Dynasty, Memory and Terry: Curating the 1896 *Cymbeline*

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Abstract
This article looks at the creation and dissemination of performance legacies in Shakespeare, from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries, looking particularly at *Cymbeline*. Henry Irving's 1896 production of William Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* starred Ellen Terry as Imogen, Briton princess and ideal Victorian Shakespearean heroine. The production's timing and reception confirmed Terry's current role, and contributed to her eventual legacy, as one of Britain's best-loved actresses. Simultaneously, coverage of the production mediated the evolving cultural status of Queen Victoria, who became Britain's longest-reigning monarch on 23 September 1896, the day *Cymbeline*'s first-night reviews were published. Reviewers also highlighted the presence of Terry's son in *Cymbeline*'s cast. Performing in 1896 as her theatrical heir (both within the plot and within *fin-de-siècle* theatre), Edward Gordon Craig, like his sister Edith Craig, would also become curators of their mother's memory. Dynastic memorialisation remains important to an actor's posthumous cultural capital: the familial stakeholder is still powerful today. The drive to identify professional, as well as biological heirs also persists, as Terry's successors and *their* successors are identified by twentieth- and twenty-first century theatre critics.

The ephemerality of iconic performances is countered by the energy with which they are memorialised. In his book, *Cultural Selection*, Gary Taylor notes that 'a crucial determinant of artistic reputation is the availability of *someone* who, after the artist's death, has a stake in preserving his or her memory' (5). Today, social media creates an evolving electronic archive of performance, including the digital content theatre companies develop themselves. Taylor's '*someone*' can be anyone: 'preserving' the 'memory' of a performance begins as soon as that performance occurs. The modern stakeholder

is less a eulogist than an ongoing curator, managing a perhaps impossibly huge variety of personal and corporate 'memories' of an iconic theatrical moment. But for Victorian performers – indeed, all performers before the internet age – the greatest theatrical stakeholder, Taylor's '*someone*' was almost invariably a relative. Today, the power of the familial stakeholder remains significant – examples from popular music include Miley and Billy Ray Cyrus, or Willow and Will Smith – and ideas of performance dynasties and theatrical 'succession' persist when we (still) try to fix a performance's meaning.

Ellen Terry (1847-1928) was Victorian Britain's favourite actress, and, excluding Queen Victoria, Britain's highest-paid woman (Clark 205; Auerbach 209). The most acclaimed twenty of her seventy years in theatre were spent at the Lyceum Theatre, opposite Henry Irving, Britain's first theatrical knight. Terry herself was made a Dame Grand Cross (GBE) in 1925; to date, only two actresses have been so honoured, with Judi Dench, Maggie Smith et al. receiving the lower rank of DBE. Terry's cultural prestige came mainly from her gallery of Shakespearean heroines, including Portia, Ophelia, Beatrice and Lady Macbeth. In 2009, the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust appointed her one of the twelve 'Great Shakespeareans' in their hall of fame, alongside David Garrick and Laurence Olivier, and her Kent home, Smallhythe Place, survives as a memorial museum.

Today, she is probably best remembered for her Lady Macbeth (1888-9), which survives in two artistic artefacts that have become the visible afterlives of her performance. The first is Sargent's 1889 portrait, on display at Tate Britain and on the covers of several editions of *Macbeth* (Watts 1992; Brooke 2008). The second artefact is the green dress decorated with real beetle-wings, painted by Sargent and returned to public consciousness by its well-publicised restoration (Tinker 2012). In comparison, her 1896 performance as Imogen in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* is barely remembered outside the theatre. Nevertheless, recent scholarship on *Cymbeline* has revealed the now-overlooked influence Terry's performance had on contemporary Gothic culture, most notably Bram

Stoker's *Dracula* (Wynne 2013; 2014).

