importance. It shows that, if we have no drama of common life in England, it is for want of authors to write, not of actors to act it. [...] Hauptmann is no incomparable genius. What he has done, others may do, and may do even better. [...] I do not urge imitation - that would be futile. But I do say that *The Thieves' Comedy* may well give a stimulating hint, a liberating impulse, to several men of talent whom I could name. The narrowness of the field open to the English dramatists has long been recognised as one of the disasters of the latter-day stage. (*The World* 28 March 1905)

This statement very much reflects Archer's critical writing and, as discussed in Chapter 3, he sees the function of translation as one of developing a strong domestic dramatic

tradition. Translation offers native playwrights the chance to experiment as well as provide new impulses, both of structure and, importantly, subject matter, thus offering new "models of writing". Imitation, however, is to be avoided, as a mere copy of the German drama would lead to a very similar situation as during the nineteenth century, where French plays, according to Archer, were imitated to such an extent that the result was an 'anti-artistic' domestic theatre. The "drama of common life" refers to Archer's attempt to introduce Naturalism to the English stage and with it a new subject matter to be discussed on the English stage, which differed from the nineteenth century well-made play, the pièce-bien-faite, and the drama of personified ideas, as established by Shaw (see Chapter 2). The "drama of common life" is closely linked to the psychological character portrayal, which Archer is so fond of (see Chapter 3), and the following extract illustrates:

> [...] Indeed, the picture of the Wolff household, ruled over by that virtuous matron, that most exemplary of thieves and hypocrites, Frau Wolff, may almost be said to have got over the footlights unimpaired. What the audience missed in great measure was the satire on the bureaucracy contained in the character of Von Wehrhahn. They saw in him an amusing grotesque; whereas he ought to be a study as realistic as any other in the play. (*The World* 28 March 1905)

The closeness with which Archer treats performance and translation makes it difficult to determine whether the above relates to the translation only or the performance only. Archer's notion of unimpairedness, however, can in the light of the above, be related to the life-likeness of the character, which is, of course, influenced by the target text. His criticism of the character von Wehrhahn is related to Archer's understanding of "common life drama" in that he argues that a life-like, psychologically true portrayal is called for rather than a grotesque representation of the character. What is not clear is whether Archer implies that the target text has failed to transfer the realism or, indeed, naturalism of the source, or whether the production has not taken the mode of performance far enough. Wherever the

emphasis lies for Archer, the translational act becomes part of the introduction of a new genre as well as the establishment of a new production style.

A very similar concept of stage translation and the function of the translational act for the target culture is displayed in Archer's review of Christopher Horne's translation *In the Hospital*.

> [...] In its [*In the Hospital*] original language it may be highly effective; but it has no depth or solidity enough to bear exportation. It does not convey to us enough truth of character or dramatic effect to compensate for the mere discomfort of the spectacle. I am not quite sure that it was worth doing at all; but if it was, the opening scenes ought to have been cut down. (*The World* 7 March 1905)

The criticism implies that Archer does not view translation and source to be equivalent or interchangeable, otherwise both source and target text would be highly effective or not solid enough. Archer seems to regard cultural circumstance, dramatic tradition as being the reason for this as certain dramatic conventions have to be met in the target culture. Furthermore, and more specifically, the play in translation does not meet Archer's expectations of the dramatic conventions he would like to see established in the target culture. "Truth of character" is of extreme importance to Archer and, as established in Chapter 3, his main criticism of the well-made play and of Shaw for that matter, is the lack of psychological accuracy. His reason for giving sanctions, positive or negative, then is intimately linked with the purpose, or function, he has allocated to translations and the concept of stage translation his reviews display, on the one hand, reflects the concept demonstrated by other reviews, on the other manifests his role within the translational community.

What becomes apparent when considering the reviews discussed above is that the reception of stage translations is one part of the struggle for cultural hegemony. Furthermore, the

notion of equivalence seems, historically at least, central to the concept of stage translation, although the notion incorporates a certain flexibility in order to incorporate the needs, conventions and discourse of the target culture. Importantly, the reception of stage translation through reviewers, who are arguably closer to theatre practice, differs considerably to the reception of stage translation by the Academy. Where the Academy, as illustrated by Scholz, refuses to take the performance aspect into account and adheres to a very static and dogmatic notion of ideal equivalence in the form of "exact reproduction" and "complete transcript", the non-academic theatre review is more flexible and justifies this flexibility by viewing stage translation in the context of performance and thus domestic theatre tradition and convention. As Aaltonen observes:

> In the theatre, orality, immediacy and communality unavoidably introduce a new dimension to the translation of texts, while in literary translation contemporary Anglo-American discourse emphasises the translator's invisibility and the faithfulness of the translation (Venuti 1995:1), theatre translation actively rewrites, or adapts, many aspects of the source text, justifying this strategy with references to the 'requirements of the stage'. (Aaltonen 2000:41)

However, the difference between literary translation discourse and stage translation discourse does not seem as pronounced yet as Aaltonen argues it to be by the end of the twentieth century. As noted earlier, notions of equivalence and the translator's invisibility are still central to the concept of stage translation. Furthermore, re-writing for the stage and creating a so-called faithful and fluent literary translation do not differ conceptually as much as Aaltonen claims. The process of creating literal fluency demands, in Venuti's terms, "domestication", or, in other words, correspondence to the literary system of the target culture, just as the process of creating a stage text aims to correspond to the theatrical conditions in the target culture. The justification for the act of re-writing may differ - literary fluency for a reader of the former and 'performability', or dramatic fluency, for an

audience of the latter - but the notion of ideal equivalence and the invisible translator is, in this case, central to both. The translator's invisibility is, of course, as much an illusion as is the notion of equivalence.

What we have sought to establish here is the dynamic hegemonic relationship between target and source culture and a concept of stage translation which relies upon, at once, the concept of equivalence and, at the same time, the necessity to change, to "acculturate"[113] (Bassnett 2000:101) in order to correspond to domestic conventions of performance. Stage translation, thus, at once confirms and challenges the theatrical and dramatic conventions of the target culture. As Toury argues:

> the likelihood of causing changes in the receiving system beyond the mere introduction of the target text itself stems from the fact that, while translations are indeed intended to cater for the needs of a target culture, they also tend to deviate from its sanctioned patterns, on one level or another. (Toury 1995:28)

Deviation has been observed above regarding genre, dramatic structure as well as moral values, and, at the same time, acculturation relating to performance style and tradition. Archer, for example, argues for the dynamic inter-relationship between deviation and acculturation in his reviews, arguing that, as Bassnett observes, "the expectations of the audience are crucial, as are the theatrical conventions operating in the target culture" (Bassnett 2000:102). Furthermore, Archer seems to imply that in order to successfully cause changes in the target culture, a certain extent of acculturation is necessary.

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[113] Acculturation is defined by Bassnett as the need to absorb plays "into the target culture as painlessly and totally as possible" (Bassnett 2000:101). Aaltonen defines acculturation as "the process which is employed to tone down the Foreign by appropriating the unfamiliar 'reality', and making the integretaion possible by blurring the borderline between the familiar and the unfamiliar" (Aaltonen 2000:55).

Crucially, what needs to be examined now is to what extent the dynamic relationship between deviation and acculturation, illusion of equivalence and the benefit for the target system of performance inform the decision process of the individual translators during the actual translational act. Thus, Chapter 5 will investigate in detail three translations of playtexts through a comparison of source and target playtext.

Chapter 5: Playtexts in Translation - A Comparative Analysis

An analysis of the translational act - the transference of meaning from source text to target text - needs to be examined in order to establish to what extent the interpretative community influences the task of translating at an individual level and to what extent the process of stage translation, as exemplified by reviews of the productions, may be seen as distinct from, say, literary translation.

As Venuti claims:

> [w]hen studying translation you can't avoid comparing the foreign and translated texts [...] even when you know that all these operations are no more than interpretations constrained by the domestic culture. (Venuti 1998:27)

The epistemological paradox expressed here by Venuti is, of course, apparent within the analysis or interpretation of any text, be it in the form of scholarship or indeed in the form of translation itself. However, a form of triangulation[114], in the sense that the area of research is examined from at least three different perspectives - in this case the cultural and historical context of the foreign within the target culture (Chapter 1), the cultural and historical context of the translational community (Chapter 2 & 3), the cultural and historical context of concepts of stage translation (Chapter 4) - has been adopted in order to limit the extent of such an epistemological paradox. The comparison of target and source texts in this chapter is informed by all of these different perspectives.

Furthermore, a recent methodological development within translation studies stresses the importance of combining the historical, context related approach with the linguistic, comparative approach (see, e.g. Tymoczko 2002; Munday 2002). Indeed, as Tymoczko argues:

> it will be [...] actually essential to identify and retrace linguistic specificities of textual construction, so that translation effects are understood as products of textual construction and production. (Tymoczko 2002:15)

Thus, this chapter combines the macro-levels of both the translational community (Chapter 2 & 3) and the receptor concept of stage translation (Chapter 4) with the micro-level of actual textual production in order to ascertain whether the findings "from another order of magnitude will replicate [those] generated by [another] level" (Tymoczko 2002:15).

Triangulation and the combination of micro and macro level enable the research to become reproducible and limit the extent of the influence the epistemological paradox has on the findings and interpretations. Importantly, however, this methodology does not eradicate this paradox entirely. It is deemed necessary to stress the specifics of the 'personal dimension' (Said 1995) of the researcher, as we saw in the Introduction, which seems to be of particular relevance to this chapter.

As this chapter relies heavily on the analysis of the production of meaning through text production and thus on the language used, it is important to emphasise that the present writer is a native German speaker, with English as a second language rather than mother tongue. Thus, the approach to the linguistic comparison of the texts in question is biased in a sense that the style and use of language of the source text is perceived in a different manner to that of the target text, i. e. what may be perceived as a change of emphasis, or, indeed, a change of meaning (as is necessarily the case with any translation) is affected by those linguistic circumstances. The reading of the source, and, indeed the target text is, therefore, not only influenced by the present writer's linguistic ability but also by the approach to text in general. Being an individual whose education occurred in Germany, the

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[114] The concept of triangulation has been appropriated from social science research methodology. For a

authors in question, especially Hauptmann and Schnitzler, are part of a specific 'educational canonical heritage'. In other words, the value attached to those writers through their canonisation by the German academy has an obvious influence on the understanding of their works. Thus, the transference of meaning of the source to the target text can be perceived as a violent act against the author's 'worth' in general and the 'quality' of the source text in particular; "the violence of translation" (Venuti 1995) may create a sense of being offended by the target text and its assumed representation of author and source. Being aware of such a personal dimension then is pivotal in order to confront and, therefore, minimise the emotional and somewhat unreasonable reaction to certain translations. Rather than relying on Venuti's concept of "violence", which in itself is too loaded a term and does not take account of the dynamic hegemonial relationship between target text and target culture, acculturation, as a more emotionally neutral and relevant concept, as far as this study is concerned, is central to the discussion below.

Acculturation as part of the dynamic of translation is, of course, also central to the concept of stage translation discussed in Chapter 4. A main emphasis, as far as the comparative analysis of source and target text is concerned, is to what extent the translations strike a balance between acculturation and deviation from the target culture. In order to make meaningful comparisons between not only source and target text, but also various translations, this chapter will consider three playtext translations of the work of Arthur Schnitzler: Penelope Wheeler's *The Green Cockatoo*, Horace B. Samuel's *Green Cockatoo* and Harley Granville Barker's *Anatol*. This sample represents a collection of texts primarily intended, in turn, for production, publication, and production and publication. In order to

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detailed discussion of the role of triangulation within social science research see Nigel Gilbert (1995:199 & 215-6).

address not only actual translational behaviour but also the attitudes of the translators, the translators' prefaces as paratexts will be examined alongside the translated text. Sehnaz Tahir-Gürçaglar defines paratext as "presentational material accompanying translated texts" and claims that "paratexts offer clues about a culture's definition of translation" (Tahir-Gürçaglar 2002:46-7). Paratexts in the form of translators' prefaces offer clues about the culture's definition as a whole and, crucially, about the individual translators' responses to such a definition. Furthermore, the prefaces "mediate between the text and the reader and serve to 'present' the work (Genette 1997:1)" (Tahir-Gürçaglar 2002:44). The reader, of course, in this case is not necessarily only a reader in the literary sense but also a 'user of text' in the sense of theatre practice. The presentation of the target text to the reader, or, indeed, 'user', in the form of a preface simultaneously reveals the translator's concerns regarding specific translational issues in relation to the decision making processes and concerns with and responses to various concepts of translations. Also, the relationship between paratext and translation throws some light on the issue of subservience, claimed to be central to the act of translation by various translation studies scholars (see, e.g. Simeoni 1998; Jänis 1996).

5.1 Paratexts

Granville Barker's translation of *Anatol* was published shortly before the translated text was used for production. The play in book form was submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's Office and received a license for public performance on 6 March 1911[115]. The manuscript indicates that no changes were made by the censor. Barker's preface is aimed at a general

[115] Lord Chamberlain's Archive, Manuscript No. 1000. The manuscript submitted is the published version of the play and no comments, apart from the date of license, are made by the Examiner.

readership, no specific references are made to the performance aspects of the play and he states:

> It seems that in a faithful translation the peculiar charm of these dialogues will disappear. To recreate it exactly in English one must be another Schnitzler: which is absurd. This is the only excuse I can offer for my paraphrase. (Barker 1911a:i)[116]

Barker's brief statement indicates that he is very much aware of the prevalent concept of translation at the time which relies on both notions of equivalence and fidelity and challenges them. He pre-empts any criticisms of his work as a translator through the display of respect for the author in his preface, which is central to the flexible understanding of equivalence, as discussed in Chapter 4. His argument against a recreation of the original, or even exact copy, reflects his awareness of the paradox of equivalence and fidelity; a point of view prominent within Archer's notion of stage translation. However, Barker still claims that his translation is an attempt to retain the "peculiar charm"[117] of the original, which he claims is only possible through paraphrase, i.e. asserting a certain translational creative freedom. Thus, Barker's preface echoes Archer's call for a balance between acculturation and deviation. At the same time, the preface answers the need to justify the act of translation where the standard against which the quality of translation is to be measured is equivalence and fidelity. Therefore, Barker's preface must be understood as fulfilling a certain expectancy, assuring the reader, user or reviewer that the following work is as near to the foreign as possible. Whether this expectation is eventually fulfilled is not an issue, as long as the preface assumes that a certain sincerity is respected. As such, the translator's preface becomes a gesture; whether this is a token gesture or a sincere declaration can only

[116] In order to avoid confusion regarding the references for the source and target texts, the translators will be cited as authors when the reference refers to their particular translations. This is, of course, not only a question of clarity but also an emphasis on the authorial role the translators adopt with regard to the target text.

be established once the translation itself has been examined in detail. However, the brevity of Barker's preface indicates that it is more likely to be the former.

Penelope Wheeler's translation *The Green Cockatoo* only exists in manuscript form but nevertheless includes a relatively lengthy preface. The main difference between her notes and Barker's statement is that she directly addresses the theatre practitioner. Not only is the translation aimed at a production of the play, as is the case with Barker's *Anatol*, but also the preface.

> Schnitzler has kept the speech of the Actors and especially that of Henry, rather melodramatic, at times even 'stagey'. - We have tried to keep this effect. Throughout there is no (or very little) slang or dialect, all the speaking parts are expressed grammatically and not in any way in what is supposed to be the speech of the common people. We have therefore adopted a similar plan in translating - keeping a little theatrical slang - which has its equivalent in the original.
>
> As to the proper names, where there is an English equivalent we think it best to use it, e.g. Henry, Francis, etc. to save the wrestling of the actors with the French. On the other hand we compromise by keeping Marquise and Chevalier - but are open to conviction as to the advisability of what we have done this way. (Wheeler 1913c)[118]

This preface is primarily concerned with stage translational issues such as speech rather than issues of literary text production, and decisions made by the translator are justified through considerations of the performance aspects of the play. Importantly, the preface does not discuss concepts of staging, costume or the like, but, translated by an actress, the preface is aimed at actors. Even though considering issues such as 'melodramatic style' may, inadvertently, add a conceptual dimension to the performance aspect, the emphasis obviously lies with the 'performability' of the text as dramatic speech. Furthermore, Penelope Wheeler openly invites alterations to the translation as and when the process of

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[117] Describing Schnitzler's work as having a "peculiar charm" can be read in the context of a syntax of hegemony, although Schnitzler's versions of life in Vienna in general and the "süßes Mädel" in particular are described quite often as having a certain charm particular to his work.

production or performance deems this necessary. Thus, her preface not only stresses the balance between acculturation and deviation in very practical terms, keeping some of the French names and anglicising others, but also emphasises the dynamic nature of translation as a site for a production of meaning within the very specific domestic cultural context of dramatic performance. The translated playtext is to be seen not in isolation but as an adaptable part of the production process where the balance of foreign and domestic is determined according to domestic performance needs[119].

Horace B. Samuel's translation of *The Green Cockatoo* was published as part of a collection of Schnitzler plays[120] in 1913 and does not include a preface. The cover ascribes the content of the book to the author of the source text and, thus, leaves no doubt with the reader that they are reading a copy of Schnitzler's original play. The only reference to the translation is made on the title page where it states "translated into English by Horace Barnett Samuel" (Samuel 1913b:2) in a smaller font than that of the target title and source author. The lack of a preface epitomises the notion of the invisible translator, stressing that the English translation is an equivalent, an exact copy even, of the source text. The translation is clearly aimed at a readership rather than theatre audience to the same extent that Wheeler's translation is aimed at the theatre practitioner. The use of Samuel's translation for production in 1948[121] is most probably due to fact that this target text was the only easily available English version of the play, rather than any inherent consideration of the translation as a text for performance. Samuel's role as a translator answers to the

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[118] Lord Chamberlain's Archive, Manuscript No. 1475; see Appendix IV for a transcript of the manuscript.
[119] As with the translated playtext, translational discourse is, of course, also related to the production process and sanctions are dependent on the balance between foreign and domestic struck by the performance. See Chapter 4.
[120] The collection is comprised of *The Green Cockatoo*, *The Mate*, and *Paracelsus*.

concept of ideal equivalence to the extent that no decision making process is even hinted at or admitted to in the form of a preface. Thus, the publication of Samuel's translation seems to consciously embrace the concept of exact reproduction as insisted upon by the academy (see Scholz 1918).

Thus, the three target texts under examination represent three consciously different attitudes to playtext translation. Wheeler's and Samuel's approach should be seen as being located at opposite ends of a translational spectrum, with Wheeler translating exclusively for theatre practitioners and, therefore, a theatre audience, and Samuel translating exclusively for a readership. Barker, on the other hand, is positioned more centrally as he aims to combine the dramatic and the literary approach in that he at once translates for theatre practice, with a performance of the target text imminent, but also, through publishing the translation in book form, for a readership. Thus all three translations reflect contemporary concepts of playtext translation as well as their positioning within a flexible translational community. It is this relationship between the spectrum of translational approaches and the positioning within a fluid and organic translational community that is crucial to the examination below. The comparative analysis of the target texts with each other and the source texts should attempt to understand choices and decisions made by the respective translators from the perspective of their chosen target audiences and, consequently, their attitudes to the function of translation. Furthermore, a comparative analysis can illuminate the relationship between the function of translation as exemplified by the individual translators, and the function of translation within the wider translational community. In other words, the

[121] See appendix III for details.

analysis of the target texts should account not only for individual choices and attitudes but also for the relation to and position within the translational community.

5.2 *The Green Cockatoo*

Schnitzler's *Der grüne Kakadu* is a one-act play set in a Parisian tavern on the eve of the storming of the Bastille. The landlord of the tavern, *Der grüne Kakadu*, is Prosper, a failed theatre director, and the main attraction of his tavern is that every night a group of actors pretend to be murderers, thieves and general riffraff. His regular guests are members of the aristocracy who pay for the pleasure to pretend to be insulted and harassed by the criminals of Paris. On the evening of 14 July 1789 the tavern is as usual visited by a number of aristocrats, and the actor Henri, the main attraction, pretends to have killed his wife's lover, the Duke of Cadignan, only to find out that Leocadie is really having an affair with the Duke. The play ends with the real killing of the Duke and the announcement that the Bastille has been stormed. The Duke's murder thus becomes an act of jealousy as well as one of patriotism in the name of the Revolution.[122]

Wheeler's and Samuel's translations are aimed at a very different audience (theatre practitioner and reader respectively) and their presentations of the respective translations underlines both their relationship to the target audience and their response to translational concepts. The following discussion will examine both target texts in more detail, comparing them to the source text as well as to each other.

[122] The selection of this particular play by Schnitzler coincides with the development and increasing popularity of crime fiction, the pathology of sexually motivated crimes and the portrayal of non-religious crimes on stage in Britain, France and Germany. For example, French medical journals pay more and more attention to the psycho-pathology of the sexually motivated crime and in Germany the concept of the 'Lustmord' emerges (see Ruth Harris (1989) and Roy Porter (1987)).

Overall, both translations attempt to copy the source text to the extent that no major changes, such as restructuring, introduction of acts or scenes, changing or leaving out characters or plot occur in either. A sense of fidelity and even equivalence can be observed in both translations and it is only in the degree of equivalence, or rather literalness, where the target texts differ. Some more obvious changes in Wheeler's translation are directly related to issues of censorship[123]. The only direct censorship in all three translations is found in Wheeler's text where the censor granted license for public performance subject to the following changes in the manuscript.

