Chapter Three

'Realms Of Happiness':
Williamson's Pantomimes as a Site for Subverting Subversion?
PANTOMIME OF INFINITE VARIETY
Crowded with Novelties and Attractions

Including the Following
FEATURES OF EXCEPTIONAL INTEREST:-

THE DIVERTING DIVERSIONS OF LUPINO.
THE BEAUTIFUL AUSTRALIAN GIRLS.
THE DELIGHTFUL DORMITORY SCENES.
THE SIDE SPLITTING COMEDY SCENES.
THE MYSTERIOUS GENI’S MISSION.
THE TALKED ABOUT TANGO DANCING.
THE GRAND ORIENTAL SPECTACLE.
THE DRAMATIC CAVE SCENE.
THE WHIMSICAL FURNITURE SALE.
THE LOVELY BLACK AND WHITE BALLET.
THE STIRRING AUSTRALIAN NAVY SCENE.
THE FASCINATING FAIRY FOUNTAIN.
THE GORGEOUS AGRICULTURAL BALLET.
THE SCINTILLATING LIVING MAP.
THE ASTOUNDING AMERICAN FARMERS.
THE BIG SALTATORIAL SPECIALITIES.
THE HAIR RAISING PREHISTORIC BALLET.
THE STIRRING VISION OF AUSTRALIA.
THE GLORIOUS SESAME BALLET.
THE ASTONISHING FEAST OF FLAGS.
THE MAGIC SINGING BELLS.
THE FARICAL PAPERHANGERS.
THE DIVERTING DONKEY, QUICKSILVER.
THE GORGEOUS BALLET OF AUSTRALIA'S PRODUCTS.

And
'THE DRUMS OF ALL NATIONS'
The Stirring Spectacular National Pageant,
Introducing Italy, Austria, Spain, France, Russia,
Germany, America, England
And
AUSTRALIA

THE PANTOMIME LIKE A THREE-RING CIRCUS -
SOMETHING GOING ON ALL THE TIME.¹

¹ Advertisement for J. C. Williamson Ltd’s 1913 The Forty Thieves, Age, 30 January 1914.

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Introduction

So far I have argued that post-1882 Australian productions celebrated British Militarism and in so doing were clearly supportive of the British Imperialist hegemony. However, Australian cultural life between 1882 and 1914 involved more than just participation in British military campaigns. Therefore, while continuing to stress the political importance of the theatre entrepreneurs' support for such campaigns, it would be erroneous to overlook the social importance of the 'Christmas' pantomime as an Australian 'folk' festival. Plate 36 showing the crowd entering the Princess Theatre, Melbourne to view Matsa in 1896, verifies such a notion.

Therefore, in the first half of the chapter I will investigate the counter-hegemonic potential within pantomime's theatrical 'origins', in particular with regard to its place within the Christmas festival. In terms of the chronology established by theatre historians, this includes firstly considering the pantomime's adaptation of elements of the Italian Comedia. English pantomime's adaptation of the characters of Pantaloon, Harlequin, Columbine and the Brighella-like Clown indicate that the oldest scenarios were based on the contestation of power between despotic fathers and young lovers. As Mayer (1969) outlines, the early nineteenth-century pantomime's 'obligatory elements' ensured that its action was 'rigidly restricted' around

a father or guardian, perhaps a king or merchant or a country squire or a sorcerer, authoritarian and patriarchal, has a marriageable daughter or ward who is courted by a young man of social rank equal to or less than that of the elder man. What ever the young man's merits, they are insufficient for the father, who, bribed, intimidated, or awed, prefers that his daughter marry a suitor of his own choosing, often another older man, but just as often a deformed sprite or an aristocratic booby. The relationships between the parent, suitor, and daughter evoke conflicts in which youth and genuine affection is to be sacrificed for another's wealth, power, or self-aggrandizement. The father, encountering his daughter's mute obstinacy and learning of her preference for another man, takes steps to have the young man killed or banished or imprisoned, frequently trapping the lovers as they elope. When the father is on the point of forcibly separating the lovers a benevolent agent sympathetic to the lovers, usually a fairy or supernatural being and almost always female, intervenes (23).

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Similarly, Allardyce Nicoll (1963) explains that the centrality of the Pantaloon character and the lovers in English pantomime can be directly attributed to their equivalent importance in the Commedia dell'Arte scenarios.

By far the most constant, and in a sense the most important, of all the characters is Pantalone. As we examine any one of the comedies, we realise that its spirit is animated by a series of focal points of interest. The main story is generally one of love, and hence the young Orazios and Isabellas are centrally significant. On the other hand, the love story is usually directed by the clever tricks and stupidities of a Pedrolino and an Arlecchino - and so they form a second dynamic centre (44).

It was from within this anti-patriarchal theme of the harlequinade that Grimaldi instigated the clown-dominated pantomime at Covent Garden with its representation of anarchy and furiously unpredictable comic action.

David Mayer argues that the pantomime's association with the Christmas festival came after 1848, some 131 years after John Rich first used the term 'pantomime' on a London playbill for *The Loves of Mars and Venus* at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1717. Previously, Mayer (1969) explains, the theatre-goers participated in four wholly distinct pantomime seasons at both Patent and Minor houses. He suggests that English pantomime originated as carnivalesque-style theatre before it was finally contained within one particular public festival.

The Patent and winter Minor houses regularly performed pantomimes on November 9, Lord Mayor's Day, and for some weeks following, then offered new pantomimes on December 26, Boxing Day, which might run, if successful, until mid-February. On Easter Monday or Whitmonday, when the summer Minors might open, they entertained their patrons with pantomimes, often competing with refurbished ones staged by the winter houses whose closing was postponed to obtain additional revenue from holiday audiences. Again in early July new pantomimes were often performed at the summer theatres. In between London engagements, performers such as Grimaldi toured English provincial towns with pantomime olias, composite scenes from earlier pantomimes, or played to appreciative audiences in Dublin. In time, the efforts of staging so many pantomimes in so brief a period led the Patent houses to omit the Lord Mayor's Day pantomimes, but as late as 1830, Christmas, Easter and July pantomimes were still offered by London theatres. Not until the repeal of the Theatrical Licensing Act in 1848 were pantomimes limited to the Christmas season (9).

Antony and Peter Miall's *The Victorian Christmas Book* (1978) and J. A. R. Pimlott's *The Englishman's Christmas: A Social History* (1978) both make fleeting references to the commercialisation of Christmas and the placement of the pantomime within the English 'theatre industry' during the late nineteenth century. However, in the absence of substantial studies of English pantomime's specific placement within the Christmas festival, I can only assume that sometime during the mid-nineteenth

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century the 'tradition' of a Christmas pantomime was established. In broad terms, this has been related, as Raymond Mander (1973) suggests, to the fact that 'the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, and her marriage in 1840, began a vogue for family life and introduced Christmas as the children's festival' which, in turn, greatly influenced the form and content of Victorian drama, including the pantomime (21).²

My review will therefore need to consider how the Christmas festival curtailed the pantomime's subversive elements through its fashioning as a 'children's festival'. This was particularly related to the pantomime's use of fairy tale for pantomime subjects, although fairy stories were also used in nineteenth-century 'adult' productions of burlesque, 'fairy' extravaganzas and in the folk dramas of the English Mummer plays. The Mummer plays made particular use of the 'English' legendary tales of Saint George and Robin Hood.

As Morris Freilich (1977) notes, analyses of myths and folklore, such as Levi-Strauss' structuralist analysis of the 'Myth of Method', raises the question of what is culture?

(1) How do we go from nature to culture? (2) What is the price of this trip? (3) What is the opposite journey like (culture to nature) and how do humans tend to symbolize such 'degenerations'? Who or what reduces CONTINUOUS PROCESS (nature, eternity, immortality) with its 'numerical' superiority? 'Culture,' moreover is the critical term in all of Levi-Strauss' process analysis. Mediation, conjunction and disjunction, congruence, isomorphism, transformation and contrast: these and related concepts produce 'pleasant puzzlement: because their central referent, culture, is left hanging in a definitional void (235).

Similarly, Rina Droy (1977) argues that Vladimir Propp's (1986) analysis of the 'heroic' fairy tale raises questions concerning cultural practices of 'reward-and-punishment'. The fairy stories used in pantomime arrangements were 'circulating' texts in both an intercultural and an intertextual sense. Unfortunately, research on their cultural importance has not included the pantomime's use of them in stage representations.

Undoubtedly, however, the pantomimes' use of the fairytale exposes the ideological tensions implicit in the 'escapist' practices of a highly commercialised late nineteenth-century English/Australian theatre industry. Pantomimes follow Charles

² Prince Albert himself is credited with the introduction of the Christmas tree.

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Perrault's belief that fairy stories were aimed at civilizing children in order 'to prepare them for roles which he idealistically believed they should play in society' (Zipes 1983, 13). Wilson (1935) confirms Perrault's importance for the fairytale's arrival in England via the French court.

These folk tales were put into literary form by Charles Perrault, who, as Harry Darton says in his Children's Books in England, was greatest because he embellished least. His tales in Contes de ma Mère l'Oie (Tales of Mother Goose) included Sleeping Beauty, Red Riding Hood and the Wolf, Bluebeard, Puss in Boots, Diamonds and Toads, Cinderella and the Glass Slipper, Riquet with the Tuft, and Hop o' my Thumb (161).

R. J. Broadbent (1901) highlights the circulating nature of pantomime arrangements: Bluebeard was created for the purposes of staging the French pantomime Barbe Bleu in 1791; Beauty and the Beast can be found in Popular Tales from the Norse by Mr Dasent and in Popular Tales from the German by the Brothers Grimm; Cinderella can be found in the language of every European country and in ancient Hindu legends; Dick Whittington was well known in Tuscany, Persia, Norway, Denmark, Russia and its origin, according to Broadbent, was probably a Buddhist tale; The House that Jack Built had as its prototype a sacred hymn in the Talmud of the Hebrews; Jack and the Giant Killer and Jack and the Beanstalk are two very ancient themes coming from the North of England at the time of King Arthur and Red Riding Hood has a Hindu source (195).

As the theatre advertisement for 1913/14 The Forty Thieves suggests, the Firm's 'moralistic' pantomime arrangements did not entirely follow Williamson's preferred dramatic formula of the pièce bien faite. Their most extraordinary feature is the way they seemingly draw on both seasonal folk traditions and the 'classical' dramatic tradition of the 'well-made' play. Thus, productions re-worked the fairy tale narratives towards specific ends, as I have shown with the two war-time productions of 1899 Little Red Riding Hood and 1914 Cinderella. Hence, post-1882 pantomime 're-arranged' elements from Italian Commedia dell'Arte and the early nineteenth-century pantomime's 'opening', transformation scene and harlequinade and contradictorily 'fixed' socio-political issues even while espousing a sense of 'carnival'.

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As Steven Connor (1992) explains, thanks to Bakhtin's theory of carnival, 'popular-festive forms' are now seen as 'a kind of "sublimity from below", and therefore potentially a populist, democratic version of the textual erotics evoked by Barthes' (49). However, Samuel Kinser (1990) argues against Bakhtin's 'socialist' universalising of Rabelais' medieval carnival.

If carnivalism means the limitless inversion of official norms during a privileged time of festive freedom, then that kind of inversion can scarcely be found in either Rabelais's text or the behaviour of people during Carnival and similar festive moments in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. Masked defiance there was, in fistfuls. But it was limited and directed by the nature of communalism, which is local, unlike the nature of socialism, which is general (248).

Similarly, Umberto Eco (1984) has argued that the notion of a carnival 'can exist only as an authorized transgression (which in fact represents a blatant case of contradictio in adjectio or of happy double binding)' (1984, 6). The potential subversiveness of the 'traditional Christmas pantomime' as a carnivalesque form can likewise be seen to be limited by its communalism and its need to attain a 'Realm of Happiness' through the re-establishment of a social order.

The idea of an 'authorized' carnival is in keeping with feminist theories of the use of the 'escapism' of the fairytale towards patriarchal ends. Jennifer Waelti-Walters (1982) argues that the fairytale is 'one of the first steps in the maintenance of a misogynous, sex-role stereotyped patriarchy' (1). Not surprisingly, her description of the power of the fairytale to disempower women bears interesting parallels to the position of women on and off stage in late nineteenth-century arrangements.

Through a man's action - the prince waking the princess - woman is given a function in the system. Bridebed: she is the link between father and husband as symbol of the contract between social groups. Childbed: she is the link between husband and children as symbol of the continuation of the family. Bed of death: her passive role in all this. Woman is gift and possession, the communication of allegiance and power in concrete form, the touchstone of the whole system of values men in our civilization have built up between themselves and which has taken symbolic form in language. She is the ultimate symbol of capitalism: produced by her father and sold in the market place, she is then consumed by her husband. And, as we see very clearly indeed, the foundation of the whole economy is sexual. Woman is the language of sexual power objectified. Indeed, the whole picture was drawn in our very first fairy tale: the story of Adam and Eve. Father gave Eve to Adam and Adam made her with his own flesh. - A rib is a nice euphemism for an erect penis. - Adam had the right to name all things: he had language and the power that gives shape to his environment by definition and

3 Some other examples of feminist critiques of the fairytale are the essays in Women's Folklore, Women's Culture (1985) edited by Rosann A. Jordan and Susan Kalcik, and Maria Tatar's The Hard Facts of the Grimm's Fairy Tale (1987).

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description, he also had the right to make things: reproduction through sexuality. All this he received from his father and from Eve's (78).

Similarly, Jack Zipes (1993) outlines the way European folk tales demonstrate the political process of 'patriarchization'.

If we examine the vast group of European folk tales of the feudal and early capitalist periods, those tales with which we are most familiar and which were recorded very early, that which is our legacy, we must bear in mind that their configurations and symbols were already marked by a sociopolitical perception and had entered into a specific institutionalized discourse before they were transformed into literary tales for children of the European upper classes. For instance, Heide Gottmer-Abendroth has demonstrated convincingly in Die Götter und ihr Heros that the matriarchal world view and motifs of the original folk tales underwent successive stages of 'patriarchalization'. That is, by the time the oral folk tales, originally stamped by matriarch mythology, circulated in the Middle Ages, they had been transformed in different ways: the goddess became the witch, evil fairy, or step-mother; the active, young princess was changed into an active hero; matrilineal marriage and family ties became patrilineal; the essence of the symbols, based on matriarchal rites, was depleted and made benign; the pattern of action which concerned maturation and integration was gradually recast to stress domination and wealth (?).

Hence the fact that, by the 1870s, the pantomime's subject matter had been limited to well-known fairy and nursery stories must be seen as a highly significant one for Australian drama. As outlined in previous chapters, this limitation allowed Williamson's productions to stage 'the journey' as 'the power and progress of the Anglo-Saxon race' and also precluded the possibility of further 'post-colonial' pantomimes like those of W. H. Akhurst and Garnet Walch. My comparison of Williamson's and Walch's 'original' arrangements shows that Walch was prepared to include anti-patriarchal and anti-patriotic elements in his arrangements while Williamson remained decisively pro-Imperialist. Thus, Walch's and Williamson's arrangements highlights the political nature of the relationship between the form and subject matter of pantomime in the pre-1914 Australian theatre industry.

Similarly, the consistency with which theatre historians have noted how the pantomime's satirical humour was sidetracked by the use of 'legs and limelight', music hall stars, 'specialty' acts and transformation scenes, highlights both the political unconsciousness of its spectacle and its politically-inspired comic routines and topical songs. The abandonment of the 'harlequinade' adapted from the 'lazzii' (comic routines) of the Italian Commedia and the inclusion of Music Hall variety acts into the pantomime was as important to the 're-arrangement' of the pantomime's
internal structure between 1882 and 1914 as the influence of the 'fairy extravaganza' earlier in the century. Music Hall acts, as Peter Bailey (1986) argues, were themselves problematically counter-hegemonic.

The convergence of profit, morality and good order is assisted by an interventionist state via the localised input of the licensing system. In this schema music hall not only manufactures entertainment but a particular ideology which further assimilates its public to capitalism (xv).

The 'intrusion' of Music Hall acts into the pantomime, best illustrates the complexities of viewing the pantomime as politically subversive. In the second half of the chapter I want to explore how post-1882 pantomime arrangements curtailed the revolutionary implications of cross-dressing to re-affirm the status quo. The English pantomime gave rise to its own 'original' types of the pantomime boy and the Dame. Plates 37 and 38 are typical of the image of the boy and Dame in late nineteenth-century productions: Violet Loraine was Sinbad in the 1912 Sinbad and Edwin Brett was Cogia (Ali Baba's wife) in the 1913 The Forty Thieves. The 'reification' of their bodies, I believe, crucially constructed the political potency of 'imperialist' pantomimes. Hence, the pantomime's travesty roles became another kind of 'arrangement' of conventional roles which highlights the problems of defining a subversive theatrical practice. It also highlights the problem of describing the origins of any one of the elements which the genre 'borrowed' from other sources. For instance, Mayer's (1969) belief in cross-dressing as deriving from the fairy extravaganza possibly underestimates its 'folkloric' origins. He focuses on Madame Vestris's importance in the devising of the pantomime boy and argues that the introduction of the Dame came via music hall performers in the 1860s (320).

However, there are interesting parallels to be made between pantomime and the folk drama of the English Mummer plays. The 'hero-combat', 'the sword play' and 'the wooing ceremony', as outlined by Alan Brody (1969), signals the Mummer plays' thematic link with the pantomime as another kind of 'holiday' drama, dating back to pre-Christian England. Brody further explains that, of the three types of

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4 Mayer does admit that Grimaldi occasionally played a "Dame" such as in the 1812 Harlequin and the Red Dwarf at Covent Garden when he appeared as "Queen Roudabellyana".

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VIOLET LORAIN (Principal Boy)
EDWIN BRETT, the "Dame."
Mummer plays, the 'wooing ceremony' was built around the cross-dressed 'Dame' and the fool. E. K. Chambers (1933) notes that Dames also appeared in 'The Sword Dance'. These were performed in the Christmas season in Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland.

The dancers proper vary in number from five to eight. But there are supernumeraries. Every company has one or more Fools or Clowns (sic). There is usually also a man dressed as a woman. She is Bessy, Betty, Besom, Dirty Bet, Bridget, Madgy, Madgy Peg. At Escrick she is Madam Sylvester. Here and in Wharfedale she is the Clown's wife (125).

While Chambers argues that the 'possibility of contact between the stage and the folk is not difficult to establish', however, the presence of the Dame in the Mummer plays as an antecedent to her appearance in pantomime has so far not been considered. Theatre historians also have said very little about the potentially subversive homosexual couplings of the later pantomime: the young lovers, pantomime 'boy' and girl are represented by two women while the older couple, the 'dame' and her lover are represented by two men. Mayer (1974) argues that English pantomimes demonstrate an absence of sexual humour despite their blatant transgression of conventional dress-codes and by implication, gender roles (53). On the other hand, the 'homosexual' coupling of late nineteenth-century pantomime serves to reaffirm that transvestism had always been an integral part of the patriarchal drama of the West, founded on the exclusion of women from the professional English stage. Thus, Marjorie Garber's (1992) assertion in Vested Interests that there could be no 'performance' in culture without the transvestite is accurate only after qualifying this by the fact that women were excluded from representing themselves on stage until the advent of the professional actress during the English Restoration.

How then did these cross-dressed characters demonstrate the 'psychology of popular culture' which Jameson (1990) argues is built around a 'psychic compromise' which aims at 'the management of desire' in terms of both repression and wish-fulfillment? If the pantomime reveals the unconscious and the 'logic' of dreams then what does its 'dream work' entail? As Elizabeth Grosz (1990) explains, Freudian theory identifies 'dream work' as selecting from a 'potentially infinite network of
terms' those terms 'most amenable to visual representation' (91). Similarly, the pantomime's use of 'grotesque' and 'reified' images, represented through the Dame and the pantomime boy, map out connections in a 'play of signification' (Lacan's term) which is governed by its own logic. Hence, the pantomime illustrates how misogyny, Western cultural superiority and romantic idealism are continuously re-arranging themselves in post-1882 narratives. A sense of theatrical 'novelty' thus becomes synonymous with a sense of cultural 'renewal'.

Such a consideration is inextricably connected to noting the role of humour in post-1882 pantomime productions. Freud (1960) himself likened the processes of the unconscious and the dream to the 'technique of jokes'.

The interesting processes of condensation accompanied by the formation of a substitute, which we have recognised as the core of the technique of verbal jokes, point towards the formation of dreams, in the mechanism of which the same psychical processes have been discovered. This is equally true, however, of the technique of conceptual jokes - displacement, faulty reasoning, absurdity, indirect representation, representation by the opposite - which re-appear one and all in the technique of the dream-work. Displacement is responsible for the puzzling appearance of dreams, which prevents our recognising that they are a continuation of our waking life. The use of absurdity and nonsense in dreams has cost them the dignity of being regarded as psychical products and has led the authorities to suppose that a disintegration of the mental activities and a cessation of criticism, morality and logic are necessary conditions of the formation of dreams. Representation by the opposite is so common in dreams that even the popular books of dream-interpretation, which are on a completely wrong tack, are in the habit of taking it into account. Indirect representation - the replacement of a dream-thought by an allusion, by something small, a symbolism akin to analogy - is precisely what distinguishes the mode of expression of dreams from that of our waking life. So far-reaching an agreement between the methods of the joke-work and those of the dream-work can scarcely be a matter of chance (88).