This article shows how Terry's performance illuminates Victorian and twentieth-century memorialisation strategies. *Cymbeline* contributed to her status as Britain's best-loved actress, while simultaneously mediating the evolving status of Queen Victoria. Alongside the lexis of queenship used to describe both Terry and Victoria, the presence in *Cymbeline*'s cast of Terry's son highlights the role dynastic memorialisation plays in the curation of an actor's cultural capital, particularly at a *fin de siècle* moment necessarily concerned with issues of succession and change, as the elderly Victoria became Britain's longest-reigning monarch, and approached her Diamond Jubilee. In the twentieth century, *Cymbeline* was evoked within the theatrical possession, as actors including Roger Rees and Harriet Walter situated Terry as both performer and theatrical 'ancestor', and as multiple critics sought to identify her 'successors' in the role.

The zenith of Terry's career occurred at a period in which Shakespeare's plays were both the cultural constant of the Victorian repertory, and theatre's most privileged dramatic form. Beyond the theatre, Shakespeare's impact on Victorian visual arts, literature and political discourse have been well-attested (Marshall et al., 2012), while, across the Empire, Shakespeare became the 'dominant component of the new subject of English Literature' – a powerful Imperial export, and tool for teaching Englishness at home (Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, 184). Terry's twenty-year partnership with Irving was defined by the Lyceum's lavish, pictorial Shakespearean revivals. Her pre-eminence as a specifically Shakespearean actress meant that, as an 1893 article asking 'Who is the Greatest Living English Actress – And Why?' concluded, Terry was 'over-tops' by default amongst her profession (Knight et al. 394). Her artistic formula, which a perceptive Bostonian journalist defined as Renaissance heroines 'reconstructed' on a 'nineteenth-century plan' of charming womanhood (Shattuck 168), was key to her status as a late-Victorian 'star' actress. Stokes defines the *fin-de-siecle* star actress as 'protean, multiple, yet […] unmistakeably themselves and no one else' in performance, and in their 'celebrity' both 'famous,

charismatic, mythic' and 'undeniably [….] in the here and now […] embodying their own complex times'. Stokes applies his definition to a 'select group' of European actresses (Bernhardt, Duse and Félix), but it also applied to Terry (Stokes 210). As art critic Frederick Wedmore noted in 1889, Terry was 'the sympathetic actress, whom not to admire is to be […] out of the fashion' (Wedmore 14).

Imogen, *Cymbeline*'s heroine, was the last 'young' Shakespearean heroine Terry added to her repertoire. *Cymbeline*'s plot is complex and fantastical, encompassing an appearance by both Jupiter and the Roman army. Imogen is the infinitely faithful and forgiving British princess who, framed for adultery, adopts a new cross-dressed identity and is – after five acts of suffering – vindicated and reunited with her 'lost' brothers, father, and penitent husband. Earlier commentators, led by Hazlitt, adored her 'peculiar excellence', and 'boundless resignation' (qtd. In Bate 297); Coleridge felt she epitomised what was 'holy' in womanhood (qtd. in Bate 531). By 1896, it was still agreed that Imogen was 'the noblest woman [Shakespeare] ever drew' ('Thursday' 4), about whom there could be no 'differences' ('In view of to-night' 3). Terry's performance exactly upheld the Victorian belief, exemplified by commentator L.M. Griffiths in 1889, that *Cymbeline*'s 'all-pervading idea' was 'the moral beauty of womanhood' (173). As 'this most womanly of Shakespeare's heroines', critics found Terry 'captivating […] charming' and – a word used across five regional and national publications – 'perfect' (Calvert 42; 'W.H.P.' 559; 'From Our London Correspondent' 6; 'Lyceum Theatre' 5; 'London Letter'; 'Facts and Faces'; 'Cymbeline Again' 615). The universal approbation contrasted especially strongly with the many controversial major Shakespearean performances in the mid-1890s. In early 1897, Janet Achurch's Cleopatra was condemned as 'ugly' for 'tricks of style which pass for inspiration in Ibsen' ('Olympic Theatre'). Either side of Terry's Imogen, Mrs. Patrick Campbell gave a controversial triumvirate of performances at the Lyceum: a Juliet which inspired 'an extraordinary divergence of opinion', as William Archer noted, and which William Winter found 'limp and powerless' (qtd. in Campbell

104-5); an Ophelia whom critics called ‘a mere excrescence on the play’, but who chilled Shaw (qtd. in Terry Gielgud 62), and an 1898 Lady Macbeth who was either ‘perfectly possible and plausible’ (Walkley, qtd. in Peters 171) or ‘wholly inadequate’ (“Macbeth” 3).