> Granted subject to the emission of the following passages: p.55, line 16, omit words spoken by 'Severine': "We'll have a wonderful time. I feel so delightfully excited." (Lord Chamberlain's Correspondence Card Index)[124]

The character of Severine is the wife of a Marquis de Lansac and the line to be cut relates to her inviting Rollin, a poet and her lover, to spend the night with her. This incident takes place right at the end of the play, after the murder of the Duke and the announcement that the Bastille had indeed been stormed by the people of Paris. The complete lines state:

> SEVERINE (to Rollin) Rollin, be at my window to-night. I'll throw down the key, as I did before; we'll have a wonderful time, I feel so delightfully excited. (Wheeler 1913c:55)

It may seem a little surprising that the Lord Chamberlain should object to the statement above in a play full of displays of immorality and criminality where the aristocracy is presented as either stupid or indecent. However, it is Severine's active role, not only

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[123] From 1737 until 1968 censorship law decreed that every play intended for public performance had to be submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's office for approval and to receive a license for such a performance. As de Jongh states, "the processes by which the Chamberlain's Examiner of Plays worked were rarely disclosed and his reasons for censuring plays or cutting scenes, incidents or words were not publicly divulged" (de Jongh 2000:ix). However, playwrights were generally aware of areas of contention and could thus decide whether or not to challenge the censor by including such material or subject matter. Blasphemy, indecency and portrayals of the Royal household and politicians were among the main reasons for plays to be refused license. Those categories were, of course, open to interpretation and the implementation was very much dependent on the mood or attitude of the individual Examiners and the Lord Chamberlain himself.

[124] The manuscript of *The Green Cockatoo* is, unfortunately, damaged as the letter of recommendation, normally attached to the manuscript, has been ripped out. The Card Index, however, lists changes to be made and the lines to be cut are crossed out in red pencil in the actual manuscript.

inviting the poet for a midnight rendezvous but leaving no doubt as to the adulterous relationship, and her remarks on sexual excitement and fulfillment that the censor objects to. As Nicholas de Jongh observes:

> upper-middle-class women behaving badly were to become the bane of the Lord Chamberlain's life [...] Such ladies, far from setting an example when depicted on stage, seduced men young enough to be their sons [...] Such women [...] who outraged the required decencies and decorum of family life, were not to contaminate the stage. (de Jongh 2000:57)

Samuel's translation, since it appeared in a published form rather than on stage, was to a certain extent exempt from the scrutiny of the censor[125], such that it could include the offending passage.

> SÉVERINE *(leading the nobles to the exit)*. Rollin, wait you to-night outside my window. I will throw the key down like t'other night. We will pass a pretty hour - I feel quite pleasurably excited. (Samuel 1913b:58)

Not only does Samuel's version include the passage but his use of "pleasurably" rather than Wheeler's "delightfully", emphasises the sexual content of Severine's offer. It could be argued that Wheeler, to a certain extent, self-censors her translation in accordance with her experience of the Lord Chamberlain's work, if unsuccessfully in this case as even the toned down version was cut by the censor. As such, the Lord Chamberlain should be seen as a 'quasi-audience' of the translation in that there appear to be other examples of translator's choices, or rather self-censorship, regarding displays of indecency or immorality in the source text, which can be found throughout the target text. These translational choices should be regarded as having successfully aimed part of the translational decision making process at the censor as a 'quasi-audience' in that no more cuts have been made to the play.

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[125] Publications were subject to laws about decency but manuscripts did not have to be approved prior to publication. Should a book cause offense, complaints could be made to the Police, which would investigate the matter further. Generally, it was not, however, the author but the publisher who was approached by the investigators. A contemporary case of an investigation regarding complaints about obscenity is the English publication of Hermann Sudermann's novel *Das hohe Lied* under the title *The Song of Songs*, first published in 1910. John Lane, publisher of the English translation by Beatrice Marshall, includes his correspondence

For example, Wheeler's treatment of the police inspector changes the portrayal of the moral value system of society as a whole. The inspector in the source text, as a representative of law and order, accuses the landlord of inciting political unrest and at the same time emphasises that immorality does not bother the police.

> KOMMISSÄR [...] Es sollen hier [...] Reden geführt werden, die - wie sagt mein Bericht? [...] - nicht nur unsittlich, was uns wenig genieren würde, sondern auch höchst aufrührerisch zu wirken geeignet sind (Schnitzler 1997:119)
>
> [INSPECTOR Apparently, speeches are held here which - how does my report phrase it? [...] - are not only immoral, which wouldn't really embarrass us, but which are also extremely inflammatory]

Wheeler decides to leave out the statement made by the Inspector concerning the lack of embarrassment in response to immorality and her translation reads:

> INSPECTOR Speeches are delivered here [...] which - what does my report say [...] "Which are not only immoral - which stimulate sedition". (Wheeler 1913c:9)

In comparison, Samuel's translation, not subject to such severe censorship, includes the Inspector's statement that immorality "wouldn't really bother us" (p.11).

It was not only indecency that provoked the censor to cut lines[126], demand alterations, or even ban production, but also blasphemy. Hence, Wheeler's choice not to translate a direct reference to the Bible reveals another act of self-censorship, or acculturation. Schnitzler makes a clear and unambiguous reference to the story of the prodigal son in the New Testament.

> HENRI Zu meinem alten Vater, der allein in unserm armen Dorf lebt - den ich seit sieben Jahren nicht gesehen habe. Er hat kaum mehr gehofft, seinen verlorenen Sohn wiederzusehen. Er wird mich mit Freuden aufnehmen. (Schnitzler 1997:126)

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both with the Criminal Investigation Department at New Scotland Yard and the Society of Authors in the preface to the 1913 edition (see Sudermann (1913)).

[126] When looking at the actual manuscripts of plays, the meticulousness of the censor comes to life in the sense that individual words, half or whole sentences are cleanly crossed out by red or blue pencil.

> [HENRI To my old father, who lives on his own in our poor village - who I haven't seen in seven years. He has barely hoped anymore to see his prodigal son again. He will take me back with joy.]

Wheeler translates this passage as follows:

> HENRY To my old father - who lives all alone in our little village. I haven't seen him for seven years. He'd give up all hope of seeing his son again. He will welcome me with joy. (Wheeler 1913c:18)

Thus, the choice has been made not to allude to biblical references at all as the German "verloren" has been cut rather than replaced by its literal meaning of 'lost' ('verloren' takes on the meaning of 'prodigal' only when used in conjunction with 'Sohn'). Wheeler, most certainly, was aware of the contemporary attitudes of the censor to allusions to the Bible. As Richard Findlater points out:

> The censorship obsession with the protection of the Bible - the Examiner would not even read any adaptations from the Scriptures - prompted the veto for several outstanding plays from abroad. One was Sudermann's *Johannes*, a version of John the Baptist's story [...] The performance in German of Hauptmann's *Hannele* was only permitted if the Stranger in no way resembled any picture of Christ, and before it could be staged in English, the manager had to agree that the Stranger would be clean-shaven. Beards looked blasphemous to St. James's Palace. (Findlater 1967:85)

The English production of *Hannele* referred to above is, of course, the production of Archer's translation at the Scala Theatre in 1908[127] and it is extremely likely that Penelope Wheeler new of this, and other similar, incidences.

In comparison, Samuel's translation chooses the very literal translation of 'lost' over 'prodigal':

> HENRI To my old father's, who lives alone in our poor village - I haven't seen him for seven years. He has almost given up hope of ever seeing his lost son again. He will welcome me with joy. (Samuel 1913b:22)

The two different choices made by Wheeler and Samuel emphasise the different attitudes to translation. Wheeler acculturates her version according to domestic theatrical circumstance, in this case the requirements of the censor, and at the same time attempts to stay as close to

the source text as possible, thus striking a balance between acculturation and deviation. Samuel, on the other hand, embraces the more dogmatic concept of translation, where ideal equivalence is to be the goal of translation. Thus, his choice regarding the biblical allusion is reflected by the concept of translation as defined by the academy. In his work on Sudermann and Hauptmann translations, Karl Scholz discusses the problematic area of biblical allusions in the source text and argues the following:

> To render these [biblical allusions] by present-day colloquial expressions is certainly a sad reflection on the knowledge of the Bible on the part of the English reader, and surely not conducive to an understanding of foreign usage and manner of discourse. A literal translation of such references appears to be the only logical one [...] rather than to destroy the biblical references, it would seem far better to retain it, and if the translator thinks it is unintelligible to the English reader, to explain in a footnote. Most translators substitute for biblical quotations [...] the corresponding quotation from the English Bible. Such instances [...] are [...] certainly not to be imitated. (Scholz 1918:47-8)

Scholz does not disclose why "corresponding quotations from the English Bible" should not be used in translation. Samuel, however, according to the academy, makes the only translational choice possible in order to achieve equivalence, namely that of the literal translation, relying on the reader to recognise the "foreign usage and discourse".

As Wheeler points out in her preface, the dialogue of the play is at times "stagey" and she claims that she has "adopted a similar plan in translating" and "keeping a little theatrical slang". Thus, at certain points in the translation, Wheeler attempts to transfer the German theatrical vocabulary into English and, therefore, acculturating the foreign theatre system. The most obvious acculturation with regard to the theatrical system is Wheeler's use of the term "manager" where the source text uses "Direktor".

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[127] See Appendix III for details.

> GRASSET Ich sagte dir ja, daß Prospère mein Direktor war. Und er spielt mit seinen Leuten noch immer Komödie; nur eine andere Art als früher. Meine einstigen Kollegen und Kolleginnen sitzen hier herum und tun, als wenn sie Verbrecher wären. (Schnitzler 1997:116)
>
> [GRASSET I told you that Prospère was my director. And he still plays comedy with his people; only a different type than previously. My former colleagues *(male and female)* sit around and pretend to be criminals.]
>
> GRASSET I told you Prosper was my manager. His company always plays comedies - only not like the old ones - my former colleagues sit about here and act as if they were criminals. (Wheeler 1913c:5)

The use of manager instead of director needs to be seen in the context of the domestic cultural tradition of the actor/manager, or even playwright/manager as is the case with Barker and Shaw. Thus, the term 'director' would not have been recognised by a contemporary theatre audience as "theatrical slang". Wheeler emphasises the theatrical context through using expressions such as "company" and "act" rather than opting for a more literal translation. Samuel's translation is quite similar to Wheeler's in that he uses "manager" instead of "Direktor" and "actors" instead of "Leute".

> GRASSET I was simply telling you that Prosper was my manager. And he is still playing comedy with his actors, but a different kind from before. My former gentleman and lady colleagues sit around and behave as though they were thieves. (Samuel 1913b:7)

He does, however, after having established the theatrical context, return to a rather literal version, even adopting the differentiation between male and female colleagues from the source, which results in an emphasis on the foreign.

Wheeler stresses the theatrical context and content of the play in various other passages, translating "zahlende Gäste" (p.117) [paying guests] as "audience" (p.6) and "ein solcher Komödiant" (p.135) [such a comedian] as "such an actor" (p.31). Samuel, on the other hand, adheres to the literal translation as before and chooses to use "paying customers" (p.8) and "a comedian" (p.34) respectively.

In addition to the decisions made concerning decency, biblical allusions and theatrical context, further kinds of acculturation can be observed in Wheeler's *Green Cockatoo*. As she stresses in the preface, names have been changed in order to make pronunciation easier for the actors in performance. Thus, Henri becomes Henry, Guillaume turns into William, Vicomte into Viscount, and so on. Samuel's translation, as expected, does not take difficulties of performance into consideration but presents his readers with the French names and titles as used in the source. Furthermore, Wheeler uses English imperial measurements and currency in her translation, "hundert Schritte" (p.148) [a hundred steps] turns into "a hundred yards" (p. 49), and "sou" (p.115) [sou; or: five centimes] into "penny" (p.4). Samuel keeps "sou" (p.7) but changes "Schritte" into "yards" (p.51). These specific decisions made by Samuel imply that he could expect his general readership to be familiar with French names, titles and currency, but certainly not with German measurements. His decision to keep the foreign measurements and names retains what Scholz terms "the flavour of the foreign setting" (Scholz 1918:52-3).

In addition to the various decisions made by both translators, the overall style of the two translations is different in that Wheeler attempts to create a text to be spoken whereas Samuel's emphasis is on the creation of a text to be read. This is clearly illustrated by the respective opening lines of the play:

> GRASSET (still on the stairs) Come along Lebret. This is the place - My old friend and manager's sure to have wine somewhere even if all the rest of Paris goes thirsty.
>
> PROSPER Good evening Grasset - so you've turned up again. Had enough of philosophy? D'you want me to give you a part? (Wheeler 1913c:1)

> GRASSET *(coming down the steps)* Come in, Lebrêt. I know the tap. My old friend and chief has always got a cask of wine smuggled away somewhere or other, even when all the rest of Paris is perishing of thirst.

> HOST Good evening, Grasset. So you show your face again, do you? Away with Philosophy! Have you a wish to take an engagement with me again? (Samuel 1913b:3)

Where Wheeler uses contractions such as "you've" and "d'you", Samuel adopts a more formal register. Such a use of different registers compliments the other translational decisions discussed above and has to be understood as a reflection of the different intentions of the translations.

Overall, Samuel's target text, attempting to keep the "foreign flavour", seems to deviate from the target culture more substantially than Wheeler's translation. Thus, the balance between deviation and acculturation is dependent on the circumstance of the translation itself. Wheeler's translational decisions reflect Archer's claim that "in the theatre there is no time for readjustments" (*The World* 28 March 1905) and, thus, she sees the need for acculturation more often than Samuel. Hence, the process of playtext translation mirrors the emerging concept of stage translation, which calls for anglicising, domesticating, or even acculturating but at the same time deviating from the target culture. Furthermore, Wheeler's and Samuel's translation practice reflects their respective positioning within the interpretative translational community. Horace B. Samuel is a member of the community because he chooses to translate Schnitzler and thus attaches value to Schnitzler's work. However, his position within that community is rather peripheral as he is not a theatre practitioner and does not translate for performance but for a readership. His translational practice is, therefore, to a certain extent removed from the practice of the inner core of the community as he is not concerned with the modernisation of the English stage. Crucially, he makes a distinction between stage and literature in that his translational practice does not consider the performance aspect of the target text.

Similarly, Penelope Wheeler's translational practice reflects her position within the translational community. Her involvement as an actress with theatre practice and her choice to translate Schnitzler locates her closer to the centre of one kind of translational community - the translational community that is characterised by its overlap with theatre practice - than Samuel. However, Wheeler herself makes a distinction between literary work and theatre practice in that her translation is obviously aimed at the latter. She is concerned with changing the English stage through her selection of the source text, but, importantly, her translation does not reflect the attempt to literarise the stage - an aim of translation articulated by the prevalent spokesmen for the community, namely William Archer and Harley Granville Barker. Thus, an examination of Barker's translation of Schnitzler's *Anatol* is needed in order to establish whether the community's interest in the literarisation of the stage and the challenge to the concept of equivalence is reflected within his translational decisions.

5.3 *Anatol*

Schnitzler's *Anatol* consists of seven scenes or episodes he wrote between 1888 and 1891. The scenes revolve around Anatol, his best friend Max, and seven different women Anatol has affairs with in one way or another. As the play was not planned as a whole but rather grew out of a series of short one-act plays, there is no plot development in the sense that no episode prepares another but all can be treated and comprehended independently, even though Schnitzler arranged them in a certain order for publication. The whole cycle was first performed in Vienna in 1910 (see Schnitzler 1997:154) and Granville Barker published

his translation of the play in January 1911 in order to produce and perform it in March of the same year[128].

Similarly to Wheeler and Samuel, Barker's target text does not differ from the source text regarding structure, the number of characters or the sequence of the scenes. Compared to *The Green Cockatoo*, however, a greater number of changes and re-writes, or rather incidences of acculturation, can be observed.

The most obvious changes to the source text relate to the names of the various women. Barker keeps some of the names, for example, Bianca, Emily and Elsa, turns some into more obviously German, or rather Austrian, ones. Cora becomes Hilda and Katharina turns into Katinka, while he anglicises others, Marie and Anna become Susan and Jane. There is no obvious pattern regarding these changes and this should be seen as an example of creating the balance between foreign and domestic, acculturation and deviation, similar to Wheeler's decisions to anglicise some names but not others. However, Barker's decision process seems more random than Wheeler's, as Wheeler is primarily concerned with making pronunciation easier for the actors.

A further similarity between Wheeler and Schnitzler is their respective acculturation of very specific foreign terminology or reference points. In *The Green Cockatoo* it is measurements and currency that are anglicised, in *Anatol* one example of this process of anglicising the source text is Barker's treatment of the scene set on Christmas Eve, *Weihnachtseinkäufe* [Christmas Shopping] or *A Christmas Present*. In the source text, Gabriele, the main female character in this scene, is meeting Anatol on her walk from the shops. Barker alters this scene in so far as Anatol and Gabrielle meet while she is trying to hail a taxi (distances in London being far greater than in Vienna). Furthermore, in the source text, Anatol talks

[128] See Appendix III for details.

about his dilemma of not having found a present for his present girlfriend and it is already "zwei Stunden vor Christbaum" (p.21) [two hours before Christmas Tree[129]]. Barker's Anatol, on the other hand, only has two hours left before the shops close (see p. 24). Christmas Eve in Austria, and Germany for that matter, unlike Britain, is the traditional time to exchange presents under the Christmas Tree. Therefore, Anatol's very culturally specific dilemma has been made less foreign through the alterations in the target text. As Barker does not openly relocate the scene from London to Vienna, he homogenises the two cities and two cultural traditions, creating a sense of the Self in the Foreign. This particular process of rewriting the source illustrates Aaltonen's claim that "the starting point of the entire process lies in the Self. The Foreign is only of secondary importance" (Aaltonen 2000:47). Further examples of relocation and homogenisation can be found all through the target text, a "Tischlermeister" (p.33) [master of carpentry] turns into a "milk man" (p.40), the "Triester Schnellzug" (p. 66) becomes a "boat train" (p. 89) and a famous opera singer is on tour in Russia rather than Germany (probably just in case the domestic audience is not quite sure whether the source text is German or Austrian). Importantly, however, Barker does not change the specific cultural traditions relating to Anatol's wedding in the last scene. Instead of acculturation, he consciously chooses to retain the deviation from the target culture and provides the reader and theatre practitioner with an explanatory note concerning certain Austrian (and, indeed German) traditions.

> *Note :.. In Vienna, of course, a man's clothes for a wedding are what we should call evening dress. It also appears that on such occasions, to every bridesmaid there is a groomsman, whose business it is to provide her with a bouquet.* (Barker 1911a:101)

[129] A less literal translation would read: 'Only two hours left before we exchange presents under the Christmas Tree'.

The decision to anglicise some culturally specific aspects of the source text and not others, is, of course, related to achieving a balance between the domestic and the foreign. This is not only aimed at a theatre audience, as argued by Archer and put into practice by Wheeler, but should also be understood in the context of cultural hegemony. The target text needs to retain some of its 'otherness', or rather 'foreignness', if it is to be part of the dynamic process of a re-assertion of hegemony.

Further similarities to Wheeler's translational approach can be observed regarding the censor as a quasi target audience, and self-censorship, as a form of acculturation, can be observed in Barker's *Anatol.*

The first scene, *Die Frage an das Schicksal*, opens with Anatol's and Max's conversation about Anatol's ability as a hypnotist[130]. Max has just witnessed a girl hypnotised by Anatol who is convinced that she is a ballerina, that her lover has just died, and that she is a queen. The nameless girl reacts accordingly, dancing beautifully, mourning the lost lover, and pardoning a criminal. Not only is the gender of the girl changed in Barker's *Ask No Questions and You'll Hear No Stories*, but Anatol does not turn the nameless man into a King pardoning criminals, but into a judge sentencing one.

> MAX [...] und wie sie einen Verbrecher begnadigte, als du sie zur Königin machtest [...] (Schnitzler 1997:7)
>
> [MAX ...and how she pardoned a criminal when you turned her into the Queen...]

[130] Hypnosis is, of course, inextricably linked with the emerging psychoanalysis and treatment of hysterical women. For example, Charcot's studies of hysterical women more often than not used hypnosis as a means of diagnosis as well as treatment and, as a result, the "female unconscious and, by implication, the mystery of female sexuality" has become "the inner sanctum of the psychiatric enterprise" (Porter 1987:103). Furthermore, in the late 1890s, a number of criminal cases "involving the issue of hypnotic suggestion in which women in particular were seen as acting unconsciously under the powerful influence of masterful men" (Harris 1989:155) caught the public's imagination. Thus, the reference to hypnosis within the opening lines of *Anatol* alludes to issues of sexuality and gender, psychoanalysis as well as public memories of sexually motivated crimes. For in-depth discussions of the cultural significance of hypnosis in Britain, France and Germany see Porter (1987), Harris (1989) and Lerner (1998).