Thus, investigating pantomime humour might be seen as synonymous with reviewing its 'political unconscious'. What were the butt-ends of its jokes and how did they relate to its ideological framing? As Umberto Eco (1984) has argued

humour does not pretend, like carnival, to lead us beyond our own limits. It gives us the feeling, or better, the picture of the structure of our own limits. It is never off limits, it undermines limits from inside. It does not fish for an impossible freedom, yet it is a true movement of freedom. Humour does not promise us liberation: on the contrary, it warns us about the impossibility of global liberation, reminding us of the presence of a law that we no longer have reason to obey. In doing so it undermines the law. It makes us feel the uneasiness of living under a law - any law (8).

What then did the pantomime see as the structure of its own limits? Certainly, sexist and racist jokes abound but, as Williamson's original arrangements show, 'wit' was no longer the main force. Could it be that the predominant change

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the Firm made to the pantomime form was in reducing its subversive humour and so its power to 'undermine the law'? How then could pantomime remain a 'popular-festive form'?

I want to argue that Williamson's company instrumentally 'transformed' the meaning of a popular 'folk' festival so that audiences communally celebrated a sense of racial superiority. As J. M. Bernstein (1991) enquires of the lack of constraint associated with post-modernist cultural forms, could the protean pantomime form merely signal 'a mimesis of aestheticization' which 'alters the empirical world without transforming it' (22)? Despite its 'infinite variety', the post-1882 pantomime continually formulated narratives based on violence and domination. Thus, the 'containment' of the pantomime inside the Christmas festival ironically highlights how Bakhtin's 'unofficial' carnival can only exist in a 'mythical' pre-industrialised world. Such a setting appeared in many late nineteenth-century pantomimes' utopian scenarios. Does the Firm's touring of productions to many Australian cities and country towns, to New Zealand and to South Africa, show that the pantomime retained its 'spiritual' significance and its folkloric quality through such utopian representations? Or does it represent the pantomime's ultimate commodification in a 'culture industry' organised under the monopolistic ethos of the theatre entrepreneur? The pantomime suggests that the 'culture industry' should be reconsidered as having 'transformational' powers.
3.1 Christmas Festivities and the Subversive Potential of the Australian Pantomime: Commedia dell’Arte, Harlequinades and the other 'origins' of post-1882 arrangements.

The chronology of change which theatre historians suggest for the pantomime nominates the oldest form of English pantomime as the Commedia dell'Arte-influenced harlequinade in which the genre's anti-patriarchal theme is established. Such an 'origin' raises the question of what happened to anti-patriarchal concerns with the harlequinade's disappearance. The next development is usually seen as the Clown dominated harlequinade which involved an anarchic and absurdist style of comedy. (This, in turn, raises the question of whether or not this comedy exploited the revolutionary potential of gender politics introduced by the Commedia lazzi. If, as David Mayer reports, pre-1836 productions contained muted Columbines, was Clown Joey only concerned with the unlimited freedom of his fellow men?

The next form to dominate was the 'fairy extravaganza'-influenced pantomime with its elongated fairytale 'opening', with a much reduced 'harlequinade'. This is generally regarded as having less subversive potential despite its cross-dressed roles of pantomime boy and Dame. Finally, the total elimination of the harlequinade and the coming of the 'modern' pantomime, which in Australia seems to have occurred with the Firm's 1897 Babes in the Wood, meant that only vestiges of the genre's anti-patriarchal or anarchic heritage were left in the 'popular-festive' pantomime form. Though J. C. Williamson Ltd staged a harlequinade in its 1914 Cinderella, William Anderson's pantomimes continue to stage the harlequinade throughout the pre-1914 period. For instance, as Plates 39 and 40 show, Harlequin, Columbine and the Clown are pictured in the souvenir programme of 1914 Sinbad.

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5 Brent Chesley's, 'The faces of Harlequin in eighteenth-century English pantomime.' (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1986) details the changes in the character Harlequin, and the place of pantomime in eighteenth-century culture. Viola Papetti's Arlecchino a Londra: la pantomima inglese 1700 - 1728. Studi & testi (Napoli, Ed. Intercontinentalis, 1977) sketches the pantomime's evolution through the Italian troupes. My reference to these 'origins' picks up the story, so to speak, from the origins of the genre in Australia in the 1840s by which time, as David Mayer's work makes clear, a distinctive English form was in existence. Certainly, one must consider that English pantomime may have equally derived from France. As stated in Chapter Two, English pantomimist Barry Lupino claimed that his 'pedigree' had come from his French pantomimist ancestry.

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1. AIMEE KELLY as the "Fairy Queen."
2. The Silver Guads.
3. The March of the Alians (India).
4. Harlequin and Columbine.
5. A Group of Cheer Ladies.
1. Policeman and Postilion (ERNIE SHAND and MO MO.)
2. March of the Allies (Australia).
3. March of the Allies (Canada.)
4. JOE MORRIS as "Clown."
5. Revy of Beauties.
6. March of the Allies (Scotland.)
Of course, while this chronology outlines some profoundly important changes it is not, nor can it be, the 'whole' picture of the 'theatrical borrowings' (Mayer's (1969) term) which influenced the pantomime. Mayer's own erudite outline of the pre-1836 productions includes the influence of Gothic drama; borrowing from well-known plays, chiefly by Shakespeare, and operas; the use of certain 'vogues' such as the 'Jim Crow' acts; the influence of 'aquatic' drama on aquatic spectacles and, similarly, of 'animal' drama using dogs and monkeys (75). Mayer (1969) draws these together through a 'regressive' hypothesis pointing to pantomime's 'decline'.

The profusion of trivial entertainments (the aquatic drama, the permutations of the quadruped drama, Jim Crow acts, Gothic melodrama, dramatic and operatic burlesques) that early nineteenth-century theatre managers introduced almost extinguished drama written with any pretence to high standards or theatrical subtlety. Pantomime arrangers, in adapting these forms to their own pieces, all but ignored tragedy and more skilful comedy in favour of emulating mindless and spectacular entertainments, which they ridiculed only rarely. Their willingness to incorporate such pieces points up very clearly the responsiveness of the pantomime to the theatrical taste of an age that preferred the eccentric or boldly drawn drama to more enduring and aesthetically complex dramatic forms. Pantomime did not provide a comprehensive view of the stage, but undoubtedly perpetuated, reported on, and occasionally satirized the theatrical forms of most immediate interest to its spectators (108).

Mayer's 'high art' prejudice thus judges the pantomime's hybrid form as unaesthetic. He also gives the impression that the admission of these various 'borrowings' was largely at random. But Williamson's late nineteenth-century productions show the use of 'vogues', such as topical patriotic songs, and animal effects, such as the use of monkeys, to be highly political. A. E. Wilson (1935), in noting that the history of English pantomime has been punctuated with continuous references to the pantomime's 'dying' and 'deteriorating' form, highlights the pantomime's complex 'origins'.

The vitality of Pantomime, indeed, is something to marvel at, in spite of which there has hardly been a period in its history in which the cry has not been raised, 'Pantomime is dying!... There never was a time, in fact, when, in the opinion of some critics or another, Pantomime has not been on its last legs nor when it has not been denounced as inferior to that of the preceding decade (10).

The issue is further complicated by the pantomime's place within the Christmas festival, since there are two separate but related 'traditions' which one must deal with within the 'Christmas pantomime'. Put simply, the institutionalisation of Christmas and the pantomime were not one and the same thing. Concerning the

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
former, the Age on 26 December 1885 reminded its readers that many of the popular observances of Christmas Day were linked to the Roman Saturnalia; these had been altered by the early Christian fathers to soften the revels of the pagan festival 'to render them subservient to the cause of religion and piety' (The Age, 26 December 1885). Christmas thus represented the prostration of the powers of darkness:

> evil was for a time banished from the earth, human passions, envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness were lost in the universal sentiment of brotherhood and human sympathy, associated with the event that the festival commemorated. No evil influences could be exerted in mankind by the Powers of Darkness.

The cultural implications of this taming of the 'Saturnalia' are beyond the scope of my research other than to note how ascetic (fall-redemption) Western Christian notions of human sexuality, so clearly identified by Foucault, also apply to representations of sexuality in the pantomime. Foucault's account of Judeo-Christianity's negative impact on human sexuality in *History of Sexuality* (1976) does not stand alone. For instance, Catholic theologian Matthew Fox (1988) suggests in *The Coming of the Cosmic Christ* that the ascetic tradition was particularly negative in its advocacy of mortification of the senses. He contrasts this with the Christian mystic tradition, a 'creation-centered tradition' which did not 'traffic in 'mortification' because it recognized passion, body, senses, and sensuality as part of the 'divine gift' (39). The pantomime might be read as containing elements of both the ascetic and mystic Christian traditions: the sensuality of its ballets and other spectacles are framed within a moral drama which teleologically leads to a 'happy ending', with the virginal hero and heroine rewarded by marriage and unlimited wealth for their adherence to moral strictures.

The institutionalisation of the English pantomime and its links with the emergence of the mid-nineteenth-century 'new' Christmas festival suggest important parallels between the establishment of the 'business of Christmas' and capitalist developments of the English theatre industry. As Pimlott (1978) explains, Christmastime became a time which was 'good for business'.

The changes which occurred in the nineteenth century increased the scale of the Christmas trade. They also added greatly to its diversity. The Christmas tree brought new business to green-grocers, toy-shops and street-vendors. The Christmas card revolutionised the trade of the greeting-card publishers and stationers and had its

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repercussions on tobacconists, toy-shops and drapers. But it was the growth of Christmas presents which was most far-reaching in its economic consequences. Previously the benefits of the Christmas trade had been mainly confined to suppliers of food and drink and to those who provided the services - entertainments, transport and so on - for which the season increased the demand. The market for Christmas presents - once at least they had become common among adults - was potentially open to almost every branch of retail trade and most of the industries producing consumer goods (126).

The pantomime was an important commodity sold within a Christmas market. It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the symbolic and religious importance of the Christmas market. Again, as Pimlott (1978) argues

the new Christmas was carried forward by an irresistible moment. It was sustained by ideals which were almost universally acceptable. It was based on the supposition that all would participate and that deliberate failure to do so was unneighbourly or even antisocial. It met the always felt need for a midwinter holiday which was never more pressing than after the curtailment of the traditional holidays throughout the year. It was Christian yet transcended religious denominations. It established new and important vested interests - in particular the children and the business men who supplied the ever-growing Christmas market (89).

Thus, it is important to see the commercialisation of the religious festival occurring within the symbolic order of a communal goodwill and desire for material abundance. Accordingly, 'in 1842 the Poor Law Board ordered that no labour except housework should be done on Christmas Day and Good Friday, and in 1847 gave the local Guardians discretion to provide extra food on Christmas Day at the expense of the poor rate.' (Pimlott, 90) Charitable acts together with an abundance of food thus became primary signifiers of the Christmas 'family festival' which was to be eventually extended over Christmas Eve, Christmas Day and Boxing Day.

Boxing Day had a special significance for the pantomime as the day on which productions opened. Pimlott states that the day's 'Saturnalian' connections were clearly acknowledged in the nineteenth century.

Boxing Day, said The Times in 1871, was 'the Saturnalia of our people, secured to it now by Act of Parliament.' It was devoted to parties and merriment which among the lower orders degenerated into drunken disorders that shocked the respectable, strained the patience of the police, and were dealt with compassionately by the magistrates on 27th December. Meanwhile Christmas Day itself grew in importance as compared with the rest of the Twelve Days. The main reason was that it was the focus of the family celebrations and increasingly of most of the traditional ritual. It had a sacramental quality which none of the others shared. But stamina and financial stress also entered in. 'Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, and St. Stephen's or Boxing Day', wrote Chambers in the Book of Days in 1868, 'has absorbed almost entirely the tendencies and opportunities of the community at large in the direction of joviality and relaxation.' 'In spite of January 1st,' said a French observer, the journalist and radical politician Alphonse Esquiros, in 1861, 26th December was 'the English anniversary' (96).
MacDonald and Stapleton (1981) noted that although an Australian Christmas tradition was slow to emerge, one was clearly present by the 1860s which both accepted these aforementioned 'traditions' and simultaneously re-defined them.

The strongly independent native-born population and the thousands of non-British gold-seekers were more inclined to contrive their own customs rather than adhere to the dictates of far away England. Although the old traditions were never completely abandoned, a colonial Christmas gradually emerged, substituting Australian for English customs and translating the advantages of the new country and its climate into festive symbols. For the Christmas presents of Australian gold and Australian opals to the competition held to design a 'distinctive' Australian Christmas card, these symbols became increasingly nationalistic (10).

The Australian celebration of Christmas between 1882 and 1914 provides a parallel site alongside the Australian theatre industry in which to see the construction of late nineteenth-century capitalist practices and hence the commodification of 'English' cultural products through which the colonies created their own sense of belonging to an Anglo-Saxondom. In particular, the contrast of seasons meant that a European mid-winter festival had to be changed to a celebration of summer 'sports' in which, as MacDonald and Stapleton (1981) explain, swimming, tennis and cricket become important focal points as well as outdoor picnics and concerts, beach-going, railway trips and race meetings (108), as is evident in the 'Amusement' columns of daily newspapers between December and February.

As Paul Richardson (1979) outlines, the pantomime arrangements of the 1860s and 70s demonstrate that they belonged to an Antipodean world in climatic and geographic terms. The harsh reality of the Australian Christmas season is seen in the characterisation of figures such as King Flambeau, the Fire King in T. Carrington and J. Eville's 1874 adaptation of John Strachan's *Humpty Dumpty*.

Mortals are groaning with the heat, pooh! pooh!  
What's warm to them freezes me through and through.  
Blow up you fires, I feel as cold as ice,  
Here bring me a smack of something nice.  
Piquant and hot, first chop conflagrations;  
Or better, torchlight demon-strations.  
A bush fire blazing, choking brick-fielder.

Richardson concludes, 'Flambeau demanding more heat is the comic fact of Australia juxtaposed to the more refined and civilised good fairy who attempts to maintain, in the European sense, the true spirit of Christmas even in the antipodes'

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
The climate was still a topic of comic inspiration in later pantomimes as the English comedian, John Gourlay, showed in Williamson, Garner and Musgrove's 1889 *Sinbad*. The difference between earlier and later productions, however, is that while the former consciously built the subject of the Australian climate into the narrative, the latter set it in the periphery, in the comedians' *ad libbing*. Therefore, post-1882 productions do not seem to emphasize climatic differences between Australian and English Christmases.

In fact, snow scenes were more frequently staged in productions than the Australian Summer. A cursory summary reveals that Arthur Garner's 1881 *Sinbad* staged a Snow Ballet in Act 2, Scene 1; Williamson and Musgrove's 1894 *Beauty and the Beast* had a snowclad landscape as part of its Transformation Scene; in 1903 both Thomas Perman and J. C. Williamson staged snow scenes in their respective productions of *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Sleeping Beauty*; J. C. Williamson and Co staged the 'Ballet of the Snow Fairies' in Act 1, Scene 5 of their 1908/09 productions of *Jack and the Beanstalk*. Interestingly, Williamson seems to have aimed for antipodean authenticity when he used the South Pole to stage a southern hemisphere December/January winter in various productions such as the Triumvirate's 1887 production of *Jack the Giant Killer* and in his Federation pantomime of 1900, *Australis, City of Zero*.

By contrast, summertime seems to have been under-represented in Sydney and Melbourne productions. Williamson and Musgrove's 1895/96 productions of *Djin Djin* represented it as part of the Transformation Scene when the Good Fairy Chrysantheme called back summer after a 'Dance of Snow'. These productions support MacDonald and Stapleton's (1981) observations, based on Australian illustrated journals, that the development of a distinctive 'Australian' Christmas, so evident in the 1860s and 70s, 'seemed to lose its original impetus' in the 1890s 'as artificial holly replaced native wildflowers and the Christmas picnic dinner fell from popularity' (14).
As Sydney and Melbourne audiences became more concerned with creating an English Christmas in the colonies, the more a 'traditional' English Christmas festival was observed. As a result, late nineteenth-century productions predominantly emphasize the hallmarks of a traditional English Christmas. 'Royal Christmas Cards' were a feature of Williamson, Garner and Musgrove's 1885 Cinderella and many other productions brought Father Christmas onto the stage. For example, numerous post-1882 productions began with or contained scenes set in 'The Home of Father Christmas'. This was true, for instance, of Williamson, Garner and Musgrove's 1887 Robinson Crusoe and Williamson and Musgrove's 1897 Babes in the Wood. Coppin used the same device in his 1892 Babes in the Wood and even more obviously in his 1895 Santa Claus, The House that Jack Built and the Historical Giant Killer.

Miall and Miall (1978) noted that the Victorian Father Christmas 'was more than just St Nicholas'.

He was also closely related to the early nineteenth-century 'Spirit of Christmas', who was seldom depicted without a glass in his hand. This jovial figure was the one most often seen in Victorian Christmas pictures. He was shown as the founder of the Christmas Feast, the purveyor of jollity as well as the children's present-giver. Half-pagan and half Christian, he inspired awe as well as love. But in the latter half of the century he became less associated with carousing and more akin to his European counterparts - the German Christkind, the Scandinavian St. Lucy and the Dutch-American Santa Claus (87).

This would explain his importance in various pantomime finales in which he arrived on stage in order to throw lollies and other small presents to the children in the audience. For example, for the finale of Act 1 in Williamson and Musgrove's 1897 Babes in the Wood, the managers staged a Dolls' Ballet and Procession after which the Fairy leads the Babes into 'The Home of Santa Claus' and the children were presented with toys.

Fairy: Come, children, now to see the Christmas toys.
Will: The friends of all good little girls and boys.
Fairy: Look! horses, kites, and dolls in Sunday frocks,
Will: And I say, Cis - a stunning chocolate box.
Fairy: All children who are good throughout the year
Will: Shall meet their well-known friends of Toyland here.
Fairy: They've watched your goodness - all your troubles too,
Will: And Santa Claus himself will welcome you.
All: Hurrah!
Fairy: Now shout hurrah, let all your voices ring,
All: For Santa Claus, of all our revels king
All: Hurrah!

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The jovial red-suited figure might be seen as signalling a kind of 'feast of fools' in which, as Bakhtin explained, 'paschal and Christmas laughter' erupted. By the same token, the pantomime stops well short of being a *parodia sacra* i.e. of parodying prayers, sermons, Christmas carols and the legend of the saints, as Bakhtin suggests medieval humorous literature once did.

Certainly the early nineteenth-century English pantomimes described by David Mayer do not seem very like the bawdy Italian Commedia scenarios from which the harlequinade was derived. As Allardyce Nicoll (1963) points out, cuckoldling comedies dominated Scala's scenarios (10).\(^6\) Furthermore, as Gordon (1983) relates, *Commedia lazzi* represented sexuality through base bodily functions which in many of the comic routines included urination and defecation.

The Sexual/Seatological Lazzi, the so-called 'stage crudities' of the Commedia, were among the most popular routines, although they remain the least analyzed by scholars. The infantile and adolescent aggressions of shit and urine throwing, humiliation through exposure, of mixing food and faeces, of placing one's ass in another's face, and the telling of dirty jokes all remain the domain of the zanni characters (33).

Mayer's description of a mute Columbine also does not equate with the integral role women played in these scenarios. Kathleen McGill (1991) argues it was the women of the Commedia troupes who were instrumental in developing their repertory and improvising style.

More interesting, however, than either the social class of the women or their supposed reliance on a literary poetics is the substantial weight of contemporary report linking these first women on the stage with the development of repertory improvisation. Such evidence suggests a need for reinterpreting the history of representation in the West in terms of the role played by the early commedia women... Relevant to this revision are the implications following from women's choice of a repertory form... when women began to perform on the stage, they immediately assumed the direction of the troupes as well and companies became known in reference to their female 'stars'... On the basis of this conjunction of women's leadership of the troupes and their originary role in the commedia's improvisation, I concluded that in choosing a repertory model these early women performers acted not by default, but by an expressed preference for socially collaborative forms. The revolutionary strength of this preference was that it included the ability to develop a methodology by which such a group could not only integrate itself but also successfully entertain a variety of audiences, in a variety of circumstances, with the least possible effort. The accomplishment here is manifold. First, the choice of social rather than autonomous expression heightened diversity, so that the juxtaposition of the Bergamask Zanni and a Veneziano Pantalone created a supplè *chiacchierata*. Second, the choice of a highly collaborative methodology made competition resolutely nonproductive; alert cooperation is the key to improvisation because any extended focus on one part breaks, as Perrucci described it, the thread of the

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\(^6\) For example, *Il Vecchio Geloso* [The Jealous Old Man] is concerned with his beautiful young wife Isabella and her young lover outwitting the jealous old Pantalone, a theme also taken up by Restoration comedies and Molière and the Comédie Française.
in intrigue [Andreas Perrucci, *Dell’Arte Rappresentative*, 266]. This social diversity and collaborative methodology refused to enact difference in oppositional terms; instead, difference became multiple, inclusive and highly adaptive. Like the comedies they played, the women’s organization represented an ideology of social success in a time of harsh economics, repressive morality, shifting cultural literacy, and uncertain gender roles (McGill 1991, 68-69).