Late twentieth- and twenty-first scholarship on Terry’s performance legacies has increasingly emphasised her resonances for New Women and the suffragists. Penny Farfan’s assertion Terry could, in the 1890s ‘be imagined as absolutely supporting the New Woman cause’ is questionable (158). Terry’s impatience with sexual orthodoxies, support for women’s professional activity and power at the Lyceum are contiguous with a ‘New Woman’ perspective. However, during the 1890s, Terry argued against staging ‘New Women’ plays at the Lyceum and called Ibsen’s heroines, the most *avant-garde* theatrical embodiment of New ideas, ‘silly ladies’ drawn reductively on ‘straight lines’ (qtd. in Hiatt 105). It’s true that Terry, in her subsequent lecture tours, likened Shakespearean heroines to ‘modern revolutionaries’ (Terry ‘Shakespeare’s heroines’, f3). Nevertheless, Lisa Tickner exaggerates in calling her ‘an ardent suffragist’ (22). Instead, Kelly illustrates how Terry only ever became ‘a sly, ambiguous and sometimes reluctant feminist’ (71), who insisted newspapers correct claims her 1910 American and Canadian tour was affiliated with suffrage (Terry, letter dated 4 August 1910), yet called herself ‘a suffragette’ in Australia (Manville 209). She also bemoaned her daughter Edith Craig’s involvement with ‘those rotten Suffragettes – the Idiots’ (letter dated 20 May c.1906), and approvingly quoted a friend who claimed that Edith’s involvement with the Independent Theatre would make her ‘frowsy, trollopy and dirty’ (qtd. in Holledge 113).

Although Farfan defines Terry’s performance as Imogen as ‘Feminist Shakespeare’, her Imogen had little political resonance in comparison with her Lady Macbeth (1888-9), which inspired Jess Dorynne’s essay on ‘The Lady of Undaunted Mettle’ in *The True Ophelia* (1913), or in comparison with Lillah McCarthy and Esmé Beringer’s partnership as Hermione and Paulina in Harley Granville-Barker’s 1912 *The Winter’s Tale*. Beringer’s Paulina was ‘the

darling of all the eager young Suffragettes' (qtd. in S. Carlson 133), whom *Votes for Women* felt 'could have been written since 1905' ('The Conspiracy Trial of Hermione' 18 October 1912, qtd. in S. Carlson 133) *Suffragette* called her 'the real heroine of the play' and 'the eternal Suffragette' (18 October 1912, 5). McCarthy's Hermione, meanwhile, revealed 'the humiliation of women's position' (qtd. Stokes 191). Terry's Imogen, however, was interpreted as conservative. *The Times, Belfast News-Letter* and *Theatre* all reiterated Imogen's 'artlessness' (qtd. in Calvert 42) as Shakespeare's 'most tender and artless' heroine ('Our London Letter' 5; 'In London' 212) who displayed the 'artlessness and unostentatiousness' of her 'character […] at every turn' (qtd. in Calvert 42). This was contiguous with Victorian theatre's celebration of Terry as an 'artless' performer, despite Terry's assertion, published the following year, that the 'true artist always calculates to a nicety' (qtd. in Hammerton 175). The reading also overlooks Imogen's textually rebellious resourcefulness in contriving a secret marriage, outwitting her stepbrother, and sustaining a false male identity even when heartbroken.

Rather than offering feminist innovation, the Lyceum *Cymbeline* offered what Marvin Carlson calls a 'sense of return' in *The Haunted Stage: Theatre as a Memory Machine* (3). The production expanded Terry's already-large collection of charming Shakespearean heroines, and created a 'return' to the Lyceum's earlier casting practices. Irving's *Cymbeline* company was resolutely of the 'old school'. Walter Lacy (Cornelius), Charles Kean's colleague, was Irving's traditionalist advisor. Lacy had backed Irving in past disagreements with Terry over traditional 'gags' in *Much Ado About Nothing* (1882), and costumes in *Hamlet* (1878) (Terry 'Story' 163). Terry had wanted to wear black as Ophelia; Lacy made it very clear that 'the only black figure in this play' could be Irving's Hamlet (Terry 'Story' 157).