> MAX [...] and he sentenced that criminal very soundly when you'd made him a judge [...] (Barker 1911a:3)

As discussed earlier, Royalty was not to be represented on stage and the assertion that anyone could be turned into Royalty through hypnosis denies the doctrine of the divine right and must be seen as blasphemous. Barker made the decision to change gender possibly because of the issues of sexuality and power that the subject of hypnosis alludes to. This choice insures that no objections can be raised either by the audience or the censor regarding an unaccompanied woman's visit to a hypnotist. Furthermore, this decision excludes any suspicion that Anatol may be sexually involved with two women. Quite a few changes have been made in the target text concerning the portrayal of gender. Women are generally portrayed as either taking a more passive role regarding their respective relationships with Anatol or as more devious than the source texts make them out to be. A typical example of the modification of the female characters is the description of Emily in *Keepsakes.*

> ANATOL *(sieht sie [Emilie] während sie mit glühenden Wangen vor dem Kaminfeuer kniet, ein paar Sekunden an, dann ruhig).* Dirne! *(Er geht.)* (Schnitzler 1997:48)
>
> [ANATOL *(looks at her for a few seconds while she kneels with glowing cheeks in front of the fire, then calmly).* Whore! *(He leaves)*]

> [...]*He watches her grimly for a little; the firelight makes ugly shadows on her face. Then he says quietly....*ANATOL That was your price, was it? *And he leaves her.* (Barker 1911a:61)

Not only is Emily portrayed as being led by greed to a greater extent than the source implies, but Barker also decides to replace 'whore' with a more innocent allusion to her easy virtue. There is an overall tendency in the target text not to spell out certain characterisations regarding the virtue of the female characters and should be understood as an act of self-censorship. Another example of this can be found at the beginning of

Keepsakes where Barker replaces "Gefallene" (p. 45) [fallen woman] with silence and the stage direction "he swallows the insult" (p. 57). In addition to these alterations, Barker is careful not to refer to married women having affairs. In *An Episode*, for example, the following changes are made:

> ANATOL [...] die andere aus dem prunkenden Salon ihres Herrn Gemahls [...] (Schnitzler 1997:31)
>
> [ANATOL [...] another one from her husband's resplendent drawing-room [...]]
>
> ANATOL [...] one from her crowded drawing room [...] (Barker 1911:38)

And later on during the same scene:

> ANATOL Eine Photographie. Sie mit Bräutigam.
>
> MAX Kanntest du ihn?
>
> ANATOL Natürlich, sonst hätte ich ja nicht lächeln können. Er war ein Dummkopf. (Schnitzler 1997:32)
>
> [ANATOL A photograph. She and her fiancé.
>
> MAX Did you know him?
>
> ANATOL Of course, otherwise I would not have been able to smile. He was an idiot.]
>
> ANATOL A photograph. She and the Young Man.
>
> MAX Did you know him too?
>
> ANATOL That's what's so funny. He really was quite an exceptional fool. (Barker 1911a:39)

In addition to a change of emphasis regarding the female characters in general and married women in particular, Barker modifies the attitudes displayed by the character Anatol towards gender as well. In Schnitzler's source text, Anatol questions women's faithfulness in general and explains their infidelity with the observation that men and women are more alike than previously thought. As he himself has been unfaithful on a number of occasions it is only reasonable to assume that women do the same.

> ANATOL. Die alte dumme Phrase. Immer wollen wir uns einreden, die Weiber seien da anders als wir! Ja, manche ... die, welche die Mutter eingesperrt, oder die, welche kein Temperament haben ... Ganz gleich sind wir. Wenn ich einer sage: Ich liebe dich, nur dich - so fühle ich nicht, daß ich sie belüge, auch wenn ich die Nacht vorher am Busen einer anderen gelegen habe. (Schnitzler 1997:9)
>
> [ANATOL. The stupid old phrase. Forever we are trying to convince ourselves that women are different in this regard! Yes, some ... those whose mothers have locked them up, or those who have no spirit ... We are completely the same. When I tell one: I love you and only you - then I don't feel that I'm lying to her, even if I have rested against another woman's bosom the night before.]

> ANATOL. Thank you ... it only needed that! Of course ... we are men and women are different. Some! If their mammas lock them up or if they're little fishes. Otherwise, my dear Max, women and men are very much alike ... especially women. And if I swear to one of them that she's the only woman I love, is that lying to her ... just because the night before I've been saying the same thing to another? (Barker 1911a:6)

It is the notion of equality between men and women that is toned down, if not disregarded, in the target text, stating quite clearly that Anatol accepts the existence of fundamental gender differences.[131] The modification of gender representations in the target text can be observed not only in relation to description of the female body and concepts of equality but also in relation to the characterisations of Anatol and Max. Compared to the source text, Anatol is portrayed in a more sympathetic light than the female characters and his various relationships are depicted as attempts to capture romantic love. Thus, Anatol turns into a version of a romantic hero in the target text whereas the source emphasises the sexual nature of the relationships and Anatol's attempt to intellectualise his own behaviour.

> ANATOL. Nun kam ich mir so vor, wie einer von den Gewaltigen des Geistes. Diese Mädchen und Frauen - ich zermalmte sie unter meinen ehernen Schritten, mit denen ich über die Erde wandelte. Weltgesetz, dachte ich - ich muß über euch hinweg. (Schnitzler 1997:33)

[131] This is at a moment, moreover, when the agitation of the suffragettes had intensified.

> [ANATOL. I saw myself as being one of the great minds. Those girls and women - I crushed them under my iron steps, with which I walked the earth. Law of the world, I thought - I have to get over you.]

> ANATOL. When I was very young indeed I saw myself as one of the world's great heroes of romance. These women, I thought ... I pluck them, crush the sweetness from them ... it's the law of nature ... then I throw them aside as I pass on. (Barker 1911a:41)

The change from "Gewaltiger des Geistes" to "hero of romance" should be understood as a conscious one as throughout *An Episode* and the remaining scenes changes of a similar nature are made. Where Schnitzler's text emphasises that man-made laws, "Weltgesetz", are responsible for the destructive attitudes and behaviour within relationships, Barker's text implies the opposite, destructiveness as a natural law, women picked like flowers rather than destroyed by the iron heel. The offensive and self-reflective Anatol of the source text has been replaced by the romantic Anatol in the target text. Subsequently to this transference, the character of Max is modified in the target text. The function of Max in the source text is that of a liberal and rational commentator and critic who is pivotal to the exposure of Anatol. The target text, however, portrays Max as more awkward and ordinary than Anatol. This is achieved, for example, through stage directions describing a set which reflects the psychology of the characters. Where the cigar-smoking Max of the source text has a study with an open fire, dark red curtains and a desk covered with books and papers, Barker's Max works in a room that is

> *comfortable, if commonplace. The writing table he is sitting at is clumsy, but it's within reach of a cheerful fire. By the lamp on it he is reading a letter.* (Barker 1911a:35)

This is, incidentally, the only time that Barker shortens the stage directions of the source; on all other occasions he increases their length. The importance of this translational decision will be discussed in detail below.

Because of these modifications, the content of the target text contradicts Barker's concerns with sexual morality and the New Woman, which is apparent within his work as a playwright. One of the most extreme examples where Barker, the translator, abandons his liberal views on the women's movement can be found in *An Episode.*

> ANATOL. Wo kämen wir aber hin, wenn uns alle Weiber Briefe schrieben! (Schnitzler 1997:31)
>
> [ANATOL. But where would we be if all women wrote us letters.]

> ANATOL. Don't you sometimes wish women weren't taught to write? (Barker 1911a:38)

Schnitzler's source text stresses the number of conquests Anatol has had in the past as well as the morally offensive nature of his character. The above statement implies that Anatol not only depersonalises the female characters but views them as interchangeable objects who bother him personally by writing too many letters. Through Barker's decision to portray Anatol throughout the whole target text as a likable romantic hero who has to deal with devious and sexually adventurous women, the above statement undermines and dismisses notions of equality and even borders on patriarchal degradation. Thus, the concerns and content of the source text have been altered to such an extent that the target text no longer demonstrates similarities between Schnitzler, the playwright, and Barker, the playwright, as established in Chapter 3. Concerns with issues such as sexual morality and social codes, apparent in both playwrights' work, no longer appear in Barker's re-written version of Schnitzler's source text. The target text is no longer an exposure of an aestheticism that opposes reality, where constant self-reflection never develops into change (see Perlmann 1987) and a portrayal of gender relations similar to those apparent in Ibsen,

where the "Weltgesetz" is opposed to natural law[132], but a comic, patriarchal conversation piece with a romantic rogue as the main character. It is no longer surprising then that Margery Morgan describes *Anatol* as "a little comedy by Schnitzler" (Morgan 1993:xxx) in her preface to Barker's collected plays. In addition to the claim in Chapter 3, that this rather patronising statement with regard to Schnitzler as a playwright indicates Barker's concern with theatrical practicalities, it also indicates the extensive content modifications Barker has undertaken.[133]

In addition to these transformations of content, Barker makes decisions during the translational process of a transformative nature regarding the issue of genre. He introduces to the source text what Alastair Fowler terms change of scale, or more specifically *macrologia* (Fowler 2000:235). *Macrologia* involves the enlargement of the function and role of the stage directions to encompass psychological explanations and very detailed descriptions of the characters and surroundings in prose form which become as important to the understanding of the play as the dialogue itself. According to Fowler, "Shaw's stage directions exhibit macrologia" (Fowler 2000:235) and Barker's target text demonstrates *macrologia* in that the stage directions in the source are enlarged in the style of Shaw.

> *Anatol. Max. Cora. Anatols Zimmer.* (Schnitzler 1997:7)
> [*Anatol. Max. Cora. Anatol's room*]
>
> *ANATOL, an idle young bachelor, lives in a charming flat in Vienna. That he has taste, besides means to indulge it, may be seen by his rooms, the furniture he buys, the pictures he hangs on the walls. And if such things indicate character, one would judge, first by the material comfort of the place and then by the impatience for new ideas which his sense of what is beautiful to live seems to show, that though a hedonist, he is sceptical of even that easy faith. Towards dusk one afternoon he comes home bringing*

[132] Ibsen, contrary to Schnitzler, offers resolution through crisis where Schnitzler sees the static, unchangeable nature of society (see Perlmann 1987).

[133] Morgan's neglect to mention Barker as the translator of *Anatol* but her reference to Schnitzler as author, underlines the still prevalent notion of equivalence with regard to the reception of target texts.

> *with him his friend MAX. They reach the sitting room talking...* (Barker 1911a:3)

This detailed description not only of a set that reflects the psychology of the character but, importantly, Anatol himself, offers excuses for his subsequent behaviour which are lacking in the source text. Furthermore, this type of stage description is typical of contemporary Shaw and Barker plays. Barker's script for *Rococo*, for example, written in the same year as Barker's *Anatol* translation, begins with three pages of detailed stage directions on set, characters and situation, interspersed with dialogue and written in prose (see Barker 1917). Thus, the play script, with regards both to Barker and Shaw, turns "into a pseudo-novel" (Williams 1993:246) in order to establish "that drama is capable of being a self-sufficient literary form" (Williams 1993:246)[134]. By crossing the boundaries of novel and play, Barker transcends the generic restrictions of both the source text and the domestic dramatic tradition. Therefore, the attempt to literarise the English stage by the translational community in general and Archer and Barker in particular becomes apparent in Barker's translational practice. Thus, this adaptation of genre through the translational process, where the source text is appropriated in order to represent the new domestic dramatic genre, should be seen in the context of the interpretative translational community, where translation becomes a means in order to further the ideology of the members of this community.

As stated in Chapter 2, translation is used to make distinctions between the translator and other groups, both other translators and other playwrights and theatre practitioners. Translation can, therefore, be understood in terms of the struggle over artistic/aesthetic positioning. Hence, the particular translation style adopted by Barker should be seen in the

[134] Williams argues further that the result of such an attempt, especially in the case of Shaw, is "neither novel nor play, but a thing inferior to both" (Williams 1993:246).

context of his attempt to establish his own artistic position within the translational and the theatre community. Barker consciously allocates a purpose to his translational practice and his translational decisions are dependent on this purpose. Furthermore, Barker utilises Archer's concept of stage translation as having to strike a balance between acculturation and deviation. The modifications observed above should be seen in this context. Anglicising some culturally specific references but not others is certainly a manifestation of such a concept of stage translation whereas Barker's modification of the female characters, Anatol and the function of the stage directions need to be seen in the context of the struggle over positioning as well as the need to acculturate aspects of the play in order for it to be accepted by a domestic audience. With the transfer of content and meaning of the source text, Barker, as a translator, eliminates the most obvious similarities between himself as a playwright and Schnitzler as a playwright and, therefore, creates a view of Schnitzler, an understanding of the foreign, as being less modern, less liberal and innovative than he is himself. The alteration of the function of stage directions, however, re-asserts Barker's own technique as being artistically valuable. Thus, the struggle over artistic positioning manifests itself in a dynamic manner, similar to the function of translation within the struggle for cultural hegemony (see Chapter 4).

The power of the translator, however, lies with the choice of acculturation and deviation, in that fidelity is not necessarily the main concern. The translator can create a target text, and thus a representation of the foreign, which displays and re-asserts his or her own ideology rather than the one of the source author, an obvious example of which is the change of scale of the stage directions in Barker's target text. As such, Barker's preface can only be understood as a token gesture, complying with the expectancy of the target audience, and Simeoni's claim that all translations necessarily display servitude (see Chapter 2) has to be

qualified. Barker's translation does not display servitude towards the author, the text or the language (see Simeoni 1998:12) but, instead, acts as a means to enhance his own ideology and, thus, career as a member of an interpretative community.

The analysis of the translational act, the comparison of target and source texts, demonstrates that translational practice and style reflect the contemporary concepts of stage translations as well as the positioning of the individual translators within the interpretative translational community. Furthermore, the target texts reveal that a conscious struggle over artistic positioning takes place within the community which influences the translational decision-making process.

In this particular case, the examination of target texts serves not only to illustrate the internal dynamics of the translational community and the various individuals' ideological position within such a community but also the attitudes to and acceptance of emerging contemporary concepts of stage translation.

CONCLUSION

> Translation involves a network of active social agents, who may be individuals or groups, each with certain preconceptions and interests. The translative operation is a matter of transactions between parties that have an interest in these translations to take place. (Hermans 1996:26)

Charting the dissemination of German drama on the West End Stage and attempting to provide an account of the motivations which underlie such translational activity necessarily involves an examination and assessment of the individuals and groups involved in such a process.

The notion of the interpretative community - that is to say, a flexible and dynamic interpretative community, a community that produces meaning through translation, meanings which are, in turn, influenced by the ideology inherent in the various fields (or sets[135]) it is composed of - has been a central topic of this thesis. This translational community can best be described as an intersection which is dependent upon and defined by the sets that comprise such an intersection. By using such terminology as 'intersection', the emphasis is clearly on the overlap of fields, rather than merely the notion of adjacency, as a defining characteristic of the translational community. The translation process - the act of translation that takes place within the intersection - should be understood in terms of the struggle over artistic positioning within those overlapping fields. Translation, therefore, becomes a means by which the members of the community assert their own ideology as well as reinforce their position as cultural innovators. It is such a consideration of translation as a manifestation of taste and ideology that enables us to account for specific choices made by the individual members of the translational community. As Lefevere

observes, "[t]ranslation has to do [...], ultimately, with power" (Lefevere 1992:2) and the display of taste and ideology through the translational choices and strategies is necessarily a manifestation of a power struggle, be it political or artistic. Consequently, the concern of this thesis is not the examination of "individuals *or* groups" (Hermans 1996:26) but an examination of individuals *as* a group - that is to say, an interpretative community.

Whereas previous accounts of translation have failed to attach significance to translators as a community with shared interests whether of a political, social or dramaturgical nature, i.e. an interpretative community in our meaning of the term, the present thesis has sought, by means of a detailed analysis of a group of translators of German plays into English active in the first fourteen years of the twentieth century, to analyse one such group. By the detailed investigation of biographical data and textual strategy using theoretical models currently in use within Translation Studies, we have further sought to establish the importance of such a community to our understanding of the ideological factors involved in any translation process. Only through the acknowledgment of the existence of translational communities can the profound impact of stage translation practice on the domestic dramatic (not to mention literary) landscape be appreciated. The act of translation should be understood as a production of meaning which takes place within the context of a translational community at an intersection. It is precisely this dynamic relation between the various fields (e.g., theatre practice and translational activity), the individual and the group, which is central to the production of new meanings. At the same time, translation influences other types of text production and production of meaning within the various fields. It is this complex

[135] 'Field' and 'set' are used interchangeably, with the term 'field' referring specifically to Bourdieu's concept of social groups and the term 'set' referring to the appropriation of set theory for the argument in this thesis. As such, both terms are mutually inclusive rather than exclusive.

relationship that enables, for example, generic restrictions within the target culture to be transcended through translation.

Issues of power are, of course, not only inherent within the translation process but are also made manifest at the moment of reception. Just as translation needs to be understood in terms of the struggle over artistic positioning within the domestic culture, expectations and concepts of translation need to be understood in terms of the struggle for cultural hegemony over the domestic and the foreign culture. In other words, both the act of translation and the reactions to those translations reveal issues of power. Thus, the examination of the contemporary theatre review is pivotal to our comprehension of the ideological factors involved in translational activity.

The contemporary expectations of 'good' translations for the stage were characterised at the time by a belief in translational equivalence but also, importantly, by an acknowledgment of and, indeed, insistence upon, the need to strike a balance between the foreign and the domestic. It is the prevalent spokesmen for the interpretative community, most notably Archer and Barker, that insist upon such a balance between the foreign and the domestic thereby challenging the notion of equivalence. Acculturation of the source text - the process of integrating the source text into the domestic culture "by blurring the borderline between the familiar and the unfamiliar" (Aaltonen 2000:55) - and deviation from the domestic dramatic tradition are both central to the function of translation within the target culture. Acculturation manifests itself through changes made to the source text such as Barker's conscious expansion of stage directions in his translation of *Anatol* or Wheeler's adoption of English names in *The Green Cockatoo*. Examples of deviation from the domestic

tradition, on the other hand, are Christopher Horne's decision to entitle his translation of *Der Biberpelz A Thieves' Comedy*, thereby deviating from the domestic genre expectations of comedy, or Barker's decision to translate a play which is structured around independent episodes rather than acts. The interpretative community recognises contemporary expectations of faithfulness, accuracy, and equivalence and challenges those concepts not only through specific translational strategies such as choice of genre and source text but also through translational discourse. This discourse is disseminated through various media - Archer, for example, utilises the medium of the theatre review whereas Barker employs the translator's preface for such a dissemination of translational discourse.

The historical approach this thesis has taken in order to examine why equivalence has been, and continues to be, central to perceptions of translation (see Hermans 1999b), enables the understanding of the processes and issues of power that underlie this primary position of equivalence to become explicit. The evaluation of contemporary reactions to stage translation, in the form of the theatre review, has shown that the primary position equivalence holds within concepts and perceptions of translation is due to the dynamic power relations between the source and the target culture[136] and between the translational community and other fields within the domestic culture. The insistence upon an unfettered belief in equivalence rejects the translation process as a creative act and, crucially, refuses to acknowledge the importance of the interpretative community - a community that produces new meanings through translation. Thus, maintaining equivalence as a translational concept ignores the importance of the translator being part of a translational community. It was, however, precisely their position as members of a translational community that enabled individuals such as Archer, Barker, and Grein to introduce and

cement generic and structural changes on the London stage through their respective translational activities. Consequently, the concept of translational equivalence should be understood as a means to exert hegemony over translational communities by ignoring their existence.[137]

This thesis opened by elucidating the history of the *Deutsches Theater* as a historical and cultural backdrop to the examination of an important corpus of translations in performance. In the context of the findings of this present thesis, however, the role of the *Deutsches Theater* is far more complex than just that of offering the German community in London German language theatre and providing a historical context to subsequent chapters in this present thesis. The involvement of the contemporary translational community with the *Deutsches Theater*, in most cases simultaneous with, or prior to, their translational activities, indicates that the *Theater* should be understood as offering the translational community a "comparative perspective" (Toury 1995:27) both with regard to source texts and production style. Jacob Thomas Grein's translational activity, for example, complements his work at the *Deutsches Theater* to such an extent that both activities were aimed at furtherance of his particular notion of theatre - the introduction of continental theatre to the London stage. Barker, on the other hand, was introduced to ensemble productions and, crucially for his translational activities, to playwrights such as Schnitzler (his involvement with the *Theater* is, of course, on a much smaller scale than Grein's). The

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[136] The banal nationalism displayed by the reviews' use of language emphasises this relationship of power between the domestic and the foreign culture.

[137] The belief in the importance of accuracy and ideal equivalence as emphasised by the academy accompanies the shift of power through the rise of the university as an institution away from so called 'amateur' translators toward the academic translator. Thus, such a central position of equivalence constructs a hierarchical distinction between the translator as a member of an interpretative community, whose 'training', or rather first

existence of such a theatrical project offered him and other members of the community an experience of theatre which could be appropriated, manipulated, and re-written through translation in order to further their own ideologies and careers. Thus, in addition to offering a "comparative perspective", the *Deutsches Theater* functioned as an important site of interaction for the members of the interpretative community.

The specific findings of this thesis are significant for both Translation Studies and Theatre Studies - they offer theoretical insights with regard to important questions within Translation Studies and, at the same time, offer a different approach to theatre history by examining a specific period of time through a translational perspective.

The theoretical insights concern the examination of a group of translators as an interpretative community that intersects with various fields of text and cultural production; the display of taste and ideology inherent in the selection process; the assessment of equivalence as, primarily, a means by which cultural hegemony is constantly reasserted by the dominant domestic culture; and, of course, the assessment of how these issues interrelate with each other and with translational strategies employed for the production of target texts. As Hermans states:

> the representations and re-enactments produced by translation cannot be transparent or ideologically neutral [...] they incorporate the values that gave rise to them in the first place. (Hermans 1999b:58)

It is the examination of a specific interpretative community within a specific cultural and historical context that has enabled us to establish the ideological factors underlying the stage translation process as well as illuminating the function of translational activity in relation to ideology and within this specific cultural context. Thus, this thesis not only

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translation experience, takes place within such a community, and the academic translator trained and qualified

presents a detailed analysis of stage translational activity from 1900 to 1914 but also offers theoretical models and a methodology that can be applied to other periods of both stage and literary translation.