English pantomime thus borrowed from a potentially anti-patriarchal genre: a theatrical form which reverberated with the agency of wives and daughters through the authority of the actress who played those roles in the Commedia troupes. However, McGill does not underplay the fact that the actress was still regarded as a whore simply because she was an actress. Indeed, she traces the bordello-origins of *il trucco* (the trick) on which scenarios turned with their *lazzi* (visual tricks), *battute* (word-plays) and *burle* (caricatures).

The roles of the Good Fairy and the pantomime girl in English pantomime highlight how nineteenth-century productions were concerned with moral efficacy even while, at the same time, actresses provided the 'legs' through the roles of pantomime boy and in the travesty choruses. This is on view in Plates 41 and 42 showing Celia Ghiloni as the Good 'Slave of the Ring' in 19017 and Millie Young as Robin Hood in 1897. The binary of 'damned whores and God's police' seems to characterise the English Columbine as less resourceful than Columbina. Indeed, her role appears to have been fixed in the romantic image of the beautiful ballerina. As adultery and fornication were not the subject of English pantomime, Columbine seems to be confronted by a less lascivious Pantaloon. Indeed, asexuality and androgyny are important factors of the pantomime as both David Mayer (1974) and Marjorie Garber (1992) note in their discussions of the pantomime boy's and the Dame's sexually dormant roles as virginal and post-menopausal characters respectively.

However, the impetus for the action of early nineteenth-century English pantomime remained the same as that of the Commedia in that the 'unnatural'

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7 Interestingly, Ghiloni seems to have specialized in the role of the Good Fairy. She was, for instance, the Good Fairy in the 1914 *Cinderella*. As such, she was transformed into Britannia (Plate 28).

8 Interestingly, John Rudlin suggests that this also happened to the Columbina character of the Commedia who he describes as 'initially strong and attractive, like a circus artiste, later petit and pretty' (Rudlin 1994, 129).

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
MISS MILLIE YOUNG
The new Robin Hood in the Firma's "Beast in the Wood" extravaganza.

cutline photo.
relationship between the father, Pantaloon, and daughter, Columbine, revolved around
the woman's desire to choose her own husband.

In the pantomime opening the traditional conflict over the future Columbine between
the senescent guardian who is to become Pantaloon and the young suitor who will be
Harlequin brings into opposition a body of norms. Those challenged in the courtship
and elopement of Columbine include filial respect and obligation, regard for the aged,
marriage contracted to assure continued inheritance of property, the desirability of a
marriage for love, and belief that young brides deserve young and vigorous husbands
(Mayer 1969, 53).

But unlike the actresses within the Commedia troupes as described by
McGill, Columbine's power in shaping the pantomime's sexual business seems to
have been significantly dominated by the male actors' spectacular stage business.
Therefore, Mayer's contention that the late nineteenth-century pantomime's humour
was rarely sexual is profound in its implications because, as the post-1882 programme
scripts suggest, the productions were not about contesting the notion of 'marriage' but
enacting the anxieties involved in creating a 'happy ending' in legitimate terms. As
Bakhtin was to observe about festivals in general, the pantomimes enacted a 'victory
over fear' by creating 'comic monsters' who enabled those participating in the festival
to play with and laugh at terror (Bakhtin 1984, 91).

Early nineteenth-century Australian pantomime's adaptations of Harlequin
and Columbine show that they were a mixture of 'comic monster' and 'ideal-type'.
Generally speaking, Harlequin and Columbine seem to have been an amalgam of the
lover types (in the Italian scenarios usually named Orazio, Silvio, Ortensio, Isabella,
Flaminia, Angelica and Euforia) and the zanni characters of Arlecchino and
Columbina. In the Italian context these were usually servant characters known
predominantly for their ability to survive danger and intrigue and, not unrelatedly, for
their physical agility (Nicolli 1963, 107). Arlecchino was usually a fool or a child-man
who 'had the cunning of a seven-year old brat. A master of disguises; extremely agile
and acrobatic' (Gordon 1983, 60). Columbina was usually 'the maid of one of the
Old men or the wife of Arlecchino, she was a happy-go-lucky and successful
schemer. Intelligent, pretty, small, and skilled in dance and rhetoric, she also
exhibited a vulgar but charming interest in sex' (61).
Both the Commedia and the earlier Australian harlequinade comic routines unsentimentally portrayed romantic pairing. The common ground between the Italian and Australian characters was thus the fact that they occupied a violent world where trickery, cunning and adaptability were required. The Australian Harlequin and Columbine of early nineteenth-century productions seem to have the same indestructible quality of their Italian counterparts as they confronted Pantaloon's despotism. However, as the stage for Australian pantomime was not the fairground but an indoor theatre, Pantaloon's incestuous desire towards his daughter seems less to precipitate the spectacular action, shown in the acrobatic tricks involved in his chase and pursuit of the lovers.

English pantomime from its earliest days was concerned with celebration of the technological marvels of the English metropolis. This is clear, for instance, from the adaptation of Arlecchino's sword into the Harlequin's slapstick to signal stagehands to display spectacular stage effects.

Frequently Harlequin leapt through traps concealing what appeared to be solid scenery, or disappeared and reappeared through hinged traps in the stage floor, propelled to astonishing heights by the machinery beneath the floor-traps. Harlequin was empowered to perform stage magic with his bat; he could charm his pursuers into absurd rigidity or set them helplessly dancing; he could make food appear for a famished Columbine and cause it to vanish when Clown tried to snatch it; he could reassemble the maimed and reanimate the dead when a patent steam carriage exploded, scattering its passengers. With the magic of his bat, with his wit (and with the invisible presence of the stage machinist). Harlequin could perform innumerable visual tricks for the amusement of his audience (Mayer 1969, 39).

The more malicious zanni, Brighella, was also adapted into the Clown. Mayer shows how the particular talents of Joseph Grimaldi ensured that he became the 'Lord of Misrule' in English pantomime. Traditionally this meant that the Clown was pitted against the Lovers and/or acted as a possible rival lover and aligned with Pantaloon. Grimaldi further altered his role by allowing him to be independent from Pantaloon (30). He thus comes to rival Harlequin in his own right and take on his resourcefulness. His 'red-hot poker' seems to also be an adaptation of Brighella's dagger in schemes of unlawful seduction and theft.  

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9 Hence, I believe Gernet Walch's arrangements were much more in keeping with the Commedia tradition than Williamson's original arrangements.

10 For instance, Gordon (1983) outlines Brighella's use of his dagger in such schemes in Lazzi: the Comic Routines of the Commedia dell'Arte (60).
to mock local political figures before the facades of well-known shopfronts. The Harlequinade thus remained in the 'market-place', even if in a vicarious sense thanks to the scene painter rather than, as the Commedia had done, staging performances in actual market-places.

The arrangement of early Australian pantomimes, as evidenced in the unpublished research papers of Professor Elizabeth Webby, suggest that these productions were also concerned with 'market-place' themes within the new society. While very few scripts of these pantomimes exist, Launceston's Easter production of 1845, *Three Wishes or, the Queen of the Fairy Lake and the Palace of the Blazing Sun*, shows that scenarios contained energetic pursuit and chase scenes.

The Entertainments will commence with a GRAND COMIC PANTOMIME, introducing a great variety of novel and local Scenery, Tricks, Transformations, &c, &c, entitled

**THREE WISHES ; OR, THE QUEEN OF THE FAIRY LAKE AND THE PALACE OF THE BLAZING SUN!!!**

OPENING
Titania, Queen of the Fairy Lake...............................Mrs THOMSON
Puck (a little in disgrace), with a song............Mrs ROGERS
MORTALS
Sir Robert Brushwood Breakcover.....Mr ROGERS
Robin Homespun.....Mr COPPIN
Dorcas, Robin's Wife.....Mrs COPPIN
Peggy.......Mrs HAMBLETON

SCENE AT THE FAIRY LAKE
INTERVIEW BETWEEN TITANIA AND PUCK - TITANIA'S RAGE

'Hence away, nor dare again intrude,
Till punishment thy daring spirit has subdued.'

PUCK'S INTERCESSION

'Exchange my nature, rank me with the vile,
But rob me not of thy all cheering smile.'

TERMS OF AGREEMENT FOR PUCK TO BE RESTORED TO FAVOUR

'Ere the Church bell tolls the midnight hour,
Safely conduct into our fairy bower,
Ambition humbled, vice and fraud repented,
Sorrow made happy, poverty contented.'

DEPARTURE OF PUCK UPON HIS MISSION.

SCENE 2 - EXTERIOR OF ROBIN'S COTTAGE

Sir Brushwood's Plan - his Interview with Robin - Disclosure of Villainy - the Honest Tenant and Oppressive Landlord.

SCENE 3 - INTERIOR OF ROBIN'S COTTAGE

GRAND TRANSFORMATION
Columbine........Miss ELIZA THOMSON (her first appearance here!)
Harlequina........Miss JANE THOMSON
Clown........Mr. YOUNG
Pantalone.....Mr. OPIE
Here we Go - Now for Fun - Catche, Catche, Catche

SCENE 4 - INTERIOR OF A BARBER'S SHOP
DOUBLE IRISH JIG...HARLEQUINA & COLUMBINE
Emblems of my Trade - A bare Pole - 'Excuse my taking you by the Nose'
Give me my Pound of Flesh - A clean Shave, a Halfpenny a time, or a Shilling
an hour, and Guano Grease into the bargain.

SCENE 5 - VIEW OF THE THEATRE AND ST. JOHN-STREET
SCOTCH PAS SEUL, ET COLUMBINE
Clown and Pantalone apply to the Manager for an Engagement - Specimens of
Abilities - Leading Tragedy - Heavy Gas-Light and Low Comedy - Tumbling -
Old Men - First Singing - Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Principal Accountant (viz
Bill Deliverer)

COMIC DANCE
How to take the Money - Double Distilled Essence of the Concentrated Qualities
of Aristocracy - the smallest Donations thankfully Received - Relationship
between the Millers, Sweeps, Tinkers, &c - 'I give them all I can no more' -
Orangewoman - Apples - Butter and Eggs - a Sliding Scale of Descension.

SCENE 6 - WELL-KNOWN SHOP IN CHARLES-STREET
Trip by Harlequina and Columbine - Music hath Charms to Sooth - a Black Joke
- Introduction of Late Perrin, the ninth part of a Hawker - any thing today, Sir?
- Bill of the Play - 'Caught in my own Trap'

SCENE 7 - INTERIOR OF THE NECROMANCER'S COOK-SHOP
PAS SEUL...MISS J. THOMSON
Bill of Fare - Pudding with Native Curries - 'this is the Head and Front of my
Offending' (a Native head without anything) - Fries all Hot - Toss or Buy - Eat all
you can, but pocket none - Ginger Beer, too much up.

SCENE 8 - FRONT STREET
DANCE, Harlequina and Columbine - Lots of Fun - No Jokes - Catch 'em if you
can - Song, 'Hot Codlings' by Clown.

SCENE 9 - VIEW OF THE RIVER TAMAR
Double Cach UEFA by Harlequina and Columbine - Mock Cachuea by the Clown -
GRAND BALLOON ASCENT - How to manufacture a Balloon - 'More Glue' -
How to inflate the aforesaid and how to 'Bust its Boiler' - Aere-not versus
Steam pot - Clown and Pantalone's Steam Carriage Manufactory.

SCENE 10 - FRONT WOOD
Overtaken at Last - You are in our power - Entrance of Puck - Reconciliation.

SCENE 11 - PALACE OF THE BLAZING SUN

GRAND FINALE
The pantomime begins by borrowing from the impertinence of Shakespeare's
Puck to create a cross-dressed 'boy' role for 'Mrs Rogers'. The opening scenes,
however, seems to overturn A Midsummer Night's Dream by changing the focus of

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11 Cornwall Chronicle, 22 March 1845.

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
Puck's rebellion from Oberon to Titania. She is clearly supreme at the Fairy Lake and 'he' must answer to her. Puck, a dubiously heroic 'fairy', even within the original Shakespearean text, was thus to make possible a redistribution of wealth in his antipodean world. He was to give 'land to the afflicted' - a rather unusual knight-errant quest given that later pantomimes' quests were primarily for 'love and riches'.

Thus in the next scene we see poor Robin and Dorcas Homespun in their 'humble cottage' confronted by Sir Robert Brushwood Breakcover and his demands for more rent. The scene seems to be parodying the plot of nineteenth-century melodramas, particularly with regard to defeating 'the villain' who invariably attempts to cripple economically the good hero and/or rival him in love. Inadvertently, this also shows how melodrama and pantomime share a common heritage. As Elizabeth Webby (1988) notes, both genres originated from dumbshows distinguished by an emphasis on spectacle, music and movement rather than dialogue (21).

However, the change of subjects from Titania's and Puck's confrontation to Sir Brushwood's plan to evict 'the Homespuns' (played by Mr and Mrs George Coppin) meant that the customary old man versus the lovers conflict was replaced by an anti-capitalist as well as an anti-patriarchal theme. However, the conventional configuration of the authority figure versus the loving couple still remains as does the appearance of the benevolent agent to assist them. *Three Wishes* gets its title from the reward Puck gives the Homespuns for their hospitality towards him and hence the 'transformation scene' also comes about at his instigation, just at the moment when Sir Brushwood orders Robin Homespun's arrest.

The transformation scene then moves the action in front of familiar shopfronts. However, as Mayer (1969) makes clear, the excitement of the transformation between the two loci of the opening and the harlequinade came from the unpredictable way in which persons and places were reconstituted (24). In *Three

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12 The presence of George Coppin in this early production indicates that the Australian theatre entrepreneur, commonly thought to be Williamson's entrepreneurial predecessor, had a different experience of and relationship to Australian pantomime than the New York trained Williamson. This may explain Coppin's later preparedness to present the 'local, vocal and jokal' pantomimes at the Theatre Royal, Melbourne.

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Wishes the doubling of characters between the opening and the harlequinade did not take place as these were two separate casts. For instance, Mr Rogers who plays the villain Sir Robert is not transformed into Pantaloon. Instead the part is played by Mr Opie. Neither is George Coppin nor his wife transformed into Harlequin and Columbine but rather the star dancers of the production, Eliza and Jane Thomson, play Columbine and Harlequina. The Clown is played by Mr Young whose name is also not found among the actors of the opening. It would appear therefore that the harlequinade revolved around the dancing talents of these stars and the comic acrobatic antics of the Clown.

Pantaloon, Harlequina, Columbine and Clown signal the irrepressible need to survive on the competitive streets of European capitalism. The connection between the opening and the harlequinade thus seems to be the need for all to share some part of the dream of living in the 'Palace of the Blazing Sun'. The pantomime's staging of 'happy ever after' in materialist terms therefore can be seen to have originated in the desire for economic security in what was to be described later as the 'working man's paradise'.

The pantomime changes the customary Harlequin into an equally agile Harlequina who with Columbine performs 'national' dances such as the 'Irish' jig and the Scottish pas seul. This significantly reconstructed the Commedia's potentially bawdy stage business into a festive display of Celtic 'national' types. While potentially counter-hegemonic in emphasizing the non-Anglo-Saxon character of Australian society, the scenes leading up to the utopian image of the 'Palace of the Blazing Sun' excludes both the language and the actions of what Bakhtin defines as the other side of the 'marketplace' where hawking was represented by abuses, curses and oaths (Bakhtin 1984, 188). Nonetheless, the scenario of Three Wishes strongly suggests revelry in the streets of Launceston with 'Now for fun' signalling an avalanche of frivolity. This meant playing on a greasy pole in the Barber's Shop in Scene 4. The scene also has anti-Semitic references. The fact that Scene 5 was set in front of the theatre itself suggests that the theatre was seen as integral to the making of

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the metropolis. In it Pantaloon and the Clown mock 'serious' tragedians (unfortunately, their names remain unspecified). In Scene 6 they mock aristocratic types in a scene which brackets together necromancy, cannibalism and, in what are clearly racist references to 'native heads', Aborigines. The Clown's traditional song 'Hot Codlings' is performed in Scene 8 and Scene 9 stages a spectacular balloon ascent. Scene 10 is clearly the 'dark scene' which creates the need for Puck's return to bring on the reconciliation scene. The theatre advertisement defines this in terms of peace and plenty for 'the afflicted'. The 'finale' concludes its anti-capitalist theme with:

Mortals withhold, your short career is o'er,
Let discord cease, nor ever quarrel more;
Henceforth this land to the afflicted be,
A place of refuge, as it was to me;
For this retreat, our best kind wishes take,
Look down on us, Queen of the Fairy Lake.

Scripts of post-1870 harlequinades are equally scarce. A rare detailed scenario is contained in Garnet Walch's 1877 Sleeping Beauty at Lyster's Opera House, Melbourne. The harlequinade was arranged by Tom Wieland and featured his two young sons, Tom and Sydney. The programme does not indicate if he was an imported English pantomimist or a local exponent. Harlequin was played by accomplished dancer Henry Leopold, a regular at Lyster's Opera House since 1866 (Pask 1979, 40). The other cast members, Kate Ramsden as Columbine and Boleno Brown as Pantaloon, seem to have been minor performers.

SCENE 1 - Geach's Drapery and Walter Draper's Toy Warehouse.
Trip - Harlequin and Columbine.
Tom in his new shop - An old chum in a new drum - 'I always blow my own trumpet' - A 'novel' way of clearing off old scores - All over the 'Globe' - This is the way to 'Plan-et' - 'Look at Wieland's patent flogging machine' - 'A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!' 'Charge, Chester, charge! On, Wieland, on!' - A mystery! a mystery! where is the Bologna sausage boy? - 'Who's seen my poodle?' England's brave defenders - Who are you for, Russia or Turkey? The shortest way to get there; by a flight through Greece, on we go to Turkey!
Mechanical Transit to
Cohen, Aron and Co's Furniture Warehouse.
New Song, Local - THE PET OF THE COLLINS-ST. BLOCK
By Master Sydney Wieland (aged 6 years)
Written expressly for him by James Aikmen, Esq.
Novel Instrumental Duet - Masters Tom and Sydney Wieland

Scene 2 - Well-known Sixpenny Restaurant
Trip - Harlequin and Columbine.

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I'm so hungry - Only sixpence! we'll have a feed - Banquet for a lord - Dinner for two - A demon pudding - Clown and Pantaloon revenge themselves on a Hibernian cook - 'Into the copper with him for a dish that's new!' - The cook was Irish, now he's Irish (s)tew! - Done to rags - Clown and Pantaloon turn cook and waiter.

A foundling - Who's the father, you or I? - An impartial look on both sides - Can't tell o'her from which, or neither from both - Wild rabbits - What a cat-astropro - A cat-logue of events - Living on hare - What a game - Out of the frying pan into the fire - A rush of customers - Rabbit pie, Calve's head, ox tail, Irish stew, cherry pie, Australian goose, veal cutlets, dry hash, dry-up - General confusion - Police to the rescue - The bobby defeated - An end to trade!

Scene 3 - Moloney's Exchange Hotel, and A Burman's Photographers.

Trip - Harlequin and Columbine.

New Local Song (on Stilts) - Tom Wieland.

'THE SHOCKING EXAMPLE,' by Jas. Aikman, Esq.

A hog's head on your hog's head - A 'Rum' customer - Your modern swell dressed in hand-me-down's, and no money to tell - Great Increase in Burman's Photographic Business - A demand of operators - A Mongolian likeness - Likeness, no savey - 'Look on this picture, and on this' - As like as two peas! - 'I could a tale unfold' - A sad kettle of fish - An old lady in trouble - How to dispose of her - sharing plunder - Arrest of Clown and Pantaloon - Encounter with Bobby

Sudden Transition disclosing PRISONERS IN LOCKUP

I WANT TO BAIL MY FATHER OUT - BAIL REFUSED - A long stretch made to release him - Taking the Bobby off his guard - Take your destiny among the spirits - Clown to the rescue - 'Locks bolts and bars shall fly aunder' - Caution marks the guarded way - Here's the bobby's doing their rounds 'upon the squares' A fallen 'star' - His proper sphere! - A general melee - Everybody against everybody - Look out for yourselves! - A free fight in a free country - The spider's web leading us to

CAVE OF DESPAIR

Winding up of conveying all parties to

HOME OF DAZZLING BEAUTY.

The comic business has been reduced to three scenes. Harlequin and Columbine appear but do not seem to be connected in the narrative with Pantaloon and the Clown. The Clown (Wieland) is obviously the main focus as he begins the comic business, with the whole of Scene 1 devoted to his antics in the 'Draper's Shop'. This seems to have included a traditional comic routine involving dogs and sausages. It also touches on such current issues as the topic of 'Patents' and the 1877 Russian-Turkish war. References to other comic routines involving Richard III's need for a horse and global and planetary movements unfortunately now appear as hieroglyphic nonsense. The scene also contains a feature act of 'local' songs for young Tom and Sydney Wieland set in a Jewish-owned warehouse. The change of setting seems inexplicable. There is also no way of verifying whether or not the children's topical song contained anti-Semitic references.

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Harlequin and Columbine's dance in Scene 2, the 'Sixpenny Restaurant', remains separate from the main action. While the narrative is clearly absurd and provocatively anti-authoritarian, it does not seem as pointedly anti-patriarchal or anti-capitalist as David Mayer suggests earlier harlequinades had been. Instead, the scene seems to revolve around Clown and Pantaloon's boisterous fight with an Irish cook and his making of Irish stew. This further involves the arrival of a baby and a dispute over patrimony, ending with the entrance of a policeman.