Irving's commitment to the 'old school' extended to sacking younger performers when a traditional actress became available. Geneviève Ward, who had begun her career as a singer in 1850s Milan, returned from retirement to play the Queen, replacing the already-cast, younger Helen Kinnaird.

The lesser-known Kinnaird had advertised her Lyceum engagement at in the *Era* on 22 and 29 August. She was also named as *Cymbeline*'s Queen by *Lloyd's Weekly* on 30 August ('Promenade Concerts' 11) and the *Glasgow Herald* on 31 August ('Music and the Drama' 4). However, by 4 September, the *Leeds Mercury* was congratulating Irving on having 'persuaded' Ward 'out of her partial retirement to play the Queen' ('Musical and Dramatic Notes' 5). On 5 September, the *Dundee Courier* reported that Kinnaird had 'relinquished the part for some reason at present unknown' ('London Letter' 5). However, Kinnaird (presumably believing herself secure in the role) had paid for another week's advertisement in the *Era*, who listed her as engaged by the Lyceum again that day. No London publication ever alluded to the change, and the *Dundee* correspondent was ostentatiously back on-message by 10 September, insisting he 'knew' the Queen would 'safe at the hands' of the 'finished and statuesque' Ward ('London Letter' 5). Without any evidence of illness, it seems unlikely that Kinnaird, who generally played supporting roles in D'Oyly Carte productions, would have voluntarily 'relinquished' the role.

The vintage cast helped provoke a flurry of theatrical retrospectives. Marvin Carlson's argument that 'all plays […] might be called *Ghosts*', in which the 'past reappear[s] […] in the midst of the present' (3), was especially true of Lyceum Shakespeares, with productions' longevity through revivals, recurring casts and the Lyceum's centrality to the national Shakespearean consciousness as 'the National theatre of the English world' (Grein 260). Even before *Cymbeline* opened, the production was identified as a kind of living archive of the Lyceum's legacy: well before the first night, the *Glasgow Herald* praised *Cymbeline* as 'a return to the earlier and better traditions of Sir Henry's management' ('Thursday' 4). By October, *Theatre* identified *Cymbeline* as one of many 'debts of gratitude' the 'younger generation' owed Irving ('In London' '12).

Cymbeline's timing and Terry's casting also collided with another moment in the national heritage. Ricks argues convincingly that Tennyson's *The Princess* (1847) resonated

with contemporary depictions of the young Queen Victoria. Ricks likens Victoria's 'kind of presence' in *The Princess* to 'James I's presence in *Cymbeline*', comparing the two texts' themes of 'prince and princess', transvestism, and 'war foreign, civil and domestic' (137). Lander also links Imogen and the young Victoria; however Lander's assertion that 'Victorian Imogen's most celebrated act' was willingly resigning the throne to her brothers is debatable (160): the *Pall Mall Gazette* typified 1896 opinion by deeming 'the love of Imogen for her banished husband' the play's entire 'motive' ('Theatrical Notes' 1). Moreover, in 1896, the real link between *Cymbeline* and the Crown was between Ellen Terry's princess and Victoria as contemporary, aging queen. By striking coincidence, the day after *Cymbeline* opened was also the day on which the length of Victoria's reign exceeded that of any previous monarch.
It was not the first time *Cymbeline* had collided directly with popular constructions of a British queen. In 1820-1, George IV had attempted to divorce Queen Caroline by Act of Parliament, asserting her adultery with the Italian Bartolomeo Pergami. During Caroline's 'trial' the Lord Chief Justice, cited *Cymbeline* and *Othello* to defend Caroline, noting that Shakespeare laid 'his scene in Italy' whenever he depicted 'a man anxious to blacken the character of an innocent wife' (qtd. in Fulford 207).