With regard to theatre history, we have sought also to illuminate the history and role of the *Deutsches Theater* within its cultural and historical context. Furthermore, this thesis elucidates the function of translation - produced by an interpretative community - within the establishment and acceptance of naturalism as the dominant theatrical form on the English stage. Thus, we have attempted to show that a dependence on and interaction with foreign cultural models has been pivotal to the development of British theatre. This claim can, of course, only be validated with regard to the period under discussion. However, it is likely that future research assessing the function of stage translation at various points throughout history will arrive at a very similar conclusion.

The temporal framework combined with the specific corpus of data this research relies upon, has helped to focus the present research and has enabled the analysis to be of a qualitative rather than quantitative nature. Such a qualitative analysis has thus provided a methodological framework for future research. The notion of the interpretative community, central to this thesis, needs to be examined within temporal, cultural and institutional frameworks other than those presented by this thesis. Thus, an assessment of the role and function of interpretative communities both within nineteenth- and twentieth-century theatre is necessary in order to further develop the findings of this thesis. Of immense interest for both Translation and Theatre Studies would be, for example, a more detailed

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by the university.

assessment of a translational community's interest in the work of Bertolt Brecht and the subsequent generic changes on the English language stage.

Furthermore, theatrical traditions other than British seem to offer institutionalised interpretative communities as is the case with, for example, the German theatre where the roles of the dramaturg and stage translator, as distinct from that of the director, are primarily concerned with the creation of new meanings through re-writing of text for the stage.

The theatre process itself can, of course, be examined as a production of meaning through an interpretative community and such an approach would offer new avenues not only for the way we perceive and assess the relationship between text and performance but also between performance and ideology.

Overall, we have attempted to examine the role that the re-writing of German drama has played in the development of English theatre. The aim of this thesis has been to contribute to a better understanding of the process of stage translation and to create an awareness of its importance to cultural and theatrical history. Translation after all "injects new life blood into a text by bringing it to the attention of a new world" (Bassnett 1996:12). This study hopes to have injected "new life blood" into approaches to stage translation and theatre history and to bring those approaches to the attention of a "new world" of translation scholars and theatre scholars.

APPENDIX I: A PROGRAMME OF THE *DEUTSCHES THEATER IN LONDON*

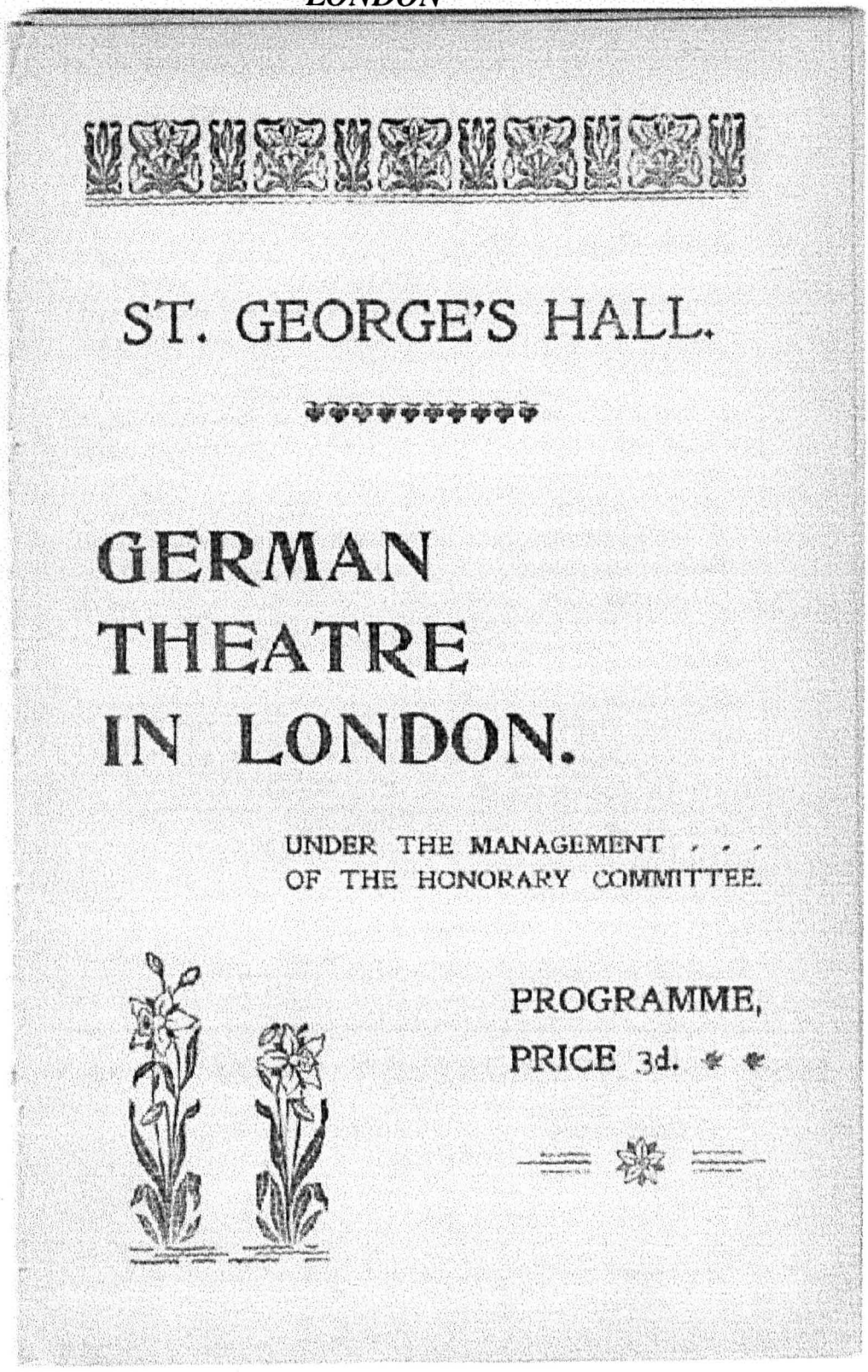

Fig. 5: *Deutsches Theater in London* - Programme Cover

On TUESDAY evening, February 11th: WEDNESDAY evening, February 12th: FRIDAY evening, February 14th, and SATURDAY evening, February 15th:

Fr. von SCHILLER's Trauerspiel in 5 Akten (8 Bilder) - - -

"Kabale und Liebe."

Produced under the direction of MAX BEHREND.

Präsident von Walter, *am Hof eines deutschen Fürsten*	ALFRED SCHMIEDEN.
Ferdinand, *sein Sohn, Major*	MAX EISSFELDT.
Hofmarschall von Kalb	ADOLF WALTHER.
Lady Milford, *Favoritin des Fürsten* (*By kind permission of Mr. Ben Greet.*)	TITA BRAND.
Wurm, *Haussecretär des Präsidenten*	MAX BEHREND.
Miller, *Stadtmusikant*	HANS WERDER.
Dessen Frau	IRMGARD OLBRICH.
Luise, *dessen Tochter*	HERMINE GERALD.
Sophie, *Kammerjungfer der Lady*	GRETE HAHN.
Ein Kammerdiener des Fürsten	RICHARD RICHTER.
Diener	KARL BERGER.

The first three Acts consist of two Tableaux each.

Doors open at 8 o'clock; the Curtain will rise at 8.30 punctually. Overture at 8.15

Stage Manager - - - - - - - - Mr. GEORGE GURNEY.

New Scenery by J. M[illegible] of B[illegible] (London Office: [illegible], Langham Place, W.), will be used throughout the Season. Furniture by J. S. LYON, 112, High Holborn, W.C. Piano by SCHREIBER. Wigs by CLARKSON.

BOX OFFICE (Mr. WALTERS) open from 10 till 5 o'clock and during the performances. Seats can be booked by Letter, Telegram or Telephone (No. [illegible] Gerrard); also at Mr. ALF. SMART'S Library, 30 Lime Street, E.C., and all the principal Libraries and Ticket Offices.

PRICES OF ADMISSION:

Stalls: 6/- and 5/-. Balcony: 4/-. Unreserved Seats: 3/-, 2/- & 1/-.

Business Manager - - - - - - - - Mr. J. E. VEDRENNE.

Fig 6: Programme Notes I

Next week, TUESDAY, February 13th, and following WEDNESDAY and FRIDAY

— LAST SUBSCRIPTION WEEK. —

"CLAVIGO."

Drama in 5 ACTS by GOETHE.

followed each evening by "Der Zerbrochene Krug."

Comedy in 1 Act by KLEIST.

SATURDAY, February 22nd:

"DIE ROTE ROBE."

Drama in 4 Acts by EUGENE BRIEUX. (The great Parisian success.)

All information concerning the GERMAN THEATRE will be found in the "Sunday Special" under the heading "Plays and Players."

The Orchestra, conducted by Mr. LOUIS HINTZE, will play some of the following Selections:

OVERTURE	"Rosamunde"	*Schubert.*
First Entr'acte Music:		
SELECTION	"Emerald Isle"	*Sullivan-German.*
Second Intermezzo Music:		
VALSE LENTE	"Lied du Pays"	*Berger.*
	"Narcissus"	*Nevin.*
Third Entr'acte Music:	"Baiser d'Amour"	*Bayer.*
Fourth Entr'acte Music:		
GRAND FINAL DANCE ...	... ...	*Hintze.*

Synopsis of "Kabale und Liebe."

Drama in 5 Acts by Schiller.

ACT I. Ferdinand, the son of President von Walther, is secretly engaged to Luise, the daughter of a musician. But the young couple are not to enjoy happiness for long. Through Frau Miller's indiscreet remarks, Wurm, the President's villainous secretary, and a suitor to the fair Luise's hand, guesses the true state of affairs, and informs the President of his son's entanglement. The President, a no less villainous character than his secretary, who had attained the high position he holds at Court by means of fraud and crime, has other plans with his son. The Duke is on the point of contracting a marriage, for which reason his mistress, Lady Milford, is to be disposed of, viz., married to one of his courtiers. The choice has fallen on Ferdinand von Walther, with whom the lady is deeply in love. But the son, when informed of this scheme, offers strenuous opposition. Not only does his sense of honour revolt against marrying the Prince's mistress, but his love of Luise is too great; he cannot, he will not desert her. And when his father, for whom he does not feel a spark of love, knowing how he should his position, tells him that he has means to force him, he goes to Lady Milford, to appeal to her pride as a woman.

[P. T. O.

Fig. 7: Programme Notes II

Synopsis *(continued)*.

ACT II. Ferdinand finds Lady Milford a different woman, to what he had expected, not only a woman of noble origin, she being a descendant of the Duke of Norfolk, but also of a noble heart and generous disposition. He rewards her confidence by equal confidence and tells her everything. The Lady is deeply moved, her hope of happiness is shattered, and yet she sees no way out of the trouble, the whole town speaks about her engagement to Ferdinand von Walther, unbearable shame would be heaped on her, if it became known that he has refused her. Ferdinand hurries back to Luise. He is just in time, for his father calls to heap insult and injury on the Miller family. Having tried all possible means to save the girl he loves from disgrace, Ferdinand uses the last desperate means and threatens to publicly expose his father, if he does not let Luise go. Terrified, the President orders the constables to release the girl and departs.

ACT III. The secretary Wurm, propounds to the President a diabolical plan to part the lovers, to which the President consents. Luisa's parents are sent to prison, and then Wurm proceeds to the poor girl and urging that it is the sole means of saving her father, forces her to write a letter to Mr. von Kalb, the Court Marshall, professing love of him and contempt of Ferdinand.

ACT IV. The letter is adroitly worked into the hands of Ferdinand, who, meeting von Kalb, almost strangles him in his wrath, quite misunderstanding the latter's protestations of innocence. Meanwhile Lady Milford has sent for Luise. The proud woman wants to see and know the girl who has won the heart of the man she loves. After a last passionate outburst a last mad struggle for her love; the Countess' generous heart, overcome by Luise's love and firm gentleness conquers her passion. She will break with the Duke, leave the town and return to her native country, that Ferdinand and Luise may be happy together. She writes a letter to the Duke informing him of the step, she is about to take and dismisses her whole household. Then she goes out and leaves the palace for ever.

ACT V. Miller, who according to the promise has been released, returns to his child, and they both arrange to leave the town and settle elsewhere. Ferdinand enters. Almost mad with despair he cannot believe in Luise's guilt; but to his passionate appeal the girl does not deny having written the letter. Grief and despair rob the young man of his senses. He contrives to pour poison into the lemonade, which Luise brings him, forces her to drink first and then empties it himself. This done, he tells her that she has drunk the poisoned cup. Conscious that her end is near, there is no longer need for her to hide the truth and she tells him all, how she had written the letter under pressure to save her father, how she had never, not even in thought, been false to him, her only love. At her corpse he falls down and dies after having cursed, but finally forgiven his father, who, turning round accuses his diabolical adviser. The latter answers him by exposing him to the world and both men are led out by the police; the wretched President taking with him the only consolation that his dying son had forgiven him.

Fig. 8: Programme Notes III

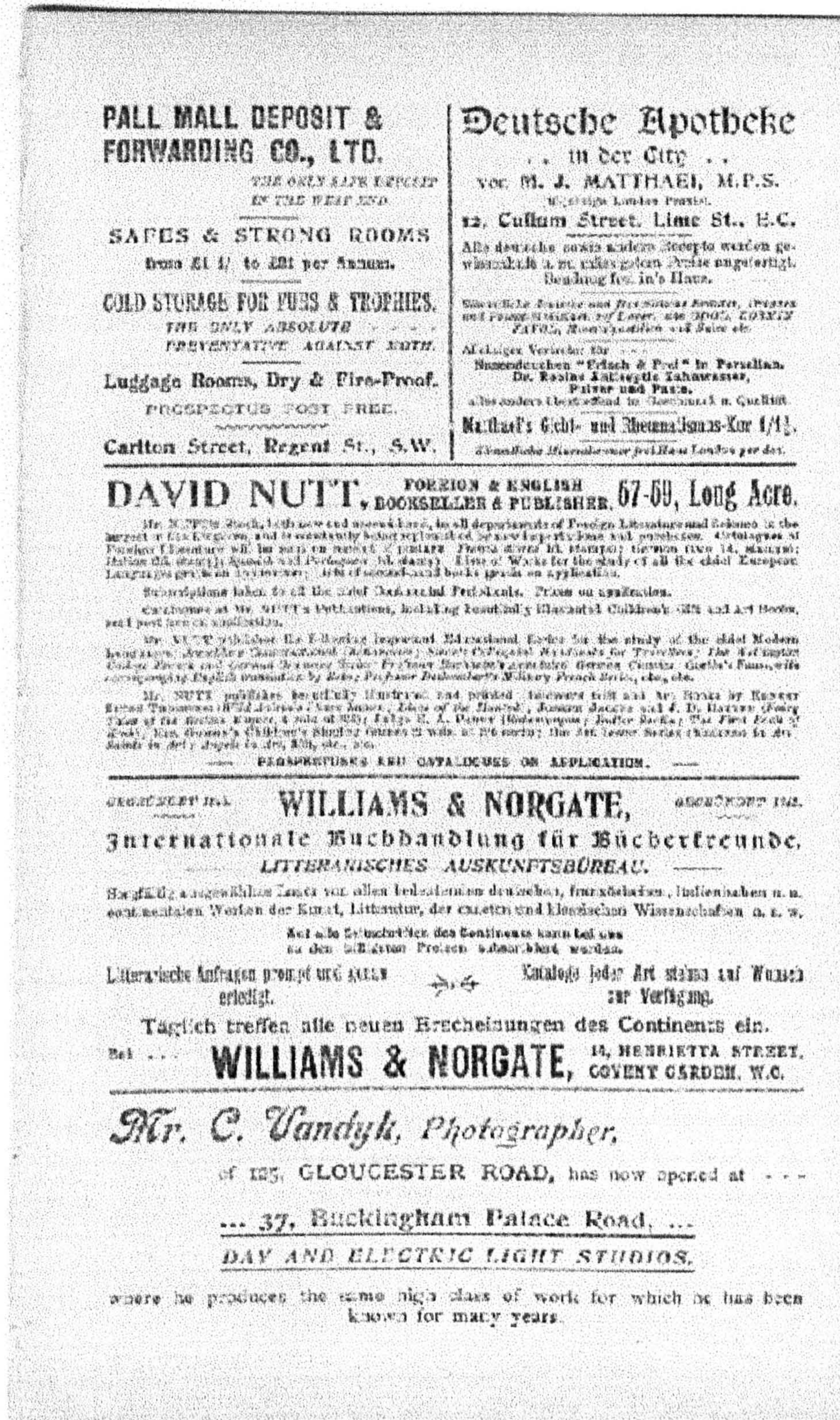

Fig. 9: *Deutsches Theater in London* - Programme Back Cover

APPENDIX II: NINE SEASONS AT THE *DEUTSCHES THEATER IN LONDON*

1st Season **St. George's Hall**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
30/01/1900	1	*Mein Leopold*	Adolf L'Arronge
01/02/1900	1	*Onkel Bräsig*	Fritz Reuter
02/02/1900	4	*Das Glück im Winkel*	Hermann Sudermann
06/02/1900	3	*Der Biberpelz*	Gerhart Hauptmann
08/02/1900	2	*Der Raub der Sabinerinnen*	Franz von Schoenthan
09/02/1900	1	*Hasemanns Töchter*	Adolf L'Arronge
13/02/1900	2	*Die Heimat*	Hermann Sudermann
16/02/1900	1	*Dörchläuchting*	Fritz Reuter
20/02/1900	2	*Doctor Klaus*	Adolf L'Arronge
23/02/1900	1	*Ein Blitzmädel*	Carl Costa
02/03/1900	3	*Liebelei*	Arthur Schnitzler
03/03/1900	3	*Grossstadtluft*	Gustav Kadelburg
08/03/1900	1	*Die Schulreiterin*	Pohl
10/03/1900	3	*Jugend*	Max Halbe
13/03/1900	1	*Der Hüttenbesitzer*	Georges Ohnet
30/03/1900	3	*Die Journalisten*	Gustav Freytag
31/03/1900	2	*Der Herr Senator*	Franz von Schoenthan & Gustav Kadelburg
06/04/1900	3	*Asra*	Felix Philippi
10/04/1900	2	*Die Ehre*	Hermann Sudermann
16/04/1900	2	*Veilchenfresser*	Gustav von Moser
20/04/1900	3	*Das Bild des Signorelli*	Jaffé
01/05/1900	2	*Der Hypochonder*	Gustav von Moser
04/05/1900	1	*Unserer Frauen*	Gustav von Moser & Franz von Schoentahn
08/05/1900	3	*Ein Ehrenhandel*	Ludwig Fulda
11/05/1900	3	*Militärfromm*	Gustav von Moser
11/05/1900	3	*Fritzchen*	Hermann Sudermann
11/05/1900	3	*Abu Seid*	Oskar Blumenthal
11/05/1900	2	*Ein Tropfen Gift*	Oskar Blumenthal
12/05/1900	2	*College Crampton*	Gerhart Hauptmann
22/05/1900	1	*Die Zeche*	Ludwig Fulda
25/05/1900	2	*Das zweite Gesicht*	Oskar Blumenthal
25/05/1900	2	*Steffi Girard*	R. Genée
26/05/1900	2	*Der Andere*	Paul Lindau

2nd Season **Comedy Theatre**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
12/10/1900	3	*Jugendfreunde*	Ludwig Fulda
12/10/1900	3	*Faust Prologue*	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
19/10/1900	4	*Fuhrmann Henschel*	Gerhart Hauptmann
26/10/1900	4	*Der Probepfeil*	Oskar Blumenthal
02/11/1900	5	*Goldfische*	Franz von Schoenthan
09/11/1900	4	*Nathan der Weise*	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing
23/11/1900	5	*Renaissance*	Franz von Schoenthan
30/11/1900	4	*Jugend von heute*	Otto Ernst
07/12/1900	4	*Der Biberpelz*	Gerhart Hauptmann
14/12/1900	4	*Das Stiftungsfest*	Gustav von Moser
04/01/1901	7	*Faust I*	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
18/01/1901	7	*Johannisfeuer*	Hermann Sudermann
15/02/1901	4	*Die Schmetterlingsschlacht*	Hermann Sudermann
22/02/1901	4	*Der neue Vormund*	Gustav Kadelburg
22/02/1901	4	*Das Pulverfaß*	Gustav Kadelburg
22/02/1901	4	*In Zivil*	Gustav Kadelburg
01/03/1901	4	*In Behandlung*	Max Dreyer
08/03/1901	6	*Der Dornenweg*	Felix Philippi
19/03/1901	4	*Rosenmontag*	Otto Erich Hartleben
26/03/1901	4	*Die Ehre*	Hermann Sudermann
02/04/1901	3	*Der Probekandidat*	Max Dreyer
09/04/1901	1	*Das vierte Gebot*	Ludwig Anzengruber