The final scene, set in front of a hotel and a photographer's shop (clearly theatrical sponsors), continues the pursuit and chase between the 'bobby' and the Clown and Pantaloon. The script suggests that the fun at the photographers possibly involved their attempt at disguising themselves as Chinese, then their stealing from an old lady and their eventual capture by the policeman. This results in their imprisonment and escape, followed by a total breakdown of law and order with the scene breaking into a 'general melee. Everybody against everybody - Look out for yourselves'. The 'spider's web' that this creates leads to the 'Cave of Despair' and, as in earlier harlequinades, only after this 'dark scene' does the action move to a 'realm of happiness' - the 'Home of Dazzling Beauty'. However, this 'transformation' occurs without the assistance of a Fairy Queen or another benevolent agent such as we saw in the figure of Puck in Three Wishes.

The presence of Barry Lupino in J. C. Williamson Ltd's 1914 Cinderella ensured that that production contained a harlequinade, absent for eighteen years from the Firm's Sydney and Melbourne stages, since its 1896 production of Matsa, though Anderson's 1904 Sinbad still staged one. Even more unusual is the fact that the pantomime's typed script included a text of its comic business.

The action begins after the Musical Finale when the comedians, John McArdle as the Baron and Barry Lupino as Billy, stay on stage. Fairy Flora enters disguised as an Old Woman, asking for charity. They mock her helplessness, at

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13 This is also image of the police which is presented in the harlequinade of the Anderson's 1914 Sinbad as shown in Plate 40.
14 The uniqueness and elaborateness of the script demands that I include it as an Appendix, hereafter known as Appendix 2.

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which comes a crash of thunder followed by a black-out; when the lights come up she is before them in her fairy dress. The comedians exit to change.

Flora proceeds to conjure up four Harlequins. The first is her 'imp of mischief': a Harlequin in 'a tight fitting dress without spangles' appears. Then appears a Harlequin in mauve, one in yellow and lastly, one in blue. The Fairy explains the symbolism of each colour: red, for 'love that waxes warm'; mauve, for 'caution to keep that love from harm'; yellow, for 'jealousy that makes love so sweet' and blue, for 'constancy to make joy complete'. Out of these four she forms one complete Harlequin:

Enter complete HARLEQUIN in part-coloured dress, RED, MAUVE, BLUE, YELLOW. These are the four colours in the dress proper. It is covered in spangles and the contrast of the four is very effective. A ballet movement takes place with the 5 Harlequins. The stage is in darkness with the exception of the limes.

Flora: Admiration
(Music - HARLEQUIN positions)

Flora: Thought.
(HARLEQUIN positions)

Flora: Defiance.
(HARLEQUIN positions)

Flora: And determination.
(HARLEQUIN positions. Ballet movement and the FOUR HARLEQUINS exit - leaving COMPLETE HARLEQUIN on.)

Harlequin's transformation, however, is not completed. Flora calls on the other four Harlequins to grant the Harlequin in motley special gifts. From the Red Harlequin comes a 'wondrous mask' to grant him invisibility. The Blue Harlequin gives him a hare's foot to transport him quickly anywhere and the Mauve and Yellow Harlequins hand him the bat which will 'transfix, transform, the young and the old. Change land into water, dross into gold, mountain to molehills, cold to heat.' Harlequin in motley then changes the stage cloth into a street scene, consisting of a Butcher's shop, greengrocer's shop and a poster (on the extreme right of the stage) of Columbine. He brings her to life and they perform a dance.

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Though this configuring of Harlequin on stage is symbolically enlightening as to his role and function in early pantomimes, his actual function in the harlequinade is to stage manage the scenes with the banging and slapping of his bat. For instance, after two men perform a specialty song, the 'Stafford Specialty', Harlequin 'gongs' them off and allows Clown Joey and Pantaloon to enter. They enact a comic routine involving defying a squad of policemen and then, with another slap of the bat, Harlequin and Columbine enter and dance again. Hence we see that he and Columbine again remain separate from the Clown's and Pantaloon's comic business. The action then moves back to Pantaloon and Clown who enact a comic routine with a Butcher. This is an excuse for further antics with meat and a red-hot poker. The policemen enter again and the hot poker is turned on them. There is further fun with the Butcher, stealing a pig and then a lamb which is followed by further trouble with the police.

At this point the harlequinade moves from images of mere anarchy to a display of grotesque black humour when Butcher Boys enter with a 'sausage machine'.

(Enter BUTCHER BOYS with sausage machine for L. I. E. and place it L. C.)

CLOWN

BOYS

CLOWN & PANTALOON

What have you got there?

It's a sausage machine.

Oh, it's a sausage machine.

(THEY put the BOYS - then SOLDIER, then POLICEMAN (2) - Then enter 2 NURSES - 1 P. and 1 O. P. - Prompt one has black baby. O. P. one has twins in perambulators. CLOWN and PANTALOON take the babies and put them into machine. Re-enter NURSES and ask for their babies and they are put into machine. Then enter FILE OF POLICEMEN from L. I. E. carry a bon bon and CLOWN and PANTALOON take it from them and they march off R. I. E.)

Just as suddenly, the giant cracker is exploded and toys fall out. Out of the debris Clown picks up papers and together with the Butcher and Pantaloon, and with the assistance of Harlequin and his bat, the Union Jack is assembled. The Clown states 'My colours divided, this won't do at all. Together we stand, divided we fall'. They then throw presents at the children and the Police come on and run them off. It is at this point that the 'March of the Allies' begins. Up to Clown's patriotic

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statement, therefore, the Harlequinade suggested a defiance of law and order. Furthermore, the sausage machine clearly alludes to the war's destructive force at present at work on Soldier and 'the innocents'.

Like the harlequinade of 1877, the 1914 one no longer made any narrative connection between Pantaloon and the lovers. Harlequin and Columbine were merely dancers, played by Charles Albert and Maggie Dickinson, who in the pantomime proper had played the roles of 'Dancing Master to Cinderella' and the dancing 'Red Poppy'. Nor was it 'localised' in the way that both the harlequinades of 1845 and 1877 had been. If specific Sydney or Melbourne streets were referred to, neither the programme nor theatre reviews thought it important enough to mention them. Despite its elaborateness, the harlequinade in Cinderella clearly no longer contained any of the pantomime's main comic business. It was a totally 'archaic' piece and was only performed at matinees. The Age of 23 December 1914 thus noted:

A special feature introduced at the matinee performance of Cinderella yesterday was an old time harlequinade - a genuine revival of the quaint clown and pantaloon and Columbine form of entertainment that flourished at Christmas time some twenty or more years ago. The new feature is intended mainly for juveniles, who were present in great force yesterday afternoon. When the clown rushed after the policeman and stabbed him in the rear with what looked like a red hot poker, they fairly shouted with amusement; when the light-footed Columbine danced across the stage, shimmering in short skirts and spangles, they sat wide-eyed with astonishment. A harlequinade is something that does as it likes, and goes as it pleases. It begins anywhere, and ends when people have had enough of it - though it is quite likely the children at Her Majesty's had not had nearly enough of that particular harlequinade.15

Does this imply that the more 'modern' pantomime was not doing 'as it likes' or going 'as it pleases'? Regardless, the reviewer does not call for the harlequinade's 'free play' to return for the enjoyment of adult audiences. Rather it sees it as essentially a 'child's play'. Yet clearly, either in its 'anti-patriarchal' form (dominated by Pantaloon, Harlequin and Columbine) or in its 'anarchic' form (dominated by the Clown), the harlequinade had offered audiences forms of humour which were consciously counter-hegemonic.

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15 None of the names of the harlequinade's characters had capitals. The report was incorrect as to the last appearance of a harlequinade on a Sydney and Melbourne stage. Djin Djin and Matisa, J. C. Williamson's original productions of 1895 and 1896 both contained harlequinades by the Ridgeway family. However, there is no mention of one in the Firm's 1897 Babes in the Wood or any subsequent arrangement until 1914.

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Mayer (1969) outlines the complex nature of the changes to early English pantomime as follows:

By 1823 the Patent theatres and summer Minors had ceased offering pantomimes at Easter, presenting in their place entertainments variously called 'spectacles,' 'romances,' and 'comic extravaganzas.' These are difficult to define or summarise; their structures and intentions are varied and share few similarities beyond an emphasis on romantic, exotic fable and scenic splendour. These ill-sorted pieces posed no serious rivalry to the pantomime until the collaboration of Madame Eliza Vestris and J. R. Planché resulted in the run of extravaganzas written by Planché for performance at the Olympic Theatre. ...Planché's extravaganzas, offered in the guise of dramatic fables, were literary burlesques sprinkled with travesties of popular airs that saw their amusing characters through to happy conclusions without resorting to transformation scenes and harlequinades....Following the obvious successes of the extravaganzas and the granting of wider privileges under the Licensing Act of 1843, the patter of extravaganzas was increasingly applied to pantomime openings...The pantomime's development as a scenic treat is, without question, a certain reason for its structural alteration and a factor that bears heavily on the abbreviation of the harlequinade. The diorama and the vogue in landscape painting hastened the development of the pantomime as a spectacle, but the influence of Clarkson Stanfield in this sphere of the pantomime is inconsequential when measured against that of William Beverley, working in collaboration with either J. R. Planché or E. L. Blanchard. From their efforts came a total change in the nature of the transformation scene (316).

The development of a 'scenic treat' raises the question as to how much of the fairytale's ideologies the pantomime borrowed in staging the 'elongated openings'. If, for instance, the harlequinades were previously noted for their unpredictable narratives, then perhaps what the 'fairy extravaganza' predominantly borrowed from the fairytale was its 'principle of repetition', thus creating the sense of greater narrative order.

As Max Luthi (1984) argues, the fairy tale was a part of an oral tradition where repetition was a performance method which brought pleasure to audiences.

The repeated verses and verse groups also provide pleasure; the narrator and listeners enjoy them, and not just as rest points. The return of the familiar provides a feeling of security, for the listeners as well as for the speaker, and has at the same time an organizing effect, providing form and shape and creating structure. The technical necessity leads to aesthetic effects and psychological reactions, in simple folk narrative just as in orally presented verse epic, which one assigns to higher literature (76).

In Chapter One, I have already shown the use of repetition in the Firm's pantomime scenarios and in the staging effects of Williamson's original productions. But the issue of repetition encompasses an even broader ideological plane if reconsidered from its 'folkloric origins'. Luthi (1984) argues that repetition and variation allow fairytales to 'unconsciously' stylise their narratives.

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The fairytale is, in a completely noncontentious sense, an organ of knowledge: it stylizes reality simply because of the demands of technique - to this degree it does so 'unconsciously,' and without purposely trying - making in this way part of the structure of reality visible, for example, just by allowing repetitions and variations, which as such represent a basic principle regulating reality, to become the conscious experience of the listener (78).

Debates around the 'original' fairytale, such as Waelti-Walters intimated for the story of Genesis, continue to rage. As Luthi reminds us, many folklorists believe there was basically only a single type of fairytale of magic which is realised in countless variation (79). A similar observation might be made of the pantomime's use of fairytale narrative and their 'unconscious' borrowings of characters and motifs.

The two most frequently staged fairytale subjects in the 1882 - 1914 period were Cinderella and Sinbad. J. C. Cooper (1983) reminds us of the wide popularity of the Cinderella story when he points out that some 345 versions were collected in the nineteenth century and that more have come to light since (24). The Cinderella variants are based on three main types of stories: the death of the mother and the second marriage introducing the cruel step-mother and sisters; the 'King Lear' story with a King who has three daughters and, thirdly, an incestuous father who is enamoured of the girl's beauty (39). The pantomime arrangements were usually based on the first and thus the version which shows the daughter least in conflict with the father.

The key feature of all arrangements was, of course, as the Age noted on 25 December 1884, the 'trials, tribulations, and ultimate triumph of the good little fairy Cinderella.' Reviewers continually identified this as the purpose of the narrative. For instance, the critic of Frank Emery's 1889 arrangement for Williamson, Musgrove and Garner noted:

In fairy tales as in the affairs of life, which in its multifarious forms they illustrate, there are two great animating and conflicting principles, namely, good and evil, with their outcomes respectively, virtue and vice, light and darkness; and by means of these the history of Cinderella is elaborately worked out (Age, 27 December 1889).

Five years later, the critic of Toso Taylor's arrangement for Williamson and Musgrove at the Princess Theatre, Melbourne state that 'no theme appears to possess such a perennial interest for the dramatist as Charles Perrault's fairy tale of

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Cendrillon.' He then goes on to report that Perrault had 'borrowed' the story from an two thousand year old Egyptian legend and that it was

a curious illustration of the perverse vitality of error that the glass slipper was supposed to belong to the heroine of the story still survives in all English versions of it, because the first translator of Perrault did not know the difference between vair and verre, and rendered 'a slipper adorned with white sable,' which was so rare as to be only worn by royal personages in those days, into 'slipper of glass.' And so the irresponsible fiction of a young girl dancing under the torture of a vitreous covering to her feet has survived until this very day (Argus, 4 February 1895).

The interest and knowledge which this critic shows of the story often acted as a form of unofficial moderation of whether or not key motifs of the fairytale story appeared in the pantomime production. The critic for the Argus thus noted that J. Hickory Wood's 1901 arrangement of Aladdin for George Musgrove was like most modern pantomimes in that the 'story does not matter much, but there must be quick unflagging movements and unceasing vivacity, and gaiety and brilliance and sparkle must run a breathless race side by side from the rise of the curtain to the final fall thereof' (26 December 1901).

Regardless as to who wrote the various arrangements of Cinderella between 1882 and 1914, the story invariably included the Prince's need to marry on pain of forfeiting his right to the throne on his eighteenth birthday. Hence Cinderella's Godmother, the Good Fairy (Elfinella, Silverton), is locked in battle with the Ogre to prevent anarchy. The Prince himself ironically pre-empts this possibility when for a time he swaps places with his valet in order to court the beautiful maiden he 'by chance' meets in the woods. He does so because he insists that he must be loved for himself and not his status. As a result, the arrangements often feature zanni-like servants (called Buttons, Buttoni, Chippi or Billy) who along with the valet (usually known as Dandini or Ladida) provide a complication in the love story by falling in love with Cinderella. Dandini was a parody of the social dandy (so popular in Restoration comedies) who was as ambitious as he was vacuous.

Cinderella is characterised, of course, as the perfect wife-type, charitable, modest and beautiful. She is naively in love with the stranger she meets in the woods and does not even begin to imagine or desire, as her wicked step-sisters do, that men

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should be loved because of their social status and financial standing. Her own status is invariably one of genteel poverty. She usually has a rather ineptly cruel and impoverished 'Baron' father who makes her work as a kitchen-hand while allowing his other two daughters to be waited on by their younger sibling. In some arrangements the Baron marries a 'Dame' and she arrives at the manor with her two cruel daughters who proceed to victimise Cinderella.

The arrangements invariably stage the Ball which the Prince organises in order to meet the wife which by necessity he must wed, while all the time hoping that he has another encounter with the beauty from the woods. The preparations for the ball are an important part of all productions and show the Fairy Queen's further intervention in ensuring that the Prince and Cinderella are reunited. It was not usual to have a carriage to transport her to the Ball but once there Cinderella and the Prince dance and the slipper is left behind as a result of her flight at the stroke of midnight. The final part of the arrangements are usually to do with the further search for the wearer of the slipper. This involves the final humiliation of the ugly and big-footed step-sisters and Cinderella taking leave of the kitchen. The wedding scene which followed usually involved the demise of the Ogre and his acceptance that 'good' wins out in the end.

Repetition of these important motifs were further ensured by the fact that arrangements were often re-used. The 1884 arrangement opening, where Cinderella's relationship with the Prince is placed under the protective care of the Fairy Godmother, was, for instance, repeated in 1889, 1890 and 1894.

SCENE 2. - THE FAIRY'S HOME

GRAND BALLET

Enter ELFINELLA

Elf. Come, cease your sports, you tricky little elves,
In other ways you must employ yourselves.
For Cinderella we'll be up and doing,
You'll help me to arrange a little wooing?

All. With pleasure.

Pansy. Your opening has impress'd us,
Violet. And tales of love.
Daisy. They do so interest us.
Elf. The late king made a will, a foolish one,
Compelling young Prince Peerless -
That's his son.
Elf. To marry when eighteen - if he'd not wed
His valet should be King and reign instead.
Daisy. How stupid!
Violet. When does the time expire - sh?
To-morrow, but he'll see his bride to-day,
My little god-child, Cinderella, who
Is patient, loving, beautiful, and true.
Although her life's embittered by her sisters,
Who act unto her like perpetual blisters;
She ne'er complains, nor frets, and her reward
Shall be the greatest this world can afford.
Violet. That's a good husband!
Elf. You are right, my Fay,
The Prince by chance shall meet her, and to-day.
I've all in train, but Hanki-panki Co.,
Seem bent my little plans to overthrow,
But if you will assist me, dears, I still
Can foil that fiend. You will?
All. We will! We will!

A similar carrying over of the 1884 scenario can be seen in Act 1 Scene 3 in
which Cinderella and the Prince first meet. Cinderella productions invariably
represented the pastoral as a hunting scene.

SCENE 3. - THE OLD MILL STREAM

THE ROYAL HUNTSMAN DISCOVERED

Enter CINDERELLA

Cind. Here in this wood, I far from home must stray,
And go a shopping, for 'tis market day.
I light the fires, I cook each slender meal,
Which makes me meal anchooly feel.
My pa thinks it his duty to ill-treat me:
My sisters sisternically beat me -
Give me but rags to dress me. What a shame!
Won't even call me by my proper name.
For as I live 'mongst cinders in the cellar,
They call me, in derision, Cinderella.
I am their cook. They couldn't make it warmer
If they were bakers, and I, Cook, informer.

SONG - CINDERELLA

Enter PRINCE on rustic bridge. They meet.

Prince. Delighted to have met you, pretty maid!
Cind. You're speaking rashly, sir, I am afraid.
Prince. You must be pretty with that air and grace;
Cind. Well, I must say, young man, I like your face.
Prince. That sounds sarcastic, dear; I hope you mean it;
I'm sure I shall like yours, hem! when I've seen it.
Withdraw that envious hood and let me view it.
Cind. I'm not on view, sir, and I heed'nt do it
Prince. One kiss!
Cind. Stay, sir you would'nt wish to be

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If, as Maria Tatar (1987) suggests, the Prince in Cinderella is representative of the fairytales 'passive heroes', then the pantomime changes him into an active one.

In 'Cinderella', for instance, even the bridegroom, for all the dashing chivalry attributed to him by Walt Disney and others, remains a colorless figure. The tale tells us nothing more about him than that he is the son of a king. Lacking a history, a story, and even a name, he is reduced to the function of prince-rescuer waiting in the wings for his cue (92).

In the pantomime, he is given real purpose in evaluating his worth as a would-be king and finding 'true love' because of it. However, the internal conflict, once resolved, re-establishes the given hierarchical and feudal order. Furthermore, like many heroines Cinderella is ultimately liberated by being clothed in a flock that arouses 'the admiration of a prince and that drives rival princesses into jealous rage.'

Through a combination of labour and good looks, the heroine gets her man. Social promotion depends primarily on proof of domestic skills - the equivalent of the male's demonstration of compassion. But it also turns to some extent on the receipt of gifts from nature, gifts that endow the heroine with nearly supernatural attractiveness. If the helpers in stories with male leads transfer their strength, wits, and courage to the hero, the helpers in tales with female leads bestowed beauty on the heroine. That beauty, symbolized by the gowns, yokes the cosmic and the domestic in that it is the joint product of nature and of human labours. Supernatural beauty and down-to-earth hard work are linked to create the fairy-tale heroine's passport to success (Tatar 1987, 118).

This is most apparent in George Musgrove's 1900 production of Cinderella which was promoted as a production built around its imported costumes. Table Talk announced that, on 20 December:

A private viewing was given at the Princess Theatre on Thursday afternoon to several visitors of the extensive and lavish wardrobe just received from Paris for Mr George Musgrove's pantomime Cinderella. Rather more than a hint has already been given to Table Talk of the prospective scenic glories of this production and a close and exhaustive inspection of the new costumes gives further incontestable proof of Mr Musgrove's determination to give Australia in general, and Melbourne in particular, a feast of splendour hitherto unimagined even in London, the home of gorgeous spectacle.

But Tatar (1987) also emphasises the disparities which existed between folkloric fantasies and social realities. She argues, 'the radical reversals that lift
fairy tale heroes from humble circumstances to a royal station were virtually unknown during the age in which fairy tales developed and flourished' (102). Such a reversal is, of course the keynote for the second most popular fairytale subject between 1882 and 1914 of *Sinbad*. The arrangements invariably featured the story of his eventual marriage to a Princess, variously named 'Sutchaswetecrechar' or 'Badoura'.

Sinbad is a decidedly active hero and an intrepid traveller. Therefore, this 'Eastern' pantomime usually involved travelling to amazingly exotic locations. Like Cinderella, he was assisted by a Good Fairy and like her he had to confront a variety of ogres. Firstly, there was the ogre proper who, Prospero-like, seemed to have control over the seas. A shipwreck was often staged and/or Sinbad's ride on whaleback. In some arrangements, the ogre would be responsible for carrying away the princess. This would be the impetus for Sinbad to set off on a journey to rescue her. She was usually held prisoner on an exotic island run by one of the Ogre's minions, a primitive Cannibal chief.

