

MUSICALS AT THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL OF CANADA:
THE ECONOMICS, AESTHETICS AND ENTERTAINMENT VALUE OF MUSICALS
PRODUCED AT A CLASSICAL THEATRE FESTIVAL

LAUREN ACTON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN MUSIC
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

DECEMBER 2014

© Lauren Acton, 2014

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the place of musicals at the Stratford Festival of Canada—with specific attention focused on the function, and the *value* of an American art form in a classical theatre company devoted to the works of Shakespeare. I trace the history of music theatre at the Festival, including opera and operetta, and argue that the Festival's commitment to music in its early history led to the organic inclusion of musicals in its seasons. I also give a more nuanced reading of the place of musicals at the Stratford Festival in analyzing the physical places where they are produced, and how they are valued within the company.

Theatre critics commonly view musicals as money makers for the Festival to finance its real goal of producing Shakespeare and the classics. The economic value of musicals is undoubtedly important, and I examine it in detail, but it is only one facet of their purpose at Stratford. I problematize the role of musicals at Stratford, arguing that reducing the value of musicals to economic value alone is rooted in a historical construction of highbrow/lowbrow taste hierarchies that align musicals to bourgeois aesthetics and commercial theatre. I unpack the history of the way musicals have been trivialized as middlebrow entertainment within theatre communities and academia. I contend that their role cannot be fully understood by examining their economic value alone, but must be understood by analyzing their aesthetic value and entertainment value.

Assessing the entertainment value of musicals means analyzing and valuing the pleasures that audience members derive from theatre that entertains them, even when its aesthetic value might be questionable. Musicals should also be assessed aesthetically, and that allows for the values—the tastes—of the critics to be heard. Studying the economic/commercial, aesthetic, entertainment value and socio-political factors present in musicals allows for a well-rounded

analysis of the musicals and the many roles they fulfill at Stratford. It is an approach that attempts to balance text and context(s) by acknowledging the hierarchies of genre within the musical and theatrical worlds and highbrow/lowbrow considerations within the canon of musical theatre.

This work is dedicated to
DEBBIE ACTON
mother, playgoing companion, and number one supporter.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

So many people generously shared with me their time, their stories and the feedback in the process of researching and writing this dissertation. I am indebted to everyone who made invaluable contributions to this work—it would be poorer for lack of a single person’s input—but any errors or oversights are mine alone.

Thank you to the Stratford company members, directors and staff—current and former—who met with me for interviews or corresponded with me. Talking with the following people about musicals, Stratford, and Stratford musicals was one of the joys of this project. Thanks to: Kyle Blair, Laura Burton, Berthold Carrière, Juan Chioran, Naomi Costain, Cynthia Dale, Carl Danielsen, Rick Fox, Kyle Golemba, David Keeley, Donnie Macphee, Des McAnuff, Marek Norman, Lucy Peacock, David Playfair, and Nora Polley.

Thanks, also, to all the incredible archivists and librarians who helped me to track down sources and permissions. Suzanne Dubeau at the Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University; Brenda Carroll at the Image Research Library, Canadian Broadcasting Centre; and Nora Polley and Francesca Marini at the Stratford Festival archives, with special thanks to Christine Schindler for answering all the questions in my emails, and for always coming to get me at the door with a smile.

I must acknowledge some of the many people who fostered my love of theatre, music and musicals: my high school drama teacher Ann Bulger (“MacMill”)—a constant source of inspiration and someone who will sort out your life for you in the time it takes to drink a cup of tea; and the members and staff of Original Kids Theatre Company in London, Ontario—especially Dave Conron, Art Fidler, and Vicki St. Pierre. The company members and camp staff

that I worked with at OKTC from 1992 to 2007 are all incredibly special people, and I am honoured that so many of them became lifelong friends.

Thank you to my other friends and family—especially Dorothy Acton, Lara Mrkoci, Sheena Hyndman, Morgan Hillier, and Alberto Munarriz—for work/tea dates, encouraging notes, and for knowing when *not* to ask me how the dissertation was going.

Thanks also to the many scholars whose ideas have helped me to articulate my own. The conferences I attended throughout my PhD were enormously helpful in allowing me to develop my arguments about entertainment value and the value of musicals in a collegial setting. Not to mention that the scholars of IASPM and IASPM-Canada know how to have fun!

The most important influences on the shape of this work came from the members of my examining committee who steered me through two comprehensive exams before signing onto this long journey toward a completed dissertation. I am grateful for the thoughtful feedback and encouragement to develop my ideas from such rigorous scholars. Having committee members from across different disciplines suggest new sources and lines of thought was incredibly helpful. I am deeply appreciative of the time and attention paid to my work by Marlis Schweitzer, Ken Little, and Bob Witmer. A very special thank you goes to my supervisor, Dorothy de Val. Her balance of probing questions and attention to detail was the upmost help, and I enjoyed every meeting we had—discussing books, music, musicals and value. Thanks Dorothy.

Finally, to my mom and sister, Debbie and Nicole Acton, whose support has been unwavering and deeply felt—thank you. They are two of the best people I know to go to a play with, and two of the best people, full stop.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
List of Illustrations.....	xi
Introduction.....	1
Background and Terminology Act I: The Stratford Festival.....	4
Background and Terminology Act II: Musicals.....	8
Background and Terminology Act III: Entertainment Value.....	16
Aims and Scope.....	29
Methodology.....	31
Chapter Outline.....	33
Chapter One: Stratford and its Music.....	36
Music at the Stratford Festival.....	41
The Concert Series.....	49
Chapter Two: Music Theatre and its Place at Stratford.....	69
Music Theatre: Genre and Value at Stratford.....	72
Music Theatre: Some Genre Definitions.....	76
Opera and Operetta at Stratford.....	89
Chapter Three: Economic Considerations.....	115
The Stratford Festival as a Business.....	117
Musicals as Commercial Theatre.....	131
Musicals as Stratford’s “Cash Cow”.....	137
Chapter Four: Place and Space, or, Stratford’s Theatres.....	171
Stratford’s Theatres	
Festival Theatre.....	172
Avon Theatre.....	183
Tom Patterson Theatre.....	186
Studio Theatre.....	189
Hierarchies of Place: Where Are The Musicals?.....	191
Musicals on a Thrust Stage.....	199
Interlude: A Case Study—Avon versus Festival.....	214
Chapter Five: A Company within a Company.....	233
Repertory Theatre.....	235
Scheduling the Repertory Theatre Company.....	241

Actor Training: Classical vs. Musical Theatre.....	246
Training at Stratford: The Birmingham Conservatory.....	257
Cross-Casting.....	260
Classical Actors in Musicals.....	264
Rehearsals: Plays vs. Musicals.....	269
Cross-Casting Reprise.....	273
Conclusion: The Role of Musicals at the Stratford Festival.....	280
Appendices	
Appendix A: Brief History of the Stratford Festival.....	293
Appendix B: Concert History.....	302
Appendix C: Catalogue Index of Music Theatre Productions at Stratford.....	320
Appendix D: Stratford Festival Financial Data.....	362
Interviews.....	369
Bibliography.....	370

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Music theatre at the Stratford Festival divided by genre.....	79
Table 2.2: Comparison of core Broadway repertoires with Stratford productions.....	84
Table 3.1: Stratford, Ontario economic indicators.....	121
Table 3.2: 1998 Financial Facts from the Stratford Festival Annual Report.....	124
Table 4.1: Genres of music theatre at the Festival, Avon and Tom Patterson theatres.....	198
Table I.1: Musicals that have been produced at the Avon and Festival theatres.....	215
Table 5.1 Cross-casting in the 1984 G&S productions at the Stratford Festival.....	262

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Genres of music theatre at Stratford, 1955-2014.....	88
Figure 3.1: The Stratford Festival “Field of Cultural Production”.....	147
Figure 4.1: Musical Productions by Theatre.....	194

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Stratford Festival Fanfare Number One, by Louis Applebaum.....	frontispiece
Illustration 1.1: Fanfare musicians at the Festival Theatre.....	37
Illustration 1.2: Stratford Visitor's Pamphlet, 1961.....	40
Illustration 1.3: 1955 Music Festival Poster.....	51
Illustration 1.4: 1955 Music Festival House Program.....	51
Illustration 1.5: 1956 Music Festival Poster.....	57
Illustration 1.6: 1957 Music Festival Poster.....	57
Illustration 2.1: Stratford Festival 1960 Visitor's Pamphlet, Music Festival.....	97
Illustration 2.2: Telegram from Cecil Clarke to Louis Applebaum.....	102
Illustration 2.3: <i>Pianfore</i> and <i>Pirates</i> UK tour poster, 1961.....	104
Illustrations 2.4: Stratford Visitor's Pamphlet, 1966.....	108
Stratford Festival Fanfare Number Two, by Louis Applebaum.....	114
Illustration 4.1: The Festival Stage, designed by Tanya Moisewitsch, 1954-1961.....	177
Illustration 4.2: Crowds arriving at the permanent Festival Theatre.....	178
Illustration 4.3: Stratford Festival Permanent Theatre schematic, 1956.....	179
Illustration 4.4: The bare Festival Theatre stage in 2013.....	181
Illustration 4.5: Avon exterior, 1967, showing renovation.....	184
Illustration 4.6: Avon Theatre interior, 2013.....	185
Illustration 4.7: Interior of the Casino set up as the Festival Concert Hall.....	186
Illustration 4.8: The Tom Patterson Theatre interior, 2013.....	187
Illustration 4.9: Crowds outside the Third Stage, 1972.....	188
Illustration 4.10: The Studio Theatre interior, 2013.....	190

Illustration 4.11: Stratford Visitor’s Pamphlet 1973 (reverse).....	199
Illustration 4.12: Maquette for <i>My Fair Lady</i> , 2002, designed by Debra Hanson.....	208
Illustration I.1: Mary Kerr’s set design for <i>Candide</i> (1978) at the Avon theatre.....	216
Illustration I.2: Designer Brian Jackson with maquette for <i>Pirates</i> 1961.....	219
Illustration I.3: <i>The Pirates of Penzance</i> in 1985 at the Avon theatre.....	220
Illustration I.4: <i>The Pirates of Penzance</i> in 1994 at the Festival theatre.....	222
Illustration I.5: <i>The Pirates of Penzance</i> in 2012 at the Avon theatre.....	224
Illustration I.6: Kyle Blair as Frederic in <i>Pirates</i> 2012.....	225
Illustration I.7: <i>West Side Story</i> balcony scene at the Avon theatre, 1999.....	227
Illustration I.8: <i>West Side Story</i> balcony scene at the Festival theatre, 2009.....	227
Illustration I.9: “Tonight” from <i>West Side Story</i> , Festival theatre, 2009.....	228
Illustration 5.1: Sheridan College advertisement, 2012.....	250
Stratford Festival Fanfare Number Three, by Louis Applebaum.....	292

THREE STRATFORD FANFARES

1

SCORE
(Concert Pitch)

LOUIS APPELBAUM

1

Crisply (♩ = 80)

Trumpet I
Trumpet II
Trumpet III
Trombone I
Trombone II
Trombone III
Tuba (optional)
Timpani (optional)
Snare Drum
Cymbal (optional)

Trpt. I
Trpt. II
Trpt. III
Trbn. I
Trbn. II
Trbn. III
Tba.
Timp.
S.D.
Cym.

© Copyright MCMLXVI by LEEDS MUSIC (Canada) Limited, 215 Victoria Street, Toronto 2, Ont.
International Copyright Secured.

Printed in Canada.

All Rights Reserved.

INTRODUCTION

*A show that is really a show
Sends you out with a kind of a glow
And you say as you go on your way
That's entertainment!*¹

In 1986, classically trained actors Colm Feore, Geraint Wyn Davies and Goldie Semple strode out onto the boards of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival's iconic thrust stage and... burst into song and dance. Rodgers and Hart's *The Boys From Syracuse*, based on Shakespeare's *A Comedy of Errors* opened the 1986 Festival season with the musical's 98 year old book writer George Abbott in attendance along with the usual crowd of opening night dignitaries, sponsors and press. It was the first time in the history of the Festival that a musical had opened the season instead of a work by Shakespeare—the age of the Stratford musical had begun.

The press greeted *The Boys from Syracuse* with mixed reviews. Robert Crew from the *Toronto Star* gave it a positive review,² Mel Gussow of *The New York Times* thought it was an enjoyable evening, but could have been strengthened by stronger singing,³ and Ray Conlogue of *The Globe and Mail* thought it was manifestly substandard, and that the unsatisfactory production hurt the cause of musicals at Stratford. Conlogue argued, “Musicals are a welcome addition to the Stratford season, and a Shakespeare-related curiosity like this, with a score by Rodgers and Hart, is an appropriate contender. But the musicals must be done as well as the classical productions. They cannot be second-class citizens in the Festival; which this one, lamentably, is.”⁴

¹ Lyrics to “That’s Entertainment!” by Arthur Schwartz and Howard Dietz for the 1953 MGM film *The Band Wagon*, directed by Vincente Minnelli.

² Robert Crew, “Boys From Syracuse a highly enjoyable romp,” *Toronto Star* (May 20, 1986), B1.

³ Mel Gussow, “Shakespearean potpourri in Canada,” *The New York Times* (June 8, 1986), H5.

⁴ Ray Conlogue, “Musty musical not fully revived,” *The Globe and Mail* (May 20, 1986), D7.

In response to Conlogue's review, *The Globe and Mail* published a letter to the editor in a special section of feedback about the Stratford and Shaw Festival seasons that year. Neil R. H. Burgess of Campbellford, Ontario, remarked that he was glad he had booked his ticket for *The Boys From Syracuse* before reading the *Globe and Mail* review, or he may have opted not to buy tickets and thus missed an enjoyable evening of theatre. Burgess wrote, "Mr. Conlogue seems to have an inability to appreciate an evening of light, entertaining theatre. Your readers are not well served by this inability."⁵ While Burgess obviously took issue with Conlogue's review, the two men are not as far apart in their opinions as it may at first appear. Both had a desire to be entertained by the musicals they attended. Both went to the Stratford Festival hoping to enjoy *The Boys From Syracuse*, but where Burgess was satisfied with the performance, Conlogue found it lacking. Their expectations and standards for judging musicals differed, and so they each evaluated the production differently.

This dissertation explores the place of musicals at the Stratford Festival of Canada—with specific attention focused on the function, and the *value* of an American art form in a classical theatre company. In so examining the role of musicals at Stratford, I argue for including both Mr. Burgess's and Mr. Conlogue's perspectives. The entertainment value of musicals as well as their aesthetic worth should be taken into account when scholars evaluate how they are produced and received in the Stratford context. Assessing the entertainment value of musicals means analyzing and valuing the pleasures that audience members like Burgess derive from "an evening of light, entertaining theatre." Musical should also be assessed aesthetically, and that allows for the views—the tastes—of the critics to be heard. Both entertainment and aesthetic analyses exist in value-laden fields that I will unpack in this dissertation. Conlogue's call for musicals at Stratford

⁵ "Shaw, Stratford plays enjoyable," *The Globe and Mail* (June 21, 1986), A7.

to be more than second-class citizens is a call to re-evaluate the musical genre as worthy of serious treatment, and that too is one of my aims in this work.

Since musicals first appeared on the Stratford playbill three decades ago, the press has placed considerable emphasis on the economic value of musicals. Writers commonly view musicals as money makers for the Festival to finance its real goal of producing Shakespeare and the classics. The economic value of musicals is undoubtedly important, and I examine it in detail, but it is only one facet of their purpose at Stratford. A typical example of the press's reductionist view can be seen in Richard Ouzounian's 2006 *Toronto Star* article summarizing the history of musicals at Stratford wherein he stated unequivocally, "money, of course, drives it all."⁶ Ouzounian also tied the economics of ticket sales to the conceptualization of the mass audience as undiscerning when he wrote, "It's clear that a big Broadway musical will attract an audience, but is it the right audience? Do they come back for weightier plays?"⁷ In addition to investigating the value judgments made by critics like Ouzounian when musicals are assumed to be primarily money makers for Stratford, I also give a more nuanced reading of the place of musicals at the Stratford Festival in analyzing the actual physical places where they are produced, and how they are valued within the company. The aesthetic and entertainment value lenses through which I examine musicals at Stratford are necessary counterweights to the dominant economic narrative that has been perpetuated by theatre critics and journalists.

⁶ Richard Ouzounian, "All's well that ends well sung," *The Toronto Star* (May 7, 2006), C5.

⁷ Ibid.

BACKGROUND AND TERMINOLOGY, ACT I: THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL

The Stratford Festival, founded in 1953 by Stratford, Ontario native Tom Patterson, is a repertory theatre company with a mandate to produce works of Shakespeare and classical theatre. British directors (Tyrone Guthrie, and later Cecil Clarke and Michael Langham), designers (Tanya Moiseiwitsch, and later Desmond Heeley) and stars (Alec Guinness, Irene Worth) descended on the small Ontario city to join an eager company of Canadians performing Shakespearean plays under a gigantic tent by the Avon River. The Festival eventually evolved into North America's largest repertory company and one of the most respected classical companies of the English-speaking world.⁸ The Stratford Festival has gone through several name changes in its history, most often with the removal or re-addition of the word Shakespearean, and sometimes with the tag "of Canada." These changes in title and image most often occurred during a change in leadership. For the purpose of this dissertation I will refer to the Festival with its contemporaneous title when discussing specific historic moments, but will mainly use the current (as of 2014) title the *Stratford Festival* and a shortened handle—*the Festival*.

In addition to works by Shakespeare, the Festival also mounts works of musical theatre. Musicals have not always been a part of the Stratford Festival; yet while the focus in the first years was exclusively on Shakespeare and the classics, music still played an important role in the incidental music of the plays, the fanfares that heralded each performance, and the formation of a music festival that brought the likes of Duke Ellington, Oscar Peterson, and Glenn Gould to the former railway town. The first fully staged music drama was an opera, *The Rape of Lucretia* by Benjamin Britten, produced at the Festival in its fourth season. Thereafter, operas and a string of extremely successful operettas by Gilbert and Sullivan were incorporated into the Festival

⁸ For more details see Appendix A: A Brief History of the Stratford Festival.

repertory at differing points in the Festival's history. Staged music at the Festival continued to comprise mostly operas, operettas and a few new Canadian works until 1986, when *The Boys From Syracuse* was staged at Stratford and ushered in a new era of musicals as a part of each season. Since the mid-1980s, the Festival has come to rely on musicals as an integral element of their seasons, often musicals will run longer than the plays—beginning previews in May and closing in October—and usually at least one musical is given pride of place on the main Festival Stage.

My dissertation fills a large gap in the literature about the Stratford Festival by addressing a topic that has become immensely important to the functioning of the Festival in the last twenty-five years—music and musicals. I argue that there is great value in thinking about musicals in the broader history of the Stratford Festival, and that histories that have downplayed the role of musicals have done a disservice to the genre of musicals and to the Stratford Festival. In making this argument, I am interceding in the historiography of the Festival to ensure that musicals are given the attention and analysis they deserve. The majority of books written about the Stratford Festival have been popular histories about the founding of the Festival or specific moments in its history. My dissertation reexamines these histories in order to forefront the role of music and musicals at the Stratford Festival, thus redressing the oversights in histories that neglect to analyze Stratford's relationship with music. What follows is a brief literature review on the Stratford Festival, highlighting the central sources used in this study, but also pointing out the lack of engagement in the literature with the vital musical aspects of the Festival.

From its inception to the present, the history of the Stratford Festival has been well documented by scholars and writers of popular histories. People intimately involved in the creation of the Festival have written books that give readers an insider's perspective on the

running of the Festival, and these narratives have become the official history of the Festival. Tyrone Guthrie, the original Artistic Director, recounts the first three years at Stratford along with Grant MacDonald and Robertson Davies in three anecdote-laden books.⁹ The impresario behind the Festival, Tom Patterson, also penned a history to share his memories about the first years of the Festival.¹⁰ A 1954 documentary by the National Film Board of Canada entitled *The Stratford Adventure* about the creation of the Festival was widely disseminated after it was nominated for an Academy Award.¹¹ The Stratford Festival also published a yearly pamphlet entitled *The Stratford Festival Story* that annually reaffirmed the official story of how the Festival came to be.¹² Current official publications from the Stratford Festival that contribute to its impressive publicity machine include the season brochures, house programs for each of the productions, a yearly souvenir program, an e-newsletter entitled *SceneNotes*, study guides for students and teachers, and promotional videos uploaded to the Stratford Festival YouTube channel.¹³ The official publications are supplemented by behind-the-scenes tell-alls,¹⁴ memoirs and biographies of directors and stars associated with the Festival,¹⁵ and commemorative

⁹ Tyrone Guthrie, Robertson Davies, and Grant Macdonald, *Renown at Stratford; a record of the Shakespeare Festival in Canada, 1953*, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953); Tyrone Guthrie, Roberston Davies, *Twice have the trumpets sounded; a record of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Canada, 1954*, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1954); Tyrone Gurthrie, Robertson Davies, Boyd Neel and Tanya Moiseiwitsch, *Thrice the brindled cat hath mew'd: a record of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Canada, 1955*, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1955).

¹⁰ Tom Patterson and Allan Gould, *First stage: the making of the Stratford Festival*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987),

¹¹ National Film Board of Canada, *The Stratford Adventure*, Directed by Morten Parker, Music by Louis Applebaum, 1954. Accessed August 11, 2013, http://www.nfb.ca/film/stratford_adventure

¹² *The Stratford Festival Story*, published by the Stratford Festival foundation on a yearly basis between 1959 and 1984 was widely distributed to Festival members and in press kits, Stratford Festival archives.

¹³ I accessed many of these resources in the Stratford Festival archives. Recent materials are also available on the Stratford Festival website: www.stratfordfestival.ca

¹⁴ Joan Ganong, *Backstage at Stratford*, (Toronto: Longmans, 1962); Grace Lydiatt Shaw, *Stratford under cover: memories on tape*, (Toronto: NC Press, 1977).

¹⁵ James Forsyth, *Tyrone Guthrie: a biography*, (London: Hamilton, 1976); Tyrone Guthrie, *A life in the theatre*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959); Tyrone Guthrie, *A new theatre*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); Richard Monette and David John Prosser, *This rough magic: the making of an artistic director: a memoir*, (Stratford, Ont: Stratford Festival of Canada, 2007); Walter G. Pitman, *Louis Applebaum: a passion for culture*, (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2002); Christopher Plummer, *In spite of myself: a memoir*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

retrospectives celebrating anniversaries of the Festival.¹⁶ Information about specific productions can most often be found in newspaper articles and the near-yearly reviews of the Stratford season in *The Shakespeare Quarterly*. There are also some articles and books that analyze changes in artistic direction and financial decisions made at the Festival.¹⁷

Most of the sources listed above are not scholarly analyses, but are publications intended for the general public commonly available for sale in the Stratford Festival gift shops. The few academic works about the Stratford Festival are limited to journal articles,¹⁸ case studies in books about theatre,¹⁹ and unpublished PhD dissertations, all but one of which were written more than twenty-five years ago.²⁰ No scholarly monograph about the Stratford Festival has been published, and there is little analysis of music and musicals at the Festival beyond newspaper articles²¹ and small sections in the retrospectives of the Festival.²² My dissertation not only fills a gap in the literature about Stratford by addressing the importance of music and musicals there,

¹⁶ Robert Cushman, *Fifty seasons at Stratford*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002); Martin Hunter, *Romancing the bard: Stratford at fifty*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2001); Richard Ouzounian, *Stratford gold: 50 years, 50 stars, 50 conversations*, (Toronto: McArthur & Co., 2002); John Pettigrew and Jamie Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I: 1953-1967, Volume II: 1968-1982*, (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985).

¹⁷ Robert A. Gaines, *John Neville takes command: the story of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in production*, (Stratford, Ont: William Street Press, 1987); Martin Knelman, *A Stratford tempest*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Peter Parolin, What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2009): 197-224.

¹⁸ i.e. Kim Solga, "Realism and the Ethics of Risk at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 28 no. 4 (Winter 2010): 417-42.

¹⁹ Richard Paul Knowles, *Reading the material theatre*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁰ Dennis L. Behl, "Tanya Moiseiwitsch: her contribution to theatre arts from 1935-1980," PhD diss., (Kent State University, 1981); Nora René Campbell, "The Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada: Revolution of an artistic policy (1953-1980) as a basis for its success," PhD diss., (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1982); David Percy Edgecombe, "Educational programs of four North American Shakespeare festivals: Stratford Shakespeare festival, the New Jersey Shakespeare festival, the Folger theatre and the Oregon Shakespearean festival (Ontario, Washington, D.C.)," PhD diss., (Kent State University, 1986); Margaret Estelle Groome, "Canada's Stratford festival, 1953-1967: Hegemony, commodity, institution." PhD diss., (McGill University, 1988); Robert Emmett McGill, "Stratford '55: the establishment of convention," PhD diss., (University of Michigan, 1972); Anna Racette, "Shakespeare in the body: An exploration of student audiences at the Stratford festival." PhD diss., (University of Toronto, 2007); Euan Ross Stuart, "An analysis of productions on the open stage at Stratford, Ontario," PhD diss., (University of Toronto, 1974).

²¹ Graham George, "Music." *Saturday Night* Vol. 79, No. 10 (Oct. 1964), pp. 37-39; Jamie Portman, "Stratford's in trouble; musicals outdrawing Shakespeare." *Montreal Gazette* Feb. 2, 1991.

²² Patterson and Gould, *First Stage*; Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*.

but also intervenes in the current literature about musicals through my analytical framework of entertainment value and in providing a Canadian reading of the musical genre. My project will be of interest to both musicologists and theatre scholars, to those studying the genre of musical theatre and to those interested in Canadian theatre companies, repertory theatre companies, and the Stratford Festival specifically.

BACKGROUND AND TERMINOLOGY, ACT II: MUSICALS

For the purpose of this dissertation, I use the term *music theatre* (as distinct from musical theatre) as an umbrella term to refer to all types of theatre where music plays more than an incidental part. Music theatre in this sense therefore encompasses *opera*, *operetta*, and *musicals*—all genres that rely on *sung* music, and as such are distinct from other staged arts like ballet and mime that use music but rely on movement and dance rather than sung words to tell the story. In order to avoid confusion, I have tried to avoid using the term musical theatre in this work, but where I do use it, it is as a synonym for the musical comedy or musical play and not as a synonym for the umbrella category music theatre.

My dissertation examines a specific genre of music theatre—the musical. The core of the genre is made up of *Golden Age* musicals from approximately the 1930s to the 1960s, “from *Showboat* to Sondheim” according to musicologist Geoffrey Block.²³ This historically specific core repertory is reinforced through revivals on Broadway, the West End, and at theatres like Stratford, as well as in the musical theatre literature.²⁴ It is largely from this central Golden Age

²³ Geoffrey Block, *Enchanted evenings: The Broadway musical from Show Boat to Sondheim*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). David Hirst used the exact same phrase, in his article, “The American musical and the American dream: From *Show Boat* to Sondheim,” *New Theatre Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (February 1985): 24-38.

²⁴ See: Geoffrey Block, “The Broadway canon from *Show Boat* to West Side Story and the European operatic ideal,” *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1993): 525-44; William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird, eds. *The Cambridge companion to*

canon of musicals that Stratford has drawn its musical theatre repertoire.²⁵ Musicals at Stratford are also understandably tied to Shakespearean themes whenever possible, and the musicals that are explicitly based on Shakespeare's plays have been produced more than once since the Festival began mounting musicals.²⁶

Musicals hold an uneasy place in the academy because they are an interdisciplinary genre. Musicals have an unsettled home in theatre departments, music departments and dance departments alike, in part because the interdisciplinary nature of musicals calls for interdisciplinarity in their study and few are equipped to talk with equal authority about dramaturgy, music and dance. The challenge of interdisciplinarity also exists with opera, but musicologists staked a claim on opera long ago, declaring, with the method of study, that music is the most important thing about opera. The same sort of claim has not been staked for musicals, although, like opera, music is what makes a musical different from other forms of theatre.

In addition to the challenge of interdisciplinarity, musicals are *middl**eb**row*, which I believe is the larger reason they are marginalized within the academy. Theatre scholar David Savran notes that musicals are a middleclass genre, and as such, have neither the revolutionary appeal of working and lower class art, nor the highbrow appeal of "legitimate" art.²⁷ Musicals are easily dismissed as "only entertainment" or "guilty pleasures" because they are a middlebrow

the musical, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Denny Martin Flinn, *Musical! A grand tour: The rise, glory, and fall of an American institution*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997); Mark N. Grant, *The rise and fall of the Broadway musical*, (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004); David Hirst, "The American musical and the American dream: From *Show Boat* to *Sondheim*," *New Theatre Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (February 1985): 24-38; Raymond Knapp, *The American musical and the formation of national identity*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); Kim H. Kowalke, "Theorizing the Golden Age Musical: Genre, Structure, Syntax," in *A Music- Theoretical Matrix: Essays in Honor of Allen Forte (Part V)*, ed. David Carson Berry, *Gamut* 6/2 (2013): 133-184; Ethan Mordden, *The Golden Age of the Broadway musical*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004; Larry Stempel, *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010); Joseph P. Swain, *The Broadway musical: A critical and musical survey*. 2d ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

²⁵ See Chapter Two.

²⁶ For a good summary of musicals based on Shakespearean plays, see Irene Dash, *Shakespeare and the American musical*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

²⁷ David Savran, "Toward a historiography of the popular," *Theatre Survey* 45, 2 (November 2004), 215-216.

genre, belonging to a culture and class that Savran calls “the most loathed category for those with the leisure and ambition to map American cultural production.”²⁸ Popular music scholar Simon Frith writes that the academy has been politically selective in choosing which parts of popular culture to reclaim for study, and “those consumers who aren’t approved are still dismissed as ‘dupes’ in conventional Marxist terms. This is the fate of the middlebrow: the easy listener and light reader and Andrew Lloyd Webber fan.”²⁹ To talk about musicals as middlebrow is clearly to make assumptions about the class, education and income of the audience.³⁰ Frith notes “it would be quite easy to produce a canon of popular texts excluded from cultural studies, such exclusion reflecting a contempt for their consumers which derives, in turn, from assumptions about their class position and/or social passivity.”³¹ The term middlebrow, as a referential term, places other types of entertainment above (opera, classical theatre) and below (movies, pop songs) musicals. In recent years, it has become unfashionable to talk about highbrow, lowbrow, and middlebrow, and so the art/entertainment divide has assumed some of its place in the discourse. Although I am primarily interested in the framework of entertainment value and how it is contrasted with art (see the section below), I still find useful the terms that Lawrence Levine articulated so thoughtfully in his seminal *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*.³² Other terms like “music of the middle” or “mass culture music” are not quite accurate to describe musicals, nor do those terms evoke class and taste so vividly as does the term middlebrow.

²⁸ Ibid., 216.

²⁹ Simon Frith, “The good, the bad, and the indifferent: defending popular culture from the populists,” *Diacritics* 21, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 104.

³⁰ I explore some of these distinctions and the specific audience demographics at Stratford in Chapter Three.

³¹ Frith, “The good, the bad, and the indifferent,” (Winter 1991): 104.

³² Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

In the past twenty years or so, there has been a notable number of scholarly works on musicals, which have helped move the genre from a marginalized area of study within academe to a more respected one. It took established musicologists like Geoffrey Block (who wrote two books about Charles Ives before writing *Enchanted Evenings*³³) and Raymond Knapp (who published books about Brahms and Mahler before publishing his two *American Musical and... Identity* books³⁴), and theatre scholars like Scott McMillin (who mainly wrote books about Elizabethan drama before writing *The Musical as Drama*³⁵) to help legitimize musicals as worthy of serious scholarly study. McMillin posthumously won the George Jean Nathan Award for Dramatic criticism in 2006, and Princeton theatre professor Michael Cadden, who nominated *The Musical as Drama*, remarked that the book “makes us not so embarrassed to love musicals.”³⁶ Cadden’s choice of words is telling, that we are not *so* embarrassed as we were before scholarly books like McMillin’s indicates that some embarrassment about loving musicals still lingers within the academy. However, when senior scholars were able to unashamedly engage with the study of musicals (likely because they already had “serious” credentials in musicology or theatre studies), they helped smooth the path for other scholars to write academic works about musicals.

In the goal of carving a place for musicals in the academy, some of the more embarrassing aspects of musicals were downplayed in order to make the genre more palatable to the uninitiated. Thus, musicologists were more likely to focus on composers who had art music training like Gershwin, Bernstein and Sondheim and not devote as much time to “tunesmiths”

³³ Block, *Enchanted Evenings*, 1997.

³⁴ Raymond Knapp, *The American musical and the formation of national identity*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005) and *The American musical and the performance of personal identity*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006).

³⁵ Scott McMillin, *The musical as drama*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006).

³⁶ See “Late CU English Professor receives 2007 Nathan Award” *Cornell Chronicle* (January 4, 2008), <http://news.cornell.edu/stories/2008/01/late-cornell-professor-receives-drama-criticism-award>

like Irving Berlin or overly popular works by Andrew Lloyd Webber. Many scholars put forth their own core repertoires of musicals in books that reinforced the Golden Age as the epicentre of the musical genre.

Musical scholarship in the past twenty years has moved beyond the biographies, and anecdote-laden, image-heavy histories that dominated the musical theatre section of library shelves in days past. In the mid-nineties, texts by Denny Flinn, Richard Kislán, Mark Steyn and Ethan Mordden re-examined the history of musicals, analyzing the component parts of musicals and how they worked together to form the genre.³⁷ These works often ended by discussing the “decline” of the American musical, historicizing the genre, and focusing largely on works before the “fall.” Mark Grant echoed this “decline” narrative in 2004, while Bruce Kirle argued in 2005 that musicals themselves and the genre as a whole were “works in progress.”³⁸ Musicologists such as Geoffrey Block and Joseph Swain wrote books that analyzed the music of musicals, while presenting a “core repertory” of the genre.³⁹ Esteemed presses like Oxford and Routledge released “companions” to the American Broadway musical—reference books of musicals on

³⁷ Denny Martin Flinn, *Musical! A grand tour: The rise, glory, and fall of an American institution*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997); Richard Kislán, *The musical: A look at the American musical theatre*, rev. ed. (New York: Applause Books, 1995); Mark Steyn, *Broadway babies say goodnight: Musicals then and now*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1997). Between 1997 and 2005, Ethan Mordden published a series of books about the Broadway musical, organized by decade, including: *Make believe: The Broadway musical in the 1920s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); *Coming up roses: the Broadway musical in the 1950s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); *Beautiful mornin': the Broadway musical in the 1940s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); *Open a new window: the Broadway musical in the 1960s*, (New York: Palgrave for St. Martin's Press, 2001); *One more kiss: the Broadway musical in the 1970s*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); *The happiest corpse I've ever seen: the last twenty-five years of the Broadway musical*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *Sing for your supper: the Broadway musical in the 1930s*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

³⁸ Mark N. Grant, *The rise and fall of the Broadway musical*, (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004); Bruce Kirle, *Unfinished show business: Broadway musicals as works-in-process*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005).

³⁹ Joseph P. Swain, *The Broadway musical: A critical and musical survey*, 2d ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), Block, *Enchanted Evenings*, 1997.

stage and film—that expanded on earlier work done by Stanley Green.⁴⁰ Cambridge’s “companion” was a volume of essays from multiple contributors that explored many aspects of musicals (on Broadway and beyond), edited by Paul R. Laird and William A. Everett.⁴¹ In the 2000s, how different musicals expressed identity became a central focus in the field; books by Raymond Knapp and John Bush Jones studying American and personal identity⁴² were joined by Andrea Most’s book about Jews and musicals,⁴³ and books by Susan Smith, John Clum, David Savran, and Stacy Wolf that variously explored race, gender, and sexuality in musicals.⁴⁴

Many of the books in the brief literature review above, and articles in journals such as *Studies in Musical Theatre*, paid attention to the art of musicals, bypassing some of the purely pleasurable, entertaining aspects, and an emphasis on the “integrated” musical emerged. Orchestrations that worked to foreshadow events, music that revealed more than lyrics could do alone, books that held up on their own as texts for literary analysis, and dance that exposed internal character struggles (as in *Oklahoma!*’s dream ballet) were examined with the same tools academics used to analyze more highbrow forms of music, theatre or dance in their respective fields. As scholars worked to take musicals seriously, the Golden Age musicals—many of them

⁴⁰ Ken Bloom, *The Routledge guide to Broadway*, (New York: Routledge, 2007); Thomas S. Hirschak, *The Oxford Companion to the American Musical: Theatre, Film, and Television* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Stanley Green, *Broadway musicals show by show*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1985) and *Hollywood musicals year by year*, (Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard, 1990).

⁴¹ William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird, eds., *The Cambridge companion to the musical*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁴² Raymond Knapp, *The American musical and the formation of national identity*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005) and *The American musical and the performance of personal identity*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006); John Bush Jones, *Our musicals, ourselves: A social history of the American musical theatre*, (London: Brandeis University Press, 2003).

⁴³ Andrea Most, *Making Americans: Jews and the Broadway musical*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁴⁴ Susan Smith, *The musical: Race, gender and performance*, (New York: Wallflower, 2005); John M. Clum, *Something for the boys: Musical theatre and gay culture*, (St. Martin’s Press, 2001); David Savran, *A queer sort of materialism: Recontextualizing American theatre* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Stacy Ellen Wolf, *A problem like Maria: Gender and sexuality in the American musical*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002) and *Changed for good: a feminist history of the Broadway musical*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

musical plays instead of musical comedies—were held up as exemplars of the genre, and some of the more spectacular, topical, or revue-style musicals were excluded from the canon. The emphasis on the Golden Age of the Broadway musical (which some scholars argue started with *Show Boat* in 1927, and others argue started with *Oklahoma!* in 1943, but all agree ended in the late 1960s, usually after *Cabaret* in 1966 and before *Hair* in 1968) in much of the literature led some scholars and critics to view musicals as a historical genre whose heyday was past. Larry Stempel argues in his book *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater*, “belief in a historical Golden Age inevitably invites unflattering comparisons with the current one.”⁴⁵ The overriding focus on canonical Golden Age musicals in scholarly texts on the genre not only allows for the current age to be unfavourably assessed, it also means the core repertory of “*Show Boat* to Sondheim”⁴⁶ fails to include many of the musicals that interrogated contemporary issues and that continued to be immensely popular with audiences in the decades after *Hair*.

In the past decade, scholarly books have emerged to redress this gap. Elizabeth Wollman’s book *Hard Times*, about the largely forgotten subgenre of adult musicals in the 1970s joins other recent scholarship like Jessica Sternfeld’s *The Megamusical* and Wollman’s first book on rock musicals in allowing for a broader understanding of the musical genre.⁴⁷ Wollman argues that the focus on commercial and critical successes in the majority of Broadway histories has left a gap in the discourse around more modest hits or outright failures (with the important exception of Ken Mandelbaum’s book *Not Since Carrie: Forty Years of Broadway Musical*

⁴⁵ Larry Stempel, *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010), 655.

⁴⁶ Block, *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical from Show Boat to Sondheim*.

⁴⁷ Jessica Sternfeld, *The Megamusical*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Elizabeth L. Wollman, *The theater will rock: a history of the rock musical: from Hair to Hedwig*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006) and *Hard times: the adult musical in 1970s New York City*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

*Flops*⁴⁸). In the push to take the genre of musical theatre seriously, the flops and embarrassments within the genre are often disregarded or suppressed. These recent books make useful case studies for how contemporaneous production and reception can affect later canon formation. Books such as *Hard Times*, *The Theatre Will Rock*, *The Megamusical*, *Not Since Carrie*, and *Rebels with Applause*⁴⁹ broaden the scope of musical theatre scholarship to include forgotten subgenres outside the canon, and are welcome additions to the field.

My own dissertation contributes to this growing field of study that endeavours to take musicals seriously, carving a place for their analysis within the academy. I am also interested in exploring the historical reasons why musicals were overlooked in music, theatre and dance departments for so long. Literature from the fields of dance, music and theatre are all available to the scholar of musical theatre, and I have found particularly fruitful ground in the area of performativity, as with the recent edited volume *Gestures of Music Theatre*.⁵⁰ The co-editors of that volume, Millie Taylor and Dominic Symonds, write that their exploration draws on “discipline-based scholarship from theatre studies, musicology, and cultural studies” but they also use other approaches and methodologies.⁵¹ Likewise, my dissertation draws inspiration and approaches from beyond my primary discipline of musicology. Taylor also wrote the recent book *Musicals, realism and entertainment*,⁵² and my work on entertainment further interrogates the important relationship between entertainment and musicals.

Musicals can be studied from a number of angles; there are fruitful areas of inquiry in many facets of cultural studies, economics and sociology. They can be an excellent reflection of

⁴⁸ Ken Mandelbaum, *Not since Carrie: Forty years of Broadway musical flops* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991).

⁴⁹ Scott Miller, *Rebels with applause: Broadway’s groundbreaking musicals*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001).

⁵⁰ Dominic Symonds and Millie Taylor, eds., *Gestures of music theatre: The performativity of song and dance*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵² Millie Taylor, *Musical theatre, realism and entertainment*, (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012).

American culture—for example, if you study the various revivals of *Showboat* you will get an excellent understanding of the way racial relations have evolved since 1927.⁵³ However, musicals continue to be underrepresented in academia, even though some of the same sorts of sociological approaches are used in musical theatre scholarship as in the rest of popular music scholarship and theatre studies. I believe this is because the first, primary goal of musicals is to entertain. Musical is unabashedly about and for entertainment, and while popular music scholars and cultural theorists have done a great job unpacking terms like popular and commercial, there has by and large not been a similar discussion of the term entertainment.

BACKGROUND AND TERMINOLOGY, ACT III: ENTERTAINMENT VALUE

Musicologists (especially popular music scholars) have inherited the legacy of the ‘new’ musicology that emerged in the 1980s, introduced when Joseph Kerman called for a change to musicology wherein “musicologists will become more engaged with music as experience rather than as object, with a view to assessing (like literary critics) the value of music and demonstrating its importance.”⁵⁴ Many musicologists embraced this call wholeheartedly. Popular music scholars pushed back hard against the dominance of Western Art Music in the academy and created a space for popular music by applying cultural (and subcultural) theory to music. However, in examining extrinsic values more than intrinsic ones, in arguing for rock and hip hop to be valued for its political or social functions, they inadvertently cast doubt on popular music’s

⁵³ Lauren Acton, “Can’t help lovin’ dat musical: *Show Boat* in films and revivals,” in *From Stage to Screen: Musical Films in Europe and United States (1927-1961)* edited by Massimiliano Sala, 1-17 (Lucca, Italy: Brepols, 2012).

⁵⁴ See Joseph Kerman *Contemplating music: Challenges to musicology*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985). Kerman’s call to the field was parsed by Alastair Williams in *Constructing musicology*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 3.

aesthetic worth. The sociological approach tended to sidestep aesthetic, intrinsic questions about the music and also tended to privilege the music of straight males—metal, punk, and rock.

Swinging the pendulum far toward social and political functionality in pop music also had the unforeseen consequence that a large portion of pop music went unexamined, namely the most popular pop, the music of the middle. Film scholar Richard Dyer thinks this avoidance of very popular musics was an inheritance from Adorno's critiques of popular music. Music that was less tied to production and was more vocally anti-establishment was valued more because it distanced itself from corporate production and the 'culture industry.'⁵⁵ Popular music scholars struggled to carve out a niche for themselves in the academy and managed to do so partly by steering clear of the more suspect pop music that was a central part of the music corporate establishment. Music like punk that was anti-establishment and somewhat on the fringes of music culture achieved a firm central place in popular music discourse within the academy, while the music that was at the top of the billboard charts from the same era—or a Disney musical like *Beauty and the Beast*—tended to be pushed to the margins of academic study.

In the three decades since Joseph Kerman first made his call to the field, many studies have emerged—notably from feminist and queer perspectives—that engage with populist pop. Musicologists have become more inclusive not only in the genres we study but also in our approaches and theoretical frameworks. Theories about entertainment are found in film theory⁵⁶ and aesthetic philosophy⁵⁷ and are closely related to the study of pleasure in the arts, both in

⁵⁵ Richard Dyer, *Only entertainment*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 152. See also Theodor W. Adorno, *The culture industry*, (London: Routledge, 1991).

⁵⁶ Dyer, *Only entertainment*.

⁵⁷ Richard Shusterman, "Entertainment: A question for aesthetics," *British Journal of Aesthetics*. 43, 3 (July 2003): 289- 307, and "Popular art and entertainment value," in *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*, edited by William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, 131-157 (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007).

theatre⁵⁸ and music.⁵⁹ I believe that scholars from many fields will find entertainment theory another useful framework for analyzing cultural products, their creation, dissemination and reception.

Entertainment is a ubiquitous term in our ‘Entertainment era’ and so, as someone who studies a genre of music that is chiefly about entertainment, I have found an analysis of entertainment value to be very useful. Philosopher Richard Shusterman and film scholar Richard Dyer have each explored the term entertainment and have argued for it to be taken seriously. Richard Dyer imagines a conversation in which two people discuss an entertainment one has seen; the first person asks “What did you think of it?” and the second person responds, “Well it wasn’t *good*, but it was entertaining.”⁶⁰ When this type of exchange occurs, it is evident that, even when someone does not think something has aesthetic value and is not defending its social or political role, he or she can still feel enjoyment. There is something else s/he is valuing, and that something is entertainment value. Simon Frith makes the important point that the social, political, aesthetic pleasures of entertainment are intertwined: “one of the more foolish consequences of the spurious distinctions between art and entertainment (or between high and low culture) is the suggestion that to be entertained is to suspend all moral or aesthetic judgement.”⁶¹ People make value judgments about what they see and hear, and just because

⁵⁸ Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on theatre: The development of an aesthetic*, ed. John Willett. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964); David Savran, “Toward a historiography of the popular,” *Theatre Survey* 45, 2 (November 2004): 211-217; Victor Turner, *From ritual to theatre: The human seriousness of play*, (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982); Anne Ubersfeld, “The pleasure of the spectator,” *Modern Drama* 25 (1982): 127-139.

⁵⁹ Simon Frith, *Music for pleasure: Essays on the sociology of pop*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), *Performing rites: On the value of popular music*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), and “Entertainment” in *Mass media and society*, 2nd edition, James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, eds, (London: Arnold): 160-176; Eric Gans, “Art and entertainment,” in *Perspectives on musical aesthetics*, edited by John Rahn, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994); Dai Griffiths, “The high analysis of low music.” *Music Analysis* 18, no.3 (October 1999): 389-435; Richard Middleton, *Studying popular music*, (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990).

⁶⁰ Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 4.

⁶¹ Frith, “Entertainment,” 170-171.

somebody buys a ticket to a show does not mean they thought it was good, or enjoyable. To rely on sales figures alone as a measure for popular taste and value is to discount people's engagement (or lack thereof) with entertainment.⁶²

The value that entertainment provides to people is enmeshed with socio-political and aesthetic values that people find in many forms of entertainment. Nonetheless, I believe that if all the other values (economic, aesthetic, social, political, etc.) were stripped away, there would still be something left—a nugget of pleasure that we call being entertained. This is entertainment value; it is a value felt on an experiential level. Dyer believes that entertainment shows us “how to be critical of the way things are by feeling how else they might be.”⁶³ Entertainment works at the level of affect, of emotions. Music is perhaps especially effective at tapping into emotions that exist beyond the bounds of language, but are deeply felt. Dyer quotes Susanne K. Langer, who argues, “Music is a tonal analogue of emotive life.”⁶⁴ Dyer provides a schema for how and why entertainment works, by positing that it fulfills needs that capitalistic societies promise (but often fail) to meet. These are not needs manufactured by marketers or advertisers, but are real social tensions or absences that are met by entertainment, especially when the entertainment is escapist and utopian, as is the case with many musicals. Thus, the needs of scarcity, exhaustion, dreariness, manipulation and fragmentation are met in utopian entertainments by abundance, energy, intensity, transparency and community.⁶⁵ The temporary escape into a utopian world is one of the many values (or pleasures) that entertainment can provide. However, when aesthetic

⁶² There have been recent changes in the past few years to how analysts and entertainers measure audience's engagement—from changes in how Billboard tracks the popularity of albums (multiple listens on subscription services like Spotify are now given the same weight as one album sale), to the emergence of websites that allow audiences to monetarily support artists whose content they access for free (like Subbable and various Kickstarter campaigns).

⁶³ Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 179.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶⁵ Dyer, “Entertainment and Utopia” in *Only Entertainment*, 19-35. See especially his chart on p. 26.

or sociopolitical pleasures seem lacking in certain forms of entertainment, there is a tendency on the part of cultural critics to minimize the values these entertainments do provide. In these cases, the term entertainment is used dismissively or even pejoratively. The title of Dyer's book, *Only Entertainment*, clearly displays that, conceptually, entertainment is almost always attended by value judgments that compare it with something else. Often, it is contrasted with art.

Shusterman, as a philosopher of art, approaches entertainment aesthetically. He writes, "Because the concept of entertainment is deeply and complexly related to the concept of art, and because it is also broader and older than the concept of popular art, its analysis can be instructive not only for the question of popular art but for aesthetics as a whole."⁶⁶ Shusterman does not explicitly put forth a definition of entertainment, but instead defends its pleasures. He argues not only for a reevaluation of pleasure as a whole (and the understanding of the complexity of pleasures—from gaudium to jouissance to schadenfreude), but also for an understanding and acceptance of 'low' pleasures. He asks us to not only look at the positive functions of entertainment (such as providing relaxation and amusement) but to also consider entertainment value for itself, intrinsically and aesthetically.

Entertainment's link with pleasure is very basic on some levels; when someone is entertained, she feels pleasure. Richard Dyer emphasizes the importance of pleasure to our concept of entertainment, "while pleasure has surely always been intended and taken in artefacts and performances, the idea of entertainment is distinctive in its emphasis on the primacy of pleasure, ahead or even instead of practical, sacred, instructional or political aims and functions."⁶⁷ Both Dyer and Shusterman consider pleasure intrinsic to the study of entertainment.

⁶⁶ Richard Shusterman, "Entertainment: A question for aesthetics," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 43, 3 (July 2003): 289.

⁶⁷ Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 1.

Bertolt Brecht also felt strongly about the value of pleasure in entertainment; in his belief in the nobility and dignity of pleasure, he wrote that attempting to remove the pleasure from art would be to debase it.

From the very first it has been the theatre's business to entertain people, as it also has of all the other arts. It is this business which always gives it its particular dignity; it need no other passport than fun, but this it has got to have... Thus what the ancients, following Aristotle, demanded of tragedy is nothing higher or lower than that it should entertain people... And the catharsis of which Aristotle writes—cleansing by fear and pity, or from fear and pity—is a purification which is performed not only in a pleasurable way, but precisely for the purpose of pleasure. To ask or accept more of theatre is to set one's mark too low.⁶⁸

He notes that there are a variety of pleasures that theatre can create, and that they are not all equal. For Brecht, the greater and more complex the pleasures, the greater is the work of art.

The term *guilty pleasure* is often invoked when certain forms of mass entertainment (reality television, genre fiction, gossip magazines, etc.) are discussed. Comedian Tim Minchin says that these types of guilty pleasures “show an incredibly low threshold for both guilt and pleasure.” To him, a guilty pleasure would be something like “doing cocaine while you’re babysitting or cancelling your monthly payment to your sponsor child so you can afford to buy a second iPad.”⁶⁹ What Minchin is getting at is that in the common usage of the term, the ‘guilt’ in a guilty pleasure is mild—or it should be. There may be some heavier guilt in liking a rap song that is misogynistic or a country song that is racist,⁷⁰ but most guilty pleasures are ‘guilty’ for aesthetic reasons rather than political or social reasons. In guilty pleasures, the guilt is in knowing that we are making a decision to like something that our community tells us is not good

⁶⁸ Brecht, *Brecht on theatre*, 180-181.

⁶⁹ Minchin told this bit on guilty pleasures at the Melbourne International Comedy Festival, All-star Show, 2011, available online <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rVsD-bHA7oA>

⁷⁰ See Aaron A. Fox's chapter on country as ‘bad’ music for a discussion of this point in *Bad music: the music we love to hate* Christopher Washburn and Maiken Derno, eds., (New York: Routledge, 2004). Carl Wilson also writes on this point, “unless you have a thing for white-power anthems, the claim now goes, there is no reason ever to feel guilty or ashamed about what you like” Carl Wilson, *Let's talk about love: A journey to the end of taste* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 13.

taste. When Cadden and Wollman referenced some peoples' embarrassment about enjoying musicals, they were acknowledging that the entire genre is sometimes seen as a guilty pleasure. Hans-Georg Gadamer states, "taste, in its essential nature, is not private, but a social phenomenon of the first order."⁷¹ We therefore feel guilty about enjoying something our society labels as bad taste.

As Pierre Bourdieu writes in *Distinction*, "taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed."⁷² Taste is constructed and deconstructed in socially and historically specific ways; gatekeepers (who are often invested in preserving the status quo) delineate the parameters of good taste. However, taste is also personal—it is revealing to tell other people what we like or hate, and can forge or break social bonds when others agree or disagree with us. I admit that part of my motivation in choosing to analyze musicals in my dissertation was to defend my own pleasure in musicals to those who have questioned it, and to analyze the taste worlds I inhabit, growing up with the Stratford Festival close by, participating in musicals from a young age, and also receiving formal training in art music before pursuing musicology and cultural studies.

Bourdieu states that there are three routes by which an artwork achieves legitimacy, one route is that it conforms to the dominant 'bourgeois' taste, but the second route allows for avant-garde works to emerge in art that is created for appreciation by other artists, and the final route "is the principle of legitimacy which its advocates call 'popular,' i.e. the consecration bestowed

⁷¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and method*, English translation by Sheed and Ward Ltd., (New York: Crossroad, 1986), 34.

⁷² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, translated by Richard Nice, 1984, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 6-7.

by the choice of ordinary consumers, the ‘mass audience.’⁷³ Many guilty pleasures are legitimized by their popularity but have not been legitimized by artists and/or tastemakers. Thus if I name a musical like *Legally Blonde* a guilty pleasure, I am really setting up a binary that opposes aesthetic judgment with enjoyment. This binary is at the heart of the distinction between art and entertainment and is tied to cultural and class distinctions of high and low.

Entertainment and art have a great deal of overlap, and at its broadest definition, entertainment encompasses art, yet distinctions between the two are continuously underlined in cultural critiques, in journalism, in lines drawn in the sand between genres and styles, and in everyday conversation. The division between art and entertainment is inevitably mapped onto distinctions of high and low culture, art, and class. As Shusterman puts it, “underlying the stubborn hierarchical dichotomy between high and popular art there is a far more basic contrast at work—art versus entertainment. Yet the complex network of language games deploying these concepts reveals that entertainment is not simply contrasted to art but often identified with art as an allied or subsuming category.”⁷⁴ High/low and art/entertainment categorizations and distinctions are subjective and happen on continuums—or in Bourdieuan ‘fields’—that are constantly being restructured by the practitioners, critics, and audiences of the art/entertainment world. In the world of musicals, the Golden Age musicals tend to be high and musicals based on movies are low, but in the broader worlds of music or theatre, all musicals are usually ranked as lower (more toward the entertainment side of the art/entertainment continuum) than opera or classical theatre.

⁷³ Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production*, ed. Randal Johnson, (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1993), 51.

⁷⁴ Shusterman, “Entertainment: A question for aesthetics,” (2003), 290.

Shusterman historicizes the high/low duality in the Romantic era as it emerged in the philosophy of art. He notes that while Kant used the term entertainment to refer to both high (disinterested pleasure in beauty) and low (interested pleasure in the agreeable) in his *Critique of Judgment*,⁷⁵ it was with Hegel that entertainment came to refer to the low in particular, when he insisted that art should be ‘free’ from external functions and uses. In his *Lectures* Hegel stated, “it is of course the case that art can be used as a fleeting play, affording recreation and entertainment, decorating our surroundings, giving pleasantness to the externals of our life”⁷⁶ but Hegel turned his attention away from the entertaining, recreational functions of art to intrinsic value, because only when freed of extrinsic considerations was “fine art truly art, and it only fulfils its supreme task when it has placed itself in the same sphere as religion and philosophy.”⁷⁷ Hegel was one of the most influential Romantics in his ideas of autonomous art and functional entertainment; Shusterman laments, “this Hegelian attitude still sadly dominates contemporary aesthetics, whose idealist turn has privileged, in the realm of art, truth over beauty and pleasure.”⁷⁸ Shusterman points out logical inconsistencies in the utility/free argument put forward by Hegel and endorsed by philosophers like Hannah Arendt; he writes, “Hegel does not really leave these fine arts free. For he imperiously assigns them their *highest* task... servitude to God, truth and the ideal.”⁷⁹ Similarly, Arendt “claims to regard art and beauty as pure ends of delightful appearance with no functional reference to life, [but] she actually ends up insisting that

⁷⁵ Richard Shusterman, “Popular art and entertainment value” in *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*, edited by William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 138. See Immanuel Kant, *The critique of judgment*, 1790, translated by J. C. Meredith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), book 1, paragraph 7.

⁷⁶ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Hegel’s aesthetics: Lectures on fine art*, 1835, translated by T. M. Knox, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 7.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Shusterman, “Popular art and entertainment value” (2007), 138.

⁷⁹ Shusterman, “Entertainment: A question for aesthetics,” (2003), 297-298.

they perform perhaps the greatest service to life—its justification through immortalization.”⁸⁰

Because even Hegel and Arendt want art to serve a (high) function, the function/autonomy divide collapses upon inspection into a divide between high and low (often class-based) functions. This classist snobbery is part of what I examine in this work when so called popular, mass and low entertainments are contrasted with elite, high arts.

Those practitioners who find themselves on the entertainment or low side of the continuum often embrace their stature by satirizing high art. Lawrence Levine writes that several Americans, including John Philip Sousa, expressed antagonism toward European art music. In Hollywood films “it became common for classical musicians to be portrayed as silly, pretentious, and archaic.”⁸¹ The antagonism some American artists held toward European art music, theatre and dance can also be seen in the rejection of European-derived operetta in favour of home-grown musicals in the 1910s and late 1930s.⁸² Stratford, too, has vacillated between its colonial ties to England in its Shakespearean focus, and the frequent desire artistic directors had for Stratford to be Canada’s national theatre, reflecting Canadian identity and independence back to Canadian audiences.

Richard Dyer notes that the classical European art / American popular entertainment dualism was acted out in several musical films, with entertainment and art partially reconciling through the romantic union of the lead couple. In the Hollywood vision of events, entertainment usually took the upper hand: “In *Funny Face*, the central contradiction is between art and entertainment, and this is further worked through in the antagonism between the central couple,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 307.

⁸¹ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow* (1988), 283.

⁸² Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A theatrical history*, rev. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Audrey Hepburn (art) and Fred Astaire (entertainment).”⁸³ Astaire often represented entertainment in his movies. In *The Band Wagon* his character is suspicious of high art, represented by the director of *Oedipus Rex*, and he and his collaborators show the director the joys of entertainment in an anthem to the form—“That’s Entertainment!”—quoted as the epigraph of this chapter. In *Silk Stockings* Astaire’s American hedonism and taking pleasure in music and life is contrasted with Cyd Charisse’s Soviet character looking for usefulness in music and life. Fred and Ginger also waged battles with each other on the grounds of art versus entertainment. This trope allowed for some great dance routines that were based on fusions and the appropriations of once ‘low’ forms like tap to higher realms. Through the romantic reconciliation of Astaire and his partner at the end of his films, audiences were taught that art and entertainment could each be valued and could bring value to each other, but without entertainment art would be stuffy and boring.

What is categorized as high or low may change over time, but the high/low binary itself remains. Philosopher William Irwin writes, “We can’t live with or without the distinction between high and low art.”⁸⁴ Ted Cohen calls the distinction “indefensible but indispensable.”⁸⁵ So too, the art/entertainment division remains a useful, if not always palatable, tool. While it is important to acknowledge that art and entertainment are aligned and often overlap, no doubt we will also continue to use the terms in opposition in quotidian practice and continue to draw distinctions between what we enjoy and what we appreciate.

⁸³ Dyer, *Only Entertainment* (2002), 28.

⁸⁴ William Irwin, “Philosophy as/and/of popular culture,” in *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*, edited by William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 46.

⁸⁵ Ted Cohen, “High and low thinking about high and low art” in *The Journal of aesthetics and art criticism* 51 (1993): 151-152.

The overarching theoretical framework for this dissertation is a theory of entertainment that addresses the multifaceted nature of entertainment by examining aesthetic, economic, and socio-political factors in addition to the entertainment value of any particular work. In the past fifteen to twenty years, scholars such as David Deacon have presented models for holistic approaches to media studies. Deacon is especially concerned with combining analyses of production and consumption in order to gain a better understanding of how different media work. He argues, “dissociation fosters a tendency among researchers to underestimate, and even deny, the complexities of social and cultural processes beyond their immediate purview.”⁸⁶ In order to avoid myopic analyses, and to access and examine the nuances of entertainment (like musicals) that contain a complex node of values in the way they are produced, disseminated, and consumed, I have found a holistic approach to be indispensable.

Jonathan Burston, a media studies scholar who has analyzed the effects of megamusicals on the global theatre ecology, wrote of his holistic approach that tied together commercial, production-based, and aesthetic practices, “if an organisational examination of the megamusical phenomenon reiterates any theoretical lesson for media and cultural studies, it is that each of these moments of practice is intimately connected, and none can be considered as discrete from the others if changes under way within the live-entertainment economy are to be comprehended profitably.”⁸⁷ So too with musicals at Stratford, I have found that their role can only be fully understood by examining the many different types of values they have for the Festival, as well as what the Festival context brings to the genre of musicals.

⁸⁶ David Deacon, “Holism, communion and conversion: Integrating media consumption and production research,” in *Media, Culture and Society* 25 no. 2 (2003): 215.

⁸⁷ Jonathan Burston, “Spectacle, synergy and megamusicals: The global-industrialisation of live-theatrical production,” in *Media organizations in society*, James Curran, ed., 69-81. (London: Arnold, 2000), 70.

In examining the place of musicals at Stratford, I argue that neither the economic value nor the aesthetic worth of the musicals can be examined in isolation to justify the place of musicals at a classical festival; therefore the aesthetics and economics of the musicals must be taken in conjunction with the entertainment value in order to reveal the overall value of musicals at the Festival. My use of the term *entertainment value* refers to the pleasure a person takes in entertainment when he or she enjoys a work for its own sake. It is a value that can be teased out from economic, aesthetic and social or political values. Of course, these values are often intertwined and entertainment value does not exist in a sociological vacuum—when we feel pleasure and enjoyment, part of our response is socially conditioned—but I distinguish entertainment value from sociological approaches such as Marxism, feminism, subcultural theory, etc., that have dominated cultural studies and the discourse about music in recent years. The value of entertainment is felt not just by the entertained, but also by the entertainer, and the desire to share art with a wider public is a desire I call the *entertainment impulse*.

By including entertainment value in my approach to the study of musicals at Stratford, I give an in-depth reading of entertainment at the Festival. I maintain that entertainment value can be assessed by comparing the critical reception of works with box office receipts. In places where there is a discrepancy between how well a work was received critically and how well it was attended, I looked for instances of entertainment value making up the difference by analyzing the language used by the critics. In addition to the economic/commercial, aesthetic and socio-political factors present in musicals, studying the entertainment value of musicals presents a well-rounded analysis of the musicals and the many roles they fulfill at the Stratford Festival. It is an approach that attempts to balance text and context(s) partially by acknowledging the

hierarchies of genre within the musical and theatrical worlds and highbrow/lowbrow considerations within the canon of musical theatre.

AIMS AND SCOPE

This dissertation examines the role of musicals at the Stratford Festival, addressing why the artistic team included them in the first place and how their role within the Festival has evolved over time. In particular, I consider the extent to which musicals have altered the mandate of the Festival, changed the make-up of the company, and induced a different type of audience to make the trip to Stratford. I argue that musicals are not solely included in the Festival to put ‘bums in seats’ and thus to help cover the cost of riskier (and potentially less well attended) productions; rather, I show that in recent years the musicals themselves have grown riskier, suggesting that musicals at Stratford are chosen for aesthetic reasons as well as economic reasons. Stratford has recently produced new Canadian musicals, with no guarantee that they will attract an audience, but instead to support the creation of new musicals in Canada. I aim to show that the value of musicals at the Festival cannot be reduced to monetary value alone. There are complex social, political, and aesthetic reasons for the inclusion of specific musicals in specific seasons. My dissertation explores these reasons and puts forth a nuanced reading of the place of musicals at Stratford.

As many theatre companies and opera companies turn to more commercial and populist works to help bring new audience members through their doors, it is worth exploring how this unfolds. Art forms that had previously had separate venues and companies are more frequently being juxtaposed in one single context. For example, several opera companies are including musicals in their seasons, offering works by Verdi and Sondheim to the same subscription

audience, but also hoping to attract new operagoers to *La Traviata* by bringing them into the opera house with *Sweeny Todd*. These juxtapositions shed light on the cultural fracas between so-called high and low art forms, and the ways in which the valuation of these works are re-evaluated in new contexts by new audiences. The Stratford Festival therefore serves as a case study for how and why a company dedicated to classical forms of theatre integrated a commercial genre—the musical—into its mandate. I hope that my examination of the place of musicals at Stratford will prove a useful model for others who wish to explore the value of musicals in particular or the value of recontextualized arts more generally.

I have chosen to limit my study to a specific place—the Stratford Festival—and a specific genre—the musical. However, in the first two chapters I consider Stratford’s Music Festival (1955-1975), its incidental music, and other types of musical theatre because I argue that the high value that Stratford directors placed on live music in the early years of the Festival provided for a natural transition to musicals in the mid-eighties. Nevertheless, while I do discuss some of the operas and operettas produced at Stratford, the main focus of this work is on the musicals that Stratford produced after 1985. I provide context for what was going on in the worlds of theatre and music outside the Stratford Festival at various points throughout my dissertation, but my scope can be parsed as: “musicals at the Stratford Festival, 1986-2014,” which, at one to four musicals per year, provides plenty of material for analysis.

My goal is to understand and explain the place of musicals and their role in the Festival and what that reveals about musicals as a genre and the Festival as a venue. In pursuing that goal, I have attempted to answer the following questions:

1. Why were musicals included in the repertoire of a company dedicated to classical theatre?

2. What is the role of musicals at the Festival and how has their role evolved since the 1980s?
3. What types of musicals are included in the repertoire, and what does the inclusion of these musicals say about the Festival and the canon of musical theatre?
4. How has the inclusion of musicals altered the personnel and structure of the company?
5. How does an American art form (the musical) fit into a classical theatre company (with heavy British influence) in Canada, and how have Canadian musicals fared the few times they have been mounted?
6. Are musicals produced at the Stratford Festival different in form or nature from musicals presented elsewhere (i.e. Toronto, West End, Broadway)?

I examine many important aspects of the production and reception of musicals at a classical repertory festival and show how the role of the musicals was created and maintained, and why musicals matter to the Stratford Festival. Further, I hope that this exploration of the place of musicals in a classical repertory company continues the work of scholars such as Raymond Knapp, Geoffrey Block, Andrea Most, David Savran, Stacy Wolf and many others who have approached musicals seriously, as a genre worthy of scholarly attention, thus encouraging other scholars to take musicals seriously. My research therefore contributes to the growing field of musical theatre scholarship and the wider field of cultural theory. I combine aspects of aesthetics, economics, socio-political and cultural factors in my analysis of the entertainment value of musicals at the Stratford Festival. In so doing, I present a holistic approach to works of entertainment that will be useful to scholars of both high and popular culture.

METHODOLOGY

For this study, I conducted two main types of research: interviews and archival research. I have also relied on secondary research in the form of books published by and about the Stratford

Festival, contemporaneous reviews of musicals at Stratford, and the growing body of scholarly books about musical theatre. Since I began this project in 2012, I have seen every musical produced at Stratford, and I am also able to call upon my recollections of the musicals I have seen there over the past 20 years, since I first attended a school performance of *The Pirates of Penzance* in 1994. Whenever possible, I have also attended many of Stratford's other offerings, including plays, concerts, showcases, tours and "meet the company" events. All of these experiences proved fruitful sources of material and inspiration for this project.

I conducted the majority of my interviews with informants in person between August 2012 and September 2013 in Stratford and Toronto. I also conducted phone interviews and corresponded by email when meeting with my interview subjects in person was not feasible. I put out a general call to actors, directors and musicians through Stratford's internal contact list as well as reaching out through websites and social media, and snowballing from personal contacts.⁸⁸ My informants all communicated to me that they were happy to further the cause of musicals at the Stratford Festival by donating their time to talk with me about musicals. I thank them all for generously sharing their experiences.

In addition to interviews, my other source of primary material was archival research that I conducted in two large archives: the Stratford Festival archives in Stratford, Ontario and the Louis Applebaum fonds in the Clara Thomas archives at York University. Former music director of the Festival, Louis Applebaum, donated a wealth of materials about Stratford to the York University archives, including photographs, correspondence, programs, audition notes, scores and recordings. At the Stratford archives, I was able to view archival videos of productions I could not attend in person, watch recorded interviews, see production photographs, set

⁸⁸ See list of Interviewees, page 402.

maquettes, house and souvenir programs, and internal documents such as administration records and box office data. Some of the archival documents were not available to researchers and not all of the data I found in the Stratford archives could be published. In particular, I was asked not to share the raw numbers from the box office, as they do not always provide an accurate picture of attendance figures or the financial success of certain shows or the Festival as a whole. In addition to research in the Applebaum fonds and the Stratford archives, I conducted primary research in the CBC archives and with holdings at the Toronto Reference Library.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In the first two chapters of this dissertation I examine the relationship of music to the Stratford Festival with specific focus on the early years of the Festival before musicals became the dominant form of staged music at the Festival. Louis Applebaum was the first Festival Music Director and was instrumental in making music an important part of the Festival from the first day. Chapter One focuses on Applebaum's contribution including the composition of the Festival fanfares, the incidental music, conducting the Festival orchestra, creating a congress of Canadian composers at Stratford, and musically directing staged works such as operas and operettas. I also write about Applebaum's successors including Glenn Gould, Oscar Shumsky, Alan Laing and Berthold Carrière. In Chapter Two, I examine the operas and operettas that Stratford produced during its first 30 years. I interrogate some of the valuations that accompany genre distinctions and explore issues of canon. I also examine how the works that were chosen reflected the wider trends in theatre and Canadian national identity.

In those first two chapters, I argue that the Music Festival has had two important legacies for the Festival. First, the separation between the musical and dramatic sides of the Festival was

quite wide in the Music Festival years (1955-1975), and that separation continues to resonate in the way musicals and musical actors are often segregated from the rest of the works and company. Secondly, and more positively, the activities and successes of the Music Festival led to a tradition of active composers, acting singers and musicians being associated with and employed by the Festival, so that musicals arose very naturally out of this music rich environment.

Economics are a big part of keeping a festival the size of Stratford afloat, and my third chapter focuses on how the commercial needs of the Festival can influence the artistic considerations at the Festival. I explore how the Festival was created to replace Stratford's major industry, and how it is therefore responsible for the livelihoods of many Stratfordians as a direct employer and in the tourism trade that sprang up around it. I examine the ticket sales, government funding, sponsorship and ancillary revenue of the Festival, and how the disparate desires and agendas of the ticket-buying public, the government, and big business can influence artistic decisions. In this chapter I also unpack the history of musicals as a commercial genre of theatre, and how they have been treated as the "cash cow" at Stratford by many critics.

In my fourth chapter I examine the politics of space and place at Stratford especially as it relates to the four different stages used by the Festival. I give a history of each theatre at Stratford—the Festival stage, the Avon, the Tom Patterson Theatre (formerly the Third Stage), and the Studio Theatre. I then examine where the music theatre and concerts have historically been staged at Stratford, where the musicals are currently staged, and how the politics of place has influenced the reception of musicals at Stratford. In this chapter I also explore the special considerations for directors, actors and designers when mounting musicals on a thrust, or open,

stage. In a short case study after Chapter Four, I compare different productions of the same musical when they have been mounted at both the Avon and Festival theatres.

In my fifth chapter, I rely on interview data with the actors, musicians, and artists who create musicals at the Stratford Festival to interrogate how musicals and the people involved in them fit into the company as a whole. I explore the nature of repertory theatre, and how everyone at the Festival usually participates in more than one production each season. Frequently, the way the actors are cross-cast ensures that all the musically trained actors are in two musicals, and all the classically trained actors are in two plays. I examine the training of the actors and how Stratford provides further training in their own conservatory. I also investigate the “company within a company” phenomenon—looking at seasons when the musical actors were almost completely separate from the rest of the Stratford company, and at years where an attempt was made to counteract this trend by casting classical actors in musicals and vice versa.

Finally, I conclude my dissertation with a chapter that summarizes my findings and pulls together the economic, aesthetic and socio-political strands that emerged in the earlier chapters, giving a complex and nuanced reading of the place of musicals at Stratford. The main goal of my dissertation is to examine the role played by musicals at the Stratford Festival. I argue that musicals cannot be reduced to their economic value alone, any more than they can be fully encapsulated by their entertainment value or their aesthetic value. Each of these values informs the place of musicals at a classical repertory festival. I address each of these concerns separately, as outlined in the chapter breakdown above, before examining the ways they interrelate and coming to some conclusions about how the Stratford Festival approaches the genre of musicals and how musicals alter and expand the mandate of the Stratford Festival.