3rd Season **St. George's Hall**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
29/09/1901	4	*Die Haubenlerche*	Wildenbruch
05/10/1901	6	*Flachsmann als Erzieher*	Otto Ernst
12/10/1901	4	*Pauline*	Georg Hirschfeld
19/10/1901	4	*Unter vier Augen*	Ludwig Fulda
19/10/1901	4	*Die Tochter des Herrn Fabricius*	Adolf Wilbrandt
26/10/1901	4	*Hedda Gabler*	Henrik Ibsen
03/12/1901	2	*Hans Rosenhagen*	Max Halbe
06/12/1901	2	*Emilia Galotti*	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing
10/12/1901	2	*Goldfische*	Franz von Schoenthan & Gustav Kadelburg
13/12/1901	2	*Johannisfeuer*	Hermann Sudermann
17/12/1901	4	*Krieg im Frieden*	Gustav von Moser & Franz von Schoenthan
03/01/1902	2	*Schmetterlingsschlacht*	Hermann Sudermann
07/01/1902	4	*Die größte Sünde*	Otto Ernst
14/01/1902	4	*Rosenmontag*	Otto Erich Hartleben
21/01/1902	4	*Ihre Familie*	Julius Stinde
28/01/1902	4	*El gran Galeotto - Der große Kuppler*	José Echegaray y Eizaguire (translated from Spanish)
04/02/1902	2	*Der Biberpelz*	Gerhart Hauptmann
05/02/1902	2	*Der Rothe Hahn*	Gerhart Hauptmann
11/02/1902	4	*Kabale und Liebe*	Friedrich Schiller
18/02/1902	3	*Clavigo*	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
18/02/1902	3	*Der zerbrochene Krug*	Heinrich von Kleist
22/02/1902	3	*Die Rote Robe*	Eugène Brieux (translated from French)
28/02/1902	1	*Ein toller Einfall*	Carl Lauf

4th Season **Great Queen Street Theatre**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
29/11/1902	11	*Im bunten Rock*	Franz von Schoenthan
08/12/1902	3	*Die Mutter*	Georg Hirschfeld
11/12/1902	3	*Die zärtlichen Verwandten*	Roderick Bendix
22/11/1902	16	*Alt-Heidelberg*	Wilhelm Meyer-Foerster
16/12/1902	7	*Das große Licht*	Felix Philippi
23/12/1902	5	*Pension Schöller*	Karl Laufs
23/12/1902	5	*Fritzchen*	Hermann Sudermann
30/12/1902	7	*Der Schwabenstreich*	Franz von Schoenthan
06/01/1903	2	*Liebelei*	Arthur Schnitzler
08/01/1903	7	*Die Revolver Journalisten*	Otto Ernst
17/01/1903	3	*Die Rote Robe*	Eugène Brieux (translated from French)
31/01/1903	6	*Der Raub der Sabinerinnen*	Franz von Schoenthan
04/02/1903	4	*Das Glück im Winkel*	Hermann Sudermann
11/02/1903	11	*Die versunkene Glocke*	Gerhart Hauptmann
23/02/1903	9	*Es lebe das Leben*	Hermann Sudermann
05/03/1903	5	*Die Hochzeitsreise*	Unknown
05/03//1903	6	*Der Hochzeitstag*	Wilhelm Wolters
12/03/1903	3	*Doktor Klaus*	Adolph L'Arronge

5th Season **Royalty Theatre**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
31/10/1903	7	*Der Sturmgeselle Sokrates*	Hermann Sudermann
07/11/1903	7	*Kaltwasser*	Ludwig Fulda
14/11/1903	4	*Kollege Crampton*	Gerhart Hauptmann
16/11/1903	7	*Zwillingsschwestern*	Ludwig Fulda
23/11/1903	6	*Heimat*	Hermann Sudermann
25/11/1903	4	*Narciss*	Albert Emil Brachvogel
02/12/1903	4	*Das Wappenhanse*	Paul Oskar Hocker
07/12/1903	4	*Der Raub der Sabinerinnen*	Franz von Schoenthan
14/12/1903	7	*Der Herrgottschnitzer von Ammergau*	Ludwig Ganghofer
21/12/1903	3	*Pastor Lorm*	Alfred Schirokauer
21/12/1903	6	*Guten Morgen Herr Fischer*	W. Friedrich
01/01/1904	3	*Goldfische*	Franz von Schoenthan
04/01/1904	4	*Der Veilchenfresser*	Gustav von Moser
08/01/1904	29	*Zapfenstreich*	Franz Adam Beyerlein
25/01/1904	5	*Die beiden Leonoren*	Paul Lindau
29/01/1904	5	*Wie die Alten sungen*	Karl Niemann
29/01/1904	3	*Der Herr Senator*	Franz von Schoenthan
12/02/1904	7	*... So ich Dir*	Paul Lindau
22/02/1904	5	*Komtesse Guckerl*	Franz von Schoenthan
29/02/1904	5	*Hanneles Himmelfahrt*	Gerhart Hauptmann
29/02/1904	5	*Kollegen*	Annie Neumann-Hofer
07/03/1904	2	*Lady Tetley's Scheidung*	Mr & Mrs Dowing trans. by Adeline H. Coffin
10/03/1904	9	*Im weißen Rössl*	Oskar Blumenthal
19/03/1904	1	*Im bunten Rock*	Franz von Schoenthan

6th Season **Great Queen Street Theatre**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
07/11/1904	6	*Die Großstadtluft*	Oskar Blumenthal
14/11/1904	5	*Einsame Menschen*	Gerhart Hauptmann
17/11/1904	3	*Der Herrscher*	Annie Bock
17/11/1904	3	*Jugendfreunde*	Ludwig Fulda
21/11/1904	7	*Das Tal des Lebens*	Max Dreyer
24/11/1904	1	*Johannisfeuer*	Hermann Sudermann
29/11/1904	9	*Traumulus*	Arno Holz
08/12/1904	3	*Sein Prinzesschen*	Gerhart Schätzler-Parasini
12/12/1904	4	*Abschied vom Regiment*	Otto Erich Hartleben
12/12/1904	4	*Die Lose*	Otto Erich Hartleben
12/12/1904	12	*Die sittliche Forderung*	Otto Erich Hartleben
12/12/1904	4	*Militärfromm*	Gustav von Moser
16/12/1904	4	*Die goldene Spinne*	Franz von Schoenthan
02/01/1905	11	*Alt-Heidelberg*	Wilhelm Meyer-Förster
05/01/1905	5	*Die Weber*	Gerhart Hauptmann
11/01/1905	5	*Zapfenstreich*	Franz Adam Beyerlein
18/01/1905	8	*Ein Rabenvater*	Hans Fischer
28/01/1905	5	*Zwei glückliche Tage*	Franz von Schoenthan
11/02/1905	3	*Der Raub der Sabinerinnen*	Franz von Schoenthan
15/02/1905	7	*Maskerade*	Ludwig Fulda
22/02/1905	5	*Mein Leopold*	Adolph L'Arronge
27/02/1905	4	*Der Strom*	Max Halbe
03/03/1905	7	*Die Wildente*	Henrik Ibsen
09/03/1905	3	*Es lebe das Leben*	Hermann Sudermann
17/03/1905	3	*Zwei Wappen*	Oskar Blumenthal

7th Season **Great Queen Street Theatre**

DATE	NO. OF PERF. [138]	PLAY	AUTHOR
30/10/1905		*Der Familientag*	Gustav Kadelburg
04/11/1905		*Die berühmte Frau*	Franz von Schoenthan
17/11/1905		*Flachsmann als Erzieher*	Otto Ernst
27/11/1905		*Die wilde Jagd*	Ludwig Fulda
01/12/1905		*Die Räuber*	Friedrich Schiller
18/12/1905		*Stein unter Steinen*	Hermann Sudermann
23/12/1905		*Aschenbroedel*	C.A. Goerner
29/12/1905		*Serenissimus Zwischenspiele*	Unknown
29/12/1905		*Blau*	Max Bernstein
30/12/1905		*Er muß taub sein*	Moinaux
05/01/1906		*Alt-Heidelberg*	Wilhelm Meyer-Foerster
19/01/1906		*Liselott*	Heinrich Stobitzer
23/01/1906		*Das Erbe*	Felix Philippi
27/01/1906		*Der Militärstaat*	Gustav von Moser
16/02/1906		*Nachtasyl*	Maxim Gorky (translated from Russian)
02/03/1906		*Die Kinder der Excellenz*	Ernst Wollzogen
09/03/1906		*Maria Stuart*	Friedrich Schiller
16/03/1906		*Das Opferlamm*	Oscar Walther
30/03/1906		*Hasemanns Tochter*	Adolf L'Arronge
06/04/1906		*Die Brüder von St Bernhard*	Anton Ohorn
21/04/1906		*Die Schmetterlingsschlacht*	Hermann Sudermann
27/04/1906		*Teja*	Hermann Sudermann
27/04/1906		*Fritzchen*	Hermann Sudermann
27/04/1906		*Das ewig Männliche*	Hermann Sudermann
28/04/1906		*Das Glück im Winkel*	Hermann Sudermann
04/05/1906		*Heimat*	Hermann Sudermann

[138] By the 7th season its financial situation did not allow the *Deutsches Theater* to run extensive advertisments in newspapers. It has, therefore, been impossible to determine the number of performances for each production

8th Season **Great Queen Street Theatre**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
05/04/1907		*Condotteri*	Herzog
12/04/1907		*Die goldene Eva*	Franz Koppel-Elfeld
15/04/1907		*Der Biberpelz*	Gerhart Hauptmann
17/04/1907		*Die von Hochsattel*	L. Stein
22/04/1907		*Hans Huckebein*	Oskar Blumenthal
26/04/1907		*Der Raub der Sabinerinnen*	Franz von Schoenthan

9th Season **Royalty Theatre**

DATE	NO. OF PERF.	PLAY	AUTHOR
27/04/1908	6	*Der Weg zur Hölle*	Gustav Kadelburg
02/05/1908	3	*Minna von Barnhelm*	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing
04/05/1908	6	*Panne*	Richard Skowronnek

APPENDIX III: GERMAN DRAMA IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION ON THE WEST END STAGE - 1900 - 1959

YEAR	GERMAN TITLE	GERMAN AUTHOR	TRANSLATOR	ENGLISH TITLE	THEATRE	DATE OF FIRST PERFORMANCE	NOTES
1900							
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	Louis N. Parker	*Magda*	Royalty	19 February	Revival of 1896 production with Mrs. Patrick Campbell in the title-role
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	Richard Nathanson	*Magda*	Lyceum	10 May	Italian production; Eleanore Duse in title-role (revival of the 1895 production at Drury Lane)
1901							
	Einsame Menschen	Gerhart Hauptmann	Mary Morison	*Lonely Lives*	Strand	31 March	Stage Society
	Das Glück im Winkel	Hermann Sudermann	J. T. Grein & Alice Green	*A Happy Nook*	Court	25 June	directed by Max Behrend; Premier's Club

1902							
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	G. Winslow	*Magda*	Adelphi	01 September	Nance O'Neill in title-role
1903							
	Sodoms Ende	Hermann Sudermann	unknown	*The Man and His Picture*	Great Queen Street	18 March	
	Alt-Heidelberg	Wilhelm Meyer-Förster	Rudolf Bleichmann	*Old-Heidelberg*	St. James'	19 March	directed by Max Behrend
	Es lebe das Leben	Hermann Sudermann	Edith Wharton	*The Joy of Living*	New Theatre	24 June	
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	Richard Nathanson	*Magda*	Adelphi	06 October	Italian Production
1904							
	Alt-Heidelberg	Wilhelm Meyer-Förster	Rudolf Bleichmann	*Old-Heidelberg*	St. James'	25 January	
	Rosenmontag	Otto Erich Hartleben	Rudolf Bleichmann	*Love's Carnival*	St. James'	17 March	
1905							
	Letzte Masken	Arthur Schnitzler	Christopher Horne	*In the Hospital*	Court	28 February	
	Der Biberpelz	Gerhart Hauptmann	Christopher Horne	*The Thieves' Comedy*	Court	21 March	
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	Richard Nathanson	*Magda*	Waldorf	25 May	Italian Production
1906							
	Johannisfeuer	Hermann Sudermann	J. T. Grein & Alix Augusta	*Midsummer Fires*	Scala	13 May	Stage Society;

			Grein				directed by Hans Andresen
	Die Weber	Gerhart Hauptmann	Mary Morison	*The Weavers*	Scala	09 December	Stage Society
1907							
	Die versunkene Glocke	Gerhart Hauptmann	Charles Henry Meltzer	*The Sunken Bell*	Waldorf	22 April	
	Der Kammersänger	Frank Wedekind	unknown	*unknown*	Imperial	09 June	Stage Society
1908							
	Hanneles Himmelfahrt	Gerhart Hauptmann	William Archer	*Hannele*	Scala	12 April	Play Actors' Society
	Faust	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	S. Phillips & J. Carr	*Faust*	His Majesty's	05 September	
	Elektra	Hugo von Hofmannsthal	Arthur Symons	*Electra*	New Theatre	27 November	
	Hanneles Himmelfahrt	Gerhart Hauptmann	William Archer	*Hannele*	His Majesty's	08 December	
1909							
	Liebelei	Arthur Schnitzler	Valentine Williams	*Light O'Love*	His Majesty's	14 May	
	Alt-Heidelberg	Wilhelm Meyer-Förster	Rudolf Bleichmann	*Old-Heidelberg*	St. James'	24 May	
1910							
1911							
	Anatol	Arthur	H. G. Barker &	*Anatol*	Little	11 March	Starring H. G.

		Schnitzler	C. Wheeler	(without *Keepsakes*)			Barker
	Anatol	Arthur Schnitzler	H. G. Barker & C. Wheeler	*Anatol* (including *Keepsakes*)	Little	18 March	Starring H. G. Barker
	Der Leibgardist	Felix Molnar	unknown	*Playing with Fire*	Comedy	29 April	
	Der grosse Name	Victor Leon & Leo Field	Charles Hawtrey	*The Great Name*	Prince of Wales'	07 September	
1912							
	Das Märchen	Arthur Schnitzler	H. G. Barker & C. Wheeler	*unknown*	Little	28 January	Starring Penelope Wheeler
	Die fünf Frankfurter	Karl Roessler	Basill Hood	*The Five Frankforters*	Lyric	07 May	
	Einsame Menschen	Gerhart Hauptmann	Mary Morison	*Lonely Lives*	Court	08 November	
1913							
	Komtesse Mizzi	Arthur Schnitzler	H. A. Hertz	*Comtesse Mizzi*	Aldwych	09 March	Stage Society
	Der grüne Kakadu	Arthur Schnitzler	Penelope Wheeler	*The Green Cockatoo*	Aldwych	09 March	Stage Society
	Der letzte Besuch	Hermann Sudermann	Grace Frank	*The Last Visit*	Little	19 May	
	Der grüne Kakadu	Arthur Schnitzler	Penelope Wheeler	*The Green Cockatoo*	Vaudeville	23 October	
1914 – 1919							
1920							

	Von Morgens bis Mitternachts	Georg Kaiser	Ashley Dukes	*From Morn to Midnight*	Lyric Hammersmith	28 March	Stage Society
	Der tapfere Cassian	Arthur Schnitzler	Adam Gawans	*Gallant Cassian*	Old Vic	18 May	
1921							
	Der Wettlauf mit dem Schatten	Wilhelm von Scholtz	G. & T. Rawson	*The Race with the Shadow*	Court	22 May	Stage Society
	Der Wettlauf mit dem Schatten	Wilhelm von Scholtz	G. & T. Rawson	*The Race with the Shadow*	Everyman	31 October	
1922							
1923							
	Jedermann	Hugo von Hofmannsthal	S. Amherst & C. Wheeler	*Via Crucis*	Garrick	05 February	
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	Louis N. Parker	*Magda*	Playhouse	24 March	
	Die Maschinenstürmer	Ernst Toller	Ashley Dukes	*The Machine-Wreckers*	Kingsway	06 May	Stage Society
1924							
	Faust	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	G. & T. Rawson	*Faust*	Old Vic	20 February	
	Masse Mensch	Ernst Toller	Louis Untermeyer	*Man and the Masses*	New	18 May	Stage Society
	Hanneles Himmelfahrt	Gerhart Hauptmann	William Archer	*Hannele*	Old Vic	08 December	
1925							

	Alt-Heidelberg	Wilhelm Meyer-Förster	Rudolf Bleichmann	*Old-Heidelberg*	Garrick	05 February	
	Nathan der Weise	Gothold Ephraim Lessing	Dillon R. Boylan	*Nathan the Wise*	Strand	03 May	Jewish Drama League
	Liebelei	Arthur Schnitzler	Valentine Williams	*Light O'Love*	Kingsway	07 December	
1926							
	Von Morgens bis Mitternachts	Georg Kaiser	Ashley Dukes	*From Morn to Midnight*	Regent	09 March	
1927							
	Professor Bernhardi	Arthur Schnitzler	unknown	*Professor Bernhardi*	Little	13 February	Dramatic Reading by the Jewish Drama League
	Der Weibsteufel	Karl Schoenherr	G. & T. Rawson	*unknown*	Strand	10 April	Stage Society
	Lichtbänder	Hermann Sudermann	Grace Frank	*Streaks of Light*	Arts	10 July	
1928							
	Der tapfere Cassian	Arthur Schnitzler	Adam Gawans	*Gallant Cassian*	Arts	26 February	International Theatre Society
	Anatols Hochzeitsmorgen (Anatol)	Arthur Schnitzler	H. G. Barker & C. Wheeler	*Anatol's Wedding Morning*	Arts	26 February	International Theatre Society
	Die Frage an das Schicksal (Anatol)	Arthur Schnitzler	H. G. Barker & C. Wheeler	*Ask No Questions*	Arts	26 February	International Theatre

							Society
	Paulus unter den Juden	Franz Werfel	Paul P. Levertoff	*Paul Among the Jews*	Prince of Wales'	08 July	Stage Society
1929							
	Abschiedssouper (Anatol)	Arthur Schnitzler	H. G. Barker & C. Wheeler	*A Farewell Supper*	Westminster	23 January	
	Der Kreidekreis	Klabund (Alfred Henschke)	James Laver	*The Circle of Chalk*	New	14 March	
	Johannisfeuer	Hermann Sudermann	J. T. & A. A. Grein	*Midsummer Fires*	Arts	26 May	
1930							
	Das Blaue vom Himmel	Hans Chlumberg	Michael Orme (A. A. Grein)	*Out of the Blue*	Arts	16 February	
	Der Brand im Opernhaus	Georg Kaiser	unknown	*The Fire in the Opera House*	Everyman	18 March	
	Das Blaue vom Himmel	Hans Chlumberg	Michael Orme (A. A. Grein)	*Out of the Blue*	Lyric Hammersmith	01 April	
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	Louis N. Parker	*Magda*	Arts	27 April	
	Frau Gitta's Sühne	Siegfried Trebitsch	George Bernard Shaw	*Jitta's Atonement*	Arts	30 April	
	Heimat	Hermann Sudermann	Louis N. Parker	*Magda*	New	12 May	
	Die hässliche Herzogin	Lion Feuchtwanger	Vera Beringer	*The Ugly Duchess*	Arts	15 May	
	Sturm im Wasserglas	Bruno Frank	James Bridie	*Storm in Teacup*	Arts	23 November	

	Karl und Anna	Leonard Frank	Henry Dunscombe	*Karl and Anna*	Piccadilly	07 December	
1931							
	Der Kreidekreis	Alfred Henschke	James Laver	*The Circle of Chalk*	Arts	22 January	
	Hochspannung	Heinrich Neusser	Oswald Silkbeck	*Danger! High Tension*	Everyman	26 January	
	Professor Bernhardi	Arthur Schnitzler	Hetty Landstone	*Professor Bernhardi*	Phoenix	22 March	Jewish Drama League
	Frühlings Erwachen	Frank Wedekind	Unknown	*Spring Awakening*	Grafton	29 March	
	Elizabeth von England	Ferdinand Bruckner	Ashley Dukes	*Elizabeth of England*	Cambridge	30 September	
	Schöne Seelen	Felix Saltern	Vince Toubridge	*The Prince's Supper*	Phoenix	06 December	Stage Society
	Kindertragödie	Karl Schoenherr	Vince Toubridge	*The Children's Tragedy*	Phoenix	06 December	Stage Society
	Schneeweisschen und Rosenrot	Gebrüder Grimm	Harcourt Williams	*Snow-White and Rose-Red*	Grafton	23 December	
1932							
	Mädchen in Uniform	Christa Winsloe	Barbara Burnham	*Children in Uniform*	Duchess	07 October	
	Das Wunder um Verdun	Hans Chlumberg	Edward Crankshaw	*Miracle at Verdun*	Comedy	25 October	
	Fräulein Elsa	Arthur Schnitzler	Theodore Komisarjevsky	*Fräulein Elsa*	Kingsway	23 November	
1933							

	Vor Sonnenuntergang	Gerhart Hauptmann	Miles Malleson	*Before Sunset*	Shaftesbury	28 September	
1934							
	Emil und die Detektive	Erich Kästner	Cyrus Brooks	*Emil and the Detectives*	Vaudeville	11 April	
	Mädchen in Uniform	Christa Winsloe	Barbara Burnham	*Children in Uniform*	Westminster	22 October	
	Leonce und Lena	Georg Büchner	R. Anderson & B. Jensen	*Leonce and Lena*	Fortune	16 December	
1935							
	Feuer aus den Kesseln	Ernst Toller	Edward Crankshaw	*Draw the Fires*	Cambridge	12 May	
1936							
	Faust	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	Pett Eustace	*Faust*	Lyric Hammersmith	15 January	
	Sturm im Wasserglas	Bruno Frank	James Bridie	*Storm in Teacup*	Royalty	05 February	
	Ehen werden im Himmel geschlossen	Walter Hasenclever	unknown	*unknown*	Arts	15 March	
	Professor Bernhardi	Arthur Schnitzler	L. Borell & R. Adams	*Professor Bernhardi*	Phoenix	14 July	
1937 – 1940							
1941							
	Attentat	W. O. Somin	Gilbert Lennox	*Close Quarters*	Apollo	31 July	
1942 –							