Terry's performances had had contemporary significance before – the overlap between *Macbeth* and continued debate over the 1888 Whitechapel murders saw the production described as 'The Macbeth Murder Case' – the coincidence between *Cymbeline* and contemporary events had never been as intense as on the morning of 23 September 1896. This was the publication date for many of *Cymbeline*'s first-night reviews, making the juxtaposition of assessments of British theatrical royalty and England's real queen inevitable. Often *Cymbeline* reviews and nationalistic retrospect (anonymously written, offering the tantalising possibility – however remote – that they were produced by the same person) appeared on the same page (as in *Sheffield*) or immediately opposite each other (as in the *Morning Post*). Structurally and linguistically, each type of article functioned as a lionising retrospective

on its heroine's popularity, creating lasting images of their professional activities simultaneously and symbiotically. The Sheffield correspondent described Victoria as having 'never at any moment' been 'so secure in the affection of her people' ('Queen's Reign' 4), irresistibly recalling Terry, who had, 'it was generally conceded […] never appeared to greater advantage' ('"Cymbeline" at the Lyceum'). Victoria had 'never made a serious mistake' during her 'most honourable reign […] most happy reign […] most hopeful reign' ('Queen's Reign' 4). Terry had 'never excelled' as Imogen ('Shakespearean Revival' 4), and was 'unassailable' as the 'leader of the front rank of actresses' ('The Lyceum Theatre' 3). As 'fine type[s] of womanhood', both Imogen and Victoria could arouse 'a very strong, human, partly pathetic interest' ('Queen's Reign' 4).

Above all, coverage of Victoria and Terry's Imogen on 23 September presented them as wives. Like Imogen, Victoria had evinced 'feminine tenderness and desperate grief' ('The London Theatres' 10) in her public widowhood, although Imogen's husband actually survives, and both constantly enacted 'sweet remembrances of their husbands' ('Facts and Faces' 195). Despite Victoria's popularity problems during her reclusiveness, by 1896 both Victoria and Terry were celebrated for responsiveness to public taste. Victoria's ability to 'move with the times' in a 'State' which 'appeals openly to the people's will' ('Queen's Reign' 4) reflected the new reality that queens, as Terry had long argued of 'players', had to 'feel the pulse of the public' (Terry 'Actions + Acting' 1).

Just as Victoria's popularity derived from having lived 'in our midst as one of the people' ('Queen's Reign' 4), so too, as Stokes notes, a *fin-de-siècle* theatrical star had to be both 'mythic' and in 'the here and now' (211). As the Lyceum's queen, Terry embodied the 'higher poetic drama' of Victorian culture ('"*Cymbeline*" at the Lyceum'), one in which 'literature has been brought down to the people […] the tone of public thought has been raised' ('Queen's Reign' 4). Terry had longstanding associations with patriotism. Beerbohm called her a 'genial Britannia' (qtd. in Auerbach 15), and aged fifteen, she had played Britannia herself in Stirling Coyne's high-profile, patriotic pageant following the Prince of Wales's marriage.

On 23 September, the *Morning Post* directed England to 'the simple and beautiful words of the Prayer-book' on Victoria's behalf, with the petitionary subjunctive 'Grant her in health and wealth long to live' (Untitled item 5). Reviewing *Cymbeline*, the weekly *National Observer* 'thank[ed] Heaven!' that Terry was 'alive to give us the noblest entertainment' ('*Cymbeline* at the Lyceum' 559).

For Terry, this lexis of queenship and triumph continued through her subsequent theatrical activity. In 1899, following an 1897 revival of *Cymbeline,* and the 1898 publication of Frederic Whyte's *Actors of the Century* – which used an image of Terry's Imogen as the frontispiece - Terry continued to tour as Imogen and other Shakespearean heroines. In the same year, Clotilde Graves rejoiced that Terry could 'rule us still', concluding that there were 'never greater days than these' (Graves 195). As Bloodworth notes, Graves's tribute, 'laced with metaphorical drawings' on 'imperial female majesty' evoked the 'aged Queen Empress and embodiment of female power' (49). After Terry's death, Edward Percy described her as 'our greatest actress, as the Duke of Wellington was our greatest soldier, and Henry VII our greatest king': the object of national pride and emotional investment, and implicated in national identity (Percy 9). The symbiosis between Terry and Victoria's September 1896 memorialisation demonstrates the value of revisiting performance receptions in their own context, avoiding the 'habitual excision' of reviews from their 'own discourse' within contemporary journalism (Smith 285).