CHAPTER ONE: THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL AND ITS MUSIC

Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music/ Creep in our ears.
- William Shakespeare⁸⁹

When it sounds good, it is good.
- Duke Ellington⁹⁰

On a warm June evening in 2013, the lobby of the Stratford Festival theatre was filled with the strains of music composed by Louis Applebaum, the first director of music at the Festival. The performance, part of the Festival's "Night Music" series, was a tribute to Applebaum's music, performed by a group of four women known as The Festival Gems. The concert began, appropriately, with the fanfare that Applebaum composed to greet the audience at the very first performance of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival on July 13, 1953. The international and glittering crowd at that first première was there to see Alec Guinness as Richard III intone "Now is the winter of our discontent / Made glorious summer by this sun of York," but before the audience heard a word of Shakespeare, they were greeted by Applebaum's fanfare. The fanfare has been played before the start of every performance at the Stratford Festival theatre since that first night. Another fanfare by Applebaum is played at every intermission to call the audience back to their seats for the second half. Applebaum biographer Walter Pitman asserts that apart from the national anthem, these Stratford fanfares have been played more often than any other Canadian composition.⁹¹ For more than sixty seasons, these fanfares have welcomed theatre goers to the iconic Festival Theatre.

⁸⁹ William Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice* Act 5, Scene 1.

⁹⁰ Duke Ellington, "Jazz at Stratford" in *The 1957 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program*. Stratford Festival archives.

⁹¹ Walter Pitman, *Louis Applebaum: A Passion for Culture*, (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2002), 102. Pitman reiterated this point in his talk about Applebaum that was part of the tribute concert on June 10, 2013.



Illustration 1.1: Fanfare musicians at the Festival Theatre.
Stratford Festival Publicity. Photo by Krista Dodson.

By 2013, the fanfares had become so well known to Festival patrons that musical directors began taking liberties with them. At the Applebaum tribute concert, The Festival Gems gave an *a cappella* rendition of the fanfare to open the concert. They imitated the sounds of horns with their voices to knowing and appreciative chuckles from the audience. The standard instrumentation of four brass and one drum played the fanfare before two of the four plays at the Festival Theatre in 2013, but for the productions of *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Merchant of Venice* the instrumentation was altered. During some scenes in *Romeo and Juliet*, musicians playing a viol, lute, recorder and drum performed onstage, and this group of musicians also played a Renaissance-style arrangement of Applebaum's fanfare before the performance. The

instrumentation of the fanfare thus gave the audience at *Romeo and Juliet* a sense of the Elizabethan setting before they even set foot inside the auditorium. Antoni Cimolino's production of *The Merchant of Venice* was set in 1930s fascist Italy and the fanfare in this case was played on snare drum, trombone, saxophone, clarinet and violin in a klezmer-infused version.⁹² The fanfare in these instances functioned as aural markers of time and place that brought the setting of the plays outside the theatre proper, thus extending the experience of attending these specific Stratford shows beyond the stage. On top of the fanfares' normal function of celebrating the playgoing experience at Stratford in general, the reorchestrated fanfares added another layer that was about celebrating that production in particular. When an audience member steps outside the auditorium and into the lobby space of the theatre during intermission, they are entering a liminal space—partly still in the world of the play and partly in the quotidian world. The new arrangements of Applebaum's fanfares served as musical bridges that refocused the playgoers' attention into the world of the play before re-entering the auditorium for the second act.

The founding artistic director of the Festival, Tyrone Guthrie, was a proponent of pomp and pageantry. He believed that theatregoers should attend a festival like Stratford with a sense of occasion. In the first years of the Festival, a cannon shot was sounded at the beginning of each performance to cap off the fanfare.⁹³ The symbolic resonance of a brass fanfare and ceremonial cannon shots aligned the Stratford Shakespearean Festival with important royal, military and civic events. Applebaum was hired by Guthrie to compose incidental music for the plays and to conduct the orchestra, but it is the fanfare, more than any of Applebaum's other compositions,

⁹² See listing of fanfare musicians in 2013 house programs, Stratford Festival archives.

⁹³ There was also a large bell that was rung before performances as part of these welcoming rituals. The bell now sits inside the Festival Theatre lobby.

that has come to represent the sense of occasion at the Festival that Guthrie so prized. The fanfares are sonic markers of the Festival, representing the pageantry and festive spirit with which the Festival was created. Their central role in the Stratford experience points to a significant facet of the Festival that is often overlooked by Stratford Festival historians, audience members and even performers—the music.

Many monographs have been written about the Stratford Festival but none has been devoted to the music of the Stratford Festival, although music has played an important role at Stratford since its inception. In fact, from 1955 until 1965, the Festival was referred to as the Stratford Festival of Drama *and Music* and this musical emphasis can easily be tracked in the Festival's promotional materials (see Illustration 1.2).⁹⁴ In this chapter I explore the role of music at the Stratford Festival, addressing an aspect vital to its history and character that has long been neglected. I look at the history of the Music Festival and the ambitious plans of Festival music directors such as Louis Applebaum, Oscar Shumsky and Glenn Gould for music at the Stratford Festival. From incidental music for the plays, to the concert series, Chapter One is devoted to an examination of the musical life at the Stratford Festival beyond music theatre. I argue that the emphasis on developing a musical side to the Festival in its early history set the stage for the successful inclusion of operettas and American musicals into a Shakespeare festival.

⁹⁴ Emphasis mine. From 1955 until 1965, the brochures for the Festival were leaflets that opened to show the drama festival on the inner left flap and the music festival on the inner right flap. After 1966, a change was made organize the offerings by space, rather than genre, so the brochures listed all performances at the Festival theatre together and all performances at the Avon theatre together, whether they were plays, operettas or concerts. See brochures and visitor's guides at the Stratford Festival Archives.

THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL

MICHAEL LANGHAM, ARTISTIC DIRECTOR

DRAMA

June 19 - September 23

THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL COMPANY IN
Three plays by William Shakespeare

PAUL SCOFIELD DOUGLAS CAMPBELL
BRUNO GERUSSI ELEANOR STUART

Coriolanus

directed by MICHAEL LANGHAM
designed by TANYA MOISEWITSCH
music composed by LOUIS APPLEBAUM

DOUGLAS CAMPBELL DOUGLAS RAIN
KATE REID

Henry VIII

directed by GEORGE MCCOWAN
designed by BRIAN JACKSON
music composed by LOUIS APPLEBAUM

PAUL SCOFIELD JOHN COLICOS
JACK CRELEY ZOE CALDWELL

Love's Labour's Lost

directed by MICHAEL LANGHAM
designed by TANYA MOISEWITSCH
music composed by JOHN COOK

and

The Canvas Barricade

A new Canadian Comedy
by DONALD LAMONT JACK
in the Festival Theatre

MUSIC

July 7 - August 19

Glenn Gould, Leonard Rose, Oscar Shumsky
Directors

Gilbert and Sullivan's

The Pirates of Penzance

directed by TYRONE GUTHRIE
designed by BRIAN JACKSON
conducted by LOUIS APPLEBAUM
with

MARION STUDHOLME ANDREW DOWNIE
ERIC HOUSE HARRY MOSSFIELD
IRENE BYATT

and

The National Festival Orchestra
Daily (except Sundays and Mondays)
July 7 - August 19

in the Avon Theatre

Week-end Concerts

Sundays at 2.30 p.m., July 16, 23, 30, August 6, 13

performing artists:

GLENN GOULD, *piano*
LEONARD ROSE, *'cello*
OSCAR SHUMSKY, *violin*
LOIS MARSHALL, *soprano*
MAUREEN FORRESTER, *contralto*

The National Festival Orchestra

Saturdays at 10.30 a.m. July 22, 29, August 5, 12

Four morning concerts of
Chamber Music from the
National Festival Orchestra Workshop
Solo Artists and members of the Orchestra
in the Festival Theatre

Illustration 1.2: Stratford Visitor's Pamphlet, 1961, productions divided by drama and music
York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, ASC 33042

MUSIC AT THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL

Plays, especially Shakespearean plays, at Stratford differ from versions of the same play produced elsewhere partly due to the fact that all the incidental music is newly composed for each production. Music is very rarely reused from production to production; thus, at the 2013 tribute concert to Applebaum, the vocal quartet Festival Gems performed three different settings of “Sigh No More Ladies” from *Much Ado About Nothing*. Applebaum worked closely with the each of the directors for three distinct productions, and because each production of *Much Ado* was different—set in a different time, highlighting different aspects of the story—each of Applebaum’s settings of “Sigh No More Ladies” differed.⁹⁵ Applebaum published some of his Stratford compositions, including his three versions of “Sigh No More Ladies,” in *A Folio of Shakespearean Songs* that he adapted for medium voice and piano. In Applebaum’s introduction to the folio he wrote:

Since its founding in 1953, the Stratford Festival has commissioned an original music score for each of its Shakespearean productions. The songs which Shakespeare introduced into his plays have therefore been set, by now several times each, according to the style of production determined by the stage director that year. Thus a song like *Much Ado About Nothing*’s “Sigh No More, Ladies”, in 1958 reflected an Elizabethan period, in 1980 an early 19th century setting and a pompous singer while, in 1987, another director placed his version of the play in the 1890s, suggesting a barber-shop quartet treatment.⁹⁶

Applebaum was hired in the first season to compose incidental music for the plays, setting a precedent that new music would be composed for every Stratford production thereafter.

This unique aspect of Stratford productions helped to set them apart from other theatre

⁹⁵ Applebaum composed music for the following Stratford productions of *Much Ado About Nothing*: 1958, directed by Michael Langham, designed by Desmond Heeley, choreographed by Tom Brown; 1980, directed by Robin Phillips, set design by Daphne Dare, costume design by Robin Fraser Paye, choreographed by Jeffrey Guyton; 1987, directed by Peter Moss, designed by Christina Poddubiuk, choreographed by John Broome. The 1987 production was also filmed by CBC television and aired on March 20, 1988.

⁹⁶ Louis Applebaum, *A Folio of Shakespearean Songs. For Medium Voice and Piano*, (Toronto: Canadian Music Centre, 1987), 1.

companies that used established compositions and/or commercial recordings for incidental music and songs. In a review of the 1980 production of *Much Ado*, William Littler of the Toronto Star commented on the important role music played in the production:

[Music] is one of the hallmarks of the Stratford approach to theatre, as characteristic as the thrust stage itself. Not many theatre companies in our day incorporate incidental music into their productions. Most can't afford it, some don't want it or need it. But a classical theatre company such as Stratford hasn't much choice. Shakespeare without music is Shakespeare incomplete.⁹⁷

Shakespeare's plays are full of music, of songs and dances and clear textual references to music being performed.⁹⁸ Actors are often required to sing and musicians frequently appear onstage, both when indicated by the text and at the director's discretion. Although there are Elizabethan settings of Shakespeare's songs that have been used at Stratford on occasion, the option to use newly composed music allows the director to work closely with the composer to develop music that is perfectly tailored for his or her production. At Stratford, the music therefore plays as important a role as sets and costumes in establishing the setting of each play.

The relationship of music and drama is a close one, and music plays a role beyond establishing setting or mood. It can intensify the drama of a scene by moving beyond words and actions to directly affect the emotions of the spectators. The power music has to affect our emotions can be deeply felt, but difficult to articulate. In Roland Barthes famous article "The Grain of the Voice," he wrote of the elusive power of sung music: "something is there, manifest

⁹⁷ William Littler, "Much Ado about music at Stratford this year" *The Toronto Star* (August 2, 1980). Clipping in York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1983-003/006 (87).

⁹⁸ Normally stingy with his stage directions, in *Merchant of Venice* Act 5, Scene 1, Shakespeare gives explicit stage directions instructing musicians to enter and play music during Lorenzo's speech, "How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank! Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music/ Creep in our ears." The simple stage direction "sings" occurs in many of Shakespeare's plays to indicate a song. *Twelfth Night*, which is full of music, also contains perhaps the most famous of Shakespeare's musical references at the very beginning of the play, when Duke Orsino sighs, "If music be the food of love, play on."

and stubborn... beyond (or before) the meaning of the words.”⁹⁹ Sound cannot be seen, but it travels in physical waves that enter not only our eardrums, but also our bodies. In Dominic Symonds words, a song “causes us to vibrate, it impacts on our equilibrium...no matter how objectified (distant from us) it is, the song as an ecology (sound in our presence) needs and becomes, subjectively, a part of us.”¹⁰⁰ Music is physically felt in the body: low bass notes thump through the floor and can affect our heart rate; high lyrical lines can make us hold our breath until the end of the phrase or send shivers down our spines. It is worth asking why music was incorporated into plays at Stratford (and, beyond that, why it was and is part of theatre traditions stretching into antiquity). What can music do that theatre alone cannot? One answer is that it can deepen the audience’s affective response to drama—tap into emotions directly in a way that language and representational art forms cannot. *How* music does that is complicated, and not fully understood.

To very briefly explore one avenue that attempts to answer how music works, we can turn to the field of neuroscience, where music and its affect on the human brain is a growing area of study. Several researchers have shown that more areas of the human brain are used to process music than are used to process language.¹⁰¹ Music is processed by the emotional centres of our brains, in addition to the areas for processing language and the timekeeping areas that help us make sense of rhythm and metre. When our brains process music and we experience an

⁹⁹ Roland Barthes, “The grain of the voice,” in *Image, music, text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1975), 181.

¹⁰⁰ Dominic Symonds, “The song’s the thing: Capturing the “sung” to make it “song,” in *Gestures of music theatre: The performativity of song and dance* ed. Dominic Symonds and Millie Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 15.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Evelina Fedorenko et al., “Structural integration in language and music: evidence for a shared system,” *Memory and cognition* 37: 1 (2009): 1-9; Aniruddh D. Patel, *Music, language and the brain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Nikolaus Steinbeis and Stefan Koelsch, “Comparing the processing of music and language meaning using EEG and fMRI provides evidence for similar and distinct neural representations,” *PloS ONE* 3: 5 (2008): 1-7.

emotional response, areas in the frontal lobes, cerebellum and amygdala fire—the same areas of the brain that light up when humans experience pleasure in other activities like eating or having sex.¹⁰² Even when we feel sorrow, or the combination of music and drama on stage makes us weep, the pleasure centres of our brains are activated and release hormones that are present in moments of human bonding.¹⁰³ This pleasure in emotions—even sad ones—is part of the reason humans seek out entertainments like tragic plays, and music deepens and strengthens the affect of dramatic entertainments. If you have ever had the experience of watching a film without its soundtrack, or on mute, and been considerably less affected by the emotional drama than you were when music was present, you know the power music has to intensify humans’ affective response to drama.

Berthold Carrière, who took on the role of Festival Music Director in 1978, recalled one of his first encounters with Louis Applebaum that illustrates how even simple musical gestures can amplify the efficacy of drama: “The first week I arrived they were rehearsing *King John*, I think, and the director said ‘Lou, I need something dramatic here,’ and Lou said, ‘Whoever’s closest to the bass drum hit it. You on the cymbal, roll it.’ And it made all the difference.”¹⁰⁴ The affects of music on audience members are being explored in such disparate fields as neuroscience, performance studies, physics and musicology, and are just now beginning to be understood.

¹⁰² Carlo Zuccarini, “The (un)pleasure of song: On the enjoyment of listening to opera,” in *Gestures of music theatre: The performativity of song and dance* ed. Dominic Symonds and Millie Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 25.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 31. Zuccarini notes that tears of sorrow, like those cried over sad music, contain prolactin, “a hormone that is associated with bonding experiences, such as breastfeeding, the mother/infant bond, or sexual intercourse... Significantly, prolactin is only present in tears of sorrow, such as those that can be evoked by music.”

¹⁰⁴ Carrière told this story at the end of the Applebaum tribute concert, June 10, 2013. It is also recounted as quoted above in Robert Cushman, *Fifty seasons at Stratford*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002) 176.

As Friedrich Nietzsche suggested in *The Birth of Tragedy*, music enables joyous, Dionysian responses to art. When audiences are confronted with dark images about the inevitability of tragic fates in classical drama, they can still experience uplift. Nietzsche argues that it is music—with its ineffable power to target human emotions without recourse to language or representation—that allows audiences to feel interconnected with their fellow humans, and thus to feel deeply appreciative of life.¹⁰⁵ The power of music to strengthen drama is something that is particularly important for genres of music theatre, where music and drama are interwoven tightly. I will return to the affects of music on audience members in later chapters—especially with regards to how sung music is part of the special appeal of musicals—but for the sake of this chapter, it is enough to note that music’s power to support theatre was something that was openly acknowledged by Stratford Festival founding artistic director Tyrone Guthrie. His decision to hire a composer for the Festival is a decision that had lasting influence on the artistic possibilities of the Festival.

It was not only the Shakespearean works, but almost every play in Stratford’s production history that had music newly composed for it by composers such as Applebaum—composers associated with the Festival who composed music for multiple productions over many years. The music was not always performed live at each performance; sometimes the composer would record carefully timed clips and sound effects to be played from the stage manager’s booth. On occasion the composer and sound designer would choose to use a mix live and recorded music, but most often all the music was performed by a live orchestra at each performance. In the first

¹⁰⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *The birth of tragedy out of the spirit of music*, trans. Michael Tanner, (London: Penguin, 1993).

season, the “pit” musicians also played the fanfare to let the audience under the tent know that the performance was about to start.

The placement of the musicians posed a challenge for Applebaum and Guthrie in those first years at Stratford since there was no “pit” for an orchestra in Tanya Moiseiwitsch’s thrust-stage design (addressed in detail in Chapter Four). When Applebaum first saw the stage being built, he marvelled at it but asked where the orchestra was going to go. Guthrie gestured to a space off to the far corner of the stage, beside the audience. In an interview with his biographer, Walter Pitman, Applebaum recalled how he said to Guthrie, “There is hardly room for a string quartet!” Guthrie’s reply did little to reassure Applebaum when he said, “We can’t destroy the sightlines and we can’t lose seats we can sell!”¹⁰⁶ This did not seem like an auspicious omen for music at the Festival. However, although the physical space for the orchestra seemed like an afterthought in the stage design (unusual for Moiseiwitsch, who was the daughter of musicians), it is clear that from very early on Guthrie planned on having live musicians playing newly composed Canadian music for the plays. This commitment to include music in the productions ensured that musicians and composers at Stratford had steady work during the summer months.

The small ensembles for both of the plays in the 1953 season dealt with a heat wave that affected everyone under the tent that summer. Pitman writes, “The black gauze hung around the orchestra to hide the players from a curious audience ensured that there was no access to any fresh air in the blistering mid-summer temperatures of a stifling canvas tent.”¹⁰⁷ Further, conditions were less than ideal for Applebaum, who, “conducted every performance of the three-

¹⁰⁶ Pitman, *Louis Applebaum*, 101.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

week season and, in the cramped quarters of the orchestra pit, did so virtually on his knees.”¹⁰⁸

When a permanent theatre replaced the tent for the 1957 season, the orchestra was moved to an “acoustic” loft above the stage. Though with more room for larger ensembles, the loft provided its own challenges in terms of sound design and communication between the conductor and the actors; these challenges were only partly met by technology such as microphones, speakers, and closed-circuit televisions.

Louis Applebaum ended up composing music for over seventy-five Stratford productions during his career. He left the post of Festival Music Director after the 1960 season but continued to compose music for the Festival up until 1999, just before his death in 2000.¹⁰⁹ In 1991, Applebaum told the Festival Education coordinator, Pat Quigley, “There’s no theatre in the world, I don’t think, that offers the kind of setting for music that this one does. And the concern for music and the attention to music—I’m talking about dramatic music—so that being a composer in this context is, I think, one of the valuable experiences in *anyone’s* life.”¹¹⁰

Applebaum composed all of the music for the first two years of the Festival, but as more plays were added to the playbill each season, the Festival Music Director shared composition duties with other composers. Many of these composers, such as Harry Freedman, Stanley Silverman, Gabriel Charpentier and Raymond Pannell, formed longstanding relationships with the Stratford Festival and composed new music for multiple productions over many years.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 102.

¹⁰⁹ Pitman, *Louis Applebaum*, 402-403.

¹¹⁰ Stratford Festival, *Blake Research Project: Louis Applebaum*, Interview conducted by Pat Quigley. Project underwritten by Mervyn “Butch” Blake. Filmed August 18, 1991. Stratford Festival Archives, 2012, archival DVD.

¹¹¹ A selection of compositions from many of these composers was produced for the Festival’s 40th Anniversary season. See Stratford Festival, *Sweet airs that give delight: Forty seasons of music from the Stratford Festival*, Music by Louis Applebaum, Alan Laing, Berthold Carrière, Stanley Silverman. Performed by John Devorski, Mark Dubois, Colm Feore, Gerald Isaac, Dale Mieske, James Taylor, et al. (Toronto: Attic Records Ltd., 1993), compact disc.

Because of the amount of music in many of the plays, the composer also often functioned as musical director, coaching the actors on singing. As a stable of musical talent began to be associated with Stratford in the early sixties, artists could also specialize, so that some composers wrote the music but another musical director and/or conductor realized the music in performance.¹¹² Part of the Festival Musical Director's job was to assess the vision of a production and match the director with an appropriate composer. Recent Festival Music Director, Rick Fox (2008-2013) described the process as asking the director what style of music they wanted and what they hoped to accomplish. After that, he explained, "I'll think of two or three names to suggest. Sometimes they'll just take my suggestions, sometimes they'll want to hear some samples of their work, and sometimes they'll just want to talk with them."¹¹³ Composers therefore often joined the director and designer in crafting many details of a production months in advance of the first table read with the actors.

Star musicians have also written new music for Festival productions. Duke Ellington became a big supporter of the Stratford experience after appearing in concert there in the mid fifties, and collaborated with Stanley Silverman to compose music for the 1963 production of *Timon of Athens*.¹¹⁴ Loreena McKennitt moved to Stratford in 1981 to join the chorus of *H.M.S. Pinafore*, then sang in the role of Ceres in *The Tempest* the following year. She composed music and performed onstage in the 1984 production of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, before her music

¹¹² After the first season, when he conducted every performance, Applebaum tended to conduct only the first few performances of any production before handing the baton over to another conductor.

¹¹³ Rick Fox, interview.

¹¹⁴ Duke Ellington, and Stanley Silverman, *Timon of Athens*, (Universal City, CA: Varese Sarabande Records, 1993), compact disc. Recorded 1963. Ellington also released albums of his 1956 and 1957 concerts at Stratford, and wrote a short essay on jazz for the 1957 Stratford Festival souvenir program, which provided an epigraph for this chapter: Duke Ellington, et al., *Live from the 1956 Stratford Festival*, (Berkeley, CA: Music & Arts Programs of America, 1989), compact disc; Duke Ellington, *1957 Stratford Festival public performance*, (Berkeley, CA: Music and Arts Programs of America, 1989), compact disc; Duke Ellington, "Jazz at Stratford" in *The 1957 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program*, Stratford Festival archives.

career took off. She then returned to the Festival in 2001 to compose music for *The Merchant of Venice*. The Barenaked Ladies wrote music for a song-heavy production of *As You Like It* in 2005,¹¹⁵ and former front man of the band, Steven Page, returned to the Festival in 2012 to compose music for *Cymbeline*. The publicity for these productions prominently displayed the star musician's names so that the music became as important a draw as a star actor or director.

In an interview with theatre director and critic Richard Ouzounian during the 50th Anniversary season in 2002, long time Music Director of the Festival, Berthold Carrière, expressed his hope that in the coming fifty years new music would continue to be commissioned and composed for the plays.¹¹⁶ If the last ten years are any indication, newly composed incidental music for each production is one of Stratford's unique features that is here to stay.

THE CONCERT SERIES

The rich musical life of the Festival was not limited to music in the plays. Especially during the first thirty years at Stratford, music at the Festival meant concerts (see Appendix B: Concert History). Festival founder Tom Patterson was an admirer of the concert series, and in his book recounts many of the big names who visited the small city:

True, most people to this day think of "Shakespeare" and "theatre" when they think of the Stratford Festival, which is certainly fine with me. But my heart continues to thrill when I recall the many dozens of gifted men and women who graced our little city with concerts since the early 1950s. I must mention such giants as Anne Murray. Gordon Lightfoot. Joni Mitchell. Ravi Shankar. Julian Bream. Duke Ellington & his Orchestra. Jacqueline du Pre. Mel Torme. The Band. Roberta Flack. Liza Minnelli. Sarah Vaughan. Dizzy Gillespie. Yehudi Menuhin. Van Cliburn. B.B. King. The New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Cleo Laine and John Dankworth. Bruce Cockburn. Oscar Peterson. Liona Boyd. Regina Resnick. John Vickers. Benjamin Britten. Jan

¹¹⁵ Barenaked Ladies, *As you like it*, (Vancouver: Desperation Records, 2005), compact disc.

¹¹⁶ Richard Ouzounian, *Stratford gold: 50 years, 50 stars, 50 conversations*, (Toronto: McArthur & Co., 2002), 242.

Rubes. Isaac Stern. Ella Fitzgerald. The list goes on and one—and clearly will continue to do so, in the decades and centuries ahead.¹¹⁷

In official Stratford publications, 1955 is usually given as the first year of the concert series,¹¹⁸ but in fact Applebaum made an attempt in the very first season to provide afternoon concerts for Festival guests. On short notice, and, unfortunately for ticket sales, with very little publicity, Applebaum managed to arrange concerts by Glenn Gould, Jan Rubes and Lois Marshall. He said, “The reasoning behind it was that if Stratford was going to be attracting an audience to see theatre, surely this is an opportunity to show off what we can do in music in Canada.”¹¹⁹ The repertoire and calibre of music was, by all accounts, impressive, but attendance was embarrassingly poor.¹²⁰

Applebaum learned important lessons in that first season—that publicity needs to happen far in advance of the event, and that international stars help to draw crowds. He decided not to plan any concerts for the 1954 season, but to put a great deal of advance planning into the 1955 concert series. A large, draughty building down the road from the Festival theatre, the town casino, was renovated as a concert hall (see Illustration 4.7: Interior of the Casino set up as the Festival Concert Hall, in Chapter 4). The music was given a much higher profile in Festival publications and was branded the “inaugural” season of music (see Illustration 1.3: 1955 Music Festival Poster and Illustration 1.4: 1955 Music Festival House Program). Musically, the concerts and recitals were all from the European art music tradition; the classical provenance of the repertoire aligned nicely with the dramatic classics performed by the acting company.

¹¹⁷ Patterson and Gould, *First Stage*, 230.

¹¹⁸ See *The Stratford Festival Story 1959-1984*, The Stratford Festival Archives, Extras Box 1.

¹¹⁹ Stratford Festival. *Blake Research Project: Louis Applebaum*, archival DVD.

¹²⁰ Applebaum recounted “There was no audience. The events took place, the idea was right, but the operation was wrong. There was no staff at all.” *Ibid.*, See also Pitman, *Louis Applebaum*, 103-106.

STRATFORD SHAKESPEAREAN FESTIVAL
OF DRAMA and MUSIC
PROGRAMMES

Inaugural Festival of Music

July 9th to August 6th, 1955

BOYD NEEL, conducting . . . THE HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA

AND

Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, soprano
Alexander Schneider, violin
Glenn Gould, piano
Mario Bernardi, piano
Maureen Forrester, alto
Eugene Kash, violin
Jan Rubes, basso

Isaac Stern, violin
Zara Nelsova, cello
Suzanne Bloch, lute
Noel Brunet, violin
Evelyn Gould, soprano
Albert Pratz, violin

Aksel Schlotz, tenor
Lois Marshall, soprano
Perry Bauman, oboe
Gordon Day, flute
Robert Reid, tenor
Alexander Zakin, piano
Jan Simons, baritone

THE FESTIVAL CHORUS — Director ELMER ISELER

STRAVINSKY'S

"A SOLDIER'S TALE"

to be narrated, danced, and played

Narrator: Franchot Tone

Mime: Marcel Marceau

Producer: Douglas Campbell

Violin: Alexander Schneider

Orchestra conducted by Paul Scherman

Musical Concerts and Performances

of Stravinsky's "A Soldier's Tale"

take place in the Festival Concert Hall

July 9 Sat.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel A Tribute to St. Cecilia THE FESTIVAL CHORUS MARSHALL, FORRESTER, REID and SIMONS Music for St. Cecilia's Day by Purcell, Britten and others. Song of Welcome - William premiere Symphony No. 3 - Honneger.	July 22 Fri.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Introduction and Allegro - Elgar Ballade for String Orch. - Benjamin Divertimento - Bartok Metamorphosen - Strauss Canadian work to be announced.
July 11 Mon.	8.45 p.m.	A SOLDIER'S TALE Stravinsky Mime: MARCEL MARCEAU Narrator: FRANCHOT TONE Producer: DOUGLAS CAMPBELL Violin: ALEXANDER SCHNEIDER Conductor: PAUL SCHERMAN MARCEAU in a program of mime.	July 23 Sat.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Bach's Brandenburg Concerti Numbers 6, 5, and 4.
July 12 Tues.	3.00 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Soloist: GLENN GOULD, pianist Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, featuring Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 2, Opus 19	July 25 Tues.	3.00 p.m.	LIEDER RECITAL Tenor: AKSEL SCHLOTZ Pianist: John Newmark featuring Schubert's Die Winterreise
July 13 Wed.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Soloists: ISAAC STERN ALEXANDER SCHNEIDER Concerto for two violins - Bach Concertone for two violins - Mozart	July 27 Wed.	8.45 p.m.	THE FESTIVAL CHORUS Conductor: Elmer Iseler Lutenist: SUZANNE BLOCH Music of 16th, 17th, 20th Century
July 14 Thurs.	3.00 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Symphony in C - Dittersdorf Symphony Spirituelle - Hamerik Fugal Concerto - Holst Soloists: Gordon Day, flute Perry Bauman, oboe Verklarte Nacht - Schoenberg Canadian work to be announced.	July 28 Thurs.	3.00 p.m.	A SOLDIER'S TALE by Stravinsky Mime: MARCEL MARCEAU Narrator: FRANCHOT TONE Producer: DOUGLAS CAMPBELL Violin: ALEXANDER SCHNEIDER Conductor: PAUL SCHERMAN MARCEAU in a program of mime.
July 15 Fri.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Soloists: ISAAC STERN, violin Marie Iosch, harp Serenade - Leonard Bernstein (Canadian Premiere) La Folia - Corelli Suite for Harp and Strings - Somers	July 29 Fri.	8.45 p.m.	JOINT RECITAL Soprano: LOIS MARSHALL Pianist: GLENN GOULD playing The Goldberg Variations - J. S. Bach
July 16 Sat.	8.45 p.m.	SONATA RECITAL Brahms, Bartok and others. Violinist: ISAAC STERN Pianist: ALEXANDER ZAKIN	July 30 Sat.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel VIVALDI CONCERT Soloists: BRUNET, KASH, PRATZ, SCHNEIDER The Seasons Concerto for Three Violins Concerto for Four Violins Concerto Grosso in D minor
July 19 Tues.	3.00 p.m.	A SOLDIER'S TALE Stravinsky MARCEAU, TONE, CAMPBELL, SCHNEIDER, SCHERMAN MARCEAU in a program of mime.	Aug. 2 Tues.	3.00 p.m.	SONG RECITAL Soprano: ELISABETH SCHWARZKOPF Pianist: Paul Ulanowsky
July 20 Wed.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Soloists: ZARA NELSOVA, cello Gordon Day, flute Mario Bernardi, piano Symphony in B flat - J. C. Bach Suite in G. Minor - J. S. Bach Cello Concerto - Haydn Triple Concerto - D'Indy Symphony for Strings - Francaix	Aug. 3 Wed.	8.45 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Soprano: ELISABETH SCHWARZKOPF Bach, Mozart, Mendelssohn Finzi and Dagwira.
July 21 Thurs.	3.00 p.m.	HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Soloists: ZARA NELSOVA, cello Gordon Day, flute Mario Bernardi, piano Symphony in B flat - J. C. Bach Suite in G. Minor - J. S. Bach Cello Concerto - Haydn Triple Concerto - D'Indy Symphony for Strings - Francaix	Aug. 4 Thurs.	3.00 p.m.	A SOLDIER'S TALE by Stravinsky Mime: MARCEL MARCEAU Narrator: FRANCHOT TONE Producer: DOUGLAS CAMPBELL Violin: ALEXANDER SCHNEIDER Conductor: PAUL SCHERMAN MARCEAU in a program of mime.
			Aug. 5 Fri.	8.45 p.m.	SONG RECITAL Soprano: ELISABETH SCHWARZKOPF Pianist: Paul Ulanowsky The Lieder of HUGO WOLF
			Aug. 6 Sat.	8.45 p.m.	GALA CLOSING CONCERT HART HOUSE ORCHESTRA Conductor: Boyd Neel Soloists to be announced

From August 1 to August 6, Master Classes will be given in VOICE by Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and in THE ART OF ACCOMPANYING by Paul Ulanowsky. These courses are being conducted under the auspices of the Royal Conservatory of Music Summer School in Toronto, and those interested in enrolling should write to: Boris Baskin, Director, c/o 158 College Street, Toronto, Ontario.

Illustration 1.3: 1955 Music Festival Poster



Illustration 1.4: 1955 Music Festival House Program

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, Illustration 1.3 - ASC 33048; Illustration 1.4 - ASC 33047.

Even with advance planning and a suitable amount of publicity, the 1955 music season failed to make money. The first few years of the concert series took a loss, and had to be paid for by the profits from the drama festival.¹²¹ This caused resentment in certain quarters,¹²² but many people, including Guthrie, believed the Music Festival was important for the cultural life of Canada. In a letter to Applebaum, Guthrie wrote:

My feeling is that the Stratford Committee should not be unduly scared by the prospects of a \$10,000 deficit the first year (1955) if:

1. the figure includes work done on the Casino (non-recurring expense)
2. the results are artistically creditable
3. the results are financially promising

This is the first year. For a year or two, the Shakespeare plays may have to carry the music. Later, I suspect that the boot will be on the other foot.¹²³

The music concerts never did end up making profits large enough to fund anything but more concerts, but Guthrie's prophecy came true years later when Gilbert and Sullivan operettas and American musicals made huge profits that helped to finance the drama festival.¹²⁴

Applebaum also recognized that staged musical works should form the centre of the Music Festival. I address music theatre in the next chapter, but it is worthwhile noting that recitals and concerts of art music tended to draw a somewhat different audience than the Shakespeare plays, and the music theatre pieces tended to be better attended than the concerts

¹²¹ See Appendix D: Box Office statistics

¹²² In "Stratford's Music: A Chronicle and Some Musings," Applebaum wrote, "One day in 1956, after the financial statement of the 'Inaugural Season' [of Music] had been published, one of the extras in *Henry V* who had also been a walk-on the year before, was heard to say, 'You know, I resent subsidizing the music around here.' While he questioned the wisdom of the development, most others, administrators, patrons, supporters and donators have gladly aided it." York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/026 (499), 17-18.

¹²³ Letter, Tyrone Guthrie to Louis Applebaum, February 5, 1955. York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/023 (458).

¹²⁴ See Chapter Three.

because they attracted both music and drama lovers.¹²⁵ In light of this, Applebaum wrote a proposal to the Stratford Board of Governors after the 1955 season suggesting longer runs of staged works and repeat performances of certain high-profile concerts. He wrote a detailed report on the successes and challenges of the Music Festival, “The unquestionable artistic and critical success has indicated that this country is prepared to welcome a series of musical events on the high level which this past season has offered... The box office failure of many concerts of unquestionable musical merit, is more difficult to analyze.”¹²⁶ Applebaum found it difficult to forecast what types of concerts would attract audiences because some that should have done well—with a combination of well-known repertoire and internationally renowned musicians—did not always fulfill expectations. Nonetheless, Applebaum argued that box office failure was not necessarily a drawback, because most music festivals at the time needed financial help from their governments, and in order to apply for government funding, one must prove financial need.¹²⁷

The 1955 Music Festival was at the very least a critical success, and it also added to the festive atmosphere in Stratford. Reflecting on the early years at Stratford in 1968, then Artistic Director Michael Langham wrote:

Music of the highest standard became a major part of the programme, operatic works were added to the concerts, an international film festival was launched and the exhibition plan expanded. Were these embellishments premature and ill-advised?

¹²⁵ There was some concern, in fact, that music theatre would draw audiences away from the Shakespeare plays. Victor Polley, who was box office manager in 1956, wrote to Applebaum suggesting that music should happen on the dark days for the drama, “It should be borne in mind that any highly competitive Music programmes planned at the same time as the drama could and does draw patrons from the plays.” Letter from Victor Polley to Louis Applebaum, September 20, 1956, York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/026 (497).

¹²⁶ Louis Applebaum, “Report of the Inaugural Music Festival,” August 8, 1955, York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/026 (497), 9.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Undeniably they subtracted time, money and care from the drama, but on the other hand they made a richer, more varied feast for the summer visitor.¹²⁸

The ‘inaugural’ music season had enough audience and critical support to convince the Stratford Board that the Music Festival was a worthwhile endeavour. The 1956 season was therefore planned along the same lines as the 1955 season, but with the important addition of jazz concerts. Duke Ellington came to Stratford for the first time in 1956, as did Dave Brubeck, Norm Symonds and Oscar Peterson. These jazz concerts attracted yet a different audience demographic to Stratford. More than half the audience at the jazz concerts were under the age of twenty-five and more than half were male, compared to attendees at the other concerts and plays, 65% of whom were female and 40% of whom were over the age of forty-five.¹²⁹ There was not necessarily a great deal of crossover between the jazz concert audience and those who attended other concerts and plays, but on both sides, there were at least some patrons who gave an unfamiliar genre a chance because they were all part of the same festival.

The inclusion of jazz in the Stratford Music Festival evidenced a willingness on the part of Applebaum to take programming risks, and a desire to both attract a different audience to the Festival and to musically educate the patrons that had already become regular Stratford attendees. In 1956, jazz had been around for several decades, but it was just beginning to be recognized as an art form, and in the conservative culture of mid twentieth-century Canada, jazz was still new, exciting music. The Stratford Festival had been founded with an air of adventure

¹²⁸ Michael Langham, “Twelve Years at Stratford” in *The Stratford Scene 1958-68*, edited by Peter Raby (Stratford ON: Mirror Press, 1968), 8.

¹²⁹ These statistics come from a 1958 survey of the Stratford audience, but were typical of the statistics from 1956 onward. The “Stratford Festival Survey, 1958” by MacLean-Hunter Research Department, summarizes results of questionnaires distributed on pre-paid postage postcards at each performance asking what audience members had attended, planned to attend, their sex, age and town/city. The survey included unsolicited comments from the audience such as “for us the Festival Singers were unknown and virtually unpublicized, but they should be maintained and even subsidized.” York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/026 (494).

and risk, but its immediate success perpetuated the establishment of certain traditions in order to maintain its audience. The Music Festival, without the same sort of success, was more adaptable year to year. Jazz reviewer for the *Toronto Star*, Stan Rantin, wrote, “The ice was officially broken at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival last night—or rather it melted—as “hot” jazz descended on the sanctuary of Mozart and Henry V. Whistles and shouts of excitement replaced the customary well-mannered applause.”¹³⁰ Rantin noted, however, that the audience was still more staid than jazz musicians were used to. He quoted Jimmy Rushing, who said, “I suppose they are a little nervous yet about how jazz will go,”¹³¹ but also Willie “The Lion” Smith, who said, “This is the proper spot for jazz. The concert hall is where jazz is going to end up and that’s where it should be—so people can listen.”¹³² Smith acknowledged that jazz was evolving into a music to be listened to, rather than danced to, and so was a good fit for the Stratford Music Festival.

The jazz concerts attracted some new patrons to the Stratford Festival, but the Music Festival still lost money in its second official year, such that there was some question whether a third year would even be feasible. *Globe and Mail* columnist John Kraglund hoped that the Music Festival would continue at Stratford, and would continue to attract well-known artists to the Ontario town. Kraglund wrote that Stratford “concertgoers are provided with an opportunity not only to hear the best of music, much of it not readily available elsewhere, but also to hear it performed in a manner that approaches the best possible anywhere.”¹³³ The Stratford Board was of the opinion that it was worth taking a loss on the Music Festival if it contributed to the

¹³⁰ Stan Rantin, “Jazz review: Festival jazz is ‘gasser,’” *Toronto Star* (July 12, 1956), 3.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ John Kraglund, “Music in Stratford: A festival for 1957? Time of decision near,” *Globe and Mail* (August 4, 1956), 8.

prestige of the organization as a whole, and that it certainly did, with many famous artists agreeing to travel to Stratford, and newspaper critics including an overview of the Music Festival in their summaries of the Stratford Festival season. Duke Ellington came back to Stratford in 1957 and commended the Stratford Festival for their inclusion of jazz, pointing out that it shared some similarities with Shakespeare's plays:

Anybody who listens to a beautifully performed symphony for the first time gains something from it. The next time he hears it, he gains more; when he hears it for the hundredth time, he is benefitted to the hundredth power. So it is with Shakespeare. The spectator can't get it all the first time; repeated viewings multiply the satisfaction.

There is a perfect parallel with jazz, where repeated listening makes for enjoyment. The Stratford Festival, by tying in top-grade jazz with its Shakespeare productions each season, is showing an awareness of this.¹³⁴

The credit for including jazz in the Festival season lies with Applebaum, who was passionate about enhancing the cultural life of Canada—both by exposing Canadians to international music, and by developing the talents of Canadian musicians and composers.

The 1957 season featured several concerts by the CBC Symphony Orchestra, and their involvement in the Festival ensured that all the music concerts were broadcast across Canada. Gordon Jocelyn, the music administrator at the Festival in 1957, wrote, "While drama in the Festival Theatre draws a truly national audience to Stratford, music in the Festival Concert Hall takes Stratford to the nation."¹³⁵ For those who could not make the trip to Stratford, the broadcasts gave Canadians a sense of the cultural atmosphere that was being developed at the Festival. More importantly for the sake of Canada's cultural landscape, the Canadian musicians who played at Stratford got the chance to meet and work with world class musicians, and then returned to other Canadian cities made richer by those experiences. Canadian compositions, too,

¹³⁴ Duke Ellington, "Jazz at Stratford" in *The 1957 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program*. Stratford Festival archives.

¹³⁵ Gordon Jocelyn, "Music at Stratford" in 1957 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program, Stratford Festival archives.

Stratford Shakespearean Festival of Drama and Music

Second Annual Season of Music

In the Festival Concert Hall - July 7th to August 11th, 1956

★ ★ ★

THE FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA — Conductors: Reginald Stewart and Heinz Unger
THE FESTIVAL CHORUS — Director: Elmer Iseler

AND

Inge Borkh, soprano Rudolf Serkin, piano Martial Singher, baritone
 Maureen Forrester, alto Glenn Gould, piano Jennie Tourel, soprano
 Bethany Beardslee, soprano Alexander Weltsch, basso

Boris Ronshakine, piano Pierre Souvairan, piano Gordon Day, flute
 Hyman Goodman, violin Albert Pratz, violin Steve Starzyk, violin
 Jack Nelson, viola Isaac Mamott, 'cello Rowland Park, 'cello

Louis Applebaum, Director of Music Gordon Iselys, Assistant to the Director

THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA

an opera in two acts by
BENJAMIN BRITTEN

(Cast in Order of Appearance)

Male Chorus — JOY TICKLES
 Female Chorus — JENNIE TOUREL
 Colation — JAY DRAPER
 Junius — BERNARD TURGEON
 Thyestes — HARRY MOSEFIELD
 Lucretia — REGINA RESNIE
 Bianca — PATRICIA RIDGOTT
 Lavinia — ADELAIDE BISHOP

Conductor — HERMAN GEIGER-FOREL
 Stage Director — MARIE DAY

JAZZ

WILBUR DE PARIS New Orleans Orchestra
 JIMMY RUSHING — Blues Singer
 WILLIE "THE LION" SMITH — Piano
 DUKE ELLINGTON AND HIS ORCHESTRA

CAL JACKSON
 and
 PAUL DRAPER — Dancer
 THE DAVE BRUBECK QUARTET
 THE NORM SYMONDS OCTET
 THE ART TATUM TRIO
 THE MODERN JAZZ QUARTET

Commentators: John Hammond, Nat Hentoff, Barry Ulanov

PROGRAMME HIGHLIGHTS

July 7 Sat. 8.30 p.m.	THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA	July 28 Sat. 8.30 p.m.	THE FESTIVAL CHORUS Director—ELMER ISELER Copland: In the Beginning Willan: Motets and Madrigals Mozart: Songs of Springtime, and ROUBAKINE — SOUVAIRAN Schubert: Piano Music for Four Hands
July 9 Mon. 8.30 p.m.	GLENN GOULD, pianist Alban Berg: Sonata Krenek: Sonata No. 3 Schoenberg: Ode Napoleon (for String Quartet, soprano and piano) Gould: String Quartet Assisting Artists: Beardslee, Goodman, Starzyk, Nelson, Park	July 29 Sun. 3.00 p.m.	SONGS OF CANADA'S PEOPLES Ethnic Chorus singing music of many nations (In co-operation with the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews) Admission Free
July 10 Tues. 8.30 p.m.	THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA	July 30 Mon. 8.30 p.m.	INGE BORKH, soprano and ALEXANDER WELTSCH, basso with THE FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA Conductor—REGINALD STEWART Beethoven: Ah Perfido Handel: Arias and Duets from "Julius Caesar" Mendelssohn: Italian Symphony
July 11 Wed. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT WILBUR DE PARIS and his New Orleans Orchestra WILLIE "THE LION" SMITH JIMMY RUSHING Repeat of July 11 programme	July 31 Tues. 8.30 p.m.	THE FESTIVAL CHORUS Director—ELMER ISELER and ROUBAKINE — SOUVAIRAN Repeat of July 28 programme
July 12 Thurs. 2.45 p.m.	THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA	Aug. 1 Wed. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT THE DAVE BRUBECK QUARTET THE NORM SYMONDS OCTET Commentator: Nat Hentoff
July 13 Fri. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT WILBUR DE PARIS and his New Orleans Orchestra WILLIE "THE LION" SMITH JIMMY RUSHING Repeat of July 11 programme	Aug. 2 Thurs. 2.45 p.m.	INGE BORKH ALEXANDER WELTSCH REGINALD STEWART and THE FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA Repeat July 30
July 14 Sat. 8.30 p.m.	BETHOVEN CONCERT CLAUDIO ARRAU, pianist THE FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA Conductor—HEINZ UNGER Piano Concerti Nos. 1 and 5 Symphony No. 7	Aug. 3 Fri. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT THE DAVE BRUBECK QUARTET THE NORM SYMONDS OCTET Commentator: Nat Hentoff
July 15 Sun. 3.00 p.m.	SONGS OF CANADA'S PEOPLES Ethnic Chorus singing music of many nations (In co-operation with the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews) Admission Free	Aug. 4 Sat. 8.30 p.m.	SCHUMANN'S CENTENARY RECITAL CLAUDIO ARRAU, pianist Music by Chopin and Schumann. (In commemoration of Schumann's centenary.) Chopin: Sonata in B minor, Op. 58 Schumann: Trio No. 1, in D minor, Op. 63 Cantata - Op. 9 Assisting Artists: Albert Pratz, violin; Isaac Mamott, 'cello
July 16 Mon. 8.30 p.m.	THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA	Aug. 6 Mon. 8.30 p.m.	SONGS AND DUETS INGE BORKH, soprano ALEXANDER WELTSCH, basso Brahms, Schubert, Dvorak, Weber, Bachmannoff, R. Strauss Leo Barkin at the piano
July 17 Tues. 8.30 p.m.	BETHOVEN CONCERT CLAUDIO ARRAU, pianist THE FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA Conductor—HEINZ UNGER Repeat of July 14 programme	Aug. 7 Tues. 8.30 p.m.	RUDOLF SERKIN, pianist and MARTIAL SINGHER, baritone Schubert: Four Impromptus, Op. 142 "Die Schöne Müllerin"
July 18 Wed. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT DUKE ELLINGTON AND HIS ORCH.	Aug. 8 Wed. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT THE ART TATUM TRIO THE MODERN JAZZ QUARTET Commentator: John Hammond
July 19 Thurs. 2.45 p.m.	THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA	Aug. 9 Thurs. 2.45 p.m.	INGE BORKH, soprano and ALEXANDER WELTSCH, basso Repeat of August 8 programme
July 20 Fri. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT DUKE ELLINGTON AND HIS ORCH. Repeat of July 18 programme	Aug. 10 Fri. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT THE ART TATUM TRIO THE MODERN JAZZ QUARTET Commentator: John Hammond Repeat of August 8 programme
July 21 Sat. 8.30 p.m.	SONG RECITAL JENNIE TOUREL, soprano Ravel: Chanson Madécasse for voice, flute, 'cello, piano Mahler: Erinnerung Strauss: Die Nacht, Allerweilen Offenbach: Songs from "Tullpates" Assisting Artists: Gordon Day, flute; Isaac Mamott, 'cello Allen Rogers at the piano	Aug. 11 Sat. 8.30 p.m.	GALA CLOSING CONCERT THE FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA Conductor—REGINALD STEWART Soloist—MAUREEN FORRESTER Bartok: Music for Strings, Percussion and Celeste Somers: Five Songs for Alto and Orchestra Mozart: "Ochona Felice" Mozart: Haffner Symphony *Commissioned by the Stratford Festival
July 22 Sun. 3.00 p.m.	SONGS OF CANADA'S PEOPLES Ethnic Chorus singing music of many nations (In co-operation with the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews) Admission Free		
July 23 Mon. 8.30 p.m.	SONATA RECITAL CLAUDIO ARRAU, pianist Mozart: Sonata in D major, K376 Beethoven: Sonata in C major Op. 53 (Waldstein) Sonata in F minor Op. 57 (Appassionata)		
July 24 Tues. 8.30 p.m.	THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA		
July 25 Wed. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT CAL JACKSON with PAUL DRAPER, dancer THE PHIL NIMMONS GROUP Commentator: Barry Ulanov		
July 26 Thurs. 2.45 p.m.	SONATA RECITAL CLAUDIO ARRAU, pianist Repeat of July 23 programme		
July 27 Fri. 8.30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT CAL JACKSON with PAUL DRAPER, dancer THE PHIL NIMMONS GROUP Commentator: Barry Ulanov Repeat of July 25 programme		

MASTER CLASSES, under the auspices of the Royal Conservatory of Music Summer School, Toronto, will be held in Stratford, in conjunction with the Music Festival:
 in PIANO by CLAUDIO ARRAU, from July 23 to August 3
 in VOICE by INGE BORKH, assisted by Alexander Weltsch, from July 30 to August 10
 Those interested in applying may write to Dr. Ettore Mazzoleni, Principal Royal Conservatory Summer School, Toronto 2-B, Ontario.

Printed in Canada by Wilson Press

Illustration 1.5: 1956 Music Festival Poster

Stratford Shakespearean Festival of Drama and Music

Third Annual Season of Music

Festival Concert Hall July 31st to September 6th

Festival Music Administrator: Gordon Jocelyn

THE CBC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
 HEINZ UNGER WALTER SUSSKIND GEOFFREY WADDINGTON THOMAS MAYER
 LOIS MARSHALL JOHN BOYDEN BETTY-JEAN HAGEN

presented by
BENJAMIN BRITTEN **PETER PEARS**

THE TURN OF THE SCREW

an opera in two acts, based on a short story by Henry James
 Music by BENJAMIN BRITTEN Libretto by MYFANWY PIPER

presented by
 THE ENGLISH OPERA GROUP
 conducted by
 BENJAMIN BRITTEN

PETER PEARS, Prologue and Quint JENNIFER VYVYAN, The Governess ARDA MANDIKIAN, Miss Jessel
 MICHAEL HARTNETT, Miles OLIVE DYER, Flora JUDITH PIERCE, Mrs. Grose
 Director: BASIL COLEMAN Designer: JOHN PIPER Assistant Director: COLIN GRAHAM

JAZZ CONCERTS

BILLIE HOLIDAY COUNT BASIE and his Orchestra, with JOE WILLIAMS RON COLLIER QUINTET with NORM AMADIO
 GERRY MULLIGAN QUARTET DUKE ELLINGTON and his Orchestra TEDDY WILSON TRIO

PROGRAMME HIGHLIGHTS

July 31 Wed. 8:30 p.m.	THE CBC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA Conductor: HEINZ UNGER Soloist: LOIS MARSHALL, soprano Archer: Fanfare and Pasticcaglia R. Strauss: Four Last Songs R. Strauss: Death and Transfiguration Nielsen: Symphony No. 4	Aug. 17 Sat. 8:30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT THE GERRY MULLIGAN QUARTET THE TEDDY WILSON TRIO
Aug. 2 Fri. 8:30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT COUNT BASIE and his Orchestra with JOE WILLIAMS	Aug. 20 Tue. 8:30 p.m.	THE TURN OF THE SCREW North American Premiere
Aug. 3 Sat. 8:30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT COUNT BASIE and his Orchestra with JOE WILLIAMS	Aug. 21 Wed. 8:30 p.m.	THE CBC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA Conductor: THOMAS MAYER Soloist: BETTY-JEAN HAGEN, violinist Purcell: Chaconne for Strings Walton: Violin Concerto Britten: Sinfonia da Requiem Mercure: Pastoralia Stravinsky: Firebird Suite
Aug. 4 Sun. 3:00 p.m.	*HERITAGE IN SONG Finland: SUOMEN SOINTU Director: Matti Pennanen Macedonia-Bulgaria: ST. CYRIL & METHODY CATHEDRAL CHOR Director: Basilii Mihailichenko	Aug. 23 Fri. 8:30 p.m.	THE TURN OF THE SCREW
Aug. 7 Wed. 8:30 p.m.	THE CBC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA Conductor: WALTER SUSSKIND Morawetz: Overture to a Fairy Tale Dvorak: Symphony No. 4 Bartok: Concerto for Orchestra	Aug. 24 Sat. 8:30 p.m.	SONG RECITAL BENJAMIN BRITTEN & PETER PEARS Songs by Henry Purcell Lieder by Franz Schubert Seven Sonnets of Michelangelo (Britten) British Folk Songs (arr. Britten)
Aug. 9 Fri. 8:30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT BILLIE HOLIDAY THE RON COLLIER QUINTET with NORM AMADIO, pianist	Aug. 25 Sun. 3:00 p.m.	*HERITAGE IN SONG Canada: LES DISCIPLES DE MASSENET Director: Charles Goulet
Aug. 10 Sat. 8:30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT BILLIE HOLIDAY THE RON COLLIER QUINTET with NORM AMADIO, pianist	Aug. 27 Tue. 8:30 p.m.	SONG RECITAL BENJAMIN BRITTEN & PETER PEARS (Repeat of Aug. 24 Programme)
Aug. 11 Sun. 3:00 p.m.	*HERITAGE IN SONG Wales: TORONTO CELTIC MALE SINGERS Director: W. Irving Davies Greece: THE APOLLO GROUP Director: Miss Rika Maniatis	Aug. 28 Wed. 8:30 p.m.	THE TURN OF THE SCREW
Aug. 14 Wed. 8:30 p.m.	THE CBC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA Conductor: GEOFFREY WADDINGTON Soloist: JOHN BOYDEN, Baritone Somers: Pasticcaglia and Fugue Brahms: Symphony No. 2 Finzi: Let Us Garlanda Bring Gosset: Symphony in D minor	Aug. 30 Fri. 8:30 p.m.	THE TURN OF THE SCREW
Aug. 16 Fri. 8:30 p.m.	JAZZ CONCERT THE GERRY MULLIGAN QUARTET THE TEDDY WILSON TRIO	Aug. 31 Sat. 8:30 p.m.	SONG RECITAL BENJAMIN BRITTEN & PETER PEARS Old English Songs, Dowland, Arne, Dibdin, Lieder by Schubert and Wolf Winter Words (Britten) French Folk Songs (arr. Britten)
		Sept. 3 Tue. 8:30 p.m.	THE TURN OF THE SCREW
		Sept. 4 Wed. 8:30 p.m.	THE TURN OF THE SCREW
		Sept. 5 Thurs. 8:30 p.m.	DUKE ELLINGTON and his Orchestra Such Sweet Thunder (Written for the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Canada) A Drum is A Woman (Excerpts)
		Sept. 6 Fri. 8:30 p.m.	THE TURN OF THE SCREW

*The Sunday afternoon concerts, HERITAGE IN SONG, are under the joint sponsorship of the Festival Foundation and the CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
 Printed in Canada by Commercial Printers, Stratford

Illustration 1.6: 1957 Music Festival Poster
 York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, Illustration 1.5 - ASC 33049; Illustration 1.6 - ASC 33050

were being performed with unprecedented exposure at the Music Festival. The *CBC Times* described the Stratford concerts as “the most important contribution to summer listening.”¹³⁶ The Canadian content in the concert series delivered on Stratford’s mandate “to provide opportunities for Canadian artistic talent” and “to advance the development of the arts of the theatre in Canada.”¹³⁷ Even more so than the theatre side of the Festival, which was developing Canadian acting talent in British plays, the Music Festival was developing the talents of Canadian musicians *and* providing exposure to Canadian composers and their works. This reached a new height in 1960, when an International conference of composers took place at Stratford, and Canadian compositions were heard alongside those from Italy, the Netherlands and the U.K. (see Illustration 2.1: Stratford Festival 1960 visitors’ pamphlet showing Music Festival offerings and the schedule for the International Conference of Composers, in Chapter 2).

By the end of the 1957 music season, Applebaum was ready to put further ambitious plans into effect. He envisioned a group of Canadian musicians who would take up residence at Stratford for several weeks in the summer to form Stratford’s first residential orchestra.¹³⁸ In the initial 1955 season, the Hart House Orchestra, under the direction of Boyd Neel, had performed the role of a resident orchestra, but they were really the University of Toronto’s orchestra and had their primary duties there. A group of visiting musicians made up “The Festival Orchestra” in 1956, but dispersed the next year, while “The Festival Chorus” of 1956, directed by Elmer Iseler, also dispersed—many singers following Iseler to join the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir.

¹³⁶ Quoted in Gordon Jocelyn, “Music at Stratford” in 1957 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program, Stratford Festival archives.

¹³⁷ The Aims and Objectives of the Stratford Festival were published in the yearly publication *The Stratford Shakespearean Festival of Canada, 1953-1959* [alternate title, *The Stratford Story*] (Stratford, ON: Mirror Press, Ltd., 1959).

¹³⁸ Louis Applebaum, “A Proposal for Music at Stratford” September 16, 1957, York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/026 (498).

The CBC orchestra took up summer residence in Stratford for 1957, but the Music Festival did not have a full time orchestra that would come back year after year in the same way that members of the drama company would. The Festival Board took Applebaum's recommendations for a resident orchestra seriously, and in a brief to the Canada Council in early 1958 they requested government support for the Music Festival:

The Festival is now committed to undertake a new venture with far-reaching possibilities. Based on a proposal made by Louis Applebaum, Director of Music for the Festival, it envisages the establishment in Stratford each summer of a group of world-famous musicians, leaders in the various fields of music. Around this nucleus will grow a working community, attended by musicians from all parts of Canada. Out of their efforts would develop the solo presentations, symphonic concerts, chamber groups and operas which would constitute the public part of the music programs.¹³⁹

The plan for a resident orchestra was realized in 1959 when the National Festival Orchestra was created. In the 1959 souvenir program, Applebaum described it thus:

For a number of years now we have felt the need to create in Stratford a 'colony' of musicians, resident for an extended period of time... Our concert soloists, instead of visiting only long enough to prepare a concert or two, are spending the full Festival period in a close working relationship with our orchestral players, prominent members of several of this country's major symphonic ensembles. If our 'colony' workshop concept achieves the purposes for which it was conceived, then a format on which we can build over the years has at last emerged.¹⁴⁰

The "colony" of musicians not only formed the pit orchestra for the 1959 music theatre selection, but also featured prominently in the concerts, backing many of the famous visiting musicians. There was also a core of resident soloists to provide workshops for orchestra

¹³⁹ "Brief of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Foundation of Canada to the Canada Council" February 1958, York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/026 (498). The report additionally outlined the costs of building a permanent theatre. The board therefore requested an annual grant of \$75,000 from the Canada Council to fund the Music and Film Festivals at Stratford and to go to capital costs for the theatre.

¹⁴⁰ Louis Applebaum, "A Musical Colony in Stratford," in 1959 Stratford Festival souvenir program, Stratford Festival archives.

members and student musicians: Oscar Shumsky (violin),¹⁴¹ Leonard Rose (cello),¹⁴² and Claudio Arrau (piano)¹⁴³ led the workshops and performed as soloists. All these artists were attracted to Stratford for the opportunities it afforded them to play the type of repertoire they could not play elsewhere. Applebaum was an incredible letter writer, and was able to entice these artists to Stratford with promises of summer relaxation and musical challenges, if not much in the way of salary or stipends.

The establishment of the National Festival Orchestra changed the direction of the concerts away from jazz guest artists back to orchestral repertoire and chamber concerts. When Applebaum stepped down in autumn 1960, Shumsky and Rose, together with Glenn Gould, formed a three-person directorate that took over as Festival Music Directors for the 1961 season.¹⁴⁴ This marked a change in the organization of music at the Festival. Gould, Shumsky

¹⁴¹ Oscar Shumsky (1917-2000) was a well-known American violinist who started as a child prodigy and taught at Yale and the Juilliard School of Music; see <http://www.shumskymusic.com/oscar-shumsky.html>.

¹⁴² Leonard Rose (1918-1984) was a famous American cellist who also taught at Juilliard, who was principal cellist of a number of orchestras including the New York Philharmonic, and who was later a Grammy award winner for his work with Isaac Stern and Eugene Istomin; see Steven Honigberg, *Leonard Rose. America's Golden Age and Its First Cellist*, (Silver Springs MD: Beckham Publications, 2010).

¹⁴³ Claudio Arrau (1903-1991) was a classical pianist, born in Chile, who is widely regarded as one of the best pianists of the twentieth century. In addition to performing and recording, he also taught and edited Urtext editions of Beethoven's piano sonatas; see Bernard Gavoty and S. Benoit, *Claudio Arrau*, (Geneva: R. Kister, 1962), and Joseph Horowitz and Claudio Arrau, *Conversations with Arrau*, (New York, N.Y.: Limelight Editions, 1992).

¹⁴⁴ Glenn Gould (1932-1982), celebrated Canadian pianist, was also something of a hypochondriac, and that may have prevented him from spending an extended period of time at Stratford before 1960. A 1958 letter from Applebaum's to Gould shows what Applebaum was able to offer the famous musicians: "Your own participation could be limited by your wishes according to your physical condition. I suggest some, or all, of the following a) a concerto program, with you leading the orchestra and a recital. b) rehearse your Trio for your own ends, recordings e.g., and give one or two trio concerts... or combine this with your recital if you prefer. If Columbia wishes to record in Stratford we will do all we can to provide proper facilities and conveniences. c) such chamber coaching, lecturing, teaching, etc. as you wish to be involved in. The period will be the month of July so that theoretically you have the month of June for rest and are free for your Salzburg commitments."

In Gould's response to Applebaum (November 1958), he wrote: "This is the sort of project that would realize some long standing ambitions but it is also one which I want to be able to approach in a spirit of relaxed preparedness which could scarcely be possible this year. Therefore, I would like to propose the following: that my participation in the festival be considered for the season of 1960; that it involve just the sort of program you outline—chamber music, concert *abends* (spent too long in Hamburg) and perhaps some forum discussion periods which I would find exhilarating (even if the students went to sleep). The idea of a minimal participation this year I find of doubtful value to both of us. If it were restricted to, say, one event it would, I think, compromise the integrated character of

and Rose were performers, whose main concern was the Music Festival, or concert series, and who were less personally involved with composing incidental music for the plays than Applebaum had been. At this point, the Music Festival had grown large enough to justify the segmentation of roles and responsibilities into music directors who led workshops or the orchestra, administrators who organized concerts and booked talent, and composers who continued to write incidental music for the plays. Applebaum continued to compose music for the drama side of the Festival, and often returned to musically direct and conduct music theatre, but he handed over the organization of the Music Festival to three performers who programmed music that musicians wanted to play and hear, thus making Stratford music a Mecca for visiting classical musicians. From 1959 until 1964, the focus of the Music Festival was on art music concerts performed by the National Festival Orchestra and international guest artists.

Gould and Rose stepped down as Festival Music Directors after 1964 and Shumsky continued on until 1968. Of the three, he was the best administrator, and he had the same desire as Applebaum to develop the musical life of Canada. He believed that audiences should experience live music at Stratford that they couldn't hear elsewhere. In the 1963 souvenir program, Shumsky wrote:

As we stand at the threshold of a new decade of music at Stratford we are tempted to seek an evaluation of music's unique meaning at this Festival. One asks "Why Music at a Drama Festival?" Drama is surely King here and all other factors would seem subservient to it. Music, a strong dominating art form, is equally demanding of its own worshippers. Since the first days of its presence on the Stratford scene, Music has presented many of its different faces. The search for format was on...the vital factors in assuring music's reason for being in Stratford are not the empty shells of form but rather its "inner necessities"; the attitudes, devotion and efforts of all who have come to make music together during their perennial tenure in this unique place...To co-exist, not necessarily in alliance with, but rather parallel to, the

the festival which is the paramount thing to be considered." See York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002/026 (495).

activities of the drama, and to feel the magnetic influences of the superb efforts of all connected with it from the Artistic Director to the wardrobe assistants reaching out of the ever receding horizon of perfection, is to experience the true meaning of inspiration.¹⁴⁵

Shumsky saw real value in the intermingling of all the arts at Stratford. He acknowledged that theatre had primacy at Stratford, but that the Music Festival was of immense value to the organization, the patrons, and to the wider national arts culture.

It was Shumsky who reintroduced jazz repertoire to the concert series when the Dave Brubeck quartet played in 1965 and Duke Ellington returned to Stratford in 1966. Jazz music was well established by the mid sixties, yet Shumsky's decision to reincorporate it into the Festival demonstrated his willingness to take programming risks by moving away from a the classical repertoire that had proven successful. The music side of Stratford seemed ever ready to reinvent itself, and was markedly less conservative than the drama side had become over the same time period. The progressive programming for the Music Festival continued when Victor Di Bello, a conductor and previous assistant to Applebaum, took over as Music Director in 1969, and introduced folk and world musicians such as Joni Mitchell, Gordon Lightfoot and Ravi Shankar to the Music Festival.

The folk, pop and jazz musicians were more populist additions to the classical music core of the Music Festival. The cultural shifts present in the late sixties, evident in other music festival like Woodstock, and Ontario's Mariposa Folk Festival (founded in 1961)¹⁴⁶ thus had some reverberations at Stratford. However, art music remained at the centre of the Music Festival through Di Bello's directorship. Arranging the concerts, organizing composers for the plays, and

¹⁴⁵ Oscar Shumsky, "Music, an Evaluation" in *Stratford Festival 1963*, souvenir program. Stratford Festival archives.

¹⁴⁶ See <http://www.mariposafolk.com/>

hiring musicians became such a large job that when one person held the title of Festival Music Director (instead of three people, as with Shumsky, Gould and Rose), more help was needed. Thus Andrée Gingras, singer, composer of popular songs, and later assistant general manager in charge of programming for the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, served as music administrator of the Festival 1970-73, and Alan Laing, who had previously established a relationship with the Festival as a composer, was hired on with the title of Music Director for Drama in 1971.

Conductor, composer and pianist Raffi Armenian served as Festival Music Director from 1974 to 1976, and Stuart Knussen took over as Music Administrator from Gingras when Armenian came on in 1974. While Di Bello and Gingras had continued to book international stars to come to the Music Festival, Armenian and Knussen were less successful. Armenian drew on more Canadian and local talent, such as Maureen Forrester and the Canadian Brass, perhaps in recognition of a move toward Canadian nationalism that was sweeping through arts communities in the seventies.¹⁴⁷ The Music Festival never succeeded in making the Stratford Festival much money, so in 1975, when Robin Phillips became Artistic Director, he and the Board of Governors decided to put an end to a separate music festival. The Music Festival had its last official season in 1975. However, music had become an integral part of the Stratford Festival; festival goers had come to expect offerings beyond the playbill, and talks, tours, exhibitions and concerts continue to form part of the Festival fare.

Composer and conductor Berthold Carrière took on the role of Director of Music for Drama in 1977, before taking over the top job as Director of Music in 1978. He continued to provide a concert series to Festival patrons even though the Music Festival as a separate entity

¹⁴⁷ See how this nationalism affected the theatre side of the Festival in: Richard Paul Knowles, "From nationalist to multinational: The Stratford Festival, free trade, and the discourses of intercultural tourism" *Theatre Journal* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 19-41; and Martin Knelman, *A Stratford tempest*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982).

from the Drama Festival had been terminated. Carrière experimented with many different musical genres and structures for the concert series over the course of his 30 years (1978-2008) as Director of Music. One characteristic of his tenure was a smaller number of concerts; in the seventies and eighties, the concerts tended to all feature big name stars, and in the nineties and two thousands, the concerts were mostly by company members and Stratford locals. Between 1977 and 1985, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band appeared at Stratford on an almost yearly basis, and artists like Dizzy Gillespie, Mel Tormé, Sarah Vaughan, Benny Goodman and Ella Fitzgerald all made the trip to Stratford. It is notable that many of these famous jazz musicians were bordering on legendary status by the seventies and eighties. When Stratford music first showcased jazz in 1956, it was fairly progressive, but two decades later the jazz Carrière programmed was more established. More progressive figures like Miles Davis, who were pushing jazz in new directions, did not make the trip to Stratford. As Willie “The Lion” Smith had predicted, jazz had become a music to sit and listen to in the concert hall, and Stratford music directors carefully chose the concerts that would complement the drama season and fit into the Stratford milieu. In the late seventies, most of the innovation—both musical and dramatic—was happening on the playbill with new Canadian works like Harry Somers’ *The Fool*. The concerts, as add-ons to the season and not as part of a stand-alone Music Festival as in the past, became more conservative.

Another trend of the later concert series was that it featured many members of the Stratford company as singers and performers, and the cabaret-style performances were often accompanied by Carrière or one of the other composers on piano. This was a further move toward the local, and it built on a trend of letting audiences see the company members as

themselves, instead of as a character in a drama, thus tying in to other behind the scenes extras for Stratford visitors like theatre and costume warehouse tours. It may be a coincidence that the concerts began to feature more of the Stratford company when musicals became commonplace at Stratford, but it is also likely that as the musicians who had formed relationships with Stratford in the fifties and sixties aged and were no longer able to perform, it made sense to develop fresh new talent by taking advantage of the built-in relationships of company members to the Festival.

Composer and conductor Rick Fox took over from Carrière as Festival Music Director in 2008, and he continued to program concerts by company members, or Canadian musicians who had longstanding relationships with the Festival. There were less than a dozen of these concerts programmed per season, and they usually took place on Monday evenings—the “dark” day for theatre, when there were no plays or musicals scheduled. The tribute concert to Applebaum by the Festival Gems that I wrote about at the beginning of this chapter, is a good example of the types of concerts that have been on offer in the past decade. The concerts are frequently nostalgic reflections on music of the past, and they are often celebrations of Stratford’s own musical past. Franklin Brasz, who had previously acted as musical director for musicals at the Festival, took on the role of Festival Music Director in 2014, and scheduled “Night Music” concerts as well as a showcase of the Pulitzer Prize winning rock musical *Next to Normal*. These concerts and showcases give company members the chance to perform music that is perhaps more interesting or challenging for them than music that is part of the playbill. In this way, the music concerts perform the same function that they did in the 1960s, when Applebaum, Gould, Shumsky and Rose convinced musicians to come play as pit musicians for Gilbert and Sullivan operettas with the promise that they could play whatever they wanted to play in the concerts.

In recent years, stars of the Festival, such as Lucy Peacock and Cynthia Dale, have hosted cabarets that were mini concert series showcasing these stars and other members of the Festival company. These cabarets did very well at the box office, and they provided Stratford audiences the chance to see the company members perform songs they had previously performed in shows at the Festival as well as rock and folk songs that would not normally be heard in a Festival production. Lucy Peacock said that the cabaret nights that she started in 2012 harkened back to the cabarets that she had been involved with in the 1970s when she was part of the Young Company. The private, company-only cabarets that happened every Thursday night through the seventies were a way for the company to “blow off steam,” according to Peacock, and the series she began in 2012 took that casual ethos and opened it up to audience members, giving them the opportunity to see the actor in her “living room self.”¹⁴⁸

The music concerts were begun with a very ambitious agenda, and they did partly realize Applebaum’s dream of promoting Canadian talent in addition to bringing the best artists from all over the world to the attention of Festival patrons. Applebaum reflected, “It was one of the great music festivals of the world because of the uniqueness of the programming.”¹⁴⁹ He was able to draw big names from many musical genres by offering them a “vacation atmosphere” and the chance to expand their musical horizons. Applebaum said he always asked the musicians, “What have you always wanted to do that the normal concert circuit doesn’t let you do?”¹⁵⁰ and then he would try to make whatever their answers were happen for them in Stratford.

The concerts did not end up continuing in the same ambitious vein in which they were founded. The Music Festival as separate from the Drama Festival died out in the mid seventies,

¹⁴⁸ Lucy Peacock, interview.

¹⁴⁹ Stratford Festival, *Blake Research Project: Louis Applebaum*, archival DVD.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

and the concerts became progressively fewer and more local after that. Nonetheless, there are plenty of musical options for the contemporary visitor to Stratford. In addition to the concerts offered by the Festival, there is a separate music festival called Stratford Summer Music, which was founded in 2001 by former National Director of the Canadian Music Centre and Executive Director of the Glenn Gould foundation, John A. Miller, and features acts like the Vienna Boys Choir, Tafelmusik, The Creole Choir of Cuba and The Recycled Orchestra of Cateura, Paraguay.¹⁵¹ In addition, a recently formed Blues and Ribfest features Canadian favourites like Blue Rodeo,¹⁵² local concert and big bands play on Wednesday and Sunday evenings throughout the summer in the Kiwanis bandshell,¹⁵³ company members branch out to do cabaret nights (more informal than Festival Forum events) at local pubs, and roots and folk bands set up their gear on boats that slowly traverse Lake Victoria to charm visitors and locals with “Barge Music.”¹⁵⁴

The Music Festival at Stratford therefore paved the road for a number of music festivals in Stratford. It did not succeed in the long run as a venture equal to the Shakespeare Festival, but it did draw international musical attention to Stratford that made possible the creation of independent music festivals in the succeeding years. A vibrant musical life had been created as part of the Stratford Festival, and even though it ebbed and flowed under the aegis of the Festival Board, the Music Festival set a precedent for music of all genres—both national and international—to be seen at Stratford. The appetite for quality musical offerings was thus whetted with the Stratford Music Festival, and a rich musical life was set up in the town of

¹⁵¹ See The Stratford Summer Music website, <https://stratfordsummermusic.ca/>

¹⁵² See the Stratford Blues and Ribfest website, <http://stratfordbluesandribfest.ca/>

¹⁵³ See the Perth County visitor website, http://www.visitperth.ca/news_and_media.php?newsid=378

¹⁵⁴ Barge Music now under the auspices of Stratford Summer Music, <https://stratfordsummermusic.ca/artist.php?id=45>

Stratford so that it now enjoys a wealth of musical events. The Stratford Festival continues to include new music in its productions and concerts in the Festival lobby and as part of the new Forum,¹⁵⁵ but the sturdiest seed to take root from the Music Festival turned out to be music theatre, which blossomed into extremely successful musicals in the last three decades at the Festival.