1944							
1945							
	Leonce und Lena	Georg Büchner	Geoffrey Dunlop	*Leonce and Lena*	Arts	02 February	
	Der Kreidekreis	Klabund (Alfred Henschke)	James Lever	*Circle of Chalk*	Arts	09 August	
1946 – 1947							
1948							
	Woyzeck	Georg Büchner	Frederick Bennett & Michael Warre	*Woyzeck*	Lyric Hammersmith	25 July	
	Der grüne Kakadu	Arthur Schnitzler	Horace B. Samuel	*The Green Cockatoo*	Lyric Hammersmith	25 July	
1949							
	Faust	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	G. &. T. Rawson	*Faust*	Open Air	09 August	
1950							
	Fräulein Else	Arthur Schnitzler	Rosalinde Fuller	*Fräulein Else*	Watergate	31 January	
	Der Flüchtling	Fritz Hochwälder	Peter Zadek	*The Fugitive*	Watergate	25 April	
	Unknown	Richard Reich	Arnold Ridley	*The Dark Corridor*	Lindsey	10 May	
	Der zerbrochene Krug	Heinrich von Kleist	Winfred Katzel	*The Broken Jug*	Chepstow	01 August	

1951							
	Das Floß der Medusa	Georg Kaiser	H.F. Garten & Elizabeth Sprigge	*Medusa's Raft*	Watergate	26 January	
	Johannisfeuer	Hermann Sudermann	William Stirling & Anthony Spring Rice	*Fires of the Midsummer Eve*	Lindsey	17 July	
	Johannisfeuer	Hermann Sudermann	William Stirling & Anthony Spring Rice	*Fires of the Midsummer Eve*	Embassy	07 August	
1952							
1953							
	Der Weibsteufel	Karl Schoenherr	G. & T. Rawson	*The Fox's Wife*	Torch	23 March	
1954							
1955							
	Das heilige Experiment	Fritz Hochwälder	Eva le Gallienne	*The Strong are Lonely*	Piccadilly	15 November	
	Draußen vor der Tür	Wolfgang Borchert	David Porter	*The Man Outside*	Gateway	29 November	
1956							
	Die Dreigroschenoper	Bertolt Brecht	Bertolt Brecht, Kurt Weill, Marc Blitzstein	*Threepenny Opera*	Court	09 February	
	Die Sprechstunde	H. Bratt	Jack Roffey & Gordon Harbord	*Night of the Fourth*	Westminster	29 June	
	Die Ausnahme und die Regel	Bertolt Brecht	unknown	*The Exception and the Rule*	Unity	12 October	

	Der gute Mensch von Setzuan	Bertolt Brecht	Eric Bentley	*The Good Woman of Setzuan*	Court	31 October	
1957							
	Der öffentliche Ankläger	Fritz Hochwälder	Kitty Black	*The Public Prosecutor*	Arts	15 October	
	Ein besserer Herr	Walter Hasenclever	unknown	*Man of Distinction*	Princes	17 October	
1958							
	Der Ganze Macher	Ephraim Kishon	Lothian Small	*The Ganze Macher*	Unity	10 April	
	Maria Stuart	Friedrich Schiller	Stephen Spender & Peter Wood	*Mary Stuart*	Old Vic	17 September	
	Einsame Menschen	Gerhart Hauptmann	Richard Duschinsky	*Garden of Loneliness*	Arts	29 October	
	Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder	Bertolt Brecht	Eric Bentley	*Mother Courage and Her Children*	Unity	28 November	
1959							
	Dantons Tod	Georg Büchner	James Maxwell	*Danton's Death*	Lyric Hammersmith	27 January	
	Leonce und Lena	Georg Büchner	Michael Geliot	*Leonce and Lena*	Court	19 April	
	Urfaust	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	Bertil Malmberg	*Urfaust*	Princes	04 May	Malmo Municipal Theatre Company; directed by Ingmar

							Bergmann; starring Max von Sydow
	Die Ehe des Herrn Mississippi	Friedrich Dürrenmatt	E. Peters & R. Schnorr	*The Marriage of Mr. Mississippi*	Arts	30 September	

APPENDIX IV: *THE GREEN COCKATOO*

Manusrcipt No. 1475
Lord Chamberlain's Office
The Green Cockatoo
Aldwych Theatre
Date of Licence: 5th. Mar. 1913

The Green Cockatoo
Play in One Act
by
Arthur Schnitzler
Translated by
Penelope Wheeler and Christopher Wheeler

Translator's Note

Schnitzler has kept the speech of the Actors and especially that of Henry, rather melodramatic, at times even "stagey". - We have tried to keep this effect. Throughout there is no (or very little) slang or dialect, all the speaking parts are expressed grammatically and not in any way in what is supposed to be the speech of the common people. We have therefore adopted a similar plan in translating - keeping a little theatrical slang - which has its equivalent in the original.

As to the proper names, where there is an English equivalent we think it best to use it e.g. Henry, Francis, etc. to save the wrestling of the actors with the French. On the other hand we compromise by keeping Marquise and Chevalier - but are open to conviction as to the advisability of what we have done this way.

SCENE: *The Inn of the Green Cockatoo. A moderate sized cellar down to which on right some way back, seven steps lead, closed above by a door. A second door at the back left, hardly visible. A number of plain wooden tables with benches fill most of the space. Behind it, barrels. Room lighted by oil lamps hanging from ceiling.*

Discovered: PROSPER. *ENTER* LEBRET *and* GRASSET.

GRASSET (*still on the stairs*) Come along in here Lebret. This is the place - My old friend and manager's sure to have wine somewhere even if all the rest of Paris goes thirsty.

PROSPER Good evening Grasset - so you've turned up again. Had enough of philosophy? D'you want me to give you a part?

GRASSET Rather. Fetch out your wine. I'll be a guest and you be host.

PROSPER Wine? Where's that coming from Grasset? They've cleared out every wine shop in Paris to-night. I'll wager you had a hand in it too.

GRASSET Oh, bring it out! The crowd that'll be here presently can -- (listens) Hear anything Lebret?

LEBRET Sounds like thunder - far off.

GRASSET Good, that's the citizens of Paris - you're keeping some for your crowd so out with it! My friend and admirer, citizen Lebret, tailor in the Rue St. Honore - he'll pay for it.

[p.2][139]
LEBRET Certainly, certainly. I'll pay.

(PROSPER *hesitates*)

GRASSET Show him the money Lebret.

(LEBRET *pulls out his purse*)

PROSPER Well, I'll see if -- (*turns spigot of the barrel. Fills two glasses*) Where have you been? Palais Royal?

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[139] The page numbers of the original manuscript have been indicated in square brackets as all references in the main thesis refer to these original page numbers.

GRASSET Yes. I've been making a speech - Yes, my friend it's my turn now - d'you know whom I came after?

PROSPER Well?

GRASSET After Camille Desmoulins! Yes - I had the nerve, and tell us Lebret - who got most applause? Eh?

LEBRET You - no doubt about it.

GRASSET And how did I bring it off?

LEBRET Splendid! -

GRASSET D'you hear that Prosper? I got on the table - I looked like a monument - Yes and thousands - five - ten thousand crowded round me just like they did round Camille Desmoulins and shouted for me.

LEBRET They shouted louder for you.

GRASSET Ye-es. Perhaps - not much - but it was louder - and now they're all off to the Bastille, and I may say, it's my words that sent 'em there. I swear it will be ours before night.

PROSPER Yes, if your talking brings the walls down.

[p.3]
GRASSET Talking eh? Are you deaf? They're shooting. Our honest soldiers are there - they hate the cursed prisons as much as we do. They know their brothers and fathers are shut up inside those walls, but they wouldn't be shooting now if we hadn't done the talking - My dear Prosper, it's brains that count (*to* LEBRET) Here - where are those pamphlets?

LEBRET Here (*pulls a bundle out of his pocket*)

GRASSET These are the latest. They've just been distributed in the Palais Royal. Here is one by my friend Cerutti - "A memorial to the People of France" -- Here's another by Desmoulins who certainly speaks better than he writes, "France set free" -

PROSPER When's yours coming out that you're always talking about?

GRASSET We don't want any more writing. The time for deeds has come - Only cowards sit at home now. All true men are in the street to-day.

LEBRET Bravo! Bravo!

GRASSET They've killed the mayor in Toulon. At Brignolles they've sacked a dozen houses. It's only in Paris that men are slack and put up with anything.

PROSPER No one can say that now.

LEBRET (*who's been drinking steadily*) Up! citizens up!

GRASSET Up! Shut up your shop and come with us.

PROSPER I'll be there all right when the time comes.

GRASSET Yes, - when the danger's over.

PROSPER My friend I love liberty as much as you do, but I've got a business to think of.

GRASSET Today there is only one business for the citizens of Paris: to set their brothers free.

PROSPER That's all right for those who've nothing else to do.

LEBRET Listen to that! He's jeering at us!

PROSPER Not a bit of it -- Come along. You must clear out - my performance'll be beginning and I can't work you into it.

[p.4]
LEBRET What do you mean by performance? Is this a theatre?

PROSPER Of course it's a theatre - your friend was playing here a fortnight ago.

LEBRET You acted here, Grasset? Why d'you let him say such things about you?

GRASSET Oh that's all right - it's quite true - I have played here, for it isn't an ordinary tavern - it's a resort of criminals - come on.

PROSPER Pay first -

LEBRET If it's a resort of criminals - I won't pay a penny.

PROSPER Oh tell your friend where he is.

GRASSET It's a strange place. People come here who act the parts of criminals and others who are criminals and don't suspect it.

LEBRET Eh?

[p.5]

GRASSET I'd like to point out to you that what I've just said is very subtle - it might be the making of a whole oration.

LEBRET I don't understand a word you're saying.

GRASSET I told you Prosper was my manager. His company always plays comedies - only not like the old ones - my former colleagues sit about here and act as if they were criminals - d'you understand? They tell hair-raising stories which are all lies - and confess crimes they've never committed and the public that come here gets the pleasant thrill of sitting among the most dangerous rabble in Paris, with sharpers, burglars, murderers.

LEBRET What sort of public?

GRASSET Nobles.

PROSPER People from the Court.

LEBRET Down with them!

GRASSET It's a sensation for them - that stirs up their feeble wits - Here I made my beginning Lebret - Here I delivered my first oration - little thinking - and here I began to hate the dogs, those dogs who sat among us in their fine clothes, perfumed - rotten to the core, and I'm well pleased my good Lebret that you should see the very spot where your great friend began his career. (*in a different tone*) I say Prosper, if things go wrong -

PROSPER What things?

GRASSET Why, my political career - will you take me on again?

[p.6]

PROSPER Not for worlds!

GRASSET (*lightly*) Why not? You might discover a second Henry -

PROSPER Without going into that - I should always be afraid that you'd forget yourself and attack one of my audience.

GRASSET (*flattered*) That might happen.

PROSPER Now I've got myself well in hand.

GRASSET Well Prosper, I don't mind saying that I should admire your self-control if I didn't happen to know that you're a coward.

PROSPER Ah my friend - I'm satisfied with what I can do; I get a lot of pleasure from telling the fellows to their faces what I really think of them and abusing them to my heart's content, while they think it's all a joke. That's one way of relieving your feelings. (*draws a dagger and flashes it*)

LEBRET (*alarmed*) Citizen Prosper, what's the meaning of that?

GRASSET Don't be afraid - I'll bet, there's no edge to it.

PROSPER Then you're wrong my friend. Some day the jest may turn to earnest and I'm ready for whatever happens.

GRASSET That time is close at hand. We live in stirring times. Come Citizen Lebret. (*pompously*) Let us to our friends - farewell Prosper, you will see me triumphant or never again.

LEBRET (*staggering*) Triumphant or never - (*EXEUNT*)

(PROSPER *sits on a table, opens a pamphlet and reads aloud*)

[p.7]
PROSPER "The beast has its neck in the noose - strangle it" - He doesn't write badly this little Desmoulins - "Never did a richer prize await the victor. Forty thousand palaces and castles - two fifths of all the estates in France will be the reward of valour: - who hold themselves our lords and masters will be overthrown and the nation will be purified" -

(*Enter* INSPECTOR OF POLICE)

(*eyes him*) The tag rag and bobtail coming in early to-day?

INSPECTOR My dear Prosper, don't try any of your jokes on me. I'm Police inspector for your district.

PROSPER What can I do for you?

INSPECTOR I'm ordered to be on your premises this evening.

PROSPER That's a special honour for me.

INSPECTOR That's not the reason my dear Prosper; the authorities want to know what really goes on here. For several weeks -

PROSPER It's a place of amusement, Inspector, that's all.

INSPECTOR Let me finish. For some weeks this place has been the scene of disgraceful orgies.

PROSPER You're misinformed Inspector. We act farces here, nothing else.

INSPECTOR That's how it begins I know, but the end's very different, so I'm told. You used to be an actor?

PROSPER Manager - Inspector - Manager of an excellent company which played last in St. Denis.

INSPECTOR That's no matter. Then you came into a small legacy? -

[p.8]
PROSPER Nothing worth mentioning Inspector.

INSPECTOR Your company's scattered.

PROSPER So is the legacy.

INSPECTOR (*smiling*) Very good. (*both laugh - then suddenly serious*) You've gone into the innkeeping business?

PROSPER And wretchedly it's turned out.

INSPECTOR Then you had an idea, which had some originality, one must admit.

PROSPER You flatter me, Inspector.

INSPECTOR You've collected your company again and now you perform a strange and rather suspicious comedy.

PROSPER If it were really suspicious I shouldn't draw this audience, I may say the most distinguished in Paris, The Viscount of Nogeant is my daily visitor, the Marquis of Lansac comes here often and the Duke of Cadignan Mr. Inspector is the most enthusiastic admirer of my leading man, the famous Henry Baston.

INSPECTOR Also of the art, or arts of your actresses.

PROSPER If you would make the acquaintance of my little actresses Inspector, you wouldn't be surprised at anyone admiring them.

INSPECTOR Very well. The authorities have been informed that the entertainment which your - what shall I call them?

PROSPER The word - artists - might do perhaps. -

[p.9]

INSPECTOR I say "fellows" - the entertainment which your fellows offer, passes the limits of what is permissible. Speeches are delivered here by your - what shall I say - your artistic criminals - which - what does my report say (*reads as before from a notebook*) "Which are not only immoral - which stimulate sedition" - and this in times of such excitement as these is a matter that the authorities cannot overlook.

PROSPER In answer to this accusation Inspector I can only most politely repeat my invitation to you to see the performance for yourself. You will find that there is nothing inflammatory here, if only for the reason that my public refuses to be set on fire. We run a theatre here - that's all.

INSPECTOR Of course I don't accept your invitation but I shall stay here officially.

PROSPER I believe I can promise you the best of entertainments Inspector, but may I be allowed to suggest - that you should come in plain clothes instead of in uniform. For if a police inspector is seen here in uniform the naturalness of my actors and the atmosphere of my audience would be affected.

INSPECTOR You're quite right, Prosper. I will go now and come back as a young man of fashion.

PROSPER You'll find that easy enough Mr. Inspector. You'd be welcomed even as a ragamuffin; that would attract no attention - only not as an officer of the law.

INSPECTOR Good-bye -

(PROSPER *bows*)

PROSPER When will the good time come when you and your like -

[p.10]

(INSPECTOR *in the doorway meets* GRAIN, *who is very ragged and draws back seeing the* INSPECTOR. INSPECTOR *looks closely at him, smiles then to* PROSPER)

INSPECTOR One of your "artists" already - (*EXIT*)

GRAIN (*whimpering, pathetically*) Good evening!

PROSPER (*looking at him - after a pause*) If you're one of my company - I congratulate you, for I don't recognize you.

GRAIN What d'you mean?

PROSPER No nonsense now! Take your wig off. I'd like to know who you are all the same (*seizes him by the hair*)

GRAIN Here! Look out! Take care!

PROSPER Why, it's your own, damn it - who are you? You seem to be the real thing.

GRAIN Yes, I am.

PROSPER What d'you want here?

GRAIN Have I the honour of speaking to Citizen Prosper, host of the Green Cockatoo?

PROSPER That's my name.

GRAIN I'm called Grain - sometimes Garniche, and sometimes Blubbering Bimstein, but I was convicted under the name of Grain, citizen Prosper, and that's the chief thing here.

[p.11]
PROSPER I see. You want me to engage you and let you play here - all right - go on!

GRAIN Citizen Prosper - I'm not a swindler, I'm a man of honour. When I tell you I've been in prison, that's the absolute truth.

(PROSPER *looks at him suspiciously*)

GRAIN (*takes a paper from his coat*) Here - Citizen Prosper - you can see from this that I was let out yesterday afternoon at four o'clock.

PROSPER After two years' imprisonment? Bless me it's quite true.

GRAIN Didn't you believe it Citizen Prosper?

PROSPER What did you do to get two years?

GRAIN They might have hanged me but luckily I wasn't much more than a boy when I killed my poor aunt.

PROSPER Good heavens - whatever should make a man kill his aunt?

GRAIN Citizen Prosper, I shouldn't have done it if my aunt hadn't deceived me with my best friend.

PROSPER Your aunt?

GRAIN Yes - she was more than an aunt. There were special family ties - I was put of patience, really it was more than I could stand - can I tell you about it?

PROSPER Go on - we may be able to come to terms.

[p.12]
GRAIN My sister was half a child when she ran away - and who with, d'you think?

PROSPER It's difficult to guess.

GRAIN With her uncle, and he went off and left her with a child.

PROSPER A whole child I hope.

GRAIN It's not kind of you to make a jest of such things.

PROSPER I tell you what, my blubbering Bimstein your family history bores me - D'you think I'm here to let any stray ragamuffin tell me about the people he's murdered? What's that got to do with me? I suppose you want something?

GRAIN Yes citizen Prosper, I've come to ask for work.

PROSPER (*contemptuously*) Kindly understand there are no aunts to murder here, this is a place of amusement.

GRAIN Oh, once was enough thank you. I'm going to turn respectable. I was told to come to you.

PROSPER Who told you?

GRAIN A charming young man who was shut up in my cell three days ago. Now he's there alone. He's called Gaston and you know him.

PROSPER Gaston? That's why I haven't seen him for three evenings - One of my best pickpocket actors - the tales he told - how he held them!

GRAIN Yes and they've caught him.

[p.13]
PROSPER Caught him? He hasn't really stolen anything?

GRAIN Oh yes he has though, it must have been the first time, for he seems to have set about it like a perfect fool. Now just think (*confidentially*) On the Boulevard des Capucines he put his hand into a lady's pocket, and took out her purse - a regular amateur. I feel I can confide in you citizen Prosper and I'll tell you something. There was a time when I undertook little jobs of that

kind but never without my dear father. I was only a child then, when we all lived together, when my poor Aunt was still alive.

PROSPER What are you snivelling at? I think it's in very bad taste, as if you hadn't murdered her!

GRAIN Too late - But this is what I want. Take me into your company. I will turn over a new leaf like Gaston. He played the criminal and has become one, I -

PROSPER I'll give you a trial - The others'll go through their parts and at a given moment you shall simply tell the whole business of your aunt, just as it happened. Somebody'll ask you about it.

GRAIN Many thanks Citizen Prosper - and my salary?

PROSPER To-day youre on trial so I can't give you any salary - you'll get plenty to eat and drink and I shan't grudge you a couple of francs for a night's lodging.

GRAIN Thank you, and introduce me to the rest of the company just as a visitor from the provinces.

PROSPER Oh no, we'll tell 'em you're a real murderer. They'll like that much better.

GRAIN Excuse me, I don't want to give myself away - but I don't understand.

PROSPER You'll understand all right when you've been on the stage longer.

[p.14]

(*Enter* SCAEVOLA *and* JULES)

SCAEVOLA Good evening, director.

PROSPER Landlord - How often am I to tell you? You give the game away at once if you call me director.

SCAEVOLA Whatever you like to call yourself I can tell you one thing - we shan't be playing to-night.

PROSPER Why not?

SCAEVOLA The Public won't be in the mood for it - There's the devil's own row in the streets and in front of the Bastille they're yelling as if they were possessed -

PROSPER What's that got to do with us? The row's been going on for months but our public doesn't stay away for that. They want their amusement just the same.

SCAEVOLA Yes, they're making the most of their time, while they have it.

PROSPER If only the end comes while I'm here to see it!

SCAEVOLA Anyway, give us something to drink, so that I can get into form. I'm not a bit in form to-day.

PROSPER That happens pretty often my friend I can tell you. I was anything but pleased with you yesterday.

SCAEVOLA I should just like to know why.

PROSPER That burglary yarn that you put up yesterday was simply drivel.

SCAEVOLA Drivel?

PROSPER Yes - drivel - absolutely impossible - mere rantings no good.

[p.15]
SCAEVOLA I didn't rant.

PROSPER You never do anything else. I see what it is - I shall have to rehearse you. It's no good relying on <u>your</u> ideas - Henry is the only one I can trust.

SCAEVOLA Henry. Henry. It's always Henry - Henry's a barn Stormer - That burglary of mine yesterday was a masterpiece. Henry couldn't come anywhere near it. If I'm not good enough for you my friend I'll just go to a regular theatre - this is nothing but a penny graff. Hullo (*sees* GRAIN) Who's that? He isn't one of our lot. Have you taken on a new man? What's his line?

PROSPER Don't you worry - he isn't a professional. He's a real murderer.

SCAEVOLA O! I say! (*goes up to him*) Delighted to meet you. My name's Scaevola.

GRAIN My name's Grain.

(JULES *meantime has been pacing up and down sometimes standing like one tormented by his thoughts*)

PROSPER What are you at Jules?

JULES I'm studying.

PROSPER What are you studying?

JULES Remorse. To-day I'm going to play a man - gnawed by his conscience. Look at me! What d'you think of this frown? Don't I look as if all the furies of Hell ---? (*walks up and down*)

SCAEVOLA (*Roaring*) Wine - Wine!