The other ogre-like character of the story was the Old Man of the Sea who was jealous of Sinbad's adventurous exploits, in particular the possibility that he had the talisman which would allow him to find the treasures of the Valley of Diamonds. The journey to the Valley included encountering other monsters such as the Roc, a giant bird, and demon sprites who guarded the treasure. With the assistance of the Good Fairy, Sinbad, of course, is able to get the treasure, rescue the Princess and satisfy the Caliph, her father, that he would make a worthy husband. An outline of G. V. Allen's 1904 arrangement for William Anderson, for instance, shows all these key narrative points.

Then the story proper begins. Sinbad in due course appears, and with his jovial navigators, embarks on board the Merry Matilda to seek fortune, fame and glory. They have in their possession the chart which will guide them to the Diamond Valley, but it is dropped overboard, and falls into the possession of the Old Man of the Sea, who dwells where no mortal has ever penetrated. But Sinbad, nothing daunted, ventures in the mysterious depths beneath the sea, and under the protection of his good fairy, secures the precious document. He then sees for the first time the Wonders of the Deep, illustrated by a magnificently beautiful scenic set by Reg Robins. The Ballet of the Sea Nymphs takes place in this scene. Sinbad, by his chart, finds his way to the Island of Gold, and we are introduced to the Harem of the King, and afterwards to the brilliant spectacle of the Valley of Diamonds, with its up-to-date twentieth-century electric effects. Here, too, we see the great Demon Act, one of the wondrous features of the pantomime. The King and his Court are also

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much in evidence, and Badema and her friends having been taken prisoners by order of His Majesty, Sinbad is able, with some of his newly-acquired wealth from the Diamond Valley, to pay literally a King's ransom for their release. This even necessitates the festivities which, in the Kings picturesque palace, permit the introduction of the two principal spectacles of the evening - the Cherry Blossom Ballet and the grand March of Nations - including, it is whispered, a group representing the little nation of Japan. Following these items in all their gorgeousness is that delight of all pantomime patrons, the Transformation Scene (Argus, 26 December 1904).

Post-1904 productions seem to adapt Aladdin's convention of giving the hero a 'Dame' for a mother. Therefore, in the style of the Widow Twankey, Sinbad's Mrs Sinbad laments her wayward son's adventures. Max Luthi (1984) argues that the fairytale hero is most often isolated, usually as a result of family conflict (135 - 137). However, both Cinderella and Sinbad, like most fairytales, seldom give a central role to biological mothers (Tatar 1987, 142). Hence, the 'bad mother' is more common in arrangements than any other type. Similarly, they show the prevalence of the 'passive or absent father'. Cinderella's ineffectual parent is thus matched with Sinbad's total lack of one.

With respect to the Good Fairy, theatre historians tell us very little about her theatrical origins, other than implying she arrived as part of the fantastic configuration of the fairy tale's 'asexual mother'.

She twice intervenes, as fantasy mothers are wont. Each intervention specifically related to sexual potency, psychologically equivalent to material success. It is she who gives Harlequin his penis-equivalent, his magic bat or sword, the potent instrument with which to make his own way, to secure Columbine, to ward off and to frustrate his enemies. And it is this same benevolent agent who again intervenes in the closing moments of the pantomime, restoring to Harlequin the sword his enemies have wrested from him. It is she who permanently unites the lovers (Mayer 1974, 59).

In Jennifer Waelti-Walter's (1982) feminist reading of fairy tales, the Good Fairy is paradigmatically part of 'our very first fairy tale' in Genesis. It was there that woman's power was framed as a kind of witch's magic.

Then the witch arrived in the shape of the serpent. This serpent had been exiled by father already because she thought she was his equal and should share his power. Now was her chance to pass on the knowledge she had. She talked to Eve - the power of language again - and taught her where to get knowledge and life for herself. Eve picked the apple, and never doubting the equality of herself and Adam, she took it to him and shared it. Adam was willing enough, but the father, who had already suppressed one revolution, was not prepared to risk another one. Retribution was swift. Adam learned his lesson: to survive he must maintain the male order of things. Eve, outnumbered, was reduced to her role as we know it. Bitten by the serpent, she would give birth in pain in future; which, translated into fairy tale language: betrayed/initiated painfully by her mother into the father's system, she is married to the prince. Bridebed,

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childbed, bed of death. Woman is supine, subservient to man economically, sexually and for her very life. An object for his manipulation. His language (78).

The pantomime's representation of the father's attempt to control disobedient lovers, and their subsequent fall from grace onto the earthbound streets of the harlequinade, bears an uncanny parallel to the archetype of God the Father and his relationship to the original lovers, Adam and Eve. Within this theological context, the fairy 'godmother' makes marriage possible, reconciles the father and lovers and thus enables Columbine to be re-admitted into her father's house. She, like the Virgin Mary, brings Salvation into a world built on patriarchal terms. There is no hint, however, of her as matriarch and therefore someone with an alternative 'realm of happiness' into which the lovers could enter and live 'happily ever after'.

Maria Tatar (1987) argues that the absence of biological mothers in the Grimm Brothers' fairy tales can be attributed to their discomfort at representing anything to do with pregnancy or illicit sexual relationships (7). On the other hand, Jack Zipes (1993) shows in his overview of Little Red Riding Hood that the 'bourgeois civilising process' was making itself felt in all fairy stories (41). Whether or not the fairytale represents the 'collective unconscious' or the individual psyche is thus hotly debated. Max Luthi's (1984) arguments as to the initiatory structure of the stories thus raise questions as to what kind of civilization they were allowing pre-pubescent to be initiated into.

The pattern of initiation which is reflected in the fairytale - not only in the many tests which it contains, in the battle with monsters, in the apparently insuperable obstacles and apparently insoluble tasks, but also in the process of death and resuscitation, in the journeys to hell and to heaven - points to a serious reality, which has validity not just for primitive peoples (160).

He also asks:

Does the fairytale accustom its hearers to cruelty and sadism, to thinking in terms of black and white, in the sense of demonizing adversaries and enemies; does it foster aggression and sadism; does it bring children up to 'think conservatively,' to accept a hierarchical, patriarchal form of society; does it have repressive effects insofar as it glorifies obedience, humility and subordination; is it 'the opium of the people' or even the opium for the people (152)?

Luthi's recalling of Karl Marx's description of religion as the 'opium of the people' re-focusses the question of the subversive potential of late nineteenth-century pantomime. What did the genre ideologically 'borrow' from the fairytale when it

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adopted the 'fairy extravaganza'? Certainly, the fairytale pantomime was not as improvisatory as the harlequinades - not that these had been without their own form of repetition. The whole point of 'the tricks' which clowns enact is that they seem accidental while requiring meticulous timing and fixed actions - for safety reasons if nothing else.

As the Firm's first production of Aladdin in 1882/3 shows, its profusion of spectacular images of 'China' was limited from the outset by the expectation of the 'orient' with the 'Willow Plate'. Thus, an organic 'Chinese' culture had been 'tailored' to the image of the 'china' produced on the assembly lines of English potting factories. Thus, as Plate 24 showed with the ladies of the ballet dressed as 'Crown Derby', 'china' is also commodified through the feminisation of the 'Orient' in all arrangements of Aladdin during the pre-1914 period.

Act 1

Scene 1: A view of China (the Willow Plate) ; Scene 2: A Street in Pekin - Pekin by Day and Night - Grand entry of the Emperor of China and his Court. GRAND EASTERN TERPSICHOERIAN & ACROBATIC EXHIBITION. Brilliant illumination and Feast of Lanterns finishes the scene.

Act 2

Scene 1: The Widow’s Home; Scene 2: The Enchanted Cave: - The Demon Revels by the wonderful MATTHEWS BROTHERS; Scene 3: The Home of the Lamp; Scene 4: The Veiled Valley of Jewels - EVOLUTION OF THE JEWELLED FAYS.

Act 3

Scene 1: Interior of Aladdin's Palace. - CHINESE CYMBAL BALLET; Scene 2: Antechamber in the Palace - GRAND TRANSFORMATION SCENE - THE FLEETING SEASONS AND FLIGHT OF THE GOLDEN BUTTERFLY.

The scenario is also noticeably hierarchical and feudal. Thus we find an Emperor and his court, including a young Prince in love with the Emperor's daughter. Besides these 'aristocrats', the court has many servants. Their names (Ly-Chee, His- son, Nu-moone, Sou-Chong) as well as their status as travesty dancers caricature their oriental roles. They are doubly cast in the mould of the ornamentally exotic. Nonetheless, the company went to extraordinary trouble to import authentic costumes from China. The political significance of this can best be felt in the context of the anti-

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Chinese sentiments outlined in Beverley Kingston's history with regard to the economic exclusion of Chinese-made products. In 1901 George Musgrove also purchased an 'authentic' Chinese dragon from Mr Sun Ack Goan of Bendigo for his 1901 production of *Aladdin*.\(^{16}\) It would appear that the theatre's need for authentic spectacle could negate racial prejudice.

The Triumvirate's 1882/83 arrangement of Frank Green's *Jack and the Beanstalk* sets up a scenario where the English Jack must face the Giant of Tel El Kebir. As a real war zone, Tel El Kebir alluded to the way the pantomime supported a British military campaign by characterising the Giant as the Sudanese enemy. This meant that the demon's Saturnalian power was not applied self-reflexively to 'British rule' but projected as something outside its official workings, an enemy which needed to be destroyed. The theatre advertisement foregrounds the 'official' fears of the Empire - predominantly the fear of decimation as a 'super-power' and of being taken over by 'foreigners'. Interestingly, Luke Trainor (1994) argues that the interlocking of militarism and nationalism in England and Australia was opposed in the 1880s by a 'laissez-faire liberalism which deplored the waste of war and stressed internationalism, or a still older tradition in Britain which distrusted standing armies as a threat to English freedoms' (23). The presence of Will Simpson, an accomplished Drury Lane clown, who performed 'Livelliboi' in the main body of the production, suggests that there would have been *ad libbing* around topical issues.

Frank Green wrote several arrangements of *Jack and the Beanstalk* for English theatres. Theatre advertisements suggest similarities between the 1882/83 Australian production and the 1875 production for the Surrey Theatre. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find a copy of either the English or Australian arrangements. However, another arrangement Green wrote for Covent Garden in 1878 shows that he favoured using the clown's savage humour to rail against officialdom, particularly through the Dame/Widow's part played by Herbert Campbell. Indeed, Father Time announces in the opening moments of the production that:

\(^{16}\) Letters documenting this transaction in Musgrove's Letter book, La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria.

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Bad trade, worse strikes, tried England's pluck undaunted;
Reserves who were called out and never wanted.
A wicked war we thought would never cease,
But war laid down its arms to smiling peace;
And soon again the loud tongued clang of war
Has lately reached us from Cabul afar,
Inspite of storms our stock of wheat immense is.

Such criticism of official monetary and foreign policies continues throughout
the production. For instance, in Act 1, Scene 6, the Widow (Campbell) and her
servant Thomas sing the satirical song of 'That's All Right':

Thomas:  I've rather strong views on events of the day.
          That's all right.
Widow:   And on current topics I must have my say,
          That's all right.
Thomas:  We Britons exist in the brightest of climes,
          And we don't know what's meant by starvation or crimes.
Widow:   And then, blessed boon, we can write to the Times,
          (So) that's all right.
          It's 'safe as the bank' is a saying well shown,
          That's all right.
Thomas:  Though some folks in Glasgow the fact will not own.
          That's all right.
Widow:   A twelve per cent dividend coolly to pay
          When the bank was all bankrupt and done to decay.
Thomas:  I'd teach all such people, if I had my way
          (That) that's not right.

The critic of the Age of the 27 December 1882 reports that the tradition of
political lampooning was kept alive in the Australian production.

In the opening scene a considerable amount of fun was caused by a clever trick of so
painting the heads of 'the bad characters' of the piece as to represent some of our
prominent politicians, Mr Berry, Mr Kerford, Mr Mirans, Mr Munro, and some other
celebrities were recognised at a glance, and applauded good naturedly by the audience.

The reference to Herbert Campbell in the 1878 production is a reminder that
the pantomime's comic routines were largely in the hands of Music Hall stars.

Raymond Mander(1973) notes:

As the century grew old the intrusion of 'variety' acts increased. Artists were engaged
for their particular specialty, which they introduced with the least provocation or
subtlety:
          The Babes asleep; now is the chance
          To do my little song and dance
Parts were either re-written or completely invented to be in line with the artist's music
hall image. Harry Lauder appeared as a Scottish McSwankey in Aladdin at Glasgow in
1905. G. H. Eliot, 'The Chocolate Coloured Coon', was Chocolate in Mother
Hubbard at Bristol in 1907 and Carlton, 'The Human Hairpin', Bison Bob, also at
Bristol, in 1906 (36).
But it would seem that the comic business of the pantomime was still the province of the clowns if A. E. Wilson's (1935) description of what happened to the arranger's 'book' is anything to go by.

From the seventies onward the music-hall artists monopolized the best parts in a pantomime, bringing with them their own business, 'specialty acts,' and popular songs, and interpolating gags into the author's books such as would never have been tolerated before. So the author's share of the pantomime began to be of diminishing importance. Save for what the Fairy Queen said, you can hardly be sure that anything you heard really came from the author. Undoubtedly he did originally write something, but in most cases it was either vaguely heard, put out, or smothered in the comedian's gags (171).

Peter Bailey (1986) claims that pantomime 'poached' music hall stars from the 1860s on, at a time of great rivalry between the Halls and the theatres. Not unrelatedly, it was equally a time when censorship of the comics was a key consideration.

If the comic singers reinforced the hold of the music hall upon its public, they jeopardized the status and livelihood of its operators by concentrating the hostilities of reform lobbies. Fearful for the renewal of their annual licences, London proprietors sought to pre-empt such attacks by petitioning the Home Secretary in 1879, hoping to secure 'fun without filth' by the appointment of an official censor to protect them against their own incorrigible comics and the strictures of an amateur and capricious magistracy. Though they solicited control and protection in this quarter, proprietors talked the language of free trade in their campaign to share the right to play the legitimate drama. A Parliamentary Select Committee in 1866 reported in favour of ending the restrictive double jurisdiction though this was not put into law and the conflict of music hall and theatre interests rumbled on for another forty years and produced a further official enquiry in 1892. (In the meantime theatre learned how to exploit its new rival by poaching its stars for pantomime.) (xi).

Lois Rutherford (1986) shows that the direct link between the comic sketches of the Halls and pantomime came through the zanniness of Joseph Grimaldi: 'the antics of the pantomime clown and the patterns of construction of the harlequinade fashioned by Joey Grimaldi in the early nineteenth century both influenced the shape and spirit of music-hall sketches' (135). Ironically, the 'intrusion' which theatre historians recorded with the arrival of Music Hall stars was thus a readmission of 'the harlequinade' into the elongated 'opening' of the 'fairy extravaganza'.17 It is not surprising then that the texts of post-1882 Australian 'fairytaile' pantomimes read as if their narratives are being continually disrupted by comic routines.

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17 V. C. Clinton-Baddeley makes the same observation in an untitled paper ('Relazione'), in English, on English pantomime, published in Atti del II congresso internazionale in storia del .. Venezia: De Luca, 1960, 222.

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This applies just as much to the treatment of 'original' subjects such as Williamson's *Djin Djin, Matsa* and *Australis*. For instance, in the latter a comic routine between Mrs Truck (the Dame), the Oldest Inhabitant, the Boss and Little Tom Truck is played out in their journey to the South Pole to rescue Dione from the evil Azeemath. The business begins with their brief encounter with Polar Bears, which turns into a hunting excursion in which the Oldest Inhabitant takes unsuccessful shots at various birds and rabbits. The prompt copy shows that there were many 'sight gags' such as shots fired, after which stuffed birds were thrown down from the flies, and rabbits bobbing up and down as in a side-show pop-gun game.

The main business, however, is between the Boss and Mrs Truck, comedians W. S. Percy and H. A. Quealy. Immediately after the pop-gun game the Boss arrives on stage with a picnic hamper.

*The Boss opens the basket and takes out tablecloth. Mrs T. takes hold of one end. They go to shake it. The Boss lets go. Mrs T. falls over.*

- **Mrs T.** You wait till I get you by yourself.
- **Boss** I am by myself.
- **Mrs T.** No. You're not. You're with me. *(Picking turkey out of basket)* What's this, a turkey?
- **Boss.** Carpet.
- **Mrs T.** No. Just a plain ordinary Mackintosh tooth-proof turkey, poor old turkey. I knew it when it was a chicken.

*Two big bears enter R.I.E. and R.U.E. stand at back up stage.*

- **Boss** Have a drink?
- **Mrs T.** Yes.
- **Boss.** Have a drink of water?
- **Mrs T.** No. I can't touch water.
- **Boss.** How's that?
- **Mrs T.** You see I've an iron constitution.
- **Boss.** Well.
- **Mrs T.** Water might rust it.
- **Boss** Well have some beer.

*One of the big bears come down and takes the full glass from Boss and gives Mrs Truck the empty one. The big bear gives the other to drink each time.*

- **Mrs T.** I thought you said have some beer.
- **Boss** Well didn't you have some.
- **Mrs T.** No, it was empty.
- **Boss.** All right, have some more. *(passing another glass to Mrs T. the bear does the same business)*
- **Mrs T.** Have some more. I haven't had any at all yet. *(taking glass and going to drink; turning to Boss)* Look here I'll scratch your eyes out.

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Boss: What's the matter now?
Mrs T.: You said have some beer.
Boss: Well.
Mrs T.: Well there was nothing in it.
Boss: Nothing in - Why the bottle's gone. (*The bear has taken the bottle in the mean time*) Never mind we'll have some Turkey. Where's the knives? (*Business looking for the knives and the bear takes the turkey*)
Mrs T.: (Calling off P.) Here bring back the knives.
Boss: (Turning round finding the turkey gone) Hullo the turkey's gone now.
Mrs T.: Gone! Where has it gone to.
Boss: You must have eaten it.
Mrs T.: Me? I never did no such thing, how could I eat a whole turkey by myself?
Boss: Never mind we'll have some bread and gravy.
Mrs T.: Yes! We'll have some bread and gravy. (*the bear comes down and puts his head on the dish*)
Boss: (Wiping the bread in the dish) Oh! I've struck some juggled hair. (*Sees bear and runs off R.U.E.*)
Mrs T.: Juggled hair. I like horse hair.

The bear sits down besides Mrs T. and puts is paw round her. The other bear takes the baskets off R.U.E.

Mrs T.: Oh! Boss! You mustn't do that!

The bear gives her a hug

Mrs T.: Don't do that. You might break something. (*The bear puts his face along side of Mrs T.*) Oh Boss why don't you have a shave.

 Turns and sees the bear at the same time. Screaming, the bear gets hold of the table cloth on which Mrs Truck is sitting and drags her half off. Mrs T. falls over.

Such comic routines are interspersed with Azeeam's diabolical plot to get them lost. The routines also contain comic songs. Percy and Queally share 'Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day' shortly after the above scene.

1st Verse. Mrs Truck.
The song we're going to sing we'll tell you all about
All: Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day
We don't know what it means but still we're go to shout
All: Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day
We get thing black and white from the papers every day
The subjects will be read that we give you by the way
And if anything is blue we simply stop and say
All: Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day.

2nd Verse. Boss.
Little John Jones went fishing with a pin
All: Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day
The bank gave way and he fell in
All: Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day
They took him home to mother and they put him into bed
They stuck a plaster on his chest and ice upon his head
He woke up in the morning and said Great Scott I'm dead.
All: Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day.

3rd Verse. Together.

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While the Firm never brought out any of the big names of Music Hall such as Marie Lloyd, it clearly borrowed the style as the comic vehicle for its 'burlesque' minor stars from the Gaiety Theatre who usually headed the bill for its pantomimes. This is particularly true of the post-1900 productions when it imported comedians such as Ada Reeve, Bert Gilbert, Harry Shine, Dolly Castles and Arthur Stigant.\(^\text{18}\)

Lois Rutherford argues that the Music Hall sketches 'aspired positively to entertain, rather than to criticize the status quo' (151). The comic business of *Australis*, concerning the hungry habits of polar bears, certainly supports this view. Similarly, 'Fol de diddle I do Fol di diddle day' is an apt example of the 'throw-away' line whose comedy only targets very general political points. This is in effect a form of self-censorship through which the comedian politically 'gags' him/herself.

The complex relationship thus set up between the fairytale scenario and such comic sketches and songs raises the possibility that, as Frederic Jameson (1990) has noted in *Signatures of the Visible* regarding popular culture in general, it has 'nothing whatsoever to do, and nothing in common, with older forms of popular or folk art' (15). Hence, the inability to see 'china' in the 1882 *Aladdin* arrangement in other than commodified terms is not just a sign of the racism inherent in the British Imperialist enterprise but also of how the culture industry nonetheless performs 'transformational' work. Thus, Jameson believes that we must see mass culture

not as empty distraction or 'mere' false consciousness, but rather as a transformational work on social and political anxieties and fantasies which must then have some effective presence in the mass cultural text in order subsequently to be 'managed' or repressed (25).

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\(^{18}\) Interestingly, Harry Rickards was noted for his pantomimes of 'old-time variety'. Rickards produced one in 1885, 1897, 1898 and 1900. Unfortunately, no scripts seem to have survived. His 1900 *Pass in Boots* would have been particularly interesting in this respect as it starred the music hall entertainer Billie Barlow. In 1901 he also brought out Marie Lloyd and in 1905 Little Tich and Paul Ciquevalli. Australia's own music hall stars, 'Stuffy' and 'Mo', were the main comedians in the 1916 original arrangement by Nat Phillips of *The Bunyip*.  