¹⁵⁵ The Forum is an initiative begun by Antoni Cimolino in 2013 of lectures, concerts and workshops designed to “enrich the play-going experience.” See <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/forum/Default.aspx>

CHAPTER TWO: MUSIC THEATRE—GENRE, CANON AND IDENTITY

In late June of 1957, while the Stratford Festival productions of *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night* were in final rehearsals, a musical opened in downtown Stratford at the Avon Theatre (then still a movie theatre). It was a professional remount of the McGill University Graduate Society's *Red and Blue Review*—a little show called *My Fur Lady*. Created by Donald MacSween, Timothy Porteous, Eric Wang (book and lyrics), Beujeau Domville, Roy Wovin, Galt MacDermot (music), and Brian and Olivia Macdonald (direction and choreography), the show was a satire about Canadian life, following the story of the princess of a tiny arctic island who needs to get married before her 21st birthday so her country does not lose its sovereignty to Canada.¹⁵⁶ *My Fur Lady* was a landmark in the history of Canadian musical theatre; it was one of the first successful musicals with Canadian content—predating *Anne of Green Gables* (1965) and *Billy Bishop Goes to War* (1978) by several years. The Stratford performances of *My Fur Lady* kicked off a highly successful national tour that made its producer/creators just under a million dollars.¹⁵⁷

Herbert Whittaker of the *Globe and Mail* asked why *My Fur Lady* was so special among college shows and speculated that it was because “it has a sharpness of approach, a refusal to imitate other musicals, a point of view which is constantly bright and witty.”¹⁵⁸ The show received international attention, and a review in London's *The Times* noted that *My Fur Lady* was “dazzling,” and that its focus on Canadian culture indicated “a widespread desire in Canada

¹⁵⁶ See the script: Donald MacSween, et al., *Quince Productions presents My Fur Lady: an original musical comedy*, (1957); and original cast recording: James Domville et al., *My Fur Lady An Original Musical Comedy*, (Montreal: McGill Recording Service, 1957), LP.

¹⁵⁷ See Mel Atkey, “The *Fur Flies*” in *Broadway North: The Dream of a Canadian Musical Theatre* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2006), 78-82; and Stephen C. Willis, “My Fur Lady” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/my-fur-lady-emc/> (last edited 12/16/2013).

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Atkey, 80.

to break away from theatrical subservience to Broadway and London.”¹⁵⁹ The creators of *My Fur Lady* wanted to create a show that was uniquely Canadian, and that may have been part of the larger cultural trend toward expressions of national culture in Canada, but side by side with the Shakespearean plays at the Stratford Festival that season, under the artistic directorship of English-born Michael Langham, the contrast between a colonial vision of Canadian theatre and a nationalist vision was thrown into sharp relief.

The Stratford Music Festival in 1957 was also highly reliant on imports from Britain and the U.S.A., with Benjamin Britten bringing over his entire company, the English Opera Group, to give performances of *The Turn of the Screw*, and jazz greats Duke Ellington and Billie Holliday giving concerts. While the Stratford Festival claimed *The Turn of the Screw* as part of its playbill for the 1957 season, *My Fur Lady* does not appear in any official Stratford materials. In the Canadian Encyclopedia entry on *My Fur Lady* and in Mel Atkey’s chapter on the musical, *My Fur Lady* is called a “fringe event” of the 1957 Stratford season.¹⁶⁰ However, neither the drama nor the music sides of the Festival claimed the musical as part of their seasons. So while there may have been a great number of Festival patrons who also saw *My Fur Lady* while it was in town that summer, and there is a traceable record of theatre critics who took in the musical while they were in town for the Festival, there did not seem to be any great desire on the part of Langham or Applebaum to form a partnership with the company of *My Fur Lady*. I believe that this was less due to the explicit national character of the musical (Stratford had, after all,

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ See Mel Atkey, “The *Fur Flies*” in *Broadway North: The Dream of a Canadian Musical Theatre* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2006), 78-82; and Stephen C. Willis, “My Fur Lady” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/my-fur-lady-emc/> (last edited 12/16/2013).

produced its first Canadian play, *Tit-coq* the year before, and Applebaum was a noted advocate of Canadian music), than it was due to the fact that *My Fur Lady* was a *musical*.

The genres of theatre and music theatre were carefully selected by the Artistic Directors and Music Directors of the Festival. For the first three decades of the Festival, musicals did not appear on the playbill. The operas and operettas that constituted the music theatre offerings at the Festival were the centrepieces of the Music Festival; they were designed to attract audiences, but also to be artistically interesting and even challenging for the singers and musicians who came to Stratford each year. The genres of music theatre presented at Stratford over its history therefore reflect ongoing aesthetic arguments about the role of music at the Festival and which pieces were best suited for the artists and the general public.

In this chapter, I argue that the types of music theatre that have been mounted at the Stratford Festival over the years provide a fascinating case study for the aesthetic reception of differing genres of music theatre. I explore themes of genre, canon and identity by giving some definitions of music theatre genres, examining the operas and operettas that were produced at Stratford between 1955 and 1980, and presenting some hypotheses about why certain works and genres have been chosen at specific moments in the Festival's history. Music theatre at the Festival has frequently functioned as a lightning rod for aesthetic arguments about what the Stratford Festival represents and what it should be, since music theatre has been historicized as something clearly apart from classical or Shakespearean drama. I contend that the highbrow or lowbrow associations of various genres of music theatre affected if, how, and when they were incorporated into the Stratford playbill, as well as affecting the audience reception and critical discourse about the Festival.

MUSIC THEATRE: GENRE AND VALUE AT STRATFORD

Stratford has produced three main types of music theatre over its sixty-year history: opera, operetta and musicals. There is a great deal of overlap between these different genres of music theatre and some of the genre distinctions have more to do with value judgments than with true differences in musical or theatrical styles. The terms opera, operetta and musical each have their own ideological baggage, which can, in some cases, provide a useful shorthand for the type of music theatre being discussed, but in other cases only cloud the picture. In his chapter on genre in *Performing Rites*, Simon Frith writes, “We can only make sense of musical value judgments if we understand the circumstances in which they are made—and what they are made for... value judgments only make sense as part of an argument, and arguments are always *social* events.”¹⁶¹ Genre definitions have their own historicity and are constantly being rewritten as newly created works within a genre stretch its boundaries, and as new genre histories are written, placing emphasis on an author’s subjective exemplars of a genre.

In short, genres are socially negotiated and contextually driven. As popular music scholar Fabian Holt noted in his book on genre,

At a basic level, genre is a type of category that refers to a particular kind of music within a distinctive cultural web of production, circulation, and signification. That is to say, genre is not only ‘in the music,’ but also in the minds and bodies of particular groups of people who share certain conventions. These conventions are created in relation to particular musical texts and artists and the contexts in which they are performed and experienced.¹⁶²

In the Stratford context, the same piece of music theatre, *The Beggar’s Opera* for example, was treated differently—more operatically—in 1958 when it was part of the Music Festival, than it

¹⁶¹ Simon Frith, *Performing rites: On the value of popular music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 95, emphasis in original.

¹⁶² Fabian Holt, *Genre in popular music*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 2.

was in 1980 when the Music Festival no longer existed and singing actors (rather than acting singers) were hired and cross-cast in *King Lear* and Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters*.¹⁶³ Long-time pianist and music director Laura Burton and her husband actor David Keeley both said that the cross-casting of actor-singers in musicals and plays at Stratford is something that helps to break down genre distinctions.¹⁶⁴ When actors at Stratford act in musicals, tragedies and comedies, they often come to the conclusion that the same amount of acting work is necessary for all genres (I address this more fully in analyzing Stratford's acting company politics in Chapter Five).

David Keeley, who has acted extensively in both musicals and plays, commented that genre distinctions often come from within, "We do it to ourselves. Within our own community musical theatre folk generally aren't given the same cred as actors. You get typecast and labelled."¹⁶⁵ Keeley here is referring to social hierarchies that actors face depending on what type of show they do. There are hierarchies of value in theatre genres just as there are in other media. Film actors are often taken more seriously by critics and audiences than television actors. In much the same way, classical actors are usually taken more seriously by their fellow actors, theatre critics and scholars than musical actors. These valuations—of one art form being more serious than another—are embedded in our cultural discourse, and are revealed when certain works (like a film by Pedro Almodovar, or a play by Shakespeare) are labelled art, but other

¹⁶³ See Appendix C: Catalogue index, for the artistic teams and actors cast in both the 1958 and 1980 Stratford productions, as well as the adaptations used in each instance.

¹⁶⁴ Laura Burton and David Keeley, interview.

¹⁶⁵ David Keeley, interview.

works (like the television series *Mad Men* or the musical *Wicked*) needs a modifier for the “art” label: they are *popular art* or *mass art*.¹⁶⁶ Or, more frequently, they are labelled entertainment.¹⁶⁷

The Romantic ideal of the author as auteur has permeated much of our critical discourse—no matter how high or popular the art—so that single-author works tend to be more highly valued in modern Western culture than multi-author works. Television and musicals are both collaborative in their authorship, and these genres therefore have a steeper uphill battle to win in the fight to be valued for their cultural import and entertainment value as well as for their aesthetics.

Des McAnuff, Artistic Director 2008-2012, thinks that the Stratford company is able to counteract some embedded high/low value judgments made about genres like comedies and musicals because Stratford audiences have the opportunity to see different theatrical genres side by side.¹⁶⁸ Many Stratford actors can perform credibly across many genres, and as in the wider Canadian context where less work is available than in the U.S., there is a practical, employment-related aspect to actors being able to act in as many genres as possible.

Among certain artistic directors and members of the company, there is a reluctance to classify the work that is done at Stratford into different genres. This may be due to the fact that the directors and actors see their job as comprising the same task, whether the show is a classical tragedy or a Golden Age musical. Des McAnuff thinks that musicals and tragedies and comedies

¹⁶⁶ Many philosophers and critical theorists have examined high/low valuations of artworks and popular culture. See especially: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, translated by Richard Nice, 1984, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Lawrence W. Levine, . *Highbrow lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); and David Savran, *Highbrow/lowdown: Theater, jazz, and the making of the new middle class*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009).

¹⁶⁷ See Richard Shusterman, “Popular art and entertainment value”. In *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*, edited by William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, 131-157. (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), and *Surface and depth: Dialectics of criticism and culture*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁸ Des McAnuff, interview.

all fit together. It's all the same thing. It requires the same talent and skill to do a great musical as it does to do a classical play, and the audience should be welcome in that way. We shouldn't put genres into little boxes and separate them. It is all one thing. And this was true of course of the joint stock companies of Shakespeare's time. They switched from revenge comedies to histories to tragedies and they mixed [genres]. It's a mistake to think of Shakespeare as doing plays in particular genres because he was constantly creating hybrids... He was not content to simply adopt a genre and ape some other structure, he wanted to be inventive.¹⁶⁹

McAnuff has explored some of this hybridity in his music-filled productions of Shakespeare at Stratford. His 2011 production of *Twelfth Night*, for example, was full of rock-inflected music, with actors playing electric guitars on stage.¹⁷⁰

Reflecting on the huge amount of music in the 1996 production of *Alice Through the Looking Glass* and the 2000 production of *The Three Musketeers*, Laura Burton said, "We could, in a funny way, stop the delineation between musical and theatre. It's all theatre, right? If we [as artists] allow it to cross over, it becomes less of a thing. It should be equal acting, dancing, singing. It's all communication, we're all after the same thing."¹⁷¹ I agree with Burton that the desire to communicate to an audience may be the same across different genres. In fact, I would label that desire the "Entertainment Impulse"—an impulse that is separate from the desire to create something of beauty or meaning (the Art Impulse), or the desire to make money from art/entertainment (the Commerce Impulse). However, I do think that the modes of communication make for some differences in how the Entertainment Impulse is conveyed and

¹⁶⁹ Des McAnuff, interview.

¹⁷⁰ See the DVD and CD of his 2011 production of *12th Night*: McAnuff, Des and Michael Roth. *Music from the Stratford Shakespeare Festival's Twelfth Night by William Shakespeare*. Featuring Ben Carlson, Brian Dennehy and Stephen Ouimette. [S.I.]: Michael Roth Publishing / Des McAnuff Publishing, 2011, compact disc.

¹⁷¹ Laura Burton, interview.

received. Typologies of theatre genres have their place, provided it is acknowledged that labels are value-laden and, *pace* Bourdieu, classify the classifier as much as the classified.¹⁷²

MUSIC THEATRE: SOME GENRE DEFINITIONS

We need to know how boundaries are constituted, not simply that they are fuzzier than various writers have assumed.

David Hesmondhalgh¹⁷³

There are many forms of theatre that include music and use song to develop character, express emotions and/or further the story. The Stratford Festival has experimented with producing many different kinds of staged musical works and some genre definitions will therefore be helpful for a discussion of the changing trends in how Stratford approached these different types of music theatre. I largely rely on accepted, common sense definitions of the terms opera, operetta, and musical, but in categorizing Stratford's music theatre productions, I also take into account the particular Stratford context, including the training of the actor/singers and the director's approach to the production.

Stratford produced *opera* between 1956 and 1975, and in the Stratford context the term opera mostly meant chamber operas by Benjamin Britten, comic operas by Mozart translated into English, and some experimental Canadian works. A defining feature of all of the Stratford operas is that their composers were trained in the Western art music tradition that spans Monteverdi to John Adams. Most of the operas were "sung through," with recitative instead of spoken dialogue, but a couple of the new Canadian operas including R. Murray Schafer's *Patria II* (1972) and

¹⁷² See my Introduction, page 24, for the full quote from Bourdieu. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, translated by Richard Nice, 1984, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 6-7.

¹⁷³ David Hesmondhalgh, "Subcultures, scenes or tribes? None of the above," *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, no. 1 (March 2005), 24.

Gabriel Charpentier's *Orpheus* (1972) had dialogue. Operas are usually sung-through, but it is not a necessity of the genre (i.e. Bizet's original *Carmen* had dialogue instead of recitative), nor, if a work of music theatre lacks spoken dialogue, is it automatically classified as opera. A couple of musicals produced at Stratford have been completely sung through—notably Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Evita* and *Jesus Christ Superstar*—and are sometimes subtitled “rock operas.” Here, we see that it is the genre of *music* and the training lineage of the composer, more than the work's structure that determines its genre classification.

Opera includes many subcategories,¹⁷⁴ but at Stratford, the operas fall into two main camps: operas with authors and titles the audiences would recognize, and ‘other’ works that pushed at the genre boundaries of opera. For example, I have categorized R. Murray Schafer's work *Patria II* as an opera in the ‘Canadian’ sub-category (see Table 2.1), and Schafer himself had this to say about the issue of hierarchies within theatrical and musical genres,

Patria is not an opera. Neither is it a drama. It uses the resources of both these forms, as well as those of television and film. What results is a mischievous hybrid which may begin to take on the appearance of a new *genre*... I would call this a *Theatre of Confluence*, because confluence suggests a flowing together which is inevitable but not forced, like the tributaries of a river. Confluent theatre has not been possible in the past because of the hierarchical nature of all combinatorial art forms. In traditional theatre, for instance, the arts are forced into a rank order in which the spoken word comes first, then action, then décor, then music. In opera this rank order is more or less inverted, but is no less incorrigible for that. Works for the Confluent Theatre must be conceived on all levels simultaneously. The parameters of all the arts must be established coevally and worked out in advance in detail. In this respect we may speak not of producing an ‘opera’ but a ‘co-opera.’¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ The Grove Dictionary entry, for example, lists many terms related to opera, including: Ballad Opera; Ballet de cour; Ballet-héroïque; Burlesque; Chamber opera; Comédie-ballet; Divertissement; Drame Lyrique; Drame Giocoso; Drame per Musica; Entrée; Extravaganza; Film Musical; Grand opéra; Intermedio; Intermezzo; Liderspiel; Madrigal comedy; Märchenoper; Masque; Monodrama; Musical; Music Drama; Music Theatre; Number opera; Opéra-ballet; Opéra bouffon; Opera buffa; Opéra comique; Opéra Féerie; Opera Semiseria; Opera Seria; Operetta; Pantomime; Pastoral; Pastorale-Héroïque; Puppet opera; Rescue Opera; Schuloper; Semi-Opera; Singspiel; Spieloper; Tragédie en musique; Vaudeville; Zauberoper; and Zeitoper.

¹⁷⁵ R. Murray Schafer, production notes, house program for *Patria II: Requiems for a Party Girl*, 1972 at the Stratford Festival archives.

The hierarchical attitudes are so imbedded in the way most people think of dramatic forms, that although Schafer wrote about all the arts having equal weight in his work, he could only express this by using two new terms: ‘theatre of confluence,’ which seems to put an emphasis on the theatrical art of acting; and the term ‘co-opera’ (rather than ‘co-play’ for instance) which places primacy on music.

One way to categorize works is by the subtitles given them by their creators, but often those labels are so specific (as with Schafer’s term ‘co-opera’) as to be useless for comparing them to other, similar works.¹⁷⁶ Another way to look at genres is to examine what the music directors at Stratford had to say about the works on Stratford stages, so it is interesting to note that during the years of the Music Festival (1955-1975), Stratford promotional material referred to all of the works of music theatre on their stages as operas.¹⁷⁷ The Music Festival did coincide with when most of the operatic works were produced at Stratford, but there were also a good number of operettas produced in those years (see Appendix C). Prior to John Neville’s decision to cast classical actors in 1986’s *Boys from Syracuse*, many of the acting singers in Stratford’s operas and operettas were trained opera singers, spending the summer at Stratford, in their time away from seasons at the Canadian Opera Company, or The Met in New York. Unlike the Festival Music Directors of the sixties and seventies, I would like to draw a distinction between operas and operettas, not least because operettas continued to be produced at Stratford after 1976 and operas, by and large, did not.

¹⁷⁶ See also works like *Hair*, labelled an “American tribal love-rock musical”—the only work of music theatre, to my knowledge, with that label.

¹⁷⁷ See souvenir programs and visitor’s guides for those years, Stratford Festival Archives.

Table 2.1: Music theatre at the Stratford Festival divided by genre

Opera	Operetta	Musicals	
		Golden Age (1927-1966)	Other and post-1966
W. A. Mozart - <i>Marriage of Figaro</i> - <i>Don Giovanni</i> - <i>Così fan tutte</i> Benjamin Britten - <i>Rape of Lucretia</i> - <i>Turn of the Screw</i> - <i>Albert Herring</i> Gioachino Rossini - <i>Cinderella</i> Kurt Weill - <i>The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny</i> Richard Strauss - <i>Ariadne auf Naxos</i> Gian Carlo Menotti - <i>The Medium</i>	Jacques Offenbach - <i>Orphée aux enfers</i> - <i>La vie parisienne</i> Gilbert and Sullivan - <i>HMS Pinafore</i> - <i>The Pirates of Penzance</i> - <i>The Gondoliers</i> - <i>The Mikado</i> - <i>The Yeoman of the Guard</i> - <i>Iolanthe</i> - <i>Patience</i> (in concert)	Cole Porter - <i>Anything Goes</i> - <i>Kiss Me Kate</i> Rodgers & Hart - <i>The Boys from Syracuse</i> Rodgers & Hammerstein - <i>Oklahoma!</i> - <i>Carousel</i> - <i>South Pacific</i> - <i>The King and I</i> - <i>Sound of Music</i> Lerner & Loewe - <i>My Fair Lady</i> - <i>Camelot</i> - <i>Gigi</i> Monnot & Breffort - <i>Irma la douce</i> Frank Loesser - <i>Guys and Dolls</i> Sandy Wilson - <i>The Boy Friend</i> Meredith Willson - <i>The Music Man</i> Bernstein/Sondheim/Laurents - <i>West Side Story</i> Sondheim/Shevelove - <i>A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum</i> Lionel Bart - <i>Oliver!</i> Bock & Harnick - <i>Fiddler on the Roof</i> Herman & Stewart - <i>Hello Dolly!</i> Leigh/Wasserman/Daiman - <i>Man of La Mancha</i> Kander & Ebb - <i>Cabaret</i> Warren/Dubin/Stewart - <i>42nd Street</i> G. & I. Gershwin - <i>My One and Only</i> - <i>Crazy for You</i>	Porter/Shevelove - <i>Happy New Year</i> Clark Gesner - <i>You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown</i> Stephen Sondheim - <i>Into the Woods</i> Jacques Brel - <i>Jacques Brel is Alive and Well and Living in Paris</i> Webber & Rice - <i>Evita</i> - <i>Jesus Christ Superstar</i> Stanley Silverman - <i>The Satyricon</i> Carrière & Jones - <i>Ready Steady Go</i> Norman & Ouzounian - <i>Dracula</i> Norman & Panych - <i>Wanderlust</i>
Canadian Opera Gabriel Charpentier - <i>Orpheus</i> R. Murray Schafer - <i>Patria II: Requiems for the Party Girl</i> Charles Wilson - <i>The Summoning of Everyman</i> Raymond & Beverly Pannell - <i>Exiles</i> Harry Somers - <i>The Fool</i> Jean Vallerand - <i>Le Magicien</i>	Other Music Theatre ¹⁷⁸ John Gay - <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> Weill & Brecht - <i>The Threepenny Opera</i> Leonard Bernstein - <i>Candide</i>		

¹⁷⁸ Additional "Other" types of performances included: Igor Stravinsky's *A Soldier's Tale*, Cook's *Suite of Psalms for Spoken Voice and Orchestra*; mime by Marcel Marceau and Pecknold's Canadian Mime; ballets by Brian Macdonald and the Royal Winnipeg Ballet; The Montreal Marionettes; and Gala performances.

Operetta began in the mid nineteenth century as a smaller, lighter form of opera than the large, serious works by nineteenth-century composers such as Wagner. Some of the operettas were akin to the comic operas of earlier centuries, but by the nineteenth century, Romantic attitudes toward the artist and the autonomous artwork had made many people unwilling to put works by Jacques Offenbach and Franz Lehár in the same category as works by Wagner and Verdi. Wagner wrote the librettos for his operas as well as the music, but most Western art music operas had multiple authors, just as operettas did. It was not for their multiple authorship, but for their playful attitude and satirical subject matter, that musicians and scholars classified operettas as a separate genre from operas. A distinction was therefore made between grand opera and its cousin with the diminutive suffix—operetta. Richard Traubner, in his monograph on operetta, examines several definitions of the term and the way it evolved over time. Traubner notes that in the United States,

the word operetta is now used solely to denote works that were written before the 1940s... Operettas produced prior to 1900 were often called comic operas, as they were in England. In France the term *opérette* also connotes twentieth-century works (often produced with spectacular effects), while *opéra-bouffe* is the term used for the works of Offenbach, and *opéra-comique* (officially, but often grandiosely) the definition used by the authors themselves to describe the works of Offenbach's rivals and successors, as these often played up romantic elements. Britain's greatest works, the Savoy series of Gilbert and Sullivan, were comic operas, while their descendants at the turn of the century were called musical comedies, originally so-called to distinguish them from continental works.¹⁷⁹

Traubner classifies all these works as operettas, noting that one of the main differences between opera and operetta is musical unpretentiousness—that operettas were composed so that theatre orchestras (rather than symphonic orchestras) could play the scores, “and in many cases the principal operetta singers were known first, and primarily, as comedians or café singers, rather

¹⁷⁹ Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History*, rev. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), ix-x.

than as operatic singers.”¹⁸⁰ Operettas at Stratford did include some operatic singers (notably Maureen Forrester in the role of the Fairy Queen in *Iolanthe*), but they have also been cast with actors trained in musical theatre (Kyle Blair and Jeff Hyslop, who both played Frederic in different productions of *The Pirates of Penzance*—see Chapter 4, Case Study) and classically trained actors (i.e. Colm Feore as the Pirate King in the 1994 *Pirates of Penzance*). Like Traubner, I use the term operetta to refer to Offenbach’s *opéra-bouffes* and the comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan. At Stratford, the operetta category has been the most consistent (by virtue of being the most repetitive), with Stratford offerings limited to works by Gilbert and Sullivan and Offenbach (see Table 2.1).

Musicals were born of both European and American ancestors: vaudeville, operetta, music hall, burlesque and minstrelsy. There were many new genres developed from these relatives that found their way to Broadway stages starting in the 1890s. *Revue*s sometimes had a theme to tie the disparate elements of satirical sketches, spectacular dance numbers, and popular Tin Pan Alley songs into one work, but did not have an overarching narrative, or “book.” The revue genre was typified by the Ziegfeld Follies, which began in 1907 and ran annually until the 1930s. *Musical comedies* (the term was shortened to musicals at a later date) had comedic plays as their basis, with musical numbers added in. The Princess Theater book musicals by Jerome Kern, P.G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton from the 1910s are good examples of this genre that usually focused on contemporary characters living in New York and the comedy that arose out of believable situations. First or second generation Americans such as Victor Herbert, Sigmund Romberg, Vincent Youmans and Rudolf Friml wrote in another, more operetta-like genre. The music in shows like *Naughty Marietta* (1910) and *The Student Prince* (1924) tended to be more

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., xi

demanding of singers than the music in musical comedies, and the stories usually focused on upper class characters in exotic settings, typical of operetta.

While acknowledging the influence of vaudeville, revue and operetta and their place on Broadway stages in the early 20th century, historians, musical creators and audiences have made the musical comedy the epicentre of the genre. This is likely because the “integrated” musical comedies and musical plays, with their enmeshed music, dance and plot, have stood the test of time better than the revues or operettas with their topical jokes and satire.¹⁸¹ Further, the core of the genre is made up of *Golden Age musicals* from the 1927 to the 1960s; and, as explored in my Introduction, it is this core repertory that is reinforced in literature about the musicals and in revivals, both professional and amateur.

In his book *The Rise and Fall of the Broadway Musical*, Mark N. Grant divides Broadway history into three eras: 1866 with *The Black Crook* to 1927; 1927 with *Show Boat* to around 1966; and 1966 to the present.¹⁸² Grant draws parallels between the first and last eras in the types of “fluffy” musicals that were and are produced and calls the middle era—1927-1966—the Golden Age, or canonical period, or, as Alan Jay Lerner called it, Broadway’s “belle époque.”¹⁸³ 1927 is a significant year because it was when *Showboat* premiered. Joseph Swain calls *Showboat* “Broadway’s first maturity”¹⁸⁴ as it ushered in a new era of musical theatre in its integration of story, music and dance. Grant does not explicitly state why he chose 1966 as a date to end the canonical period, but it is plausible to assume that he wished to include 1966’s

¹⁸¹ Indeed, when Gilbert and Sullivan operettas were produced at Stratford, the directors took the liberty of changing the topical jokes from those that targeted nineteenth century British politics, to those that targeted 1980s Canadian politics.

¹⁸² Mark N. Grant, *The rise and fall of the Broadway musical*, (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

¹⁸³ Alan Jay Lerner, *The street where I live*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970).

¹⁸⁴ Joseph P. Swain, *The Broadway musical: A critical and musical survey*, 2d ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

Cabaret and make 1968's *Hair* part of the new era. Many overviews of Broadway history focus explicitly on Grant's Golden Age: "from *Show Boat* to Sondheim," as musicologist Geoffrey Block terms it.¹⁸⁵ These historians and critics take on the role of gatekeeper and reinforce the notion that Broadway has a canon or core repertory of classics drawn from the forty-year period between 1927 and 1966.¹⁸⁶ The way musicals are valued—at Stratford and elsewhere—therefore largely rests on the way Golden Age musicals are analyzed, taught, and revived.

It is mainly from this central Golden Age canon of musicals that Stratford has drawn its musical theatre repertoire (See Table 2.2, the bottom half of the chart, in grey, contains the post-Golden Age Musicals). The first musical wasn't produced at Stratford until 1979, after the Music Festival had collapsed. There is a definite correlation between the types of music theatre produced at Stratford and the existence of the Music Festival. Music Theatre at Stratford between 1955 and 1975 was under the purview of the Festival Music Directors, and the staged offerings formed the centrepiece of the Music Festival. Music Directors from Louis Applebaum to Raffi Armenian tended to choose more musically demanding pieces such as operas and

¹⁸⁵ Geoffrey Block, "The Broadway canon from *Show Boat* to *West Side Story* and the European operatic ideal," *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1993): 525-44.

¹⁸⁶ See Geoffrey Block, *Enchanted evenings: The Broadway musical from Show Boat to Sondheim*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); David Ewen, *The story of America's musical theatre*, (New York: Chilton Company, 1961); Denny Martin Flinn, *Musical! A grand tour: The rise, glory, and fall of an American institution*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997); Kislán, Richard. *The musical: A look at the American musical theatre*, rev. ed. (New York: Applause Books, 1995); Knapp, Raymond Knapp, *The American musical and the formation of national identity*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); Knapp, *The American musical and the performance of personal identity*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006); Ethan Mordden, *Better foot forward: the history of American musical theatre*, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976); Mordden, *Broadway babies: the people who made the American musical*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Mordden, *The happiest corpse I've ever seen: the last twenty-five years of the Broadway musical*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Joseph P. Swain, *The Broadway musical: A critical and musical survey*, 2d ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

Table 2.2: Comparison of core Broadway repertoires with Stratford productions

Geoffrey Block's "Broadway Canon" (Block 1993)	Joseph Swain's <i>The Broadway Musical</i> (2002)	Raymond Knapp's <i>American Musical</i> (2006)	Stratford Productions
<i>Show Boat</i> (1927 – Kern & Hammerstein)	<i>Show Boat</i> (1927 – Kern & Hammerstein)		
<i>Porgy and Bess</i> (1935 G. & I. Gershwin)	<i>Porgy and Bess</i> (1935 G. & I. Gershwin)		
<i>Pal Joey</i> (1940 – Rodgers & Hart)			
<i>Oklahoma!</i> (1943 – Rodgers & Hammerstein)	<i>Oklahoma!</i> (1943 – Rodgers & Hammerstein)		2007
<i>Carousel</i> (1945 – Rodgers & Hammerstein)	<i>Carousel</i> (1945 – Rodgers & Hammerstein)		1991
		<i>Annie Get Your Gun</i> (1946 – Berlin)	
<i>Kiss Me, Kate</i> (1948 – Porter)	<i>Kiss Me, Kate</i> (1948 – Porter)	<i>Kiss Me, Kate</i> (1948 – Porter)	1989, 2010
<i>South Pacific</i> (1949 – Rodgers & Hammerstein)			2006
<i>Guys and Dolls</i> (1950 – Loesser)			1990, 2004
<i>The King and I</i> (1951 – Rodgers & Hammerstein)			2003
<i>My Fair Lady</i> (1956 – Lerner & Loewe)		<i>My Fair Lady</i> (1956 – Lerner & Loewe)	1988, 2002
<i>The Most Happy Fella</i> (1956 – Loesser)	<i>The Most Happy Fella</i> (1956 – Loesser)		
<i>West Side Story</i> (1957 – Bernstein & Sondheim)	<i>West Side Story</i> (1957 – Bernstein & Sondheim)		1999, 2009
		<i>Gypsy</i> (1959 – Styne)	1993
		<i>Camelot</i> (1960 – Lerner & Loewe)	1997, 2011
	<i>Fiddler on the Roof</i> (1964 – Bock & Harnick)		2000, 2013
		<i>Man of La Mancha</i> (1965 – Leigh & Darion)	1998, 2014
		<i>Company</i> (1970 – Sondheim)	
	<i>Godspell</i> (1976 - Schwartz)		
	<i>Jesus Christ Superstar</i> (1971 – Lloyd Webber & Rice)		2011
	<i>A Chorus Line</i> (1975 – Hamlisch & Kleban)		
	<i>Evita</i> (1978 – Webber & Rice)	<i>Evita</i> (1978 – Webber & Rice)	2010
	<i>Sweeney Todd</i> (1979 – Sondheim)	<i>Sweeney Todd</i> (1979 – Sondheim)	
	<i>Les Miserables</i> (1987 - Schonberg & Boublil)		
		<i>Into the Woods</i> (1987 – Sondheim)	2005

operettas than the musicals later chosen by Stratford Artistic Directors.¹⁸⁷ Once the Music Festival folded, the emphasis on music at Stratford shifted and became more intertwined with the theatre festival, and the genres of music theatre at Stratford post-1975 likewise placed a more equal emphasis on music and theatre.

In the years immediately following the demise of the Music Festival, a new approach to music theatre at Stratford was tested. By 1981, Artistic Director John Hirsch and director Brian Macdonald had settled into a string of hit Gilbert and Sullivan productions,¹⁸⁸ but prior to that, Robin Phillips' tenure (1975-1980) was marked by the end of the experimental opera phase and the end of the Music Festival, but the beginning of musicals and genre-bending works of music theatre at Stratford. In 1978, Stratford presented Leonard Bernstein's *Candide*, in 1979, a jukebox musical of Cole Porter songs with a book by Barry Shevelove called *Happy New Year*, and in 1980, the ballad opera *The Beggar's Opera*. I have classified *Happy New Year* as a post-Golden Age musical, even though Porter's music has a Golden Age provenance, because the Stratford performance was actually in the nature of a tryout for the Broadway production that flopped horribly in 1980.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Rick Fox, Festival Music Director from 2008-2013, said that it is the Artistic Director who chooses the musicals to be mounted at Stratford each season. He said that Des McAnuff was a very collaborative Artistic Director, and liked to discuss his choices with Fox, but that it was ultimately McAnuff's decision (Rick Fox, interview). This differs from how things were done in the first half of the Festival's history, when the Music Directors chose the music theatre repertoire.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter Five.

¹⁸⁹ See Ken Mandelbaum, *Not since Carrie: Forty years of Broadway musical flops*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 220-221. This differs from my inclusion of shows such as *42nd Street*, *Gigi*, and *My One and Only* in the "Golden Age" category even though they did not have Broadway premières between 1927 and 1966, because those works, unlike *Happy New Year*, not only have a "Golden Age" provenance, but were also established (and successful) Broadway shows before they arrived at Stratford. *42nd Street* premiered on Broadway in 1980, based on the 1933 musical film of the same name, with music by Harry Warren and Al Dubin from the thirties; *My One and Only* was a jukebox musical of 1930s Gershwin tunes with a new book (much like *Crazy for You*) that had its Broadway première in 1983; *Gigi* was adapted by Lerner and Loewe from their 1958 musical film for the Broadway stage in 1973.

Candide and *The Beggar's Opera*, along with Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht's adaptation of the latter into *The Threepenny Opera*, are harder works to classify because they all make use of an amalgam of musical styles. As Weill scholar Stephen Hinton wrote, "Weill's work is hard to pin down in terms of genre because genre is one of its topics."¹⁹⁰ *The Threepenny Opera* has the word 'opera' in its title, is considered an operetta by many critics, and also became an Off-Broadway hit in the nature of many musicals.¹⁹¹ Heinz Keller called it "the weightiest possible lowbrow opera for highbrows and the most full-blooded highbrow musical for lowbrows."¹⁹² In this assessment, Keller makes it clear that opera is a more highbrow form than musicals, and that the audiences of the genres are often divided not only along lines of taste, but also along class lines. I have decided to place *The Threepenny Opera*, like its parent *The Beggar's Opera*, in a category apart from opera, operetta or musicals as it is closely related to each of those forms, and yet fits comfortably in none of them (see Table 2.1).

Certain works of music theatre, like *Oklahoma!* and *West Side Story*, pushed at the boundaries of their genre, and in so doing enlarged and redefined what the genre could encompass. Other works, like Weill's *Threepenny Opera* and Leonard Bernstein's *Candide*, straddled and mixed genres so completely that they pushed beyond the boundaries of genre into some interstitial space that can only be described in terms of montage. Unlike *West Side Story*, which also trod

¹⁹⁰ Stephen Hinton, *Weill's musical theatre: Stages of reform*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 114.

¹⁹¹ A review of the 1954 production is included in a compilation of *New York Times* reviews of Broadway musicals, see Ben Brantley, *Broadway musicals: From the pages of the New York Times*, (New York: Abrams, 2012), 143.

¹⁹² Heinz Keller, *Die Dreigroschenoper: fünfzehn Holzschnitte von Heinz Keller zu der oper von Bert Brecht*, (Berlin: Verlag der Sonnenberg-Presse, 1987), translated into English and quoted in Stephen Hinton, "Dreigroschenoper, Die," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford University Press, accessed September 8, 2013),

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/O006155>

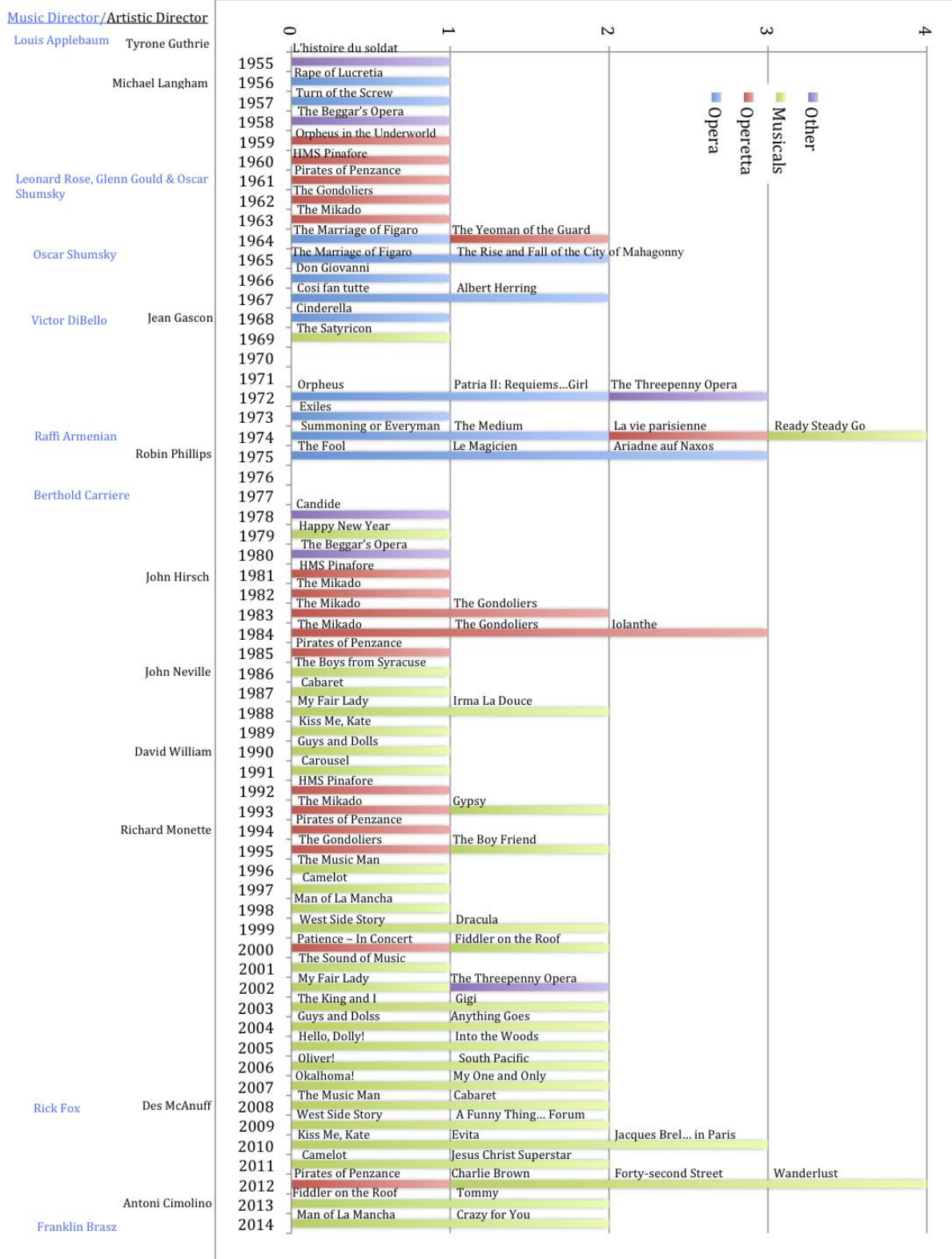
“the fine line between opera and Broadway”¹⁹³ and ended up in opera repertoires, *Candide* did not so much redefine the genre of Broadway musicals as it formed its own genre in the space between musicals and operetta. *West Side Story* was also musically ambitious, and some of the music Bernstein originally wrote for *Candide* ended up in *West Side Story*, and vice versa, yet the music in *West Side Story* escaped the connotation of operetta, and had a larger stylistic influence on Bernstein’s Broadway successors than the music of *Candide*. *West Side Story* has assumed a place in the centre of Broadway’s core repertory,¹⁹⁴ while *Candide* exists on the fringes of the genre.

The common thread weaving *Candide*, *The Beggar’s Opera* and *The Threepenny Opera* together into a genre of “other” music theatre, is that they are all satires and they all use musical parody. Bernstein and Weill were both classically trained composers who took many influences from the popular music of the day. They were both interested in blending genres and breaking down hierarchies of taste in the types of music that they wrote. *Candide*, *The Beggar’s Opera* and *The Threepenny Opera* are works that bridge more than one genre, and the productions of these works at Stratford often served as a pivot point between the different genres of music theatre that were produced on Stratford stages (see Figure 2.1).

¹⁹³ Leonard Bernstein, “Excerpts from a West Side log” (1957, entry for March 17, 1956), quoted in Simeone, *Leonard Bernstein, West Side Story*, 31.

¹⁹⁴ See Block, *Enchanted Evenings* and “The Broadway canon from Show Boat to West Side Story”; Swain, *The Broadway musical* and Stempel, *Showtime*.

Figure 2.1: Genres of Music Theatre as Stratford, 1955-2014



OPERA AND OPERETTA AT STRATFORD

The main genre focus of this dissertation is on musicals, but because musicals did not appear regularly on Stratford stages until 1986, it is useful to examine how opera and operetta set the precedent for music theatre at Stratford in the first half of the Festival's history. Operas and many operettas require classically trained singers, while musicals require a different type of vocal style—a style that many actors receive at least some training in.¹⁹⁵ Certain musicals at Stratford could be cast with actors who had 'enough' vocal training for the music director to work with, whereas the opera and operetta-heavy years of Stratford Music (1955-1975) required a separate music theatre company of classically trained singers. I have therefore chosen to address opera and operetta separately from musicals not only for the generic differences, but also because of the difference in how music theatre was approached during the first half of the Festival's history versus during its latter half.

The Stratford Festival began its foray into music theatre in 1955 with chamber works. Under the auspices of the Music Festival, the early chamber operas featured actor/singers who were not part of the drama company. In some cases, as with *The Turn of the Screw* in 1957, an established opera company was invited to perform a work from their repertoire as part of the Music Festival. In other cases, Applebaum selected the repertoire and the music director conducted the auditions and cast the work. In the fifties and sixties Applebaum invited many Canadian Opera Company members to perform in Stratford operas and operettas. With few

¹⁹⁵ Belting is a type of vocal production that became common on Broadway stages through the influence of performers like Al Jolson and Ethel Merman. The chest voice, and straighter tone (with less vibrato) of these singers, was an influential sound on the creators of Broadway musicals; lyricists liked how clearly the words could be heard, and composers liked how the tune of the song carried above the orchestra and filled the theatre. Most Broadway-style singers, however, have a much smaller range than opera singers. Opera singers are also trained to sing above full symphonic orchestras, with technique for each type of voice, from lyric soprano to Helden tenor, that is meant to fill opera halls with soaring musical lines.

exceptions, the music theatre and drama companies were entirely separate until 1986, when John Neville cast the musical *The Boys from Syracuse* with members of the acting company.¹⁹⁶

Applebaum began very small with his staged musical selections in the 1955 Stratford season. Igor Stravinsky wrote *L'histoire du soldat* in 1918, when wartime economy dictated small ensembles. It is a work for an octet of instruments, a balletic, non-speaking part, and three speaking roles. It was not long enough to fill an entire programme, so Applebaum's wife Jan suggested he round out the evening with a mime performance by Marcel Marceau. Marceau agreed to make his North American debut in the inaugural Stratford Music Festival, and he also took on the role of the Devil in Stratford's English-language presentation of *L'histoire du soldat*. The double bill of *Soldat* and Marceau was scheduled for only four performances, but was very successful and definitely one of the biggest box office draws of the Music Festival that year.¹⁹⁷

Applebaum had a fondness for chamber pieces, both instrumental and sung, and he believed that Stratford could develop a strong reputation for chamber works. He also believed that Stratford should not attempt to produce grand operas—at least “for a good number of years.”¹⁹⁸ Part of his reasoning was that the Music Festival had neither the space nor the resources to mount a grand opera with full sets and costumes. For the 1956 season Applebaum chose a chamber opera composed by Benjamin Britten with some Shakespearean resonances: *The Rape of Lucretia*. In the souvenir program he wrote, “Stratford's presentation will, we expect, aim the attention of the audience on the essential dramatic and musical values of the

¹⁹⁶ A division between theatre and musical theatre actors persisted after the eighties; musically trained actors tended to play in two musicals, rather than being cross cast in a musical and a play, in years when more than one musical was part of the season. I address the company politics of this division in Chapter Five.

¹⁹⁷ In his interview with Pat Quigley, Applebaum said that *L'histoire du soldat* together with Marcel Marceau was “a sensation.” Stratford Festival, *Blake Research Project: Louis Applebaum*, archival DVD.

¹⁹⁸ Stratford Festival, *Blake Research Project: Louis Applebaum*, archival DVD.

work rather than divert it with the conventional operatic trimmings and trappings... time and our audience should eventually let us know what to build on.”¹⁹⁹ The audience responded well enough to *Lucretia* for Applebaum to chose another Britten opera for the 1957 season, this time with Britten himself conducting his English Opera Group in *The Turn of the Screw*.

These chamber operas were artistically successful for Stratford because they aligned with the mandate of the Festival to produce the highest quality music and theatre possible. After the Festival’s resounding success in 1953, audiences came to expect compelling productions of classical works. The works might be new to the audience members (*All’s Well That Ends Well* and *Richard III* were rarely produced in the first half of the twentieth century, and would have likely been unfamiliar to a large portion of the Festival audience in 1953), and they might even be new works—like Britten’s chamber operas—but the Artistic and Music Directors at Stratford carefully chose plays and operas that belonged to a canon of classical works. The selections reflected a valuation of Elizabethan plays and music from the Western art music tradition as being the highest forms of art that Stratford could offer to its patrons. The Stratford productions were meant to enrich the cultural life of Canada; they were meant to edify and enlighten the performers and the audiences. It is not surprising that chamber operas by a Western art music like Benjamin Britten were chosen to complement the classical dramatic offerings. Both Shakespeare and opera had moved from being popular entertainments to highbrow entertainments (the history of that evolution in America is traced in Lawrence Levine’s *Highbrow/Lowbrow*), and the Stratford Festival was aiming to both establish itself as a bastion of high culture in Canada, and to attract a wide audience. Tyrone Guthrie took something of a risk in choosing the lesser-known Shakespeare plays for the inaugural season of a new venture in

¹⁹⁹ 1956 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program, Stratford Festival archives.

1953, but Applebaum proved to be a risk taker in his programming again and again—selecting contemporary art music (often a hard sell for audiences), before changing tacks and choosing a new type of music theatre for Stratford.

For 1958, *The Beggar's Opera*, requiring a larger number of musicians and actors, was selected. The production featured Robert Goulet as Macheath prior to his Broadway debut as Lancelot in the original run of *Camelot* in 1960. At twelve performances, Stratford's *The Beggar's Opera* had twice the exposure as *The Turn of the Screw* the year before. Hugh Thomson of the *Toronto Star* wrote that the opening night had “an appreciative audience which caught all of [the show's] earthy humour, farcical fun and simple tunefulness with obvious relish.”²⁰⁰ *The Beggar's Opera* was better received than the Britten operas, and it presaged a change in direction for the Festival away from chamber operas toward more comedic works in the operetta genre. This might have been the moment at the Festival when Applebaum listened to the complaints about the Music Festival losing money and needing to be subsidized by the Drama Festival.²⁰¹ He may have recognized that a work with more popular appeal would perform better at the box office. If so, this marked the beginning of what has become an ongoing concern for the Festival—the desire to sell tickets, but avoid the appearance of overt populism balanced against the desire to produce artistically credible works, but avoid alienating audience members.

The Beggar's Opera was succeeded in 1959 by Offenbach's operetta *Orpheus in the Underworld*. In his report on the 5th Season of Music, Applebaum wrote,

²⁰⁰ Hugh Thomson, “Festival Review: Discreet Cuts Possible, ‘Beggar's Opera’ on CBC,” *The Toronto Star* (July 30, 1958).

²⁰¹ See Chapter 1, page 55, note 113.

Orpheus in the Underworld was selected for its potential popular appeal and for that reason 17 performances were scheduled, as compared to 12 last year. The presentation was acclaimed by the press and the attending public. It was a happy show and contained many elements pointing to a box-office ‘hit.’ The average attendance was a disappointing 54% of potential and it cost about \$25,000 more to produce than came in via box office receipts.²⁰²

Perhaps *Orpheus*, like the Britten operas, was too highbrow for the majority of the audience, who may have wanted some levity in the music theatre offering to balance out the seriousness of *Othello* and the chamber music concerts featuring Oscar Shumsky, Leonard Rose and Claudio Arrau.

The following year, the quest to find a box office hit succeeded when Tyrone Guthrie returned to Stratford to direct Gilbert and Sullivan’s *HMS Pinafore*. Guthrie admitted to Applebaum that he would like to try his hand at a Savoy operetta now that they were almost out of copyright and the strict production codes insisted upon by the D’Oyly Carte company could be ignored.²⁰³ Applebaum wrote,

During the first year [1953], while examining with Guthrie the failures and hopes for that first series of concerts in the tent, he confessed that of all the musical works he was most interested in staging, his choice would fall not on *Carmen*, or *Götterdämmerung* or the *St. Matthew Passion* but on *Pinafore*. Seven years later it was made to happen at Stratford, setting off a five year cycle of Gilbert and Sullivan at the Avon.²⁰⁴

The word “confessed” is an interesting choice in that it shows that Guthrie and Applebaum were both aware of the amateur associations with Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, and that they had less

²⁰² Louis Applebaum, “Music Festival Report, 1959,” Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archive, 1979-002/026 (498), 1.

²⁰³ Guthrie was taking a bit of a risk in his new production of *Pinafore* in 1960, since the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas did not officially come out of copyright until the following year (British copyright before the 1990s extended 50 years past the author’s death, and Gilbert died in 1911). However, Stratford paid the copyright due to the D’Oyly Carte company in 1960, and received no reprimands from the company for the liberties Guthrie took with the staging. See Regina B. Oost, *Gilbert and Sullivan: class and the Savoy tradition, 1875-1896*, (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), especially p. 142; see also Traubner, *Operetta*, 149-185, especially 161 and 180.

²⁰⁴ Louis Applebaum, “Stratford’s Music: A Chronicle and Some Musings,” draft, Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archive, 1979-002/026 (499), 14.

cultural capital than works by Bizet, Wagner, or Bach. There may have been a division between what Applebaum envisioned for Stratford, and Guthrie's ideas, and it is unclear what Michael Langham, who was Artistic Director in 1960, thought of the operettas. But whatever the internal politics, Guthrie's return to Stratford and Applebaum's last year as Festival Music Director was marked by a production that was decidedly more *fun* than the Britten operas or Shakespeare's tragedies and histories.

With Guthrie on board as director of the good ship *Pinafore*, he and Applebaum planned for a run of 24 performances at Stratford plus a 40-performance engagement at the Phoenix Theatre in New York City. It was a larger undertaking than any piece of music theatre at Stratford to date, and because it was a smashing success both at Stratford and Off-Broadway, *Pinafore* reassured the Stratford Board that music theatre could be a box office draw, and more Gilbert and Sullivan operettas were planned for subsequent years.

Pinafore was also filmed for CBC television and June Graham of the *CBC Times* noted,

This will be the first Stratford Festival production to be seen on television, and is also Guthrie's first venture into TV directing... The 90-minute CBC-TV show was videotaped during a 10-day stopover in Toronto. It includes the original chorus, which had to be broken up before the New York opening, because several of its members were signed up for the Canadian Opera Company Festival in Toronto.²⁰⁵

The show aired on October 10, 1960 in Canada and then was picked up by many U.S. channels so that by early in 1961, Stratford's *Pinafore* had been watched on televisions in New York, San Francisco, Cleveland, Washington, Philadelphia and Baltimore.²⁰⁶ In many of the reviews of *Pinafore* in Canada and the States, there was a focus on the freshness of the Stratford

²⁰⁵ June Graham, "HMS *Pinafore*: Dr. Tyrone Guthrie and CBC's Norman Campbell recreate the Stratford production, with the original cast, for CBC-TV viewers," *CBC-Times* 13 no. 14 (October 8-14, 1960), 10. Copy in Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archive, 1979-002/026 (505).

²⁰⁶ Poster for "A very very special *H.M.S. Pinafore*" Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archive, 1979-002/026 (507).

production—that it was a relief to see a production free of the D’Oyly Carte strictures.²⁰⁷ Guthrie wrote an article on his updated approach to *Pinafore* wherein he expressed his view that modernization of the material was required to keep it relevant otherwise the operettas would fade away,

Two things may happen; either the Savoy operas will gradually drop more and more out of fashion ‘till at last they are no more seen; or—the likelier alternative—they will achieve a place in the classic repertoire of light opera, along with *The Marriage of Figaro*, the best of Rossini and Offenbach, *La fille de Madame Angot*, *Les cloches de Corneville*, *Die Fledermaus*, *The Merry Widow*, and—who knows?—*Oklahoma!* or *West Side Story*. Such works as these will continue to be revived—and with respect—for at least another century. Indeed, the older they grow the more respect they will earn.²⁰⁸

In this passage, Guthrie expressed concern for the idea of works coming in and out of fashion, and with the way canons of theatre genres are formed and reformulated to adapt to changing trends. He spoke to something that was echoed by some (though certainly not all) of his successors at Stratford. Des McAnuff in particular has insisted that certain types of music theatre (including *Oklahoma!* and *West Side Story*) are classics in their own right and therefore fall within the mandate of the Festival to produce Shakespeare and the classics.²⁰⁹ McAnuff uses a broad definition of a “classic” work, but he seems to be saying that whatever the genre, if a work has achieved classic status within that genre—if it forms the core of the genre’s canon—it can be called a classic, and can thus be considered for inclusion on the Stratford playbill. There is

²⁰⁷ Even D’Oyly Carte fans such as journalist Richard Watts, Jr. gave Guthrie’s *Pinafore* a positive review. Richard Watts Jr. “Gilbert and Sullivan and Guthrie,” *New York Post* (8 September, 1960). See also Howard Taubman, “Modernized *Pinafore*” *The New York Times* (8 September, 1960), John Chapman, “Tyrone Guthrie’s *Pinafore* goes back to G&S for its charm,” *Daily News* (8 September, 1960), Robert Coleman, “Guthrie’s *Pinafore* sparkles” *New York Mirror* (8 September, 1960), George Kidd, “A Sure and saucy ship: *Pinafore* rides a critical crest,” *The Telegram* [Toronto] (8 September, 1960), Howard Taubman, “Guthrie, Applebaum brush of barnacles” *New York Times Service* (7 September, 1960).

²⁰⁸ Tyrone Guthrie, “*Pinafore* up to date,” *The New York Times* (19 June, 1960). Copy in Louis Applebaum fonds, York University Archive, 1979-002/026 (505).

²⁰⁹ Des McAnuff, interview.

therefore some elasticity in the way the mandate of the Festival can be interpreted. Past Artistic Directors have certainly taken advantage of this leeway, it remains to be seen if future Board of Directors and Artistic Directors interpret the mandate of the Festival in the same way.

In the early sixties, most newspaper critics and Stratford commentators had an attitude that the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas were fun additions to the Music and Drama festivals, there to provide some levity to the ballast of the Shakespearean drama and chamber music concerts. Louis Applebaum's serious attention was on the International Composers' Conference in the 1960 season, a week-long conference and concert series that began the week after *Pinafore* had its closing night at Stratford (see Illustration 2.1: Stratford Festival 1960 visitors' pamphlet showing Music Festival offerings and the schedule for the International Conference of Composers). Applebaum regarded the composer's conference, which brought Canadian composers together with composers from around the globe as "the crowning achievement of his work at Stratford."²¹⁰ Applebaum was somehow able to balance convening the composer's conference, organizing the rest of the 1960 Music Festival, and serving as musical director for *Pinafore*, but it is little wonder that after the 1960 season he was ready to step down as Festival Music Director to focus on composing for the plays and musically directing the operettas.

²¹⁰ Pitman, *Louis Applebaum*, 129.

Illustration 2.1: Stratford Festival 1960 visitors' pamphlet showing Music Festival offerings and the schedule for the International Conference of Composers

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, ASC33041

COMIC OPERA		FESTIVAL CONCERTS		FESTIVAL MUSIC PROGRAMME			
<p>Gilbert and Sullivan's H.M.S. PINAFORE Directed by TYRONE GUTHRIE Conducted by LOUIS APPLEBAUM Designed by BRIAN JACKSON</p> <p>with MARION STUDHOLME as Josephine ANDREW DOWNIE as Ralph Rackstraw ERIC HOUSE as Sir Joseph Porter HARRY MOSSFELD as Capt. Corcoran DOUGLAS CAMPBELL as Boatswain IRENE BYATT as Buttercup HOWARD MAWSON as Dick Deadeye ELIZABETH MAWSON as Hebe</p> <p>and THE NATIONAL FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA Composed of leading instrumentalists from across Canada JULY 15 - AUGUST 6 Evenings at 8:30 Mats, Wed. & Sat. at 2:30</p> <p>NO PERFORMANCES OF H.M.S. PINAFORE SUNDAYS OR MONDAYS</p> <p>H.M.S. PINAFORE in the Avon Theatre</p>		<p>THE NATIONAL FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA THE C.B.C. SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA INTERNATIONAL STRING CONGRESS ORCHESTRA</p> <p>Conductors: LEOPOLD STOKOWSKI WALTER SUSSKIND VICTOR FELDBERILL ROY HARRIS LOUIS APPLEBAUM</p> <p>Resident Artists: GLENN GOULD OSCAR SHUMSKY piano violin LEONARD ROSE 'cello</p> <p>Guest Artists: JULIE HARRIS DOUGLAS CAMPBELL and members of the Stratford Shakespearean Company JOHANA HARRIS JOSEF TAL piano piano MARIA ROBLES soprano and others to be announced</p>		<p>INFORMAL CHAMBER MUSIC CONCERT Featured work: BERGMAN: Sinfonia in E-flat major for violin, viola, 'cello, clarinet, bassoon, horn and bass With members of the Festival Orchestra and resident artists</p> <p>BACH PROGRAMME The National Festival Orchestra Soloists: GOUTA, SHUMSKY, ROSE and KERRAS Concerto No. 2 in E major for violin and orchestra Concerto in D minor for piano and orchestra Suite No. 3 in C major for unaccompanied 'cello Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 in D major for piano, violin, flute and orchestra</p> <p>INFORMAL CHAMBER MUSIC CONCERT Featured work: SCARVERI: Quintet in C major for two violins, viola, two cellos With members of the Festival Orchestra and resident artists</p> <p>A SUNDAY SERENADE The National Festival Orchestra Conducted by WALTER SUSSKIND Soloists: SHUMSKY, ROSE Julie Harris, Douglas Campbell and members of the Stratford Shakespearean Company Programme will include: Concerti featuring Shumsky and Rose A new work by John Cook for the spoken word and orchestra — and other works</p> <p>INFORMAL CHAMBER MUSIC CONCERT Featured work: SIMILUZE: String Quartet "Intimate Voices" With members of the Festival Orchestra and resident artists</p>		<p>BEETHOVEN PROGRAMME Soloists: GOUTA, SHUMSKY, ROSE Sonata in C minor for violin and piano Sonata in A major for 'cello and piano Trio (Ghost) for piano, violin and 'cello</p> <p>INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMPOSERS</p> <p>THE NATIONAL FESTIVAL ORCHESTRA Conducted by VICTOR FELDBERILL Soloists: To be announced</p> <p>SOLO AND CHAMBER MUSIC CONCERT With composers in performances of their own works</p> <p>ELECTRONIC MUSIC CONCERT TAL (Israel): Concerto for piano and electronic accompaniment; composer at the piano. and works by BAUNES (Netherlands); BENO (Italy); LUTENSINE and USACHOVSKY (U.S.A.); and others</p> <p>INTERNATIONAL STRING CONGRESS ORCHESTRA Conducted by ROY HARRIS "Music of the Western Hemisphere" JOHANA HARRIS, piano MARIA ROBLES, soprano and others</p> <p>THE CBC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA Conducted by LEONARD SUSSKIND Programme to be announced</p>	
<p>COMIC OPERA</p>		<p>FESTIVAL CONCERTS</p>		<p>FESTIVAL MUSIC PROGRAMME</p>			
<p>WEEKEND CONCERTS IN THE FESTIVAL THEATRE</p>		<p>WEEKEND CONCERTS IN THE AVON AND FESTIVAL THEATRES</p>		<p>WEEKEND CONCERTS IN THE AVON AND FESTIVAL THEATRES</p>			

Despite Guthrie's decision that "Gilbert and Sullivan will be given the respect due to a Mozart opera,"²¹¹ the music of Gilbert and Sullivan was not very challenging or engaging for the National Festival Orchestra to play night after night, since much of the music for the operettas was designed to be played by accomplished amateurs, and mostly involved playing figures to accompany the singers. However, the musicians were 'rewarded' with more challenging music by the likes of Bach and Sibelius in the concert series and events such as the Composers' Conference and workshops. The high calibre of the musicians in the orchestra pit elevated the operettas from the somewhat dubious quality of music in 1955 (when Guthrie wrote a letter to the Board about his "grave dissatisfaction at the quality of music played by the orchestra at the theatre"²¹²), to the very best available five years later.²¹³ Regarding the 1960 production of *Pinafore*, the music correspondent to the *New York Times* wrote,

The National Festival Orchestra of 22, conducted by Mr. Applebaum, gave a sparkling account of the score... To tempt the very best musicians into what might otherwise be found a rather dowdy assignment, Mr. Applebaum, a Toronto composer and director of music for the Festival, has made membership in the orchestra a passport to a chamber music workshop.²¹⁴

A formula was thus developed at Stratford that satisfied the musicians because the operettas helped to pay for the Music Festival. This formula pleased the board and the musicians at the

²¹¹ Tyrone Guthrie, letter to Louis Applebaum, November 30, 1959, Louis Applebaum fonds, York University Archive, 1979-002/030 (564). Also quoted in Piman, 129.

²¹² Letter, Guthrie to the Stratford Board, July 4, 1955, quoted in Pettigrew and Portman, *Stratford: The first thirty years* volume 1, 105. In the early years of the Festival, Applebaum, Guthrie and the Board butted heads with the local Stratford musicians' union, who insisted on weekly rates fifty percent higher than musicians in Toronto and higher than most of the acting company. The Festival went out of its way to hire local musicians, but Guthrie and Applebaum found many of them to be substandard. Langham also encountered problems with the local musicians' union in 1956 when he determined that the way to ensure high quality music for the plays was to bring in outside musicians (Pettigrew and Portman, 118). Eventually, Applebaum figured out how to book musicians for the concert series and workshops so that these professional musicians could also serve as pit musicians for the music theatre and plays. Also, after a few years of active musical activity in the city of Stratford, and the opportunity for Stratford musicians to attend the workshops, the quality of local musicians improved, and musicians began to settle in Stratford because the Festival provided a viable source of income for several months of the year.

²¹³ Pitman, *Louis Applebaum*, 132.

²¹⁴ Orchestra Special Correspondent, *The New York Times*, (August 3, 1960), 5. Quoted in Pitman, 142.

time, but it led to the notion that the primary job of music theatre at the Festival was to fund the more ‘serious’ works—a notion that has proven difficult to eradicate.

The idea that some art is more ‘serious’ than other art makes intuitive sense when critics and scholars align art that addresses serious topics (like tragic plays or Picasso’s *Guernica*) with ‘seriousness,’ and art that is approached with a playful attitude (like musical comedies or Marcel Duchamp’s *Fountain*) with ‘lightness.’ However, more frequently when critics and scholars refer to certain works as ‘serious art’ and other works as ‘light entertainment,’²¹⁵ they are not talking about the topic or content of the work, but are making a value judgment about the importance of the work—about how influential or highbrow it is.

The topic of an artwork may directly influence its valuation; works that are associated with fun and play are often easier for audiences to approach and enjoy, whereas works that access darker human emotions like fear and anger can be harder to process. In aesthetic philosophy, there has long been a correlation between how much work is expected of the audience and how highly valued the artwork is. From Hegel through Heidegger to Adorno, the arts were ranked according to their association with truth on the one hand and pleasure on the other. Truth in art held the highest value, followed by beauty, and pleasure trailed far behind. Adorno set up pleasure and cognition in a binary, “whoever concretely enjoys artworks is a

²¹⁵ The phrase ‘light entertainment’ can be understood in general terms as the opposite of serious work, it may be lighthearted or contain a degree of levity, but most often it refers to entertainment that we have only light engagement with, it treads softly on our consciousness and awareness and does not demand attention but receives it gently. Light entertainment is often associated with passive, rather than active participation. This common sense of the phrase may have grown out of a specific cultural moment, when, in the 1920s, the BBC used the term ‘light entertainment’ to describe programming that would entice listeners to stay tuned into their more serious, ‘enlightening’ programming. In Simon Frith’s chapter on the BBC’s light entertainment, he argues against the assumed binary between light entertainment and public service, between popular and serious listeners and against the cultural and class distinctions that were assumed by the programmers about their listening public. Simon Frith, *Music for Pleasure: Essays on the sociology of pop*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 24-44. Richard Dyer also writes about the term ‘light entertainment,’ noting that the BBC and ITV producers in the 1960s used ‘light entertainment’ to provide relaxation for their audiences and try to avoid “alienat[ing] them with art or education.” Richard Dyer, *Only entertainment*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 8.

philistine... Actually the more they are understood, the less they are enjoyed,”²¹⁶ Richard Shusterman rebuts Adorno’s assertion asking, “Why should it be assumed that there is an essential opposition between truth and entertainment, knowledge and pleasure?”²¹⁷ William Irwin also disagrees with Adorno, writing that not understanding what music is about can lead to a negative evaluation of it, “There is no guarantee, of course, that proper comprehension will lead to proper appreciation, but in notable cases, full appreciation is impossible without proper comprehension.”²¹⁸ In a similar vein, Brecht, in his essay on theatre for pleasure or theatre for instruction, draws attention to the contrast between learning and amusement noting that theatre was a tool for ancient philosophers, who used it to instruct audiences and to provoke changes in worldview. Brecht argues that although instruction and amusement are often viewed as opposites, “the contrast between learning and amusing oneself is not laid down by divine rule; it is not one that has always been and must continue to be.”²¹⁹

An operetta like *Pinafore* is a comedic work, and the quirks of Gilbert’s use of the English language are mostly comprehensible to modern English speakers—unlike the English used by Shakespeare. *Pinafore* is therefore less ‘work’ for an audience than a Shakespearean

²¹⁶ Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic theory*, translated and edited by Robert Hullot-Kentor, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) 13. Susan Buck-Morss writes, “Adorno argued that aesthetic experience was in fact the more adequate form of cognition [than philosophy or spirituality] because in it subject and object, idea and nature, reason and sensual experience were interrelated without either pole getting the upper hand—in short, it provided a structural model for ‘dialectical,’ ‘materialist’ cognition” Buck-Morss quotes a letter of Adorno’s wherein he writes, “every art which deserves serious attention approaches the aim of rationality by its very structure, and tends more and more toward ‘knowledge’” (Theodor W. Adorno, 1939. The problem of experimentation in music psychology. (March 7) Frankfurt am Main, Adorno Estate, p. 2, quoted in Buck-Morss, 123). Adorno therefore associated ‘serious’ art with truth and cognition, and denigrated enjoyable, entertaining art. See Susan Buck-Morss, *The origin of negative dialectics: Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and the Frankfurt Institute*, (Hassocks, UK: Harvester Press, 1977), 123.

²¹⁷ Richard Shusterman, “Entertainment: A question for aesthetics,” in *British Journal of Aesthetics*. 43, 3 (July 2003): 300.

²¹⁸ William Irwin, “Philosophy as/and/of popular culture,” in *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*, William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, eds. (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 44.

²¹⁹ Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on theatre: The development of an aesthetic*, ed. John Willett. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 73.

play, or a modern chamber opera with unfamiliar musical language. So while philosophers like Shusterman and Irwin may argue convincingly that work and amusement can go hand in hand, and Bertolt Brecht can inform theatre practitioners why it is they take pleasure in working on understanding ancient drama, the very fact that audiences can take a sort of self-satisfied pleasure in working at understanding a Shakespeare play or Britten opera, means that certain audience members may be less satisfied with a piece like *Pinafore* that they didn't have to work so hard to enjoy. Operettas are 'lighter' fare than operas or Elizabethan drama not only because of their comic themes, but because audiences can afford to have a lighter engagement with them.

At Stratford, audiences enjoyed the prospect of some lighter artworks mixed in with the highbrow drama and music, and *Pinafore* did very well at the box office. In 1961, Guthrie and Applebaum followed up their success with *Pinafore* by mounting *The Pirates of Penzance* for 45 performances at Stratford plus another CBC taping and a tour. In the house notes for *Pirates*, Guthrie wrote,

We are happy to have on hand the same Principals who sang in *Pinafore* last year; and many of the same choristers... This production after its run at Stratford will play a season in the Phoenix Theatre in New York City, then go on the road in the States until just before Christmas. Early in 1962, after a brief period of rest, the company will revive *HMS Pinafore* and present it, together with *The Pirates*, in London and principal cities of Great Britain.²²⁰

A Stratford press release before the tour noted that *Pirates* at Stratford had "played to 47,380 people who paid \$144,101 at the box office. For its 45 performances, during a period of six weeks and two days, the Avon theatre was filled to 92.9% capacity."²²¹ The operettas might have been able to completely finance the rest of the Music Festival during the first half of the sixties if

²²⁰ Tyrone Guthrie, "Director's Notes," Stratford Festival house program, *The Pirates of Penzance*, 1961. Stratford Festival archives and Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archives, 1979-002/026 (507).

²²¹ Stratford Festival Press Release, "Pirates closes successful," (August 21, 1961), Louis Applebaum fonds, York University Archives, 1979-002/026 (513).

not for the expenses associated with the productions and their tours. The operas and operettas tended to be the most expensive works produced at Stratford. The Avon stage required much bigger sets than the Festival stage, and for the tours of *Pirates* and *Pinafore*, Applebaum had to engage a large number of orchestral musicians whenever the theatre could accommodate them (see Illustration 2.2). Further, few of the proceeds from the tour went back to the Stratford Festival, as the tours were produced in partnership with a private U.S. company headed by Leonid Kipnis, friend and colleague to Guthrie and Applebaum. Although the Stratford Festival did not make much money from the tours, the Board viewed them as eminently worthwhile, since they gave international exposure to the Festival and its company.

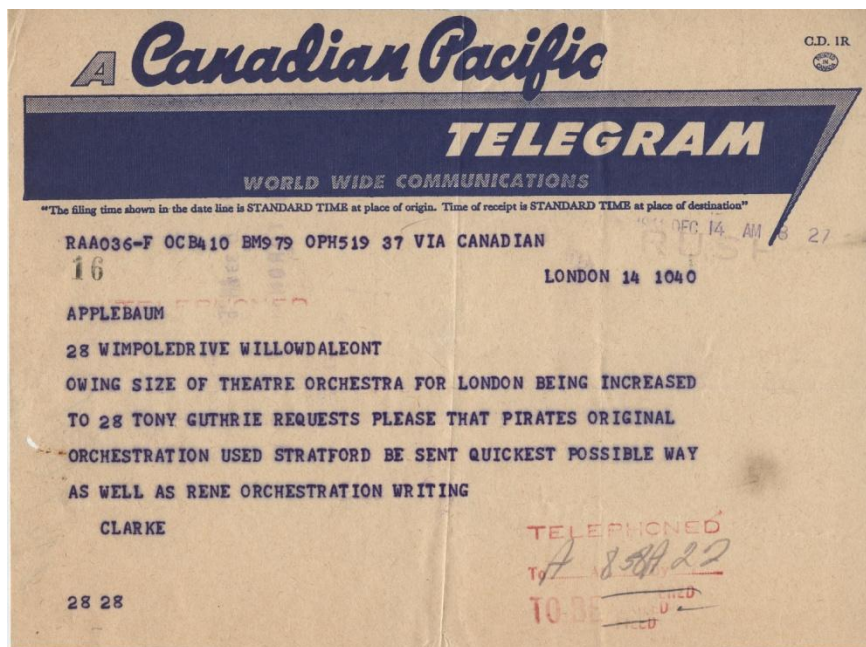


Illustration 2.2: Telegram from Cecil Clarke to Louis Applebaum, December 14, 1961
York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, ASC 33045

After the tour through the States, *Pirates* and *Pinafore* played in repertory in Her Majesty's Theatre in London, England, where they were well received by the public, the press,

and HRH Queen Elizabeth II (see Illustration 2.3).²²² Guthrie decided not to do another G&S operetta at Stratford after the success of his productions in England. He handed the reins over to Leon Major in 1962, who directed *The Gondoliers* at the Avon. George Kidd of the *Toronto Telegram* gave a good review of *Gondoliers* but also opined, “it is hoped that Stratford and Gilbert and Sullivan will part company, at least for a few seasons... the novelty seems to have worn off and there is a carbon-copy atmosphere that frequently brings a jaded quality instead of the freshness that was so paramount in *HMS Pinafore* of two years ago, and slightly less effective in last year’s *Pirates*.”²²³ The audiences were not tiring of the G&S as much as some of the critics, so the trend continued for two more years. Norman Campbell directed *The Mikado* in 1963 and William Ball directed *The Yeomen of the Guard* in 1964.