PROSPER Oh shut up! There's no one in front yet.

[p.16]

(HENRY *and* LEOCADIE *enter*)

HENRY Good evening! (*waves his hand to the others*) Good evening gentlemen.

PROSPER Good evening Henry - Why it's Leocadie

(GRAIN *has been looking closely at* LEOCADIE)

GRAIN (*to* JULES *and* SCAEVOLA) I know her (*whispers with them*)

LEOCADIE Yes my dear Prosper it's I -

PROSPER I haven't seen you for a year - How are you? (*about to kiss her*)

HENRY Here - stop that! (*He looks often at* LEOCADIE with *pride and passion but with a certain anxiety*)

PROSPER But Henry - old colleagues, once your Manager Leocadie -

LEOCADIE That's all over Prosper.

PROSPER what have you got to sigh for? If ever anyone came to the front quickly you did - Well, well - It's always easier for a handsome young woman -

HENRY (*raging*) Stop that!

PROSPER What are you shouting at me like that for? Because you're on with her again?

HENRY Silence! I made her my wife yesterday.

PROSPER Your ---? (*to* LEOCADIE) Is that a joke?

LEOCADIE He's really married me - Yes, he has.

[p.17]

PROSPER My congratulations - Here! Scaevola! Jules! Henry's married.

(SCAEVOLA *comes forward*)

SCAEVOLA My best wishes. (*winks at* LEOCADIE)

(JULES *pressing a hand of each*)

GRAIN (*to* PROSPER) How extraordinary! I saw that woman a few minutes after I came out of prison...

PROSPER Are you sure?

GRAIN She was the first pretty woman I'd seen for two years. I was quite upset - but it was another man she was with. She--- (*goes on talking to* PROSPER)

HENRY (*intensely deeply moved but not declamatory*) Leocadie! My beloved! My wife! - - now we've buried the past. A moment like this wipes out everything.

(SCAEVOLA *and* JULES *have gone back*; PROSPER *comes out*)

PROSPER What moment is that?

HENRY When we were joined by a holy sacrament. That's more than any human oath. Now God is above us and all that happened before must be forgotten - Leocadie - a new day dawns for us - Everything will be sacred for us Leocadie - our wildest kisses are sacred from this hour, my beloved, my wife. (*looks at her passionately*) Doesn't she look like a different woman Prosper? How pure her eyes are! What has been is wiped out. Isn't that true Leocadie?

LEOCADIE Yes --- indeed Henry.

HENRY And everything is going well. To-morrow we're leaving Paris. Leocadie appears for the last time to-night at

[p.18] the Porte St. Martin and I shall play for the last time here.

PROSPER (*staggered*) Are you out of your mind Henry? Are you going to leave me? And the Porte St. Martin Manager won't want to let Leocadie go. She's the best draw in his company. The young men roll up in crowds I hear.

HENRY Silence! Leocadie goes with me. She will never forsake me - Tell me that you will never forsake me Leocadie (*roughly*) Say it --

LEOCADIE I will never forsake you.

HENRY If you did I should ... (*pause*) I've had enough of this life - I want peace - I will have peace.

PROSPER But what are you going to do Henry? It's ridiculous. I'll make you an offer. Take Leocadie away from the Porte St. Martin and let her come here, to me. I'll engage her - I want a clever actress.

HENRY My mind is made up Prosper. We're leaving the town and going to the country.

PROSPER Into the country? But where?

HENRY To my old father - who lives all alone in our little village. I haven't seen him for seven years. He'd given up all hope of seeing his son again. He will welcome me with joy.

PROSPER What are you going to do in the country? ? People starve in the country - They're a thousand times worse off there than in the town. What are you going to do there? You're not the sort of man to take to digging and don't you imagine it -

HENRY You'll soon see that I am the man for it.

[p.19]
PROSPER Soon there won't be an ear of corn growing in the whole of France. You're going straight to starvation.

HENRY To happiness Prosper. Isn't that true Leocadie. We've often dreamed of it - I'm longing for the peace of those wide plains - Yes Prosper. In my dreams I see myself wandering over the fields with her in the evening; in an infinite peace - the wonderful comforting heavens over us - Yes, we are flying from this terrible dangerous town. Great peace will enfold us - Isn't it true Leocadie, we've often dreamed it?

LEOCADIE Yes, we've often dreamed it.

PROSPER Look here Henry - You ought to think it over. I'll be glad to raise your salary and I'll give Leocadie the same as you.

LEOCADIE D'you hear that Henry?

PROSPER It's a fact - I've no one who can take your place - There's not another man in the company has such gorgeous inspiration as you - No one is such a favourite as you. Don't go!

HENRY I can quite believe that there is no one to take my place.

PROSPER Stay with me Henry (*Glances at* LEOCADIE *who signs to him she'll manage it*)

HENRY I assure you that the parting will be hard on the public but not on me. For tonight, for my last appearance I have devised something that will make them all shudder - for the end of their world is near - but I shall hear of it when I am far away. They will tell it to us out there, Leocadie, many days later when it is all over; but they shall shake in their shoes I tell you and you yourself shall say "Henry has never played like this before."

PROSPER What are you going to play? What? D'you know Leocadie?

LEOCADIE I haven't the least idea.

HENRY Not one of you suspects what an artist lies hidden in me.

PROSPER Of course we do - and I tell you that no one ought to bury such talent in the country. It's unjust to yourself, it's unjust to art.

HENRY That for art; I want peace. You don't understand, Prosper. You've never loved.

PROSPER Oh!

HENRY Not as I love. I must be alone with her. That's what I need. Leocadie, it's only by that we can forget everything - but then we shall be happier than any human beings have ever been. We will have children and you shall be a good mother Leocadie and an honest wife - Everything, everything - shall be forgotten. (*Long Pause*)

LEOCADIE It's getting late Henry - I must go to the theatre. Good-bye Prosper - I'm glad I've seen your famous stage where Henry has such triumphs.

PROSPER Why have you never been here?

LEOCADIE Henry wouldn't let me. Just think - because of the young men that I should have to sit among.

HENRY (*who has gone to the back*) Give me a drink Scaevola (*drinks*)

PROSPER (*to her - so that* HENRY *does not hear*) Henry's a perfect fool - as if you weren't always about with them.

[p. 21]
LEOCADIE I don't allow you to say such things.

PROSPER I warn you - look out for yourself, you silly baggage. He'll do for you.

LEOCADIE What do you mean?

PROSPER Only yesterday you were seen with one of your fellows -

LEOCADIE He wasn't a fellow, stupid, he was - -

(HENRY *turns round quickly*)

HENRY What's that? No nonsense please. No more whispering - we've no secrets now. She's my wife.

PROSPER What wedding present did you give her?

LEOCADIE Oh, Good Lord, he doesn't think of that sort of thing.

HENRY You shall have it to-day.

LEOCADIE What is it?

SCAEVOLA & JULES What will you give her?

HENRY (*seriously*) When you've finished your scene you can come here and see me play.

(*All laugh*)

Never has any woman had a more magnificent marriage gift. Come, Leocadie. Good-bye Prosper. I'll be back soon.

(*EXEUNT* HENRY *and* LEOCADIE. *Enter together* FRANCIS, VICOMTE OF NOGEANT, ALBIN)

SCAEVOLA Miserable braggart!

[p.22]
PROSPER (*to guests*) Good evening - you swine.

(ALBIN *draws back*)

FRANCIS (*not heeding*) Wasn't that little Leocadie from the Porte St. Martin who went out with Henry?

PROSPER Yes it was. She might remind you that you're a man like any other if she cared - -

FRANCIS (*laughing*) That's quite likely. We're early to-day aren't we?

PROSPER You can pass the time with your pretty little friend meantime.

(ALBIN *makes as if to go*)

FRANCIS That's all right. I told you how they go on here. Bring some wine.

PROSPER Yes, I'll bring you wine, but the time's coming when you'll be glad enough to get water from the Seine.

FRANCIS All right - All right. To-day I should like wine and the very best.

(PROSPER *at the counter*)

ALBIN That's a horrible fellow.

FRANCIS You've got to remember that it's all part of the game. And there are places where you can hear things like that in real earnest.

ALBIN Isn't it forbidden?

FRANCIS (*laughs*) Anyone can see that you've come from the provinces -

ALBIN really We've had some pretty doings there too - the peasants are getting insolent. Nobody knows what's the best thing to do.

[p. 23]
FRANCIS What do you expect? The poor devils are hungry - that's all.

ALBIN But what can I do - or my great uncle?

FRANCIS Why do you say - your great uncle?

ALBIN Why, because they held a meeting openly in our village and called my Great uncle the Count of Tremouille a corn usurer.

FRANCIS Is that all?

ALBIN Well, I ask you -

FRANCIS We'll go into the Palais Royal tomorrow and you shall hear the disgraceful speeches the fellows make. But we let 'em talk. You must let them take it out in bluster.

ALBIN looking (*pointing at* SCAEVOLA *and the* OTHERS) What suspicious ruffians! See how they're glaring at us. (*feels for his sword*)

FRANCIS (*pulls his hand back*) Don't be ridiculous. (*To the three*) You needn't begin yet. Wait till there's a bigger audience. (*To* Albin) They're thoroughly respectable people - playactors. I'll wager you've often sat at a table with worse sharpers.

ALBIN Yes, but they were better dressed.

(PROSPER *brings wine*. MICHETTE *and* FLIPOTTE *enter*)

FRANCIS Good evening, children. Come and sit with us.

MICHETTE All right. Come along, Flipotte. She's rather shy.

FLIPOTTE Good evening my Lord. (*to* ALBIN)

[p.24]
ALBIN Good evening ladies

MICHETTE He's a dear little fellow. (*sits on* ALBIN'S *knee*)

ALBIN I say, Francis - are these real ladies?

MICHETTE What's he saying?

FRANCIS No, of course not - the ladies who come here - - Lord Albin, what a fool you are!

PROSPER What may I bring the Duchesses?

MICHETTE Oh, wine, and be sure it's sweet.

FRANCIS (*pointing at* FLIPOTTE) Friend of yours?

MICHETTE We live together. We've only got one bed.

FLIPOTTE (*blushing*) Will you mind that -- (*sits on* FRANCIS' *knee*)

ALBIN She isn't a bit shy.

SCAEVOLA (*rises and comes over to their table*) Have I caught you at last? (*to* ALBIN) and you - you miserable betrayer - just understand that -- She is mine.

(PROSPER *looks up*)

FRANCIS (*to* ALBIN) He's only acting.

ALBIN Isn't she his -?

MICHETTE Get out! Let me sit where I like.

(SCAEVOLA *stands with clenched fists*)

[p. 25]
PROSPER (*to him*) Well - well - get on !

SCAEVOLA Ha! Ha!

PROSPER (*takes him by the collar*) Ha! Ha! (*takes him aside*) That's the only idea you've got in your head - you haven't a ha'porth of talent. Bellowing - that's the only thing you can do.

MICHETTE (*to* FRANCIS) He did it much better the other night.

SCAEVOLA (*to* PROSPER) I'm not in form yet. I'll do it again later on - when there's a better house. Then you'll see Prosper. I need an audience -

(*Enter* DUKE OF CADIGNAN)

DUKE In full swing already eh?

(MICHETTE *and* FLIPOTTE *rush at him*)

MICHETTE My sweet duke!

FRANCIS Good evening, Emile. (*Presents*) My young friend, Albin, Chevalier de la Tremouille, the Duke of Cadignan -

DUKE Delighted to meet you. (*to the* GIRLS) Here, children, that's enough. (*to* ALBIN) You're having a look at this queer pot-house then?

ALBIN I've never been so puzzled in my life.

FRANCIS The Chevalier has only been to Paris a few days.

DUKE (*laughing*) You've chosen a nice time for your visit.

ALBIN Why?

[p.26]
MICHETTE O, what a lovely scent he has! There isn't a man in Paris smells as nice - (*to* ALBIN) You're not in it.

DUKE She's only speaking of the seven or eight hundred she knows as well as she knows me.

FLIPOTTE May I look at your sword? (*Takes it from the scabbard and flashes it*)

GRAIN (*to* PROSPER) It was with him. I saw her with him.

(PROSPER *listens to him and shows astonishment*)

DUKE Isn't Henry here yet? (*to* ALBIN) You won't regret having come when you see him.

PROSPER (*to* DUKE) You've turned up again. Pleased to see you. We shan't have that pleasure very much longer.

DUKE Why? I'm very comfortable here?

PROSPER I'm sure of that. But you'll be one of the first -

ALBIN What does that mean?

PROSPER You understand me. It's those that are too happy - that'll go first.
(PROSPER *goes back*)

DUKE (*after Pause*) If I were the King I'd make him Court Jester. I mean I'd have several Jesters but he should be one of them.

ALBIN What does he mean - that you're too happy?

DUKE He means, Chevalier -

ALBIN Don't call me Chevalier. Everybody calls me Albin -
[p.27] just Albin, because I look so young.

DUKE (*smiling*) Willingly - but you must call me Emile - will you?

ALBIN If you like - certainly, Emile.

DUKE They're getting uncomfortably witty - these people.

FRANCIS Why uncomfortably? I like it. As long as the rabble stick to joking nothing serious will happen.

DUKE But it's such a strange wit. I heard something to-day that sets you thinking.

FRANCIS Tell us.

FLIPOTTE &
MICHETTE Yes, do tell us - dearest duke.

DUKE Do you know Lelange?

FRANCIS Why, yes, it's the village - the Marquis of Montferrat has his best shooting there.

DUKE That's it. My brother is staying with him at the castle, and he writes me this story which I'll tell you. In Lelange they've got a Mayor who is very unpopular.

FRANCIS If you can name one who is popular -

DUKE Just listen! The women of the village went to the Mayor's house with a coffin.

FLIPOTTE What, carried it? Carried a coffin? I wouldn't carry a coffin for the world.

[p.28]
FRANCIS You be quiet! Nobody's asking you to carry a coffin. (*to* Duke) Well?

DUKE And some of the women went into the house and told him he'd got to die and they'd do the honour of burying him.

FRANCIS Well, did they kill him?

DUKE No. At least my brother doesn't say anything about it.

FRANCIS What did I say? Shouters - Babblers - Buffoons - that's what they are. To-day for a change they're shouting at the Bastille - as they've done half a dozen times before.

DUKE Well, if I'd been the King I'd have put an end to it - long ago -

ALBIN Is it true that the King's so kind hearted?

DUKE You've not been presented to His Majesty yet?

FRANCIS It's the first time Chevalier's been in Paris.

DUKE Yes - you're incredibly young! How old are you?

ALBIN I'm not as young as I look. I'm seventeen.

DUKE Seventeen? You've everything before you. I'm twenty-four already and I'm beginning to regret how much of my youth I've wasted.

FRANCIS (*laughs*) That's good. You - Duke - Every day's a wasted day for you if you haven't conquered a woman or killed a man.

[p. 29]
DUKE But unfortunately you never conquer the right woman and always kill the wrong man. That's how we waste our youth. It's exactly as Rollin says.

FRANCIS What does he say?

DUKE I was thinking of his new piece at the Comedy. There's a very pretty simile in it. Don't you remember?

FRANCIS I have no memory for poetry.

DUKE Nor I unfortunately. I only remember the sense. He says - A youth which is not enjoyed is like a shuttlecock which lies on the sand instead of flying through the air.

ALBIN (*sententiously*) How true!

DUKE Isn't it? The feathers lose their colours and drop out. It would be better to fall in a bush and never be seen again.

ALBIN What's the meaning of that, Emile?

DUKE It's more a question of feeling. If I knew the lines you'd understand it at once.

ALBIN Emile, I believe you could write poetry if you liked ---

DUKE Why?

ALBIN Life seems to have burst into flames since you came in.

DUKE (*smiling*) Yes. Burst into flames, has it?

[p.30]
FRANCIS Won't you join us?

(*Meantime two* ARISTOCRATS *have come in and sit down at a table near by.* PROSPER *appears to be insulting them*)

DUKE I can't stay now, but I'm coming back.

MICHETTE Stay with me.

FLIPOTTE Take me with you. (*They try to keep him*)

PROSPER (*coming forward*) Let him go! You're not nearly bad enough for him. He wants a girl off the streets. That's what he likes.

DUKE I'm certainly coming back - so as not to miss Henry.

FRANCIS When we came in Henry was going out with Leocadie.

DUKE Indeed - He's married her. Did you know?

FRANCIS Really. What'll the others say?

ALBIN What others?

FRANCIS Oh, everyone's in love with her.

DUKE And he's going to carry her off. At least - so I've been told.

PROSPER Oh! You've been told that have you? (*looks at him*)

DUKE (*Eyes him*) It's ridiculous. Leocadie was born to be the greatest, the most magnificent, courtesan in the world.

[p. 31]
FRANCIS Who doesn't know that?

DUKE Is there anything more idiotic than to take anyone away from a real vocation?

(FRANCIS *laughs*)

I'm quite serious. Courtesans are born and not made just like generals and poets.

FRANCIS You're talking paradoxes.

DUKE I'm sorry for her and for Henry. He ought to stay here. Not here, of course. I'd like to get him into the Comedie. Although even there - I always feel as if I understand him better than anyone else. I may be wrong, but I have that feeling about most artists; but I must say, if I were not the Duke of Cadignan I'd like to be such an actor, such a ---

ALBIN Like Alexander the Great.

DUKE (*smiling*) Yes, like Alexander the Great. (*to* FLIPOTTE) Give me my sword. (*Puts it in scabbard - then slowly*) The best way of all is to be

amused at the world. A man who can act whatever part he will is greater than any of us.

(ALBIN *looks at him astonished*)

Don't take what I say too seriously - I only mean it for the moment. Good-bye till we meet again.

MICHETTE Give me a kiss before you go.

FLIPOTTE Me too. (*They hang on him - he kisses both and goes*)

(*Meantime*)

[p.32]
ALBIN A wonderful creature!

FRANCIS That's true enough. But with such people in the world it's perhaps wiser not to marry.

ALBIN What sort of girls are these?

FRANCIS Actresses. They belong to Prosper's company - the landlord of this den. It's quite true that they never did anything different from what they're doing now.

(WILLIAM *plunges in - breathless*)

WILLIAM (*rushes to the table where the players are sitting, supporting himself on the table painfully*) Saved! Thank God, saved!

SCAEVOLA What is it? What's the matter?

ALBIN What's happened to him?

FRANCIS It's all acting. Listen.

ALBIN O-oh!

MICHETTE & FLIPOTTE (*go to William quickly*) What has happened? What is it?

SCAEVOLA Sit down - drink this.

WILLIAM More - more - Prosper, more wine! I had to run for it, my tongue is sticking to the roof of my mouth. They were on my heels -

JULES (*starts*) Ah! Take care - they're on our heels everywhere.

[p.33]
PROSPER Well - tell us what's happened? (*to the actors*) Keep it up! Keep it up!

WILLIAM Oh for a woman's hand! Ah! (*Embraces* FLIPOTTE) That gives me life again! (*to* ALBIN *who's deeply impressed*) Devil take me, young man. If ever I thought I'd see you again - (*listening*) They're coming, they're coming (*Goes toward door*) No - it's nothing, they -

ALBIN How strange! There really is a noise - as if people were rushing by outside. Is that part of the play too?

SCAEVOLA (*to* JULES) Things always go right for him. It's too stupid.

PROSPER But tell us, Why they're after you.

WILLIAM Nothing special - but if they got me, it would have meant hanging. I set a house on fire.

(*during this scene more young aristocrats come in and sit down on tables*)

PROSPER Get on! Get on!

WILLIAM (*to* PROSPER) Get on? What more can I do than set fire to a house?

FRANCIS Tell me, my friend, why did you set it on fire?

WILLIAM Because the President of the High Court Lives there. We wanted to begin with him - we'll cure the good Parisians of their wish to let their houses to men that send us poor devils to prison -

GRAIN That's good, that's good.

WILLIAM (*catches sight of* GRAIN *and is astonished. - then*)
[p.34] All the house must go! If there were three men like me there wouldn't be a judge left alive in Paris.

GRAIN Down with the judges!

JULES Yes. (*Pause*) - - but there is <u>one</u> perhaps whom we cannot destroy.

WILLIAM Show him to me!

JULES The judge in our own hearts.

PROSPER (*aside*) That's out of the picture. Shut up! Now then Scaevola - let it rip - now's the time.

SCAEVOLA (*shouting*) Wine, Prosper, wine - we'll drink to the death of all the judges in France

(*During the last words Enter the* MARQUIS DE LANSAC, *his wife* SEVERINE *and* ROLLIN *the poet*)

Death to all who have power in their hands to-day. Death!

MARQUIS You see Severin, this is how they receive us.

ROLLIN I warned you Marquise.

SEVERIN Why?

FRANCIS (*rises*) What - the Marquise - let me kiss your hand - Good evening, Marquis - Greetings, Rollin - Marquise, you actually venture into this hole?

SEVERINE I've heard so much about it and besides we've had other adventures to-day already. Haven't we Rollin?

[p.35]
MARQUIS Yes, just imagine - Viscount. Where d'you think we've come from? From the Bastille -

FRANCIS Is there anything worth seeing there?

SEVERINE Yes indeed. It looks as if they'd pulled it down.

ROLLIN (*declaims*)
Like the flood which rushes on the land,
Raging at heart that Earth, her child, should dare
Withstand her power ---

SEVERINE No, no Rollin. We had to leave our carriage close by there. It's a magnificent sight. There's always something splendid in a crowd.

FRANCIS Perhaps - if only they didn't smell so vilely -

MARQUIS And now my wife has given me no peace till I brought her here -

SEVERINE But what is so remarkable about the place?