In 1896, *Cymbeline*'s emphasis on succession was apropos. Victoria was seventy-seven and in declining health, her imminent Diamond Jubilee inevitably signalling the approach of her reign's culmination. Despite the patriotic moment, Terry may have seemed a more satisfying surrogate, with a less problematic legacy, than the real-life queen. Victoria's successor was the aging, potentially unreliable Prince of Wales. Terry's Imogen staged, textually and dramatically, two kinds of positive succession. A desirable heiress herself, Imogen's discovery of her brothers provides two valorous, healthy young men to succeed Cymbeline. The specificity of *Cymbeline*'s casting meant that Terry herself offered or

'ghosted' a positive continuation of theatrical lineage via her son, Edward Gordon Craig, who played Arviragus, Imogen's onstage brother and Terry's onstage 'heir'. In 1896, Craig was well-regarded as an actor, and his casting both demonstrated the wisdom of 'infusing' the Lyceum with 'some of that new blood' alongside the veteran actors, while providing a vessel for the continuation of that 'old blood' as Terry's genetic and potential theatrical successor ('Thursday' 4). Terry's two promptbooks for *Cymbeline* are collaborative documents passed between herself, Irving, Craig, and potentially other company members including Frank Tyars. The books reveal Terry and Irving's symbiotic relationship as editors: both have pages in which lines are reinstated in both Irving and Terry's hands. On one, restorations to Caius Lucius's part are begun by Irving and continued by Terry. On another page, Irving and Terry use the same pen. Terry wrote detailed instructions to Irving on playing Iachimo – making her writing unusually large and clear – but her instructions to Craig are both striking and critical. Her exasperated 'Do wake up Ted' (Terry *Cymbeline 2* 38), and scheduling of rehearsals that she, apparently, led - 'You must time this scene better = Come up into the Saloon tomorrow at 10.30 + lets go at it –' (Terry *Cymbeline 1* 51v) – evince a sense of personal directorial responsibility for him.

The 1897 Jubilee necessarily emphasised Victoria's genealogy and heritage: phenomena equally key to subsequent recognitions of Terry's longevity and artistic and genealogical importance. Terry's 1906 Jubilee Benefit committee included six Dukes, two Marquises, eleven Earls and seven Lords, a powerful statement of legitimacy. Even more importantly, Terry, celebrated as one 'whose illustrious name can never fade', was situated within a theatrical family of 'Twenty Terrys on the Stage at One Time', a dynasty to rival Victoria's (Stead 14).

The importance of this dynasty to Terry's specific performance legacy is pertinent to the broader issue of creating and maintaining posthumous prestige.
As well as Edith and Edward Gordon Craig, who worked in the visual and performing arts until their deaths in 1947 and 1966 respectively, many of Terry's other relatives remained in the

theatre. The most famous was her great-nephew, John Gielgud (1904-2000). Family does not guarantee posterity, however. Terry's contemporary, Dame Madge Kendal (1848-1935), was described by Shaw as 'incomparably the cleverest, most highly skilled, most thoroughly trained, and most successful actress' of her generation (qtd. in Gibbs 384). She was also the only other actress to receive the GBE (Foulkes). She and her actor husband had six children; indeed, Madge Kendal's celebrity persona as 'Matron of the Drama' was predicated mainly on her exemplary domesticity and virtue (Kendal 17). In fact, Kendal disowned all four of her surviving children, notably son Hugh Dorrington for his poor 'economy', and youngest daughter Dorothy, after the latter married a Jewish theatre manager. Gary Taylor's '*someone*, who, after the artist's death' is prepared to memorialise the artist and ensure 'artistic reputation' (5) is especially important for performers, whose art survives only in cultural memory. Terry (like Irving) had children, grandchildren and protégés to curate her memory. During Terry's lifetime, Edith Craig edited her mother's memoir alongside partner Christopher John. Craig photographed her mother's bedroom the morning after she died, and ensured another relative, Olive Terry who strikingly resembled Ellen, succeeded her as curator of the house, thereby creating a living memorial.