Louis Applebaum was musical director for all of the Gilbert and Sullivan productions even though he had stepped down as Festival Music Director after the 1960 season. There is a hint that Applebaum too was tiring of the G&S operettas, especially when *Pinafore* was revived for another tour in the autumn of 1964. He wrote to Herbert Whittaker of the *Globe and Mail*,

I will once again act as Musical Director... put the show together and conduct the Los Angeles run (two weeks starting Sept. 21) and the San Francisco run (one week starting Oct. 5). After that the show meanders through the U.S. and some bits of Canada (Ottawa, Montreal) and will end in Buffalo on Dec. 19. A nice hunk of work for the gang, which is one good reason to do the show again. Has any other Canadian opus been revived so often? Gad.²²⁴

²²² See the CBC News feature about the 1962 tour and command performance on the special features of Stratford Festival, *H. M. S. Pinafore*, Directed for the stage by Leon Major, produced and directed for CBC Television by Norman Campbell. (Canada: Morningstar Entertainment/CBC Home Video, 2003), DVD. Filmed 1981.

²²³ George Kidd, “*The Gondoliers* is a pretty good show, but let’s have a rest from G&S,” *The Telegram* (July 7, 1962), copy in Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archives, 1979-002/026 (502).

²²⁴ Louis Applebaum, letter to Herb Whittaker, August 20, 1964, Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archives, 1979-002/026 (510).

HER MAJESTY'S

THEATRE
HAYMARKET, S.W.1

Licensed by the Lord Chamberlain to Prince Littler

Telephone: WHitehall 6606

Evs. at 8.0

Mat. Wed. at 2.30

Sat. at 5.0 & 8.0

PRICES: Boxes £5, £3; Stalls 25/-, 20/-, 15/-; Dress Circle 25/-, 20/-, 15/-;
Upper Circle 15/-, 12/6, 10/6; Balcony 5/-

TENNENT PRODUCTIONS LTD. in association with
CONTEMPORARY PRODUCTIONS of CANADA LTD. present

H.M.S. PINAFORE

First Performance Thursday, February 8th

THE PIRATES OF PENZANCE

First Performance Thursday, February 15th

by W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan

with

ERIC HOUSE	MARION STUDHOLME	ANDREW DOWNIE
HARRY MOSSFIELD	HOWELL GLYNNE	IRENE BYATT

Directed by **TYRONE GUTHRIE**

Musical Adviser
LOUIS APPLEBAUM

Designed by
BRIAN JACKSON

Musical Director
KENNETH ALWYN

Dances Arranged by
DOUGLAS CAMPBELL

Lighting by
JOE DAVIS

For schedule of performances see Daily Press

Illustration 2.3: *Pinafore* and *Pirates* UK tour poster, 1961

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, ASC 33046

Applebaum's priorities had always been more directed toward promoting Canadian musicians and the work of Canadian composers, so while he expressed happiness for the cast members of the operettas, who were getting the chance to perform in many cities, Applebaum himself was ready to move on. Indeed, he often rehearsed the cast of a new show, and conducted the opening week, before handing over the baton to another musical director so he could focus once more on his own compositions, and on his involvement with projects like founding the National Arts Centre in Ottawa.

The 1964 tour of *Pinafore* was the last Stratford production of a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta until Brian Macdonald directed a new production of *Pinafore* in 1981, kick-starting yet another Stratford love affair with the operettas.²²⁵ But between 1964 and 1981, staged music at Stratford changed directions several times. 1964 was a notable year for music at Stratford because it marked the first time that two works of music theatre played together in the same main season. In addition to *Yeomen of the Guard*, opera returned to Stratford's stages with Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*, directed by Jean Gascon and musically directed and conducted by famous Australian conductor Richard Bonyngue. Gascon was a French Canadian director who co-founded Montréal's Theatre du Nouveau Monde in 1951. He first came to Stratford with Nouveau Monde when they partnered with the Festival company to produce *Henry V* in 1956.²²⁶ Gascon had a good relationship with Michael Langham, and he would take over from him for the 1968 season as the Festival's first Canadian Artistic Director. For a number of seasons between

²²⁵ I write about the 1980s Stratford productions of the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas in Chapter Five.

²²⁶ Christopher Plummer, who starred as Henry V, recounted, "that last year of the tent we had possibly the best season that Canada has ever seen in the theatre with the French Canadian company, Le Theatre du Nouveau Monde, and the English boys on the same stage at the same time—they talking their own language at times and we talking in English—it was perhaps the last time that we were ever to see the formation of a truly national theatre in this country. Boy, that was an emotional year! The two languages on the same stage—not only politically, but emotionally and nationally—it was an extraordinary feeling." Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 113.

his first visit to Stratford, and when he became Artistic Director, Gascon directed operas for Stratford at the Avon. The intention was that an opera festival might become part of the larger Stratford Festival. Gascon wrote that the newly refurbished Avon theatre (see Chapter Four) was “designed with a definite purpose in mind: to be the home of an opera festival of the same scope as the drama festival, which already ranks among the best known in the Western world.”²²⁷

Figaro played for only nine performances, compared to *Yeomen’s* 47, but it was well received. In the Canadian weekly magazine *Saturday Night*, Graham George summed up staged music at Stratford thus:

the lesson seemed to be that the public thought of Stratford as a festival of theatre, but it was going to be choosy about what musical theatre it would attend. No Britten, despite his reputation as high as his brow; no *Beggar’s Opera*, despite its racy style and venerable age; but yes to G&S, despite its amateur associations... it is the drama festival that all Canada is proud of and all the world comes to see; music—*The Marriage of Figaro* gloriously excepted—still limps doggedly behind.²²⁸

George points out that Stratford audiences were happy to attend highbrow plays, but they seemed less interested in attending highbrow operas. Perhaps this was because operas require even more background knowledge than classical drama. When the Festival Music Directors transitioned away from the ‘lighter’ Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, they carefully selected operas that were by famous composers and had comic, rather than tragic, themes. They further made the operas accessible to audiences by presenting them in English translation. *Figaro* was enough of a success that it was reprised in 1965 for 30 performances. In that year, Gascon also directed the North American première of Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht’s satirical opera *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny*. Audiences responded with more fervour to *Figaro* than to *Mahagonny*,

²²⁷ 1964 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program, Stratford Festival archives.

²²⁸ Graham George, “Music” *Saturday Night* (October 1964). Copy in Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archive, 1983-003/006 (87). In the article, George compares sales for *The Beggars Opera* (46% capacity in 1958) to *H.M.S. Pinafore* (89% capacity in 1960).

which was considered “over exposed” by administrative director Victor Polley at 35 performances.²²⁹ Based on audience response and box office receipts, the Musical and Artistic Directors learned to schedule newer operas like *Mahagonny* and operas that had more serious themes like *Albert Herring* for fewer performances than well-known operas like *Figaro* and comic operettas by Gilbert and Sullivan. The Festival directors were learning what their audiences valued, and they balanced the pragmatic need to fill seats with their mandate to produce works of the highest calibre, and perhaps a desire to educate the public by exposing them to works that were difficult to find performances of elsewhere in Canada.

In 1966, Gascon directed another Mozart opera, *Don Giovanni* (29 performances), and a ballet by Brian Macdonald with music composed by Harry Freedman called *Rose Latulippe* also appeared on the playbill for 12 performances (see Illustration 2.4). Gascon rounded out a fourth year directing operas with Mozart’s *Così fan tutte* (27 performances) in 1967, while David William (another future Artistic Director) helmed Britten’s *Albert Herring* (19 performances). Violinist Oscar Shumsky was the Festival Music director in 1967 and in the souvenir program, he reflected on the past four seasons of opera with pride,

On a Stratford evening in '64 the candelabra of Tanya Moiseiwitsch’s handsomely refurbished Avon Theatre was dimmed, and the gossipy opening measures of ‘Figaro’ whispered in a new era for Opera. True, this was not Opera’s first appearance at Stratford. There had been a few isolated flings, and one could look back with nostalgia on the days of the perennial rash of G&S fun that broke out after Guthrie’s refreshingly daring ‘Pinafore.’ However, the summer of '64 did mark Opera Seria’s first avowed declaration of taking up permanent residence in the area. Happily for all, Opera is unique at this festival in its opportunity to draw upon the best of theatre and music in order to achieve a high standard of its own.²³⁰

²²⁹ In his “Report from the Administrative Director” (November 29, 1965) Polley wrote, “While it would appear that ‘The Cherry Orchard’ in the Festival Theatre had been scheduled for too few performances, it is evident that ‘Mahagonny’ was over-exposed in the Avon at 35 performances.” Stratford Festival Archives.

²³⁰ 1967 Stratford Festival Souvenir Program, Stratford Festival archives. Shumsky’s reference to *opera seria* includes Mozart’s *Figaro*, even though many musicologists would label *Figaro* a comic opera.

Festival Theatre

June 6-October 8



The Stratford Festival Company in
William Shakespeare's

HENRY V

Directed by Michael Langham
Designed by Desmond Heeley
Music by John Cook
First performance June 6

HENRY VI *

Directed by John Hirsch
Designed by Desmond Heeley
Music by John Cook
First performance June 7

*Adapted by John Barton for Peter Hall's production of the Wars of the Roses for the Royal Shakespeare Company.

TWELFTH NIGHT

Directed by David William
Designed by Brian Jackson
Music by Louis Applebaum
First Performance June 8

FESTIVAL CONCERTS

Under the Direction of Oscar Shumsky
Friday at 2:00 p.m., August 5,
Sundays at 2:00 p.m., July 10, 17, 24, 31
August 7, 14, 21, 28

Mario Bernardi, <i>piano</i>	Duke Ellington and his Orchestra
Phyllis Curtin, <i>soprano</i>	Leonid Hambro, <i>piano</i>
Leon Fleisher, <i>piano</i>	Jean-Pierre Rampal, <i>flute</i>
Jose Iturbi, <i>piano</i>	Sol Schoenbach, <i>bassoon</i>
Leonard Rose, <i>cello</i>	Oscar Shumsky, <i>violinist-conductor</i>
George Shearing Quintet	
Mary Simmons, <i>soprano</i>	

The Festival Singers of Toronto, Elmer Iseler, *conductor*

The National Youth Orchestra of Canada,
Walter Susskind, *conductor*

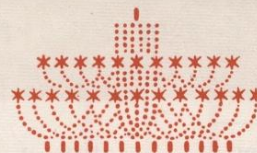
The National Festival Orchestra

Saturdays at 11:00 a.m., July 23, 30
August 6, 13, 20 and 27

Chamber Music Concerts with
Members of the National Festival Orchestra
Workshop

Avon Theatre

July 8-September 3



The Stratford Festival Opera Company in Mozart's
DON GIOVANNI (in English)

Directed by Jean Gascon
Music Direction by Mario Bernardi
Designed by Robert Prévost
Opening Night July 8

The Stratford Festival Company in
NICHOLAS ROMANOV

A New Play about the last Czar of Russia
By William Kinsolving
Directed by Michael Langham
Designed by Leslie Hurry
Music by Louis Applebaum
Opening Night July 12

and

Strindberg's

THE DANCE OF DEATH

Directed by Jean Gascon
Designed by Mark Negin
Opening Night July 19

ROYAL WINNIPEG BALLET

Director Arnold Spohr
World Premiere of new ballet
ROSE LATULIPPE
Choreography by Brian Macdonald
Designed by Robert Prévost
Music by Harry Freedman
Opening Night Aug. 16

MEMBERS OF THE 1966 COMPANY

DRAMA	William Hutt	Leon Pownall
Bernard Behrens	Frances Hyland	Douglas Rain
Mervyn Blake	Al Kozlik	Jean-Louis Roux
Barbara Bryne	Gaëtan Labrèche	Marcel Sabourin
Eric Christmas	Heath Lamberts	Powys Thomas
Leo Ciceri	Diana Leblanc	Tony van Bridge
Patrick Crean	Guy L'Ecuyer	Kim
Eric Donkin	Roberta Maxwell	Yaroshevskaya
Colin Fox	Barry MacGregor	OPERA
Jean Gascon	William Needles	Howell Glynne
Lewis Gordon	Christopher Newton	Gwenlynn Little
Amelia Hall	Denise Pelletier	Jan Rubes
Max Helpmann	Briain Petchey	Irène Salemka
Martha Henry	Kenneth Pogue	Sylvia Saurette

Illustration 2.4: Stratford Visitor's Pamphlet, 1966, with productions divided by theatre
York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, ASC 33043

Shumsky's attitude that G&S operettas were "fun" was typical of many artists who had classical training. It was a less serious endeavour than the attempt to create an opera festival at Stratford. By the mid-sixties, Stratford had earned a reputation for high-quality theatre, attracting actors from all over Canada to its company. It was also a place where Canadian musicians could come for summer residencies and workshops. The combination of high quality theatre plus high quality music in Stratford made for a promising place to house an opera festival that would combine the theatre and musical natures of the Festival in one artform. Although Shumsky seemed confident in 1967 that opera at Stratford would continue successfully in future years, when Gascon took over as Artistic Director for the 1968 season, he had less time to devote to directing operas and fewer operas were produced during his artistic directorship.

Gascon did not direct another work of music theatre at Stratford until 1972 with Weill and Brecht's *Threepenny Opera*. In the intervening years, under Victor Di Bello's Music Directorship, music theatre at Stratford seemed to be rethought to include other genres like ballet. In 1968 the Royal Winnipeg Ballet was invited to perform four pieces at Stratford in addition to Douglas Campbell's production of Rossini's *Cinderella* (19 performances). In 1969, John Hirsch (future Artistic Director of the Festival) directed the new musical *The Satyricon* with music by Stanley Silverman, based on the writings of Petronious. Silverman initially envisioned the work as a "disposable opera," meaning a work with the high culture aspirations of opera, but with the idea that it could be thrown out after a few performances and not enter the operatic canon. During the creative process, this formulation that questioned the nature of art and canon transformed somewhat and *The Satyricon* became a musical comedy. It was therefore the first musical produced at Stratford, although the Festival did not know they were signing on for a

musical when the 1969 season was first planned. *The Satyricon* was also an unexpected hit, playing to 90% capacity houses during its run.²³¹

In 1970 and 1971 no music theatre was produced at Stratford, although there were several concerts featuring preeminent classical musicians like Itzhak Perlman and Claudio Arrau. Marcel Marceau also returned to Stratford in 1970 and mime was again on the menu in 1971, with performances by Adrian Pecknold's Canadian Mime Theatre. In addition, two puppet troupes—the Montreal Marionettes and the American National Theatre of Puppet Arts—visited Stratford and performed in the 1971 season. The sorts of genres that were being included on Stratford playbill became more experimental through the early seventies, and the dream of an opera Festival to match the theatre festival ironically died out when Gascon took the helm as AD.

Victor Di Bello continued to rethink Stratford's approach to music theatre during the two years when no music theatre was produced, and in 1972 the new direction was heralded by Gascon's production of *The Threepenny Opera* at the Avon. The approach to music theatre in this era was a mix of new and experimental works housed at the Third Stage and the occasional longer run of a comedic work at the Avon. Canadian Nationalism in the arts was gaining ground in cities like Toronto and Halifax, and the choices of music theatre works reflected a need to support Canadian playwrights and composers (and thus, to be eligible for certain types of government funding—see Chapter 3 and Appendix D).²³² In 1972, the season was rounded out with short runs of two new Canadian operas—*Patria II* by R. Murray Schafer and *Orpheus* by

²³¹ Mel Atkey, *Broadway north the dream of a Canadian musical theatre* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2006) 74-75.

²³² See Martin Knelman, *A Stratford tempest*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), and Richard Paul Knowles, "From nationalist to multinational: The Stratford Festival, free trade, and the discourses of intercultural tourism," *Theatre Journal* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 19-41.

Gabriel Charpentier—at the Third Stage.²³³ In 1973, the Festival commissioned its first work of music theatre, *Exiles* by Raymond and Beverly Pannell, directed by Michael Bawtree at the Third Stage. The experimental works at the Third Stage were almost all directed by playwright and director Bawtree; he also directed Menotti's *The Medium* and Canadian Charles Wilson's *The Summoning of Everyman* in 1974 for five performances each. *Everyman* was also a première—Stratford received funding from the Canadian Arts Council and the Ontario Arts Council to produce “the first fully professional presentation of the opera.”²³⁴ A Canadian musical for children, *Ready, Steady Go*, with music by Berthold Carrière also appeared at the Third Stage for 22 performances.²³⁵ The same year, Gascon directed the season's fourth music theatre offering, Offenbach's *La vie parisienne*, for an unprecedented 78-performance run. The long run was something of a risk, as it diverged from the trend of producing short runs of a number of new pieces in one season, but it also reflected the lengthening of the Stratford season on the drama side of the Festival. In his director's notes for the operetta, Gascon wrote, “I am delighted that for this, my last production as Artistic Director at the Stratford Festival, I have been able to bring operetta back to the Avon, an ideal theatre, I think, for such divertissements.”²³⁶ Robert Cushman wrote that the Avon theatre

had originally been reopened to provide a home for the opera productions mounted as part of the concurrent music festival, and occasionally for dramatic productions by visiting companies. As the years went on, the distinction between what belongs to music and what to drama became harder to draw. In Gascon's time, several productions went more than half the distance between the two: *Satyricon*, obviously, and two somewhat more decorous offerings of Gascon's own, staged in the last years

²³³ See Chapter Four for a discussion of how these works were staged in the adaptable space of the Third Stage (formerly the Casino and Concert Hall).

²³⁴ See Appendix D. See also the house program for *The Summoning of Everyman*, Stratford Festival Archives.

²³⁵ The music to this has sadly been lost. I was in a production of *Ready, Steady, Go* as a child that has the same book by Sandra Jones, but was licensed with music by Donald Adkins. See [http://www.dramaticpublishing.com/p2538/Ready-Steady-Go-\(musical\)/product_info.html](http://www.dramaticpublishing.com/p2538/Ready-Steady-Go-(musical)/product_info.html)

²³⁶ House program, *La Vie Parisienne*, director's notes by Jean Gascon (1974), Stratford Festival Archives.

of his regime. One was *The Threepenny Opera* (1972), a half-success... The other, a complete success that found Gascon happily on his home ground, was Offenbach's *La Vie Parisienne* (1974), boulevard-theatre plus.²³⁷

Gascon's term "divertissement" and Cushman's term "boulevard-theatre plus" both acknowledge that the operetta was a celebration of entertainment. It was art as escape, diversion, or a night out on the town. The Entertainment Impulse was perhaps stronger than the Art Impulse (or, for that matter, the Commerce Impulse), and *La vie parisienne* (performed in English translation, like the operas before it) succeeded in entertaining Stratford audiences.

Robin Phillips became the Artistic Director in 1975 and continued Gascon's trend of producing chamber operas and works by Canadian composers in his first season—Richard Strauss' *Ariadne auf Naxos* for five performances, and a Canadian double bill of Fram and Somers' *The Fool* with Vallerand's *Le Magicien* for six performances. In 1976 and 1977, however, no operas were produced (due to some financial constraints—see Chapter 3—and the dissolution of the Music Festival—see Chapter 1), and the second half of Phillips' tenure was marked by the return of more name-brand music theatre at the Avon. As discussed above, *Candide* (1978)²³⁸ and *The Beggar's Opera* (1980) are both works that are difficult to categorize, and they marked a change in direction yet again for music theatre at Stratford; after 1980 all of the works of music theatre produced at Stratford were English operettas or American musicals.

The operas at Stratford received mixed reviews and uncertain box office, but the operettas tended to do very well, and after the Music Festival fizzled in 1975, the role of music theatre at Stratford shifted. Without champions like Gascon and Shumsky fighting for an opera

²³⁷ Robert Cushman, *Fifty seasons at Stratford*, (Toronto, Ont: McClelland & Stewart, 2002), 83.

²³⁸ The Stratford production of *Candide* was based on the Broadway revival produced by Hal Prince in 1974, with a new book by Hugh Wheeler. For a list of the various versions *Candide* went through, see the website compiled by Michael H. Hutchins: <http://sondheimguide.com/Candide/contents.html>

festival at Stratford, without music directors like Shumsky and Di Bello (who had a good deal of power in their roles as Festival Music Directors) advocating for new and Canadian works to have a home at Stratford, the genres of music theatre offered by the Festival changed. Music theatre was now being chosen by Stratford Artistic Directors, and many of the Artistic Directors along with members of the Board decided that it would now be the job of music theatre at Stratford to make money.

Maestoso (♩=84)

Trumpet I
f vigorously 3

Trumpet II
f vigorously 3

Trumpet III
f vigorously

Trombone I
f vigorously

Trombone II
f vigorously

Trombone III
f vigorously 3

Tuba
(optional)

Timpani
(optional)

Snare Drum

Cymbal
(optional)

Faster (♩=112)

Trpt. I

Trpt. II

Trpt. III

Trbn. I

Trbn. II

Trbn. III

Tba.
(Play bottom line if no tuba)

Timp.

S. D.

Cym.
let ring

CHAPTER THREE: ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

It's very crucial to understand that art and commerce do indeed walk hand-in-hand. Successful theatre company personnel know when to be creative and when to take their heads out of the clouds and get down to the nitty-gritty of making the money they need to keep going.
- Lisa Mulcahy²³⁹

There's still a tingle about a big West End first night that seems the very essence of theatre. The subsidized boys at the Barbican and across the river make much of the 'right to fail,' but, in reality, good or bad, most of their shows [are] safely protected by the corporate umbrella of the RSC or NT logo—and these days, even more perversely, if anything smells like a hit they do it in the 28-seat studio space so no one can get it: boffo smash or colossal floperoo, who can tell? If you want to exercise the right to fail, do a musical.
- Mark Steyn²⁴⁰

“We’re in the money”—so goes the chorus of the big production number before the intermission of *42nd Street*. Dancers clad in silver and gold sequins thrust dinner plate-sized dimes in the air as they tap danced across the Festival Stage during Stratford’s 60th Anniversary season in 2012. *42nd Street* was one of four musicals in the 2012 Stratford playbill, and there is little doubt that Stratford managers and artistic director Des McAnuff hoped that the spectacle of song and dance would put Stratford “in the money” during an economic recession. Unfortunately for the Festival’s books, programming a greater number of musicals than in previous years did not equal a greater amount of revenue, and the 60th Anniversary season ended with the largest deficit in the company’s history.²⁴¹ Despite a longstanding assumption at Stratford that musicals

²³⁹ Lisa Mulcahy, *Building the successful theatre company*, second edition, (New York: Allworth Press, 2011), xii.

²⁴⁰ The RSC is the Royal Shakespeare Company, and the NT is the National Theatre, both subsidized by the British Government. Mark Steyn, *Broadway babies say goodnight: Musicals then and now*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), 262.

²⁴¹ *Globe and Mail* critic J. Kelly Nestruck wrote that the \$3.4 million deficit was the largest in the Festival’s history, even after adjusting for inflation. However, Nestruck also quotes Stratford publicity director Ann Swerdfager, who “argues that, based on the way Stratford measures such deficits internally – as a percentage of revenue – [2012’s deficit] is not as bad as ones the company incurred in 1984, 1981 and in many years before that.” J. Kelly Nestruck, “Now showing at Stratford: Falling numbers and a bit of stage fright,” *The Globe and Mail*

are “cash cows,”²⁴² the box office revenue occasionally tells a different story. In this chapter, I trace that story of box office numbers, examining the risks that paid off, those that didn’t, and how the concept of the musical as “cash cow” was woven into the Stratford narrative in the first place.

Robert Cushman, writing about the start of Stratford’s serious engagement with musicals during John Neville’s reign (1986-1989), wrote that musicals “did well at the box office, usually better than anything else in the season. Musical were at Stratford to stay. Everybody knew why. The outstanding questions were which and how.”²⁴³ Which musicals were chosen for each season and how they were produced are both important questions (I address the questions of which and how in Chapter Two and Chapter Four, respectively), but they are not the only questions to ask, nor is the ‘why’ of musicals at Stratford so cut and dried as Cushman implies. It is by no means certain that musicals will always make money for Stratford nor that artistic and musical directors are primarily motivated by finances in their choices of musicals. The financial function of Stratford musicals must be problematized and analyzed in order to fully understand the place—the why—of musicals at Stratford.

The history of how the genre of musicals has been valued has had a lasting effect on how audiences, actors and funding bodies assess musicals at Stratford, and how their value is situated in comparison to classical drama. The narrative I give here not only engages with the financial role of musicals at Stratford—something that has received press attention, but is not much written about in histories of the Festival—but also forms a useful case study for cultural theorists

(March 9, 2013), accessed September 12, 2013. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/theatre-and-performance/now-showing-at-stratford-falling-numbers-and-a-bit-of-stage-fright/article9517866>

²⁴² Robert Cushman uses this phrase in his book *Fifty seasons at Stratford*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002), 170-173. See also my Introduction.

²⁴³ Cushman, *Fifty seasons at Stratford*, 173.

who explore the relationships between art/entertainment and economics. In this chapter, I explore some of the facets of the Stratford Festival business model: its revenue (including corporate sponsorship, individual donations, government grants, ancillary revenue and tickets sales); its expenses (including production costs, salaries and capital expenditures); and its impact on the Stratford and Canadian economies due to its part in cultural tourism. I examine the commercial nature of the musical genre, arguing that the history of musicals as commercial theatre predisposed them to be perceived as “cash cows” in the Stratford environment. I then analyze how musicals fit into the business plan of the Stratford Festival, as a genre that often has high production costs but also the potential for great ticket revenue. Finally, I present a counterargument to the “cash cow” narrative, arguing that the inclusion of some musicals in Stratford seasons was risky both artistically and financially.

THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL AS A BUSINESS

From the moment Tom Patterson brought the idea for a Shakespeare Festival to the Stratford town council, money has been a concern for the creators of the Festival.²⁴⁴ Fundraising initiatives, corporate sponsorship and government grants have all contributed to the Festival’s financial resources from the first season, ensuring that Stratford’s financial wellbeing did not solely depend on box office receipts. The Festival, like any other company, has had its business affected by new taxes, recessions and the varying strengths of the Canadian and American dollars. In difficult economic times, Festival artistic directors often made pragmatic decisions to increase box office revenue. Patterson had planned that the Stratford Festival would provide the town of Stratford with a new industry, and his plan succeeded; in its offices and workshops the

²⁴⁴ See Appendix A: A Brief History of the Stratford Festival.

Festival employs many Stratfordians, and the entire tourism and hospitality industry that sprang up around the Festival is financially dependent upon it (see Table 3.1: Stratford, Ontario, economic indicators).

Richard Monette wrote in his memoir that knowing the city depended on the Festival for its financial survival was a heavy burden:

Every artistic decision I made affected the fortunes of a whole community of people who ran shops, restaurants and bed-and-breakfast establishments. My job was to create art, not save the city; at the same time, I couldn't ignore the public-service component of that job. The reality was that livelihoods of people besides artists depended on what I chose to put on our stages.²⁴⁵

In such circumstances, the artistic and the economic are understandably intertwined. Stratford's artistic directors have had to balance the dual nature of the Festival as a place of artistic expression and the Festival as a business. Sometimes good art meant good business, but that was not always the case. As Pierre Bourdieu argued, the degree of consecration an artwork receives from critics and other artists can occur in inverse relation to the artwork being rewarded by the market: "symbolic goods are a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object. Their specifically cultural value and their commercial value remain relatively independent, although the economic sanction may come to reinforce their cultural consecration."²⁴⁶ I use Bourdieu's concepts of the 'field,' *habitus*, and different forms of capital—especially 'cultural capital'—throughout this chapter. However, like David Savran, I have found "that the way to be most true to Bourdieu is to be disloyal, to stray from his models and devise my own."²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Richard Monette and David John Prosser, *This rough magic: the making of an artistic director: a memoir*, (Stratford, Ont: Stratford Festival of Canada, 2007), 301.

²⁴⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson, series ed. Lawrence D. Krizman, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 113.

²⁴⁷ David Savran, *Highbrow/Lowdown: Theatre, jazz, and the making of the new middle class*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 11.

In 1994, CBC television aired a story about the financial impact of the Stratford Festival on the town of Stratford.²⁴⁸ Muriel Sherrin, chair of the long range planning committee for the Festival noted that there is a tension between those who want Stratford to be the national theatre of Canada—held to the highest artistic criteria—and those who want people to come to Stratford to spend money. Barbara Quarry, of Tourism Stratford, was one of those who wanted people to come to Stratford to spend money in the town. She said that if the plays the Festival produces are too dark, the audience is depressed and doesn't stay as long in Stratford; she cited *Hamlet* as a dark play.²⁴⁹ In contrast, most of Stratford's core audience and the majority of its directors and company, want Stratford to be renowned for the depth of its work.

The relationship of high art and commerce is not automatically one of opposition. At Stratford, works of the highest caliber often attract audiences who are looking for exactly the type of high art that Stratford can provide, and who are willing to pay for it. In constructing its audience, the Stratford Festival has tried to cultivate an appreciation for high art in its patrons. The core audience that attends Stratford is usually upper-middle class, middle aged or older, and predominantly white (usually with the Anglo Saxon background that was common in western Ontario for much of the twentieth century). This core audience has occasionally had adverse reactions to appearances of overt populism on Stratford's playbill—perhaps worrying that the choices Stratford directors made would reflect poorly on the audience member's taste. The more populist musicals and family experience shows (see examples later in this chapter), may draw new audiences to Stratford, but they can also result in friction with the old guard audience, who

²⁴⁸ Carol Off, "Balancing the Books at the Stratford Festival," *CBC Primetime News* (May 20, 1994), available online: <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/theatre/the-stratford-festival-the-first-50-years/balancing-the-books.html>

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

want Stratford to reflect their own tastes. The cultural capital of some Stratford patrons is dependent on the cultural institutions they attend—whether Stratford, or the National Ballet, or the Canadian Opera Company—remaining bastions of high culture. There can therefore be reactions from minor grumbling to great furor when works that are perceived as ‘lowbrow’ or ‘middlebrow’ (like many musicals) are included in seasons by directors trying to expand the mandate of the company, or attract a new (younger, more diverse) audience.

Richard Monette, the Artistic Director in 1994 when the CBC special on Stratford finances aired, rebutted the notion that the Festival should avoid dark plays or risks. He said, “Most people come here to see Shakespeare, in the studies of demographics we’ve done. That’s what we *do*... We do this for the audience. If the audience tells us they do not want to see this, believe me, we’ll stop.”²⁵⁰ Monette also acknowledged that the Festival was a business that needs to be able to balance its books, “In a perfect world, you can never take enough risks...but we’re dealing in a real world on a mundane level. My job is to keep the theatre open in a difficult time.”²⁵¹

At the time of the CBC report in 1994, the Festival’s budget was \$24 million and it brought in an estimated \$100 million in tourist dollars to the town of Stratford. Less than a decade later, in 2002, Monette said that the Festival brought in “\$360 million to the town every year. We employ 875 people. Our budget is now \$40 million. It’s doubled in the time that I’ve been here.”²⁵² The Festival’s budget and its financial impact on the town of Stratford continue to

²⁵⁰ Ibid. I interrogate the notion of Stratford’s audience as monolithically white, middle aged, middle class Shakespeare lovers later in this chapter.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 188.

grow. The Stratford Town Council lists the finances of the Festival as a major indicator of Stratford’s financial health (Table 3.1)

Table 3.1: Stratford, Ontario, economic indicators²⁵³

Indicators	2010	2009
Population	32,000	31,644
Retail sales	\$549,467,000	\$279,390,000
Stratford Festival revenue	\$59,100,000	\$59,002,000
Stratford Festival annual budget	\$58,782,000	\$58,829,000
Stratford Festival attendance (tickets sold)	524,919	509,195

Tourism is a large part of the Stratford experience. From the start, Tyrone Guthrie envisioned Stratford as a place where people would come to stay and participate in the cultural life of Stratford and the Festival. In the first years, Stratford homeowners opened their homes to billet actors and Festival “guests.” Later on, the hospitality of Stratford natives was monetized in a bustling bed and breakfast culture.²⁵⁴ Tom Patterson noted that the tourism aspect of the Festival was carefully managed so as to give visitors a relationship to the townspeople,

That was one of our smartest moves. Right from the beginning, we decided that we would not call anyone a ‘tourist.’ They were, rather, ‘Festival guests.’ All our advertising read that it was our obligation to look after ‘our Festival guests.’ And this created the attitude among Stratford people that ‘these people are our guests. We’ve got to look after them.’²⁵⁵

The relationship of a guest to their host is more equitable than the relationship of a tourist to a hotel clerk or restaurant cook (or even the actors that are there to provide entertainment). Further,

²⁵³ The figures in this table come from the Stratford, Ontario website. See <http://www.stratfordcanada.ca/en/dobusiness/economy.asp>

²⁵⁴ Many of the Bed and Breakfasts are listed in the Stratford Festival’s visitors’ guide. There is also a prominent link from the Stratford website to an accommodations page where one can book a stay at any number of B&Bs. See https://www.stratfordaccommodations.com/English/Availability_Check.asp

²⁵⁵ Tom Patterson and Allan Gould, *First stage: the making of the Stratford Festival*, (McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1987), 149.

a guest does not usually pay money to their host, and this downplaying of the commercial nature of the Festival had a long history in its status as a not-for-profit company.

Stratford natives have a complex relationship with their town's major industry; there have been some vocal critics of the Festival from within the city, but the Stratford Festival also receives a great deal of support from the Stratford locals. In the first year of the Festival, a considerable amount of the money raised for the Festival came from Stratfordians. As Martin Hunter writes, "There were plenty of sharp-tongued nay-sayers in Stratford and across the land but Patterson's vision attracted strong supporters... their fundraising methods were amateurish, but by opening night they had reached and even surpassed their target of \$150,000, a substantial portion of which consisted of small donations from ordinary Stratford citizens."²⁵⁶ Those who paid into the Festival with their support and their dollars had their support validated when the Festival proved to be a good investment for the town.

The inaugural season had a minor loss of \$4,137.58, but the second season had ticket sales of \$390,000 and a profit of \$30,000. The fundraising efforts became more corporate than grassroots with the Rockefeller Foundation contributing \$40,000 to the 1954 season.²⁵⁷ Some local companies and foundations like the Atkinson foundation, Labatt's brewery and a Kitchener rubber company donated funds to the Stratford Festival,²⁵⁸ but there was also a growing recognition that the Festival should have the sort of government support recommended in the Massey Report—an influential report about the status of the arts in Canada with recommendations that resulted in the formation of the Canada Arts Council, among other government-supported arts institutions (see Appendix A). The first government grant to the

²⁵⁶ Martin Hunter, *Romancing the bard: Stratford at fifty*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2001), 114.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

²⁵⁸ Pettigrew and Portman, *Stratford: The first thirty years*, volume I, 56-58.

Festival came at a time when the Festival most needed a large inflow of cash for the building of the permanent theatre in 1957. Hunter recounts that Floyd Chalmers of Maclean-Hunter was recruited by the Stratford Board to help raise the \$1.5 million goal.

Chalmers had been Tom Patterson's boss and he quickly came on board as a fundraiser and onto the Board as a representative of big business... He became a leading contributor and winkled major donations from such captains of industry as J. W. McConnell and R. S. McLaughlin, both of whom ponyed up \$25,000. He also went after the federal government. Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent was just about to set up the Canada Council and, seeing an opportunity to show the kind of support for the arts he envisioned, announced a grant of \$250,000. Chalmers then successfully challenged Ontario Premier Leslie Frost to add another \$150,000... The remaining cost of the theatre (\$2.1 million in total) was financed by a \$650,00 bond issue that was quickly subscribed.²⁵⁹

The Canada Council for the Arts has provided grants to the Festival since it was founded in 1957 (see Appendix D).²⁶⁰ The Ontario Arts Council was founded in 1963, and has awarded grants to the Stratford Festival every year since its inception.²⁶¹

There was a push in the 1990s and 2000s, during Richard Monette's artistic directorship, to reduce the Festival's dependence on government grants and to rely more on box office sales. That push had artistic repercussions for the Festival; rather than being accountable to granting agencies for a whole season, the Artistic Director could apply for grants for projects and plays that fit with the mandate of the granting agencies, and for other projects, the Festival would be more accountable to the ticket-buying audience.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 117

²⁶⁰ The Canada Council for the Arts provides grants to artists and arts organizations across Canada and was created by an act of Parliament in 1957. All of the Canada Council's Annual Reports are available online. See <http://www.canadacouncil.ca/en/council/about-the-council/corporate-reports/annual-reports>

²⁶¹ The Ontario Arts Council began awarding grants in 1963, and the Stratford Festival was among the 58 original recipients of these provincial arts grants. From the OAC website: "On April 26, 1963, Bill 162 – the legislation setting up the arts council – was given its final reading in the Ontario Legislature. The Ontario Arts Council (OAC) was created with a mission to *foster the creation and production of art for the benefit of all Ontarians.*" <http://www.arts.on.ca/Page5052.aspx>

Table 3.2: 1998 Financial Facts from the Stratford Festival Annual Report²⁶²

1998 Financial Facts	
Income	
Ticket Sales	\$23,591,730
Government Grants	\$ 1,575,122
Fundraising	\$ 4,891,647
Ancillary Revenue (theatre stores, parking)	\$ 2,213,714
Total	\$32,272,213
Expenditures	
Performance Costs	\$11,502,472
Sets, Costumes, Creative	\$ 6,920,763
Marketing	\$ 3,494,851
Fundraising	\$ 1,313,353
Facility Operations	\$ 2,376,631
Patron Services	\$ 1,581,777
Administration	\$ 2,840,585
Ticket Discounts	\$ 2,139,308
Total	\$32,169,740
<i>Income from operations</i>	\$ 102,473
<i>Transfer to Endowment Fund</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>
Net Income	\$ 2,473
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Stratford is 95.1% self-sufficient: 73.1% ticket sales, 15.2% fundraising, 6.9% ancillary revenue, 4.9% government grants ➤ Growth in self-sufficiency over the past five years: 1994—90%; 1995—91%; 1996—93%; 1997—94%; 1998—95.1% ➤ Festival attendance grew by 12% between 1994 and 1998: 1994—466,091; 1995—460,847; 1996—502,105; 1997—504,707; 1998—523,015 ➤ Canadians represent 61% of seats sold, with U.S. patrons representing 38% of seats sold and international patrons 1%. ➤ In 1998, the Festival sold 115,858 seats to new patrons, representing 22% of its audience. 	
The Festival, which draws some half a million patrons to southwestern Ontario each year, provides an enormous boost to the tourism industry in the region.	
Overnight accommodation	100,000 room nights
Estimated accommodation revenue	\$8,350,000
Estimated economic benefit for all services and goods	\$125,000,000
Estimated taxes generated for governments	\$25,000,000

²⁶² Stratford Festival, “Financial Facts” in the Annual Report, published in *Fanfares* (Spring 1999), 4.

1998 stands as a representative year of the Festival's finances under Monette's leadership, when Stratford was moving to more reliance on the box office, and proudly published those statistics in the Annual Report for members. For example, the Report included the following line, "Stratford is 95.1% self-sufficient: 73.1% ticket sales, 15.2% fundraising, 6.9% ancillary revenue, 4.9% government grants."²⁶³ Table 3.2 provides the published financial figures from 1998 along with statements that the Stratford Festival decided to share with their membership in the members' publication *Fanfares*. The grants amount for 1998 is made up of \$710,000 from Canada Council²⁶⁴ and \$865,122 from the Ontario Arts Council. Despite the Stratford Festival's focus on their "growth in self-sufficiency" starting in the mid 1990s, the two main granting agencies still awarded more money to the Stratford Festival than to any other theatre organization in 1998, and that was a typical trend. Only the National Ballet of Canada, the Canadian Opera Company, Royal Winnipeg Ballet and symphony orchestras in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver were typically granted more money than the Stratford Festival.²⁶⁵ The

²⁶³ Stratford Festival, "Financial Facts" in the Annual Report, published in *Fanfares* (Spring 1999), 4.

²⁶⁴ Canada Council lists on their website that they awarded three grants of \$710,000 to the Festival in 1998, but those grants were parceled out over three years. The Canada Council typically awarded grants to Stratford in this fashion; in 2001, 2004 and 2008 the Stratford Festival was again awarded three operations grants that were distributed to the Festival across the awarding year and the two years following that. See Appendix D: Stratford Festival Financial Data, Canada Council for the Arts—Stratford Festival Funding History.

²⁶⁵ Canada Council had a number of "onetime" grants in 1998 that raised the typical amount awarded to arts institutions. Stratford is listed in their Annual Report supplement as being awarded \$710,000 plus a onetime grant of \$142,000, for a total of \$842,000. The figures below include these onetime grants. See Canada Council for the Arts, "1998 Annual Report Supplement" (1999). <http://canadacouncil.ca/~media/files/annual%20reports/1998/1997-1998%20supplement.pdf?mw=1382> Canada Council awarded \$103,866,000 total grants in 1998: \$21,127,000 to music (including the Canadian Opera Company - \$1,692,000; Toronto Symphony Orchestra - \$1,669,400; Orchestre Sinfonique de Montréal - \$1,602,000; and Vancouver Symphony - \$636,000), and \$20,047,000 to theatre (including Stratford Festival - \$842,000; Theatre du Nouveau Monde - \$638,400; Canadian Stage - \$519,600; and Shaw Festival - \$513,000). Big recipients in dance included the National Ballet - \$2,400,000 and the Royal Winnipeg Ballet - \$1,164,000. Theatre institutions therefore tend to receive less than classical music and dance institutions, but the Stratford Festival still receives more than any other theatre company, more than 4% of the total grants awarded for theatre in 1998.

Similarly, the Ontario Arts Council awards more to classical dance and music, but Stratford receives more of the grants earmarked for theatre than any other theatre company. In 1998, the OAC distributed a total of \$20,678,346 grants, including the following large grants: National Ballet - \$971,676; Canadian Opera Company - \$952,521;

Shaw Festival in Niagara on the Lake and Canadian Stage in Toronto usually had smaller budgets than the Stratford Festival and were typically granted less money by Canada Council and the OAC.

The fact that the Stratford Festival receives a considerable amount of publically funded arts grants is significant for what types of shows it produces. The Stratford Festival is seen by some granting agencies, patrons and critics as a public good, and so there are a great many contrasting opinions about what deserves to be publicly funded. In 2002, actor/director Marti Maraden commented,

It makes me sad that in the past, one could do more obscure shows like *King John*, *Pericles* or *Love's Labour's Lost* all on the main stage and not worry about whether or not they would sell tickets...There was so much more government support. The funding was extraordinary. And I don't know what has happened in the erosion over the years. I don't think its been one administration. I think it's been incremental. People have done what they needed to do over the years. And there have been programming choices—not just in Richard [Monette]'s time, but in years prior—that have reflected the need to make money at the box office.²⁶⁶

Martin Hunter noted that Stratford has been trying to balance their earning potential with their need to apply for government grants since Michael Langham's years (1956-67).

When in 1960 the Festival had a good year with newly added school performances sold out, drama sales at 92% capacity and music at 91%, the Festival declared a profit of \$64,000. The Canada Council responded to this fiscal success by cutting the Festival's grant from \$75,000 to \$25,000. The lesson was not lost. Thereafter the books were, if not exactly cooked, often gently simmered. Such elements as depreciation could be manipulated. The Festival learned to present itself as a not-for-profit organization.²⁶⁷

Toronto Symphony Orchestra - \$910,486; Stratford Festival - \$865,122; Shaw Festival - \$468,129; and Canadian Stage - \$374,435. See Ontario Arts Council, "1997-98 Annual Report/Grants Listing"

<http://www.arts.on.ca/Asset387.aspx?method=1>

²⁶⁶ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 260.

²⁶⁷ Hunter, *Romancing the Bard*, 117-118.

In a similar vein, the President of Stratford Festival's Board reported frustration with granting agencies punishing box office success in the Festival's 1979 Annual Report. He reported that the financial picture was bleak for the 1979 season in part because Stratford had a successful 1978 season, and government grants were cut back as a result.

Despite higher ticket prices and an attendance in excess of one-half million, the Festival finished the year with a deficit of \$647,119, resulting in a net deficit of \$245,395 after taking into account our surplus of \$401,724 carried forward from 1978.

Disparate and uncontrollable conditions contributed to this result. The impact of inflation on travel costs and the dislocation caused by gas shortages in the U.S. (which incidentally represents 40% of our market) took their toll. However, the major culprits were the cutbacks in Federal and Provincial grants. *Just as nature abhors a vacuum, the granting authorities seem to recoil from a successful operation that produces a profit.* Against the rising tide of inflation which was bound to overtake us, during the past two years our grant requests were reduced by an aggregate of over \$200,000, which you will observe is practically the equivalent of our deficit.²⁶⁸

Since Monette's years (1994-2007), the Festival has done its best to reduce the percentage of government grants in its budget, while still applying for grants to help with operational costs and special projects like tours and commissions. In 2012, the Stratford Festival was awarded more grants than in previous years in recognition of its 60th Anniversary season. The Festival received grants from the following agencies: Ontario Arts Council (\$3,159,621); Canada Council (\$1,000,000); Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport (\$700,000); Canadian Heritage (\$295,776); Federal Economic Development Agency (\$150,000); Ontario Trillium Foundation

²⁶⁸ My emphasis. Stratford Festival, "President's Report" in Stratford Festival Annual Report, 1979. Stratford Festival Archives.

(\$61,664); and Ontario Tourism Marketing Partnership (\$19,500) for a total of \$5,385,561 government grants, which came to just over 9% of the Festival's \$57,731,774 budget in 2012.²⁶⁹

In addition to the public funding, the Stratford Festival does a great deal of fundraising and encourages attendees to become members of the Festival.²⁷⁰ In 2012, fundraising accounted for \$12,257,246 (or 22.6%) of the Festival's revenue.²⁷¹ Each play or musical usually has a corporate sponsor; Canadian banks and large corporations like IBM and Unitel typically contribute a large amount of money to the Festival so that their corporate logo is included in the program as a production's main sponsor. Some wealthy families also choose to sponsor an individual production and are recognized in the house programs. This recognition of the arts philanthropy of wealthy members and companies is a smart move on Stratford's part to reward their patrons with some extra cultural capital (and encourage them to become repeat donors). It is difficult to determine, however, how much influence these corporate sponsors have over programming choices at the Festival. Corporate sponsors and donors are acknowledged via their entrée into different lounges at the theatres assigned to different levels of Stratford membership—the more exclusive rooms allowing for a hierarchical division within the theatre building. In these lounges, wealthy patrons are given perks like free drinks and backstage tours, and they can interact with each other in a space apart from the rest of the audience members.

²⁶⁹ As a not for profit theatre organization and recipient of government grants, the Stratford Festival's annual financial reports are public documents. The Annual Reports for 2005-2012 are available on the Stratford Festival website. See <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/watch/publications.aspx?id=7190>. Some of the internal breakdowns—the budget and revenue for individual shows, for example—is not in the public domain.

I was given access by the Stratford archivist to the attendance and box office figures for all the musicals, but was asked not to publish the raw data, as many factors that affect attendance (such as complimentary and press tickets) are not represented by the bare numbers.

²⁷⁰ Most of the big donors are listed in the back of the house and souvenir programs published by Stratford each year.

²⁷¹ Stratford Shakespearean Festival of Canada, Consolidated Financial Statement, 2012 (December 31, 2012), http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/uploadedFiles/Stratford/Watch_and_Listen/Publications/2012_Consolidated_Financial_Statements.pdf

Ticket revenue and ancillary revenue from the Festival gift shops have become the most important parts of the Festival's yearly revenue. In 2012, the Festival earned \$27,446,637 in ticket sales and \$5,014,455 in ancillary revenue, or 59.7% of the Festival's revenue that year. The cost of tickets has risen steadily from the Festival's beginning to the present, reaching a new high for 2013's *Tommy* at the Avon, with the best seats costing between \$144 and \$175 a ticket, and the lowest prices between \$75 and \$95.²⁷² The ticket price for musicals has typically been higher than the ticket price of plays, set to correspond to the production costs of each genre. In addition, the larger Festival theatre usually had higher ticket prices than the smaller venues, but occasionally the larger sets at the Avon meant that the production costs were higher there than at the Festival theatre, and ticket prices were scaled accordingly.²⁷³ However, the set ticket prices were not always what everyone paid to see the shows; there were complimentary tickets for press, company members and supporting members of the Festival. There were also a variety of ticket deals offered over the years—student and senior pricing, two-for-one Tuesdays, youth-targeted prices for attendees aged 16-29, reduced prices for previews, etc. In the 2012 season, when attendance was much lower than expected, the Festival initiated a number of last-minute promotions with \$25-\$29 deals for tickets in an attempt to entice people to the theatre. These deals did help somewhat with attendance figures, but also had the less desirable effect that many people waited for the deals instead of booking full price tickets ahead of time.²⁷⁴ *Globe and Mail* theatre critic J. Kelly Nestruck noted, "In 2012, attendance at Canada's largest theatre company

²⁷² As published in the 2013 visitor's guide.

²⁷³ For example, *Tommy* at the Avon was the most expensive production of the 2013 season, with giant projections on LCD screens, and its ticket prices were higher than any other production, including *Fiddler on the Roof* with its relatively simple sets over at the Festival theatre (prices for *Fiddler* ranged from \$49-\$135).

²⁷⁴ These deals were announced on social media and in emails to patrons who had previously purchased tickets online, and as such were likely intended to target younger patrons who were less likely than audience members from older generations to purchase memberships and/or book tickets months in advance.

fell to 432,240 – the lowest such figure since 1986. What’s more, those who did show up paid less for the privilege than in previous years. Due to discounts, the average ticket price dropped from \$68.90 in 2011, to \$63.44.²⁷⁵ The financial solvency of the Festival is never a sure thing—no matter how many musicals or shows that should attract audiences are programmed; as literary manager for the Festival, Elliot Hayes once said, “People always say that the Festival’s first year, in 1953, was a miracle. What they don’t realize is that every year is a miracle.”²⁷⁶

The corporate sponsors, wealthy patrons, government granting agencies and the ticket-buying public all undoubtedly have varying visions of what Stratford is and could be. The Artistic Director and General Manager of the Festival have the responsibility of reconciling financial realities (and pressures) with aesthetic concerns. Increasingly, as Stratford relies more on ticket sales for its financial health, Stratford directors had to balance the not-for-profit status of the Festival with attracting audiences from competing for-profit theatre companies like the Mirvish Theatre in Toronto. In her CBC report, Carol Off asked if the Festival should try to compete with blockbuster shows in Toronto.²⁷⁷ The answer to that question is part of an ongoing debate about how the Stratford Festival should operate, both artistically and financially. A large part of that debate centres on musicals at Stratford—musicals that can make the Festival money, but that may not quite fit in with the Festival’s original mandate.

From the mid-eighties onward, programming musicals was something of a financial necessity for the Festival, but musicals were often also looked upon as an artistic compromise.

²⁷⁵ J. Kelly Nestruck, “Now showing at Stratford: Falling numbers and a bit of stage fright,” *The Globe and Mail* (March 9, 2013), accessed September 12, 2013. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/theatre-and-performance/now-showing-at-stratford-falling-numbers-and-a-bit-of-stage-fright/article9517866/>

²⁷⁶ Elliott Hayes, late literary manager of Stratford. Richard Monette recounted that Hayes said this to him after Monette’s first season as Artistic Director in 1994. See Monette, *This rough magic*, 306.

²⁷⁷ Carol Off, “Balancing the Books at the Stratford Festival,” *CBC Primetime News* (May 20, 1994), available online: <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/theatre/the-stratford-festival-the-first-50-years/balancing-the-books.html>

Although artistic directors John Neville, Richard Monette and Des McAnuff argued that musicals had a place at Stratford,²⁷⁸ musicals were not part of the Festival's *raison d'être* and some conservative critics complained that financial reliance on musicals was turning the Festival into "Broadway North" or "Mirvish West."²⁷⁹ This complaint is rooted in an argument about what Stratford should be—should it be a theatre for Shakespeare and the classics alone, or should modern drama and musicals also have a place at Stratford? The company and the audience undoubtedly change when many different genres of theatre are on the playbill as opposed to only Shakespeare and the classics. The number of people who resist these changes seems to have diminished over the years,²⁸⁰ but judgments continue to be made about what musicals at Stratford are *for* and these judgments are deeply rooted in how the genre of musicals is valued.

MUSICALS AS COMMERCIAL THEATRE

Most people today would not expect a symphony orchestra, an opera company, or, indeed, a Shakespeare Festival to survive without some government funding, but musicals are expected to succeed based on box office revenue, and are usually not thought to need or deserve subsidies. Instead, musicals are considered a form of commercial theatre that must prove itself in the free

²⁷⁸ See Richard Ouzounian, *Stratford gold: 50 years, 50 stars, 50 conversations*, (Toronto: McArthur & Co., 2002), 351-356, 188.

²⁷⁹ The term "Mirvish West" comes from a CBC News article about the 2009 production of *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* transferring to Toronto's Mirvish season after its Stratford close. A commenter styling himself "Titus Andronicus" complained about Stratford's deal with Mirvish, "I'm not surprised. Birds of a feather flock together. So what really is this news? *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Form* is and always will be a purely commercial production of a totally commercial musical... And Stratford's original mandate was to produce common and uncommon classical plays. The altered mandate has been allowed by a board always concerned primarily with money, financial success and tourism (which is also about money)...and not for their love of classical theatre." <http://www.cbc.ca/news/arts/theatre/story/2009/12/14/mirvish-stratford-forum.html> This particular commenter was very vocal about his distaste for musicals at Stratford and 'commercial' theatre on Stratford stages in general.

²⁸⁰ This attitude was reflected in everyone I interviewed, whether they had been at Stratford two years or twenty, they all agreed that the attitude of company members and audiences toward musicals had improved in the time they had been at the Festival. See list of interviews.

market. When an audience fails to pay for tickets for an expensive-to-produce musical, that musical's producer faces financial hardship. This is true even of musicals, like those by Stephen Sondheim, that scholars consider canonical and that entered the core repertory despite poor box office revenues. Musicals are notoriously expensive to produce, they often require a large number of actors in the chorus and musicians in the pit and they can be showy, spectacular entertainments that require a lot of investment capital for that spectacle. Jonathan Burston writes about the production costs of megamusicals like *Disney's The Lion King* (approximately \$20 million USD)²⁸¹ and notes "innovations in technologies of spectacle are largely responsible for raising the sector's entry threshold to such formidably high levels."²⁸² Many producers of musicals, from Florenz Ziegfeld to David Merrick, died in poverty after backing a musical (or a number of musicals) that did not recoup their investment at the box office. So it is at Stratford: when musicals do well, they can provide the Festival with a financial surplus, but when they do poorly, they can cripple the finances of the Festival.

Like many other forms of popular music, the entire genre of musicals is "tainted" by its association with commerce. The Romantic ideal that an artwork must be created free from the demands of the marketplace has been passed down from Hegel²⁸³ through modern philosophers like Adorno,²⁸⁴ and remains a pernicious concept in how different types of art are valued, and if certain popular genres, like musicals, can even be considered art at all. Pierre Bourdieu wrote,

²⁸¹ Although Stratford has avoided programming any megamusicals, the production costs for shows that include pyrotechnics and LCD screens like 2013's *Tommy* climb every closer to megamusical production costs.

²⁸² Jonathan Burston, "Spectacle, synergy and megamusicals: The global-industrialisation of live-theatre production," in *Media Organisations in Society*, James Curran, ed. (London: Arnold), 70.

²⁸³ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Hegel's aesthetics: Lectures on fine art*, 1835. Translated by T. M. Knox. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

²⁸⁴ Adorno's concept of the 'culture industry' as inherently corrupted by commerce influenced many scholars views on popular culture. See the selection of essays in Theodor W. Adorno, *The culture industry*, ed. J. M. Bernstein (London: Routledge, 1991).

“the literary and artistic world is so ordered that those who enter it have an interest in disinterestedness.”²⁸⁵ The disinterestedness applies especially to economic success, so that if an artwork achieves financial success, the artist will often distance their creative process from the financial result by disavowing any economic motivation, otherwise the success can signal compromise and impurity. The notion that in order to sell one’s work, one must “sell out” is highly problematic; there are many instances of art that achieved financial success with mass audiences, and were not necessarily considered high art by the audiences that first encountered them. From Mozart to Dickens to Shakespeare, works that were designed to appeal to a large cross section of the population have, with temporal distance, all been consecrated as high art. Yet the suspicion of commercial success remains, and if an artist explicitly courts commercial success they are usually assumed to care *more* about the money than the art, with detrimental connotations (‘prostituting’ or ‘pimping’ one’s art).

As Bourdieu suggested in his conceptualization of “cultural capital,” there tends to be an inverse relationship between economic value and cultural value in most artworlds. Works created with autonomy from the marketplace (or at least with the appearance of autonomy) are placed further toward the high art end of the spectrum (or Bourdieuan “field”) by fellow artists, critics and scholars, than works that respond to the demands of the marketplace.²⁸⁶ Most musicals are commercial works that respond to the market, because if a musical is to survive it must attract an audience, and therefore the creators of musicals cannot always follow the pure dictates of their

²⁸⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production*, ed. Randal Johnson, series ed. Lawrence D. Krizman, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 40.

²⁸⁶ The liveness of musicals rescues them from the lowest end of the high/low art spectrum because they aren’t mechanically mass-produced (passim Walter Benjamin). Even before the widespread mechanical reproduction of music and drama with phonographs and films, certain types of music theatre were considered middlebrow. When operas were sacralized by the upper classes in the 19th century, and minstrelsy and vaudeville were considered entertainment for the masses, a void was left in the middle that was filled by operetta and eventually musicals.

artistic consciences. Thus, the whims of the ticket-buying public have helped to form the canon of musicals as it now exists. Musical that are well known today are musicals that people paid money to see, causing the run of a show to lengthen so more people could see it, a cast recording to be financed so more people could hear it, and for historians and scholars to write about the musical, spreading knowledge of it further afield. In a very real manner, the way audiences have expressed their tastes with their pocketbooks has helped to form and maintain the genre of musicals. Creators of musicals are aware that for their works to achieve lasting fame, they ought to be financially successful and attract as wide an audience as possible.²⁸⁷

Musicals are written by many people—composer, lyricist, book writer—and therefore do not conform to the Romantic ideal of the auteur as creator. However, there are examples of multiple authorship in high art, so it is not their collaborative nature alone that musicals do not conform to the Romantic ideal of a single author working in isolation.²⁸⁸ It is more because

²⁸⁷ Musical tend to be written with a specific (usually middlebrow) audience in mind. However, the notion that Shakespeare's plays and Mozart's operas weren't also written with a specific audience in mind is a fallacy that many scholars have argued against (See examples from several disciplines, including: Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Richard Shusterman, "Entertainment: A question for aesthetics," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 43, 3 (July 2003): 289- 307; Simon Frith, *Performing rites: On the value of popular music*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). Philosopher Paul Cantor observes that even as highbrow a writer as Shakespeare sometimes wrote his works based on contingencies like the talent available in his acting company and production requirements. Cantor argues that the notion of an artist planning things out to the smallest detail in isolation of practical contingencies is more about critics wanting to find patterns in artworks and wanting them to be intentional than anything to do with how art is actually made, "Insofar as contingency is an important element of human life, any form of art that strives to eliminate it risks becoming untrue to the way we actually experience our existence." (Paul A. Cantor, "Popular culture and spontaneous order, or, how I stopped worrying and learned to love the tube," in *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*, edited by William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 172). It is worth pointing out that musicals became more respected as an art form when the creators stopped reacting quite so obviously to contingencies—writing a song for a star performer, for example—and started to "integrate" the elements of dance, song and story more fully, presenting the appearance (if not the reality) of a work created by a single auteur. (See Bruce Kirle's book for an examination of how the 'integrated' musical came to be the favoured form for musicals after *Oklahoma!* (1943), Bruce Kirle, *Unfinished show business: Broadway musicals as works-in-process*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005).

²⁸⁸ Wagner may have been in charge of every aspect of his operas from the music to the scenery, but Mozart, Verdi and almost every other composer worked with a librettist, and left production details such as movement and scenery in the hands of a director. Collaboration often bears creative fruit and so collaborative art is not automatically

the final form of many musicals is affected not only by feedback from an author's co-collaborators, but also from the response of paying audiences. For many years, out-of-town tryouts were held to test a musical's material before the official Broadway opening. The feedback from audiences expressing their likes and dislikes in quantifiable ticket sales has affected (and continues to affect) the creation of musicals. The influence of the audience on how musicals are created is one of the main reasons they are excluded from the realm of high art. As Bourdieu puts it, "the professional ideology of producers-for-producers [artists who create their work for other artists] and their spokespeople establishes an opposition between creative liberty and the laws of the market, between works which create their public and works created by their public."²⁸⁹ Economic dependence is at the opposite pole from artistic autonomy in this ideological construction, and because the market influences the creation and reception of musicals, their artistry is often discounted and their function as moneymakers is emphasized. Within the genre of musicals, there are many artists who express varying degrees of autonomy toward the marketplace, so that those who had high art aspirations (like George Gershwin), or who seem unconcerned with financial success (like Stephen Sondheim), have a higher degree of cultural value than creators of Disney adaptations (like Alan Menken). However, within the larger theatrical "field," the genre of musicals as a whole is further toward the economic dependence pole than plays that were created with more of an appearance of artistic autonomy.

Works created by their public (like reality television talent shows where audience votes influence the contest outcomes, such as *American Idol* and *So You Think You Can Dance*) are

assumed to be inferior to one artist working in isolation; Paul Cantor argues that a "feedback" model for art is often preferable to a "perfect plan" model because it allows for collaborative synergy and a process of trial and error in which the imperfections of an artwork are gradually perfected. Cantor, "Popular culture and spontaneous order," 171-172.

²⁸⁹ Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production*, 127.

valued much less than works that create their public (like Stratford created a public for itself by offering seldom-seen Shakespearean plays with the aim to educate Canadian audiences in the classics). This valuation indicates an ideological suspicion of the public, and of mass audiences in particular. The assumption that the mass audience is comprised of passive consumers, dupes of the “culture industry,” is a heritage of Adorno and the Marxist thought of the Frankfurt school.²⁹⁰ Subcultural and active audience theorists have argued that audiences have much more cultural agency than allowed for by the “culture industry” model. As Franco Moretti argues, “If it is perverse to believe that the market always rewards the better solution, it is just as perverse to believe that it always rewards the wrong one!”²⁹¹ The market more often rewards popular art than high art, but not in every case—in certain contexts, like that at Stratford, audiences expect the works at the Festival to skew toward the high art end of the spectrum, and react unfavourably to works (like 2012’s *Charlie Brown*) that do not meet their high art expectations.

It is not surprising that Stratford artistic directors mainly select for their seasons musicals from the Golden Age because the Golden Age of musicals was a time when theatre criticism frequently aligned with the market. The musicals that did well financially and critically between 1927 and 1966 are revived often and remain some of the most highly valued works within the genre. In contrast, the period of the mega-musical, from the late eighties onward, reflected a split between what large numbers of people were paying to see (i.e. Andrew Lloyd Webber’s *Cats*), and what critics were heralding as the true successors of Golden Age musicals (i.e. Stephen Sondheim’s *Company*). It was not until Lloyd Webber’s works were a few decades old that they were introduced at Stratford; Des McAnuff guessed correctly that the elapsed time would

²⁹⁰ See Adorno, *The culture industry*, and Susan Buck-Morss, *The origin of negative dialectics: Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and the Frankfurt Institute*, (Hassocks, UK: Harvester Press, 1977).

²⁹¹ Franco Moretti, “The slaughterhouse of language,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 61 (2000): 219, note 12.

somewhat distance works like *Evita* and *Jesus Christ Superstar* from their commercial origins. Many of Sondheim's works, on the other hand, now verge on too highbrow to be selected as one of Stratford's musicals. Stratford has not included an opera in its season since 1975, and Music Directors learned during the first twenty years of the Festival that certain works that were musically and thematically challenging—like chamber operas by Benjamin Britten—were less well attended than works of a middlebrow nature—like operettas by G&S or Offenbach. As more of Sondheim's works are incorporated into the repertoire of opera companies, there may be concern that Sondheim's musicals will not make money for the Festival because patrons who would be attracted to well-known Golden Age musicals might find Sondheim inaccessible, whereas patrons who come to Stratford for Shakespeare might not attend a Sondheim show because it still belongs to the commercial genre of musicals.

When musicals were transplanted from Broadway to Stratford, they came as a genre of commercial theatre into a non-profit company known for its productions of Shakespeare's plays. Audiences that came to Stratford specifically for the musicals, and the actors, directors and designers involved in their production were invested in the aesthetic and entertainment value of the musicals. However, there were many other vocal critics who focused primarily on economic value of the musicals and opined that the main purpose of musicals at Stratford was to make the Festival money.

MUSICALS AS STRATFORD'S "CASH COW"

Unlike the concerts and operas that were part of Stratford's Music Festival (1955-1975), musicals at Stratford usually netted profits because their high production costs were balanced out

by high attendance figures. Tyrone Guthrie made a prediction in 1955 to Louis Applebaum that music would eventually help to fund the drama: “For a year or two, the Shakespeare plays may have to carry the music. Later, I suspect that the boot will be on the other foot.”²⁹² Guthrie’s prediction came true, though not in the way that he or Applebaum expected. The jazz and chamber concerts never made enough at the box office to do more at best than pay for their own costs, but when musicals began to be regularly included on the playbill in 1986, they helped to finance dramatic works. As Martin Hunter put it, “It is deeply ironic that the Festival abandoned musical production as a money-loser only to discover, a decade later, that long runs of large-scale musicals in the big house would turn out to be the very thing that could save its financial bacon.”²⁹³ As a genre, musicals are not inherently box office gold, and Stratford directors have not always made safe choices, but overall, including musicals in Stratford seasons has been financially beneficial for the Festival.

The years of operas and operetta on Stratford stages paved the way for musicals not only in terms of the musical life of the Festival, but also its financial life. The experimental Canadian operas of Gascon’s reign never made much money for the Festival, nor were they designed to, with extremely short runs that barely recouped production costs and were often funded by granting agencies, but some of the better known operas and operettas made money for the Festival (the 1961 Music Festival made a \$12,000 profit, mostly due to the success of *Pirates of*

²⁹² Letter, Tyrone Guthrie to Louis Applebaum, February 5, 1955. York University Archives, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, 1979-002, box 023, file 458.

²⁹³ Martin Hunter, *Romancing the bard: Stratford at fifty*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2001), 104.

Penzance).²⁹⁴ Robin Phillips said that when he began his tenure as Artistic Director, after several years of experimental musical theatre at the Third Stage, the financial situation was dire,

God, when I took over, the Avon Theatre was to be closed. And I had to beg them to let me keep it for one year to see if I could turn it around, which is how the Young Company came into being. I put a Young Company in there and we did what I hoped was a fresh look at Shakespeare. And we had a very successful season and that was it. I was allowed to keep the Avon open.²⁹⁵

Phillips managed to bring the Festival into fairly good financial shape during his tenure (1975-1980), in part by getting rid of the Music Festival, with its high operating costs and low returns, and by attracting audiences to plays with stars like Maggie Smith and Brian Bedford. 1976, a year without any music theatre productions, was a top financial year for the Festival, with 90% attendance and over half a million tickets sold.²⁹⁶ Martin Hunter noted, “It is not that Phillips was unsympathetic to the charms of music. But... he wanted complete control of every aspect of the festival, including music.”²⁹⁷ By eliminating the Music Festival, Phillips not only saved money, but also ensured that in future the Artistic Director would choose any music theatre productions, rather than the Festival Music Director. Phillips chose *Candide* in 1978, *Happy New Year* in 1979 and *The Beggar’s Opera* in 1980. All were departures from the operas and operettas of

²⁹⁴ J. Alan B. Somerset, in his brief overview of music at Stratford, writes that for the 1955 Music Festival “Audiences were 62% capacity, and the series lost \$25,000. For the 1956 season the Festival Orchestra was expanded to forty-five members and the season was expanded one week; however, audiences were 48% capacity, as opposed to 85% for theatre productions. Early it was becoming clear that musical activities at Stratford on this scale were not likely to pay their way; however it is worth noting that attendances in 1957 were up, to 91% drama and 71% music, perhaps because of the novelty of the new permanent theatre. The 1961 season saw a \$12,000 profit on the Music Festival; the 1963 season experienced a \$125,000 loss.” J. Alan B. Somerset, *The Stratford Festival story: A catalogue-index to the Stratford, Ontario, Festival 1953-1990*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), xvii.

²⁹⁵ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 246.

²⁹⁶ In his president’s report, dated November 27, 1976, John V. Killer wrote, “We sold 518,421 tickets in our 22 weeks of operation in 1976. That’s over 81,000 more than the number sold in 1975. This represents an increase of 18.5% making it the largest year-to-year increase the organization has ever known. In all we did 90.4% business in 1976 and our attendance – in terms of people rather than money – stood at 90%.” 1975 also had higher ticket sales than the 1974 season, representing a huge degree of growth in Phillips’ first two years. Stratford Festival Archives, annual reports.

²⁹⁷ Martin Hunter, *Romancing the bard: Stratford at fifty*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2001), 104.

previous years, and they marked a pivot point in the Festival's history toward more populist music theatre.

When John Hirsch became Artistic Director in 1981, the granting agencies had decreased the amount of money they gave to Stratford, causing deficits. Hunter wrote, "Hirsch believed that his job was to create art and that it was up to the government to pay for it."²⁹⁸ Hirsch's attitude is common in cultural critics who believe arts to be a public good that contributes to the culture of a nation. If the marketplace does not reward certain arts (and, as Bourdieu has argued, there is frequently an inverse relationship between art that is valued as high and art/entertainment that makes money), Hirsch and others like him believed it was the duty of governments to subsidize the arts. Unluckily for Hirsch and the Festival, Canada was entering a recession in the early eighties and there was less money in the government's coffers. Gas shortages in the U.S. and high unemployment rates in Canada led to fewer people attending Stratford. Hirsch's first season resulted in the biggest loss the Festival had seen to date—if he had continued presenting new chamber operas as Gascon had, or even other music theatre works that straddled opera and Broadway as Phillips had, the Festival would have been in even deeper financial trouble. Instead, he let Brian Macdonald establish an operetta company within the Stratford company, and the operettas helped to keep the theatre doors open.²⁹⁹

Actor David Keeley noted that the concept of music theatre as a cash cow may have started with the financial success of the 1981-1985 series of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas directed by Macdonald, "Musicals here have become the cash cow because Brian started that—I don't think that's what he set out to do, but we both went to Broadway with Brian with *Mikado*.

²⁹⁸ Hunter, *Romancing the bard*, 196.

²⁹⁹ See Appendix D: Stratford Festival Financial Data

You have this crazy little show and no one thought it was going to be what it was.”³⁰⁰ *The Mikado* ended up being a smash hit for Stratford. It sold out its original run in 1982, and audience demand remained high for three revivals at Stratford—in 1983, 1984 and 1993—as well as two separate off-season tours around Canada, the United States and to the Old Vic in the U.K. The incredible financial success of the G&S operettas made future artistic directors aware that successful music theatre could finance artistic risks in other areas, or, if it came to it, save the Festival during a difficult economy.³⁰¹

As Applebaum and Guthrie had discovered in the 1960s, music theatre that was familiar to audiences, with middlebrow provenance, could attract audiences to the Festival in record numbers. The Gilbert and Sullivan operettas were classics in their own right—most were 80-100 years old when they first appeared at Stratford—but to balance out the classic status of the works was the fact that they were *fun*. The comedy had an edge of biting satire, the music was memorable, and the overarching goal of the works seemed to be nothing more or less than to entertain audiences. The driving force of the works was what I call the Entertainment Impulse. It was this, combined with excellent production value and depth of talent in the Stratford company that set them up for success at Stratford. Audiences who appreciated the fun and wit of the operettas, but did not feel like their tastes were being pandered to, made the promise of success a reality. Macdonald, like Applebaum and Guthrie before him, found that these operettas were well suited to the Stratford audiences because they were neither too highbrow nor too lowbrow, but (like some sort of music theatre porridge for an audience of Goldilockses) were just right.

³⁰⁰ David Keeley, interview. The “both” he refers to is to himself and his wife Laura Burton, musician.

³⁰¹ This did not invariably work, as musicals are themselves expensive to produce, some productions do not do as well as others, and some recessions are detrimental to theatre attendance across all genres.