PROSPER (*to* MARQUIS) So you've turned up again have you, you dried-up old scoundrel. You've brought your wife here because you can't trust her out of your sight, I suppose.

MARQUIS (*forced laugh*) He's a character -

PROSPER Take care that she isn't snapped up. Fine ladies often take infernal pleasure in carrying on with some low background.

ROLLIN (*to* SEVERINE) This is torment, Severine.

MARQUIS My child, I warned you - we can go if you like.

SEVERINE But what's the matter? I think it's enchanting - Let's sit down.

[p.36]
FRANCIS Marquis, may I present to you the Chevalier de la Tremouille. It is his first visit also. The Marquise de Lensac - Rollin our famous poet.

ALBIN Delighted.

(*salutations - all sit*)

(*to* FRANCIS) Is she one of the actresses or - I don't know where I am -

FRANCIS Don't be so muddle-headed. She's the lawful wife of the Marquis de Lensac - a lady of the highest fashion -

ROLLIN (*to* SEVERINE) Tell me that you love me.

SEVERINE Yes I do, but don't ask me every minute.

MARQUIS Have we interrupted a scene?

FRANCIS Hardly; that man seems to be playing an incendiary.

SEVERINE Chevalier, you must be the cousin of little Lydia de la Tremouille who was married to-day.

ALBIN Yes, Marquise, that was one of the reasons that brought me to Paris.

SEVERINE I remember now I saw you in the church.

ALBIN (*confused*) I'm greatly flattered - Marquise.

SEVERINE What a charming boy!

ROLLIN Ah, Severine, you've never yet seen a man that didn't please you -

[p.37]
SEVERINE Yes I have though: I even married him.

ROLLIN Oh, Severine, I'm always afraid. There are times when you're attracted even by your own husband.

PROSPER (*bringing wine*) Here you are! I wish it were poison - but the time's not come yet when we can set that before you, swine.

FRANCIS It will come Prosper, no doubt.

SEVERINE (*to* ROLLIN) What's the matter with these two pretty girls? Why don't they come nearer? Now we're here - I want to be in everything. Besides there's nothing here that isn't fearfully respectable.

MARQUIS Have a little patience, Severine.

SEVERINE Nowadays the streets are much the most entertaining place. D'you know what happened to us yesterday driving from Longchamps?

MARQUIS My dear Severine, pray don't -

SEVERINE A man jumped on to the step of the carriage and shouted out: "Next year you'll stand behind your coachman and we shall sit inside."

FRANCIS That's rather strong.

MARQUIS I really don't think such things should be talked about. Paris is a little feverish just now but it will soon pass over.

WILLIAM (*suddenly*) I see flames - flames everywhere, everywhere I look - great red flames.

PROSPER (*aside*) Now you're playing a madman not an incendiary.

[p. 38]
SEVERINE He sees flames.

FRANCIS None of this is much good, Marquise.

ALBIN (*to* ROLLIN) I can't tell you how confused I am with all this -

MICHETTE (*comes to* MARQUIS) I haven't even said good-evening to you, you dear old pig.

MARQUIS (*confused*) She's joking Severine.

SEVERINE I don't think she is. Tell me, little one, how many love affairs have you had?

MARQUIS (*to* FRANCIS) It's most astonishing how my wife can adapt herself to every kind of society.

ROLLIN Yes, it's astonishing.

MICHETTE Have you counted yours?

SEVERINE Yes, certainly, when I was as young as you.

ALBIN (*to* ROLLIN) Tell me, Monsieur Rollin, is the Marquise acting or is she really like this? I'm all bewildered.

ROLLIN To be - or to act - Can you tell the difference Chevalier?

ALBIN Till now I thought I could -

ROLLIN I can't, and what's so remarkable to me here is that all apparent differences are as it were out and reality becomes acting and acting reality. Look at the marquise - See how she chatters with this little wench as if they were the same kind and yet she is -

[p. 39]
ALBIN Oh! quite different -

ROLLIN I thank you, Chevalier.

PROSPER (*to* GRAIN) Come on - tell us about it.

GRAIN What?

PROSPER That business of your aunt that got you two years in prison.

GRAIN I told you - I strangled her.

FRANCIS He's very poor. He's an amateur. I've never seen him before.

(*Enter* GEORGETTE *quickly - dressed like a street-walker of the lowest class)*

GEORG. Good evening, children. Is my Balthasar come yet?

SCAEVOLA Georgette. Sit by me. You'r Balthasar'll turn up all right.

GEORG. If he isn't here in ten minutes - he'll never come here again.

FRANCIS Marquise, watch her carefully. She's really the wife of the Balthasar she's talking about. He'll come in soon. She plays a common street-walker and Balthasar plays her bully, and all the time she's the truest wife you could find in Paris.

(*Enter* BALTHASAR)

GEORG. My Balthasar. (*rushes to him and embraces him*) You're really here.

[p.40]
BALTHAS. It's all right.

(General silence)

It wasn't worth the trouble. I was almost sorry for him. I wish you'd choose your people better, Georgette. I'm sick of finishing off young hopefuls for the sake of a few francs.

FRANCIS Splendid!

ALBIN What?

FRANCIS His technique's so good.

(*Enter the* INSPECTOR - *disguised - sits at a table*)

PROSPER (*to him*) You've chosen an excellent moment, Inspector, this is one of my best actors.

BALTHAS. I shall really have to take another job. I'm not lazy - but I earn my bred with the sweat of my brow.

SCAEVOLA I can believe that.

GEORG. What's the matter with you to-day?

BALTHAS. I'll tell you, Georgette. You're a good deal too affectionate with those young men.

GEORG. Listen - isn't he a big baby? Be reasonable, Balthasar - I must be affectionate to give them confidence.

ROLLIN There's a profound truth in what she says.

[p.41]
BALTHAS. If I once believed that you felt any pleasure when another ---

GEORG. What are you talking about? His stupid jealousy will be the end of him.

BALTHAS. I heard you sigh to-day, Georgette, and at a moment when there was no lack of confidence on his part.

GEORG. You can't leave off love-making so suddenly.

BALTHAS Take care, Georgette. The Seine is deep. (*savagely*) If you deceived me -

GEORG. Never! Never!

ALBIN I don't understand a word of all this.

SEVERINE Rollin - he really understands what love is.

ROLLIN D'you think so?

MARQUIS (*to* SEVERINE) We can still go, Severine.

SEVERINE Why? I'm beginning to enjoy myself.

GEORG. My Balthasar, I implore you (*embrace*)

FRANCIS Bravo! Bravo!

BALTHAS. Who's that idiot?

INSPECTOR Oh that's going too far! That's -

[p. 42]

(*Enter* MAURICE *and* STEPHEN *dressed like aristocrats, but it can be seen that their costumes are theatrical and ragged*)

VOICES (*from table of the Actors*) Who are they?

SCAEVOLA Devil take me if it isn't Maurice and Stephen!

GEORG. So it is.

BALTHAS. Georgette!

SEVERINE Heavens! What charming young men!

ROLLIN It cuts me to the heart Severine that you can be so stirred by any pretty face.

SEVERINE What d'you suppose I've come here for?

ROLLIN You might at least tell me that you love me.

SEVERINE (*looking at him*) You've a very short memory.

STEPHEN Where d'you suppose we've come from?

FRANCIS Listen to them Marquis - they're clever boys.

MAURICE From a wedding.

STEPHEN You've got to be smart for that or else these damned detectives are after you all the time.

SCAEVOLA Have you made a decent haul?

PROSPER Let's have a look.

MAURICE (*taking watches from his pocket*) What'll you give me for these?

[p.43]
PROSPER For that one? A louis -

MAURICE I dare say.

SCAEVOLA Tisn't worth more.

MICHETTE Why it's a lady's watch - Give it to me Maurice.

MAURICE What'll you give me for it?

MICHETTE Just look at me! Isn't that enough?

FLIPOTTE No, no, look at me.

MAURICE My dear children I can do that without risking my neck.

MICHETTE You're a conceited ape.

SEVERINE I'm positive that's not acting.

ROLLIN No doubt. The real thing comes through every now and then. That's the charm of the whole thing.

SCAEVOLA What wedding was it?

MAURICE Mademoiselle de la Tremouille. She married the Count of Banville.

ALBIN D'you hear that Francis? I tell you they're real scamps.

FRANCIS Oh - be quiet Albin. I know them both. I've seen them act a dozen times. Their specialty is pickpockets.

(MAURICE *takes purses from his waistcoat*)

SCAEVOLA You've done pretty well to-day.

[p. 44]
STEPHEN It was a first class wedding. The whole of the aristocracy was there. The king himself sent a representative.

ALBIN (*excited*) That's quite true.

(MAURICE *throws money on to table*)

MAURICE That's for you my friends, to show that we hang together.

FRANCIS It's property money, my dear Albin. (*he gets up; picks up a couple of coins*) It wouldn't be much good to us.

PROSPER Keep it! Keep it! You've never earned anything honestly in your life.

MAURICE (*holds up a garter set with diamonds*) Who shall I give this to?

(GEORG, MICHET *and* FLIPOTTE *snatch at it*)

PROSPER Patience, my dear little rats - there's something to be said first. I'll give it to the one who discovers a new caress.

SEVERINE (*to* ROLLIN) Have I your permission to compete?

ROLLIN You'll drive me mad Severine

MARQUIS Severine, hadn't we better go - I think -

SEVERINE Oh no!! It's perfectly delightful - (*to* ROLLIN) I shall soon be feeling -

MICHETTE I should like to know how you came by that garter.

MAURICE There was such a crowd in the church - and if a lady thinks you're making love to her (*general laughter*)

(GRAIN *meantime has stolen* FRANCIS' *purse*)

[p. 45]
FRANCIS (*showing* ALBIN *the money*) Common Counters. Are you satisfied now?

(GRAIN *tries to steal away.* PROSPER *to him aside*)

PROSPER Give me that purse at once that you stole from that gentleman.

GRAIN I -

PROSPER This moment, or you'll be sorry for it.

GRAIN You needn't be so harsh (*gives it*)

PROSPER And stay here! I haven't time to search you now. Who knows what else you've picked up? Go back to your place.

FLIPOTTE I shall win the garter.

PROSPER (*throwing purse to* FRANCIS) There's your purse. You dropped it.

FRANCIS Thank you Prosper. (*to* ALBIN) You see they're really most respectable.

(HENRY *has come in and been sitting at the back. Now he stands up*)

ROLLIN There's Henry - Look there's Henry.

SEVERINE Is that the man you told me so much about?

MARQUIS Yes - We come here really to see him.

(HENRY *comes down theatrically - says nothing*)

ACTORS Henry - What's the matter?

ROLLIN Notice the glance. A world of emotion. He plays the man driven to crime by passion.

[p.46]
SEVERINE That's what I admire.

ALBIN Why doesn't he say anything?

ROLLIN He seems beside himself. Only watch him - He's done some fearful deed.

FRANCIS He's rather stagey. He looks as if he were getting ready for a soliloquy.

PROSPER Henry, Henry - Where have you come from?

HENRY I have killed a man.

ROLLIN What did I tell you?

SCAEVOLA Who?

HENRY My wife's lover.

(PROSPER *looks at him and shows plainly his fear that it may be true*)

(*looks up*) Yes I have done it - Why do you look at me thus? It is as I say - is it so strange? You all know what my wife was. There could be no other end -

PROSPER And she - where is she?

FRANCIS You see - Prosper carries it on - D'you notice how natural it seems.

(*noise outside not too loud*)

JULES What's that noise?

MARQUIS D'you hear - Severine?

ROLLIN It's like soldiers going past.

FRANCIS Oh no! It's our dear people of Paris. Just listen how they growl.

[p.47]

(*noise outside ceases - general cries in cellar.* - Go on Henry. Go on.)

PROSPER Well - tell us Henry - Where is your wife? Where did you leave her?

HENRY I'm not afraid for her. She won't die of it. Does it matter to a woman, which man it is? - Whether it's this one or that one. There are thousands of handsome men in Paris - This man or that -

BALTHAS. (*breaks in*) May that be the end of all who steal our wives.

SCAEVOLA Who steal what belongs to us.

INSPECTOR (*to* PROSPER) Those are seditious speeches.

ALBIN It's terrible - they mean it.

SCAEVOLA Down with the usurers of France! - I'll wager the wretch he caught with his wife was another of those cursed dogs who steal our bread.

ALBIN I propose that we go.

SEVERINE Henry! Henry!

MARQUIS But - Marquise -

SEVERINE My dear Marquis - do ask that man how he caught his wife, or I shall ask him myself.

MARQUIS (*checking her*) Tell us Henry how you managed to catch them.

HENRY (*who has been in deep thought*) D'you know my wife? She's the most beautiful - the sweetest creature on earth - and I loved her - we've known each other for seven years - but only yesterday did she become my wife. In all these seven years there has been no

[p.48] day - not one single day when she has not lied to me - for everything about her is a lie - her eyes, her lips, her kisses and her smiles.

FRANCIS He's ranting a bit.

HENRY Every young man and every old man, each one who attracted her, each one who paid her - each one who desired her - she was his for the seeking and I knew it.

SEVERINE It isn't every man who can say that.

HENRY And nevertheless she loved me. Can you understand that my friends? she always came back to me - from the handsome and the ugly, from the clever and the stupid, from the beggar and the noble, always back to me.

SEVERINE (*to* ROLLIN) If only I could make you see that coming back is what love is -

HENRY What I have suffered! Torments, torments!

ROLLIN It's soul-shattering.

HENRY And yesterday - I married her - we dreamed a dream - No - I dreamed a dream - I wanted to take her away - far away from here - into the country, into loneliness - into great peace. We were going to live like other happy married folk - we even dreamed of a child.

ROLLIN (*softly*) Severine.

SEVERINE Yes - it really is quite good.

ALBIN Francis - that man is speaking the truth.

FRANCIS Oh yes - the story of his love is true enough - but the murder's the main thing.

[p.49]
HENRY I delayed a day too long - There was one she had forgotten - else I believe she would have needed no one but me - but I found them together - and his day is done.

ACTORS Who? Who? How did it happen? Where is he? Are they after you? How did it happen? Where is she? Where's your wife?

HENRY (*more and more excitedly*) I went with her to the theatre. To-day was to be the last time. I kissed her at the door and she went up to her dressing room and I - came away feeling that I had nothing to fear - But I had hardly gone a hundred yards - when I began to feel a terrible anxiety - and something seemed to force me to turn round and I turned and I went back - then - I was ashamed of myself and turned away again - and again a hundred yards from the theatre it seized me and again I went back. Her scene was over - she hasn't much to do - she only stands a few minutes on the stage half naked and then she's finished - I stand before her dressing room - I put my ear to the door - and I hear whispering - I cannot catch a word - the whispering dies away - I burst open the door. (*he roars like a wild beast*) It was the Duke of Cadignan - and I have killed him.

PROSPER (*now believing it to be true*) Madman!

(HENRY *looks up, stares at* PROSPER)

SEVERINE Bravo! Bravo!

ROLLIN Why do you do that Marquis? The moment you cry Bravo you turn it all into acting and the delightful thrill is lost.

MARQUIS I don't find the thrill so very pleasant. Let us applaud my friend for that's the only way we can break the spell.

(*cries* bravo - *getting louder - everyone applauds*)

PROSPER (*meanwhile to* HENRY) Save yourself! escape! Henry.

HENRY What? What d'you mean?

[p. 50]
PROSPER Clear out! Get away as fast as you can!

FRANCIS Be quiet! Let's hear what Prosper is saying.

PROSPER (*after a short pause*) I'm telling him he ought to get away before the guard is warned at the town gates. The beautiful Duke was a favourite of the King. - They'll break you on the wheel. - If only you'd killed that good for nothing wife of yours!

FRANCIS What an ensemble - splendid!

HENRY Prosper - which one of us is mad? You or I? (*stands trying to read* PROSPER'S *eyes*)

ROLLIN It's extraordinary - we all know he's acting and yet if the Duke of Cadignan were to come in at this moment, he'd seem like a ghost.

(*noise outside - increasing, people come in - screams - at their head is* GRASSET - *Others, amongst them* LEBRET, *pour down the steps. Cries are heard* - Liberty - Liberty)

GRASSET Here we are children! In with you!

ALBIN What's that? Is that part of it?

FRANCIS No.

MARQUIS What's the meaning of this?

SEVERINE Who are these people?

GRASSET In with you! - I tell you my friend Prosper always has a barrel of wine and we've earned it. (*cries outside*) Friends! Brothers! - it's ours - we've taken it!

(*cries of* Liberty, Liberty)

SEVERINE What is happening?

[p.51]
MARQUIS Let us go - let us go - the rabble's pouring in.

ROLLIN How can we go?

GRASSET It's fallen - the Bastille has fallen.

PROSPER What d'you say? Is that the truth?

GRASSET Can't you hear?

(ALBIN *tries to draw his sword*)

FRANCIS Don't do that - or we're all done for.

GRASSET (*staggers down the stage*) And if you hurry - you can see a merry sight. The head of our dear de Launay on the end of a very long pole.

MARQUIS Is the fellow mad?

(*cries*: Liberty, Liberty)

GRASSET We've cut off a dozen heads. The Bastille is ours - the prisoners are free - Paris belongs to the people.

PROSPER Listen! Listen! Paris is ours!

GRASSET See how bold he is now! Yes go on shouting Prosper - you're safe enough now!

PROSPER (*to aristocrats*) what d'you say to that you scum! The joke is over!

ALBIN Didn't I tell you?

PROSPER The people of Paris have conquered.

INSPECTOR Silence! (*laughter*) Silence! I forbid the performance to proceed.

GRASSET What fool's this?

[p. 52]
INSPECTOR Prosper, I hold you responsible for all the seditious speeches.

GRASSET Is the fellow mad?

PROSPER Don't you understand? The joke's over. - Henry - tell them - now you can tell them - we shall protect you - the people of Paris protect you.

GRASSET Yes the people of Paris.

(HENRY *stares*)

PROSPER Henry has killed the Duke of Cadignan.

ALBIN, FRANCIS, MARQUIS. What's he saying? What does all this mean Henry?

FRANCIS Henry - speak!

PROSPER He found him with his wife and he's killed him.

HENRY It's not true.

PROSPER Now you've nothing to fear! You can proclaim it to the world. I could have told you an hour ago that she was the Duke's mistress! By God! I very nearly did. Here you blubbering Binstein - isn't it true? That we knew it.

HENRY Who saw her? Where did they see her?

PROSPER What does it matter to you? He's mad - you've killed him - you can't do more than that.

FRANCIS For heaven's sake is it true or is it not?

PROSPER Yes - it is true.

GRASSET Henry, from this moment, you're my friend. Liberty for ever! Liberty for ever!

[p. 53]
FRANCIS Henry, for God's sake speak!

HENRY She was his mistress? She was the Duke's mistress? I didn't know it - he lives - he lives -

(*immense excitement*)

SEVERINE (*to the others*) Which is the truth?

ALBIN My God!

(*the* DUKE *pushes his way through the crowd on the stairs*)

SEVERINE The Duke.

SEVERAL VOICES The Duke!

DUKE Well! What's all this?

PROSPER Is it a ghost?

DUKE Not that I know of. Let me pass.

ROLLIN What'll you bet that the whole thing is arranged? Those fellows up there belong to Prosper's company - Bravo Prosper, you've brought it off.

DUKE What's the matter? Are you play-acting here - while outside - don't you know what's happened outside? I've seen de Launay's head carried by on a pole. Why do you look at me like this? Henry -

FRANCIS Take care! Take care!

(HENRY *dashes like a madman on the* DUKE *and stabs him in the neck*)

INSPECTOR (*standing up*) This is going too far!

ALBIN He's bleeding -

[p.54]
ROLLIN This is murder.

SEVERINE The Duke's dying.

MARQUIS I'm horrified dear Severine that I brought you to this place on such a day -

SEVERINE Why? (*with an effort*) It's turned out splendidly. It isn't every day you see a real Duke really murdered.

ROLLIN I don't understand it yet.

INSPECTOR Silence - no one is to leave the place.

GRASSET What does he want?

INSPECTOR I arrest this man in the name of the law.

(GRASSET *laughs*)

GRASSET We make the Law, you thick heads: clear out this rabble! Whoever kills a Duke is a friend of the people - Long live Liberty!

ALBIN (*draws his sword*) Make way! Follow me my friends!

(LEOCADIE *bursts in down the stairs. cries of* LEOCADIE - *His wife*)

LEOCADIE Let me pass! I want my husband!

(*comes forward - sees - screams*)
Who's done this? Henry!

(HENRY *looks at her*)
Why did you do this?

HENRY Why?

LEOCADIE Yes - yes - I know why - for my sake - no - no! don't say it was for my sake - I've never been worth it -

[p.55]
GRASSET Citizens of Paris - we ill celebrate our victory Chance has brought us on our way through the streets of Paris to this delightful tavern. Nothing could have turned out better. Where can the cry of Liberty for ever sound better than over the dead body of a Duke?

(*shouts* Liberty for ever - Hurrah for Liberty)

FRANCIS I think we'd better get away. They're mad. Let us go.

ALBIN Are we to leave his body with them?

SEVERINE Liberty for ever!

MARQUIS Are you mad?

(CITIZENS *and* ACTORS: Liberty, Liberty)

SEVERINE (*to* ROLLIN) Rollin be at my window to-night. I'll throw down the key, as I did before; we'll have a wonderful time, I feel so delightfully excited.

CRIES Liberty for ever - Hurrah for Henry!

LEBRET Look at those creatures - they're running away from us -

GRASSET Let them go for to-day - They won.t escape us.

CURTAIN.

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