In contrast, the faultlines between the Kendals' public and private personae may have contributed to Madge's absence from scholarship. While her maternal personae contributed to her lifetime fame, her familial estrangements meant the absence of a willing '*someone*' to ensure her posthumous prestige.

Terry recognised the instability and uncertainty of performance legacy. Her draft of a lecture entitled 'Acting + Actions' concludes that even the most celebrated performance, no matter how useful as a stylistic or historical 'reference book' may 'seem worthless in fifty years' (Terry 'Acting + Actions' f.2). Terry's heirs were unusually successful as the bearers and sustainers of cultural memory. However, the (potential) endpoint of Terry's *Cymbeline* legacy illustrates how a performance might survive beyond the limits of memory and of

familial curation, if valued by her profession.

In 1979, David Jones directed *Cymbeline* for the Royal Shakespeare Company, with Judi Dench as Imogen and Roger Rees as Posthumus. Writing in 1985, Rees likened Dench to Terry, arguing that just as Terry's 'charm and gaiety' made it 'natural' for Irving to stage *Cymbeline* in 1896, 'in 1979, our Imogen was Judi Dench and our premise was exactly the same' (144). The actresses become as interchangeable as their personae: Rees's early rehearsal nerves are overcome as 'Ellen Terry held my hand for comfort, or rather Judi Dench did (the same thing really)' (144-5). Rees also uses Henry James's review of Terry's 'young wife youthfully in love' to describe Dench's final performance (144-5). Rees's evocation of legacy, and the above creation of artistic genealogy are only possible within a theatre culture that values performance heritage, and antecedent interpretation – Dench's 'predecessors' – alongside novelty, innovation and theatrical discovery. Typically, this occurs in accounts of male performance: Derek Jacobi has called Hamlet 'the greatest of all acting traditions', while Patrick Stewart sees the role's stage history as 'handed down from one age to the next' (qtd. in Holmes 95). Rees's account identifies not merely an embedded tradition of choosing star vehicles, but Dench and Terry's equivalent cultural profiles, based on personality, critical recognition and professional skill. John Miller identifies Terry as Dench's 'theatrical ancestor' (Miller 161). Dench cited Peggy Ashcroft as her more immediate influence John Gielgud called Ashcroft 'nearest' to Terry, as did Alec Guinness and Peter Hall (Billington, *Peggy Ashcroft* 7-8) – but stressed the importance of 'keep[ing] the memories of our predecessors alive', mentioning Terry by name alongside Sarah Siddons and Irving (278). Most recently, Eileen Atkins has asserted that Terry had 'the charm of Judi Dench and the beauty of Vanessa Redgrave' (Atkins). Notably, Billington, Gielgud, Guinness, Hall, Miller and Atkins all *want* to locate 'the Ellen Terry qualities' (Billington, *Peggy Ashcroft*, 8) in a successor, whether it be Dench, Redgrave or Ashcroft. In reviews of major British productions of *Cymbeline* since 2000, echoes of Terry's performance are fainter, but still respond to the paradigm of charming perfection she created,

mainly by upholding it. In 2001, Jane Arnfield played Imogen at the Globe (dir. Mike Alfred), embodying for Charles Spencer 'the most lovable of Shakespeare's heroines' (Spencer 2001). Despite relocating the play to Mumbai and Dubai, Samir Bhamra's radical production for Phizzical at the Belgrade in 2013 saw Sophie Khan Levy's Imogen (Innojaan) display the 'Miranda-like' – i.e. youthful and virginal – 'innocence' (Dunnett) that had also characterised Terry's 'poetic and virginal' ('The Week' 428) and 'impulsive + innocent' (Terry 1896 18r) Imogen back in 1896.