The Canadian economy had recovered somewhat in the mid-eighties, but the Festival struggled financially throughout the Hirsch years because the Gilbert and Sullivan productions could only go so far toward redressing the accumulated deficit. When John Neville took over from John Hirsch, he didn't want to produce any more operettas, but the Festival had a large deficit that he needed to eradicate, so he turned to the Broadway musical repertoire and decided to mount Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart's *The Boys from Syracuse* on the main stage. It was a considered choice, as it was the first musical to be based on a Shakespearean play; George Abbott based his book on *The Comedy of Errors* and the show was a hit on Broadway in 1938. Neville calculatedly tied in Stratford's first serious foray into the world of Broadway musicals with a Shakespearean theme. However, he also raised some eyebrows by putting it in the Festival theatre. Negative reactions to Stratford opening its season with a big musical have not diminished in the intervening years. Pat Donnelly of the *Montreal Gazette* wrote about the 2012 season,

Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of a theatre festival launched upon the good name of William Shakespeare by staging a 1980 Broadway musical hit renowned for its spectacular tap-dance numbers may strike some people as inappropriate. But the purists who abhor escapist entertainment and/or can't stand Broadway musicals are a minority with the theatregoing public these days. And, like all established cultural institutions, Ontario's Stratford Shakespeare Festival has to think in terms of it's [*sic*] own survival in a rapidly changing world. Seats must be filled. Bills must be paid.³⁰²

Neville was also concerned with filling seats and paying bills when he put *The Boys from Syracuse* in the Festival theatre. Cushman notes, "None of the four years of drama [under Neville, 1986-1989] was responsible for putting Stratford back in the black. That was down to

³⁰² Pat Donnelly, "Stratford Shakespeare Festival celebrates 60th season with 42nd Street?" *Montreal Gazette* (June 30, 2012), accessed September 12, 2013. <http://blogs.montrealgazette.com/2012/06/30/stratford-shakespeare-festival-celebrates-60th-season-with-42nd-street/>

the musicals.”³⁰³ Neville made some significant changes to the ways in which music theatre was produced at the Festival (see Chapter Four) and the change that had the most significant impact for the Festival’s finances was his decision to put the musical in the bigger theatre. As Robert Cushman cynically observes, Neville put Broadway successes “in the larger Festival Theatre, on the principle that, if you have a cash cow, you may as well milk it to its greatest capacity. And he was up front about it. He opened each of his first two seasons with a musical.”³⁰⁴ When Richard Ouzounian interviewed him in 2000, Neville acknowledged his financial motivation in moving the musical to the Festival theatre. He said he moved musicals to the main house “because it had 2,200 seats. And if you fill them, it will certainly help to get rid of the deficit. And it did.”³⁰⁵

The Boys from Syracuse played for 65 performances (only *Hamlet* at the Avon had a comparably long run in 1986) and the large number of performances allowed for a large financial return. Although the cost of mounting a musical can be very high, there is a certain point in the run of the show when the upfront costs for costumes, sets and technology have been paid for by ticket revenue, and each performance after that nets a large amount. *Syracuse* had an average of 68% audience capacity over its 65-performance run and yet its revenue was higher than for *Pirates* the year before, which had played to 80% capacity houses at the Avon over 109 performances. The difference in the size of houses between the Avon and Festival theatres more than made up for the lower percentage attendance figure and shorter run of *Syracuse*. Neville’s experiment proved that a successful musical could make substantially more money in the bigger theatre. I address the physical considerations of how the musicals were affected by the change of space in the next chapter, but as far as finances were concerned, musicals made more money at

³⁰³ Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, 170.

³⁰⁴ Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, 170.

³⁰⁵ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 354.

the Festival theatre because they required less elaborate sets than at the Avon, and the Festival theatre had considerably more seats to sell. After John Neville first put a musical on the main stage, financial considerations have weighed greatly in ensuring that there has been a musical on the Festival stage almost every year since.

For his second season, Neville decided to open with another musical at the Festival theatre. He invited back Brian Macdonald to direct *Cabaret*, and it did better even than *Syracuse* the year before, perhaps because it was a better-known musical. Most of the musicals in the next three decades were well known musicals—not just Golden Age (1927-1966), but post-*Oklahoma!*-pre-rock musicals (1943-1966). Robert Cushman noted that *Boys from Syracuse* was the only musical done on the Festival stage that was written before the Second World War, “all subsequent choices have been from the line of brand-name shows that essentially began with *Oklahoma!*—shows, to put it bluntly, that everybody has heard of (and, in most cases, seen the film of)”³⁰⁶ The Festival has yet to produce the canonical Golden Age works from prior to 1943 like *Pal Joey* (1940) *Show Boat* (1927) or *Porgy and Bess* (1935), perhaps because they have darker themes than many of the later musicals. Stratford is now cycling through several of the post-*Oklahoma!* Golden Age musicals for a second production (see Table 2.2: Comparison of core Broadway repertoires with Stratford productions, in Chapter 2). The policy that Neville initiated of mounting a “brand-name” musical in the big theatre for a long run was born of contingency—it was done to get the Festival out of debt. The awareness of that initial financial motivation for musicals at Stratford, combined with the acknowledged commercial nature of musicals, meant that musicals at Stratford were often seen through a financial lens first and an artistic lens second (especially by the Board and certain critics like Kate Taylor of the *Globe and*

³⁰⁶ Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, 171.

Mail). John Neville had, all unwittingly perhaps, cast musicals at Stratford in the role of “cash cow.”

The cash cow role proved remarkably persistent, but musicals also fulfilled other roles at Stratford, and aesthetic considerations were never far from the mind of an artistic director like John Neville. Golden Age musicals seem to be the favourite choices of Stratford directors not only because they are well known but also because they are well respected. Stratford has, by and large, steered clear of mega musicals like *Les Misérables* or even a creation by one of their own, like Des McAnuff’s *Jersey Boys*, and focused on Golden Age musicals that are treated as classics of the genre at Stratford. The motivation for largely keeping with the Golden Age repertory alters slightly with each director, but it is probable that Neville, Williams, Monette and McAnuff were all concerned with striking a balance between commercial and artistic needs, and Golden Age musicals already had some of that balance built in. Musicals by Rodgers and Hammerstein or Lerner and Loewe are familiar enough to attract audiences and are also usually critically well received in revivals. In late 1985, when Neville was planning for the 1986 season, *Les Misérables* had just premiered in the West End and *The Phantom of the Opera* wouldn’t open for another year, but *My Fair Lady* and *Carousel* were at least 30 years old and already considered classics of the musical genre.

Des McAnuff strongly advocates for the classic status of musicals, “I really believe at the bottom of my soul that the American musical is part of the classical theatrical repertoire, and I want [musicals] to be treated as classics, which means pouring resources into them.”³⁰⁷ More company and audience members have come around to McAnuff’s way of thinking since

³⁰⁷ Peter Parolin, What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada, *Shakespeare Quarterly* (60, no. 2 (2009): 219.

musicals first appeared at Stratford, but there are holdouts that believe musicals have little aesthetic value of their own, and that their sole function at Stratford is to put “bums in seats,” thus financing the true artistic life of Stratford—Shakespearean drama. As explored above, the genre of musicals carries some ideological baggage due to its association with commerce. This commercial valuation is cast into sharp relief when musicals are juxtaposed with Shakespearean plays and supposedly non-commercial (i.e. more highbrow) theatre at a place like the Stratford Festival. There, musicals tend to suffer when they are evaluated with the same aesthetic criteria used to measure Shakespearean plays. Their aesthetic worth is further undermined by their cash cow function.

When theatrical genres are compared and contrasted at Stratford, musicals tend to be placed on the lowest aesthetic rung. Thus, a typical valuation of generic aesthetic worth might look something like this: Shakespeare and Classical tragedies > Shakespeare and Classical comedies > Modern drama > Modern comedy > Musicals. However, artistic decisions made at Stratford for particular productions may upend this schema, so that a production of *Romeo and Juliet* might be more populist and accessible than a production of *West Side Story* in specific instances. Thus, what genres make money and how they are valued at Stratford looks more like the “Field of Cultural Production” in Figure 3.1.³⁰⁸ Importantly for the way Stratford audience members are purposely cultivated, musicals had to fit in with the mandate of the Festival and not alienate members who had upwardly mobile middlebrow or highbrow tastes. Audiences at Stratford through the 1980s and 90s were still predominantly white, middle or upper class, and middle aged or older (the school audiences only brought down Stratford’s median age

³⁰⁸ I am heavily indebted to Bourdieu’s conceptualization of a field of cultural production in this figure. See especially his mapping of the 19th-century French literary field. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 49.

Large audience/economic profit

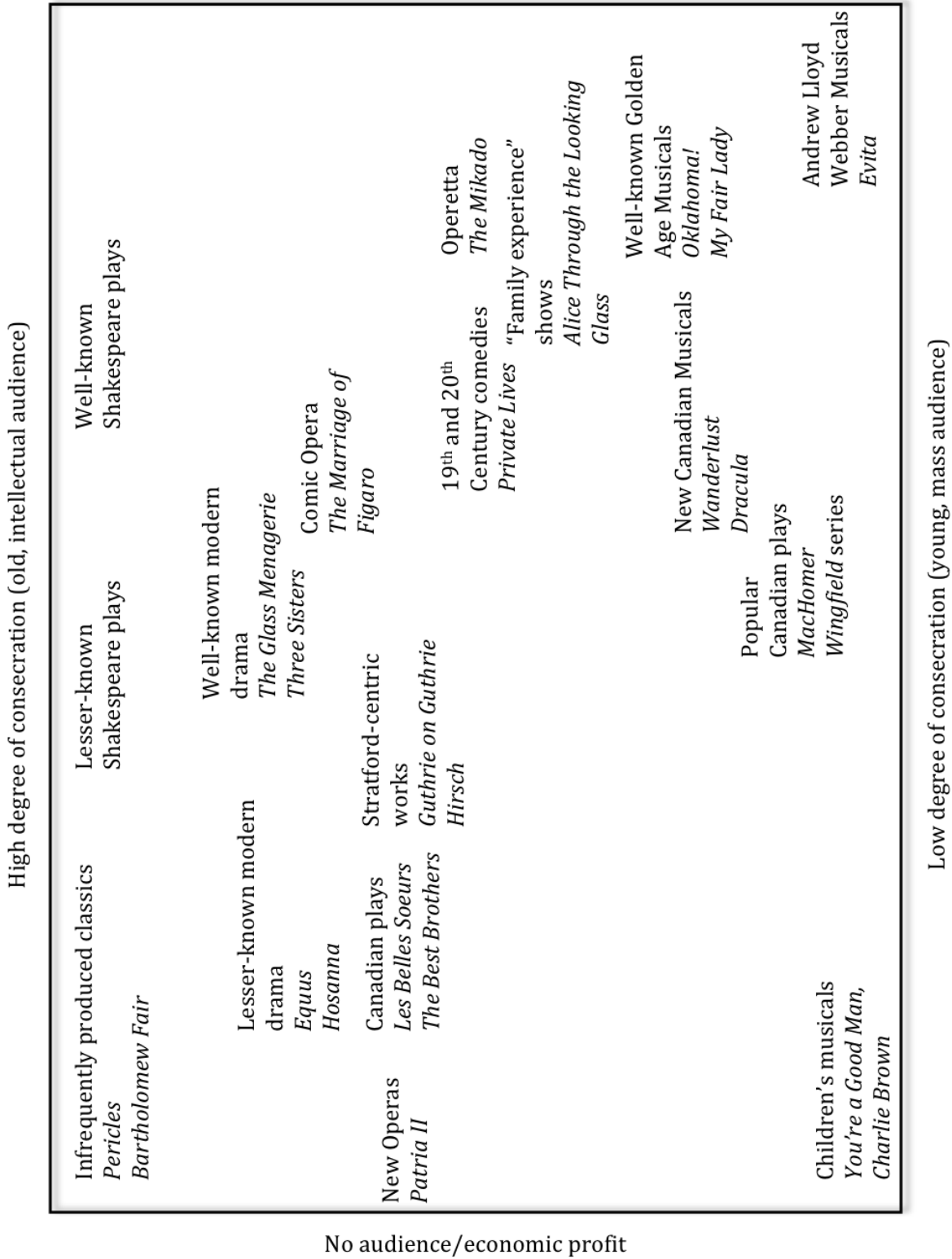


Figure 3.1: The Stratford Festival "Field of Cultural Production"

somewhat). The directors at Stratford programmed musicals that they thought would appeal to the typical Stratford audience member—making certain assumptions about the taste, values and *habitus* of those audience members. The musical genre as a whole might be more toward the commercial end of the spectrum than classical drama, but musicals could be chosen from within the genre that were at the highbrow end of the spectrum. The Golden Age musicals were usually well regarded by critics and those people who did not dismiss the entire genre of musicals outright. Therefore, most of the musicals at Stratford skewed toward highbrow works within the genre, providing an interesting reflection of how various Artistic Directors viewed the evolving nature of the Stratford audience and the Festival as a cultural institution.

One of the acknowledged classics of the musical genre, looked upon favourably by critics from Brooks Atkinson (who wrote “in taste, intelligence, skill and delight [it] is the finest musical play in years”³⁰⁹) to André Previn (who called it “the perfect musical”³¹⁰), is Lerner and Loewe’s 1956 classic, *My Fair Lady*. The Shavian musical was mounted on the Festival main stage in 1988 with John Neville taking on the (largely spoken) role of Professor Henry Higgins.³¹¹ Lucy Peacock, who had come up through the Young Company at Stratford with John Hirsch and had already played roles such as Ophelia, Lady Anne and Viola at Stratford, was cast as Eliza Doolittle, the female lead. Jean Gascon returned to Stratford to direct the production. Gascon sadly died before the opening night of *My Fair Lady*, but it seems

³⁰⁹ Quoted in Thomas L. Riis and Ann Sears, “The successors of Rodgers and Hammerstein from the 1940s to the 1960s” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical*, 2nd ed. Edited by William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 176.

³¹⁰ Quoted in Mark Steyn, *Broadway babies say goodnight: Musicals then and now*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), 119.

³¹¹ Lucy Peacock tells the story that John Neville always wanted to play the part of Henry Higgins. He was friends with Julie Andrews and had watched rehearsals in New York for the Broadway premiere, thinking “Rex Harrison, bugger you! I’m going to be doing that one day.” Peacock said Neville made his own dream come true by doing the show at Stratford, and also made her dream come true too. Lucy Peacock, interview.

fitting that the last production of a man who wanted music theatre to be successful at Stratford was an incredibly successful production of one of the best loved musicals of all time, in pride of place upon the Festival stage. Lucy Peacock remembers that the theatre was “packed. Absolutely packed to the rafters.”³¹² *My Fair Lady* broke revenue records in 1988,³¹³ and to this day still holds the record for the highest audience attendance per performance of any Stratford musical.³¹⁴ To make the financial picture even rosier in 1988, another musical at the Avon accompanied *My Fair Lady* that season—*Irma La Douce*.³¹⁵

Irma La Douce was not expected to be a hit, so even though the percentage of seats sold was slightly higher for *Irma* than for *Lady*, it was scheduled for 40 fewer performances. The difference between the capacity at the Festival theatre (2,262) versus the Avon (1,102 in 1988), plus an additional 40 performances at the Festival theatre meant that *Lady* grossed \$3 million more than *Irma*, even though the house would have looked fuller at the Avon than at the Festival.³¹⁶ Attendance, the capacity of the theatre, and the length of a run are three of the main factors that affect box office gross. Another factor is the cost of the tickets, and, as Martin Hunter suggested, the general managers at Stratford would often tie the cost of tickets into the cost of the

³¹² Lucy Peacock, interview.

³¹³ It grossed more than \$4 million dollars at the time, close to \$7 million dollars when adjusted for inflation to 2013 Canadian dollars.

³¹⁴ More than 135,000 people saw *My Fair Lady* over its 72 performances in 1988, for an 83% capacity house at the Festival Theatre. Some operettas and musicals at the Avon had higher percentage audience **capacity** before and since, but didn’t come close to the raw number of people who saw the musical. Even when judging capacity numbers at the Festival theatre, only two musicals have eclipsed the 1988 *My Fair Lady*’s Festival theatre **capacity** record—the 2002 production of *My Fair Lady* with 95% capacity houses and 2006’s *Oliver!* with 84% capacity. However, the Festival theatre was renovated for the 2002 season with a large reduction in the number of seats, so that 150 fewer people per performance saw the 2002 version of *My Fair Lady* than the 1988 version.

³¹⁵ John Neville played the male lead in the original production of *Irma la Douce* in London’s West End in 1958.

³¹⁶ When comparing the two theatres with their different number of seats, comparing percentage of seats sold, or capacity, is often a better indicator of success than the raw number of seats sold or money made, because the directors specifically plan on attendance figures for the different theatres.

production in a careful balancing of the budget so that Stratford would break even but not make so much that the Festival would be ineligible for government grants.³¹⁷

The ticket costs for 1989's *Kiss Me, Kate* were slightly higher than the previous year's *My Fair Lady*,³¹⁸ but audience dropped ten percent, despite the musical's Shakespearean provenance. The musical still did well at the box office, and helped to leave the Festival in good financial shape when David William took over from John Neville after the 1989 season. Unfortunately for William, his artistic directorship was marked by the financial hardship engendered by a recession that affected most businesses and arts organizations in the early nineties. *Guys and Dolls* on the Festival Stage played to fuller houses than *Kiss Me, Kate* the year before, and grossed a great deal more over its 80-performance run. However, *Guys and Dolls* proved to be the peak of ticket revenue for William. None of the other musicals and operettas he programmed over the next three years did quite so well. He explained, "we were in a recession, and audiences were well below what they had been...even the musicals didn't do as well as they had done before!"³¹⁹ William's comment indicated the financial status of the Festival in the early nineties, but it also indicated the attitude that musicals *should* make money—that when they cease to be profitable for the Festival, not only does the Festival suffer financially, but the purpose of musicals at Stratford is somewhat called into question.

The theatre climate in Canada in the early nineties was not only affected by the recession, but also the mega-musical landing in Toronto. *The Phantom of the Opera* began its 11-year Toronto run at the Pantages Theatre in 1989. The Canadian version of *Phantom*, produced by

³¹⁷ See Hunter, *Romancing the Bard*, 117-118, and the quotes on page 137-138, above.

³¹⁸ On average, each ticket for *Kiss Me, Kate* cost \$2 (or 6%) more than a ticket for *My Fair Lady* the year before. However, the inflation rate between 1988 and 1989 was rather high, so that the inflation-adjusted prices show that there was a difference of no more than 45 cents (or less than 1%) between the ticket costs.

³¹⁹ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 369.

Garth Drabinsky's LivEnt, was incredibly popular, and demand to see Colm Wilkinson in the title role not only spurred ticket sales, but also prompted the release of a Canadian cast recording that made a large amount of money for the production.³²⁰ The opening of *Phantom* was followed a few short years later by an incredibly successful Canadian production of *Les Misérables* and both shows ran in Toronto for several years in the early- to mid-nineties. It is probable that during the recession, audiences who were attracted to musicals and may have previously seen them at Stratford, chose to spend their money on one of the big new musicals in Toronto rather than on a Golden Age musical at Stratford.

William kept to the Golden Age repertoire in his second season (1991), but *Carousel* played to only 64% capacity in the Festival theatre, perhaps prompting William to return to the tried and true Stratford tradition of mounting Gilbert & Sullivan at the Avon. *H.M.S. Pinafore* in 1992 and *Mikado* in 1993 brought in a respectable amount at the box office, but were by no means the smash hits they had been ten years earlier. Robert Cushman wrote that during William's time, "G&S were there to make money, and in fact *The Mikado*—which shared the season with *Gypsy*—turned out to be an insurance policy. *Gypsy* is one of the half-dozen finest musicals, but it is too hard-edged to make the general public's list of favourite shows, and it was never a popular film."³²¹ In fact, the 1962 film version of *Gypsy* starring Rosalind Russell and Natalie Wood was very popular—in the top ten grossing films of that year—and the Stratford production of *Gypsy* anticipated the December 1993 television release of the remake starring Bette Midler. It seemed like the time was ripe for a production of *Gypsy*, nonetheless, Cushman is perhaps right that *Gypsy* was "too hard-edged" for Stratford audiences (still comprised of

³²⁰ Stratford did not have the same sorts of merchandise tie-ins that the big Toronto shows had until Monette's time.

³²¹ Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, 176.

many “busloads of bluehairs from Buffalo”³²²): it played to 49% capacity audiences at the Festival theatre—the lowest turnout for a musical there to date. But even with a shorter run than *Mikado* and the dismal house, *Gypsy* sold almost 1,000 tickets more than *Mikado*, once again proving that more revenue could be earned if a music theatre production were housed at the Festival theatre than if it were mounted at the Avon, even if the Festival theatre was half empty. Together, the two shows brought in more than any other single musical during William’s tenure. Pairing two works of music theatre in 1993 went some distance toward earning revenue for the Festival, but they could not completely save the Festival’s finances during a recession.

Richard Monette took on the task of turning the Festival’s finances around when he assumed the role of Artistic Director after the 1993 season. He said,

It was very difficult at first. Not many people know how bad things really were. My predecessor, David William, had a very hard time of it because of the GST, the recession, the rise of the mega-musical. The councils were cutting money. No, Stratford was not in a good financial state, and what I tried to do for the first three years is keep the doors open.

Then, slowly, things got better and better. I was able to pay back the debts. We didn’t have a deficit, but we owed a lot of money. I mean I was here when we had to borrow money to pay for the heat in the winter to heat the buildings. So it was a very serious time. But then the audiences started to grow and kept on growing and now it’s a completely different organization than it used to be.³²³

When Monette took over for the 1994 season, his concern was to get the Festival back in the black. The growth he spoke of to Ouzounian was due in part to his more populist policies. Monette was interested in making Shakespeare accessible to as wide a range of people as possible, while still satisfying aesthetic demands. Monette also made a concerted effort to diversify Stratford’s company and audience, something that his successor, Des McAnuff, spoke

³²² Johnnie Walker, “Drama Club: Brush up your Shakespeare” *Torontoist.com*, (March 4, 2009), http://torontoist.com/2009/03/drama_club_brush_up_on_your_shakespeare/

³²³ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 188.

passionately about (see below).³²⁴ Monette continued with William's decision to revive G&S, but moved *Pirates* to the Festival theatre (see Chapter Four, Case Study). Even though the production had the relatively low attendance figure of 62% capacity, it was a significant improvement over *Gypsy* the year before, or *Mikado* at the Avon. Monette succeeded in turning the Festival's finances around dramatically. Peter Parolin noted, "After the 1994 season, the Festival's \$1.3 million deficit had become an \$800,000 surplus. Financially, Stratford never looked back, generating profits in each of Monette's fourteen seasons."³²⁵

In the first eight years of his artistic directorship, Monette put a musical on the main stage all but two seasons, when he balanced out the earnings potential by putting on two shows at the Avon—*The Boyfriend* and *The Gondoliers* in 1995 and *West Side Story* and *Dracula* in 1999. For the 50th Anniversary season in 2002, Monette increased revenue further by blending the two strategies and mounting two musicals on the two biggest stages—*My Fair Lady* at the Festival and *Threepenny Opera* at the Avon. He continued with the model of producing one musical at the Festival theatre and one musical at the Avon theatre for the rest of his time at Stratford, and had five of the top-ten grossing musicals in Stratford's history in those years. In fact, when prices are adjusted for inflation, Monette's artistic directorship was responsible for nine of the top ten grossing musicals at Stratford.³²⁶ It is worthwhile noting that only one in those top ten was housed at the Avon, and 1999's *West Side Story* only made so much money in the smaller theatre

³²⁴ Des McAnuff, interview.

³²⁵ Peter Parolin, What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada, *Shakespeare Quarterly* (60, no. 2 (2009): 200.

³²⁶ The top ten, from highest grossing to least-highest grossing (adjusted for inflation) are as follows: *My Fair Lady* (2002), *The King and I* (2003), *The Sound of Music* (2001), *Guys and Dolls* (2004), *West Side Story* (2009), *Oliver!* (2006), *Oklahoma!* (2007), *Fiddler on the Roof* (2000), *West Side Story* (1999), and *Camelot* (1997). The 2009 production of *West Side Story* is the only one that did not occur during Monette's reign.

because its run was a record-breaking 156 performances (the average for Stratford musicals is around 93 performances).

Monette, more than William or Neville, was criticized for diluting Stratford seasons with musicals and “family experience” shows like *Alice Through the Looking Glass*. Theatre critic Kate Taylor of *The Globe and Mail* was especially harsh on what she perceived to be Monette’s populism. I explore Taylor and other critics’ adverse reactions to some of the musicals at Stratford below, so it is worth taking a moment to explore who these critics were, and how they helped to shape the field of cultural production at Stratford by guiding the discourse about the Festival’s role in Canadian cultural life. Criticism is not disinterested; critiques of works include a validation of the right of the critic to criticize it. Bourdieu wrote, “All critics declare not only their judgement of the work but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it.”³²⁷ In constructing their reviews about Stratford’s musical theatre, the theatre critics positioned themselves as theatre experts whose taste and experience gave them the right to direct the conversation about the role of musicals at Stratford, and the role of Stratford in the Canadian theatre scene.

The theatre critics at Canada’s largest papers in the 1990s and 2000s—Kate Taylor at the *Globe and Mail*,³²⁸ Robert Cushman at the *National Post*,³²⁹ and Richard Ouzounian at the *Toronto Star*³³⁰—were not enemies of the musical genre. Taylor occasionally wrote glowing reviews of musicals produced by other companies, and is omnivorous in her consumption and

³²⁷ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 42.

³²⁸ Kate Taylor is an award winning novelist as well as a cultural critic and journalist. She was the theatre critics for the *Globe and Mail* from 1995-2003. See <http://katetaylor.ca/about/bio>

³²⁹ Robert Cushman is British-born, Canadian journalist and cultural critic. I have quoted from his book *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, throughout this work. See <http://arts.nationalpost.com/author/rcushmannp/>

³³⁰ Richard Ouzounian is an American-born theatre critic, actor, director and author. He was an associate director at Stratford for four seasons and was Artistic director of Neptune Theatre in Halifax. See http://www.thestar.com/authors.ouzounian_richard.html

reflections on culture, while Cushman and Ouzounian actually wrote musicals. Cushman devised and directed a West End musical called *Look to the Rainbow* (1985), and Ouzounian wrote the book and lyrics for three musicals: the successful Canadian Stage production of *Larry's Party* starring Brent Carver, *Emily*, based on L.M. Montgomery's Emily books, and the Gemini Award-winning *Dracula: A chamber musical* with music by Marek Norman, which was produced at Stratford in 1999 and broadcast later that year on CBC TV. It is therefore somewhat surprising that Cushman and Ouzounian have been guilty of overemphasizing the economic value of musicals at the expense of their aesthetic value, and that comparatively little real estate in their books on Stratford is devoted to the musicals.

Taylor, Ouzounian and Cushman each had specific ideas about the type of theatre that Stratford should do, and what musicals—if any—were appropriate for the Festival. The three critics were not always in agreement about musicals, Stratford, or musicals at Stratford. Taylor, more than the others (perhaps because she did not act, direct or write for Stratford), was harshly critical of Monette producing big budget shows with popular appeal at Stratford—shows that made the Festival money.

Monette's success in getting the Festival out of debt was frequently conflated with artistic decisions that did not satisfy some theatre critics or Festival patrons. The success that Monette had in attracting audiences and making the Festival less dependent on government grants also had the effect of solidifying the cash cow role of musicals for the Festival. Although the plays and music theatre Monette selected for his seasons were not a great departure from what Neville or William had selected, Taylor and other critics accused Monette of more openly courting audiences than the previous two directors—perhaps less because he actually made more populist

choices than because the Canadian economy was recovering from the recession of the early nineties and the Festival was making money. For some critics, the Festival's financial health was taken as a direct, causal symptom of its artistic infirmity.

In *The Globe and Mail*, Taylor expressed the opinion that Stratford needed to be "saved" from Monette's populism, "the leading classical theatre in North America and the biggest performing arts organization in Canada has put the box office above the art."³³¹ In 1998 she complained, "If the Festival is more financially successful than ever, it is at great expense to its classical mandate."³³² She went so far as to suggest that Stratford cut in half the number of productions offered in a season to protect the classical mandate from the mass audience, "the artistic director must recognize that a laudable quest to make the classics accessible should not be achieved at the expense of the plays themselves or of the festival's mandate, even if that means giving up a mass audience."³³³ Ouzounian was also worried about the audiences that Stratford was attracting with its (big budget) musicals: "It's clear that a big Broadway musical will attract an audience, but is it the right audience? Do they come back for weightier plays?"³³⁴ Likewise, director Urjo Kareda, who had nearly shared the artistic directorship of Stratford with Martha Henry, Peter Moss and Pam Brighton in 1980,³³⁵ worried that Monette had directed Stratford away from its classical mandate, "Do we really need Stratford for a well-realized

³³¹ Kate Taylor, "Saving Stratford from the excess of success," *Globe and Mail* (July 18, 1998), C1.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Richard Ouzounian, "All's well that ends well sung," *The Toronto Star* (May 7, 2006), C5

³³⁵ Much has been written about the so-called "Gang of Four" and their interaction with the Stratford Board in the lead-up to their dismissal and John Hirsch's appointment. See Martin Knelman, *A Stratford tempest*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982). See also the letter from Kareda, Henry, Brighton and Moss after they had been fired, <http://www.canadiantheatre.com/dict.pl?term=Documents%20of%20Interest%20-%20A%20Stratford%20Tempest%2C%20December%206%2C%201980>, a CBC news story on the tumultuous lead-up to the 1981 season available online, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/theatre/the-stratford-festival-the-first-50-years/wherefore-art-thou-canadian-directors.html>, and two parts of a video interview of Martha Henry about the so-called "Gang of Four" on YouTube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHH6OJvYHao> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wwym6d6c5KU>

production of *Man of La Mancha*?”³³⁶ These criticisms get at the heart of the *purpose* of the Stratford Festival, and sparked an aesthetic debate not only about the purpose of musicals and popular plays at Stratford, but about the purpose of theatre in general.

Peter Parolin, who recounted some of these debates in his article “What revels are at hand?” revealed that he disagreed with Taylor and Kareda, writing, “it is condescending to criticize Stratford for mounting productions that people take pleasure in seeing.”³³⁷ Parolin does not name the pleasure entertainment value, but that is what he is defending. Taylor, Ouzounian (and, to a lesser extent, Kareda) displayed an innate suspicion of the mass audience, and exposed a good deal of snobbery when they expressed concern that Stratford attracts the wrong kind of audience by mounting the wrong kind of shows. The suspicion of a popular audience by cultural gatekeepers is part of a longstanding, class-based struggle that dates back to at least the Astor Place Riot of 1849 in America, and long before that in Europe.³³⁸ While Taylor does not appear to have a vendetta against popular culture or its audience in general (she often reviews popular movies, plays and books, without the same sorts of criticisms she leveled at Monette), she does appear to think that certain types of works belonged in certain venues. Her argument seemed to be that Stratford was a place for high culture (and, by extension, high class audiences), and it should not bother with popular culture that was readily available elsewhere. Ouzounian likely wished that Stratford did more small, Canadian musicals like his own *Dracula*, rather than mounting well-known musicals that were also on the playbills of for-profit theatre companies like Mirvish Theatre in Toronto. Underlying this argument is the idea that certain types of art

³³⁶ Urjo Kareda, “Sold out: Scenes from the life and times of Richard Monette,” *Toronto Life*, (July 1, 2000), 76.

³³⁷ Peter Parolin, “What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* (60, no. 2 (2009): 204.

³³⁸ See a discussion of the Astor Place Riot and the cultural fallout surrounding it in Chapter 5.

belonged to certain types of people and institutions, and that an intermingling of these arts with popular entertainment at Stratford degraded the art, the audience, and the institution, by virtue of popular entertainment's association with the working classes and commerce.

Even in Taylor's articles that listed the productions of an upcoming season, she managed to make her views about Monette's choices felt. When announcing the 2002, 50th anniversary season, she wrote, "the populist artistic director Richard Monette has included the usual crowd-pleasers: This year's musical is *My Fair Lady* and the so-called family experience is a dramatic version of *The Scarlet Pimpernel*. All that leaves little room for the 19th- and 20th-century classics that the Stratford, Ont. company has performed with great success in recent seasons."³³⁹ Taylor clearly conveys that she prefers the classics to crowd-pleasing, populist choices like musicals, and in so doing she devalues the tastes many of audience members as well as undermining the entertainment value and aesthetic appeal of those shows.

Taylor repeated the same criticisms in many articles and reviews throughout Monette's Artistic Directorship, but many Stratford artists countered her voice by defending the way Monette balanced artistic and financial motivations. James Blendick thought that Monette was "very good for [Stratford] because he's sensed how the business is changing. You know, with government cutbacks, we have to rely basically on sponsorship and raising money; he's good at that. And obviously the audiences are coming and they love what we're doing."³⁴⁰ There was a definite change in the business of theatre in a political/economic landscape that had been drastically altered by the neoliberalism of Brian Mulroney (following in Canada, earlier trends from Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the United States). Simon Frith notes that government

³³⁹ Kate Taylor, "Stratford and Shaw Festivals 2002: a mix of fresh and familiar," *The Globe and Mail* (May 18, 2002), R4.

³⁴⁰ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 206.

support of the arts can work when it promotes and protects natural resources and spaces, and is *disinterested*; however, “the difficulty is to disentangle aesthetic and market judgements as to who should be supported.”³⁴¹ In the past 30 years, more arts organizations have had to try to survive with lower levels of funding, and not-for-profit theatre like Stratford needed money-making shows to keep their doors open. From opera houses to ballet companies to orchestras and for-profit arts organizations, the search was on to find works that would attract audiences in an era of dwindling funding and in a market was highly competitive with ever more choices for where people could spend their time and money. Actor Carl Danielsen stated, “It’s the same in every art form. It’s all about balancing. Ballet companies have to do *Nutcracker*.”³⁴² When I asked him if he thought there were any “Nutcrackers” at Stratford in 2012, he said, “There are *three* “Nutcrackers.” And that’s a great analogy, because *Nutcracker* is a great piece of music and it’s also a great ballet. If you’re mounting it every year (and I’ve been in productions of *A Christmas Carol*, which is the same thing), if you treat it seriously, it doesn’t matter.”³⁴³

Danielsen believes that the *approach* matters when one is remounting shows that may be less than challenging for performers who have been in them time and again. He also notes that the aesthetic worth of a ballet like *The Nutcracker* is not in question, even though it may also function as a “cash cow.” *The Nutcracker* balances aesthetic value with economic value and entertainment value in its ability to attract audiences, please them, and offer them a chance at artistic uplift, only if—and this is key—it is *good* because it is taken seriously. When that is the case, arts companies can not only attract audiences, but also the audiences will, in Blendick’s words, “love what we’re doing.” In Blendick’s assessment, pleasing the audience is not a

³⁴¹ Frith, “Entertainment,” 175.

³⁴² Carl Danielsen, interview.

³⁴³ Ibid.

negative thing the way it seems to be for Kate Taylor—perhaps because Blendick was less concerned with the demographics of the audience than Taylor seemed to be.

When David William was interviewed in 2002, he said “the main brunt of the revenue is now borne by the musicals. Well, this inevitably generates a different kind of audience. But what does Dr. Johnson say? ‘The drama’s laws, the drama’s patrons give/ For we who live to please must please to live.’”³⁴⁴ William seems somewhat ambivalent about the change in the type of audience Stratford attracted, but pleasing an audience does not have the completely negative, pandering association implied in Taylor’s criticism. Monette himself echoed William’s quoting Johnson by expressing much the same sentiment quoting Shakespeare, “As Feste says at the end of *Twelfth Night*, ‘We’re here to please you every day.’ I’m here to please the audience,”³⁴⁵ and “you do theatre for people...the art of theatre doesn’t exist without people. Plays on the shelf are literature. Plays on the stage are theatre. So you need an audience. And they’re coming. And that thrills me.”³⁴⁶

Cynthia Dale, star of many musicals during Monette’s time, also defended Monette and praised his business savvy, “Sure he does musicals, but they make money. They make money so some of the shows that are more experimental get done. And thank God somebody can program

³⁴⁴ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 367. The stanza preceding the couplet quoted by William (written by Samuel Johnson for the opening of the Theatre Royal in 1747) expands upon the relationship between actors and audience with regards to changing trends in taste: “Hard is his lot that here by fortune plac’d./ Must watch the wild vicissitudes of taste;/ With every meteor of caprice must play./ And chase the new-blown bubbles of the day./ Ah! Let not censure term our fate our choice,/ The stage but echoes back the public voice;/ The drama’s laws the drama’s patrons give./ For we that live to please, must please to live.” A. J. M. Smith, *Seven centuries of verse, English & American, from the early English lyrics to the present day*, (New York: Scribner, 1967).

³⁴⁵ Monette, interviewed by Carol Off, “Balancing the Books at the Stratford Festival,” *CBC Primetime News* (May 20, 1994), available online: <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/theatre/the-stratford-festival-the-first-50-years/balancing-the-books.html>

³⁴⁶ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 188.

the theatre so that it makes money, because it will keep it alive and well.”³⁴⁷ Dale, Blendick, and William all acknowledge that attracting audiences is the job of a good artistic director, and that musicals, in their cash cow role, usually do a good job of attracting audiences. Where they part ways with Taylor is in the idea that attracting audiences is a bad thing—or that there is a *right* kind of audience that the *right* kind of work would attract. However, there is an admission, even from Dale, Stratford’s musical sweetheart, that part of the purpose of musicals at Stratford is to keep the doors open for more experimental works, or works with a more highbrow appeal. Musical are not always valued for themselves, but instead are sometimes valued for the way they can keep an institution in business to also produce works that would gain the approval of a critic like Taylor.

Peter Parolin wrote,

for all his populist aesthetic, Monette encouraged a wide range of approaches to the plays he programmed. But because he worked so hard to persuade the largest possible audience to come to Stratford each year, his Festival often relied on the templates of previous seasons, sometimes resulting in safe and predictable fare. Both the best and the worst of Monette’s Festival emerged from the artistic director’s own deepest understanding of his role: to make the classics accessible and to generate the revenue to keep the theatres running.³⁴⁸

Parolin analyzed the way Monette programmed each season and describes a certain formula to the seasons. Each of Monette’s seasons tended to be made up of: three to six Shakespearean plays; a lesser-known work from the classical canon; a mid-20th century American play; two Broadway musicals; a “family experience” show; and, from 1999-2007, a new Canadian work.³⁴⁹ For all the focus by critics like Taylor on Monette’s “family experience” shows and musicals,

³⁴⁷ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 393.

³⁴⁸ Peter Parolin, What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada, *Shakespeare Quarterly* (60, no. 2 (2009): 200-201.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.

Monette managed to get through the entirety of Shakespeare's works in his fourteen years, programming not just the popular tragedies and comedies, but the histories and romances that are hardly ever produced.³⁵⁰

Under Monette's Artistic Directorship, musicals were not invariably a "safe" choice. Especially after Monette began including more than one musical in each season, there was room for one of the musicals to be a well-known Golden Age musical, but for the other work to be a lesser-known musical, or even a new Canadian musical. Like Neville before him, Monette had acted in musicals in the past and had a great deal of respect for the genre, defending them to critics who derided their aesthetic value. Also like Neville, he took on the role of Henry Higgins in an incredibly popular production of *My Fair Lady* (in 2002, with Cynthia Dale as Eliza Doolittle). He shared the role of Higgins with fellow Shakespearean actors Colm Feore and Geraint Wyn Davies—two Stratford favourites who had previously played twins in *The Boys from Syracuse*. The decision to cast Shakespearean actors in musicals not only went a long way toward breaking down divisions between the acting and musical sides of the company (see Chapter Five), but also to legitimizing the genre for many company members and Festival patrons. When the artistic merits of a musical production were clear, the attitude that musicals were only at Stratford to make money was lessened.

In the Stratford context, musicals that were critically well received and were lauded for their artistry also tended to do better at the box office than a musical that appeared to pander artistically to its audience. Thus, *My Fair Lady*, a classic, well-regarded musical, has done

³⁵⁰ Stratford mounted 56 Shakespearean productions in Monette's reign, or an average of four Shakespeare plays per season. While better known plays such as *Macbeth*, *Twelfth Night*, *King Lear* and *A Comedy of Errors* were produced three times each in those years, even the lesser known plays like *King John* and *Timon of Athens* were produced at least once.

especially well at the box office both times it has appeared at Stratford. Monette's 2002 production broke records and was the first production to exceed the \$10 million mark, with 95% houses over 119 performances at the Festival Theatre. That production still holds the record for the top grossing musical at Stratford—even before adjusting for inflation. *My Fair Lady* managed to hit a sweet spot for Stratford audiences, being neither too obscure a show, nor too obviously the type of popular shows commonly produced in summer stock or in high schools. The lowest grossing shows at the Avon in the past decade include *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* and *Into the Woods* by Stephen Sondheim, *The Threepenny Opera* by Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht, and *You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown* by Clark Gesner. On the one hand, Sondheim and Weill's more obscure shows, loved by musical aficionados, lack the name brand appeal to do well at the Stratford box office, but on the other hand, there is also a poor box office showing for shows like *Charlie Brown* that have perhaps been overexposed in amateur productions.

Shows like Sondheim's *Into the Woods* and Weill's *Threepenny Opera* represent the more artistically adventurous spirit of some of the musicals mounted at Stratford, and for the actors, they also represent more musical challenges than the average Golden Age musical. Kate Taylor was not uniformly against musicals at Stratford, and commented in 2002 that that season's *Threepenny Opera* “marks the first time since the 1970s that Stratford has staged anything musically daring.”³⁵¹ The more daring musicals may have earned some critical praise, but there also seems to be some correlation between more challenging musicals and less ticket revenue. Therefore, Artistic Directors must decide if they want to spend the money earned by

³⁵¹ Kate Taylor, “Stratford and Shaw Festivals 2002: a mix of fresh and familiar,” *The Globe and Mail* (May 18, 2002), R4.

Golden Age musicals on other, lesser-known musicals, or if they want to spend it on new plays, on experimental Shakespeare, or on some combination thereof. Sometimes Artistic Directors appear to double down on the musical-as-cash-cow tendency and produce two musicals that have proven box office track records at the Festival. However, there is no surety of financial success with any given production, and sometimes an appearance of overt populism can backfire, as it did with *Charlie Brown* in 2012.³⁵²

Monette's long and financially successful artistic directorship came to an end in 2007, and the artistic directorship was split into three roles, shared by Des McAnuff, Marti Maraden and Don Shipley. They planned the 2008 season with five Shakespearean plays, four of them on the Festival stage, which meant that the two musicals—*The Music Man* and *Cabaret*—were both housed at the Avon, marking the first time since 2000 that there wasn't a musical on the main stage. The split directorship was abandoned before the season was over and McAnuff took over the job of helming the Festival on his own. McAnuff has a background in classical acting and directing, but has also been associated with the creation of popular musicals in the past twenty years like *Tommy* and *Jersey Boys*. Some critics feared that McAnuff's Broadway credentials would steer the Festival further away from its classical mandate. Lynn Slotkin criticized his Shakespearean productions as “overinflated” and commented, “his recent Stratford production of *Twelfth Night* diminished the play to a rollicking Broadway type musical, ignoring all the complexity, angst, sadness and depth.”³⁵³ Nonetheless, McAnuff largely stuck to the pattern

³⁵² *Charlie Brown* also seems to have been a miscalculation in terms of its appeal as a family show. It was marketed to families and school groups, but many children in 2012 had no clue who Charlie Brown was. As one of four musicals in 2012, it seemed to be the last choice of the four even for musical lovers. It might have done better at the Tom Patterson Theatre, since it was a show originally designed for a small Off-Broadway cast and not for a theatre that could seat more than a thousand audience members like the Avon.

³⁵³ Lynn Slotkin, “A bit of perspective on the Stratford Shakespeare Festival,” *The Slotkin Letter*, (March 13, 2012). Accessed September 22, 2013. <http://www.slotkinletter.com/site/?p=1433>

Monette had established of putting a Golden Age musical on the Festival stage and putting a slightly riskier musical at the Avon.

McAnuff also reintroduced the Tom Patterson theatre as a house for experimental musicals, putting a third offering there in 2010 and 2012. In 2010, *Kiss Me, Kate* was at the Festival Theatre, and McAnuff chose *Evita* for the Avon, marking the first time an Andrew Lloyd Webber musical was mounted at Stratford. Those two musicals were designed to attract crowds with their name brand appeal, and in contrast, the little-known *Jacques Brel is Alive and Well and Living in Paris* was selected for the Tom Patterson Theatre. *Brel* was more like the chamber operas produced in Stratford's Music Festival past than the Broadway musicals that followed. There were minimal sets and props, and the show had a cast of four singer/actors plus a four-piece band. It cost substantially less to produce than *Kiss Me, Kate* (that had a cast of 24 and an orchestra of 18 at the Festival theatre) or *Evita* (that had a cast of 29 and an orchestra of 16 at the Avon). *Brel* was therefore a calculated risk for the Festival because it cost much less to produce than the larger musicals. Richard Monette noted that the Festival "can't afford to fail" in the bigger theatres;³⁵⁴ but the corollary to that is that bigger creative risks *can* be taken in the smaller theatres, especially when directors don't spend—and audiences don't expect—as much on production there.

In 2012, McAnuff took a larger risk with the show he put on at the Tom Patterson Theatre; a new Canadian musical by Morris Panych with music by Marek Norman, *Wanderlust* was commissioned by the Festival. It had much higher production values than *Jacques Brel*, with

³⁵⁴ Quoted in Parolin, 208.

a larger cast and orchestra,³⁵⁵ but the risks were offset by the fact that it was one of four musicals produced that year. The glitzy 1980s pastiche of the 1930s story *42nd Street* at the Festival attracted crowds comparable to *Camelot* the year before; the G&S standby *Pirates of Penzance* drew respectable numbers at the Avon; and although *You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown* filled only 40% of the seats on sale over its run at the Avon, its box office take provided extra cushioning for the experiment of a new Canadian musical. *Wanderlust* was a fictionalized account of Canadian poet Robert Service's life. Robert Service was familiar with being derided as a populist poet. He wrote:

Ah yes, I know my brow is low
And often wished it high.
So that I might with rapture write
An epic of the sky;
A poem cast in contour vast;
Of fabled gods and fays;
A classic screed that few would read
Yet nearly all would praise.³⁵⁶

Service's life is an interesting choice for a musical commissioned by Stratford in this respect, in that he is a figure who was more associated with popular art than high art, much like musicals, but his work is removed temporally from popular culture, so that it is possible his poems could be sacralized much like the works of Dickens, Shakespeare, and other authors who had popular and elite audiences when their works first appeared, and only later were claimed by cultural elites as highbrow works.

³⁵⁵ *Wanderlust* had an orchestra of seven musicians, with Norman conducting from the keyboard, and a cast of 15 plus 2 additional understudies.

³⁵⁶ Robert Service, "Prelude: Dawson ditties," *Lyrics of a lowbrow*, (London: E. Benn, 1951), 1. This passage was quoted in Bob White, "And when did popular become a bad thing?" *Wanderlust* house program, (Stratford Festival, 2012), 3.

Wanderlust was written and directed by Morris Panych with music by Marek Norman, whose earlier musical *Dracula: A Chamber Musical* was the first Canadian musical to be produced at Stratford. Norman said,

The dramaturgical process (particularly for musicals) is still relatively new to the Stratford Festival. Until Des McAnuff's arrival as Artistic Director, precious little original material (of any kind) had been developed by the Festival. That said, the hope is that more original work will be presented throughout the coming seasons. I'm happy to report that our premiere production of *Wanderlust* actually turned a handsome profit in its run at the Patterson Theatre. Hopefully this happy fact will lead the Festival to initiate future commissions.³⁵⁷

Wanderlust may have turned a profit, but it brought in less than half of what *Brel* grossed, so it remains to be seen whether the Festival is more interested in commissioning new works of music theatre, or if they are more interested in the potential cash cow functionality of proven musicals. McAnuff dreamed aloud that he would love to see Stratford create a successful musical production to which it owns the rights and could license to other theatre companies for profit.³⁵⁸

McAnuff reflected on balancing box office success with risk taking in his statement on the 2012 season,

Our enforced reliance on the box office leaves us very exposed. What keeps a theatre alive is the excitement of discovery, whether it's discovering the potential of a 400-year-old-work that has never been staged in Canada before, like *Bartholomew Fair*, or the potential for a new musical inspired by the work of a Canadian icon like Robert Service. But whenever we program new or unfamiliar titles, however brilliantly they might be staged, however glowingly they might be praised by critics, and however enthusiastically their audiences respond to them, we will inevitably run the risk of failing to attract those who will come to see only what they already know—or at least have heard of.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ Marek Norman, personal communication (November 16, 2012).

³⁵⁸ Des McAnuff, interview.

³⁵⁹ Des McAnuff, "2013 AGM Remarks," Stratford Festival Archives.

Here McAnuff acknowledged that a new musical on a popular Canadian figure can be as much or more of a risk for the Stratford Festival than mounting a classic, but little known piece of theatre.

Musicals have been accepted at the Stratford Festival as a financial necessity in keeping the doors open for what the Stratford Festival is known for—its productions of Shakespeare. Cushman writes “Doing nothing but Shakespeare at Stratford is now an economic impossibility. (It may not be artistically desirable either). The audience for plays will no longer support the size of the operation.”³⁶⁰ Cushman relegates to brackets the idea that Stratford offering more than Shakespeare may be artistically desirable, but it is one of the main points of my argument. Musicals have an aesthetic worth of their own, and the differences between their aesthetics and the aesthetics of classical drama do not detract from each other, but, for a company like Stratford, enrich the experience of each other in dialectical fashion. McAnuff argued for this point in a speech he made at the Stratford Festival Annual General Meeting in 2011: “In my vision of this Festival, the classical and the contemporary sustain each other, infuse each other with their energies and insights. Both have equal currency in the modern world; both speak to us with equal clarity here and now, in the eternal present.”³⁶¹

If musicals have become a financial necessity for Stratford, then many directors’ attitudes are that they may as well be the best musicals available in the canon, in the best productions possible. Brian Macdonald said that he feels like the musical “is sometimes regarded as the money maker. So, that’s wonderful. Why not? As long as it’s well done.”³⁶² The quality of musicals produced at Stratford, and the musicals chosen have led to the gradual acceptance of

³⁶⁰ Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, 211-212.

³⁶¹ Des McAnuff, “Speech at the 2011 Annual General Meeting” (March 5, 2011), Stratford Festival Archives.

³⁶² Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 319.

musicals at Stratford not only for the money they can bring in, but for the diversity they bring to the company, the way they illuminate themes in the plays, and for their own aesthetic worth.

Theatre scholar David Savran writes that many of the cultural critiques about theatre contain, at their core, an ideology that literary, text-based works for the legitimate stage are high, and everything else is low. This construction “guaranteed that literary or text-based theater (regardless of its provenance) was granted a degree of prestige denied musical or variety entertainments.”³⁶³ Savran further argues that the hierarchy of theatrical entertainments in the first quarter of the twentieth century mapped almost exactly to class hierarchies, and most artist/entertainers and audiences were aware of these distinctions. Theatrical works “addressed themselves (sometimes deliberately, sometime not) to particular class fractions, however indistinctly and carelessly those fractions may have been defined in contemporary discourse.”³⁶⁴ The relationship to economics comes into play when we consider that certain forms of theatre in certain venues were more affordable to some classes than others. The higher classes could pay more for highbrow works, but their numbers were fewer than the middle and working classes, who paid less per person for tickets to variety entertainments but as a group—a ‘mass’ audience—could popularize and fund entire genres.

In a postmodern society like Canada, we have inherited the legacy of these distinctions, but we have also seen many hierarchies—especially of class—break down, so that many consumers of culture tends to be omnivorous in their tastes. The arguments from theatre critics and company members about what sorts of theatre genres are produced at Stratford is based on assumptions about the *tastes* of the ticket buying public—who they are in terms of education,

³⁶³ Savran, *Highbrow/Lowdown*, 105.

³⁶⁴ Savran, *Highbrow/Lowdown*, 106.

occupation, race, religion and class. Certain works are valued more highly than others by artists and those who consume art because they are a reflection of the cultural, political and economic capital of their audiences. Des McAnuff has been vocal in his desire to see the Stratford company and its audiences represent Canada's multicultural makeup. Kate Taylor and Michael Posner wrote a summary of his Artistic Directorship to date in 2011:

both McAnuff's fans and his detractors love the way he has transformed the near-monochromatic company into something far more multicultural, bringing Stratford up to speed with casting practices in the U.S.

"Students come in off school buses, and they are the same composition as people onstage," McAnuff says, adding that the ease with which both young and older audiences have embraced the casting is gratifying.³⁶⁵

His vision of Stratford is a democratic one with both Stratford shows and audiences embodying the heterogeneous twenty-first century Canadian identity. As Antoni Cimolino steers the Stratford company into the future, it remains to be seen if that vision will help Stratford to maintain its role as a cultural force... and if it will also earn the Festival money.

³⁶⁵ Michael Posner and Kate Taylor, "Applause (mostly) for Stratford artistic director Des McAnuff," *The Globe and Mail* (September 23, 2011).

CHAPTER FOUR: PLACE AND SPACE, OR, STRATFORD'S THEATRES

"A theatre is a place of many spaces."

- J. Lowell Lewis

STRATFORD'S THEATRES

In 1953, the Stratford Festival had two productions at one iconic theatre, purpose-built to stage Shakespearean productions. By its sixtieth anniversary season in 2012, the Festival had fourteen productions across five distinct spaces. Philosopher J. Lowell Lewis writes that a theatre is "a tangible, contoured environment, with all its features, foibles, and qualities, within which acts of spatial and placial imagination are meant to take place."³⁶⁶ The sets and costumes of each production help the actors and audience to imagine the space(s) of a play within the physical place of a theatre. The specific "features, foibles and qualities" of a theatre may help or hinder artists and audiences in creating imagined spaces and places. In this chapter, I therefore describe each of Stratford's theatres, giving a brief history of each theatre and describing its structure and its place in relation to the other theatres. I then analyze which types of productions are mounted on which stages, arguing that there are specific traditions at Stratford (such as new and Canadian works being produced at the smaller Tom Patterson and Studio theatres) that reveal how Stratford and its audience value certain types of works. In this chapter I also examine how the thrust stage (which is emblematic of Stratford) contributes to unique stagings of musicals at Stratford and how Stratford's stages can alter the character of musicals.

³⁶⁶ Lewis believes this statement aligns with Gay McAuley's analysis of theatre space and place in her book *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999). J. Lowell Lewis, "Afterword: Theoretical Reflections" in *Unstable Ground: Performance and the Politics of Place*, ed. Gay McAuley, *Dramaturgies* No. 20 (Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2006), 285.

The Festival Theatre

The Stratford Festival's stage was designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch based on Tyrone Guthrie's desire to create a space suited for classical theatre. The inspiration for the stage, its creation and the stage itself have been much written about,³⁶⁷ especially as the design of the Festival stage was highly influential on modern stage design.³⁶⁸ The repetition of these stories has lent the stage an aura of specialness, a mythic status that Stratfordians explain with awed and loving voices. Current Artistic Director Antoni Cimolino states, "This stage is like a beautiful violin. It resonates. It allows the actor to be a source of vibration. A source of inspiration. A conduit for Shakespeare."³⁶⁹ Actor Sara Topham said, "I love that the Festival Theatre feels like a room and we're all in it together telling a story."³⁷⁰ William Hutt opined, "This stage serves Shakespeare

³⁶⁷ See Euan Ross Stuart, "An analysis of productions on the open stage at Stratford, Ontario," PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1974;

see also official publications of the Stratford Festival: James R. Aikens, "The Story of the Festival Stage" in *The Stratford Festival 1972 Souvenir Program*, Stratford Festival Archives; Stratford Festival, *The Stratford Festival Story 1984*, (Stratford, Ont: Mirror Press Ltd., 1984); and "The Tanya Stage" Stratford Festival YouTube channel, accessed May 17, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNN7Erg2KXk>;

books and films about the early years of the Festival: Tyrone Guthrie and Robertson Davies, *Renown at Stratford; a record of the Shakespeare Festival in Canada, 1953* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953); Joe Falocco, *Reimagining Shakespeare's playhouse: early modern staging conventions in the twentieth century*, (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2010); Tom Patterson, and Allan Gould, *First stage: the making of the Stratford Festival*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); John Pettigrew and Jamie Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I: 1953-1967* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985a); and *The Stratford Adventure*, Director: Morten Parker, (National Film Board of Canada, 1954) http://www.nfb.ca/film/stratford_adventure

books about and by Tyrone Guthrie: James Forsyth, *Tyrone Guthrie: a biography*, (London: Hamilton, 1976); Tyrone Guthrie, *A life in the theatre* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959); Tyrone Guthrie, *A new theatre* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); and Alfred Rossi, *Astonish us in the morning: Tyrone Guthrie remembered*, (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1977).

and books about and by Tanya Moiseiwitsch: Dennis L. Behl, "Tanya Moiseiwitsch: her contribution to theatre arts from 1935-1980," (PhD diss., Kent State University, 1981); Tanya Moiseiwitsch, T. J. Edelstein, and Alan Barlow, *The stage is all the world: the theatrical designs of Tanya Moiseiwitsch*, (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, the University of Chicago, in association with the University of Washington Press, 1994).

³⁶⁸ See, for example, Richard and Helen Leacroft, *Theatre and playhouse: an illustrated survey of theatre building from ancient Greece to the present day*, (New York: Methuen, 1984), 175-180.

³⁶⁹ "The Tanya Stage" Stratford Festival YouTube channel, accessed May 17, 2013.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNN7Erg2KXk>

³⁷⁰ "Our Labour of Love" Stratford Festival YouTube channel, accessed May 31, 2013,

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jya9FdoWmq8>.

better than any other, but it is still to my mind an experimental one. No one can prejudge what may or may not be done upon it.”³⁷¹ Lucy Peacock enthused,

There was something that Tanya Moisewitsch did that is like science married with magic... it made it the perfect room—for language, for text, for the Shakespearean text in particular, for the iamb. For some reason, I always thought if someone asked me how big that stage was, I would say it’s iambic pentameter big. Because it fits perfectly there.³⁷²

Actor Kyle Blair said, “I think I almost had too much reverence when I first was here. It almost shackled me because I was so busy playing homage to the space and who had walked before that I wasn’t freeing myself to push the boundaries. And that space, I’ve realized you can *push* and it will push back. It can take it. You can really play hard in that arena and it holds it.”³⁷³ The sense of reverence is due in part to an awareness of all the famous and talented actors who have trod the boards of the Festival Stage, and due in part to the stage itself.

Guthrie had dreamed of creating a thrust stage for years before he ever heard of Stratford Ontario. In his autobiographies and other writings he explains how he wished to create a playing space based on the type of the stage for which Shakespeare might have written—a stage that was surrounded by the audience on three sides.³⁷⁴ When Tom Patterson approached Guthrie about coming to Stratford to direct a Shakespeare festival, he approached a director who had very definite ideas of the spaces best suited for productions of Shakespeare. Guthrie made his agreement with the Stratford Festival Board conditional upon his being in charge of the type of

³⁷¹ Quoted in James R. Aikens, “The Story of the Festival Stage” in *The Stratford Festival 1972 Souvenir Program*, Stratford Festival Archives.

³⁷² Lucy Peacock, interview.

³⁷³ Kyle Blair, interview.

³⁷⁴ See Tyrone Guthrie, *A life in the theatre* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), Tyrone Guthrie, *A new theatre* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) and Tyrone Guthrie and Robertson Davies, *Renown at Stratford; a record of the Shakespeare Festival in Canada, 1953* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953).

stage and auditorium that would be built at Stratford.³⁷⁵ It was the very thing that so excited Guthrie about the Stratford ‘adventure’—the chance to create something new in a nation that wasn’t married to old ideas of staging. Michael Langham, after Guthrie passed away, remembered, “Stratford, Ontario, came at a propitious moment in his [Guthrie’s] life. His resentment of the picture-frame stage had been fermenting. Here was a possible chance to build the theatre he had, for so long, wanted. I think Stratford became his favourite child.”³⁷⁶

Guthrie had worked with designer Tanya Moiseiwitsch in England and they shared a sensibility about the possibilities of platform stages. Guthrie gave Moiseiwitsch a loose idea of what he was after and she came back with a design that they fine-tuned together. Moiseiwitsch credited Guthrie with being the true visionary of the stage; she humbly claimed that she merely realized his vision.³⁷⁷ Guthrie’s influence is undeniable, but for those involved with the Stratford Festival, the main stage is the “Tanya Stage”—it is Dame Moiseiwitsch who is celebrated whenever the stage is mentioned.³⁷⁸

In the advertising for the first season, much emphasis was placed on the uniqueness of the stage—it was proclaimed to be an “Elizabethan theatre.”³⁷⁹ This has led to the misunderstanding that Stratford’s stage is a recreation of an Elizabethan stage. It draws some inspiration from the Elizabethan stage, true, but it is, as Antoni Cimolino calls it, “a *modernist* take on the

³⁷⁵ Pettigrew and Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 31 and 36.

³⁷⁶ Alfred Rossi, *Astonish us in the morning: Tyrone Guthrie remembered*, (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1977), 279.

³⁷⁷ Moiseiwitsch in Grace Lydiatt Shaw, *Stratford under cover: memories on tape* (Toronto: NC Press. 1977), 67.

³⁷⁸ The title of the Festival’s most recent paean to the stage is “The Tanya Stage,” evidence of the current administration’s admiration for Moiseiwitsch and her design. See “The Tanya Stage” Stratford Festival YouTube channel, accessed May 17, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNN7Erg2KXk>

³⁷⁹ See, for example, the advertisement on the back of the 1953 Souvenir program for John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company. The ad copy states “Elizabeth the First would be proud” and “As Stratford’s new-world playhouse recreates the days of the Old Vic, when on the banks of another Avon, a playwright gave his immortal works to the world, the second Elizabethan era matches the glory of the first.” Stratford Festival Archives.

Elizabethan stage.”³⁸⁰ Guthrie declared that he wanted to eschew any vestiges of “Ye Olde.”³⁸¹ Stratford historians Pettigrew and Portman note, “some audience members still have the vague notion that the Festival Theatre is largely an imitation of the Globe or of an Elizabethan theatre. It is no such thing—the auditorium is more a scaled-down version of a Greek theatre than it is Shakespearean.”³⁸² On backstage tours of the Festival Theatre, led by volunteer “Friends of the Festival,”³⁸³ audience members are seated in the auditorium and asked to imagine that the half circle of audience seats continues to completely encircle the stage. In picturing this, the Festival theatre does indeed resemble a smaller version of a Greek theatre—or, indeed, of a Roman arena.³⁸⁴ Guthrie wrote that the shape of the auditorium had an impact on the way the audience would experience theatre, “The stage is planned upon the theory that illusion is not the aim of performance. The shape of the auditorium, in which the spectators are constantly and inevitably aware of the presence of other spectators, is a constant reminder that the performance is what it is: a ritual in which actors and spectators are alike taking part.”³⁸⁵ The circular shape of the arena reinforces the sense of community among actors and audience together in the same room with no dividing arch or orchestra pit. Actor Juan Chioran said, “The great thing about the Festival stage is that you’re all under the same sky. Unlike a proscenium—where we are separated by [the arch], we’re under this sky, you’re under that sky—we are all in the same room. And that affords

³⁸⁰ “The Tanya Stage” Stratford Festival YouTube channel, my emphasis.

³⁸¹ Tyrone Guthrie, *A life in the theatre* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), 286.

³⁸² John Pettigrew and Jamie Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I: 1953-1967* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985a), 77.

³⁸³ The Friends of the Festival were incorporated in 1985 with a mandate to “promote interest in and knowledge of the Festival” according to the volunteering section of the Stratford Festival website <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/about/volunteering.aspx?id=17866>

³⁸⁴ I attended a tour of the Festival where this was pointed out on October 25, 2012.

³⁸⁵ Guthrie, *A life in the theatre*, 301.

you a kind of intimacy so that you can say, ‘come with me, let me take you into this world.’”³⁸⁶

The special nature of live theatre is strengthened by the design of the auditorium because an audience member can gaze past the actors on stage to the audience beyond them. The audience members across the auditorium from each other have different perspectives on the play literally, and perhaps figuratively, and are also aware of each other as part of the same theatre-going community.

The concept of an arena is also found in a very important and unusual component of the Festival theatre—the two tunnels (or vomitories) that lead on diagonals off the front of the stage and down under the audience. This feature was completely new to theatre design in 1952, and Moiseiwitsch claimed that Guthrie was influenced by football stadiums in his desire for entrances and exits that actors could come pouring out of in large numbers.³⁸⁷ Guthrie wanted the action to be continuous, with plenty of entrances and exits for actors to utilize. The stage was therefore designed with nine entrances: the previously mentioned vomitories, a central entrance below the balcony, a central entrance onto the balcony, two entrances on either side of the balcony, with two more entrances above those doors, and a trapdoor. Construction on the theatre began in April 1953 on a hill overlooking the Avon river. An amphitheatre was carved into the hill and concrete was poured to create the arena. The stage was then constructed and one of the biggest tents on the continent was raised by tent master Skip Manley over the whole arena just in time for the opening performance on July 13, 1953, only three months after construction began.

The original design had a main five-sided acting platform eighteen feet wide and eleven feet deep, with three wide steps from the platform down to the “gutter” that narrowly separated

³⁸⁶ Juan Chioran, interview.

³⁸⁷ Pettigrew and Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 78.

the acting area from the first row of seats (See Illustration 4.1). The balcony was a diamond shape that was supported by nine pillars, with the central pillar preventing the actors from entering in a direct line from the backstage to centre stage. In fact, the design of the stage and its entrances force actors to work on the diagonal, encouraging movement that plays to the whole audience, rather than just to the centre.

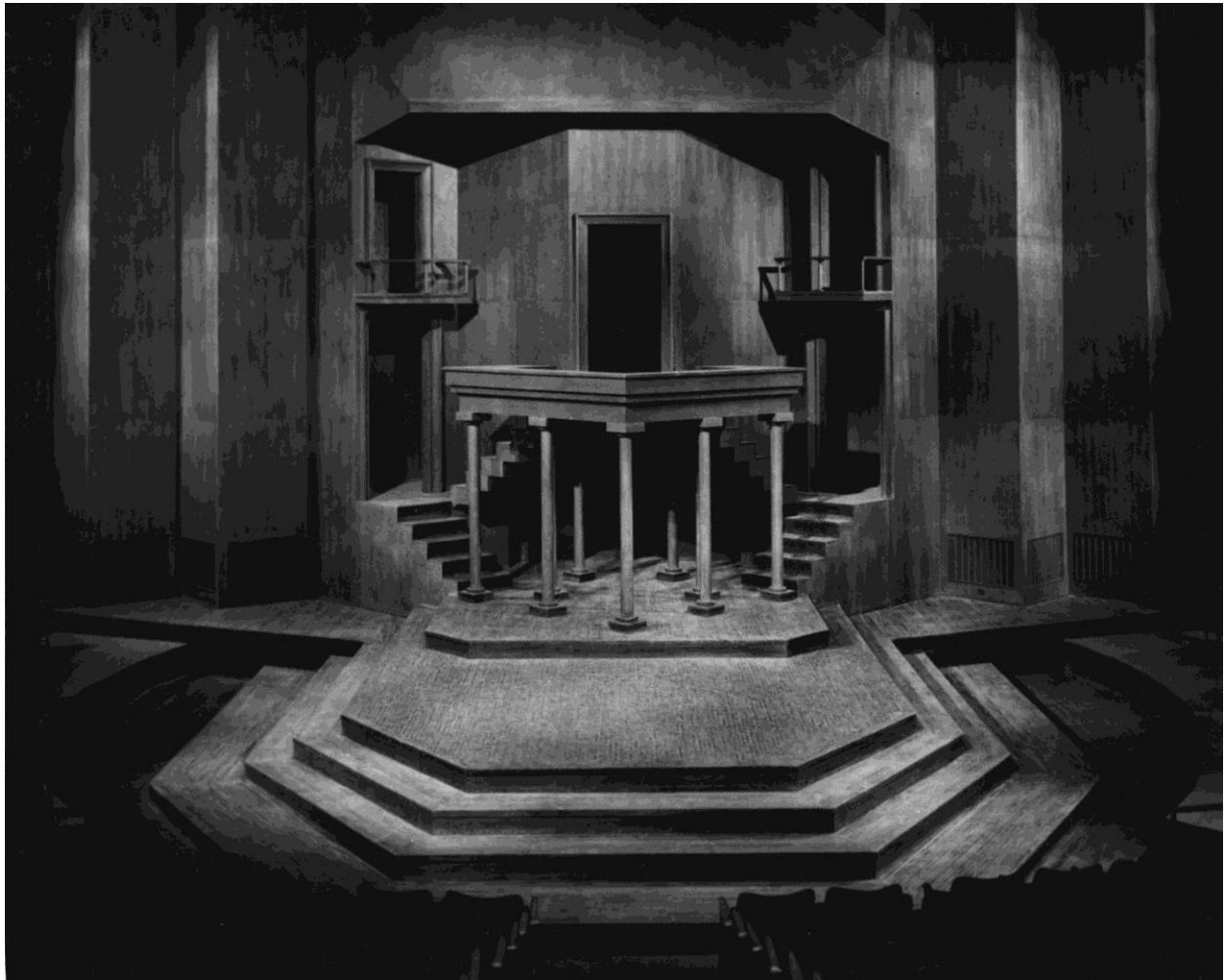


Illustration 4.1: The Festival Stage, designed by Tanya Moisewitsch, 1954-1961. Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Peter Smith.

Guthrie wrote about the Festival stage that,

with its gallery, its pillars, its various levels and entrances, the necessary facilities are provided for grouping the actors and arranging the scenes in a logical and expressive

way. The relation of the stage to the auditorium is such that a large audience—nearly two thousand people—can be accommodated so near the actors that the farthest spectators are only thirteen rows from the front.³⁸⁸

The amphitheatre was a deep bowl with seats that ascended from the gutter in a steeper angle than would be found in a traditional proscenium theatre. Designed with a circular arena in mind, the audience fills two thirds of the circle around the stage, with the remaining third as a backstage area. The audience was therefore physically closer to the actors on the Festival stage than they would be in a proscenium theatre. In the second season the stage was widened to cover one of the steps and deepened to fourteen feet. The front row of seats was also moved back because actors and audience members in the first year had found the auditorium almost *too* intimate.³⁸⁹



Illustration 4.2: Crowds arriving at the permanent Festival Theatre for opening night 1962. Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Peter Smith.

³⁸⁸ Guthrie, *A life in the theatre*, 300-301.

³⁸⁹ Some of these stories about the actors and the front rows of audience interacting in unexpected ways are recounted in Pettigrew and Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 80-81

In 1956, after four successful seasons, the board decided to build a permanent theatre around the existing auditorium and stage. The Festival theatre was designed by Robert Fairfield to look like the seasonal tent it replaced, with the centre peak of the roof built directly over the central pillar of the stage below (see Illustration 4.2). The backstage and office area was built on six levels and included rehearsal space and workshop space for costume and props departments. The floor area of the auditorium was 17,400 square feet and the backstage and administrative area was 51,450 square feet, but if measured cubically, the auditorium would take up about half of the space of the building (see the designs for the permanent Festival theatre, Illustration 4.3).

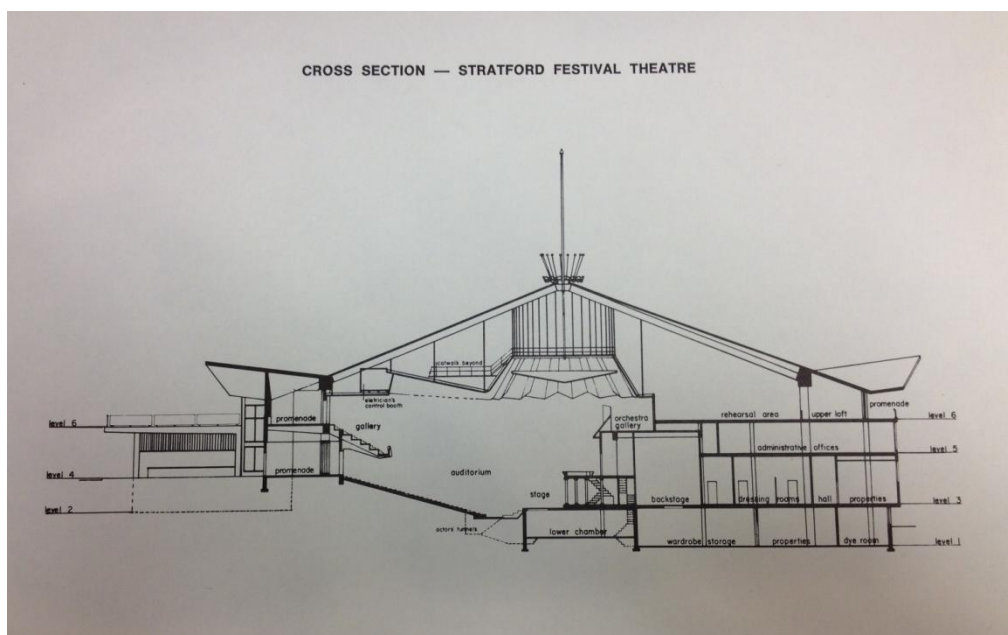


Illustration 4.3: Stratford Festival Permanent Theatre schematic 1956 – cross-section

Guthrie noted, “The Stratford theatre is certainly not perfect. I know well that, over the years, subsequent directors will make many alterations and improvements. But I am convinced, partly by my own productions there, and far more by those of my successors, that the principle is

right.”³⁹⁰ The stage has been renovated several times, most of the renovations have been in keeping with Guthrie’s principles of the thrust stage and have simply been to make technical improvements and updates. In 1962, Tanya Moiseiwitsch altered the stage according to some things she had learned in designing the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis and in response to requests from the Festival company and Artistic Director Michael Langham. One of the most significant changes was that the number of pillars supporting the balcony was reduced from nine slim pillars to five sturdier pillars (see Illustration 4.4). The theatre was also renovated in 1974, allowing for the balcony to be removed so that the stage could be opened up into the backstage space, and included the installation of new electronic sound and lighting systems. In 1981 the original floor of the stage was uncovered and refinished, and at that point the theatre seated 2,262 people (1,404 in the orchestra, 858 on the balcony) in a 220 degree sweep around the stage.³⁹¹

A large change was made to the building in 2002 when the degree of seats surrounding the stage was reduced to 180 degrees. The auditorium went from seating 2,262 people to seating 1,833 people, when two pie-shaped wedges of seats on either side of the stage were cut off from the theatre by a new wall. Those seats still remain backstage, a ghost audience that only the actors and crew are aware of. Architect Richard Leacroft wrote in 1984, that “the seating was taken too far round the stage, so that the end sections of seating at both levels have their view of the actors restricted by the stairs and balconies, a problem which was recognized by the pricing of these areas as the cheapest seats.”³⁹² The 2002 renovations therefore addressed this problem, but not all of the actors were happy about the change. Lucy Peacock said, “I think there’s controversy with the renovations that were made. There have been renovations over the years,

³⁹⁰ Guthrie, *A life in the theatre*, 301.