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From this viewpoint, the pantomime must be read as the paradoxical 'containment' of Saturnalian elements. Thus, its fairytale narratives must be seen as containing extravagant wish-lists which include overcoming the fearful implications of an exploitative capitalist dream. Overcoming fear, as Bakhtin (1984) explained, was after all the perennial purpose of the carnival.

It is impossible to determine where the defeat of fear will end and where joyous recreation will begin. Carnival's hell represents the earth which swallows up and gives birth, it is often transformed into a cornucopia; the monster, death, becomes pregnant... Victory over fear is not its abstract elimination; it is a simultaneous uncrowning and renewal, a gay transformation (91).
3.2 The 'Grotesque' Bodies of Post-1882 Pantomime Productions and their Re-arrangement of the Pantomime's Sense of Humour.

The use of cross-dressing in Australian pantomime seems to have happened well before the arrival of the elongated 'fairytale' opening or the advent of Music Hall stars. The 1845 production of *Three Wishes* included the travesty roles of the 'boy' (Puck) and Launceston's 1846 production of *Harlequin and the Fairy of the Coral Cave or, the Magic Pancake* has a Dame (Mr Richards) in its opening as Geoffrey Gorgemup's wife.

Geoffrey Gorgemup........................................MR OSBORNE  
Dame Gorgemup...........................................MR RICHARDS  
Paris, afterwards Harlequin............................MONS. RISLEY  
Clown.......................................................MR MCKENZIE  
Corolinaas Gorgemup....................................MR DONNELLY  
Squintum Gorgemup....................................MR WILSON  
Lilian, after Columbine..................................MADAME LE JAR  
Fairy Queen..............................................MISS WEST

Fairies, Spirits, Imps, &c, by numerous auxiliaries

The review of the production makes it quite clear that the production's attraction was both its spectacle and its local jibes at 'certain mercantile doings'. Elizabeth Webby (1995) argues that similar features are found in what appears to have been the first wholly Australian pantomime, *Harlequin in Australia Felix, or Geelong in an Uproar* (1845) which departed 'from the usual nineteenth-century pantomime by setting its opening scenes not in some fantasy land but in Geelong' (261). Again, the theme of *Harlequin and the Fairy of the Coral Cave* seems to have been anti-capitalist as the greedy 'Gorgemups' are mocked and defeated.

In the getting up of the Pantomime (called 'Harlequin and the Fairy of the Coral Cave') a great deal of expense had been incurred, with a view to render it acceptable to the audience. The scenery (by Mr Flowers), is effective; particularly the painting of those well-known establishments - *Benjamin's Emporium, Duchene's in Charles-street, &c.* The opening scene of the Coral Cave, or the Magic Lake, was well managed, and restored that good humour in the pit, which a little unavoidable delay in commencing the performance had disturbed. A good deal of pleasantry arose from a sly reference to certain mercantile doings, with which public attention has been occupied of late; and 'a Reed shaken by the wind - a new way to obtain wool,' was not inappropriately illustrated by the exertions of the family of the Gorgemups. Monsieur Risley will make a good Harlequin; Clown and Pantaloon did their best to create merriment, and the clever tricks kept the house in a continual roar (*Cornwall Chronicle*, 27 May 1846).

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In 'Inscriptions and body-maps: representations and the corporeal', Elizabeth Grosz (1990) describes 'body-writing' as reliant on a host of extraneous instruments and psychological and physiological body-products.

The subject is named by being tagged or branded on its surface, creating a particular kind of 'depth-body' or interiority, a psychic layer the subject identifies as its (disembodied) core. Subjects thus produced are not simply the imposed results of alien coercive forces; the body is internally lived, experienced and acted upon by the subject and the social collectivity. Messages coded onto the body can be 'read' only within a social system of organisation and meaning. They mark the subject by, and as, a series of signs within the collectivity of other signs, signs which bear the marks of a particular social law and organisation, and through a particular constellation of desires and pleasures (65).

If, as Garber (1992) claims, 'there is no culture without the transvestite', then cross-dressing in late nineteenth-century pantomime shows a culture's confidence in categories as much as suggesting the underlying crisis within them (11). Indeed, despite the blurring of terms such as the 'androgyne' or 'hermaphrodite', the 'space of possibility' which the pantomime's transvestism represents can only be enacted on stage because of the social and political differences which exist between the two sexes in 'reality'. The 'boy' and the 'Dame' are not intended to transexually 'pass' but to be recognised as 'grotesque' representations of the antithetical status of men and women.

The essential theatricality of transvestism thus deconstructs 'the binary of self and other that was itself a comfortable, because commutable and thus controllable, fiction of complementarity' (Garber 1992, 12): it paradoxically represents both the 'essentialist' concept of 'being' and the 'fictional' concept of 'acting'. As Garber aptly puts it, 'transvestite theatre recognises that all of the figures on stage are impersonators' (40). Indeed, without the 'difference' between 'being' and 'acting' actors could not perform their 'roles', nor audiences draw pleasure from observing them. Anne Ubersfeld (1982) thus notes the 'limits' of desire, pleasure and performance.

It is hard to contrast pleasure with desire - desire as lack. If the pleasure of the spectator is, as we have seen, the pleasure of a presence that cannot be denied, of the being - there of bodies in a text to be read and reread; if pleasure finds its fulfillment as sensual pleasure at the precise moment that the ever-increasing gap between the acting-out and the fiction, between the body and the character portrayed, disappears, if pleasure lies, then in the ability of the spectator to relate to a presence, it is also blocked by taboos: the taboo against touching, even against seeing at close quarter, the taboo against seeing (knowing) with certainty. The limits of pleasure are to be found in the very existence of this no man's land in which it travels between fiction.

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and reality. The object of desire is forever in flight; it is and it is not: it constantly repeats to the one who desires it, 'I am and I am not what I am.' If there is a passion proper to theatre, it resides in this uninterrupted flight. This flight and this movement are of a dual nature; the object flees from the eye and the touch of the one who desires it: not only the actor flees from us, but all the beauty shimmering on the surface of the stage. Like water held in our capped hands, it trickles away and evaporates, unable to satisfy the demands we make on it. But our demands also flee; they can't affix themselves to what exists before us. And the flight of our desire is no less frustrating than the flight of the object: the desire of the spectator travels from object to object, and if it stops and becomes fixed, the relationship between the spectator and the theatre at once disappears. To fix one's desire on a particular actor is to give up one's role as spectator, to negate the theatrical experience (138).

I want to argue that reading the body markings of the pantomime 'boy' and 'Dame', in effect, requires that we also read how they stand in relation to the conventionally dressed characters of the 'girl' and the 'father'. Therefore, while the 'girl' and 'boy' represent the 'ideal' romantic couple of passive woman and active youth, the Dame and her lover (often the pantomime girl's Father) represent the 'other', the socially laughable couple of domineering wife and hen-pecked husband. Even when 'her' (prospective or actual) husband has authority in his own right, he is usually some 'primitive' dolt, such as a Cannibal King or an inept Baron. Ubersfeld's definition of the limit(less) pleasure of the spectator assumes, of course, that the relationships between various bodies are designated by an equal status with regard to race, class and gender. The transvestite roles of the pantomime expose the fact that pleasure also came from enacting and observing their inequality.

Not the least, the Dame's role was a reminder of the earlier banning of female actors from the stage, also that 'there is no ground' of Classical Western theatre 'that is not already cross-dressed' (Garber, 40). Speaking of their exclusion in Europe in general, Lesley Ferris (1990) has argued in Acting Women:

How better, one might ask, to demonstrate the purely symbolic role of women than to have young apprentice boys play their parts? Since men were the creative source of symbols rather than instances of them, their active role in cultural creation allowed, indeed their versatility demanded, that they assume women's roles. Actual women could not take part in their own aesthetic representation: a symbol could not generate another symbol. The very nature of female 'otherness' required a kind of vacuum necessarily filled with male-originated meaning, much as in medieval France an unmarried woman was categorized as a femme vacante, her emptiness filled only through a marriage contract (68).

Ferris also points out that the potential for revolution the inclusion of women might have brought about did not occur; instead women became 'commodified' from

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the outset. Like the actress Nell Gwynne herself, they thus became the 'acquisition' of powerful men.

Her stage mobility gave her potential for social mobility, but her status as a commodity on public display neutralised this possibility. What better place for an aristocrat to exhibit his most recent acquisition than in a public theatre, framed excellently by the proscenium, with the dressing room procuring their privacy (70)?

Elizabeth Howe (1992) notes that the obsessive emphasis on the actress's sexuality 'effectively diffused the threat to male society of having women speaking, acting and creating characters on the public stage. As a sexual object she was no danger to the patriarchal system, but rather its toy' (36). Indeed, 'the development of the 'breeches part' which allowed women to dress as men was clearly designed to enable the actress to display her legs publicly, thus providing new sexual innuendoes. Ferris (1990) believes this allowed men to 'adore and revere their own artefacts and at the same time perpetuated their illusion of having created woman' (76). Indeed, actors in late nineteenth-century pantomime were implicated in what Tracy Davis (1991) has termed the 'erotic topography' of the Victorian spectacular theatre both in terms of its mise en scene and 'the geography of sex in society and theatre'. Davis argues that this had special implications for 'actresses as working women'.

Just as a large illegal sexual trade thrived in the streets and shop windows of Britain, the female body was commodified in the theatre into forms that were prominently displayed, socially hypocritical, and unsuppressed. The longevity of low necklines and high hemlines in the contour-hugging costumes of Victorian pantomime boys, burlesque stars, and Shakespearean heroines supersedes the whims of fashion, the wandering standards of discretion, and all the vestimentary codes of street, boudoir, and drawing-room. In any other public place, including masquerade balls, such costumes were unthinkable, yet on stage they were accepted...Through frequent repetition, the heresies seemed natural, though their potency as sexual references was intact (133).

Although Davis argues that the tag of prostitute was unfair to the nineteenth-century English actress, her arguments concerning the theatre's 'erotic topography' contradict David Mayer's (1974) claim that the pantomime was 'not much interested in sex'. Rather we might conclude that the 'sexuality of the pantomime' does not exhibit the pleasure of 'understanding women', as Mayer claims, but of mastering them. Similarly, Laurence Senelick's (1993) explanation that the 'neutered' boy and the

19 Ferris argues that one-third of all new plays written between 1660 and 1700 contained 'breeches' parts.
20 Chapters Four and Five of Actresses As Working Women (1991) are entitled 'Actresses and the Mise En Scene' and 'The Geography of Sex in Society and Theatre'.

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Dame represented bodies conventionally seen as sexually inactive is contradicted by
the fact that the 'boy's' body was designed to titilate as well.

The principal boy in Christmas pantomime came to be played by a young woman, but
sexual transposition was never extended to let a youth play the heroine. Such
transpositions were acceptable only when the age represented was transitional and,
according to social convention, the least sexually active: young women might play
prepubescent lads - the Peter Pan motif - and men might play post-menopausal matrons
- the Charley's Aunt motif - for those conditions offered minimal threat to standard
gender identities (81).

'Stargazer's (A. H. Adams') satirical poem 'The Pantomime Boy' in the
Lone Hand (1 August 1909) supports the idea that the 'boy' was admired purely for
her woman's body; it argues that, having turned her into something akin to a circus
animal, it was perhaps time to end the absurd tradition.

I
The panto boy is very fair,
He has the frizziest of curls,
Not like a boy found anywhere,
But in the panto's classic glare,
His figure's very much a girl's
So is his eye; not mild nor meek,
So also his amazing cheek.

II
The programme says that he's a boy,
The authors to that fiction cling,
Then managers each naive decoy,
And every artifice employ,
To show that he is no such thing,
His 'front' is all a girl's, so too
Is his extensive nether view.

III
Why this absurd tradition? Why
this vain entanglement of sex?
They don't deceive the dullest eye.
The actress, bless her, does not try
One preconceived idea to view -
She's much too small in some parts, brothers,
And very much too big in others.

IV
Whence comes the disproportioned hands
All ample calf and mighty hip?
'Tis gospel truth, I understand
That now, to meet a great demand,
In Amsterdam, where men equip
The beasts the circus king employs,
They breed and train these panto boys.

V
And ever in the trade the dart
That any other aim transcends
Is to develop Boys by art,
Much bigger in the middle part,
And strangely smaller at the ends.
Adams' gallantry towards the actress, however, does not entail considering 'her' sexual desire. If the 'compelling force of tranvestism in literature and culture comes from its instatement of metaphor itself', (Garber 1992, 390) then it also shapes a theatre practice which 'in effect', as Peggy Phelan (1993) argues, allowed 'the fantasy of exchange between men about women' (158). But, as the case of Madame Vestris illustrates, her scant costume also undoubtedly allowed her to escape the restrictions of contemporary dress which, Helene E. Roberts (1977) believes, was instrumental in making the 'Victorian' woman into an 'exquisite slave'.

The clothing of the Victorian woman clearly projected the message of a willingness to conform to the submissive-masochistic pattern, but dress also helped mold female behavior to the role of 'exquisite slave' (357).

Thus Vestris removed herself from the private domestic sphere and the role of 'angel in the house'. Yet Fletcher (1987) shows that Vestris's emancipation was accompanied by control of the theatrical space by the theatre manager and his censorship of the formerly 'rowdy' pantomime genre. J. R. Planche's 'fairy extravaganza' texts, for instance, 'called for an audience more quiet and attentive than the legendary rowdy house for pantomime'. Indeed, he was 'regularly praised for delicacy and tact' (Fletcher, 12). Ironically, then, it was this more delicate and tactful drama which produced 'the exploitation of supernumerary women and girls essentially as scenery. Dressed in provocative fairy costumes, strapped to complex machinery and elevated into fantastic compositions, they became decoration for the seemingly magical "transformation scene" ' (Fletcher, 13).

The role of pantomime boy thus represented the actress's lack of power in 'her' own right. While her costume might reveal emancipation from the role of 'exquisite slave' of the domestic sphere she was paradoxically made more exquisite in a 'scandalous' sense as her body (and her 'personality') became her most marketable attribute.

In general, then, the actress brought with her to the stage a social significance, for in the public imagination, at least, the profession offered a psychic release from the normative prohibitions. Furthermore, the ability to assume and shed a different identity each night, or often within the same night, suggested, perhaps, a deceitfulness, but also

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a kind of power. The fear, the fascination, and the disapproval which the actress generated fed into the nexus of audience/performer-fictional character, and was of vital importance to the enigmatic extravaganzas, as it created at once a world of fantasy yet relied heavily upon the audience's identification with favoured performers. As a glamorous London actress, Madame Vestris's fame was clearly enhanced by her public image as one who flouted bourgeois standards of behaviour. Unlike some later Victorian performers such as Marie Wilton or Madge Kendall, there is no indication that Vestris was greatly concerned with social respectability outside her own profession. Early in her career much attention was focused on her private life, as notorious love affairs and her near legendary extravagance encouraged the concoction of further, completely spurious anecdotes. She remained, for the most part, a Regency personality who was able to function quite well professionally in Victorian London. As a personality actress, Vestris brought a specific personality to her work. She was known for her physical beauty: dark hair, dark eyes, exquisite figure; and her success as a performer was based in large measure upon her ability to manipulate obvious sexual appeal, seeming innocence, and the appearance of gentility (Fletcher 1987, 17).

Leslie Ferris (1990) notes that the actress/role confusion can be traced historically to the 'origins' of theatre where, by contrast, Man's ability to create 'masks' paralleled his ability to distinguish the role from his male-self.

This sense of distance informs out cultural notions of artistic creativity. Webster's Dictionary defines the verb 'to create' as 'to originate; to bring into being from nothing; to cause it exist'. Works of art exist in their own right; the male actor, then creates a role that is separate from himself, and his mask and costume provide him with the means for this separation. In other words, male actors have created a space between themselves and the roles they have played. Despite the fact that men eventually performed without masks, they have maintained this sense of space in relation to their roles. But for women, as we have seen, there was no mask or exaggerated costume; thus, the space for artistic illusion located between the role and self was absent. With no distancing device between role and self, the male-controlled female role takes dominance over the more tenuous, uncharted notions of female self. In a sense, the self is absent, and this femme vacante becomes integral to the representation of women in patriarchy, where women are rendered invisible within the dominant narratives of history (73).

The liminality between mask and self represents another 'space of possibility' in which 'in the Name-of-the-Father' the male actor is empowered to inscribe metaphor and thus 'to act': thus, the 'girl/boy' was visually represented by the actress's 'absent costume' (Tracy Davis's (1989) term) while the Dame was made noticeable by the actor 'over-dressing'. This is clearly evident, for instance, in the numerous pictorial representations of the boy and Dame in theatre programmes, such as Plates 43 and 44 which shows the 'under-dressed' girl/boy and the 'over-dressed' Dame/man in 1914 productions of Sinbad and Cinderella.

Nonetheless, as Jill Dolan (1987) argues, 'desire is not necessarily a fixed, male-owned commodity, but can be exchanged, with as much different meaning, between women. When the locus of desire changes, the demonstration of sexuality and gender roles also changes' (173). The pantomime's seeming 'universal' appeal

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OLIVE HARSDEN as "Sinbad," Principal Boy in Sinbad the Sailor Pantomime.
thus offers us some insight into its heterosexual and homo-erotic appeal. Instances of both, for instance, can be found in the fan mail of nineteenth-century actresses such as May Pollard who received 'love letters' from adoring male and female fans. 'Frank' wrote her the following letter on 22 April 1888 when she was playing in Williamson's production of *Princess Ida*.

> When I tell you that it is I who have so often sat in the front row of the theatre and so very constantly keep my eyes fixed upon you, and besides, waited for you outside until I saw you leave the theatre you must at once remember me... On Monday evening I shall go to see 'Princess Ida' once more and sit in the front row again as usual - if you approve of my thus waiting give me a nice smile for 'you're everything you ought to be'. And if you will permit me to speak to you *wear a flower* [underlining in the original copy].

On the 29 December 1904, when she was playing the pantomime girl in William Anderson's *Sinbad the Sailor*, 'Alice' sent May the following love letter:

> Allow me to thank you for the sweetest little compliment I was ever paid in all my life. I left the spray. I asked it to be sent to your room. I wanted you to know we were there watching you. And to my surprise it was passed from the front, after you sang that sweet little song and then again to see you carrying the spray I sent today. I want you to know you looked so bright and so happy with my little spray in your hand and your charming smiling face seemed to be looking at me. But of course you could not see me, I was the very centre of the dress circle front row. It is a very pretty pantomime, but I would rather see more of you (you look tired) but charming. The last dress you wore was simply lovely. Were I a boy... but of course I am not, I would fall in love with you like Sinbad, now with much love from ?? and love from self. Believe me lovingly, your Alice...²¹

Both letters base their admiration of May on her stage-persona who, dressed in beautiful costumes seemingly titillated the voyeur's gaze. Thus, while the attraction of viewing a production induced a 'sexual' experience in both 'Frank' and 'Alice', this was clearly based on a model of iniquitous (male) desire. Fairytale arrangements of the 1882 - 1914 period predominantly show the tranvestite boy and Dame within narratives seemingly uninterested in anti-patriarchal themes. To the contrary, the 'crisis of category' which transvestism represents in them shows how hegemony, as Gramsci (1971) argues throughout the *Prison Notebooks*, looks towards imaginative (rather than brutal) means of renewing its legitimacy and, hence, its right to rule. Indeed, transvestism in the pantomime demonstrates that its 'grotesque' bi-sexual characters did not bring about a social 'revolution' but, on the contrary, supported a masculinist and imperialist Australian culture.

²¹ Letters in the May Pollard Papers, Mitchell Library.

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The gender politics within the productions sharply contrasted with those surrounding the struggle for legal reforms with regard to women's suffrage, divorce laws and custodial rights over children, as outlined, for instance, in Hilary Golder's (1985) *Divorce in 19th Century New South Wales*. These battles are a keen reminder that both wives and children were historically inscribed as the father's possession. Golder argues that, on the one hand, divorce cases show how far lawyers and legislators endorsed female aspirations for autonomy, while other laws 'reduced woman's sexuality and fertility to forms of property which were to be exchanged and controlled by men' (70). Thus she concludes that 'the nineteenth-century women's movement did not produce a coherent critique of marriage and contemporary sex roles' (228). Perhaps it is not surprising then that the pantomime boy's and girl's female agency were represented ambivalently, given the complex cultural and legal redefinition of women's power taking place.

Could this also be the reason why the potency of patriarchal power (and therefore the ferocious reality of the legal fight) is deflected somewhat in late nineteenth-century pantomimes through the appearance of less despotic fathers? Ineffectually 'impotent', these fathers symbolise how, as Marilyn Lake (1993) argues, 'man' is most powerful when he is sex-less and therefore appears neutered and a neutral historical agent (1). Indeed, while pantomime arrangements laughed at his old age and, in 'Eastern' arrangements, his barbarity, Man's right to rule remains untouched. His 'grotesque' body is thus not 'a body in the act of becoming' (Bakhtin 1984, 317) but one which arrives on stage as 'the Father' and leaves the same way. As such, he is in Lacanian terms the *paternal metaphor* which, as Grosz (1990) explains, 'names the child and thus positions it so that it can be replaced discursively by the 'I', in order to enter language as a speaking being'.