In 1987, the actress Harriet Walter wanted to overthrow the legacy of the 'Victorian fairy-tale-princess-as-wife' and 'clear away [Imogen's] reputation' in Bill Alexander's 1987 RSC production (Chillington Rutter 73-74). Her performance did not prove a sea-change: Yukio Ninagawa's 2012 production at the Barbican offered audiences 'a fairytale heroine' in Shinobu Otake's Imogen, according to Lyn Gardner (2012). Occasionally, critics have applauded actresses attempting to move away from the heroine – Gardner was ambivalent about Otake – but here, again, the Victorian rhetoric is strong. In 2003, Michael Billington commended Emma Fielding for eschewing the 'idealised Tennysonian image of female purity' ('Cymbeline' 2003) – perhaps unexpectedly, given his interest in locating 'the Ellen Terry qualities' in younger generations. This was possibly because Billington thrice identified echoes of, and perhaps a successor to, Dench (and thus by implication Terry) in Fielding's RSC contemporary, Alexandra Gilbreath (Billington 'Dark and thrilling'; '*Taming/Tamer*' 2003; '*The Taming of the Shrew*' 2004). Mainly, however, unusual Imogens are criticised in ways that evoke Terry: thus Charles Spencer condemned Emma Pallant's 2005 Imogen for insufficient charm, and lacking 'humour and ardour' (Spencer 2005).

The popular desire to link present and past Shakespeare performances can create uneasy collisions, as when the black British actor Adrian Lester, appearing as the National Theatre's Othello, was asked on a September 2013 episode of the BBC *One Show* if he'd drawn inspiration from the film of Olivier's blackface performance in the same role. The *One Show* of

17 September 2013 also illuminated the theatrical family's enduring power to sustain a performance legacy. Bisecting Lester's interview was a lengthy recorded feature on Laurence Olivier, presented by his eldest son. Tarquin Olivier remains his father's biographer, a personal and professional stakeholder in his memory: like Edy and Edward Craig, he has also published a biography of his famous parent.

Victorian and Edwardian enthusiasm for the kind of theatrical retrospectives that focused on Ellen Terry was not universal: W.T. Stead looked at the elderly, mid-Victorian cast of Ellen Terry's Jubilee gala and called it a 'monster anachronism' (15). However, similar galas, starring Terry and her contemporaries, celebrated George V's 1911 coronation, and the 1916 Tercentenary. In 2014, the National Theatre's 50th anniversary gala included – alongside some younger performers – veteran actors including Dench (79), Jacobi (75), Maggie Smith (79) and Ian McKellen (74) in scenes from Shakespeare, as well as 84-year-old Joan Plowright in a scene from Shaw's *St Joan*.

The lasting legacy of both Terry's *Cymbeline* and Olivier's *Othello* demonstrates the importance of genetic and professional descendants to curating artistic prestige. It is interesting to speculate on the future evolution of the familial stakeholder's role. Digital recordings of performances, and performers' increasing extra-theatrical accessibility via social media may subsume the familial curator's privileged position, as social networks increase fans' senses of intimacy with performers. Simultaneously, platforms such as Digital Theatre and NTLive create corporate archives of performers' activities, not family collections.

Equally, incorporating today's performers' legacies into future actors' work – extending the Terry-Ashcroft-Dench chain to a later performer – is contingent on younger actors' willingness to assimilate into established artistic genealogies. This creates an interesting tension. Contemporary cultural capital in Shakespeare performance is frequently predicated on presenting theatregoers with novelty and departure – whether from English-language performance, as in the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival; from Shakespeare's text, as in

Kneehigh's 2006 *Cymbeline*, or from inherited canons, as witnessed by recent revivals of *Double Falsehood* (including the RSC's 2012 *Cardenio*) and recent publication of the texts of Shakespeare's 'collaborations' (Shakespeare et al.). Given the artistic emphasis placed on newness and discovery (even rediscovery), performer participation in theatrical genealogy is far from guaranteed. Simultaneously, the past performances that are successfully retained as part of popular consciousness as much about our culture as the productions staged today. The frequency of *Cymbeline* revivals since 2000 may reflect the modishness of a once rarely-performed play. Meanwhile, the persistence of the Terry-Imogen paradigm, and the continued will to identify Terry's successors confirms the long legacy of Victorian Shakespeare.

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