³⁹¹ Stratford Festival, *The Stratford Festival Story 1984*, (Stratford, Ont: Mirror Press Ltd., 1984), 4.

³⁹² Richard and Helen Leacroft, *Theatre and Playhouse*, 178-179.

but with this last big one, someone forgot to put two actors on the stage and have them line up.”³⁹³ Juan Chioran said, “I *loved* the old theatre. What was great about it was you could stand here [downstage left in front of the stage left vomitory], facing upstage, and you still had half the audience at your front. So something fundamental changed.”³⁹⁴ Lucy Peacock also said that there was a fundamental shift, “[after the renovation] I had to recalibrate. And that took a couple of years. There was a wrench, like my body would know what it wanted to do—something inside me would say, ‘this is how it works,’ except it didn’t work anymore. Ten years later it’s back in the bones, but it still doesn’t feel quite right.”³⁹⁵

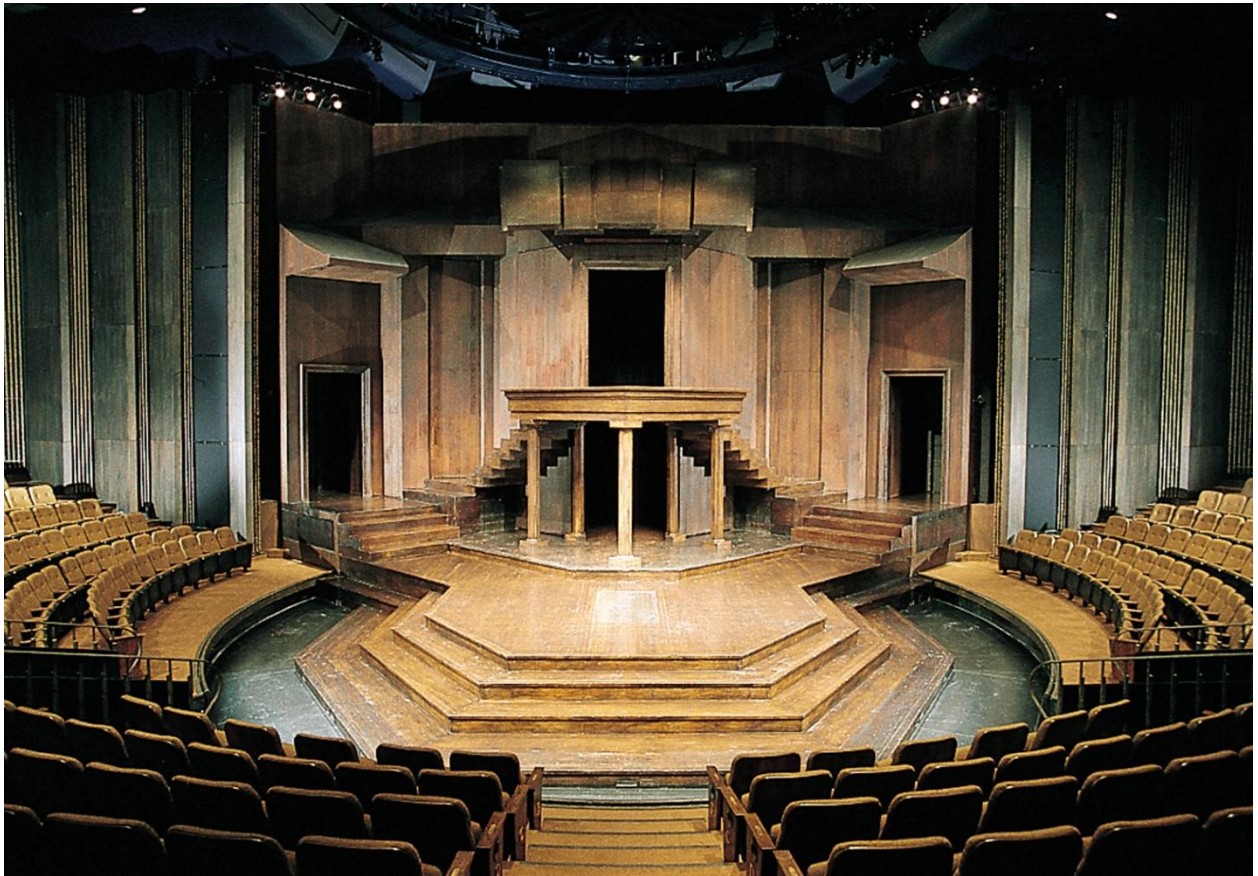


Illustration 4.4: The bare Festival Theatre stage. Stratford Festival Publicity.

³⁹³ Lucy Peacock, interview.

³⁹⁴ Juan Chioran, interview.

³⁹⁵ Lucy Peacock, interview.

Over the years, the sets and designs that were laid atop the basic structure of Moiseiwitsch's stage grew more elaborate. Some of the designs obscured the qualities of Moiseiwitsch's stage and the productions would have done just as well (or better) in a traditional proscenium theatre. In recent years there have been some gentle rumblings among the company that the very thing that defined Stratford, Guthrie's vision of an open stage with minimal set design but with opulent costumes and props, had been undermined.³⁹⁶ Actors James Blendick and Stephen Russell commented in 2012 that the sets had gotten too big and Blendick opined that some productions, in opening up the back and sides of the stage, have also interfered with the acoustics of the theatre. The new artistic director in 2013, Antoni Cimolino, perhaps mindful of his company's attitude, decided to restore 'The Tanya Stage' to its original structure.³⁹⁷ Juan Chioran said,

I'm happy to see the original Tanya Moiseiwitsch design coming back next season [2013]. They're going to eliminate the huge sets, which I don't think work in that space because that space is all about moving in and out of scenes very quickly. So I'm glad to see that Antoni has gone [back to the bare stage]—I mean, forced primarily by finances... finances have forced them to be creative and go back to being minimalistic. And it will be a better thing. That's what the space was designed for; it was designed to have just decoration. The classic [example] is seeing a Michael Langham show, designed by Desmond Heeley, and it's basically bare. Each scene is established by one chair, or one small prop. And you know where you are with lighting change and costume change. That's how you do it.³⁹⁸

Blendick also commented that he was looking forward to Cimolino's commitment to strip things back, "I'd love to be on the bare, Moiseiwitsch stage. It's been covered up for years."³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Guthrie went so far as to say that, "The stage is so planned that no illusionary scenery is possible." Yet that has not prevented numerous directors and set designers from building elaborate sets. Some sets, like the one for 2012's *Henry V*, were so large that they impeded the sightlines for some sections of seats and prices for those seats are adjusted downward. See Guthrie, *A life in the theatre*, 300.

³⁹⁷ See "The Tanya Stage" Stratford Festival YouTube channel.

³⁹⁸ Juan Chioran, interview.

³⁹⁹ Blendick and Russell made these comments at a "Theatre Explorer" Question and Answer brunch, held at Stratford on October 13, 2012.

The Avon Theatre

The Avon theatre was built in 1901 in downtown Stratford as a legitimate theatre and vaudeville house.⁴⁰⁰ Originally named the Theatre Albert, it was “the largest and finest theatre in Western Ontario” and welcomed touring productions such as the Westminster Abbey Choir from England and the Marks Brothers.⁴⁰¹ The theatre also showed films, the first was *Our Navy* in 1910, and by 1929 the renamed Majestic Theatre was almost exclusively a movie house. The name was changed once more to the Avon Theatre in 1941 after a change of ownership, and was first rented by the Stratford Festival for their auxiliary film and music festivals starting in 1956.

According to the 1984 edition of *The Stratford Festival Story*,

In 1963 the Festival’s Board of Governors purchased the theatre and a campaign was mounted to refurbish it with enlarged stage facilities, and a comfortable and attractive auditorium seating 1,102 people. Under the direction of talented designer Tanya Moiseiwitsch the handsome interior of the Avon was altered in keeping with its new stature as a partner in the Festival Theatre. In 1967 the project was completed with an attractive new exterior front designed by John B. Parkin Associates, architects. Further renovations were undertaken in 1974 when the auditorium was redecorated and the stage rebuilt, and in 1981 when the original proscenium arch was restored.⁴⁰²

Both the interior and the exterior façade of the Avon were renovated again during a massive renewal project for the 50th anniversary season of the Festival in 2002. The theatre currently seats 1,090 people in the orchestra, balcony and four boxes (see Illustration 4.6).

⁴⁰⁰ The term ‘legitimate theatre’ dates to the British Theatrical Licensing Act of June 21, 1737, which censored all theatre not approved by the Lord Chamberlain as ‘illegitimate’ theatre that could only be performed in unapproved playhouses. The act was partially a response by the First Lord of the Treasury Robert Walpole to works that satirized him such as John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera*. (See Calhoun Winton, *John Gay and the London theatre*, (University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 132–133). The act wasn’t suspended until 1968, but many North American theatres, such as the Theatre Albert in Stratford, weren’t subject to the act and theatres were built to house both ‘legitimate’ theatre like Shakespeare’s plays and ‘illegitimate’ theatre like vaudeville.

⁴⁰¹ Stratford Festival, *Press release: Facts about the Avon Theatre*, 1965. Stratford Festival Archives. The Marks Brothers were a Canadian theatrical troupe that toured all over North America from the 1870s to the 1920s in the vaudeville circuit. They are not to be confused with the Marx Brothers.

⁴⁰² Stratford Festival, *The Stratford Festival Story 1984*, 5.



Illustration 4.5: Avon Theatre exterior, 1967
Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Peter Smith.

The Avon theatre is the Stratford Festival's only proscenium arch stage, and as such it was originally intended to house works of music theatre and modern plays. Many musicals were written for the proscenium stage and are therefore well suited to the Avon theatre. It therefore took several years and some unconventional thinking for Stratford directors to move music theatre out of the Avon. There have been works of Shakespeare mounted at the Avon on occasion, but most artistic directors have fallen in with Guthrie's vision that Shakespearean plays work best on a thrust stage, and have chosen to mount Shakespeare and the classics on the Festival stage and modern plays and musicals on the Avon stage. The

bifurcation in theatre eras and genres was therefore reinforced to a large extent by the artistic decisions at the Festival. This started to change when John Neville was appointed Artistic Director for the 1986 season, but up until that point a clear distinction was made between the works worthy of being housed at Stratford's flagship theatre and "other" works that did not quite fall in line with Stratford's original mandate to promote Shakespeare and the classics. The Avon was therefore the "other" house for the Festival, and to this day remains the second in importance of the Festival's stages. The fact that it has been the home of a considerable amount of music theatre is indicative not only of staging conventions, but also of how music theatre as a genre has been othered throughout the Festival's history by many artistic directors.



Illustration 4.6: Avon Theatre interior, 2013
Stratford Festival Publicity. Photo by Terry Manzo.

The Tom Patterson Theatre (previously The Third Stage)

Stratford's third theatre in size and stature was originally the town's casino. It is situated on the shore of Lake Victoria between a lawn bowling club and a hockey arena, close to the main downtown area of restaurants and shops in one direction and a short walk along Lake Victoria to the Festival Theatre in the other direction. The Casino was first called upon to be used as a performance space by the Festival in 1955, when Louis Applebaum mounted a series of concerts there, including four performances of Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat* and Marcel Marceau's solo mime show (see Illustration 4.7). Music concerts were occasionally housed at the Casino even after the Festival purchased the Avon as its secondary, and opera, house in 1963.



Illustration 4.7: Interior of the Casino set up as the Festival Concert Hall, 1957
Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Peter Smith.

The Festival board decided that the Casino could be an ideal venue for a third theatre when the seasons grew large enough to necessitate more space. In 1972, the Festival opened a

new theatre at the Casino named the Third Stage. As described in the 1984 *Stratford Festival Story*, the stage

has been used for Workshops and the presentation of both drama and music: original Canadian plays, contemporary plays from abroad, experimental productions of classic theatre, and chamber opera. The Third Stage has been an important link between the Festival's classic work and its interest in new developments in theatre. Used for Workshop programs and closed to the public in 1976 and 1977, the Third Stage was open for public performances in 1978, 79 and 80. During the 1981 season, it was used for workshops and in 1982 housed the Third Stage Company and the Virtuoso Performance Series. For the 1983 season, the Third Stage building underwent renovations to accommodate the needs of its resident Young Company. These renovations included installation of an air conditioning system, a new stage designed by Desmond Heeley and new seating plans that gave the Third Stage a total seating capacity of 410.⁴⁰³



Illustration 4.8: The Tom Patterson Theatre interior, 2013
Stratford Festival Publicity.

⁴⁰³ Stratford Festival, *The Stratford Festival Story 1984*, 5.

The runway-style stage became a favourite of company members who were used to working on the thrust stage of the Festival theatre (see Illustration 4.8). At the Third Stage, actors had the opportunity to work on a stage that fostered even closer intimacy with a small audience. The small number of seats also meant that the Artistic Directors could program experimental works for the space without a great deal of financial risk, as they relied on works with wider appeal to play in the bigger houses at the Festival and Avon theatres and subsidize new works and workshops. Some of those riskier ventures were musical theatre pieces—chamber operas and new Canadian musicals that had short runs. For example, when the Third Stage



Illustration 4.9: Crowds outside the Third Stage in 1972 before a performance of *Patria II* Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Robert C. Ragsdale.

was first housed in the Casino in 1972,⁴⁰⁴ the second part of R. Murray Schafer's "co-opera" *Patria II* had its world premiere as part of the Stratford Festival and a workshop of the chamber opera *Orpheus* (music by Gabriel Charpentier, long-time composer of incidental music at Stratford) had six performances at the Third Stage (I will address how these works were staged later in this chapter). These chamber operas were a departure from the operettas and light opera that had previously been mounted at the Festival. Not since the first years of the Festival had small, modern operas been a part of the season. So the acquisition of the Third Stage gave the Festival the opportunity to experiment once again, and in the same building that had been home to the Festival's first foray into staged music in the fifties.

In 1991, the space was renamed The Tom Patterson Theatre in honour of the Festival's founder, and renovations were made to both the exterior and interior. Many ancillary activities continue to be housed at the Tom Patterson, such as lectures on the plays and free question and answer periods with various company members.

The Studio Theatre

The Studio Theatre is an addition that was built onto the back of the Avon theatre that houses yet another thrust stage (see Illustration 4.10). It was opened in 2002 as part of the 50th anniversary celebrations. An even smaller house than the Tom Patterson, it seats 260 people. In the past ten years, it has taken over from the Tom Patterson in large part as the experimental

⁴⁰⁴ The Third Stage had actually been introduced the previous year in 1971, but was an open-air theatre called "3rd Stage in the Park." The 1971 brochure for the season announced, "New at Stratford this year, a third stage at the pavilion in the park. A covered theatre in a beautifully rustic setting." Guest theatre companies, America's National Theatre of Puppet Arts, the Montreal Marionettes, and Adrian Pecknold's Canadian Mime Theatre joined a Stratford Festival production of *The Red Convertible* at the 3rd Stage in the inaugural year. The following year, the Third Stage was moved to the Casino where it remained until it was renamed the Tom Patterson theatre in 1991. Stratford Festival Archives, brochures and visitor's guides.

space where new works, concerts and workshops—especially of Canadian pieces—are mounted. On the Stratford website, the Studio theatre is described as, “an ideal space for exploring new and experimental works as well as rarely produced classics. It is sublimely intimate, and actors refer to it as ‘the chapel.’”⁴⁰⁵

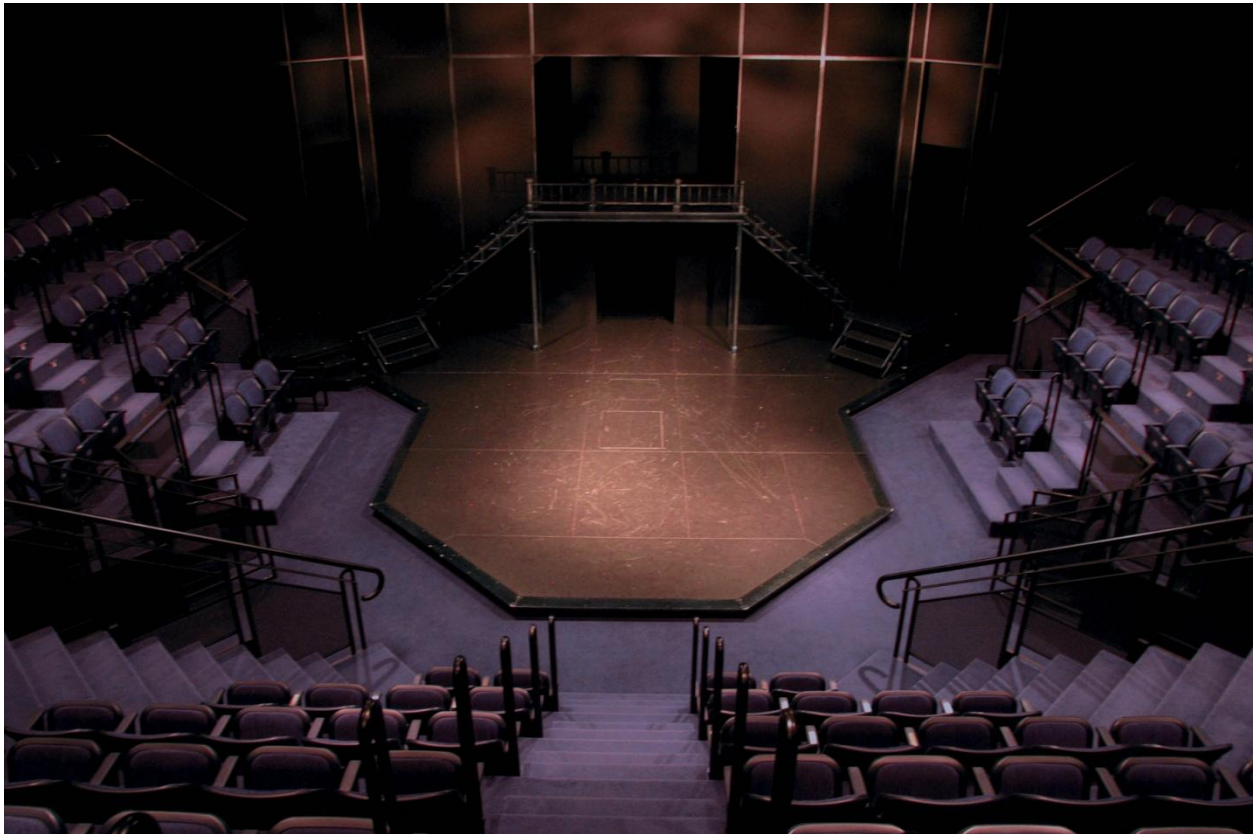


Illustration 4.10: The Studio Theatre interior, 2013
Stratford Festival Publicity. Photo by Terry Manzo.

A rehearsal space in the Studio theatre was turned into yet another performance space in 2012, named The Studio Annex. With only 72 seats, it was home to a visiting production of VideoCabaret’s *The War of 1812* and a concert series developed by Lucy Peacock called *Late Night with Lucy*. In 2013 and 2014, there were no productions scheduled to be performed at the Annex, and it is mainly a rehearsal space once more.

⁴⁰⁵ Stratford Festival, *Studio Theatre: History and stage*, 2013 website
<http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/about/theatre.aspx?id=1868>

HIERARCHIES OF PLACE: WHERE ARE THE MUSICALS?

Musicals at the Festival have been housed in all of the three main theatres at Stratford, with concerts and cabaret nights housed in the Studio and Studio Annex theatres in recent years. The types and genres of music theatre and the value that various artistic directors placed on the musical offerings (as compared to the plays—especially Shakespearean) has influenced where the musicals have been staged. Music theatre has moved from an afterthought in Festival programming (as it was when the Festival was founded and Applebaum had to scramble to advertise his concert series) to holding a more important (though still secondary) place. This shift in importance has been mirrored and aided by a shift in where the musical works are performed.

Artistic directors like John Neville may have been more motivated by finances than the feeling that musicals deserved the same exposure as plays, and put musicals in the Festival theatre because more tickets could be sold in the bigger house (see Chapter Three). Neville said, “Yes, I did put the musical onto the main stage and was severely criticized for it. Very, very severely. I ignored the criticism because I knew that if we did them well, it would make money.”⁴⁰⁶ Artistic directors like Richard Monette and Des McAnuff also faced criticism for their publically expressed beliefs that musicals belong on the same stage as Shakespeare at Stratford. In 2007, the year Monette left Stratford, Richard Ouzounian wrote,

to some critics, [Monette’s financial] success has cost the Festival some of its artistic soul, with the emphasis being placed on lucrative musicals and the middle-brow “family experience” shows like this season’s *To Kill A Mockingbird*. ‘I know I’m maligned in the press for this,’ concedes Monette, ‘but I had my priorities straight, I took care of the money, I took care of the audiences, I took care of the future.’⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ Ouzounian, *Stratford Gold*, 354.

⁴⁰⁷ Richard Ouzounian, “Richard Monette’s final bow at Stratford,” *The Toronto Star* (August 5, 2007). http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/stage/2007/08/05/richard_monettes_final_bow_at_stratford.html

Des McAnuff acknowledged the financial considerations of putting popular musicals in the biggest theatre, but he also believes that musicals deserve to be there and that interesting things happen with Shakespeare when it is juxtaposed with newer works. McAnuff stated that musicals and drama should “all happen in the same chemistry laboratory. We should be putting these things together side by side, that’s the healthiest work.”⁴⁰⁸ As the Festival and the genres of music theatre presented there have evolved, so too has the willingness to integrate music theatre into the same spaces as the classical plays (see Figure 4.1: Musical productions by theatre).

The first music theatre pieces were technically part of the Music Festival, organized by Louis Applebaum (see Chapter One), and so were housed in the Casino with the concert series. When Applebaum chose to audition and cast local actors for *The Beggar’s Opera* in 1958 rather than hosting a touring British opera company as the Festival had for Benjamin Britten’s *The Turn of the Screw* in 1957, the music theatre works were moved to the Avon. The Avon was home to the Festival’s music theatre productions for the next ten seasons, including for the Festival’s first foray into Gilbert and Sullivan, and for the operas that Jean Gascon imagined would beget an opera festival to match the theatre festival.

Since the year the Festival started including music theatre works in its seasons, there have only been two times when there weren’t any music theatre pieces produced. These two dry spells for music theatre at the Festival bookended a four-year experiment in commissioning and producing new music theatre. During the experimental period (1972-75) the new musical works were housed at the Third Stage and had short runs of three to eleven performances, while better known works such as *The Threepenny Opera* and *La vie parisienne* were mounted at the Avon for 36 and 78 performances respectively. When Berthold Carrière took over as music director of

⁴⁰⁸ Des McAnuff, interview.

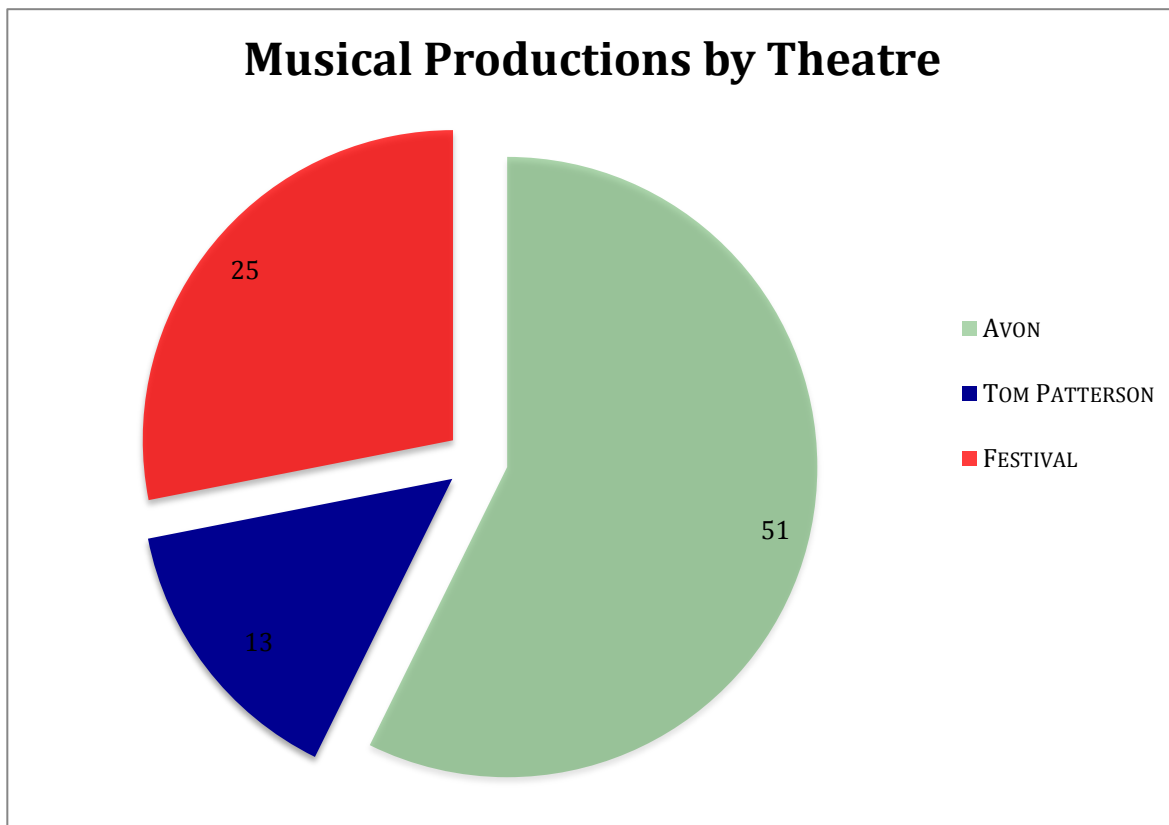
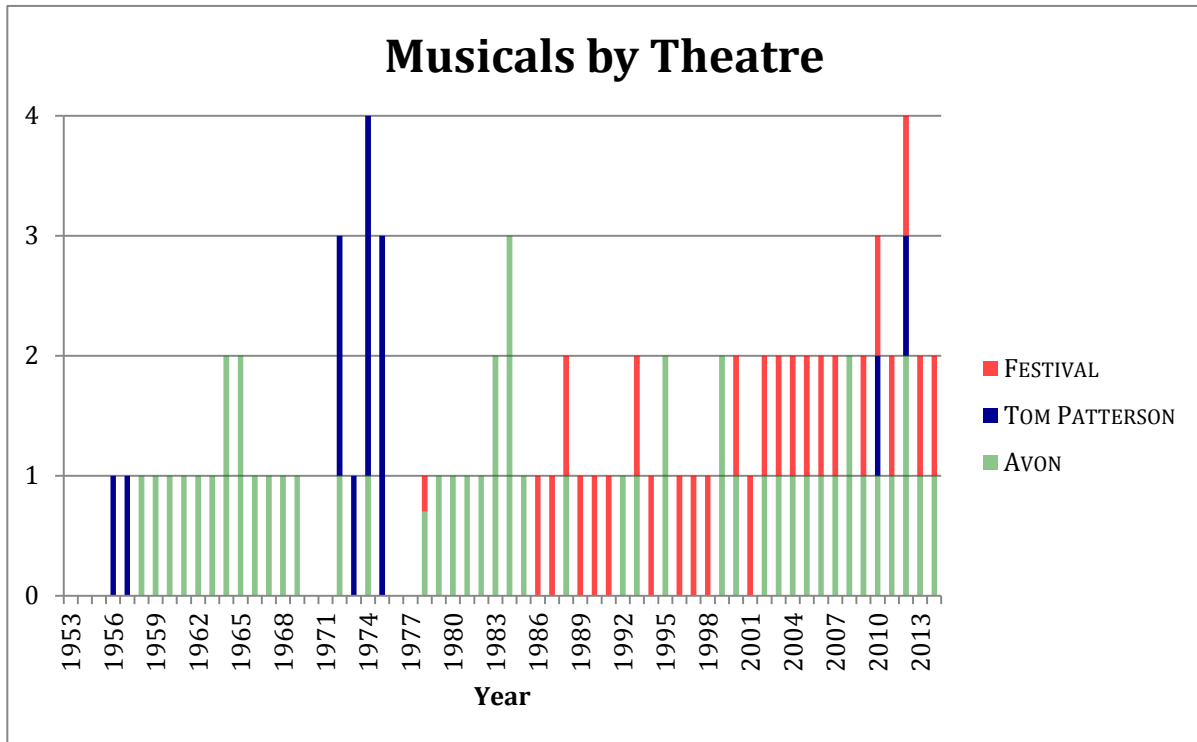
the Festival in 1978, the two year dry spell (1976-77, when the Third Stage was closed to the public) that followed the experimental phase was reassessed—as was the Third Stage as a venue for music theatre—and all the musical offerings once again enjoyed long runs at the Avon.

It wasn't until 1986 that a musical was housed on the Festival stage, and I address how the stage can affect the productions in the next section. What is important to note here is that the Festival stage almost took over from the Avon as the theatre where musicals were housed after 1986. The Avon continued to be a venue for musicals in years when more than one musical was on the playbill, but even then, usually one musical would still be performed at the Festival theatre. This marked a drastic shift in how the Festival showcased musicals; no longer were the musical works and company housed in a separate theatre, but they were integrated—the musicals more firmly held a central role in the playbill and the musical company was incorporated into the Festival company as a whole.

Since 1986, the Festival theatre has housed a musical or operetta in all but four seasons: 1992, when there was a return to Gilbert and Sullivan at the Avon, 1995, which saw both an operetta and a musical mounted at the Avon, and 1999 and 2008, again with two musicals at the Avon in each season. In 2008, a conscious decision was made by the troika of Des McAnuff, Marti Maraden and Don Shipley to stop mounting musicals on the Festival stage. A news release that year announced that *Cabaret* and *The Music Man* would both appear at the Avon Theatre, a “natural home for musicals, with that lovely proscenium arch that allows for all kinds of fantastic scenery and visual effects.”⁴⁰⁹ The transition in leadership from Richard Monette's fourteen-year artistic directorship to the shared directorate was not a smooth one, as the directorate lasted for

⁴⁰⁹ Stratford Festival News Release, “Christopher Plummer returns to the Stratford Festival,” (August 21, 2007).

Figure 4.1: Musical Productions by Theatre, 1953-2014



the planning stages of the 2008 season but not beyond.⁴¹⁰ Peter Parolin noted that “McAnuff’s 2009 playbill reverse[d] the directorate’s decision to stop producing musicals on the Festival Stage.”⁴¹¹ Indeed, with McAnuff’s link to the world of musical theatre outside of Stratford, the emphasis on musicals was only heightened.⁴¹² During his time as artistic director, there was a large musical on the Festival stage every year, and one to three other musicals housed at the Avon and Tom Patterson theatres. However, there has never been a season where more than one musical was mounted on the Festival stage, and there were only three years when the season has opened with a musical—two of those seasons in John Neville’s reign.⁴¹³

Actor Cynthia Dale, who starred in *Camelot* when it opened the 1997 season, stated that she thought many people felt that the Festival has already gone far enough in putting one musical on the main stage, and to open the season with a musical rather than a Shakespeare play was a step too far for most Festival purists.⁴¹⁴ Richard Monette wrote in his autobiography, “Not everyone agreed with my choice of *Camelot*—the first musical I’d ever directed and one I’d

⁴¹⁰ Michael Posner, “The unravelling of Stratford’s dream team,” *Globe and Mail* (March 15, 2008) A3.

⁴¹¹ Peter Parolin, “What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* (60, no. 2: 2009), 218.

⁴¹² McAnuff continued to direct shows away from Stratford during his appointment there, including *Guys and Dolls* on Broadway in 2009. In an interview with Peter Parolin, he commented that he thought his connections with the wider theatrical world was a strength, “I think Stratford is going to gain something by having leadership that really has another life. I’m not sure how healthy it is for anyone to just seal themselves into the bunker here.” Parolin, “What revels are in hand?” 217.

⁴¹³ The Festival has an opening week in May or June, when the performances that will be running all season open officially with press and dignitaries invited. Often there are previews of the plays and musicals before the official opening, and musicals usually have longer runs than plays when counting the previews, but the play or musical that opens the Festival is usually chosen to represent the theme of the season. Musicals that have opened the Festival are: *The Boys from Syracuse* in 1986, *Cabaret* in 1987; and *Camelot* in 1997. In addition, 1978 and 1979 were both opened with a “Gala Shakespeare Revel” that combined songs and Shakespearean speeches. At that time, the practice was to open two plays per day, works on the Festival stage would have the more prestigious evening opening, and works at the Avon would have matinee openings. Therefore in 1980 and 1981, the Festival was technically opened by operettas with *The Beggar’s Opera* and *H.M.S. Pinafore* respectively, even though the evening openings (*Twelfth Night* in 1980 and *The Misanthrope* in 1981) at the Festival were the true openings those years.

⁴¹⁴ Cynthia Dale, interview. See also Kate Taylor, “It should have been the best of years,” *Globe and Mail* (August 31, 2002).

always wanted to do—as the opening production of our 1997 season. Many thought it inappropriate to reopen our largest venue with anything other than a Shakespeare play. But I felt strongly that *Camelot* was the right choice.”⁴¹⁵ Monette stood by his decision, but never opened the Festival with a musical again. Neither has McAnuff opened the season with a musical. Dale believes “It will never happen again. Never again. This is a Shakespeare Festival.”⁴¹⁶ Musicals might have a place beside the Shakespeare plays on the Festival stage, but they are not the *raison d’être* of the Festival, so opening honours since 1998 have gone to Shakespeare’s plays.

In the course of the Festival’s history of producing music theatre (1955-2014), there have been 89 productions involving music (including opera and operetta, but not including concerts, workshops, ballet or mime) and more than half of those have been mounted at the Avon (see Figure 4.1). The Avon was the main house for musical works before 1986 with 27 musical productions mounted there in the 30 seasons between 1956 and 1985. In that time period, only 11 other musical works were produced and they were all housed at the Third Stage with much shorter runs (3-11 performances versus 25-80 performances). In the 29 seasons between 1986 and 2014, 24 music theatre productions were mounted at the Avon, 25 were produced at the Festival Theatre and only two produced at the Tom Patterson Theatre. If the trend of producing at least two musicals a year—one at the Avon and one at the Festival—continues in the future, the Festival Theatre will never overtake the Avon as the home of Stratford’s music theatre, but it will play an equally important role.

The 1981 season is an important year musically in that it marked the first year of Brian Macdonald’s immensely popular Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. Actor David Keeley, who began

⁴¹⁵ Richard Monette and David Prosser, *This rough magic: The making of an artistic director*, (Stratford: Stratford Shakespearean Festival of Canada, 2007), 313.

⁴¹⁶ Cynthia Dale, interview.

his career at Stratford in those operettas, noted that it was the success of those works that proved to artistic directors and the board that the Stratford audience would enthusiastically attend music theatre as well as Shakespearean plays in large numbers.⁴¹⁷ Keeley said that the success of Macdonald's productions made possible the idea of housing a musical at the larger Festival theatre.⁴¹⁸ Housing a musical at the Festival theatre meant that 736 more people could see each performance than at the Avon—that difference is more than one and a half full houses at the Tom Patterson. For many productions, the seats at the Festival theatre were also more expensive than the seats at the Avon or the Tom Patterson theatres. These financial considerations are more thoroughly explored in Chapter Three, but it is worth reiterating here that the different stages at Stratford indicate not only different styles of staging and different levels of prestige within the Festival, but are also linked to the ticket revenue. Because it is largely assumed that musicals were moved to the Festival theatre in order to make more money for the Festival, it is worth examining what types of music theatre are produced at which theatres.

The Festival theatre has been home to 24 well-known musicals from the “Golden Age” of Broadway (1927-1966)⁴¹⁹ and one operetta, Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Pirates of Penzance* (see Table 4.1). Compare this to the Avon, which has housed only 11 musicals from Broadway's “Golden Age,” but 18 productions of Gilbert and Sullivan's operettas and two Offenbach operettas. The Avon has also been home to eight musicals written after 1966, and/or non-Broadway musicals that include two Canadian works. In addition, the Avon housed seven operas between 1959 and 1978, and five productions of hard-to-classify “other” operas such as *The*

⁴¹⁷ David Keeley interview.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ I am using Mark Grant's parameters for “The Golden Age” of Broadway from his book *The rise and fall of the Broadway musical*, (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

Beggar’s Opera, The Threepenny Opera and *Candide*.⁴²⁰ All the works mounted at the Tom Patterson theatre have been smaller pieces that suit the size of the theatre—ten chamber operas and three non-Broadway musicals. Of these 13 pieces, eight had music by Canadian composers. The Avon has been home to two Canadian musicals and the Festival theatre none.

Table 4.1: Genres of musical theatre at The Festival, Avon and Tom Patterson theatres, 1956-2014

Festival Theatre 1,826 seats	Avon Theatre 1,090 seats	Tom Patterson Theatre 480 seats
24 “Golden Age” Broadway musicals	11 “Golden Age” Broadway musicals	
	8 “other” musicals (including 2 Canadian musicals and 2 rock musicals)	3 “other” musicals, (including 2 Canadian musicals)
1 Gilbert & Sullivan operetta	18 Gilbert & Sullivan operettas	
	2 Offenbach operettas	
	7 operas 5 “other” operas	10 chamber operas, including 6 Canadian operas

As artistic directors have made decisions as to what types of works are produced at what theatres each season, definite trends have emerged. The Festival theatre presents works that will be most familiar to audiences, both from Shakespeare and from the Broadway canon. The Avon houses works that are less familiar but still accessible, such as mid twentieth-century American plays and many different types of music theatre. The Tom Patterson and Studio theatres house the most experimental works: unique productions of the classics, Canadian works, and chamber operas such as Charpentier’s *Orpheus* and Vallerand’s *Le Magicien*. The choices to house works in descending order of familiarity to the audience from largest theatre to smallest is a pragmatic decision that artistic directors make as they try to forecast how many seats and performances each production might sell. In the fiftieth anniversary season, Richard Monette said, “in the

⁴²⁰ See Chapter Two for a discussion of these genre-defying works.

larger houses the demands are so huge that you can't afford to fail."⁴²¹ It is little wonder then, that the tendency has been to play it safe in the large theatres and to entice new talent (and hopefully new audiences) to Stratford with unique productions in the smaller theatres. It seems a shame that newer works and Canadian works are rarely produced at the Avon, let alone at the Festival theatre, but they at least have a place at Stratford, even if it is in smaller theatres.

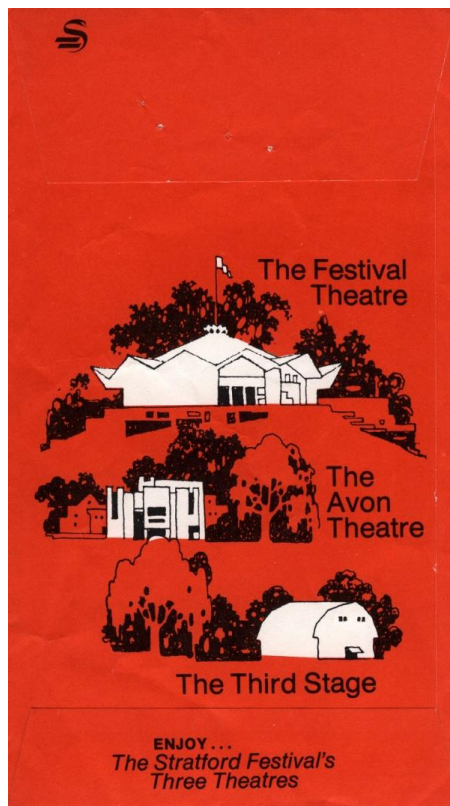


Illustration 4.11: Stratford Visitor's Pamphlet 1973, reverse

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Louis Applebaum fonds, ASC 33041

MUSICALS ON A THRUST STAGE

The first time a musical (and not a concert) appeared on the Festival stage was when *Candide* was transferred there from the Avon in 1978 for a short run.⁴²² The Festival stage would not

⁴²¹ Quoted in Parolin, 208.

⁴²² In the Stratford Festival Archives, there are archival films of *Candide* as it was staged on the Avon stage, and as it appeared on the Festival stage. The set for the Avon mimicked the thrust stage at the Festival, so very few

house another musical until the first year of John Neville's artistic directorship in 1986 with *The Boys from Syracuse* (Rodgers & Hart, 1938, based on Shakespeare's *A Comedy of Errors*). Des McAnuff calls Neville a visionary for putting a musical on at the Festival's flagship stage. He said he didn't know if Neville was actually being visionary when he made that choice, but McAnuff likes to ascribe him visionary status,

I think the major turning point came under the leadership of John Neville when he started to put musicals on the Festival Stage. And many, many people were horrified (and some still are, by the way). I'm not sure John, in all honesty, was being visionary although I like to give him credit for that, and I have given him credit for that. I actually believe that to a large extent he was motivated by finances... For whatever reason he managed to be an icebreaker.⁴²³

Putting a musical on a thrust stage was revolutionary, whether Neville intended to start a staging revolution in musicals or not. Since the beginning of the genre, musical comedies were created for the picture frame staging of the proscenium arch theatre. One merely needs to think of chorus girls lined up along the front of the stage doing high kicks to envision the type of forward-facing staging that was common to revues, vaudeville, operetta and musical comedies alike.

There had been experiments in breaking down the fourth wall of the proscenium stage in the 1910s and 20s—most notably with platforms extended into the audience for performers such as Al Jolson to take solo turns singing show stopping numbers. Jolson and others utilized these ramps to get as close to the audience as possible, but broke the narrative of the show in order to do so.⁴²⁴ Theatre producers like the Shuberts and Ziegfeld built ramps and staircases out into the audience not to suit the exigencies a book musical, but for fashion parades, and star turns in musical comedies and revues that broke down the fourth wall. Writers and directors of musicals

alterations had to be made in blocking or choreography when the show was transferred to the Festival stage. See the case study later in this chapter.

⁴²³ Des McAnuff, interview.

⁴²⁴ Larry Stempel, *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 153.

continued to create musicals for the proscenium stage, but audiences had also been given a glimpse of the intimacy and immediacy that was possible when a performer was surrounded by the audience.

Before Desmond Heeley designed a permanent platform stage at the Tom Patterson Theatre in 1983, various stages and seating plans were experimented with in that space. For many of the chamber operas that were commissioned by or premièred at the Festival in the seventies, the creative process for the writers, composers and directors included a combination of writing the work to suit the space, and altering the space to suit the work. R. Murray Schafer's *Patria II*, for example, was premièred at Stratford in 1972 on a sunken stage with audience members on all four sides of the stage looking down into the designer's conception of a mental hospital. In the same year, Gabriel Charpentier's *Orpheus: A Liturgy in Seven Parts* was staged on a long runway, similar to the later Heeley design, surrounded by the audience on three sides. The set design for *Orpheus* by Art Penson included a bridge from an angled platform upstage to a multi-level platform downstage that encouraged quick movement on an otherwise bare stage.

After a long break when no musical works were mounted at the Tom Patterson Theatre, the small four-hand cabaret-style *Jacques Brel is Alive and Well and Living in Paris* was performed there in the 2010 season when three musicals were part of the playbill (*Kiss Me, Kate* at the Festival theatre and *Evita* at the Avon). The staging was extremely simple, with a four-piece band on a platform against the upstage curtain, and the four actors taking various positions on the bare stage so that they faced every part of the audience throughout the course of each song. Mood and setting were suggested by the lighting design and simple props, and the violinist and guitarist at times stepped down off the musicians' platform and onto the stage to interact

more closely with the performers. In recent years, musicals have only been staged at the Tom Patterson when there were more than two musicals produced in a season.

In the 2012, 60th anniversary season, when four musicals were included in the playbill,⁴²⁵ a musical was again mounted at the Tom Patterson—Morris Panych and Marek Norman's *Wanderlust*. The creative team also directed the show (Panych as director and Norman as music director), so they were able to adapt their writing for the specific requirements of a runway-style stage. The six-piece orchestra was situated upstage and partly offstage, somewhat obscured in some scenes by set pieces and backdrops. Norman conducted from the piano for all of the performances. When asked about conceptualizing a new work for the Tom Patterson Theatre, he said,

The Tom Patterson Theatre is a wonderful (and unusual) space. It is much beloved by actors, mostly due to the fact that it presents a type of intimacy (or *communion*, if you will) between cast and audience. There is a comforting, *womb-like* sensibility within its long, dark frame. Patrons are similarly taken with the hall's quirky shape and many oddities. Personally, I have long admired the "TPT"—however, as composer/musical director of *Wanderlust*, my appreciation has lessened in one important respect. The space renders good/appropriate sound production an *enormous challenge*. Our intrepid sound designer, Jim Neil, and board operator, Jim Stewart, worked like *trojans* in their valiant attempts to overcome the space deficiencies. Sadly, it wasn't until well into our run that we all felt comfortable with the overall mic/monitor relationship. Really, the only true frustration with regards to our time at the TPT. If the Festival's future plans are to present more musicals in the space, the organization would be wise to consider re-designing the existing system in order to better accommodate and ensure strong sound production.⁴²⁶

In addition to concerns about the sound design, the Tom Patterson also poses a challenge for choreographers. In the history of the Tom Patterson, *Wanderlust* was the first musical that made much use of choreography and choreographer Diana Coatsworth made good use of the whole

⁴²⁵ The other three musicals, addressed in previous chapters, were 42nd *Street* at the Festival, and *The Pirates of Penzance* and *You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown* at the Avon.

⁴²⁶ Marek Norman, email communication November 16, 2012.

stage, turning the dancers to every corner of the audience. Whether or not the Tom Patterson Theatre continues to be used as a venue for musicals in the future will likely depend on whether or not the Festival continues to mount smaller and home-grown musicals.

Unlike the new and experimental works at the Third Stage/Tom Patterson Theatre that were created for an unusual stage and space, *The Boys from Syracuse* was a Golden Age Broadway musical that had been created for the standard proscenium stage. It therefore needed a strong director to re-envision it for the Festival stage. Neville chose Douglas Campbell to direct the musical after Brian Macdonald withdrew from the 1986 season. Campbell had singing and dance training in addition to his reputation as a classical actor, and Neville believed that Campbell could as easily have had a career in opera as in theatre.⁴²⁷ Campbell had been with Stratford since the very first season; he was one of four British actors that Tyrone Guthrie brought to Canada with him in 1953 and Campbell had directed or acted in more than 30 shows across 34 seasons prior to helming *The Boys from Syracuse*. Even prior to his experience on the Stratford stage, Campbell had been a part of Guthrie's production of *A Satire of the Three Estates* done in the proto-thrust space of the Assembly Hall of the Scottish Church at the 1948 Edinburgh Festival.⁴²⁸ One of the first works Campbell directed at Stratford was Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat* as part of the 1956 music festival. He also choreographed for the Tyrone Guthrie-directed Gilbert and Sullivan operettas in the 1960s—*HMS Pinafore* and *The Pirates of Penzance*. Campbell therefore had familiarity with directing action on three-sided stages as well

⁴²⁷ Robert A. Gaines, *John Neville takes command: the story of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in production*, (Stratford, Ont: William Street Press, 1987), 179.

⁴²⁸ See Gaines, *John Neville takes command*, 174 and Pettigrew and Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 75.

as familiarity with music theatre and he was a solid choice for Stratford's first experiment staging a Broadway musical on their iconic stage.

The Boys from Syracuse was the first musical to open the Festival and the first to run for a full season on the Festival stage (65 performances between 19 May and 19 November, 1986). In programming his first season as artistic director, Neville knew that Brian Macdonald, director of a string of very successful Gilbert and Sullivan productions at the Avon between 1981 and 1985, would not be returning to Stratford in 1986. Neville therefore took the opportunity to make three major programming changes. First, Neville chose a musical that was based on a Shakespeare play, rather than continue with the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. Second, he cast classically trained actors in the musical rather than having an almost completely separate musical company that emphasized vocal and dance training. And finally, he decided to stage the musical at the Festival theatre rather than the proscenium arch Avon, or the Third Stage, where every opera, operetta and musical had previously been performed. These three factors—the change in genre, the attempt to integrate the opera and acting companies, and giving a musical pride of place on the Festival stage, ushered in the golden age of musicals at the Stratford Festival.

Staging musicals at the Festival theatre has not been a uniform success in terms of adapting the movement to a thrust space, but it has been almost uniformly successful in financial terms. Robert Cushman wrote that *The Boys from Syracuse* “is definite proscenium-arch, lined-up-in-front-of-the-audience material; a platform stage dissipates it.”⁴²⁹ Some actors like Peter Donaldson were vocal in their criticism of musicals on the thrust stage, “The fact that musicals have been put on in that theatre is in my view sacrilegious. Because in order to do it, you have to

⁴²⁹ Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, 171.

destroy the stage.”⁴³⁰ In contrast to Donaldson’s views, outspoken critics of the thrust stage have opined that it is *more* suited to musical theatre than to Shakespearean plays. English theatre critic Kenneth Tynan stated, “only those forms of theatre in which words are secondary—such as musicals, dance drama, and Comedia dell’Arte [sic]—have much to gain from a three-sided stage.”⁴³¹ Claudia Cassidy, in a scathing review of the first season at the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis, said that the “outthrust stage” (designed by Moiseiwitsch in 1963) was “more suited to the theatre of movement than to theatre of the mind.”⁴³² Tynan and Cassidy both implied a mind/body split mapped onto different genres of theatre in their opinions that theatre that privileges the body over the mind is better suited to thrust stages than intellectual works. Shakespeare’s tragedies are often taken as the highest and most intellectually complex examples of English language theatre, and musicals are often considered to be entertainment that puts bodies on display but doesn’t make too many intellectual demands. It therefore speaks to the fervent disagreement that Stratfordians from Guthrie on down have had to views like those held by Cassidy and Tynan, that the Festival stage was the domain of Shakespeare and the classics for decades before a musical was allowed on its boards. Proving that the Festival stage was ideal for the works of Shakespeare was one of the unspoken missions of the Stratford Festival, which is perhaps why it took the Festival more than thirty years to experiment with mounting a musical on the Festival stage.

⁴³⁰ Peter Parolin, What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada. *Shakespeare Quarterly* (60, no. 2, 2009), 219, note 93.

⁴³¹ Quoted in Pettigrew and Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 84.

⁴³² The review is reproduced in full in Guthrie, *A new theatre*, 121-124.

The thrust stage calls for changes in the choreography and movement patterns from the patterns typical of musicals created for the proscenium stage. Kyle Blair, who has acted in both musicals and plays at Stratford, explained,

I love the opportunity to do a musical on a thrust stage here because it's very rare. Most musicals are written with the proscenium stage in mind... And so there's an added challenge when all of a sudden you're working on a thrust. What I like about it is that it's a much more natural relationship physically that you have with other people. In a thrust, you relate to the person as you would in life because the [audience] are all the way around you so you don't have to open to the front as you would in a proscenium. The proscenium has a more presentational style by nature because you always have to be turning out so that the audience can see you. But in a thrust it works more in circles. You'll notice if you watch a lot of blocking in plays or musicals that we'll be 'turning the actor.' If you put the actor centre and you go upstage and do sort of a banana around them and they follow you, eventually throughout the scene everyone will have had a chance to see your face. There's diagonals that we work on at the thrust at the Festival, where you line up the other actor's head with the aisle so the rest of the audience sees you, you're not blocking yourself with that other person. There are just different rules for movement. And these are not hard and fast, you break all the rules too, of course, otherwise stage movement would get really boring. But you know your basic patterns.⁴³³

The blocking patterns on the Festival stage follow their own logic. Directors like Campbell, who embraced the thrust and its unique patterns were often (if not always) successful in reimagining musicals for a different space. In dialogue scenes, the directors could follow the patterns that had proven useful on the Festival stage in the more than thirty years plays had been performed there. For choreographers, the challenges were a little more daunting. Instead of mostly moving dancers in two dimensions, side to side across a proscenium stage, choreographers needed to be aware of the sides of the audience that wrapped around the thrust stage. The way the stage is surrounded on three sides also means that weak dancers cannot be hidden in the back; every actor on that stage is visible from multiple places in the audience. For an inventive choreographer, each challenge—the number of stairs, a fairly narrow main stage area, the need to

⁴³³ Kyle Blair interview.

address all 220 degrees of the audience—could become strengths. Circular, Busby Berkeley-like patterns could be enacted on the Festival stage in ways that would never work on proscenium stages. Film-like qualities could also be found in quick movements out of multiple entrances and exits that gave the effect of cross-fades between scenes and numbers.

Director/choreographers like Brian Macdonald and Donna Feore have had the most success adapting musicals for the Festival stage when they have used circular and diagonal patterns in blocking and choreography.⁴³⁴ These dynamic patterns of movement are a large part of what differentiates musicals on the Festival stage from musicals produced elsewhere. The musicals produced at the Festival theatre have all been well-known Broadway or operetta audience favourites. The fact that so many of these old chestnuts were incredibly successful at Stratford speaks not only to their built-in familiarity, but also to the freshness that is achieved when a well-known work is dynamically reimaged for a unique stage.

Another aspect of producing musicals on a thrust stage that also applies to plays is the set design. In a review of *My Fair Lady* during the Stratford Festival's fiftieth anniversary season, writer and critic Jamie Portman wrote,

Designer Debra Hanson's attractive Edwardian costumes are more successful than her set concept. The Festival Theatre stage has been denied its flexibility because of those two massive Greek columns which may be appropriate for the exterior of the Covent Garden Opera House but remind one of a mausoleum in other scenes. One wishes as well than in directing the show, Monette had honoured the demands of the Festival Theatre's thrust stage more effectively.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ Macdonald, for example, directed *Cabaret* in 1987, *Guys and Dolls* in 1990, *Carousel* in 1991, *Gypsy* in 1993, *Pirates of Penzance* in 1994 and *The Music Man* in 1996 on the Festival Stage. Feore directed *Oliver!* in 2006, *Oklahoma!* in 2007, *Fiddler on the Roof* in 2013 and *Crazy for You* in 2014 on the Festival Stage. Reviews generally praised the staging, see newspaper collections in the Stratford Festival archives.

⁴³⁵ Jamie Portman, "Dale and Feore more than fair" *Southam News* (appeared in *The Ottawa Citizen* June 3, 2002; *The Calgary Herald* May 30, 2002; and *The Windsor Star* May 31, 2002).

In contrast, Robert Cushman wrote, “Monette’s production...makes one of the definitive proscenium shows look perfectly at home on the platform stage.”⁴³⁶ Perhaps Cushman and Portman were seated in different areas of the theatre, and if that were the case, then it would indeed be true that the design was not completely effective for the space, because in order for it to be effective, the whole sweep of the audience should be able to see and enjoy the show (see Illustration 4.12).

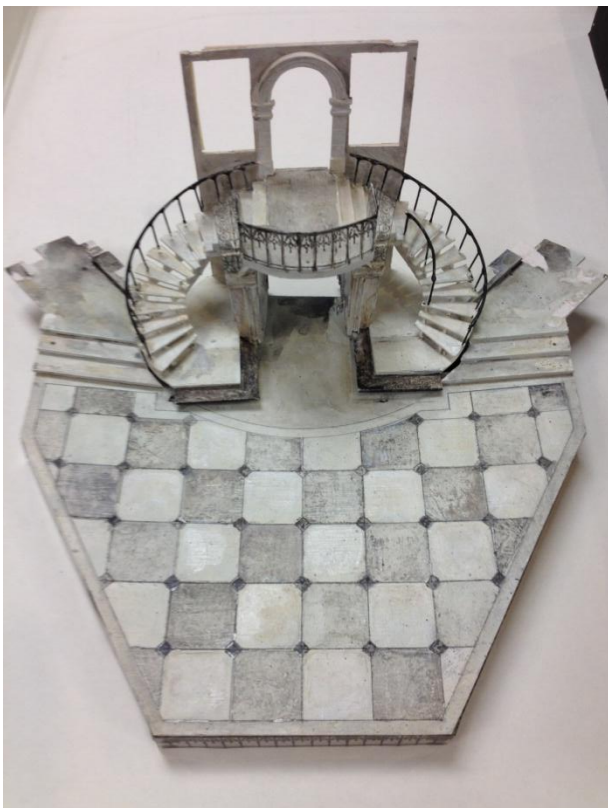


Illustration 4.12: Maquette for the 2002 production of *My Fair Lady* designed by Debra Hanson Stratford Festival Archives, photo by author

One of the challenges of the Festival theatre, is that the director and designer cannot merely be content with sitting in the centre aisle to see how the design and staging looks, they

⁴³⁶ Robert Cushman, “As lovably as you’d expect it to be” *National Post* (May 30, 2002). Stratford Festival Archives, 2002 reviews.

must be aware of the full house. Juan Chioran, after seeing the 2009 production of *West Side Story* at the Festival Stage from a seat at the side and back of the auditorium, congratulated director Gary Griffin, saying, “Thank you so much, that I was able to get the full meal deal from here.”⁴³⁷ Now, Chioran says, “whenever [Griffin] blocks on that space, he says, ‘Okay, let’s not forget Juan’s mom!’ [Chioran is] his guy to remind everyone to play to the full house.”⁴³⁸ Actors can be encouraged to play to the full house, but only if the set design allows them to do so. It is telling that there was so much excitement among the Stratford company in 2013 to get back to the bare stage. And that excitement applied as much to musicals like the 2013 production of *Fiddler on the Roof* as it did to the plays.

Besides movement and set design, another large consideration for staging musicals at the Festival theatre is the music and sound design. Movement on diagonals is all very well for turning the actor so they can be seen, but in a musical it is also important that they be heard. This is where Tynan and Cassidy’s argument, that the thrust is more suited to musicals *because* of acoustic problems, falls flat. The rhyming couplets of a Hammerstein lyric may not be of quite the same calibre poetically as a Shakespearean soliloquy, but the audience members attending each show will be equally upset if they can’t hear the actor.

In the first few years musicals were staged at the Festival, there were few microphones for the singers. The classically trained actors in *Boys from Syracuse* were expected to apply their voice training to singing and to project the songs into the natural acoustics of the space, the same way they would a speech. The problem, of course, is that musicals tend to be louder than plays—even plays with incidental music—and the actors must be heard above the orchestra. Initially,

⁴³⁷ Juan Chioran, interview.

⁴³⁸ Juan Chioran, interview.

some area microphones were used to pick up the chorus and a limited number of radio microphones were used for the main characters. Lucy Peacock played the lead in the 1988 production of *My Fair Lady* and she recalls,

In those days they were still working out a lot of how-do-you-put-a-musical-on-the-Festival-stage kinks. You put a mike pack on if you were singing a lead line in a song, and there were only two or three to share. None of the chorus had microphones. Douglas Campbell was playing Doolittle and everybody remembers him saying, “I’m not wearing that thing!” He didn’t wear a microphone. And obviously the orchestra was miked but it couldn’t have been very much, maybe a couple of area mikes. I don’t think it would be anywhere near what we’re doing now.⁴³⁹

Directors and sound designers of musicals at the Festival soon moved into more complex sound design out of necessity, and once budgets and technology allowed, every actor in a musical had an individual microphone pack. Actor Kyle Blair said,

I think it’s quite an intricate setup for sound at the Festival. I’m sure on a thrust stage the sound challenges are great. We have monitors at our feet, and I imagine in the ceiling too, for us [actors]. And same for the orchestra. The orchestra, actually, can control their own feed so they can choose what they listen to, whether it be the singer or they want the bass line coming through their headphones. And we also have visual monitors—in each of the vomms [vomitories] there’s a video monitor and up the centre aisle, so we have three different spots where we can see the conductor.⁴⁴⁰

The television monitors are necessary in all of those places for the actors to see the conductor because unlike in a proscenium theatre, there is no orchestra pit. At the Festival theatre, the orchestra is concealed above the stage in an 800 square foot room, in the ‘acoustic loft’ of the Moiseiwitsch design (see Illustration 4.3).⁴⁴¹

In the early years of mounting musicals at the Festival theatre, then Festival Music Director Berthold Carrière would tell actors not to look at him during rehearsal because they

⁴³⁹ Lucy Peacock interview.

⁴⁴⁰ Kyle Blair interview.

⁴⁴¹ The Stratford Festival has posted behind-the-scenes footage on their YouTube channel of percussionist Graham Hargrove working his magic in the cramped loft space for 2014’s *Crazy for You*: http://youtu.be/7BWupY8d_E8

wouldn't be able to see him during performances. Not being able to make eye contact with actors during a performance could be an issue. Carrière said, "If you ask me where I prefer to work, it's at the Avon theatre because there was more contact there."⁴⁴² Sound could also be an issue at the Festival Theatre, "At the Festival Theatre, when you're up there [in the orchestra loft] it sounds like it's coming out of a matchbox because it's too small, so you have to support that."⁴⁴³ The way to support the sound is to maintain large numbers in the orchestra and to amplify it. At times, audience members have been confused as to where the orchestra is at the Festival theatre. Blair recounted, "I don't know if this is true, but I've heard people say that the Festival will get letters saying 'I can't believe you're using recorded sound for these musicals!' Not realizing there's a twenty-five person orchestra but they're hidden."⁴⁴⁴ Carrière recounted, "Nobody can see us and I've got a great orchestra of twenty-seven musicians. At the end of the show, I pop my head out from the loft. The first time I did it, people didn't know who I was. But I take my baton now so they know I'm the conductor."⁴⁴⁵ In 2012, for the first time, the opening where Bert had popped his head out to take a bow was widened so that the orchestra for *42nd Street* and was visible to the audience.⁴⁴⁶

The orchestra may sound recorded to the audience because of the practice of amplifying all the sound electronically for the musicals and mixing it live. Recent Festival Music Director Rick Fox (2008-2013), who musically directed most of the musicals during his music directorship, said that the challenge in the different theatres is "with sound design—how the

⁴⁴² Berthold Carrière, interview.

⁴⁴³ Berthold Carrière, interview.

⁴⁴⁴ Kyle Blair, interview.

⁴⁴⁵ Quoted in Cushman, *Fifty Seasons at Stratford*, 176.

⁴⁴⁶ Most of the orchestra was visible to the audience, but there were certain instruments, like percussion and harp that were in the orchestra loft, separate from the rest of the band. Des McAnuff said, "Finally for *42nd Street*, we opened up that balcony where the musicians play, which should have happened years ago. That was a big breakthrough." McAnuff, interview.

audience hears it.” The actors are “miked for all the musicals. You wouldn’t get the voices above the band satisfactorily otherwise. In the classical shows hopefully it’s subtle, and it doesn’t sound miked.”⁴⁴⁷ When the actors are miked, they are more able to indulge in a range of movement that includes turning their backs to a large portion of the audience while singing, but the mediated sound can have the effect of undermining the sense of liveness. Of course, this is not just a product of sound design at the Festival theatre; at the Avon and Tom Patterson theatres and in centres of musical theatre from Broadway to Toronto, the trend of miking singers has become more and more dominant.⁴⁴⁸

Des McAnuff said that not putting a musical on the Festival stage in his first year as artistic director was a mistake; he said “we’ve managed to conquer that theatre as a musical house.”⁴⁴⁹ With McAnuff’s obligations on Broadway and at La Jolla continuing during his artistic directorship at Stratford, he was perhaps more outward looking than his predecessor, and encouraged a flow of talent and productions into and out of Stratford. He took two musicals that had great success at Stratford on the road to other cities. It is worth noting that musicals rather than plays were chosen to represent Stratford to the wider world.⁴⁵⁰ It is also noteworthy that both of the musicals—*A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* in 2009 and *Jesus Christ Superstar* in 2011—were staged at the Avon theatre and were therefore easier to transport to standard proscenium theatres in Toronto, La Jolla and New York. The musicals staged at the Festival theatre during McAnuff’s tenure (*West Side Story* (2009), *Kiss Me Kate* (2010), *Camelot*

⁴⁴⁷ Rick Fox, interview.

⁴⁴⁸ See Jonathan Burston, “Theatre space as virtual place: Audio technology, the reconfigured singing body, and the megamusical,” *Popular Music* 17, 2 (May 1998): 205-218 for a further exploration of how mediated sound affects the production and reception of musicals.

⁴⁴⁹ Des McAnuff, interview.

⁴⁵⁰ During Des McAnuff’s tenure, the live productions that toured outside of Stratford were musicals, but Stratford was also represented by productions of Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* and Shaw’s *Caesar and Cleopatra* that were filmed and disseminated via DVD and special viewings at movie theatres.

(2011) and *42nd Street* (2012) might have been better representations of the types of musicals Stratford was known for (and, in the case of *West Side Story*, a stunning display of staging on the thrust) but they would have required a great deal of restaging in order to go on tour. McAnuff said, “It’s harder to move work out of the Festival theatre because it’s such a unique theatre... The proscenium arch theatre is going to be easier for transfers.”⁴⁵¹ It is highly probable that McAnuff chose to personally direct the riskier musicals such as *Forum*, *Superstar* and 2013’s *Tommy* at the Avon rather than the well-known Golden Age musicals that were housed at the Festival with the intention that if they were well received by Stratford audiences, the musicals could go on tour. McAnuff believes that, “it’s important to do [transfers] because it gets the word out. People need to know that Stratford is here.”⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Des McAnuff, interview.

⁴⁵² Des McAnuff, interview.

INTERLUDE: A CASE STUDY—AVON VERSUS FESTIVAL

The Stratford Festival often returns to works they have done in the past. With Shakespeare's plays this is inevitable, and Stratford would not be a Shakespeare festival if they did not cycle through his most popular works on a fairly steady basis. Many musical works have also been produced more than once in Stratford's sixty seasons. *The Mikado* reigns with the number of remounts—it has been produced at Stratford five times.⁴⁵³ Indeed, the only musical works that have been produced at Stratford more than twice are Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. However, a number of musicals have been produced more than once, and six musical works have been produced at both the Avon and the Festival theatres in different seasons. This allows for a direct comparison of the same musical produced on two different stages at Stratford. While many of the staging choices can be attributed to the director and the designer, the difference between the proscenium Avon and the thrust Festival undoubtedly plays a part in how the musicals are produced and received.

Of the six musicals that have been produced at both the Avon theatre and the Festival theatre (see Table I.1), I have personally seen productions of *West Side Story* in 1999 at the Avon and in 2009 at the Festival, and *The Pirates of Penzance* in 1994 at the Festival and at the Avon in 2012, in addition to viewing the filmed version of MacDonald's 1985 production of *Pirates* at the Avon.⁴⁵⁴ I have also viewed archival footage of the 1978 production of *Candide*, both as it

⁴⁵³ Two of the productions were exact remounts of a previous production. In 1982, Brian MacDonald directed *Mikado*, in 1983 he remounted *Mikado* and added *The Gondoliers*, and in 1984 he remounted *Mikado* and *Gondoliers* and added *Iolanthe*.

⁴⁵⁴ W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan, *The pirates of Penzance*. Directed and choreographed by Brian MacDonald; produced and directed for CBC Television by Norman Campbell [1985]. (Canada: Morningstar Entertainment/CBC Home Video, 1999, DVD).

appeared at the Avon, and in its transfer to the Festival stage.⁴⁵⁵ The following case study is therefore a comparison of six productions of three works in two different spaces.

Table I.1: Musicals at Stratford that have been produced at the Avon and Festival theatres

Production	Festival	Avon
<i>Cabaret</i>	1987	2008†
<i>Candide</i>	1978† (same production)	1978† ←
<i>Man of La Mancha</i>	1998	2014
<i>The Music Man</i>	1996	2008
<i>The Pirates of Penzance</i>	1961 1985* 1994	2012
<i>West Side Story</i>	2009†	1999

* Filmed for CBC television and available on DVD

† Archival footage on DVD at the Stratford Festival Archives

In 1978, set designer Mary Kerr built a set for *Candide* at the Avon that resembled a thrust stage on an apron that projected slightly beyond the proscenium arch of the theatre. It was a half-circle platform set atop the Avon stage with a step up to a smaller platform upstage centre. From the smaller platform, two sets of stairs led in angles to two landings before the steps turned 90 degrees and continued up to a balcony. A catwalk at the same height as the balcony, flush against the rear curtain led offstage right and left. This wooden set did not completely resemble the Festival stage, but it certainly suggested it (see Illustration I.1).

⁴⁵⁵ These films were made primarily as an archival record and for understudies to watch as an aide to learning blocking; they are not intended for viewing by the general public as they are shot from one fixed point, usually from the Stage Manager's booth.

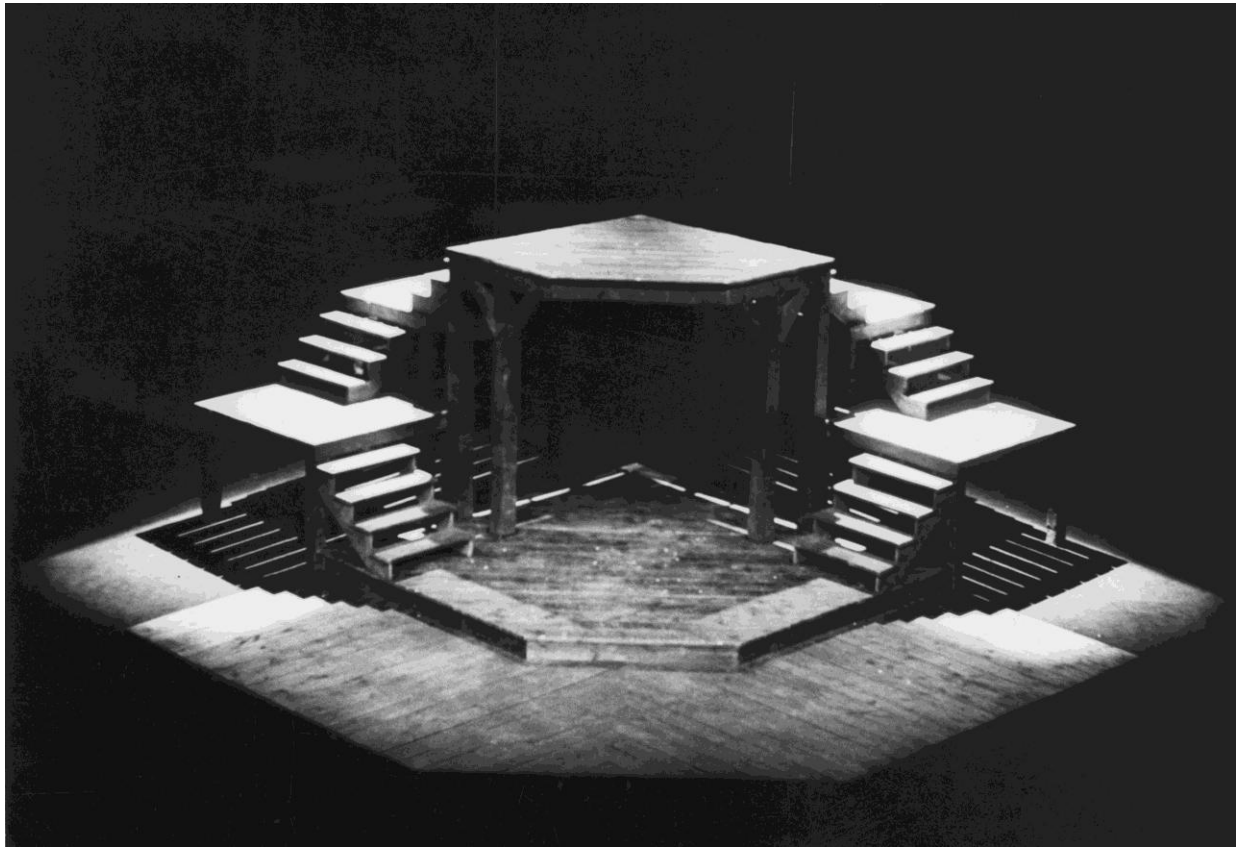


Illustration I.1: Mary Kerr's set design for *Candide* (1978) at the Avon theatre Stratford Festival Archives. Unknown photographer.

Mary Kerr's design gave the production a sense of movement; in her book on scene design in Canada, Natalie Rewa wrote, "Mary Kerr's emphasis on scale and proportion has yielded highly kinetic designs for theatre, dance and opera."⁴⁵⁶ With only minimal set pieces and props to suggest the fantastic worlds to which *Candide* travels, the staging by opera director Lotfi Mansouri and choreography by Brian Macdonald also was suggestive of the movement typically seen on the Festival's open stage—fast and frenetic.

The production was designed from the first to play at both the Avon and the Festival theatre, so the artistic decisions reflected the need to adapt to two very different types of stages. A review in the *Globe & Mail* before the season opened noted that the show was being designed

⁴⁵⁶ Natalie Rewa, *Scenography in Canada: Selected Designers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 121.

and directed to fit two theatres, the Avon and the Festival, “to see how a musical (or eventually, artistic director Robin Phillips hopes, an opera) works on both thrust and proscenium stages.”⁴⁵⁷

The 1974 Broadway production of *Candide* directed by Hal Prince was “one that rambled all over the audience,” according to reviewer Gina Mallet, “Islands of stages separated by lagoons of seats gave you the impression that you were a part of the show.”⁴⁵⁸ A precedent had therefore been set to experiment with breaking down the standard proscenium staging for *Candide*, and the Stratford production was a calculated risk to attempt staging the show at the Festival theatre as well as at the Avon.

Stephen Godfrey wrote about the challenges that arose when attempting to stage a show for two different types of spaces,

[There are] side wings in one theatre, but exposed entrances in the other... [Mansouri’s] working area is both the three-dimensional theatre in the (nearly) round and the two-dimensional proscenium. The solution, according to Mansouri and costume-set designer Mary Kerr, is simple. Since no sets can ever be as flexible as the actors, the actors themselves have become the scenic elements... For the actor playing the Voltaire-like narrator, Kerr has devised a trompe l’oeil desk, a painted extension of the actor’s body in costume, with the white-stockinged legs shown crossed neatly under the desk. For the benefit of the Festival audience, the canvas desk also has side panels, giving a view of the legs from three different angles.⁴⁵⁹

The production was adapted to the Festival stage in the planning stages, by carefully designing the sets and movement at the Avon to mimic the requirements of the thrust stage. The music and orchestra was also coordinated so that minimal changes would have to occur when the show

⁴⁵⁷ Stephen Godfrey, “Candide presents double troubles” in *The Globe and Mail* (May 20, 1978), 35.