The child acquires a speaking position with respect to the Father's Name, i.e., the principle generating the phallus as threshold signifier to the symbolic order. The subject is positioned 'over' the phallus, that is on one side (the masculine) or the other (the feminine), only because the father's phallic status replaces the mother's (104).
This means that pantomime's 'ideal' romance of 'girl/boy' and 'girl' is one which the father controls. This can be seen in the most popular fairytale arrangements of Cinderella and Sinbad, where the Prince must marry or forfeit his right to rule, and where Sinbad must fulfil the task set by the Princess' Emperor father, and find the jewels in the Valley of Diamonds in order to marry her. In both instances, the father sets the rules of what it means to be 'legitimately' sexually united.

Jill Dolan (1992) makes the point that, despite the best efforts of feminist historians such as Yvonne Shafer in locating female agency within nineteenth-century travesty parts, gender inequity remains transparent in such roles because 'on a stage marked by sexual difference, male impersonation has historically been received much differently than female impersonation'.

In an article on Charlotte Cushman, Yvonne Shafer suggests that nineteenth-century audiences accepted the convention of women playing men, and that the reasons women chose these roles were a 'natural inclination toward masculine behaviour and appearance,...a wish to display ability' and to competitively challenge men, and also because it was a novelty. Shafer at once feels women assumed male roles because there were no 'dominating' female roles written at the time, and because these women, Cushman in particular, were playing masculine roles offstage - supporting other women and leading independent lives. She implies Cushman was a lesbian and that playing male roles was more psychologically satisfying than forcing herself into the acceptable female role. The assumption is that Cushman wanted to be a man. A parallel assumption was never made, to my knowledge, about boys playing women on the Greek and early English stages. Women taking on gender impersonation were still relegated to the category of their sex - which Wittig writes that women alone cannot be defined outside of. They were either beauties showing off their bodies or women whose 'abnormal' psychologies made them feel more comfortable playing men (6).

Like Elaine Aston (1995, 36), Dolan believes that feminist performance theories' foregrounding of the theatre's representational apparatus highlights the arbitrariness of the imposed Symbolic (phallic) Order. Many feminists now share in the 'post-Lacanian' project of identifying more apt metaphors to describe representational processes than the narcissistic 'mirror-stage'. This amounts to finding ways for women to m/other themselves and not be made from the perspective of the male eye/I because, as Peggy Phelan (1993) argues, the male/female binary shows 'a re-presented woman is always a copy of a copy; the 'real' (of) woman cannot be represented because her function is to re-present man. She is the mirror and thus is never in it (101)'.

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With regard to the boy and Dame, while male impersonation is merely 'women in tights', female impersonation can be seen to be misogynous since men cannot internalise the Symbolic Mother:

The tight literalness of the Western psyche seeks equations and equivalencies: women cannot themselves enter the body of men; they can internalize men but they cannot be internalized by men. Men's inability to absorb the woman fully accounts for the projective anxiety of castration which traditional heterosexual culture represses and gay male drag fetishizes (Ibid).

Thus, using Phelan's methodology, one might note how the 'hunger for the same' in a 'hommo-sexual!' culture transforms cross-dressing of the pantomime into a representation of the 'politics of the visible' and its certain understanding of the Real. Remarkably, her conclusions regarding the 'power' of cross-dressing in the postmodernist film Paris Is Burning have some disturbing parallels with late nineteenth-century pantomime productions.

In framing the mimicry of all identity, Livingston's film documents the impossibility of securing the authentic view of anyone or anything. The film mimes the performance; the performance mimes the images of women; the images of women mime the fantasies of men; the fantasies of men mime the 'real' which underscores all fantasy and so on. The balls intervene in the smooth reproduction of physical images by using mimicry and appropriation both to point out the constructedness of that image and to replicate its power. Unavoidably complicitous with the thing they try to denounce, the walkers (sic) find themselves caught in the tight logic of the commodified sign. It is virtually impossible to escape this logic and Livingston's lucrative film - to appropriate Foucault's description of Freud - would have to be invented if it had not already appeared (107).

Notwithstanding that pantomime did not exhibit an overtly political consciousness which attempted to denounce anything or anyone in the manner of Paris is Burning, the unconscious 'complicity' Phelan suggests existed between the film's subject and its energetic mimicry and appropriation parallels the pantomime's 'constructed' transvestism and its replication of the 'commodified sign'. Thus the pantomime too 'would have to be invented if it had not already appeared'. 22

The voyeuristic and misogynistic representations of late nineteenth-century arrangements frequently show the pantomime girl in conflict with the Dame whose role as 'Duenna' includes her need to master women and children. This is particularly

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22 Indeed, its voyeuristic and misogynistic representations continue to be re-invented in other popular forms - the "Dame Edna Everidge" television specials, the Walt Disney fairytale epics etc.
evident in arrangements which have 'strong' pantomime girls, such as Monty
Grover's 1903 Sleeping Beauty.

(Enter QUEEN, BEAUTY, MRS H. and ATTENDANTS)

Mrs H. I'm a duchess now, and not a nursery;
I've taken on a job a great deal worse.
Baron That fact we know
the very moment you require promotion.
Queen That girl's a handful, though, I've got a notion.
Baron Horatio. It is my painful duty
to say that Mrs Harris has with Beauty
a fearful time.
Mrs H. Indeed, I have. She's such a beauty, too,
I never know what next she's going to do.
If there's a boy in sight, she'll have him quick,
And with her love letters she makes me sick;
In fact, they're almost bad enough, in short,
To make a case to go to the High Court.

Beauty Oh, Pa, they tire me out.

No longer I'll put up with it.

King No doubt it's hard.

Beauty Unless it ends at once, I'll shock
you all and start a tea room on the block.

OMNES OH!

Queen Such speeches are undutiful and wrong
Baron Young Lady, measures rigorous and strong
should be applied. Great Scott! My funny bone.
Drought (aside) This beauty is the power behind the throne.
Dust Her spirits high and playful manners too
Make easiest the work we have to do.
Mrs H. She worries me from morning until night
With her going on.

Queen She's often out of sight for hours.

Mrs H. Which no Princess should ever be.

Beauty She's awful!

King Pa, can I never be free?

Beauty My Darling, tell what it is they've done.

Beauty They watch me like a cat and spoil my fun
I mustn't rough my hair or make a noise
I get no chance to speak to boys.......

Mrs H. What did I tell you? What's a nurse to do?

I donno what the gal is coming to.

Beauty Those were the days of good old Captain Cook.

Mrs H. Your 'laughtiness, I must resign my charge.
The moment the Princess is set at large.

Beauty Hooray!

Queen A new duchess we must find.

Beauty I know a boy or two who wouldn't mind the job.

Queen Impossible!

King But why these tearful looks?

Beauty I'm tired of being shut up with good books.

Queen This is the day on which we set you free
From all the bonds that press so heavily.

Mrs H. I'm done with her.

Beauty I've still to wait some hours.

King Nonsense, my dear, it's far too fine for showers.

Beauty I said, papa, I've still some hours to wait.

King Till seven, darling.

Beauty Well, that's much too late.
I want to ask you, daddy, to be plain -

King: Which you will never be.
Mr dear old pa again.
In suits will you let me have a voice
So I can wed the husband of my choice?

The Dame's belligerence towards Beauty is part of 'her' appeal since, as Laurence Senelick explains, 'the adult male in woman's clothing remained what he had customarily been - a figure of fun (sic). This tradition was maintained because, as a nineteenth-century observer noted, 'a man in female garb is apt to appear awkward and ungainly' and, in a word, 'unsexed' ' (Senelick 1993, 81). The overwhelming evidence from the programme/scripts (evident in Plate 44) is that the Dame was invariably and aggressively butch: she was certainly not in 'glamour drag' alla Danny Le Rue.

The one exception to this was in 1906 Mother Goose where, as the result of bathing in the magic pool, the Dame emerges as a glamorous woman ready to inherit riches and to marry the King. Otherwise, women's clothes were made to look 'unnatural' on her and her taste in fashion was fundamental to her comic appearance. I can find no evidence in the pantomime arrangements that she represented, as Senelick (1993) argues, how homosexual men and women as well as heterosexual transvestites 'experimented' with 'gender shuffling' (93). Her powerful position in the narrative is totally dependent on her comic ability to assault what the masculinist hegemony viewed as the 'aggressive' woman.

As such, she is invariably portrayed as either the hen-pecking wife or, as an aggressive 'widow', someone who has 'killed' her poor husband. At the very least, she has driven him away. Wee-Ping's opening soliloquy in Williamson, Garner and Musgrove's 1882 Aladdin, therefore, tells of her power over her poor 'departed' husband:

Wee-Ping. Upon mature reflection I'd observe
To be a 'widdar' does require 'a nerve'
I don't deny the joy of being free,
But there's the loss of that submissive 'he'
To plague whose life out is a woman's pleasure;
And my lamented 'lost' was quite a treasure
Bearing the blame for all - no matter what;
If dinner came up cold, he got it hot
His money all he handed to his wife,
And never had a latch-key in his life.
About his fate the very worst I've feared.

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It's more than ten years since he disappeared.

As the 1899 Little Red Riding Hood also shows, the Dame is nearly always characterised as a bad wife. But this representation is interestingly placed alongside a more sympathetic one of a deserted wife whose husband is both a drunkard and a spendthrift. The importance of this allusion with regard to the work of Temperance Unions in Australia at this time is evident. For instance, in Williamson, Garner and Musgrove's 1887 production of Robinson Crusoe, Mrs Crusoe's protestations about her husband's drinking would have hit a sympathetic nerve with many women in the audience:

Oh, if my husband would come home and stop!  
Clean up the school and make the ginger pop,  
For all the money that I get for grub  
He squanders at the nearest corner pub:  
He collars all the spirits, has no fear  
Of Fusel Oil in his Colonial Beer,  
Then says he's been, when he comes home to tea,  
To total lectures on the strict Q.T.

Beverley Kingston (1988) claims that drunkenness and related sexual violence were rampant in late nineteenth-century Australian society. Legislation failed to contain the problem and the average Australian male 'was more likely than either his father or his grand-father to douse his aggression or unhappiness with alcohol' (172). Kingston suggests that the reasons for male unhappiness were complexly embedded in society's economic crises and natural disasters such as drought. Sex, sport and war thus become 'outlets' men needed to recuperate a sense of pleasure in mastering rather than being mastered.

Sexual activity was an obvious outlet, as was sport or war, for the energy and aggressiveness of healthy and vigorous people, but in this period sex was rather more dangerous than sport, at least for the female participants, and more probable than war (ibid).

Audrey Oldfield (1992) outlines the central role the Woman's Christian Temperance Union played in Australia's suffrage campaign as the fight for liquor control became one with the suffragist's fight for women and children to be fed, clothed and freed from the rages of the male wage earner (3). The consistency with which the Dame alludes to marital desertion and wife bashings was therefore clearly related to this reality. 'She' was in the end a false ally. As an aggressive critic of
women's right to fight these injustices at a political level, the Dame was a means of lampooning the cause of Women's Suffrage in Australia.

This was achieved primarily in two ways: firstly, by being mocked by others as a member of women's political organizations whenever she acted or spoke with any force and, secondly, by satirising these organizations herself through topical songs and Music Hall stand-up comic routines. An example of the former occurs in Act 2 Scene 1 of Williamson and Musgrove's 1894 Cinderella when a fight breaks out between the two 'ugly' Dame-step-sisters over who owns a new silk dress. Their Baron/father stops the caterwauling with 'Playful little kittens! They remind me of the time when I was Secretary to The Woman's Suffrage League.' In one comic 'hit', the Baron criticises both the caterwauling on stage and the 'strident' voice of the suffragette. The review in the Argus indicates that the ugly sisters were decidedly 'grotesque' new women: 'Cinderella's two sisters, the mature Clorinda and the gushing Thisbe, are invested, as representatives of the new woman who is to wear knickerbockers, and be very disdainful of obsolete conventions' (4 February 1895).

With regard to the Dame's own satirising of women's political organisations, the 1890 production of Cinderella shows the two 'ugly' sisters, Flossy and Tottie, and their father singing the topical song 'Petticoat Rule':

The masculine reign is now at an end  
And to women's rights all modern thoughts tend.  
Too long have men bossed, or tried to, at least;  
But Beauty now bosses instead of the Beast.

In future our women shall run the state,  
And old women make their seats vacant;²³  
The army of trousers we mean to gag,  
And raise our standard, the Petticoat Flag.  
George Dibbs and Sir Henry must do all they know  
Must let women handle each port-fo-li-o:  
Henceforth let men sit on the penitent's stool,  
They have to surrender to petticoat rule.

Petticoats - petticoats - petticoats,  
Won't we boss the men when we get our votes,  
There's an end to rule of breeches,  
Other garments triumph, which is  
Petticoats - petticoats - petticoats - petticoats.

We shall be terribly governed, I fear,  
For giving the dears votes we may pay too dear,

²³ This line reads rather strangely, but it is as the programme/script has recorded it!

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
With Beauty's tyrannical power increased
We may get worse rule than that of the Beast.

We'll rule you, we'll boss you, lead you a dance,
When at the law-making we get a chance.
A tax on bachelors we'll propose,
And force into marriage all selfish beaux.

The husband who misses his last train shall be
Deprived of the right to use a latch-key.
Wifebeaters we'll send to the Darlinghurst School
And make them examples of petticoat rule.

Petticoats, &c.

Significantly, 1890 was the year women's organisations were gaining a high public profile. Audrey Oldfield documents, for instance, that in March 1890 the Women's Christian Temperance Union decided to form a Woman's Suffrage League; in August the Sydney Women's Literary Society was founded which included the nucleus of the future Womanhood Suffrage League. The year was also a significant one for Rose Scott as she watched the Legislative Assembly ridicule a bill to remedy the rape of servant girls by members of the employer's family. As Oldfield (1992) states, Scott 'already offended by the existing legislation, was further affronted by this "insulting behaviour" and began to consider seriously the option of votes for women.'(75). The 'ugly' sisters and a comical Baron singing 'Petticoat Rule' should be seen as a continuation of the behaviour in the parliament which so outraged Rose Scott. It was the 'fraternity' at war with 'militant' women.

The Dame thus was declaring war on women's political aspirations through her transvestism and its representation of 'crisis of category'. This seemed to suggest that women in such organisations were at war with their 'true selves', ones represented by the patient, accepting Cinderella and other 'Butchascownter curator'-like pantomime girls. Productions never staged positive relationships between women which led them in any other direction than becoming passive wives, as exemplified in the relationships between fairy god-mothers and pantomime girls. 'Aggressive' sisterhood was presented as essentially flawed and the cause of social disharmony. As arrangements such as the 1903 production of Sleeping Beauty show, the role of the

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness' 280
Duenna/Dame is an interesting contrast to that of the fairy god-mother who, according to Waelti-Walters (1982), represented the Great Mother (72).

The contrast between the 'real' benevolent mother and the dark step-mother/duenna was also apparent in the 1881 production of Arthur Garner's *Sinbad the Sailor*, later adapted for Williamson, Garner and Musgrove's 1888 and 1889 Sydney and Melbourne productions. It shows women in an 'Arabian' harem attempting to change it from a place under their father's despotic rule to one run by a parliament in which they all have a vote. Most significantly, it is the Duenna who keeps the father's rule from being overthrown.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zobeide</td>
<td>I move we have more freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>Hear! Hear! Hear!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>What's that, eh! ladies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess</td>
<td>(to Zobeide) Good again my dear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>We've got no teller,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There's only two for us - they'd soon expel us!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess</td>
<td>(sitting in a chair) Oh, I'll take the onus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>Then I'm astonished at your Royal Lowness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess</td>
<td>Now, all in favor show your hands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>(to ladies) Don't dare!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unless you want to feel my foot, so there!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess</td>
<td>The motion's carried!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>Lost!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zobeide</td>
<td>By happy knack,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We've worked the oracle behind your back.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>No to-day Baker; or tell me, war it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Because I couldn't spout like Tommy Garrett?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Then I'm kicked out?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess</td>
<td>Well ladies, as our vote for Freedom's carried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suppose we all go somewhere and get married.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies</td>
<td>Hear! Hear!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>What do I hear?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies</td>
<td>Hear! Hear!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies</td>
<td>Hear! Hear!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duenna</td>
<td>Oh! this is getting serious, I fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Your highness, in my duty I should fail if</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| | I didn't tell this to your Pa, the Caliph. (Exit)

As in early nineteenth-century arrangements, therefore, 'real' mothers make extensively rare appearances in these later Australian productions. The Dame as Duenna thus re-inforces how women are 'fathered' and so extends the influence of patriarchy even beyond the despotic rule of Pantaloon. Disguised as a woman, the Duenna/Dame can control from within the inner spaces of the 'woman's room' which the harem supposedly represents.

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
But to see the full scope of her role as masculinist powerbroker, we must return to the Dame's most identifiable characteristic as a henpecker and destroyer of men. Mayer (1969) and Garber (1992) have in their own separate ways argued that as such s/he is a manifestation of male anxiety of castration. But I believe this view ignores the Dame's assault on the idea of a 'weak' man and, by implication, the 'non-imperialist' man who does not desire abundant wealth and public notoriety. Virtually all the Dame's comic routines attack the man who fails to fulfil the roles of the warrior and womaniser. As such, the Dame was the means by which men policed men in carrying out their duties as 'husband' and 'provider'.

Notice, for instance, the carefully constructed lampooning of the weak husband/failed man by the Dame of J. C. Williamson Ltd's 1914 Cinderella, played by Arthur Stigant. 'She' makes her first entrance in Act 1, Scene 1 tripping on her own hooped skirt which causes her no end of trouble getting up again.

That's the worst of these hobble skirts. Once you're down it's all up. Nobody look please. (Gets up) The cats, there wasn't a nice looking one amongst them till I came to the village. Ah! it wouldn't have happened if my husband was alive. You didn't know my first husband, did you? George was a nice man, oh, he was a nice man. I'll never forget the first time I met him. I was going up the street and he was coming in the opposite direction - yes, it's a nice little place near (local). I gave him the glad eye and he gave me the goo-goo smile and the thing was done. He saw me home in the train, he did. He squeezed my hand twice, once in the muff and once in the carriage door. Oh, I'll never forget the day we were married. I looked lovely, I had orange blossoms in my hair, and George had rum blossoms on his nose. I had my train held up by two bridesmaids and George had his trousers held up by two safety pins. And then the referee, I mean the minister said 'Wilt thou', and I said 'I wilt', and then he said to George 'wilt thou' and George said 'I wilt', and then he made us hold hands and then we both wilted, and then George kissed me. It was like squashing a ripe tomato with a mallet. When we turned to come down the aisle, all the congregation at the back of the church stood up and shouted out 'They're coming down' and I looked at George, and they were. We had a lovely wedding breakfast. We had a bread pudding whitewashed, and it was covered all over with paralysed sugar, and milk out of those tins, condemned milk. Swinstleness milk. Ah, well, he's dead, he's dead, I'm not sorry. He left me some lovely things. He left me a pet weasel. Oh I love pet weasels. But I had a terrible accident with the dear little thing I did. I went out for a walk one day, and I put the weasel in my blouse to keep it warm and I met a gentleman I know, and he squeezed me near the tram terminus and pop went the weasel.

The Dame's partner therefore is a sure indication of which masculine type the imperialist ideology set out to ridicule and, conversely, set up as the 'ideal' man through the pantomime boy. The pantomime's humour always seems to have been aimed at enacting the pleasure of mastering others.
This is acted out, for instance, in the scene between the Duenna and the Sultan in Williamson, Garner and Musgrove's 1889 *Sinbad the Sailor*. The Sultan's speech is characterised with the image of a cannibal in the use of a 'nigger' voice through the replacement of 'v' with 'b' - a technique which Richard Waterhouse (1990) shows was used in black-face variety acts in 'coon songs' (91).

Duenna  My sweetest Sultan, in a kings' divinity
       I saw at once my virginal affinity.
       Thus I with maiden modesty assail yer
       To prove that marriage here is not a failure.
Sultan  You love the Sultan with a love amazin'
Duenna  Yes, 'morn I a nice Sultan raisin.
Sultan  One modest kiss.
Duenna  Threepence please.
Sultan  Why Puss?
Duenna  For threepence is the fare for ev'ry busse.
Sultan  Oh! I could eat you pet, - I mean with lub.
Duenna  And you'll forgo your latchkey and your Club?
Sultan  Never stay out at night, my duck, I swear 'um.
Duenna  You'll take to - you know -
Sultan  Popsy, you shall wear um. You'll swear to count the clothes on washing day?
Duenna  My darling, yes, of course, the usual way. I'll comb your wool,
       attend well your noodle. And, as a wife, show girls I am a model.

I have already indicated that the two wartime productions of 1899 and 1914 show the Dame usurping of powers of the Good Fairy to influence the pantomime boy's and girl's destiny. Similarly, non-wartime productions show her dominance of the pantomime's comic business, particularly the second act. Interestingly, the fact that real women played the ugly sisters in the 1914 production of *Cinderella* thus shows that bodies are primarily 'marked' in relationship to their support of or threat to the patriarchal (and patriotic) Symbolic Order. Like the 'real' New Women of the 1914 *Cinderella* production, complete with riding crop and smoking Woodbines, the transvestite 'sisters' in other productions negated the legitimacy of suffragists like Vida Goldstein and Rose Scott (Oldfield 1992, 201).