⁴⁵⁸ Gina Mallet, “Andrea Martin gets laughs in Candide” in *The Toronto Star* (June 9, 1978). Mallet panned the Stratford show, saying that it failed to work at the proscenium Avon, and her *Toronto Star* colleague, Robert Cushman, echoed her sentiments years later in his 50th Anniversary retrospective of the Festival, writing that Brian Macdonald’s choreography was the best thing about and otherwise “unfortunate” production of *Candide*. (Robert Cushman, *Fifty seasons at Stratford*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002), 149.) Judging from the vocal appreciation of the audience in the archival videos, Mallet and Cushman were among the minority in their opinions. *The Globe and Mail* also gave a better review to the production than *The Star*; Stephen Godfrey acknowledged that the troubles with the show were mostly due to the thin book by Hugh Wheeler.

⁴⁵⁹ Godfrey, “Candide presents double troubles” *The Globe and Mail*.

moved back and forth between the theatres, “In the Avon, the orchestra is being placed behind a scrim at the back of the stage, and the singers will see the conductor on television monitors hanging from the balcony. At the Festival, the orchestra will be cramped in a loft behind the stage balcony, and monitors will be in the side tunnels leading to the stage.”⁴⁶⁰ The transitions were thus made easier on the cast and crew, who only had to make minor adaptations from one space to the other.

Candide is the only musical in the Festival’s history that has been transferred from one stage to another. The experiment has never been repeated, perhaps due to practicalities of scheduling in the two theatres. Musicals did eventually take up residence in the Festival Theatre for entire seasons, which proved that at least part of the experiment had worked—a musical could be successful on the Festival’s thrust stage. The analysis below comparing two other shows that have been mounted at both the Avon and Festival theatres is a less direct comparison than the *Candide* transfer, because they are different productions directed and designed by different people and separated by a span of years.

*The Pirates of Penzance*⁴⁶¹ was first produced at the Stratford Festival in 1961; directed by Tyrone Guthrie, musically directed by Louis Applebaum, and designed by Brian Jackson, it, like *HMS Pinafore* the year before, enjoyed a hugely successful run at the Avon before

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ *Pirates of Penzance* is about a young pirate named Frederic, who is the ‘slave to duty’ of Gilbert and Sullivan’s subtitle. He was mistakenly apprenticed to pirates when he was a boy by his nurse Ruth, who mistook the word ‘pilot’ (of a ship) for ‘pirate.’ Frederic is fond of his shipmates and the Pirate King, but when he reaches his 21st birthday and is no longer bound to the pirates, he informs them that his duty compels him to hunt them down and bring them to justice. Frederic and Ruth leave the pirate ship early in Act 1 and Frederic almost immediately encounters a group of maidens who are the daughters of Major General Stanley. Frederic explains his situation to the women and one of the daughters, Mabel, calls him a ‘Poor Wandering One.’ Frederic and Mabel’s wooing is interrupted by the pirates, who each wish to claim one of Mabel’s sisters. The Major General arrives and convinces the Pirates to show mercy by claiming to be an orphan. In Act 2, a Sergeant of Police and his men are introduced as the group that Frederic will lead against the pirates. The Pirate King and Ruth reappear, however, and tell Frederic of a ‘Most Amazing Paradox’ that threatens the young man’s budding relationship with Mabel. Complications ensue, but all is resolved in typical Gilbert and Sullivan fashion.

transferring to Broadway, touring across the States and eventually opening in repertory with *Pinafore* in the West End.⁴⁶²



Illustration I.2: Designer Brian Jackson with his maquette for *Pirates*, 1961
Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Peter Smith.

Pirates was again mounted at the Festival in 1985 during Brian Macdonald's first foray into the G&S oeuvre in the 1980s. The 1985 *Pirates* starred Brent Carver as the Pirate King and Jeff Hyslop as Frederic and was immortalized when it was filmed for CBC television.⁴⁶³ The sets at the Avon included a simple ship set that suggested the deck of a ship with a railing, ropes and

⁴⁶² See Chapter Two for more about these early operettas at Stratford and their tours.

⁴⁶³ The film won a Gemini award in 1985.

a cabin (see Illustration I.3). The production made use of the classic proscenium device of setting short scenes and song on the apron in front of a drop curtain to allow for the set changes to take place behind the curtain. The curtain in question was beige with a map of the Cornwall coast on it. When the curtain went up, the ship had disappeared and a simple set of scattered rocks with a blue backdrop represented the beach where Frederic encounters Mabel and her sisters for the first time.



Illustration I.3: Jeff Hyslop (Frederic) with members of the company in *Pirates* 1985 Stratford Festival Archives.

In Act 2, the “ruined chapel by moonlight”⁴⁶⁴ set included a tomb, some pillars and some statues. All of the sets allowed for a great deal of movement and dance, including an extended chase scene for the soldiers and pirates, and for the Pirate King’s frequent whip cracking. The

⁴⁶⁴ Set direction, W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan, *The pirates of Penzance*

1985 production of *Pirates* was perfectly suited to the proscenium arch theatre, and the show itself, with a long tradition from D'Oyly Carte on down, seemed to be an exemplar of a musical work best experienced on the proscenium stage. The 1994 production of *Pirates* was therefore a bold experiment in staging a classic proscenium operetta on a thrust stage.

Brian Macdonald revisited the Gilbert and Sullivan canon in the mid-nineties, and Cushman thought that while his 1992 *Pinafore* was delightful, Macdonald was getting bored with the G&S repertoire by the time he got to *Pirates*.⁴⁶⁵ The production featured additional musical arrangements by Bert Carrière, with book and lyrics adapted by Canadian playwright Jim Betts. The Pirate King was played by Colm Feore, Frederic by Robert Yeretch, Mabel by Aggie Cekuta Elliot, and the Major General by Douglas Chamberlain. I attended a performance of this production at the Festival theatre in what must have been one of my first visits to Stratford on a grade seven end-of-year trip. I remember some of my classmates were less than enthused that we weren't going to Canada's Wonderland instead, and my teacher fell asleep after the intermission, but from my vantage point on the balcony, I was entranced by the movement and humour of the production.

The design for the first scene featured a mast in the centre of the Festival stage, just slightly downstage from the balcony, with ropes suspended from the ceiling and a ship's wheel that turned the whole of the Festival stage into the pirate ship (see Illustration I.4). These set pieces were easily disassembled to make way for a carpet of "sand" and scattered rocks that closely resembled those used during the beach scene in the 1985 production. The number of entrances and exits for the Festival stage were used to great effect in Macdonald's choreography of the Act 2 chase scene, once again extended beyond Sullivan's original twelve bars by

⁴⁶⁵ Cushman, *50 Seasons at Stratford*, 210.

Carrière. From a balcony seat, I thought the staging was very effective, but professional reviews were mixed. Geoff Chapman wrote,

The second act, wherein policemen and pirates, all apparently refugees from a lost *Monty Python* episode, fight a fatuous battle while the bewildered general roams around, was of classic farce proportions with echoes of Cirque du Soleil, manic Moliere and Cecil B. de Mille's grandiose stunts. And there are frequent moments of illuminating delight—the erection on stage of the pirate ship mast, the tightrope arrival of Feore, the explosive entry of Chamberlain's plane, the wonderfully faked sets...⁴⁶⁶



Illustration I.4: Members of the company *Pirates of Penzance*, 1994, Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives.

But Chapman also commented that “the second stage (the Avon Theatre) might yet provide a better venue for this blooming, buzzing confusion, while the set-pieces could be staged almost

⁴⁶⁶ Geoff Chapman, “New top-heavy baggage almost capsizes *Pirates*,” *The Toronto Star* (June 2, 1994), C9.

anywhere.”⁴⁶⁷ Putting a G&S operetta on the Festival stage is an experiment that Stratford has not repeated; the following year *The Gondoliers* was housed at the Avon. It is perhaps because there have been few G&S productions at all in the past twenty years that only one operetta was ever staged at the Festival theatre, but the G&S productions do have a long tradition of being at home at the Avon, and in 2012, *Pirates* was again produced there.

The 2012 production of *Pirates*, with Sean Arbuckle as the Pirate King, Kyle Blair as Frederic, Amy Wallis as Mabel and C. David Johnson as the Major General, was designed by Anna Louizos to give the impression of a Victorian theatre company putting on the operetta. The audience was treated to a behind-the-scenes glimpse of the actors warming up and getting dressed in corsets in front of a curtain with “Asbestos” written backwards across it. It was as if the audience at the Avon were backstage with them, and when the Asbestos curtain raised, the actors playing pirates rushed upstage toward bright lights before turning and rushing back downstage towards the orchestra; the audience had been transformed from backstage voyeurs into the audience for *The Pirates of Penzance*. Director Ethan McSweeney, new to directing Gilbert and Sullivan, said,

set designer Anna Louizos and I were inspired by backstage images from the Victorian era... most of the original design for rigging and other stage engineering was itself derived from maritime models. As we searched for something that spanned the Victorian while still retaining a contemporary edge, with costume designer Paul Tazewell, we stumbled upon the “Steampunk” movement. I was thrilled to learn more about these retro-futurists in our midst and to incorporate into the design parts of their glorious expression of neo-Victoriana through the lens of Jules Verne.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ethan McSweeney, as told to David Prosser, “The Art of Reinvention” in *The Pirates of Penzance: House Program*, (Stratford Shakespeare Festival, 2012), 6.

A steampunk clock adorned the centre of the proscenium arch, and wooden scaffolding with an abundance of ropes was transformed from a glimpse of Victorian stage mechanics during the overture dumbshow into the rigging of the pirate ship during the operetta proper (see Ill. I.4).



Illustration I.5: Set for *The Pirates of Penzance*, 2012 at the Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Cylla von Tiedemann.

The 2012 production had more elaborate sets than either the 1985 or 1994 productions, with large set pieces like a “mountain” that the girls descended onto the beach and crypt walls that were flown or wheeled on and offstage with no delay in the action. Technological advancements in set design have made the transition from one scene to another much more seamless than it was when Tyrone Guthrie first deplored the length of time it took to move from one scene to another and conceived of the thrust stage with minimal sets as a remedy to that. The pacing of shows at proscenium theatres is no longer necessarily adversely affected by the larger

sets that proscenium theatres lend themselves to. Nonetheless, the 2012 production of *Pirates* still made use of the between-scenes-set-change device of the drop curtain; Frederic moved from stage right to stage left in front of a curtain depicting the ocean after he left the pirate ship. Design and staging decisions to use old fashioned devices are now due less to necessity than to a conscious choice to invoke the past.



Illustration I.6: Kyle Blair as Frederic in *The Pirates of Penzance*, 2012. Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Cylla von Tiedemann.

Since the first production of Gilbert and Sullivan at Stratford in 1960, directors and designers have freely adapted the material and made unique interpretive decisions regarding staging, costuming and set design. In fact, what drew Tyrone Guthrie to the operettas in the 1960s was the fact that they were just coming out of copyright and the D'Oyly Carte company

no longer exerted iron control over the way they should be staged.⁴⁶⁹ New lyrics, music, orchestrations and dances have been interpolated into most of Stratford's G&S productions with various effects. The same freedom of interpretation is not available for Broadway musicals like *West Side Story* that are still under strict licensing agreements. Bert Carrière recounted, "When you order the music from *Guys and Dolls*, for example, it comes in a package—parts for the orchestra and the score. On the first page of the score it says 'nothing is to be re-shaped or re-orchestrated'"⁴⁷⁰ The same rules often apply to the book and to choreography, especially iconic choreography like Jerome Robbins' for *West Side Story*. Cushman opined that for the 1999 production at the Avon, "Sergio Trujillo's choreography cleaved closely, but not slavishly, to the revered Jerome Robbins original."⁴⁷¹ Sergio Trujillo again choreographed *West Side Story* in 2009, and I think the dance was more effective in the 2009 production than the 1999 production more because of the way he adapted the choreography to the Festival stage than because any other alterations he made from one production to the next.

The 1999 *West Side Story* at the Avon starred Tyley Ross as Tony and Ma-Anne Dionisio as Maria. I saw this production when I again attended the Stratford Festival on a school trip, this time with my high school drama class, and I thought that *West Side Story* held its own in a very strong season that year (I also saw William Hutt as Prospero in *The Tempest*, Lucy Peacock in *Pride and Prejudice*, and Brian Bedford, Seanna McKenna, and Steven Sutcliff in *The School for Scandal*). The set and costumes conformed to the 1950s New York time and locale of the show, with steel girders that evoked a fire escape during the balcony scene and the underside of a

⁴⁶⁹ For more on the D'Oyly Carte company and their licensing arrangements, see Regina B. Oost, *Gilbert and Sullivan: class and the Savoy tradition, 1875-1896*, (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2002) and Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A theatrical history*, rev. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁴⁷⁰ Berthold Carrière, interview.

⁴⁷¹ Cushman, *50 Seasons at Stratford*, 211.

bridge during the rumble. Trujillo's adaptation of Robbins' choreography worked very well on the proscenium stage for which it was designed, Sharks and Jets snapping their fingers in quick moves downstage with bodies facing out toward the audience for those iconic leaps.



Two balcony scenes from *West Side Story*.

Above, Illustration I.7: Tyley Ross and Ma-Anne Dionisio, Avon Theatre 1999. Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Cylla von Tiedemann.

Right Illustration I.8: Chilina Kennedy and Paul Nolan, Festival Theatre 2009. Stratford Festival Archives. Photo by Cylla von Tiedemann.



There were large set pieces for Doc’s drugstore and the dress shop where Maria and Tony pledge their love. I was entranced by Tyley Ross’s performance, much less so by Ma-Anne Dionisio’s, and felt, like Cushman, that, “*West Side*, directed by Kelly Robinson, took the stage with amazing freshness. For once, the Tony-Maria love duets were as compelling as the rumbles; even more uncommonly, in either play or musical, the updated Romeo (Tyley Ross) had the edge on his Juliet (Ma-Anne Dionisio).”⁴⁷² The entire production was well-suited to the space and did very well at the box office. The Festival’s first production of the best-known musical based on a Shakespeare play was a resounding success, critically and financially.



Illustration I.9: Paul Nolan as Tony, Chilina Kennedy as Maria and members of the company sing “Tonight” in *West Side Story*, 2009, on the Festival Stage. Stratford Festival Archives.

⁴⁷² Cushman, *50 Seasons at Stratford*, 210.

Ten years later, in 2009, *West Side Story* was again produced at Stratford, this time at the Festival theatre. Gary Griffin directed and Douglas Paraschuk designed the production starring Paul Nolan as Tony and Chilina Kennedy as Maria. Steel again featured heavily in the set design; the balcony of the Moiseiwitsch stage was replaced with a metal-looking balcony with metal railings and stairs (see Illustration I.9). The Festival stage was covered with a shiny black floor, with lights shining up from the trap door through an inset Plexiglas panel to illuminate the actors from below in some scenes. The stage was wider than the Festival stage beneath it as it was built out over the stairs all on one level in nine square-front wedges. Two of the wedges were ramps that led down to the vomitories, but could be raised flush with the stage for large dance numbers like the dance at the gym. The stage overlay was the largest set piece, otherwise the sets were minimalistic: an American flag for the dance at the gym, a drugstore counter for Doc's store, and a bed for Maria's room. The most effective scene in terms of set design was the dressmakers shop. Two lines of illuminated pale dresses were flown in from above the audience to meet under the balcony as a fanciful version of the dress shop where Tony and Maria exchange vows.

It was only after seeing the 2009 production of *West Side Story* that I realized how successful the Stratford Festival stage could be for a musical. I enjoyed the 1999 production at the Avon, but the 2009 production had a much greater sense of immediacy. The rumble and the love scenes seemed like they could spill over into the audience at any moment. The much heralded intimacy of the Festival stage was evident in every moment of Griffin's production. Not separated by the picture frame of the proscenium, the performances were fresh and immediate in a way that I have never experienced in any other production of *West Side Story*. I am not alone in

my admiration for the way Griffin breathed new life into the musical on the Festival stage; Juan Chioran said, “If anybody can block for that space, it’s Gary. He really, really understands it well and his *West Side Story* was superlative.”⁴⁷³ *Globe and Mail* critic J. Kelly Nestruck also called the production superlative,

Stratford’s production of this 1957 retelling of *Romeo and Juliet* is unbeatable. Griffin’s production has an electric charge that keeps the hairs on your skin tingling from start to finish... the one element that lifts it into the superlative stratosphere is Sergio Trujillo’s renovation of Jerome Robbins’s choreography for the Stratford festival thrust stage. Thrust is the imperative word here: Robbins’s finger-snapping choreography, so often parodied, explodes into the audience with an unmockable energy. It’s turbo-charged and thrilling and makes the violent dance of the Jets, the American gang, and the Sharks, the Puerto Ricans, seem genuinely threatening.⁴⁷⁴

Richard Ouzounian raved, “not only is this *West Side Story* the best production of a musical in Stratford’s long and distinguished list of triumphs, but it may well be one of the best productions of a musical I’ve seen anywhere in the world in 55 years of theatregoing... You don’t try to understand perfection. You just bow low in gratitude and rush to see it.”⁴⁷⁵ Des McAnuff said,

I think that production of Gary Griffin’s *West Side Story* may well be the best production of *West Side Story* that we ever get to see... I thought [it] was light years beyond the New York production that happened in the same season. I don’t even think it was in the same league. One was sort of dusting off a relic and this was fresh and new and exciting.⁴⁷⁶

It takes a very strong director who understands the Festival stage to adapt a show created for the proscenium stage to the Festival stage effectively. In the best instances, as with Griffin’s *West Side Story*, the space contributes to the world of the show, lifting it above mere adaptation to reinvention. In the worst instances, half of the audience never sees the actors’ faces and feels cheated by the performance. The Avon stage may be the easier place to put musicals as Stratford,

⁴⁷³ Juan Chioran, interview.

⁴⁷⁴ J. Kelly Nestruck, “America’s story plays best on Canadian stage,” *The Globe and Mail* (June 8, 2009), R3.

⁴⁷⁵ Richard Ouzounian, “This *Story* achieves greatness,” *Toronto Star* (June 8, 2009), E1-E2.

⁴⁷⁶ Des McAnuff, interview.

but when a musical is done well on the Festival stage, it is an experience of a musical beyond the ordinary—something unique to Stratford. Those positive experiences help the cause of musicals at Stratford; audiences, critics and company members can recognize the aesthetic worth of musicals more clearly when a fresh production on a unique stage allows the original merits of the musical to be unearthed.

CHAPTER FIVE: A COMPANY WITHIN A COMPANY

PAUL:

Sorry, this table is traditionally reserved for actors.

SHARON:

We are actors. We're in the musical.

PAUL:

Oh yes, true. Sorry, that's my fault, I should have been more explicit – this table is traditionally reserved for actors in the classical company.

*Slings & Arrows*⁴⁷⁷

The Canadian television series *Slings & Arrows* lovingly lampoons a small-town Shakespearean theatre company that closely resembles the Stratford Festival. The fictional New Burbage Festival mounts a musical in the third and final season of the show, illuminating and satirizing many of the social and economic repercussions that occur when a classical festival produces a musical. One of the themes highlighted by *Slings & Arrows* is the division that can exist between classical actors and musical actors, even when they are part of the same theatre company. The musical in *Slings & Arrows* (a fictional new musical called *East Hastings*) is worlds apart in aesthetics, rehearsal dynamics, and revenue from the classical play that the New Burbage Festival mounts in the same season—*King Lear*—and the differences are clearest when the actors from the classical play and the musical interact, as they do in the epigraph above. The same sort of division can exist at the Stratford Festival; actors in the musicals are part of the Stratford Festival company, but they are also the “musical company”—a subset of the overall group, somewhat set apart and cordoned off from the “serious” actors. Depending on the plays that are offered in any given season, the way casting is handled, and the prerogatives of the directors, the musical actors can be ghettoized; they can become a company within a company.

⁴⁷⁷ Peter Wellington, *Slings & arrows: the complete collection*, written by Susan Coyne, Bob Martin and Mark McKinney (Silver Spring, MD: Acorn Media, 2007. DVD. Originally broadcast on Canadian Television 2003-2006), season 3, episode 2.

When staged music first appeared at the Stratford Festival in 1955, it was under the auspices of the Music Festival and had a wholly separate cast from the Stratford acting company. Louis Applebaum, as Festival Music Director (1953-1960), auditioned and cast the works of music theatre with little reference to the casting that was being done in the dramatic company. There are echoes of that old division between the dramatic and musical sides of the Festival that reverberate to this day. The talent, training and skill needed to sing a Gilbert and Sullivan aria differs from that needed to dance in a Rodgers and Hammerstein dream ballet, which differs again from that needed to captivate an audience's attention while delivering a Shakespearean soliloquy. There are few people who are able to act, sing and dance equally, and are triple threats in the true sense of the term. Further, the training for different genres of theatre, music and dance have become increasingly specialized in conservatories, colleges and universities, so that a classically trained singer can have no more in common with a musical theatre singer than either can have with a classically trained actor or a classically trained dancer.

For a festival like Stratford that produces a broad range of theatre and music theatre genres each season, the Artistic Director needs to pull together actors from a variety of training backgrounds. Genre distinctions between types of theatre and music theatre are reflected in distinctions between types of actors in the company. Often how a genre of theatre is valued at Stratford is reflected in how the actors are valued within the company, and because musicals are usually seen as having less aesthetic value than other Stratford offerings due to their entertainment value and box office success (see Chapter Three), musical performers can correspondingly be considered less worthy of their place in the company than classical actors. At Stratford, actors with different strengths are all thrown together in a repertory setting, but the

company has grown so large that subsections of the company naturally emerge each season, depending on which shows are cross-cast with each other (i.e. which shows share cast members with the other shows in a repertory setting). There are now normally at least two musicals in each Stratford season, and music theatre actors often appear in two musicals, but nothing else, forming a musical subsection of the company that is almost completely separate from the rest of the Stratford company. In this environment, with the prime focus of Stratford on the Shakespearean productions, the musical actors can become second-class citizens.

In contrast to the narrative of company division, there is a counter narrative of company cohesiveness, with intermittent pushes toward company inclusion, helped along by actors who are willing and able to do *both* Shakespeare and musicals. The genres of theatre can inform one another with unique crosspollinations in a single Stratford season. A classically trained actor like Scott Wentworth, for example, can play Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, and then explore a different facet of Jewish life and fatherhood as Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*, as he did in Stratford's 2013 season. Stratford's company is constantly forming and reforming as actors work within the repertory system and move from play to play, and as new actors are hired each season.

In this chapter, I examine the actors and artists who create musicals at the Stratford Festival and argue that how they fit into the company as a whole reflects an evolution of how musicals have been valued—both at Stratford and in the wider arts community. I analyze the way taste and value play out in the casting of company members from various training/experience backgrounds, and how the interaction of company members is part of the larger discourse on how different types of art/entertainment are valued. I rely on interview and archival data to explore what the employees of the Festival think about the place of musicals at Stratford. I

explain the nature of a repertory company like Stratford, and how that differs from most companies that come together for one show before breaking apart so individuals can seek out new projects. I then examine how the manner in which plays and musicals are cross-cast can influence the division or unification the company as a whole. I also explore the training of the typical music theatre actor as compared to actors in the plays and the types of issues that arise in a repertory company when classically trained actors are asked to take part in a musical and music theatre actors are asked to take part in the classics.

REPERTORY THEATRE

The Stratford Festival is the largest repertory company in North America. In 2012, Des McAnuff's last year as Artistic Director, the company had 106 actors performing in 12 separate productions, plus twelve more actors who "also appeared" in the two mainstage Shakespeare productions, and an additional nine actors that took part in the two guest productions at the studio theatre.⁴⁷⁸ Current Artistic Director Antoni Cimolino has trimmed back the production costs elsewhere, but he still has a large company of 102 actors in 12 productions in the 2014 season.⁴⁷⁹ Even in its first season, with only two plays, the company was a repertory company; the actors who were hired for *Richard III* also played in *All's Well That Ends Well*, and the two plays were performed on alternate nights. Besides providing variety to the actors in what they performed every night, the alternation of the plays allowed the audience to experience the

⁴⁷⁸ Stratford Festival, "The Company" *2012 Souvenir Program* (Stratford Shakespeare Festival, 2012), 72-95. The two guest productions were Rick Miller's one-man show *MacHomer* and VideoCabaret's production *The War of 1812* from Michael Hollingsworth's play cycle *The History of the Village of Small Huts*.

⁴⁷⁹ The 2014 visitors guide listed 92 company members (pp.56-57), but it was published before casting was complete. The Stratford Festival website listed 102 company members as of April 2014. <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/about/company.aspx?id=21030>

Stratford Festival as a festival, and to see the two shows back to back. With a much larger season now, the same still holds true. There are shows that open mid-season, but that often happens before any of the other shows close, so that one can go to the Stratford Festival in late August or early September and see the entire season's worth of productions in one week.

Theatre companies have been organized as repertory companies for centuries. In Shakespeare's time, his company would have performed more than one of his plays in any given season, and they would likely have alternated them—played them in repertory—along with other popular Elizabethan works. Des McAnuff looks to Elizabethan companies as an example in his argument for fewer distinctions between different genres in the theatre. He thinks repertory companies are good for juxtaposing different works and breaking down genre distinctions in the theatre: "They all fit together... this was true, of course, of the joint stock companies of Shakespeare's time. They switched from revenge comedies to histories to tragedies."⁴⁸⁰

Repertory companies are also known as stock companies—a term that is also used in the phrase 'summer stock,' when actors go to a small town during the summer months and mount several plays and musicals in repertory using stock costumes, props and sets. Indeed, the Stratford Festival is similar to summer stock companies in its repertory nature, its festive summer season, and its origins under a tent. On the other hand, the Stratford Festival was founded with much grander ambitions than summer stock for the type of theatre it would present and the quality of its productions; it also differs from summer stock in the length of its seasons and its large company. Stratford was and is meant to be a more highbrow place for theatre than a summer stock theatre. One of the problems many critics and company members had with musicals when they started to be included in Stratford seasons was that musicals were closely

⁴⁸⁰ Des McAnuff, interview.

linked with summer stock and its more lowbrow associations. There was an idea that Stratford lowered itself and debased its mandate by including works that had amateur connotations in its seasons. Despite the differences between summer stock and Stratford, the Stratford Festival will always have something in common with summer stock companies and the stock companies of earlier eras in that its repertory nature is very different from companies that hire actors for one play at a time.

In his book *Showtime*, Larry Stempel describes how the stock company was replaced by a ‘combination system’ in American theatre in the late nineteenth century.

The combination system first developed in the 1860s as an efficient response to the pressures of specialization... [This system] forced companies to abandon repertory seasons and forced managers to dedicate their theatres to one type of entertainment in order to survive.⁴⁸¹

Much of the professional theatre world operates with ‘combination companies’ (an old fashioned term, since this type of company is now the norm). Long runs are benchmarks of success (as with megamusicals like *Les Misérables* in the West End and *Phantom* in Toronto) and franchised versions of Broadway or West End originals can be found in cities from Sydney to Tokyo to Toronto.⁴⁸² In contrast, the Stratford Festival is an old-fashioned ‘stock company’ that performs shows in repertory. Like their nineteenth-century forebears, Stratford actors must have the versatility to move between tragedy and farce, and also have the skill to sing and dance with ease. There is a degree of specialization within the company, and it undergoes changes in

⁴⁸¹ Larry Stempel, *Showtime: a history of the Broadway musical theater* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 34.

⁴⁸² Jonathan Burston, in his article on the global industrialisation of the megamusical, notes that long initial runs of musicals and the subsequent transnational licensing deals are necessary in order for producers to recoup the costs of expensive shows: “A megamusical must enjoy 80 per cent houses for about 3 years if it is to justify its producers’ initial investment.” Burston, “Spectacle, Synergy and Megamusicals,” 70.

membership at the end of each season, but the repertory nature of the Festival harkens back to an earlier time when actors and audience alike had a voracious appetite for *all* types of theatre.

Stempel compares the emergence of combination companies in the late nineteenth century to the industrial revolution, and to the commoditization of theatre into show business.⁴⁸³ The commoditization on the one hand was matched by what Lawrence Levine called the “sacralization of culture” on the other hand.⁴⁸⁴ The specialization of theatre companies and their separation into distinct units that performed set genres was a symptom of the aesthetic distinctions being enacted by members of all classes in the Romantic era. Whereas pre-Romantic audiences usually saw a variety of musical, dance and theatre styles in one evening’s entertainment, by the late nineteenth century elites in cities throughout Europe and the Americas had cordoned off certain arts from others by building opera houses and theatres that were for high art (and high class audiences) only. According to Levine, “The theater in the first half of the nineteenth century played the role that movies played in the first half of the twentieth: it was a kaleidoscopic, democratic institution presenting a widely varying bill of fare to all classes and socioeconomic groups.”⁴⁸⁵ By the mid-nineteenth century, however, “There was an increasing segregation not only of audiences but ultimately of actors and styles as well.”⁴⁸⁶

Many audience members pushed back against the stratification and division of genres and audiences. Levine recounts several instances of middle and working class American audiences protesting any behaviour they perceived as aristocratic or undemocratic, especially from visiting

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 35.

⁴⁸⁴ Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: the emergence of cultural hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 57.

European artists.⁴⁸⁷ Perhaps the most famous example of class warfare over the division of theatre is the Astor Place riot of May 10, 1849, when thousands of protesters filled the streets outside the Astor Place Opera House in New York City. A few days before, at a performance of *Macbeth*, the unruly behaviour of the audience in the stalls toward an English actor named William Charles Macready included throwing food and furniture on the stage. A number of prominent New Yorkers convinced Macready to ignore the mob and stay on for the remainder of his contract. He took the stage again on May 10, and the vocal protests to his performance inside were joined by a mob of supporters outside who objected to the attempts of the upper classes to regulate behaviour in the theatre. By the end of the night twenty-two people had been killed, more than one hundred injured and eighty-five working class men had been arrested.⁴⁸⁸ Stempel averred that the Astor Place Riot “marked the beginning of the end of theater in the United States as a conglomerate entertainment for a heterogeneous audience.”⁴⁸⁹ Levine wrote,

The Astor Place Riot, which in essence was a struggle for power and cultural authority within theatrical space, was simultaneously an indication of and a catalyst for the cultural changes that came to characterize the United States at the end of the century. Theater no longer functioned as an expressive form that embodied all classes within a shared public space, nor did Shakespeare much longer remain the common property of all Americans.⁴⁹⁰

Certain genres of theatre became associated with certain classes: Shakespeare and opera became the province of the social elite, while operetta (and later musicals) became middle class entertainments. The class distinctions extended from the audience onto the stage, and actors came to be associated with high art or low, depending on the genre they performed.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 60-63.

⁴⁸⁸ See Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 63-69, and Stempel, *Showtime*, 27-35.

⁴⁸⁹ Stempel, *Showtime*, 33.

⁴⁹⁰ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 68.

This history of theatrical segregation was still strong in mid-1950s Canada—an era when cultural projects included building opera and ballet houses where audiences were expected to behave in a restrained manner. Nonetheless, when the Stratford Festival was founded in 1953 it was under the guidance of Tyrone Guthrie, and Guthrie had an omnivorous approach to the arts. He created a Shakespeare Festival that was also a place where audiences could come to a small Ontario city and take in several types of art over a few days. Guthrie consciously wanted a festival atmosphere, which is one reason he so supported Louis Applebaum's efforts with the Music Festival, and also initiatives like the Stratford Film Festival and the art and book fairs.⁴⁹¹ One of the central aims of the Stratford Festival was to build and educate an audience for theatre in Canada, at the same time training Canadian actors to do the classics. Guthrie was first and foremost an entertainer, however, and when he returned to Stratford to direct *H.M.S. Pinafore* in 1960, it was because he thought Stratford audiences would appreciate an updated version of a Gilbert and Sullivan classic in the same way they appreciated updated productions of Shakespeare.

The historical division of theatrical genres into high and low—into art and entertainment—linger at Stratford. The Stratford company now presents many different genres of theatre side by side within a single season; these genres are generally strengthened rather than diminished by the juxtaposition of classics, new works and musicals. In this respect, the repertory nature of the Festival symbolizes a return to the days when audiences were heterogeneous, and actors could perform in farce, tragedy and music with equal conviction. However, the audiences at Stratford are not a heterogeneous cross-section of the Canadian population, but skew toward the upper and upper middle classes. Some audience members

⁴⁹¹ See Walter Pitman, *Louis Applebaum: a passion for culture* (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2002), 106-108.

happily take in many different types of productions, but others come to Stratford solely for Shakespeare and would never attend a musical.⁴⁹² Further, the surface unity of the acting company, promoted in Stratford posters and publications, is in fact often fractured along those same aesthetic and class lines that began to appear in the nineteenth century—Shakespearean actors are usually more valued by Stratford actors and audiences than music theatre actors.

The Stratford Festival's repertory makeup has aesthetic repercussions in that its combination of theatre genres allows for audiences to be fairly eclectic in their tastes. The actors are also challenged to take on genres they might not have an opportunity to try in a non-repertory setting. Genre boundaries can be blurred within the Stratford company (as when actors were asked perform the mostly sung roles that made up the Greek chorus in 2012's *Elektra*) or, contrastingly, they can be reinforced when the juxtaposition of theatre genres throws their differences into sharper relief. Actor Kyle Blair, who has classical training, but typically has leading roles in musicals, commented, "Definitely people will refer to the musical company as a separate entity, which I don't know if I feel is the most constructive way of having a rep company."⁴⁹³ Here, Blair indicates that while audiences and critics may see actors as belonging to separate camps, the strongest sense of division can come from within the company.

SCHEDULING THE REPERTORY COMPANY

There are pragmatic realities to the Stratford Festival's repertory arrangement. There are challenges to the actors, directors, musicians and crew when each person takes part in two or

⁴⁹² I was unable to track down any hard data on this beyond the odd blog post, but I spoke to enough people over breakfast at Stratford B&Bs to realize that there are some dyed-in-the-wool Shakespeare fans who don't think it is worth their time to see a musical.

⁴⁹³ Kyle Blair, interview.

more shows. Juan Chioran, who has played lead roles in Shakespeare and musicals, said that organizing the repertory company can be very complex with all the cross casting that occurs, “All those Rubik’s Cube pieces need to fall into place. That’s a tall order. It’s a lot of people and a lot of scheduling. Not just the performances, but the rehearsals—you have primary rehearsals and secondary rehearsals.”⁴⁹⁴ In a season with 12 shows, multiple shows need to rehearse every day, but because each actor has roles in two or three different plays, scheduling can be extraordinarily complicated. Nora Polley, who began stage managing at Stratford in 1969 and is now the Stratford Archives assistant, explained how the Production Stage Manager would complete the monumental task of scheduling rehearsals before the advent of computerization:

The Production Stage Manager is a huge job. During the time that I was a Production Stage Manager, I had a P.A., Andrew North, and he watched myself and Maggie Palmer, who was the other P.S.M., as we started every day with a big piece of paper. It was divided into 15 minutes all across the top, and it had the names of all the actors all down the side. And then someone would say, “Okay, for *Julius Caesar*, we’re rehearsing Scene 2 from 10-10:30.” So we’d find the scene breakdown for *Julius Caesar* and you would see all the people that are in Scene 2 and you’d put a little “x” in the box. And then the next company would be waiting to hear from you who was left, who they could have after the *Julius Caesar* people had been taken. You would send that to them and they would send you who they wanted, and you’d put all that in... Now there are three priority rehearsals every day.⁴⁹⁵

Actor Naomi Costain explained that the actors are kept very busy during the rehearsal period, because if they are not called for one of the day’s three priority rehearsals (*Julius Caesar*, in Polley’s example above), they might be called for a secondary rehearsal, or to work with a voice coach, or go over some dance steps at a tertiary rehearsal.⁴⁹⁶ Actor Lucy Peacock (who started doing Shakespeare in Stratford’s Young Company and has also starred in musicals) said,

⁴⁹⁴ Juan Chioran, interview.

⁴⁹⁵ Nora Polley, interview.

⁴⁹⁶ Naomi Costain, interview.

Scheduling is pretty ruthless. There's not a lot of sitting around. You're either rehearsing, or performing, or going to a fitting or something. I sometimes joke with friends that are in the company when I see them at the first meet and greet and say, "Well, have a good opening, have a good closing, and call me when you need me," because there is a chance we would never cross paths the whole season.⁴⁹⁷

The size of Stratford's repertory company and the way the production team schedules performances and rehearsals means that actors may not see fellow members of the company unless they are also cast members in their two or three shows. David Playfair (mainly an actor in musicals) said that the performance scheduling of the large repertory company can also affect the actors' ability to see the other shows produced at Stratford: "I didn't always get to see everything because a show would play opposite yours and there might only be two opportunities to see it."⁴⁹⁸ The fact that two shows might consistently play at the same times may have inconvenienced actors who wanted to see each other's show, but more importantly it reflects a conception of the audiences of those shows as completely distinct. For example, if a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta plays at the Avon the same days and times that Macbeth is playing in the Festival theatre, it is difficult for audiences to attend both shows unless they stay in Stratford several days.

Des McAnuff, who could probably not be accused of a segregationist bias when it comes to art and audiences, thinks that the only noteworthy difference between doing theatre at Stratford versus elsewhere is that it is a repertory company:

That has some impact on the way we work. It certainly impacts the crew for having to dismantle and erect these massive productions. And I dare say no one in the world could do *Tommy* the way we're doing it now in rep. There isn't another theatre anywhere on the planet that could do that... There are some advantages to doing that and there are some disadvantages.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁷ Lucy Peacock, interview.

⁴⁹⁸ David Playfair, interview.

⁴⁹⁹ Des McAnuff, interview.

The challenges of working in repertory are balanced out by some benefits; McAnuff said that rep is good for the actors in the variety it gives them: “I think long term it’s a really healthy thing, because I think it’s good for actors to go back and forth from different parts—particularly if they’re crossing from musicals to straight plays.”⁵⁰⁰ Juan Chioran echoed this sentiment, likening working in one show for eight performances a week (as is common on Broadway and in Toronto musicals) to eating the same food at every meal, whereas repertory provides a range of experiences, “I love doing rep. The season does fly by. Eight shows a week is tough, and repertory makes it a little easier.”⁵⁰¹ It may be healthy for artists to exercise different acting ‘muscles’—to expand the tastes on their palette—in the same way that philosopher Michel de Montaigne argued that entertainment/divertissements could refresh the mind for its work. He argued that it is actually more productive to take a break and engage in other activities, than it is to attempt to only focus on one thing.⁵⁰² Richard Shusterman follows Montaigne’s line of thought, writing, “To sustain, refresh, and even deepen concentration, one also needs to distract it; otherwise concentration fatigues itself and gets dulled through monotony.”⁵⁰³ Shusterman’s argument for the benefits of entertainment applies as much to the entertainers themselves as it does to the audience.

Another benefit of repertory is that directors can cast actors in roles they might not otherwise take if they didn’t also have a lead role in another production (or two). Rick Fox, the Festival Music Director from 2007 to 2013, said, “Because this is a rep company, we have

⁵⁰⁰ Des McAnuff, interview.

⁵⁰¹ Juan Chioran, interview.

⁵⁰² Montaigne acknowledged the value of pleasure, play and pastime in the way they can allow the mind relief and alternative pursuits that dialectically strengthen it when one returns to work. Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, translated by Donald Frame (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1958).

⁵⁰³ Richard Shusterman, “Entertainment: A question for aesthetics” *British Journal of Aesthetics* 43, 3 (July 2003): 293.

people in our ensemble that play leads in other shows. You're able to have people playing little tiny parts that you wouldn't normally get. So the depth of talent surpasses the typical Broadway show.⁵⁰⁴ Highly trained and well-respected actors may take small character roles in some Stratford shows because they also get the chance to stretch themselves with larger (more challenging) roles in the same season. It is a trade off; in much the same way that Louis Applebaum was able to attract musicians to play in the pit orchestra of the operettas by also offering them the chance to work with world class musicians in workshops and chamber concerts (see Chapter 2), Stratford Artistic Directors are able to attract some of the very best Canadian talent to the company through the sheer breadth of juicy roles available across a dozen plays and musicals. Carl Danielsen gave this specific example of his fellow cast members in 2012's *42nd*

Street:

These two small characters [in *42nd Street*]—Abner Dillon, played by Steve Ross, and Pat Denning, played by C. David Johnson—in the States, no one wants to play those parts, so you don't get that level of talent. Here, you have first class actors playing small roles and it's inspiring. That's the most exciting thing about being here. The tiniest roles are played like leads here, and the camaraderie and respect for each other is great.⁵⁰⁵

Working at Stratford for a season is a great job for a Canadian actor, who will be employed from the start of rehearsals in February until their last play closes in October, and Stratford directors consequently pick from the best theatre talent Canada has to offer, filling out even the small roles in their casts with talented and highly trained actors. The gradual acceptance of musicals at Stratford came about partly because the acting quality in the musicals was higher than many other places, so the musicals could be considered aesthetically as more than 'light entertainment.' Another factor in their acceptance was that many classically trained actors came

⁵⁰⁴ Rick Fox, interview.

⁵⁰⁵ Carl Danielsen, interview.

to enjoy acting in musicals as their ‘secondary’ role at Stratford, and as more of these actors worked with actors trained in musical theatre, the internal sense within the company of division between genres lessened.

Actors from a variety of backgrounds, disciplines and schools of training come together in the large repertory company at Stratford to meet the needs of the plays offered in any given season. In the next section, I examine the different types of actors that can be found in Stratford’s company and how some apparently deep-seated divisions between schools of training and genres of theatre can be bridged by the training and opportunities the Stratford Festival provides its actors.

ACTOR TRAINING: CLASSICAL VS. MUSICAL THEATRE

In a scene from the beginning of *Sling & Arrows*’ third season, the actors from the classical company warily assess the musical actors, who are finishing a dance warm up. The New Burbage Company’s classical ingénue, with the role of Cordelia in their *King Lear*, is Sophie (played by Sarah Polley), and she and the young classical actor Paul (played by Aaron Abrams) are both fascinated by and disdainful of the musical actors.

PAUL: There they are: the boys and girls of the musical.

SOPHIE: Well, they’re flexible. I’ll give ‘em that.

PAUL: Stick figure—that stick insect is Megan. She’s the lead in the musical. Triple threat.

SOPHIE: What? Cute, sexy and bendy?

Sarah Polley’s character dismisses the notion that actors in the musical are triple threats: equally talented in singing, acting and dancing. She instead indicates that musical actors are mostly cast for their physical appeal, and that being cute and sexy is more important than acting talent in

musicals. *Slings & Arrows* satirizes the division between the two sides of the company, but also reinforces the idea that classical actors differ from musical actors in intelligence. The *Slings & Arrows* characters who play roles in New Burbage's *Lear* are intellectual actors, while the characters who are actors in New Burbage's musical are portrayed as being largely fun-loving and shallow.

Despite his initial disdain for the musical theatre actors, the character Paul is completely entranced when he hears the female lead of the musical sing. He ends up entering into a relationship with her after hearing her sing, as if his eyes were opened to the possibility of diversity in talent when he caught a glimpse of the musical rehearsal. *Slings & Arrows* as a show seems to come down on the side of musicals being fun and capable of making money, but not worthy of serious thought. In the character of Megan, the musical lead, the *Slings & Arrows* writers present their audience with a sweet, rather naïve actor, whose worries about the musical lack the depth of the classical company's struggles with *King Lear*. Her ability to make music moves Paul emotionally, but she does not intellectually engage him; his attraction to her is troubled by a mind/body dualism—a division that many cultural critics also use to dismiss the musical genre. Through Paul's gaze, Megan is reduced to a sex object with a great voice.

Actor Donnie Macphee, who was in Stratford musicals in 2006, claims, "The guys who do plays hate music theatre, but want to sleep with all the girls who do music theatre."⁵⁰⁶ Macphee said he often felt protective of his female costars, and in his comment there is a strong sense of resentment toward actors whose dismissal of a genre of theatre involves reducing the female musical actors to sex objects without much substance—talented at singing and dancing, but without much thought or work behind their talent.

⁵⁰⁶ Donnie Macphee, interview.

Slings & Arrows skillfully represents a pervasive attitude within theatre, namely that singing and dancing, especially non-classical singing and dancing, are less intellectual arts than acting. The mind/body dualism evident here privileges literary theatre (works that are as often studied in English departments as they are performed by theatre majors) over theatre that uses movement and music as much or more than words to convey its messages. A large focus of classical acting training is on the text of the plays—interpreting and understanding the works of Shakespeare and other playwrights. Despite the hard work that goes into honing dance and musical talent, they can be seen as less challenging than acting because they are thought to be less intellectual and maybe more reliant on some inborn talent—being born with a good voice or ‘natural’ rhythm. Within the genre of musicals, this mind/body dualism persists, so that musicals with source material of a certain pedigree like *West Side Story*, *My Fair Lady* or *Fiddler on the Roof* are considered canonical, while musicals that place more emphasis on spectacle and dance numbers like *42nd Street* and *Anything Goes* are not.⁵⁰⁷

The training needed for different types of musicals can differ show to show. Actor Kyle Golemba said that when he did Gilbert and Sullivan at Stratford for the first time, it actually aligned better with his training than some of the other musicals there:

I grew up doing more legit singing and studied classical stuff, you know, for music festivals and things like that, so in some ways [doing *Pirates*] was more like coming home to the style, as opposed to when I first did *Evita* and having to learn what that was. *Evita* and *Superstar* were totally outside my usual of what I do.⁵⁰⁸

Most of the actors who are cast in Shakespearean plays at Stratford have classical training that they received at a university or conservatory like the National Theatre School. The training backgrounds of the actors who appear in musicals can vary depending on the genre of music

⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter 2 and the introduction of this work for a discussion of how the musical canon is constructed.

⁵⁰⁸ Kyle Golemba, interview.

theatre that season: they may have specialized singing or dance training, or perhaps have come through a program dedicated to musical theatre such as Sheridan College's Bachelor of Applied Arts in Music Theatre Performance. Indeed, Sheridan prominently advertised their musical theatre degree on the back of the 2012 house programs for Stratford musicals, congratulating and listing the graduates from their program who were the Festival's 2012 company, both at Stratford and on tour (see Illustration 5.1).

In the first works of music theatre that appeared at Stratford, many of the actors came from the Canadian Opera Company. The operettas and operas that were part of the Festival from 1955 until the 1970s required classically trained singers. When Brian Macdonald directed his string of operettas and musicals at Stratford (1982-1996), a great deal of emphasis was placed on dance as well, because Macdonald was a director/choreographer with a background in ballet. The classical singing and vocal demands meant that there wasn't much integration of the musical company with the rest of the Stratford company for many years (see the section on cross-casting below). Juan Chioran argues that classical training can breed versatility: "If you study in the classical vein of theatre, or music, or dance, and you can master the classics, then you can branch out to more modern works."⁵⁰⁹ However, the degree of specialization required to achieve a level of mastery in classical singing, dancing or acting sometime prevents an artist from being able to spend time on other disciplines or genres.

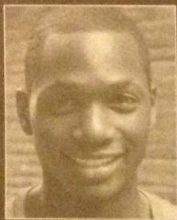
Lucy Peacock thinks that there are very few people that are equally strong in acting, singing and dance:

The actors in the classical company and the musical theatre performers—I think there are people that can do the crossover in both worlds, and there are people that can't and shouldn't. I think if you're in the chorus of a musical theatre show, you

⁵⁰⁹ Juan Chioran, interview.

First-Class Education, World-Class Performances

2012 Stratford Shakespeare Festival's Sheridan Alumni



Andrew Broderick



Kyle Golemba



Julianne Hobby



Robin Hutton



Kayla James



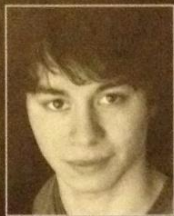
Heather McGuigan



Stephen Patterson



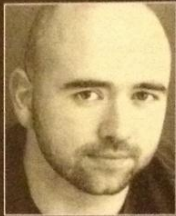
Jennifer
Rider-Shaw



Travis Seetoo



Jennifer Stewart

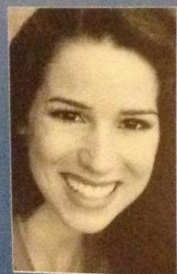


Jordan Till



Geoffrey Tyler

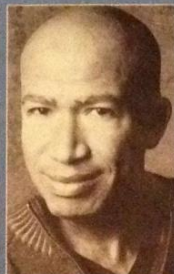
Congratulations to our Sheridan alumni performing in *Jesus Christ Superstar* at the Neil Simon Theatre on Broadway!



Chilina Kennedy



Aaron Walpole



Mark Cassius

Launch Your Theatre Career at Sheridan!

Music Theatre Performance
(Bachelor of Applied Arts)

Technical Production for Theatre and Live Events

Performing Arts - Preparation

Theatre and Drama Studies (Bachelor of Arts)



Sheridan

SEE THE NEXT GENERATION!

Visit theatre.sheridancollege.ca for information about Theatre Sheridan's 2012/13 six show season.

Illustration 5.1: Sheridan College advertised their theatre programs on the back of the house programs for all four 2012 musicals at Stratford (*42nd Street*, *Pirates*, *Charlie Brown*, and *Wanderlust*).

can't necessarily jump from there to doing Tybalt. You just can't. You don't have the skill set, and you don't have the *time*, probably, to learn the skill set to be able to do that successfully. In the same way, with Tybalt, you don't want him doing hand flips and pas de bourrées in your musical. But there are *some*, obviously, who can and should do both. What do they call that—the triple threat? That exists.⁵¹⁰

Many colleges and universities that offer music theatre programs purport to train actors as triple threats. However, there is usually more emphasis on singing and dancing in music theatre programs because the singing and dancing is what sets musicals apart from straight plays.

Actor David Keeley thinks the musical genre would benefit from more focus on acting training for music theatre performers:

I want us, as musical theatre performers, to do the brass tacks of all the triple threat. We've always been great singers and dancers, but I think we need to be better actors and storytellers. And then I think the audience will walk away with a different understanding of what a musical is... We need to pay more attention to the acting in musical theatre, so it's not secondary to the dancing and singing. The storytelling and the acting has to be as profound and as magnetic and as exciting as the singing and dancing.⁵¹¹

Most of the Stratford actors that I talked to were very concerned that their acting was strong.

Cynthia Dale received wide exposure for her work on the television show *Street Legal* before moving to Stratford in 1997 and starring in most of the musicals during Monette's artistic directorship. Dale trained as a dancer, but her star power had come from a popular television show, so she had a different career trajectory than many musical theatre actors. She remarked, "Just because I get on stage and do a tap number, the moment I speak I want to be able to act with the best of them... It's a given in musicals that you do all three. I don't want to be a Jack-of-All-Trades. I want to be a triple threat. There's a difference."⁵¹² Musical may have a focus on singing and dancing, but Stratford has a dedication to acting and text, so music theatre actors at

⁵¹⁰ Lucy Peacock, interview.

⁵¹¹ David Keeley, interview.

⁵¹² Cynthia Dale, interview.

Stratford tend to spend a lot of time and energy on improving their acting and making sure that they are true triple threats.

Des McAnuff thinks that when performers are equally strong in acting, singing and dancing, it is a wonderful strength for the Stratford company. He contends that people inside the company who look down on musicals are secretly threatened by the talents of the music theatre artists. He said that a snobbish attitude toward musicals tends to come “from people who are somewhat shallow and also not necessarily talented in an eclectic way... and I think they’re understandably threatened by those actors like Paul Nolan who can do it all. If you can’t do it all, then you don’t want those people around.”⁵¹³ Certainly, not all classical performers feel insecure around musical theatre performers. Many of the actors at Stratford hold the other company members in high esteem regardless of discipline. However, it is most often the classically trained actors who have acted in musicals, and worked closely with music theatre actors that are the most outspoken on behalf of their fellow actors. Lucy Peacock, for example, said that she very much admired the musical singers and actors when she worked with them, “I admire them so much. Their skill—the technical demands of their craft—are unbelievable.”⁵¹⁴

Peacock said that she has learned a lot from working at Stratford and observing other actors work. She has played lead roles in musicals at Stratford, but did not train in music theatre before she got to Stratford, “I was not raised in a musical theatre sound. I certainly wasn’t trained for it at all... The only way I learned was by doing. That’s the only way I’ve learned any of my craft—watching and doing.”⁵¹⁵ Peacock recounted how she was interested in both acting and music when she was a young girl. She taught herself guitar, but she also came from four

⁵¹³ Des McAnuff, interview.

⁵¹⁴ Lucy Peacock, interview.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

generations of classical actresses, so when she was a teenager she had an introspective moment of deciding what training she wanted to pursue, “Self, I said, if you become a musician, if you follow that route, you may never ever get a chance to act. But if I act, if I become an actor, there’s a pretty good chance I’ll get the opportunity to sing. And so I became an actress.”⁵¹⁶

Other actors who, like Peacock, can sing as well as act, also made conscious decisions to become actors first. In the case of Juan Chioran, it was his way of being taken seriously as an actor, and not being typecast in musicals:

My education was mainly as an actor. When I first came to Stratford, they didn’t know I could sing. Singing was something I kind of kept on the side. I always trained privately. I even trained in opera for a number of years. It was something that once I established myself as an actor and they said, “Okay you’re an actor,” I said, “Oh, by the way, I happen to do this as well.” Because I’d seen too many friends of mine who were actors who also sang get pigeonholed. And there is this horrible stigma of “Oh, you’re a *musical* theatre performer.”⁵¹⁷

David Keeley has encountered the same sort of stigma against musicals as Chioran. He started out in music, but then decided to stop performing in musicals for a while to reset his career:

Musical theatre folk generally aren’t given as much cred as actors... you get typecast as a musical theatre person. So I had to break out of that. I had to say, “No, I’m not going to do musicals anymore. I’m going to do plays and television and film.” You get hungry for a bit, but then you get a job. If you have enough tenacity and thick enough skin, then you stick through it. You have to take control of your life and career and not let anyone else dictate how you’re going to be boxed in or labeled.⁵¹⁸

American actor Carl Danielsen trained in classical music and classical acting, and deliberately prioritized the acting in his career, because “The more musical theatre you do, the harder it is to get seen for the straight stuff.”⁵¹⁹ All these actors found ways to work around the hierarchies of value within the theatrical community. To avoid having directors or casting directors

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Juan Chioran, interview.

⁵¹⁸ David Keeley, interview.

⁵¹⁹ Carl Danielsen, interview.

‘pigeonhole’ them as musical actors, they took the time to establish their acting credentials in plays and television. At the heart of the concerns around being typecast is an acknowledgment that many directors, critics and fellow actors seem to have no problem if an actor wants to move down the hierarchical ladder from classics to musicals, but it is much harder to convince those people that an actor might have the talent, skill and training to move up the cultural value ladder from musicals to classics. All of my interview subjects expressed an appreciation for the genre of musicals as a whole, and thought that they deserve to be treated with respect. That is not to say that everyone I interviewed spoke glowingly about every production—there were some off-the-record comments made about specific shows or artistic choices for those shows, but those comments expressed a concern for the aesthetic value of a particular musical or a particular production, and not an aesthetic dismissal of the genre as a whole.

Although actors sometimes find it advantageous to hide their musical talents to avoid typecasting, there are also benefits to being multi-disciplined in the theatre, especially in a setting like Stratford that produces many genres of theatre. David Keeley says that being a triple threat is beneficial not only at Stratford, but in the wider Canadian theatre scene, “On Broadway, you do a musical and become a musical guy. Here [in Canada], because we just don’t have the concentrated work that is necessary to survive, you have to have the diversity.”⁵²⁰ Keeley continued, “If you can sing, you’re a lucky guy in this business, or girl, because if the TV and film dries up, you can maybe do a musical, or you can maybe do a play. The more you can do, the more work you have. That’s been my experience.”⁵²¹ Juan Chioran shares Keeley’s opinion that the Canadian actor has to be multi-talented:

⁵²⁰ David Keeley, interview.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

I don't believe there is such a thing as "You're an actor, and you're a musical theatre actor." The Canadian actor really kind of has to do everything. And that's one of the great things about Stratford, that you can appear in a Shakespeare and in a musical in the same season and you're expected to be equally strong in both. And like a musical, Shakespeare does require a certain specific skill set. It's not like you can just come off a film set and suddenly jump into *Richard III*.⁵²²

Stratford directors are looking for those specific skill sets when they cast their shows, but because they are part of a repertory season, there are negotiations in casting based on who other directors want for their plays, and how the Artistic Director envisions the company as a whole.

Actors auditioning for the Stratford company usually audition for a specific show rather than the company as a whole. Actor Kyle Golemba explained,

Sometimes I think they have general auditions where you might just do a general audition for plays and you might *maybe* get an offer, but generally now, if you're from the outside they would tend to audition you for something specific. And within the company, more with the plays than with the musicals, you get offered something sometimes based on your work here.⁵²³

Once an actor has worked at Stratford, they might be offered a returning spot in the company, and Cynthia Dale recounted that year after year Richard Monette asked her to play leads in the musicals.⁵²⁴ More typically, though, actors audition for each musical separately, even if they have worked in the company for many years. Musical Director Rick Fox said that the choreographer and musical director audition actors before the directors see them, to make sure the people they cast in a musical can sing and dance:

They have to dance first if it's a part that requires dancing. And they have to be able to sing. And so they have to go through that first before a director even sees them. Then once the director's there, we decide collaboratively on the casting. And that's 80% of the battle. If you get that right, you're going to have a good show. People

⁵²² Juan Chioran, interview.

⁵²³ Kyle Golemba, interview.

⁵²⁴ Cynthia Dale, interview.

make mistakes in casting all the time. You've got to be vigilant about it. They've got to have the goods or you'll regret it.⁵²⁵

The directors want the actors they work with to “have the goods” as Fox put it, to have the training, ability and preparedness to work at the calibre expected of a Stratford performance.

Actor Kyle Blair trained in the (now defunct) music theatre program at the University of Windsor. He was hired at Stratford right out of the last year of his degree:

My theory is that any theatre program is just a beginning. Richard Monette used to say it would take ten years to make an actor, and I think I concur.... I think coming out of Windsor I had a very general idea of myself, of breath, of voice, of movement. It was a first stepping-stone, and when I first got here I learned *a lot*. I was really hungry for it. I think theatre school put me in a great state of readiness. I don't think I showed up here as a skilled actor at all. I think I was sort of like a sponge. I was ready to absorb, but I don't think I was a finished product of any kind.⁵²⁶

Blair was cast in *The Sound of Music*, understudying Rolf, as well as the play *Inherit the Wind*, in addition to entering the Birmingham Conservatory for Classical Theatre in his first year at Stratford.

The training and experience of actors at Stratford may be diverse (and ever diversifying), but Stratford also puts a great deal of time and money into training the actors they hire—so that learning different acting crafts at Stratford happens not just through doing (or being a ‘sponge,’ as Blair was), but also through specific programs instituted by Stratford as part of their mission to deepen the cultural life of Canada and its artists. Juan Chioran said that actors that don't have classical training can learn it at Stratford.⁵²⁷ In the next section, I explore some of the training instituted by Stratford to help create and maintain their company.

⁵²⁵ Rick Fox, interview.

⁵²⁶ Kyle Blair, interview.

⁵²⁷ Juan Chioran, interview.

TRAINING AT STRATFORD: THE BIRMINGHAM CONSERVATORY

Since its founding, the Stratford Festival has had a mandate to train Canadian actors in classical performance. In the first years of the company, the training mostly happened through mentorship, and through the young Canadian actors working with more established stars of the classical theatre. That model has worked well for Stratford: some of the young Canadian actors who once worked with British classical actors like Alec Guinness, Douglas Campbell or Maggie Smith became established classical actors in their own right, and went on to mentor the new generation of talent. There have also been attempts to formalize the mentorship and training actors receive at Stratford with Young Companies. One of these Young Companies was started in Michael Langham's tenure, faded away, and then another emerged during the Robin Phillips and John Hirsch years. That Young Company also eventually folded when later artistic directors like John Neville saw more value in incorporating the young actors into the main company than in having them do a separate season at the Third Stage. However, Monette felt the need or desire to provide formal training to young actors again, and he founded The Birmingham Conservatory in 1998.

A large percentage of the actors who are now hired at Stratford have classical training from universities or conservatories, but for actors who want to broaden and deepen their acting skills (including music theatre actors who are deemed worthy of receiving classical training), the Birmingham Conservatory provides intensive classical training. The Conservatory accepts actors who already have some training and professional theatre experience. As described on the Stratford website, "Selected candidates are usually graduates of an accredited theatre training program with at least two years' experience in the professional theatre. Participants are paid and

offered a contract for the Stratford Festival's following season upon completion of their Conservatory contract."⁵²⁸ Many of the Conservatory participants over the years were continuing the classical theatre training that they began elsewhere, but some, like Kyle Blair, Shannon Eizenga, Paul Nolan and Chilina Kennedy were expanding their triple threat status so that they would "be able to work in any theatre, anywhere in the world."⁵²⁹ The actors with music theatre background usually make up no more than one or two of the Birmingham conservatory class each year—but with class sizes of 12 students each year, that ratio pretty accurately reflects the composition of the larger Stratford company.

The Birmingham Conservatory trains actors to perform in Stratford's classical plays. Des McAnuff said that the Conservatory is an investment in the future of the company, "We've got this Conservatory, so we're investing in people: if you've got a young actor who's been through the Conservatory, you want to take advantage of the fact that you've spent \$45,000-\$50,000 training that person."⁵³⁰ Stratford takes advantage of its investment by frequently hiring the Conservatory graduates year after year.

Kyle Blair, who was a student of the Conservatory in 2001-2002, explained what the Conservatory experience was like for him:

David Latham was the principal of the Conservatory and he brought in Bernard Hopkins who was a member of the company at the time, who directed. We had John Broome who has since passed away, but he came in to do period dance and movement with us. Jeanine Pearson who's the head of coaching here had us on a daily basis for voice and text work. Her husband Ian Watson who was an actor here for a time did text work with us. And then they also brought in older members or just

⁵²⁸ Stratford Festival, "The Birmingham Conservatory for Classical Theatre" Education and Training *stratfordfestival.ca* (accessed April 10, 2014) <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/education/professionals.aspx?id=1168>

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Des McAnuff, interview. It is unclear exactly where all of this money goes, but a large part of it would be for staff and director salaries and paying guest artists for their time.

more experienced members of the company to give lectures or just to talk to us: Seana McKenna came in and Colm Feore. You know, that's inspiring.⁵³¹

Blair has worked in both musicals and plays at Stratford, and the classical training provided by the Birmingham Conservatory in addition to his dance and vocal training have translated into lead roles at Stratford and Shaw.⁵³²

Stratford expects a lot from its actors in their ability to cross between many genres of theatre, but the Festival also provides support to the actors. In addition to the Birmingham Conservatory, the Festival offers a plethora of workshops and one-on-one coaching for their actors throughout an acting season to help both broaden and deepen their acting skills. David Keeley said that if an actor took advantage of all the classes offered at Stratford, it was like getting a Master's in theatre performance.⁵³³ The support and training pays off for the Stratford directors in rehearsals and performance. Pianist and conductor Laura Burton said that in her years at Stratford she has noticed a change in the preparedness of the actors. She used to have to spend a lot of time "plunking notes" for people in musical rehearsals, but now the actors show up knowing all their songs. Burton said that this has become the expectation, and it is a wonderful change because it allows her to go deeper with musical direction.⁵³⁴ The actor training for musical actors is especially important in the Stratford context, because a music theatre actor might be hired for a musical but also be expected to play an important role in a serious play, as when Chilina Kennedy (Maria in *West Side Story* in 2009, Lois Lane in *Kiss Me Kate* and the

⁵³¹ Kyle Blair, interview.

⁵³² Blair is also someone, along with Paul Nolan, that other actors refer to as an example of someone who is a true triple threat, and able to do it all. Naomi Costain, interview; Carl Danielsen, interview.

⁵³³ David Keeley, interview.

⁵³⁴ Laura Burton, interview.

title role in *Evita* in 2010) was cast as Mary Magdalene in *Jesus Christ Superstar* and also as Rose of Sharon Joad in *The Grapes of Wrath* for the 2011 season.

CROSS-CASTING

Cross-casting is the process of casting an actor in more than one play in a repertory season. At Stratford, how the shows are cross-cast determines to a large extent how integrated the music theatre actors are with the rest of the company. It can also provide fascinating cross readings of texts within a season when an audience sees the same actor play different roles in different plays. From 1955 until 1975, the music theatre productions were part of the Music Festival and were cast completely separately from the rest of the Stratford season. There may have been one or two actors who were cross-cast into the main company, but because the music theatre shows were mostly operettas or operas, Applebaum or one of the other Festival Music Directors typically hired classically trained singers to fill the majority of the roles.

Transitional works like *Candide* and *The Beggar's Opera* began to appear as part of the main season at the end of Robin Phillips' tenure, but when John Hirsch became Artistic Director in 1981, he returned to operetta, reinforcing the division between music theatre performers and classical actors. Cynthia Dale was in the chorus of one of Stratford's Gilbert and Sullivan productions before she landed a role in the Canadian television series *Street Legal*. She said,

When I was here in the early eighties, John Hirsch kept the two companies separate. He didn't believe musical people could do the straight stuff. Now mind you, a lot of the singers in the Gilbert and Sullivan shows weren't musical theatre people, they were opera people, and that is different. They don't purport to be triple threats.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ Cynthia Dale, interview.

Some of the actors in the Gilbert and Sullivan shows were opera people, but others were character actors like Eric Donkin and Douglas Chamberlain, who regularly appeared in Stratford's classical and modern plays. Brian Macdonald's operettas were divided from the rest of Hirsch's company in large part because they became so successful that Stratford set up a mini Gilbert and Sullivan company that had multiple operettas playing in repertory within the larger repertory company of Stratford. *The Mikado* was so successful in 1982 that it was remounted for two subsequent seasons, joined by *The Gondoliers* in 1983, and both *Gondoliers* and *Iolanthe* in 1984. David Keeley said that he was cast in the operettas in 1984:

I was cross-cast in three [Gilbert and Sullivan] shows. It was Brian's company... It was unfortunate in that you were working at Stratford, doing these great shows, but you weren't really a part of the Stratford Festival Company. You were a part of Brian's company within Stratford Festival.⁵³⁶

Keeley said that being part of Macdonald's G&S company was very self-contained, even in terms of where they physically rehearsed and performed: "We were all at the Avon, so I never saw anybody who was at the big house or the Tom Patterson."⁵³⁷ The way Macdonald cross-cast the three Gilbert and Sullivan shows tended to draw out the similarities of the stories. Marie Baron and Karen Wood inevitably played ingénues; Eric Donkin had a comedic role; and Paul Massel played a young male lead. Not every actor played in all three operettas in 1984, but most of the actors were cross-cast in at least two of them (see Table 5.1).⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ David Keeley, interview.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ These productions can be seen on DVD, as Norman Campbell filmed them for CBC Television. There is also a documentary about the 1984 season when all three operettas were mounted; see Malca Gillson, *Musical magic: Gilbert and Sullivan in Stratford*. (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 2000, DVD).

Table 5.1: Cross-castings in the 1984 Gilbert and Sullivan productions at the Stratford Festival

Cast Member	1984 Gilbert and Sullivan productions at Stratford		
	<i>Iolanthe</i>	<i>Gondoliers</i>	<i>Mikado</i>
Joy Allen-Thompson		Giulia	
Marie Baron	Phyllis	Gianetta	Yum-Yum
Stephen Beamish	Mountararat	Antonio	
Aggie Cekuta		Fiametta	
Douglas Chamberlain	Tolloller	Duchess of Plaza-Toro	
Eric Donkin	Lord Chancellor	Duke of Plaza-Toro	Ko-Ko
Maureen Forrester	Queen of the Fairies		
Allison Grant	Celia	Zany	
Larry Herbert	Stage Hand	Francesco	
John Keane		Marco Palmieri	Nanki-Poo
Avo Kittask	Private Willis		Mikado
Richard March		Luiz	
Paul Massel	Strephon	Giuseppe Palmieri	Pish-Tush
Richard McMillan		Don Alhambra	Pooh-Bah
Katharina Megli	Iolanthe	Casilda	
Dale Mieske		Giorgio	
Deborah Milsom		Casilda	
Kelly Robinson	Stage Hand	Zany	
Karen Skidmore	Leila	Tessa	Peep-Bo
David Smith	Stage Hand	1 st Zany	
Jean Stilwell	Queen of the Fairies	Inez	Katisha
Gwynyth Walsh	Wardrobe Mistress		
Jim White	Stage Hand	Annibale	
Karen Wood	Babs	Vittoria	Pitti-Sing

The division between the acting and music theatre sides of the company were so clearly demarcated for the first 35 years of the Stratford Festival that it was somewhat of an uphill battle to integrate the company in later years. When John Neville took over as Artistic Director in 1986 he turned the direction away from Brian Macdonald operettas. Robert Cushman notes that Neville was “perhaps irked by the extent to which Macdonald had created a company within a company, [and] remarked tartly that Stratford was “never meant to be a Gilbert and Sullivan

festival.”⁵³⁹ Lucy Peacock was one of the many classical actors Neville chose to cross-cast into musicals. She said, “I don’t know if he purposely abolished the G&S company, but he certainly changed things up. He thought things had to change. He needed, wanted, was interested in having a company that could cross all genres—that could do all of it.”⁵⁴⁰ Neville accomplished this by reducing the number of music theatre offerings to one per season, choosing musicals rather than operas or operettas, and mostly cross-casting classical actors into the musical.

Neville undertook some interesting experiments in cross-casting in his first year as Stratford Artistic Director. He mounted both *Hamlet* and *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* at the Avon and largely cross-cast the shows, so that the actors would play the same character in two different plays.⁵⁴¹ He chose *The Boys from Syracuse* as the music theatre selection and largely cast the show with classical actors, cross-casting each of them in the musical and a play. Nora Polley, who stage managed *The Boys from Syracuse*, said Neville wanted actors who could sing:

Most of the people in that first production were actors first and singers second: people like Colm Feore, Geraint Wyn Davies, Alicia Jeffrey, Susan Wright, Ben Campbell, Keith Thomas were all actors in the company who could carry a tune. Certainly other than “I Fell In Love With Love,” which is in the stratosphere for soprano notes, they could handle all the rest pretty well.⁵⁴²

Neville ended up with a more integrated company because he cast classical actors in musicals and also cross-cast into plays any music theatre actors he hired. Lucy Peacock said there were

⁵³⁹ Robert Cushman, *Fifty seasons at Stratford*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002), 152.

⁵⁴⁰ Lucy Peacock, interview.

⁵⁴¹ See the cast lists provided at the beginning of each chapter in Robert A. Gaines, *John Neville takes command: the story of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in production* (Stratford, Ont: William Street Press, 1987).

⁵⁴² Nora Polley, interview.

more crossovers in the Neville's years than later: "The company was smaller—it wasn't 140, it was probably 75—so out of necessity there was more crossover to fill up spots."⁵⁴³

CLASSICAL ACTORS IN MUSICALS

The smaller company of Neville's years, and the fact that he usually only put on one musical a season rather than up to three operettas, meant that many actors were cross-cast in the musical and a play. Neville required his company to be multi-disciplined (as multi-disciplined as Neville himself was, having appeared in comedies, Shakespearean tragedies and histories and musicals). His decision to cast classically trained actors in musicals had the effect of integrating not only the company, but also the musical genre more firmly into the Stratford season. Audiences came to see someone like Brent Carver play Hamlet in 1986, and returned following year to see him in a Shakespeare comedy—Don John in *Much Ado About Nothing*—and as the Emcee in *Cabaret*. The acting talent in the musicals made some actors and audience members reassess the genre more favourably, because if actors like Colm Feore or Lucy Peacock could give their musical roles the same sort of weight as their Shakespearean roles, perhaps audiences could enjoy the musicals without thinking of them as a guilty pleasure.⁵⁴⁴ David Playfair said snobbery toward musicals at Stratford diminished while he was there largely because the works were treated with integrity: "With people like Colm and Brent and Lucy crossing over, they helped the cause quite a lot."⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ Lucy Peacock, interview.

⁵⁴⁴ As I've explored in previous chapters, the musicals at Stratford were usually rewarded with box office revenue, which meant audiences were coming to see them. However, there was a great deal of criticism of musicals at Stratford by cultural critics like Kate Taylor and Urjo Kareda, so the average playgoer was put in the position of having to defend his or her enjoyment of musicals at Stratford.

⁵⁴⁵ David Playfair, interview.

The first musicals to appear at Stratford (after 1986) were largely cast with classical actors. This casting choice meant that the Festival no longer employed a number of actors who had previously appeared in Stratford operettas. The division between the musical and dramatic sides of the Festival mostly disappeared during Neville's years not because there was a great push toward integrating two groups of actors, but because one of those groups mostly departed. However, the casting of classical actors in musicals also had the positive effect of encouraging critics and audience members to take the genre more seriously. Lucy Peacock, who was cast as Eliza in the 1988 production of *My Fair Lady* opposite Neville as Henry Higgins, said they had a good deal of fun in rehearsals, but also took the musical seriously: "We weren't really a musical company putting on *My Fair Lady*, we were a classical company putting on *Pygmalion* with music. John [Neville] and I had *Pygmalion* in our back pocket always. Although, *My Fair Lady* is just such a perfect musical anyway. I mean, it's perfect. You don't need to question it."⁵⁴⁶

Juan Chioran, reflected on what classical actors can bring to musicals:

What you get at Stratford is actors of classical calibre [appearing in musicals] who have lead roles in plays and can carry plays. Scotty Wentworth has done basically every major Shakespearean role and he's playing Tevye [in the 2013 Stratford production of *Fiddler on the Roof*], so he's going to bring all that wealth of experience and ability to that role.⁵⁴⁷

The experience and ability of classical actors brings some depth of intention to the text. It might even be argued that if a musical does not contain a role that would tempt "crossover" actors such as Colm Feore, Geraint Wyn Davies, Scott Wentworth, Brent Carver, Lucy Peacock, Juan Chioran or Tom Rooney, critics will doubt whether the musical is a good fit for Stratford. John Neville set a precedent at Stratford when he cast *The Boys from Syracuse* with Shakespearean

⁵⁴⁶ Lucy Peacock, interview.