The Dame is a comedian who, in ridiculing herself, lampoons assertive women, weak men and any 'other' image which did not engrandise 'Imperialist Man'. She had at her disposal all the savagery of the 'counter-hegemonic' Clown of the early nineteenth-century pantomimes but showed how a subversive device can itself be subverted when it is aimed at disempowering the non-conformist. Perhaps most

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
importantly of all, she showed how pantomime appropriated comic techniques in order to re-write history through the re-arrangement of topical issues, so masking the savagery of the colonialist enterprise. It is not just that the pantomime minimises the representation of women's real power but that it minimises representations of more equitable kinds of power relationships between men and women as well. The implication is that they did not happen off-stage either.

The descriptions of characters in the advertisement for the 1882 production of *Aladdin*, however, still loosely suggest a triadic relationship like that found in early nineteenth-century pantomimes: the father (Emperor Hang-Yu), the daughter (Princess Badroulbodour) and the suitor (Aladdin). A rival lover, the father's preferred choice of partner for his daughter (Ho-Fi), is also still present. Any objection to Aladdin's and the Princess' relationship by the Emperor/father is, however, tame. The energy of the chase and pursuit of the harlequinade seems to have been transferred to displaying how Aladdin journeyed towards his fortune. Significantly, the Emperor/father's opposition to him vanishes after Aladdin returns from the 'veiled valley of jewels' in Act 2 Scene 4.

Thus, despite the 'idealism' of the scenic splendour, marriage seems to have been unromantically aligned to an economic pragmatism. This is evident, for instance, when Aladdin announces in Act 1 Scene 2 that his decision to love Princess Badroulbodour was made in preference to working for a living. In answer to his 'dame' mother's question, 'Why don't you work?', he replies 'Ah, that's the same old cry/ Work, when I love Badroulbodour? Not I.' A further irony is structured into these comments as the audience has been told that the Emperor and the Princess are financially broke!

The Princess clearly understands how good fortune and her romantic aspirations are related when she ingratiates Aladdin with her father by calling him a 'millionaire'. The rival lover, Ho-Fi, is then 'betrayed' by the father's change of heart towards Aladdin as he praises his daughter for her shrewd choice of marriage partner.

Hang Yu: Perhaps of this you'll explanation give.

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
Bad: Willingly, as you know, I've made my choice.

Hang Yu: In which selection I've not had my voice.
Here is my man.

Bad: Thanks! quite so! and the rest?

Ho Fi: Your beauty's planted arrows in this breast
Whose roots in my affections such a way go -

Bad: Bother your arrowroot, I only say Go.
There's someone coming, oh, you needn't stare.

Emp: Aladdin!

Bad: Right!

Ho-Fi: Cad!

Ly-C: Duffer!

Bad: Millionaire!
How's that for high?

Ho-Fi: So, vainly friends, we've sought her.

Hang-Yu: She is my own, my shrewd far-sighted daughter.
We'll cut a shine on purpose, dear, to greet him,
And with the very best Victoria meet him.

Bad: A son who brings and don't ask compensation;
Whose marriage portion doesn't bleed the nation -

Hang-Yu: A miracle, a prospect quite immense
Hang out our banners, friends and hang expense.

Exunt all but Bad.

Bad: This is a change, to think that yesterday
Far to our hopes persistently said, 'nay'!
Farewell to all our woes (how well we bore 'em!)
And enter dignity and dull decorum.

The production's characterization of the Emperor/father as economically impoverished seems also to suggest his inadequacies as monarch. His role, therefore, appears to be primarily a 'ceremonial' one as 'court scenes' are used to stage spectacles such as the 'Grand Procession'; the 'Grotesque Chinese Terpsichorean and Acrobatic Evolutions' and the Chinese Festival of Lanterns in Act 1, Scene 4. Later in Act 2, Scene 4, the court scene is used to stage 'Evolution of Jewelled Fays'. Here, the courtly splendour invests the Emperor with great potency as he is portrayed overseeing a 'harem' of scantily dressed female chorus members. His comical 'Chinese' name 'Hang-Yu' suggests that he also retains his 'divine right' to decree

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who should live or die; while the name mocks his racial origins, it does not mock his
right to rule. Interestingly, there is no hint in the programme/script that such a figure
and his court could be parodying their English counterpart of Queen Victoria and other
members of her class. Arrangements of Aladdin reveal the two-class structure of all
fairy tale narratives which, as Maria Tatar (1987) argues, divides the fairy tale world
into 'royal' and 'humble' folk:

the world of fairy tales is generally inhabited by two groups at opposite ends of the
social and economic spectrum: humble folk and royal personages. Fairytales
habitually trace a trajectory from rags to riches, from feeble dependence to royal
autonomy, from the dissolution of one nuclear family to the formation of a new
one. The tale's hero is a wanderer...Exiled from home or, what amounts to the same,
banished to the heard, his path takes him from a lowly condition at home to a
world of enchantment and finally back to a modified and elevated form of his original
condition (71).

The possible class conflict which this represents is in post-1882 pantomime
arrangements deflected into racist humour which depicts both royal and humble
'oriental' characters mocking the 'non-English' part of themselves. Aladdin's
costume thus metatheatrically represents ethnic body-markings and the interrelatedness
of gender and class.

Transvestism was located at the juncture of 'class' and 'gender', and increasingly
through its agency gender and class were revealed to be commutable, if not
equivalent. To transgress against one set of boundaries was to call into question the
inviolability of both, and of the set of social codes - already demonstrably under
attack - by which such categories were policed and maintained (Garber 1992, 32).

In an extraordinary contradiction, the 'Chinese' Aladdin's first entrance on
stage, in Act 1, Scene 2 of the 1882 production, for instance, shows him arriving
'followed by a crowd' after having just pelted and punched 'Chinkies'.

Enter Aladdin, followed by crowd

Alad. Ah would you! No! you don't so gentle find me,
I'd fight the brilin' with one arm behind me.
(They hoot) Oh, jeer away! but I'd explain, my dears
This is the town of Pekin, not of All-jeers
That's one to me.

Wee-Ping. What's happened? Tell your Mother.

Alad. We've had such fun - no bobbies by to hinder,
I flung a brick-bat through a Chinkie's winder;
Well greased the steep steps of the little chapel,
And hung Jack Chow Chow's eye up with an apple,
Got in a George-street bus without no ein,
And - ha! ha! - put a trouser button in!
Then to the tram we started in a bunch -
And sat down on a Civil Servant's lunch
And - cr -

Wee-Ping.  
Stol! Yes, that's where my dear you'll go
To Anderson's nice college, boy, you know.
Its cheap the terms, it seems are naught a quarter
And then they teach you drawing.

Alad.  
Drawing water!

(Crowd howl) They're wild I win their marbles all to day
I won 'em - but I hadn't time to play.

Wee-Ping.  
This comes of idling.
Yah!

All.  
Don't make that row, sirs,
I can't be always making coats, I trow, sirs.
My soul's, too, above 'buttons.'

Wee-Ping.  
See, he dreams!
He's musing on his future - so it seems.

Alad.  
Ha! who said so it seems. Who's coat is torn?
For I to sew it seems was never born,
A Tailor. I!

Wee-Ping.  
His fancies do not flout.

Alad.  
Yet, tailor-like, I'm always cutting out.

Wee-Ping.  
Don't be a goose - really you amuse one.

Alad.  
I'm not a goose, me and I never use one.

Wee-Ping.  
No that's why we're so well off.

Alad.  
When the brokers are not in then we're busy

Wee-Ping.  
Getting things out of the back window.

Alad.  
I'll be a poet.

Wee-Ping.  
Pooh! too far you go it.

Alad.  
A poet! ye. So please don't you pooh -pooh it.

Wee-Ping.  
Very poor poet, I should say.

Alad.  
Why see -
Mother can't look at any son but me!
She don't deny it, if you only ask her.

Wee-Ping.  
D'ye wish to drive me wild, boy?

Alad.  
Wild? well - ask her.

Wee-Ping.  
You'd be a precious bard, you would, good lack!
Poet! - I feel a coldridge down by back!
I'll bet a farden you don't know as yet,
Your A B C

Alad.  
Pooh! that's not 'alpha-bet."
Don't show a fellow up who's so high mettled,
Then do the other thing and so the matter's settled.

SONG

Alad.  
Upon a wailing voyage off she goes!
We haven't any money I suppose,
Nor food!

Wee-Ping.  
We're out of both things. If you mean us -

Alad.  
Tho' there's been gen'mly a feud between us.
Look at the bills that flow in day by day,
And not a penny earned wherewith to pay-
Milk, butcher, hearthstones, washing ad finitum

Alad.  
With you that's not a serious item.
Look at my case - a poet so come down.

Wee-Ping.  
Poet!

Alad.  
With lots of bailiff in his crown!
At every corner all my blood runs colder,
Dreading that fearful tap upon the shoulder;

Wee-Ping.  
Why don't you work?

Alad.  
Ah! that's the same old cry
Work, when I love Badroulbador? Not I.

Wee-Ping.  
You'll never wed a Princess.

Alad.  
Eh? Oh won't I

Wee-Ping.  
Besides you know, she doesn't love you!

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
As a 'boy' s/he thus exemplifies the imperialist enterprise's rhetorical (mis)constructions. Laura Donaldson (1992) describes the transvestism in J. M Barrie's Peter Pan, for instance, as illustrative of how Imperialist rhetoric was based on the enthymeme or incomplete syllogism. She argues that the 'articulatory practices' of hegemony characterised 'oriental' characters such as Tiger Lily through creating 'new positions of difference by establishing a relation (syllogistic) among elements (woman and 'piccaninny') that consequently modifies their identities (each becomes assimilated to the other)' (78). Thus the woman and the native are assimilated. The pantomime accomplishes the same effect by assimilating women and children. The presence of children and the pre-pubescent 'boy' seem also to allow Williamson to market the pantomime as 'family entertainment' while still exploiting the pantomime boy as an erotic and exotic stage creation. The enabling ideology which makes it possible for women and boys to be assimilated therefore is not that they are neutered bodies but possessed ones: they were both owned by the male, legally and otherwise. Any homoerotism alluded to between the male voyeur and the 'boy' must therefore be seen as another relationship based on an assumed power which favoured the adult male.

The pantomime boy (Maggie Knight) is thus represented as a 'bit of a lad' and also as vainglorious both for wanting to be both a poet and for falling in love with the Princess. As Maria Tatar (1987) reminds us, Aladdin was 'the prototype of the undeserving hero' (87). As such the character retains elements of the dubiously heroic Arlecchino of the Commedia and the anti-authoritarian English Harlequin. The pantomime boy's virginity, however, also allows her to use her woman's body, as Peter Ackroyd (1979) notes, to signal 'a feminine, noble mind in a boy's body' (102). New arrangements predominantly meant a new representation of the dynamic variants of male experience.

As J. S. Bratton (1992) argues for Music Hall performers, perhaps pantomime's male impersonations had a dynamism which indicates a much more
'irrational' form of 'feminism' than the politics of the late nineteenth century would allow:

Contemplating the cross-dressed woman in the 1890s' music hall, and the curiously defensive reactions to her, one is attempting to read the subtext of the commentaries, and to understand audiences and performers only half-conscious of what is happening, and wholly unwilling to verbalise even what they do perceive. I think it is reasonable and helpful, when one considers the full range of distorted, mocking, exaggerated images of masculinity projected by these women of the music-hall stage, to read male impersonation as carnivalesque, and to interpret it as transgressive, provocative, an act of clowning that is a subversive manipulation of the masks of stereotype. It may be called feminist; but it is quite profoundly at odds, in its dark suggestiveness and anarchy, with the rationality of the New Woman (89).

The pantomime 'lad', however, is invariably coupled to an 'angel in the house', concerned with domestic matters and, as 'God's police', to act as his moral reformer. Anne Summers (1975) indicates that such stereotyping of women was widely accepted in Australia by 1880 and was inextricably related to the ideology of the bourgeois family (311). Consequently, the Princess warns Aladdin to change his lazy ways and he promises 'A new leaf I'll turn o'er, I'd state, we'll live like two love birds, I'll never drink or stop out late or use improper words'.

As a result, the pantomime girl became even more dependent on marriage in the fairytale arrangements. Her role remains remarkably static through these years: Princess Badroulabdour in Aladdin, Cinderella, Princess Sutchaswetecrechir in Sindbad, Maid Marion in Babes in the Wood and Polly in Robinson Crusoe are ALL exemplars of the 'angel in the house'. Photographs of pre-1914 pantomime girls, such as Plates 45 and 46, reveal that she was dressed in the contemporary fashion of the 'exquisite slave'.

In contrast to the pantomime girl as 'angel of the home', Susan Magarey (1993) tells of women in Australia who between 1880 and 1910 made the marriage bed a site of struggle by questioning the importance of marriage and choosing to remain single (91). 24 The 1890s 'strike against marriage' 25 and the notion of 'marriage as a

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24 Walch's arrangement of Adamanta (1874) perhaps points to the struggle having begun considerably earlier.

25 Reflected in statistics which show that between 1891 and 1901 the proportion of women aged between 25 and 29 who did not marry almost doubled" (Magarey, 92).
MISS ADA REEVE
As Maid Marion.

In "The Babes of the Wood" Pantomime, at the Princess' Theatre.
DOLLY CASTLES

Cinderella
failure was countered in the pantomime through arrangements which 'proved' that marriage was the principal way in which a woman could find happiness, while men were the adventurers and enterprising seekers of wealth.

Marriage is thus represented as lessening the boy's freedom as the girl applies her moral sanctions against his irresponsible (and adventurous) male life-style. As Marilyn Lake (1993) writes in 'The Politics of Respectability':

In the men's press of late nineteenth-century Australia, the carefree roaming life was elevated to an heroic status. Families 'put the hobbles' on men. Clearly, many husbands and fathers had no choice but to travel in search of work, but equally clearly, there were powerful cultural endorsements of these men's rejection of domesticity (9).

While the relationship between the 'boy' and girl undoubtedly revolved around these contentious issues, one must not forget the 'artifice' of their 'marriage' and its ability to metathetically signal the essential fiction of a 'happy ending'. This is apparent from descriptions of various finales in theatre reviews which also signal the pleasure of viewing them: for instance, of the finale of Williamson and Musgrove's 1897 Babes in the Wood, the Argus reported:

the masterpiece of the production for magnificence is the great wedding breakfast scene in the last act, when Robin Hood marries Maid Marion. Within the chaste marble walls of a palace scores of handsome youths and girls in all sorts of elegant costumes assemble in groups, marching and countermarching. Each group represents an essential dish or article of table garniture required at the meal, from cruet to oyster patties. Then finally the wedding party arrives, wearing even more splendid apparel, and when its members take up the centre of the stage in approved positions, flanked by the groups representing cutlery, glassware, silver and domesticables, with two vast glittering decanters behind them, hundreds of artfully disposed electric lights are turned on, and the general effect becomes dazzlingly glorious (4 April, 1898).

The fantasy world of post-1882 arrangements also shows the boy locked into a 'melodramatic' conflict with supernatural creatures. In Aladdin, the evil magician Abanazar hatches his own grab for power and wealth in the opening 'dark scene'. Abanazar's 'imps', the Slaves of the Ring and the Lamp, represent the 'good' and 'bad' servant. As Aladdin's father, So-Sli (Mr Sam Poole) thus became a kind of fairy 'god-father', while Shi-Ning (Miss Docy Stewart) remained obedient to her master.

26 A well-used phrase at the time. Delyse Anthony (M.A. Thesis, 1993) notes, for instance, that their term was used in Dampier and Wragham's Marvellous Melbourne (1889).

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The opening allusions to 'the servant problem' re-works the two-tiered class structure of the fairytale world through a topical issue crucial to middle-class Australia. Paula Hamilton (1999) suggests that servants were often characterised at this time as ignorant and incompetent as well as impertinent, insolent and disobedient. On the other hand, their desired characteristics were youth, tractability, diligence, respectability and a respectful demeanour (75). Shi-Ning is all these things to her master Abanazar while So-Sli is the political schemer trying to bring about his downfall. The pairing of these two 'slaves' suggests the pantomime's need to support the defeat of Aladdin's competitor for the prized jewels even while also continuing to support the idea of the 'good and faithful' servant. 'Rebellion' was a blighted concept in post-1882 productions.

In 'The Culture Industry Reconsidered', Adorno (1991) once again stresses this industry's artlessness. His views are based on his enduring belief that its 'technique' was mechanical rather than artistically organic:

the technique of the culture industry is, from the beginning, one of distribution and mechanical reproduction, and therefore always remains external to its object. The culture industry finds ideological support precisely in so far as it carefully shields itself from the full potential of the techniques contained in its products. It lives parasitically from the extra-artistic technique of the material production of goods, without regard for the obligation in the internal artistic whole implied by its functionality, but also without concern for the laws of form demanded by aesthetic autonomy. The result for the physiognomy of the culture industry is essentially a mixture of streamlining, photographic hardness and precision on the one hand, and individualistic residues, sentimentality and an already rationally disposed and adapted romanticism on the other (87).

Adorno's belief in 'aesthetic autonomy', as Zuidervaart (1991) explains, was crucial to his notions of autonomy and truth, the impetus for his claims for the social significance of art (91). Ethically speaking, the monopolistic practices of the culture industry create 'binding categories of order' which are then draped 'over the idea of the good life as if existing reality were the good life, as if those categories were its true measure' (Adorno 1991, 90). This highlights the arrogance of such businesses as the Firm in believing its productions were 'guides for a blissful life'. Instead, as Adorno argues, they should be read as politically dangerous 'exhortations to toe the line', behind which usually stood consortiums of the most powerful interests.
Human dependence and servitude, the vanishing point of the culture industry it arouses a feeling of well-being that the world is precisely in that order suggested by the culture industry, the substitute gratification which it prepares for human beings cheats them out of the same happiness which it deceitfully projects (91).

In the last chapter, I want to return to a consideration of the Firm as the 'Great Empire of the South', a term Williamson used to denote Australian emulation of the British Imperialist enterprise. If, as a 'culture industry', the Firm was one of anti-enlightenment, how was the pantomime contained within the company's business dealings and how did the pantomime compare to the Firm's other theatrical offerings? What was the 'total package' audiences received when they visited its many theatres?

In Monty Grover's 1903 Sleeping Beauty, the portrayal of the strongly independent Beauty shows that she 'threatens' her parents by wishing to be economically self-sufficient. While this militant New Woman was undoubtedly a sign of changing times, with the coming of woman's suffrage and other legal and political victories, ironically, Grover's 'boy' and the 'Dame' continue to show the real limits of the pantomime's representation of gender difference, in particular its refusal to represent the 'pregnant women - and therefore the Real mother'. Australian arrangements of Sleeping Beauty since at least 1877 invariably celebrated the birth of the girl-child, Beauty. As previously indicated, the blessing ceremony is marred by the arrival of a Witch who refuses to grant her 'health, wealth and happiness'. Instead, she blights Beauty's 'coming of age' with a death threat which can only be averted by the godmother putting her to sleep for a hundred years. Her awakening by the Prince, who has also been granted a special longevity in order to carry out his mission, is delivered through a kiss. Readmitted into the heterosexual world, the couple enact their union in the Finale through reified bodies whose mise en scène is a utopian 'Realm of Happiness'. Within this context, both the 'boy' and 'girl' are essentially 'hypocrites', the players of 'false' parts. From this we see how the pantomime arrangements celebrated 'lies' concerning the 'facts of life', biological or

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27 As Phelan (1993) argues the pregnant woman 'will [can] never be the 'proper' subject of the psychoanalysis because as an image who potentially contains the other within one continuous body, she wreaks havoc with the notion of symmetry and reciprocity fundamental to understanding the exchange of gaze and psychoanalysis's dream of the Social I (145).

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otherwise. Under the pretext of 'family entertainment' they guarded the truth in amazingly spectacular and comical ways.

By coincidence, Grover's text prints the 'Song of Mother Goose and Fairies', relating to where 'babies come from', opposite an advertisement for 'Straight Front Prima S. L. Donna Corsets' (Plate 47). The advertisement features a woman in a 'prima donna' corset which is so low-cut her breasts seem ready to fall out of the garment. She has, of course, an hour-glass figure. The 'unnatural' construction of her figure (antithetically shaped to the pregnant body) is commensurable to the equally 'unnatural' incidents of cabbage-patch births in the songs printed on the opposite page.

Where do the babies come from?
They grow on the distant strand,
Where the fairies sing in the flame-tree's shade.
And dance on the golden sand:
Where the pixies slide on the daybreak's side
And the back of the sunset is
We find each pressed in snug, warm nest
In the heart of the cabbages.

This is not to say that audiences who viewed *Sleeping Beauty* would not have laughed at the song precisely because of its 'unnaturalness' and/or there would not have been many women amongst them who refused to give in to the painful practice of wearing corsets. Indeed, it would be wrong to see pantomime as 'mimicking' reality. If the 'mirror-stage' is fundamental to representational processes, then the pantomime shows us reality through the Fairground's Hall of Mirrors or as rays of sparkling light bouncing off a rotating 'mirror-ball'. Despite its apparent diversity and novelty, however, the 'source' of the pantomime's representations of gender, ethnicity and class were severely limited by its fairytale narratives and stereotypical characters. The pantomime boy's and Dame's 'grotesque' re-arrangements of a subversive potential prevented the depiction of 'real' difference on the pantomime stage.

Chapter 3: 'Realms of Happiness'
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