⁵⁴⁷ Juan Chioran, interview.

actors. Audience and company members now expect that the musicals selected for Stratford seasons will have a literary source or some thematic complexity, which is likely why Stratford artistic directors tend to choose Golden Age musicals and also why there can be a negative reaction when they don't. Carl Danielsen, who took part both a musical (*42nd Street*) and a play (*Much Ado About Nothing*) at Stratford, said that like some journalists, he was disdainful of the Stratford Festival doing *You're A Good Man, Charlie Brown*. After he saw they show, however, he acknowledged that it had a place at Stratford.⁵⁴⁸

Classical actors have different training than music theatre actors, and so often approach musicals differently than their fellow actors. Lucy Peacock said that her process is mostly the same for straight plays and musicals in that she spends a lot of time with the text, "I come to do *Lady Macbeth* the same way I come at *Dolly*. The singing is kind of secondary to me—it's what's being said in the song."⁵⁴⁹ The message of a song may achieve a different resonance in the hands of a classical actor at Stratford than it does elsewhere, but it is still being sung, not spoken, so the actor often has to do some vocal and dance training beyond rehearsals in order to carry a musical.

The directors at Stratford know they demand a lot of their company members when they are cross-cast in different genres of theatre, and so there are coaches to support the actors. Peacock worked closely with Stratford vocal coach Jeanine Pearson when she was cast in the lead roles for *The King and I* (2003) and *Hello Dolly* (2005). Peacock recalls that she said to Pearson, "You don't have to train me to be a musical theatre singer, but I would like to sing it so

⁵⁴⁸ Carl Danielsen, interview.

⁵⁴⁹ Lucy Peacock, interview.

that the work that I do as an actress is married to the singing.”⁵⁵⁰ Peacock has a mezzo range, and said taking on the soprano role of Anna was a personal challenge, “*The King and I* was one of the most terrifying things I’ve done. It was out of my comfort zone singing-wise because of the soprano thing.”⁵⁵¹ Her work with Pearson developed her voice and expanded her range, not only upward, for *The King and I*, but also to get Dolly’s lower alto notes in *Hello Dolly!* a couple of years later. “With *King and I*, I think I put four notes on the top, and with *Dolly* I put four notes on the bottom.”⁵⁵² David Keeley remarked that he has seen a shift in the support for musical training at Stratford since 1984, when he did all Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, to the present: “The musical level is very well supported now and isn’t an entity unto itself. It’s integrated, it’s supported.”⁵⁵³

The classically trained actors and music theatre actors also support each other in the way they mentor each other through the intricacies of each discipline when they rub shoulders as cast mates. Lucy Peacock said she learned a lot from working with the music theatre actors, and also just observing them:

Watching and learning from the musical company—incredibly skilled, highly trained musical theatre actors—what I started observing, especially with the dancers (and as Anna, I would sit and watch the ballet), was that those dancers demand trust from each other. That: if I do this pirouette, you will be there to do the next thing. I have no control over you, and you have no control over me, but between us, we will do our pirouettes and go onto the next thing... Basically, it was about sharing responsibility of the story, and not feeling like you have to tell everyone’s story. If you tell your part of the story correctly, and they’re telling their part of the story correctly, between you, you tell the whole story.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ David Keeley, interview.

⁵⁵⁴ Lucy Peacock, interview.

Peacock said she was able to bring what she learned watching the singers and dancers into her work in plays. What she seems to be revealing here is that the musical company needs to collaborate in order to get the story across through acting and song and dance. Of course, all theatre is collaborative, but perhaps the musical genre wears its collaboration more obviously on the surface. Musicals are collaborative in their genesis, with the music, lyrics and story often coming from separate people, not to mention the direction, choreography, design and musical direction when it comes time to lift the words and notes off the page and onto the stage. The ethos of collaboration in musicals continues from the writing of the show through the rehearsal period and into performance, with large chorus numbers often explicitly representing the communal benefits of collaboration (think of “The Farmer and the Cowman Should Be Friends” from *Oklahoma!*).

The fact that musicals do not have a single author can be one of the reasons they are seen as lesser art forms than plays. The ideological construction of the author as auteur usually breaks down upon examination of specific instances (as I explored in chapter 3, what we know of Shakespeare’s writing process indicates that he allowed for collaboration and that practical contingencies sometimes affected his artistic choices). The Romantic ideal of a single author working in isolation may also be romantic with a small ‘r’, but collaboration is how a great many artworks are made, and there is nothing inherently less artistic in a collaborative method of creation. Indeed, collaboration is necessary in an art like acting—the play (or musical) can only be realized through the contributions of several people. Even for a one man or woman show, performed by the writer, there is collaboration between the performer and audience in deciding to enter the world of the play together. Collaboration and community are especially important

themes for a repertory company like Stratford. They can be read slightly differently, however, depending on whether an actor is in a play or a musical.

REHEARSALS: PLAYS VS. MUSICALS

During my research for this dissertation, I spoke with actors from both classical acting and music theatre backgrounds. I specifically sought out actors who had been in musicals, since that is my topic, yet everyone I talked to had been in both musicals and plays at Stratford. I was curious if the actors noticed a difference in how musicals were approached at Stratford compared to the plays. All the actors said that the director made a bigger difference to the way rehearsals were approached than any inherent differences in the genre. Kyle Blair had a typical response:

I don't know that I can differentiate between plays and musicals so much in the approach, other than musicals have obviously different and often greater requirements because there are other disciplines at work vocally and physically than there are sometimes in plays. That's a generalization of course. In my experience each process has been entirely dictated by the director. Whatever their vision is, their concept, how they work, how they manage people, all those things affect greatly what the process will be. I mean, I have my own theories about how a musical should be approached, but I don't know if that's awfully different from approaching a play. Like, I like going in from a text point of view. But each director is very different and I've had a *wide* array and range of approaches from directors.⁵⁵⁵

Musical director Rick Fox mentioned that directors will sometimes have directed many plays at Stratford and then direct a musical for the first time; those first time musical directors can be focused more on text than on the music and dance of musicals. According to Fox, "The directors who have done a lot of musicals know to get the actors into the music before you really dig into

⁵⁵⁵ Kyle Blair, interview.

the rest.”⁵⁵⁶ Actors with classical training like Blair often appreciate the focus on text at Stratford, but they also know that attention must be paid to the music and dance of the musicals.

The focus on text in musical rehearsals can be very deliberate. Carl Danielsen said he was amazed that directors did table work in musical rehearsals at Stratford. He said that rarely ever happens for musicals on Broadway or elsewhere.⁵⁵⁷ The emphasis on text and dramaturgy in Stratford musical rehearsals is likely because the musicals are part of the classically focused Stratford Festival, where the concentration on text and dramaturgy in play rehearsals can bleed across to all genres the Festival produces. Des McAnuff thinks the different genres of theatre that Stratford does each season strengthen each other during rehearsal:

I find that putting the musicals—in terms of text—side by side with classical drama can really help. For example, I start all rehearsals around the table doing dramaturgical work and research and text analysis. I do that for musicals as well as for plays, and I think that empowers the actors here to feel like they really are part of a classical repertory theatre. And I think they set high standards for themselves because of that.⁵⁵⁸

As with the training provided at Stratford for music theatre actors to strengthen their acting skills, the equal focus on music, dance and text in musical rehearsals makes for musical actors who are as concerned about their acting as they are about their singing and dancing.

The singing and dancing are obviously of incredible importance to musicals, and they have their own challenges. Nora Polley said that her first day working on a musical made her realize that actors rehearse differently when they don’t have a text for certain parts of the show:

I was astounded that when you call a break, no one stops. All the dancers are going over what they just learned. Of course—that’s how it has to be for dancers because no one is writing it down, so you have to learn it right then. To me, that was

⁵⁵⁶ Rick Fox, interview.

⁵⁵⁷ Carl Danielsen, interview.

⁵⁵⁸ Des McAnuff, interview.

absolutely amazing and extraordinary... That was a real eye opener into the world of dancers and singers.⁵⁵⁹

Experienced musical directors will often rehearse the large chorus numbers in a musical before they do anything else. Kyle Golemba said that when he worked on *The Music Man* in 2008, director Susan Schulman, music director Berthold Carrière and choreographer Michael Lichtefeld had the cast dive right into the singing and dance for “Shipooopi” in the first rehearsal, as “when you have these *massive* dance numbers you kind of have to start—you can’t leave that for too long.”⁵⁶⁰ By setting those chorus numbers first, the directors get the entire cast working together immediately, and also have time to polish the numbers that are most likely to stay in the audience’s memory after the show.

One difference between musicals and plays at Stratford that many actors agreed on was that musical rehearsals and performances tend to be more fun than those of the plays. Golemba said that musical rehearsals were different from those of plays at Stratford in that, “the tone of rehearsal is different... I think the rehearsal hall takes on whatever you’re working on sometimes. I do find—sometimes in a good way, sometimes not—generally the musical rehearsals take themselves a little less seriously, they’re a little more fun.”⁵⁶¹ Golemba said he was making a generalization with that distinction, but others echoed that sentiment, including Juan Chioran:

What I do find vastly different between the straight theatre and the musical is the energy of the company. When you’re doing a musical, it’s much more positive. I think music does that. Even just being backstage and hearing the show play over the sound system, you can’t help but be uplifted. That’s the main difference. I find actors can take themselves a little too seriously because they’re buried up their own

⁵⁵⁹ Nora Polley, interview.

⁵⁶⁰ Kyle Golemba, interview.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

keisters. That's not a general statement—it's only in a number of cases—but it seems to permeate the straight dramas more so than musicals.⁵⁶²

Kyle Blair came up with a pragmatic reason for why musicals can be more fun for the actors:

You know, I actually have a theory about this. Here's my theory: I think because musicals involve orchestras and there are more people making sound, they are by nature louder. Instead of a single voice speaking, here we'll have 25 musicians playing and an ensemble singing, so there's more volume, there's more noise. And that really changes the backstage life of a show. If there's only one person speaking you have to be very, very quiet backstage because the acoustics of most of these theatres will carry your voice right to the deck. But when there's so much sound happening, people are free to make more noise backstage because it can't be heard, it doesn't translate, and sometimes that builds an environment that's more fun. Because it doesn't feel like you're in church, you know, it feels a bit more like a party. And, I mean, that's a huge generalization, but I think that is one of the differences for me, is that atmosphere backstage really changes the experience of a show.⁵⁶³

The sound produced by an orchestra and chorus in a musical may indeed allow actors more freedom to enjoy themselves backstage when compared to a play. Music has a physical affect on the body, and can lead to an elevated heart rate or the urge to move in reaction to the beat. Millie Taylor writes that music “draws together the listening and singing bodies.”⁵⁶⁴ It creates a connection—a bridge between performer and audience when the audience members mirror in their bodies some of the postures of singing and dancing. Stacy Wolf defines the audience's physical reactions to musicals as “performative spectatorship,” which she writes is “the visceral experience of watching and listening to a musical play. In this way, the spectatorship of musicals is literally active. The musical offers not only the sensory experience of music and dance, voice and body, but also often a physicalized memory of performance.”⁵⁶⁵ The audience may experience the “performative spectatorship” and so too may the other actors. Sometimes the

⁵⁶² Juan Chioran, interview.

⁵⁶³ Kyle Blair, interview.

⁵⁶⁴ Millie Taylor, “‘If I sing’: Voice, singing and song,” *Studies in Musical Theatre* 6:1 (2012): 4.

⁵⁶⁵ Stacy Wolf, *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and sexuality in the American musical* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 33.

sense of community that is engendered by the music and dance of musicals is so deeply felt as to move us to a profound appreciation of humanity and our interconnectedness. More often, the sense of connection will result in a general uplift that is felt as pleasure—as fun. The pleasure and sense of fun in musicals can sometimes translate to the work on stage in transcendent ways, but it can also give the impression that music theatre actors are less serious about their work than classical actors, and correspondingly, that musicals are less serious works than plays.

CROSS-CASTING REPRISE

After decades of separation, the musical and dramatic sides of the company were mostly integrated in John Neville's reign. David William (AD 1990-1993) may have been less interested in musicals than Neville, but he was still very supportive of music theatre actors. David Playfair recounts that William would come out in support of the music theatre actors when they performed as part of the concert series in addition to attending the musicals. Because William, like Neville, usually programmed only one work of music theatre in each season, he integrated the music theatre actors into the rest of the company through cross-casting. Playfair said, "I didn't notice any division in the way I was treated by my fellow cast members... the prejudice [against musicals] was disappearing when I was there."⁵⁶⁶

Paradoxically, it was during Monette's artistic directorship, when musicals were given more attention at Stratford, that a schism re-emerged in the company. Monette often cast Cynthia Dale in the lead female role of the musicals produced during this period and although Dale was sometimes cross-cast in plays she was a highly visible symbol of the way the musical had evolved at Stratford. She brought star power to musicals at Stratford in much the same way that

⁵⁶⁶ David Playfair, interview.

Christopher Plummer or Maggie Smith brought star power to Stratford's plays. Importantly, it wasn't the classical star power that someone like Colm Feore brought to a show when he was cast in a musical; Dale, like Feore, is known for television as well as for her work in the theatre, but because of her vocal training and her dancing skills, she was a clear star of musical theatre. Dale, and many other music theatre actors, was cross-cast in two musicals when Monette began mounting more than one musical per season. This cross-casting of the two musicals once again created a company within a company at Stratford.

Kyle Blair came to Stratford in 2002, midway through Monette's tenure, and he said,

In my experience so far at this Festival, they often will cross-cast the musicals, which means that cast members in one musical will also be in the other. Now there are definitely exceptions to that, some people are here doing a musical and a play, but yeah, people do refer to the Stratford company and then the Stratford musical company. Like, "Oh, you're in the *musical* company." My personal ideal is that we'd all be a part of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival acting company, because that's what we're all here to do.⁵⁶⁷

Blair alludes to a dismissive sense of musicals and musical performers that was perhaps strengthened when cross-casting between musicals and plays decreased. Monette continued the trend of casting classical actors in Stratford musicals (notably Lucy Peacock in *The King and I* and *Hello Dolly!* and Colm Feore, Geraint Wyn Davies and Monette himself in the 2002 production of *My Fair Lady*). Nonetheless, when the two musicals in each season were largely cross-cast with each other, a separate musical company emerged, and prejudices against the musical genre could go unchecked when the rest of the company didn't have the opportunity to work with the music theatre actors on a regular basis.

Des McAnuff took over the artistic directorship from Richard Monette in 2007 (first, as part of a triumvirate for the 2008 season, and then on his own for 2009-2012). McAnuff's respect

⁵⁶⁷ Kyle Blair, interview.

for musicals was reflected in the way he tried to integrate the Stratford company; he said he wanted to diversify the company so it reflected the multicultural nature of Canada in the 2000s, and he wanted actors who were multitalented: “The special emphasis for me was to find people that could cross over.”⁵⁶⁸ He said he consciously tried to integrate the company, although there were some limitations to how practical it was to do so.

There are bound to be specialties in both areas that make it a little more difficult to cross over. For musicals, if you have a choreographer like Wayne Cilento, you need extraordinary dancers. Now I find putting those extraordinary dancers in, let’s say, *As You Like It*, is a great advantage because they tend to sing. And there are lots of plays that Shakespeare wrote that call on singing—almost all the high comedies. There’s room for that, and presumably [Elizabethan actors] did that, even if the texts don’t illustrate it. I have no doubt there was music and singing in virtually all of the plays.⁵⁶⁹

McAnuff not only cross-cast classical actors into musicals, he also made sure his music theatre actors could be convincingly cross-cast into plays—not just in small parts, but in featured roles. McAnuff said he wanted “people like Chilina Kennedy and Paul Nolan crossing over from the musicals into Shakespeare plays.”⁵⁷⁰

Throughout his tenure, McAnuff scheduled at least two musicals per season. In the 2012 season when there were four musicals, there were a large number of actors with music theatre training at Stratford—maybe more than in any other season to date. Actor Naomi Costain explained some of the complex cross-castings that occurred that year:

The *Wanderlust* cast is mostly doing *Henry V* and some *Wanderlust* are doing *Charlie Brown*. *Charlie Brown* is also cross-cast with *Pirates*. And then *Pirates* is mostly cross-cast with *42nd Street*—but not totally, because some *Pirates* people are

⁵⁶⁸ Des McAnuff, interview.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid. Kennedy and Nolan both took part in the Birmingham Conservatory for Classical Theatre in 2009/2010.

also doing *Elektra*. I don't envy the job of the casting director because you can only have so many crosses or it gets very confusing.⁵⁷¹

McAnuff and the Stratford directors he worked with tried to cross-cast musical actors into plays and vice-versa for the strength it brought the company and the way it developed all the actors' skills. Kyle Golemba said that the variety provided by working in repertory is one of Stratford's big benefits:

That is the cool thing about being here, when you can do a rock musical and an American classic—or, you know, something based on classic literature—in the same season. That's the neat thing about when you do plays here. But even with the types of musicals. Like even the year that we did *Kiss Me Kate*—a hard-core Golden Age musical—and *Evita*—from the beginning of the rock musicals. You know, doing both of those two things at the same time is great.⁵⁷²

The variety in musical styles within the musical genre can be a boon to actors who are consistently cross-cast in two musicals; it provides them with the same sort of variety that other actors get at Stratford when they are cast in a tragedy and a comedy.

Even with McAnuff's avowed focus on actors who could cross over, he sometimes had years when it was difficult to cross-cast music theatre actors into plays, and 2011 was one such year when the musical company stood almost separate from the rest of the company. Juan Chioran said, "The year that I did two musicals [*Kiss Me, Kate* and *Evita*, in 2011], we were basically one company because the shows played so often they couldn't really cross-cast us with anything [else]."⁵⁷³ Chioran went on to explain:

Sometimes the musical company is very self-contained. Sometimes it's cross-pollinating with a straight play. It will depend year to year and it will depend on what the speciality of skill is required by the musical. If you're doing a tap show, you've

⁵⁷¹ Naomi Costain, interview. The four musicals in 2012 were: *The Pirates of Penzance*; *42nd Street*; *You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown*; and *Wanderlust*. The plays Costain refers to are Shakespeare's *Henry V* and Sophocles' *Elektra*, which had a chorus of women who mostly sang their responses to the action of the play.

⁵⁷² Kyle Golemba, interview.

⁵⁷³ Juan Chioran, interview.

got to hire tappers. If you're doing a more operatic show, you've got to hire the legit voices. So that's going to affect where they go.⁵⁷⁴

In 2012, when *42nd Street* had a lot of tap requirements and *Pirates of Penzance* had some virtuosic demands on some of the singers, there was still a high degree of cross-casting between the two shows. Actor Naomi Costain remarked, “There are people that can do both of those—a tap dancing opera singer. That doesn't happen that often but you have to be more versatile to work here. In order to get hired back here year after year you need to be able to do the different musicals that they choose.”⁵⁷⁵ Stratford expects a lot of variety from their actors, but there are seasons when actors new to Stratford are included in the company because the casting requirements for one show are too disparate from the rest of the offerings. Costain explained that in 2003, the two musicals had almost completely separate casts and the actors of each were therefore cross-cast with plays, “*Gigi* had its own company and *The King and I* had a separate company because it's fairly different ethnically than *Gigi*. So we had the white cast and the Asian cast, and fairly large companies too, so we had a lot of musical theatre people here that year.”⁵⁷⁶ Costain appeared in *Gigi* and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* in one of three years she was cast in both a musical and a play. She said that she enjoys when the actors in a musical at Stratford are cast in many different plays that season: “Your company is communicating more. You see fresh faces. You're not always with the same people all the time. It's really nice to have a fun new energy come into the building.”⁵⁷⁷ Juan Chioran also said that he loves it when the company is highly cross-cast: “It's been really great to be able to bounce back and forth. My

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Naomi Costain, interview.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

ideal season at Stratford is to do a Shakespeare and a musical because you get the best of both worlds.”⁵⁷⁸

When I interviewed McAnuff in 2013, he had moved on from the Artistic Directorship of Stratford, leaving the reins to Antoni Cimolino, Richard Monette’s protégé and the General Director of the Stratford Festival during McAnuff’s tenure. McAnuff was back at Stratford in 2013 to direct *Tommy*, but seemed unsure that Cimolino would continue the emphasis on making sure the music theatre company crossed over into the larger Stratford company. McAnuff said that he thought the inclusive cross-casting was something that had only gone on to any *great* extent during his tenure:

I doubt that it will continue. It’s a hard thing to do, and you have to be very motivated to do it. You have to really consider musicals more than moneymakers to do that. So crossing over the talent the way we did with *Jesus Christ Superstar*, let’s say, is probably not going to carry on to any great extent. I think the ideal Stratford theatre would do that, you know, where you have a company that really does cross over from genre to genre. And I think when you have an actor like Steve Ross, who’s playing Uncle Ernie [in *Tommy*] that can also comfortably play Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing*, this is a terrific strength for a company to have. Again, it all comes down to what the leadership wants, and if the leadership doesn’t have an appetite for that, it probably won’t happen.⁵⁷⁹

The place of musicals at Stratford is constantly being re-evaluated by the artists of the company, and much of how they experience musicals at Stratford depends on how the actors are cross-cast and how actors from various training backgrounds are integrated into the company as a whole. McAnuff was not the first Artistic Director at Stratford to cross-cast music theatre actors into plays, but if the cross-casting lessens during Cimolino’s directorship, or under the leadership of future ADs, the company may lose some of the vitality that comes from when actors and directors are pushed outside their comfort zones. Certainly, if the actors are unable to gain new

⁵⁷⁸ Juan Chioran, interview.

⁵⁷⁹ Des McAnuff, interview.

insights into other disciplines through the practice of actually working in those disciplines, the opportunities for cross-pollination will lessen, and the way musicals are valued at Stratford will suffer. Blair summed it up nicely, in what could perhaps be a mission statement for how Stratford thinks about its repertory company in the future:

I think ideally a rep company is a group of people who are versatile and multitalented and skilled—who can fulfill many functions and many roles—and as time goes on that company is fostered to enrich their talents and each other.⁵⁸⁰

With this ideal as the goal for a repertory company, the enrichment would not be limited to the company alone, but would translate into an enrichment of theatre and its audiences.

For a Festival like Stratford that also aims to enhance the cultural life of Canada, the conception of theatre genres and artists inspiring each other in dialectical fashion seems paramount, because that dialogue also has the potential to inspire audiences. People can be omnivorous or highly selective in their patterns of cultural consumption, however, in a festival setting, audience members are encouraged to partake of genres and art forms that they would not necessarily choose for themselves if they were to curate the selection. Asking an audience to stretch their own parameters of taste—by exposing them to new genres, or asking them to reconsider genres they may have previously dismissed via the juxtaposition of old and new, high and low, art and entertainment—is something that a festival can do well. I believe that the Stratford Festival, with its mandate to foster the arts in Canada, has the power to not only cultivate the artists in its company, but also to encourage audiences to explore many genres of theatre. In so doing, Stratford will continue to play a role in how different genres of theatre are valued in Canada, and the role of musicals within the Festival will either become more or less established for their aesthetic value in addition to their economic and entertainment value.

⁵⁸⁰ Kyle Blair, interview.

CONCLUSION: THE ROLE OF MUSICALS AT THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL

Theatre is the oldest social, moral and political platform in the world.
- Tyrone Guthrie⁵⁸¹

Theatre consists in this: in making live representations of reported or invented happenings between human beings and doing so with a view to entertainment.
- Bertolt Brecht⁵⁸²

I asked each of the Stratford artists I interviewed⁵⁸³ what they wished people knew about Stratford musicals. The answers I received were principally about their quality—the aesthetic value of the musicals. Rick Fox said, “I think people are surprised when they come here for the first time. They expect summer stock and it’s actually Broadway scale production. We do [musicals] as well as anybody... the depth of talent here is unsurpassed.”⁵⁸⁴ Cynthia Dale reflected, “I would say I want people to know how damn good they are, but I think people know how damn good they are. People now know the value and the level of the work that’s done here—regardless of genre.”⁵⁸⁵ When I talked to Juan Chioran about musicals at Stratford, he articulated one of the overarching aims of this dissertation with this statement: “I want people to know that they’re not just there as the cash cow. That they are there as a very worthwhile endeavour to tell a great story, and that there are great stories to be told.”⁵⁸⁶ Chioran said that while it is true that a musical often provides Stratford with a financial safety net, that is not its

⁵⁸¹ Tyrone Guthrie, *A Life in the Theatre*, 5. Quoted in Des McAnuff “Speech for the 2011 Annual General Meeting” (March 5, 2011), 4, Stratford Festival Archives.

⁵⁸² Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on theatre: The development of an aesthetic*. ed. John Willett. New York: Hill and Wang, (1964), 180.

⁵⁸³ See list of interviewees, page 369.

⁵⁸⁴ Rick Fox, interview.

⁵⁸⁵ Cynthia Dale, interview.

⁵⁸⁶ Juan Chioran, interview.

only purpose: “The other stuff tends to get overlooked because it does do that. But there are great stories. They are classics.”⁵⁸⁷

These responses from Stratford musical actors and directors illuminate the aesthetic value of the musicals; they are valued highly—as “damn good”—by those artists who have worked on them. However, in articulating that they *hope* that more people recognize the aesthetic worth of Stratford musicals (and don’t just consider them the money maker), Dale, Fox and Chioran imply that there is still work to be done in convincing critics and audiences of the musical’s value.

The musical genre has a middlebrow history that affects how musicals are positioned and received at a classical theatre festival like Stratford. Musical came to be associated with working and middle classes when cultural elites in the nineteenth century created a division between types of music theatre with opera as high (and reserved for the cultural elites), and other music theatre as low.⁵⁸⁸ Stratford Artistic Director Antoni Cimolino argues for a multiplicity of art and entertainment in our definition of culture:

by culture I don’t just mean so-called high culture. Shakespeare transmutes universal human experience into something that has artistic form; so, in its own way, does *The Simpsons*. Early in the twentieth century, the art movement known as Dada challenged orthodox bourgeois aesthetics; early in the twenty-first century, much the same thing is done – for a considerably wider audience – by Lady Gaga. Culture isn’t an invitation-only special event for a privileged few; it’s the environment in which we all live.⁵⁸⁹

Cimolino might have been thinking about the way Stratford has included genres from across different theatre traditions into its seasons—from *MacHomer* (a Canadian one-man show that

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ See Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, and his followers: Jim Collins, *High Pop*, David Savran, *Highbrow/Lowdown*.

⁵⁸⁹ Antoni Cimolino, Speech about Culture Days to the Saskatchewan Arts Board (Sept. 18, 2012), <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/about/about.aspx?id=12654>

reinterpreted *Macbeth* with characters from *The Simpsons*), to *Henry V*, to *42nd Street*. Musicals were long the domain of the bourgeois that Cimolino refers to, but they have also played a role in challenging the bourgeois aesthetics of the twentieth century.

In addition to associations with bourgeois amusement, musicals are unabashed in their goal to entertain audiences, to provide pleasure to the spectator. As Richard Dyer writes, “Musicals were predominantly conceived of, by producers and audiences alike, as ‘pure entertainment’—the *idea* of entertainment was a prime determinant on them.”⁵⁹⁰ In order to feel entertained, one usually needs to feel some form of pleasure, and because pleasure was viewed with suspicion by aesthetic philosophers from Hegel through Adorno, works that incite pleasure are on a lower rung of the aesthetic ladder than works that edify.

Musicals aim to entertain their audiences by giving them pleasure and are therefore not taken as seriously by cultural critics as works with an aim to enlighten or challenge. However, as Richard Shusterman and Richard Dyer argue, our view of pleasure is too narrow if we do not think that being enlightened or challenged can be a pleasure. Pleasure is more than a sense of pleasantness or fun; it can also be profound or sublime.⁵⁹¹ Dyer contends that not only is our view of pleasure not wide enough but that we may be mapping all pleasure onto one particular type of pleasure that is attended by considerable cultural baggage: “Modern discussion of cultural pleasures tends to take sexuality as the founding form of all enjoyment, as the appetite *par excellence*... Pleasures that are approved or disapproved of get mapped onto ideas of what

⁵⁹⁰ Richard Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 2nd ed., (New York: Routledge, 2002), 19.

⁵⁹¹ Shusterman notes, “While ancient and medieval thinkers explored its [pleasure’s] rich variety (e.g. *voluptas*, *gaudium*, *laetitia*, *delectatio*) and could see its role in the sublime, transformative religious experience, today we simply assume that pleasure must be something banally light, easy, and self-indulgent—just pleasantness or fun.” Richard Shusterman, “Interpretation, pleasure and value in aesthetic experience,” *The journal of aesthetics and art criticism* 56, 1 (Winter 1998): 52.

sex is like.”⁵⁹² The Puritan view of sex that still dominates much of modern thought situates pleasure in opposition to the sacred, and also to work—pleasure is equated with what is easy, while work should be hard. To paraphrase H. L. Mencken, Puritanism is the creeping fear that someone somewhere is enjoying himself.⁵⁹³

When musicals are enjoyed by audiences, when they produce pleasures, they are providing audiences with entertainment value, but entertainment value can be complicated by guilt about feeling entertained. Richard Dyer writes, “Pleasure is something you can *guiltily* have, or have after the important things, or get as a reward for doing other things. As itself a goal, it is still not, to speak paradoxically, taken seriously,”⁵⁹⁴ Musical do not take much work on the part of the audience to enjoy (they may take a little more work on the part of the actor/singer/dancer), so they can be dismissed as something easy or mindless. They can be guilty pleasures for the people like me, who love them, because we are aware that there are many cultural critics who think we could be doing something *better* with our time—whether that is work that would benefit our larger society, or simply partaking of art that those cultural critics deem worthy.

Entertainment value taps into human emotions—it attempts to bring audiences pleasure through affect, and not necessarily through cognition. Therefore, there is a mind/body dualism that attends discussions of art and entertainment. Shusterman argues that the mind/body dualism is the “most deadening and dividing dualism of them all, and the most pervasive.”⁵⁹⁵ The

⁵⁹² Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 68.

⁵⁹³ The actual quotation is “Puritanism: the haunting fear that someone, somewhere may be happy” in *A Book of Burlesque*, 1916. Mencken also wrote, “the great artists of the world are never Puritans, and seldom even ordinarily respectable” in *Prejudices, First Series*, 1919.

⁵⁹⁴ Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 168-9.

⁵⁹⁵ Richard Shusterman, *Pragmatist aesthetics: living beauty, rethinking art*, 2nd ed. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), xiii.

mind/body divide plays out in many discussions about value, and when the mind gets mapped onto aesthetics and the body gets mapped onto entertainment, as frequently happens in aesthetic philosophy and everyday conversations about culture, the attendant valuations of each dualism inform the other. Aesthetic value is more highly privileged than entertainment value by most philosophers and cultural critics because thought is supposed to provide better access to truth than emotions. Philosopher Noël Carroll notes that Plato believed the general populace “lives by its guts rather than by its mind. Consequently, Plato reasoned, anyone who wished to curry favor with the common run of citizenry would have to appeal—Plato would say *pander*—to their emotions instead of their brains.”⁵⁹⁶ Aristotle was considerably less concerned about the corrupting powers of art than was Plato, because Aristotle did not see the mimetic arts as obscuring truth, but rather as revealing higher truths; we might feel something as a response to art, and in examining our emotions rationally, achieve new understandings of the world. Shusterman writes, “ever since Aristotle, art’s pleasures have been recognized not as a conflicting alternative to knowledge but as products and tools of cognition.”⁵⁹⁷ There have been many philosophers, from Aristotle through Shusterman, that have argued for the value of pleasure and emotions, but the Platonic ideal of art still resonates in aesthetic philosophy from Hegel through Arendt, and informs cultural criticisms of art/mind as high, and entertainment/body as low.

Musicals are unashamedly for entertainment, and despite academic explorations of pleasure, there is still much work to be done for entertainment to be taken seriously. Musicals also showcase the body much more than other forms of theatre. The bodily reactions in

⁵⁹⁶ Noël Carroll, *A Philosophy of Mass Art*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 89.

⁵⁹⁷ Shusterman, *Pragmatist aesthetics*, 2nd ed., xiii.

audiences members to music and dance—often in mirroring the performer as a pathway into identification with characters—makes musicals perhaps more deeply felt than other forms of theatre. As Stacy Wolf puts it: “What we take from musicals is embodied.”⁵⁹⁸ However, it is that very bodily reaction—that emotive response and pleasure in entertainment—which can cause people to value musicals less than works that don’t elicit these reactions. And that is because we have a cultural heritage that has taught us to be suspicious of our bodies and emotions.

Hierarchies of value within the musical genre are also often tied to ideals of body vs. mind, so that works with a literary book, like *My Fair Lady* or *Man of La Mancha*, are firmly part of the Golden Age canon, while works that put primacy on the spectacle of song and dance, like *Cats* or *Footloose*, fall outside the core repertory of musicals. A focus on song and dance and a literary book can, of course, exist in one work, as with *Kiss Me, Kate* or *West Side Story*, but works that are more obvious about the way they attempt to give audiences a sense of uplift via spectacle are more likely to be dismissed as (in Dyer’s words) “only entertainment.”

At the Stratford Festival, the musicals have been carefully selected and curated to balance aesthetic value and entertainment value. Usually when an Artistic Director programs a musical that is full of tap-dancing spectacle, he will also program a work of some literary standing for ballast. This year, for the 2014 season, Antoni Cimolino programmed *Man of La Mancha* as well as *Crazy for You*. The works are different sorts of musicals—Robert McQueen’s production of *La Mancha* was much darker (thematically and in the colours of the sets and costumes) than Donna Feore’s production of *Crazy for You*—but they were also selected to inform each other,

⁵⁹⁸ Stacy Wolf, *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and sexuality in the American Musical* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 33.

and to tie in with the 2014 playbill's larger theme of "Minds Pushed to the Edge."⁵⁹⁹ Populism comes in and out of fashion at Stratford depending on the Artistic Director (Guthrie was a populist, so was Monette) and on external factors such as the political climate and broader theatrical trends in nearby Toronto and elsewhere. The desire to attract audiences, balanced with the desire to produce theatre of the highest quality is something that different Artistic Directors interpret in various ways, and that has affected what musicals have been selected for Stratford seasons from 1986 to the present.

How musicals are valued in the wider world by theatre critics, academics and the casual cultural critic affects how they are valued at Stratford. There have been some positive changes in the past twenty years for how the musical genre is valued, and that has been reflected at Stratford. And it may also be true that a company like Stratford's commitment to doing musicals, even in the face of criticism from certain detractors, has contributed to their growing acceptance by critics and academics. Cynthia Dale said that the musicals at Stratford can change people's minds about the genre, even if that is not what the actors and directors consciously set out to do.⁶⁰⁰ However, she also said that musicals don't have the same recognition at Stratford that they do elsewhere, because the focus at Stratford is on Shakespeare: "I wish that musical theatre was as respected here as it is on Broadway. I think our work is often better than what's done on Broadway but it's not acknowledged in the same way. There's no putting down the musicals on Broadway, but there is a little bit of that attitude here."⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ The plays included *King Lear*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hay Fever*, as well as special showcase performances of the Pulitzer Prize winning musical *Next to Normal*.

⁶⁰⁰ Cynthia Dale, interview.

⁶⁰¹ Cynthia Dale, interview.

As I explored in Chapter Three, the musicals at Stratford are sometimes less respected than plays, because there is an assumption that musicals are at the Festival to earn money and put “bums in seats.” Musicals usually make money for Stratford, but there are some musicals that are riskier propositions, and there is never a guarantee that shows that have been financially in the past would be successful in the future. As actor David Keeley expressed, “*Nothing* is safe. Nothing.”⁶⁰² The musicals do have an economic value for the Festival that is very important to how it functions, but their aesthetic and entertainment value should not be overlooked. As actor David Keeley said, “yes they’re the cash cow. Of course they are. But they’re not only the cash cow.”⁶⁰³ Des McAnuff remarked, “I think there’s still a prejudice here—much weaker than it once was, five years ago—that the musical is kind of ghettoized as the sort of moneymaker to support the more serious work.”⁶⁰⁴ However, he also argued that in the years since Neville first put musicals on the Festival stage, “it’s become clear that an excellent production of a musical is very comfortable side by side with a great classical play, or, for that matter, with a contemporary play of significance. And Stratford has, at its best, the muscles to do all of those things.”⁶⁰⁵ Most Stratford Artistic Directors and company members do value musicals as more than just the Festival’s money maker. The way classical actors have been cast in musicals, the directors they engage to direct musicals, and the way musicals are showcased alongside the classical plays in promotional and souvenir materials all speak to the respect (hard-earned though it may be) with which musicals are treated at Stratford.

⁶⁰² David Keeley, interview.

⁶⁰³ David Keeley, interview.

⁶⁰⁴ Des McAnuff, interview.

⁶⁰⁵ Des McAnuff, interview.

The direction of the Stratford Festival has evolved over the more than sixty years of its history from a theatre founded to save a town and celebrate the town's namesake, to one of the top classical repertory companies of the English-speaking world. As the Stratford Festival continues to redefine its mandate, it partakes in larger discussions about its role in the Canadian theatre scene, the value of the arts, and how specific types of theatre are valued in relation to each other. In a speech at the Stratford Festival Annual General Meeting in 2011, Des McNuff posed a question to the assembled members of the Festival: "What will be *our* legacy to the future? What, beyond a balanced budget, do *we* aim to leave behind? And those questions, I think, really boil down to this: What are we really here to do?"⁶⁰⁶ How the board members and Artistic Directors of the Festival answer that question affects how musicals are valued at the Festival. Des McNuff answered the question of Stratford's purpose by looking back to Festival founder Tyrone Guthrie (and quoting the same passage I've used as an epigraph to this conclusion) and stating:

A great theatre like ours must be a crucible of ideas. We must seek to enlarge people's fields of vision, invite them to consider alternatives to received thinking, help them to see beyond the surface of the human experience and into its essence, and to imagine how, with sufficient imagination and passion, that experience might be transformed.⁶⁰⁷

Current Artistic Director, Antoni Cimolino, also interrogated the role of the Festival when he took over in 2013, asking the members of the Festival to think deeply about: "what the Stratford Festival really is at its core, and what purpose it is here to fulfill." Cimolino revealed his priorities as Artistic Director in the way he answered the question:

I think I know the kind of plays we are here to produce. They are plays that in some way enlarge our humanity. Plays that fire our imaginations. Plays that address the

⁶⁰⁶ Des McNuff, "Speech for the 2011 Annual General Meeting" (March 5, 2011), 4, Stratford Festival Archives.

⁶⁰⁷ Des McNuff, "Speech for the 2011 Annual General Meeting" (March 5, 2011), 5, Stratford Festival Archives.

great questions of life; that look at the complexity of human experience and distil from it essential truths. Plays that move us to the core of our being; that make us laugh or cry – ideally, both at the same time. Plays – *and musicals too* – that captivate us with their sheer beauty, their intelligence, their wit, their vibrant, dynamic life.⁶⁰⁸

That Cimolino includes “musicals too” in his assessment of the type of theatre that Stratford should be producing, indicates a willingness on his part to view musicals aesthetically, the same way he views plays. Musicals may ever be an afterthought at Stratford—the way they seemed to be in Cimolino’s speech, but their worth has come to be recognized as more than merely the “cash cow” of the Festival.

Musicals at Stratford have economic value, aesthetic value and entertainment value for the Festival. They function as money makers for the Festival, with economic benefits, but their place at Stratford is much more nuanced than the role of money maker would suggest. Musicals often provide pleasure, fun, and a sense of uplift for those who are involved with them—on either side of the footlights—and their entertainment value in providing pleasures to actors and audience members alike should not be overlooked. Musicals *work* as moneymakers *because* they entertain, because they provide pleasure to people who want to experience that sense of community, and abundance, and intensity, and transparency, and energy they get when seeing new musicals or revisiting the classics of the Golden Age.⁶⁰⁹

Musicals at Stratford have a unique history in their emergence from the operas and operettas that Stratford produced in the first 30 years of the Festival. The incorporation of musicals into a classical theatre festival arose fairly organically due to Stratford’s long history

⁶⁰⁸ Antoni Cimolino, “Speech for the 2013 Annual General Meeting” (March 9, 2013), Stratford Festival Archive, my emphasis.

⁶⁰⁹ The five needs musicals fulfill: Energy, Abundance, Intensity, Transparency and Community, are from Richard Dyer’s essay “Entertainment and Utopia” in Dyer *Only Entertainment*, 19-35.

with music theatre, concerts and newly composed incidental music for plays. I have examined musicals at Stratford with a variety of approaches in the preceding chapters in an effort to analyze their complex relationship to the Festival, and how that relationship has evolved over the years. I have argued that the place of musicals at Stratford cannot be reduced to their function as money makers, and that when they are valued in such a way, it speaks more to the tastes of the critic valuing them that way than it does to the actual function they serve at the Festival.

When I asked actor and musician Carl Danielsen if he thought there was still a bit of snobbery toward musicals at Stratford, he exclaimed, “A *bit* of snobbery?! Absolutely.”⁶¹⁰ He said that he himself was disdainful when he heard that Stratford was doing four musicals for its 60th Anniversary season in 2012:

I was disdainful, but now, if I come back to visit, I’ll see all the musicals because I know what they’ll do with them. If you do it as the money maker and treat it as crap it’s awful. And that’s not what’s happening here. That’s the thing with musicals—it depends on how you treat them. More than half the repertoire was created with a serious intent. If the Stratford Festival is going to do *42nd Street*, we’d better do it with integrity and intelligence, because people are coming here to see Shakespeare and Sophocles and all these great writers, so let’s treat this with as much respect as we can. We do, and I’m very proud of that.⁶¹¹

Cynthia Dale, too, is very proud of the musicals she has done at Stratford: “I have no feeling of needing to apologize for them at all. They stand on their own in their worth, they really do.”⁶¹²

These actors and others who have been in musicals at Stratford are advocates for the genre’s aesthetic value, both in the way they talk about the musicals, and in the work they put into their craft to ensure the musicals are of the highest quality possible.

⁶¹⁰ Carl Danielsen, interview.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Cynthia Dale, interview.

Musicals at Stratford grew out of a Music Festival that showcased works of music theatre as its centerpiece each year. Musicals at the Festival reflect how the genre of musicals has been created and maintained (with the primacy of Golden Age musicals), and the types of musicals Stratford produces continues to develop as the genre's borders are expanded. Musicals do have an important money-making function at the Stratford Festival, but it is not their sole function, nor is it the primary reason musicals are part of Stratford's seasons. Musicals fulfill several roles at Stratford: an economic role, an entertainment role, a role that expands the breadth of the Festival's offerings and the types of talents represented by the company, and—not least—an aesthetic role. The role of musicals at Stratford is therefore a complex node of these factors, and in order to understand the real value of musicals at Stratford, one must acknowledge the complexity of their place at one of the leading classical theatres in the world.

3

Bright and crisp (L. 152)

Trumpet I
Trumpet II
Trumpet III
Trombone I
Trombone II
Trombone III
Tuba (optional)
Timpani (optional)
Snare Drum
Cymbal (optional)

f let ring

A

Trpt. I
Trpt. II
Trpt. III
Tbn. I
Tbn. II
Tbn. III
Tba.
Timp.
S. D.
Cym.

4

Trpt. I
Trpt. II
Trpt. III
Tbn. I
Tbn. II
Tbn. III
Tba.
Timp.
S. D.
Cym.

SOLO

f let ring

*In absence of Timpani

APPENDIX A: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STRATFORD FESTIVAL

The Stratford Festival began in the imagination of Stratford local Tom Patterson. It was an unlikely idea, in many ways, for a reporter with no theatre background to found a theatre festival devoted to the works of Shakespeare in a small Ontario town. Named for Shakespeare's birthplace, Stratford, Ontario boasted an Avon river and streets named for some of Shakespeare's most famous characters, but there was little in the way of a theatre tradition in the largely blue collar town before Patterson decided that Stratford might make use of its name to develop a new industry. Patterson was looking for something that would provide jobs for Stratford locals after its primary industry of manufacturing and repairs for the Canadian National Railway had all but dried up. Theatre scholar Richard Paul Knowles notes that the city of Stratford was intimately linked to two nation building dreams of Canada: the dream of a national railway with tracks stretching coast to coast to unite the country, and the post-war dream of a national Canadian culture with vibrant artistic customs.⁶¹³

In the early 1950s in Canada, the ground for nurturing arts programs was extremely fertile. The 1951 Massey Report, assessing artistic life in Canada, had urged government bodies to create infrastructure for funding the arts.⁶¹⁴ Walter Pitman claims that the report, named after the Royal Commission on National Development of the Arts, Letters and Sciences's co-chair Vincent Massey, "became the most important single event in the history of the cultural development of Canada."⁶¹⁵ Stratford historian John Pettigrew wrote that the report:

⁶¹³ Richard Paul Knowles, "From nationalist to multinational: The Stratford Festival, free trade, and the discourses of intercultural tourism," *Theatre Journal* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 24 note 21.

⁶¹⁴ The official title of the Massey Report was the *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-51*, available online: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/2/5/h5-400-e.html>

⁶¹⁵ See Pitman, *Louis Applebaum*, 99.

became an immediate best-seller and a topic of passionate national discussion. Its recommendations had much to do with the creation, five years later, of the Canada Council, yet another manifestation of the country's wish for stronger cultural expression. The Council—which gave legitimacy to the principle of government support for the arts—was to prove of vital importance to the Stratford Festival.⁶¹⁶

Robertson Davies, who wrote the chapter on theatre in the Massey Report, praised the amateur theatre of the country, but noted that there was a “lack of suitable performing spaces, lack of a true National Theatre, the absence of facilities for advanced training in the theatre arts, and the inevitable consequence that promising Canadians who did leave their country for theatre training tended not to return.”⁶¹⁷ The Canadian theatre culture was therefore something of a blank slate that would prove very tempting for impresarios with strong ideas of how theatre should be created. The discussions surrounding the Massey Report highlighted another factor that became very important to the formation of the Stratford Festival—there was a great deal of optimism and faith in Canadians' ability to enact change and to create their own culture. Canadians had emerged from the Second World War with a new confidence in their abilities and a sense of heritage separate from their colonial past; a spirit of nation building was in the air. It was a time of great optimism about Canada's potential, and the founders of the Stratford Festival embarked upon their journey with an upbeat sense of adventure that somehow overcame the multitude of obstacles they encountered along the way.

The origin story of the Stratford Festival has achieved mythic status in the minds of many Stratford actors, employees and patrons. It is a story that has been retold often, from varying viewpoints, and it maintains its currency as a tale to be retold whenever a new actor joins the

⁶¹⁶ John Pettigrew and Jamie Portman, *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I: 1953-1967*, (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985), 15.

⁶¹⁷ This summary of Davies' findings is from Pettigrew and Portman *Stratford: Volume I*, 16. Davies' chapter in the Massey Report is archived online, see especially point 3: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/2/5/h5-425-e.html>

company or a new patron takes a tour of the theatres or archives.⁶¹⁸ Antoni Cimolino, in his first year as Stratford artistic director in 2013, made a point of arranging viewings of the 1954 documentary *The Stratford Adventure* for members of the staff and company.⁶¹⁹ He wanted the younger generation, many of whom think of the Stratford Festival as an established (and perhaps even stodgy) Canadian theatrical institution, to be aware of how risky the venture had been when it began and how it almost failed to come about.⁶²⁰

In his book *First Stage*, Tom Patterson recounted how he approached the Stratford City Council with his idea for a Shakespeare festival and, after some deliberations, received approval to pursue it and \$125 to travel to New York to see if Sir Laurence Olivier would be interested in helming the project.⁶²¹ Nothing came of Patterson's New York trip, but when he returned home, the doyenne of Canadian theatre, Dora Mavor Moore, suggested that Patterson get in touch with British director Tyrone Guthrie. Mavor Moore may have suggested Guthrie because he was known as something of a Maverick for his work in the theatre; he had just finished a contract with the Old Vic and might be interested in partaking in the ambitious project of building a classical repertory theatre company in Canada.

Guthrie was at his home in Ireland when a transatlantic call came in the summer of 1952.

In his autobiography, *A Life in the Theatre*, he recounted the call thus:

⁶¹⁸ For examples of some of these stories, see Tyrone Guthrie, Robertson Davies, and Grant Macdonald. *Renown at Stratford; a record of the Shakespeare Festival in Canada, 1953*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953; Guthrie, Davies *Twice have the trumpets sounded; a record of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Canada, 1954*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1954; Gurthrie, Tyrone, Robertson Davies, Boyd Neel and Tanya Moiseiwitsch. *Thrice the brindled cat hath mew'd: a record of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Canada, 1955*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1955; see also the *Stratford Festival Story*, published by the Stratford Festival foundation on a yearly basis between 1959 and 1984 and widely distributed to Festival members and in press kits, Stratford Festival archives.

⁶¹⁹ National Film Board of Canada, *The Stratford Adventure*, Directed by Morten Parker, Music by Louis Applebaum, 1954. Accessed August 11, 2013, http://www.nfb.ca/film/stratford_adventure

⁶²⁰ Juan Chioran, interview.

⁶²¹ Tom Patterson and Allan Gould, *First stage: the making of the Stratford Festival*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 41-45.

‘This is Tom Patterson,’ said a still, small voice out of the everywhere. ‘Will you come to Canada and give advice? We want to start a Shakespeare festival in Stratford, Ontario. We will pay your expenses and a small fee.’

‘When do you want me?’

‘At once. Tomorrow if you can.’

Naturally, I said yes. I had some time at my disposal. It would be fun to have another look at Canada after all these years. I did not take the advice part or the Shakespeare festival very seriously. I got out a map. Stratford was about a hundred miles west-south-west of Toronto, rather near Lake Huron. It was a railway junction. It did not look at all important.⁶²²

Guthrie had begun experimenting with staging on a thrust stage at the Edinburgh Festival, but venues that suited his approach to Shakespeare were limited in the UK. Once Guthrie realized that Patterson was indeed serious about a Shakespeare festival, he relished the opportunity to create such a festival in a country and community where the selection of company members, repertoire and the design of the theatre would be left to his artistic discretion.⁶²³

An informal committee, comprised mostly of Stratford citizens who were unfamiliar with the world of theatre, was formed to develop the Stratford Festival. Their main task was fundraising to get the project off the ground. Guthrie flew to Canada in July 1952 to meet with the committee and was heartened by their willingness to listen to his advice, and their general good sense.⁶²⁴ Guthrie wrote to Alec Guinness on September 11, 1952 about the Stratford committee:

Had expected to find a typical hick town committee of dull tradespeople led by the nose by one or two madly enthusiastic cranks. Not at all. They were extremely intelligent, realistic and most surprising of all—humble. They realize that they don’t know all about it; and are prepared to be guided, provided they feel confident that the guiding is responsible.⁶²⁵

⁶²² Tyrone Guthrie, *A life in the theatre*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), 281.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, 282-285.

⁶²⁵ Letter quoted in Pettigrew and Portman *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 34.

Patterson and the committee members were also in favour of working with Guthrie and after several meetings where plans were made and details were hammered out, the committee accepted all of Guthrie's suggestions for the venture.

With both the committee and Guthrie on board, there remained fifty-one weeks to create a brand new theatre festival, including raising money, building the stage, making a giant tent to cover it, hiring actors, staff, technicians and craftspeople, publicizing the venture, creating the props and costumes and rehearsing the plays. It was a giant undertaking, and there were many hurdles to be overcome along the way that caused the whole project to be almost abandoned. The main obstructions were financial: the tentmakers refused to work without a sizable deposit, while the construction crew for the stage continued to work day and night to ensure that the theatre would be ready for opening, knowing full well that money had not yet been raised to cover their salaries.⁶²⁶ There was a large amount of faith in the project for all those involved in it, and an incredible amount of generosity from wealthy Canadians and regular Stratford citizens that pulled the Festival forward through every challenge.⁶²⁷

Guthrie used his contacts in Britain to bring artistic staff and star actors over to Canada. Designer Tanya Moiseiwitsch was integral to the development of the Stratford Festival with her influential design of the Festival stage, as well as costumes and props for the two plays that Guthrie chose, *Richard III* and *All's Well That Ends Well*. Guthrie sent his assistant Cecil Clarke to Stratford as his advance guard for artistic decisions,⁶²⁸ and convinced Alec Guinness and Irene Worth to spend the summer of 1953 in Stratford, Canada, rehearsing and performing two of

⁶²⁶ See Guthrie, *A Life in the Theatre*, 286-296.

⁶²⁷ I list some of the financial supporters of the Festival in Chapter 3—they include businesses in Stratford, London, Kitchener and Toronto, as well as money from foundations like the Atkinson Foundation and individual donors. See also Pettigrew and Portman *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 44-67.

⁶²⁸ For more on Cecil Clarke, see Pettigrew and Portman *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I*, 44-45

Shakespeare's lesser known plays under a tent. The less familiar plays were chosen in part at the requests of Alec Guinness and Irene Worth, who were interested in roles in those plays. In addition to Guinness and Worth, Michael Bates and Douglas Campbell joined Guthrie from Britain, but the rest of the company was Canadian. Guthrie believed that it was very important that a company of Canadian players form the core of the Stratford Festival. He hoped that the Canadian actors would develop a classical style of their own at Stratford, unencumbered by years of British tradition. The goal was that the big name stars would eventually be Canadian actors who received their training as members of the company.⁶²⁹

In many ways, the idea of a company of Canadians being aided by British notables until they could stand on their own was an ideal of what I term next generation colonialism. Theatre scholar Richard Paul Knowles called the spirit in which the Stratford Festival was founded, "the solidification of a delayed colonial celebration of a 19th-century brand of Canadian nationalism configured on a British model."⁶³⁰ It is this type of nationalism that aimed to create an elite high culture in Canada modeled on the British elite and choosing the Bard as mascot. It was the type of cultural imperialism we so often talk about in regard to the United States, but instead of taking on the cultural influences of Canada's neighbour to the south, the Stratford Festival was founded in a spirit of willing acceptance of British cultural empire. However, the intention at Stratford was that Canadians would eventually be able to take over the Festival. In practice, this only partly came true. Canadian stars nurtured at Stratford such as Christopher Plummer, William Hutt, Seanna McKenna and Colm Feore shared top billing with British and American stars in many seasons. For many years the Stratford Festival Board of Governors appointed British

⁶²⁹ Ibid., 284-285.

⁶³⁰ Richard Paul Knowles, "From nationalist to multinational: The Stratford Festival, free trade, and the discourses of intercultural tourism" *Theatre Journal* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 20.

Artistic Directors, including Michael Langham (Stratford AD 1956-67), Robin Phillips (1975-81), and British-born directors John Neville (1986-89) and David William (1990-1993).

Ronald Bryden was one of the board members who appointed a British director after Stratford had its first Canadian Artistic Director in Jean Gascon (1968-1974). Bryden was of the opinion that, “The Stratford Shakespearean Festival has its roots in a long classical tradition of playing Shakespeare that comes directly out of British tradition. Every now and then the Festival needs a re-infusion of that tradition”⁶³¹ There was a strong nationalist reaction to Phillips’ appointment and the Hungarian-Canadian John Hirsch (1982-1985) was appointed after Phillips in part to appease the Canadian nationalist sentiment in the late seventies and early eighties.⁶³² The most recent artistic directors have been Canadian citizens. Richard Monette took the reins of the Festival in 1994 and stayed on until 2007; at fourteen years, it was the longest tenure of any artistic director to date. A three-person directorate was appointed to take over from Richard Monette for the 2008 season. Des McAnuff, Marti Maraden and Don Shipley split over artistic differences after one season and McAnuff remained as sole artistic director until 2012.⁶³³ Antoni Cimolino, a protégé of Richard Monette’s, and the General Director of the Stratford Festival during McAnuff’s leadership, took over as Artistic Director in 2012 for the 2013 season. For now, it seems that the trend of hiring British directors to helm the Stratford Festival ended in 1994 when Monette was appointed. If that is the case, then it took forty-two years for Canadians to stop relying on that ‘re-infusion’ of British leadership at Stratford.

⁶³¹ Recounted in Robert A. Gaines, *John Neville takes command: the story of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in production*, (Stratford, Ont: William Street Press, 1987), 16-17.

⁶³² See Martin Knelman, *A Stratford Tempest*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 18-19.

⁶³³ McAnuff was born in the United States but was raised in Canada from the time he was nine years old and has dual citizenship.

For the first few years at Stratford, however, the British stars were a large reason that an international audience paid any attention to Shakespeare plays in a small Canadian city. On opening night, July 13, 1953, critics from New York and London joined those from papers across Canada and generally gave rave reviews for the newly-minted Festival.⁶³⁴ The Stratford Festival, experimental and groundbreaking in its first year, was established as more than a novelty with critical successes in the succeeding years. Guthrie's assistant Cecil Clarke was technically the Artistic Director in 1954, and he directed *Measure for Measure*, but Tyrone Guthrie was heavily involved in the second season, directing *The Taming of the Shrew* as well as the classical Greek drama *Oedipus Rex*, done in mask. Guthrie was again at Stratford's helm in 1955 when he remounted *Oedipus Rex* to complement *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*. In that year, the Music Festival officially became part of the Stratford Festival with Stravinsky's *A Soldier's Tale* and Marcel Marceau's solo mime show rounding out the playbill.

As evidenced by the playbills in those first years, the Festival was established as a place where Shakespeare and the classics were performed; they formed the core of the repertory even in later years when modern plays by the likes of Anton Chekhov and Bertolt Brecht were added to the repertoire. The first modern play at Stratford was an attempt on the part of Michael Langham to recognize Canadian talent; *Tit-coq*, a French-Canadian play by Gratien G  linas,⁶³⁵ had four performances in the 1956 season. However, even before new Canadian works or

⁶³⁴ See Brooks Atkinson, "Canada's Stratford: Shakespearean Festival is Off to a Good Start" *New York Times* (July 19, 1953), X1 (syndicated in *The Globe and Mail* with headline "Dream Come True: Shakespeare Festival at Stratford Disarming Story of Theatrical Co-operation"); Brooks Atkinson, "*All's Well That Ends Well* Opens at Stratford Festival, alternating with *Richard III*" *New York Times* (July 16, 1953), 18 (syndicated in *The Globe and Mail* with headline "Finished Comedy Style Best in North America"); Herbert Whittaker, "The Most Exciting Night in Canadian Theatre" *Globe and Mail* (July 14, 1953), 15; Herbert Whittaker, "*All's Well* is Stratford's Gift: A Comedy's Historic Success" *Globe and Mail* (July 18, 1953), 12; Jack Karr, "Guinness Big Success in Role of Richard at Stratford Opening" *Toronto Star* (July 14, 1953) 19; Jack Karr, "*All's Well* Saucy and Unconventional Production" *Toronto Star* (July 14, 1953), 10.

⁶³⁵ See <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/gratien-gelinas/>

modern plays were added to the playbill, modernist theatre was represented by musical selections such as Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du soldat* (in 1955) and chamber operas by Benjamin Britten (in 1956 and 1957). The central mandate of the Festival was to perform the works of Shakespeare and the classics, but over the years this mandate has been altered to include high-quality productions of contemporary theatre and the vital goal of promoting new Canadian works and talent.⁶³⁶ The official mandate that was written when the Stratford Festival Foundation of Canada was incorporated in 1953 includes music as well as drama in the first aim: "to promote interest in, and the study of, the arts generally and literature, drama and music in particular."⁶³⁷ It is understandable that music was included in the mandate, considering how prominently music featured in the Festival's early years. What is less understandable is how music disappeared from the mandate in the mid eighties when music continued to play an important role at Stratford with concerts, and American musicals.⁶³⁸ The gap between what the Stratford Festival purports to do in its mandate and what it actually does is at least partially explored in the main body of this dissertation.

⁶³⁶ The Stratford Festival mandate found here: <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/about/about.aspx?id=1173> see also: <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/about/about.aspx?id=12654>

⁶³⁷ Stratford Aims and Objects were published in the first page of the yearly *Stratford Story* 1959-1984.

⁶³⁸ Ibid. See the change that occurred in 1983.

APPENDIX B: CONCERT HISTORY

1953 **Director of Music: Louis Applebaum**⁶³⁹

- Aug 4 Glenn Gould (piano)
Aug 5 Albert Pratz (violin) and Leo Barkin (piano)
Aug 6 Songs of Canada, England and the United States: Ed McCurdy (folk singer)
Aug 7 Music by Canadian Composers: Hyman Goodman (violin), Marian Grudeff (piano), Barbara Franklin (soprano) and Leo Barkin (piano)
Aug 11 James Milligan (baritone)
Aug 12 Ed McCurdy (folk singer)
Aug 13 John Knight (piano)
Aug 14 Glenn Gould (piano)

1955

- Jul 9 Hart House Orchestra with the Festival Chorus
Jul 12 Hart House Orchestra with Glenn Gould (piano)
Jul 13 Hart House Orchestra with Isaac Stern (violin) and Alexander Schneider (violin)
Jul 14 Hart House Orchestra with Gordon Day (flute) and Perry Bauman (oboe)
Jul 15 Hart House Orchestra with Isaac Stern (violin) and Marie Iosch (harp)
Jul 16 Sonata Recital: Isaac Stern (violin) and Alexander Schneider (piano)
Jul 20 Hart House Orchestra
Jul 21 Hart House Orchestra with Zara Nelsova (cello), Mario Bernardi (piano) and Gordon Day (flute)
Jul 22, 23 Hart House Orchestra
Jul 26 Askel Schiotz with John Newmark (piano)
Jul 27 Festival Chorus with Suzanne Bloch (lute)
Jul 29 Glenn Gould (piano)
Jul 30 Hart House Orchestra with Noel Brunet, Eugene Kash, Albert Pratz and Alexander Schneider
Aug 2 Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (soprano) with Paul Ulanowsky (piano)
Aug 3 Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (soprano) with the Hart House Orchestra
Aug 5 Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (soprano) with Paul Ulanowsky (piano)
Aug 6 Hart House Orchestra with the Festival Chorus

1956

- Jul 9 Hart House Orchestra with the Festival Chorus
Jul 9 Glenn Gould (piano) with Bethany Beardslee (soprano), Hyman Goodman (violin), Steve Staryk (violin), Jack Nielsen (viola) and Isaac Mamott (cello)
Jul 11, 13 Wilbur de Paris and his New New Orleans Orchestra with Jimmy Rushing (blues singer) and Willie "The Lion" Smith (piano)
Jul 14, 17 Claudio Arrau with the Festival Orchestra
Jul 18, 20 Duke Ellington and His Famous Orchestra, featuring Johnny Hodges, Ray Nance and Jimmy Grissom
Jul 21 Jennie Tourel with Allen Rogers (piano), Gordon Day (flute) and Isaac Mamott (cello)
Jul 23 Claudio Arrau
Jul 25 Calvin Jackson Quartet and the Phil Nimmons Group with Paul Draper (dance) and Barry Ulanov (commentator)
Jul 26 Claudio Arrau
Jul 27 Calvin Jackson Quartet and the Phil Nimmons Group with Paul Draper (dance) and Barry Ulanov (commentator)

⁶³⁹ This concert history is mainly as it appears on the Stratford Festival website, <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca/about/history.aspx?id=9201>, checked against music concert programs in the Louis Applebaum fonds, York University archives, and the Stratford Festival archives.

Jul 28 Festival Singers with Boris Roubakine (piano) and Pierre Souvairan (piano)
 Jul 30 Inge Borkh and Alexander Welitsch with the Festival Orchestra
 Jul 31 Festival Singers with Boris Roubakine (piano) and Pierre Souvairan (piano)
 Aug 1 Dave Brubeck Quartet and the Norm Symonds Octette
 Aug 2 Inge Borkh and Alexander Welitsch with the Festival Orchestra
 Aug 3 Dave Brubeck Quartet and the Norm Symonds Octette
 Aug 4 Claudio Arrau
 Aug 6 Inge Borkh (soprano) and Alexander Welitsch (baritone) with Leo Barkin (piano)
 Aug 7 Rudolf Serkin (piano) and Martial Singher (baritone)
 Aug 8 Oscar Peterson Trio and the Modern Jazz Quartet
 Aug 9 Inge Borkh (soprano) and Alexander Welitsch (baritone) with Leo Barkin (piano)
 Aug 10 Oscar Peterson Trio and the Modern Jazz Quartet
 Aug 11 Festival Orchestra with Maureen Forrester (contralto)

1957

Festival Music Administrator: Gordon Jocelyn

Jul 31 CBC Symphony Orchestra with Lois Marshall (soprano)
 Aug 2, 3 Count Basie and His Orchestra with Joe Williams
 Aug 7 CBC Symphony Orchestra
 Aug 9, 10 Billie Holiday and the Ron Collier Quintet
 Aug 14 CBC Symphony Orchestra with John Boyden (soloist/baritone)
 Aug 16, 17 Gerry Mulligan Quartet and the Teddy Wilson Trio
 Aug 21 CBC Symphony Orchestra with Betty-Jean Hagen (violin)
 Aug 24, 27, 31 Peter Pears and Benjamin Britten
 Sept 5 Duke Ellington and His Orchestra

1958

Jul 16, 17 Little Carib Company
 Jul 22 Festival Singers
 Jul 23 Jacques Labrecque and Emma Caslor
 Jul 23 Henry "Red" Allen and His All-Stars and Langston Hughes, Poet
 Jul 25 Jacques Labrecque and Emma Caslor
 Jul 26 Festival Singers
 Jul 30, Aug 1 New York Pro Musica
 Aug 2 Maynard Ferguson Band and the Moe Koffman Quartet
 Aug 6, 9 Marais and Miranda, International Balladeers
 Aug 9 Wilbur de Paris and His New New Orleans Orchestra
 Aug 13 Carmen McRae and Trio and the Billy Taylor Trio
 Aug 13 Richard Dyer-Bennet, Tenor and Guitarist
 Aug 15 Dizzy Gillespie and His Group
 Aug 16 Richard Dyer-Bennet, Tenor and Guitarist

1959

Jul 28 National Festival Orchestra with Oscar Shumsky (violin), Leonard Rose (cello) and Claudio Arrau (piano)
 Jul 29 National Festival Orchestra with Claudio Arrau (piano), Oscar Shumsky, Hyman Goodman (violin), Stephen Kondaks (viola) and Leonard Rose (cello)
 Jul 30 Claudio Arrau
 Jul 31 National Festival Orchestra with Claudio Arrau (piano), Oscar Shumsky, Hyman Goodman (violin), Stephen Kondaks (viola) and Leonard Rose (cello)
 Aug 1 Concert of Chamber Music

- Aug 1 National Festival Orchestra with Oscar Shumsky (violin), Leonard Rose (cello) and Claudio Arrau (piano)
- Aug 4 Shakespeare and Music: National Festival Orchestra with Irene Jordan (soprano), Martial Singher (baritone) and the Elizabeth Singers
- Aug 5 National Festival Orchestra with Lois Marshall (soprano), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Julius Baker (flute) and Robert Bloom (oboe)
- Aug 6 Shakespeare and Music: National Festival Orchestra with Irene Jordan (soprano), Martial Singher (baritone) and the Elizabeth Singers
- Aug 7 National Festival Orchestra with Lois Marshall (soprano), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Julius Baker (flute) and Robert Bloom (oboe)
- Aug 7, 8 Ed McCurdy
- Aug 8 Shakespeare and Music: National Festival Orchestra with Irene Jordan (soprano), Martial Singher (baritone) and the Elizabeth Singers
- Aug 8 Concert of Chamber Music

1960

- Jul 23 Chamber Music Concert: National Festival Orchestra. Featured work: Beethoven's Septet in E-flat Minor
- Jul 24 National Festival Orchestra with Glenn Gould (piano), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Leonard Rose (cello), Bach program, including Concerto No. 2 in E Major, Concerto in D Minor, Suite No. 3 in C Major, and Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 in D Major
- Jul 30 Chamber Music Concert: National Festival Orchestra performs Schubert: Quintet in C Major
- Jul 31 National Festival Orchestra with Oscar Shumsky (violin), Leonard Rose (cello), Julie Harris, Douglas Campbell, Bruno Gerussi and Douglas Rain, performs orchestral serenade, concerti featuring Shumsky and Rose, and *Suite of Psalms for Spoken for Spoken Voice and Orchestra* by John Cook: (commissioned by the Festival, world première)
- Aug 6 Chamber Music Concert: National Festival Orchestra performs Sibelius: String Quartet "Intimate Voices"
- Aug 7 Beethoven Program: Glenn Gould (piano), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Leonard Rose (cello)

In addition, an International Composers' Conference took place August 8-14

- Aug 8 National Festival Orchestra, Victor Feldbrill, conductor
- Aug 10 Solo and Chamber Music Concert, with composers in performances of their own works
- Aug 12 Electronic Music Concert, works by Tal (Israel), Badings (Netherlands), Berio (Italy), Luening and Ussachevsky (U.S.A.) and others
- Aug 13 International String Congress Orchestra, conducted by Roy Harris: "Music of the Western Hemisphere" with Johana Harris, piano, Maria Robles, soprano, and others
- Aug 14 The CBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Leopold Stowkowski

1961 **Directors of Music: Glenn Gould, Leonard Rose and Oscar Shumsky**

- Jul 16 Brahms Concert: Glenn Gould (piano), Leonard Rose (cello) and Oscar Shumsky (violin)
- Jul 22 Chamber Music Concert: National Festival Orchestra
- Jul 23 Richard Strauss Concert: Ellen Faull (soprano), Glenn Gould (piano), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Victor Braun (bass-baritone)
- Jul 29 Chamber Music Concert: National Festival Orchestra
- Jul 30 Vocal Concert: Maureen Forrester (contralto), with Oscar Shumsky (viola) and John Newmark (piano)
- Aug 5 Chamber Music Concert: National Festival Orchestra
- Aug 6 Concerto Concert: Oscar Shumsky (conductor and violin), Lois Marshall (soprano), Leonard Rose (cello) and the National Festival Orchestra
- Aug 12 Chamber Music Concert: National Festival Orchestra

Aug 13 Bach Concert: Glenn Gould (conductor and piano), Lois Marshall (soprano), Leonard Rose (cello), Mario Bernardi (piano) and the National Festival Orchestra

1962

Jul 8 Bach Concert: Glenn Gould (piano), Leonard Rose (cello), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and members of the National Festival Orchestra
Jul 13, 15 The Schoenberg Heritage
Jul 22 Debussy and Ravel: Maureen Forrester (contralto), John Newmark (piano), Leonard Rose (cello), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and members of the National Festival Orchestra
Jul 29 Hindemith – The Early Years: Glenn Gould (piano), Lois Marshall (soprano), Leonard Rose (cello) and John Horton (narrator)
Aug 5 Mendelssohn Concert: Glenn Gould (piano), Leonard Rose (cello), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Leopold Simoneau (tenor) and members of the National Festival Orchestra
Aug 10 Panorama Music of the '20s: Glenn Gould (piano and commentary), Marek Jablonski (piano), Ilona Kombrink (soprano) and members of the National Festival Orchestra
Aug 12 Eighteenth-Century Concert: Lois Marshall (soprano), Leonard Rose (cello) and the National Festival Orchestra
Sept 9 John Boyden (baritone) and Gordon Scott (piano)

1963

Jul 7 Bach Concert: Glenn Gould (harpsichord), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Carolyn Stanford (mezzo-soprano)
Jul 13 Chamber Music Concert
Jul 14 Anniversary Concert: Adele Addison (soprano), Elizabeth Benson Guy (soprano), John Boyden (baritone) and Lillian Fuchs (viola)
Jul 19 National Youth Orchestra with Jon Vickers (tenor)
Jul 20 Chamber Music Concert
Jul 21 Strauss-Schoenberg concert: National Festival Orchestra with Shirley Verrett (mezzo-soprano)
Jul 26 Choral Program: Members of the Festival Choral Workshop
Jul 27 Chamber Music Concert
Jul 28 Russian Concert: Glenn Gould (piano), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Sol Schoenbach (bassoon), Donald Gramm (baritone) and members of the National Festival Orchestra
Aug 3 Chamber Music Concert
Aug 4 Bartok Concert: Oscar Shumsky (violin), Avraham Sternklar (piano), the Fine Arts String Quartet, Mario Bernardi (piano) and William Aide (piano)
Aug 9 Lieder Concert: Phyllis Curtin (soprano), Glenn Gould (piano) and Hans Kohlund (lute)
Aug 10 Chamber Music Concert
Aug 11 Schubert Concert: Rudolf Serkin (piano), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Leslie Parnas (cello)

1964

Jul 5 Bach Program: David Nadien (violin), Leonard Rose (cello), Oscar Shumsky (violin and conductor) and the National Festival Orchestra
Jul 12 Brahms Program: Leon Fleisher (piano), Leonard Rose (cello), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Mildred Goodman (violin), David Markowitz (viola), Patricia Parr (piano), Marry Simmons (soprano), Shannon Bolin (mezzo-soprano), Charles Bressler (tenor) and John Boyden (baritone)
Jul 17 Choral Program: Festival Choral Workshop
Jul 19 Berg Program: Lois Marshall (soprano), Weldon Kilburn (piano), Lea Foli (violin), Charles Dobias (violin), Israel Baker (violin), Charles Rosen (piano) and members of the National Festival Orchestra
Jul 26 Haydn Program: Oscar Shumsky (violin), Perry Bauman (oboe), Sol Schoenbach (bassoon), Leonard Rose (cello) and members of the National Festival Orchestra

- Aug 2 Music of Czechoslovakia: Eudice Shapiro (violin), Lea Foli (violin), Charles Dobias (violin), Perry Bauman (oboe), Sol Schoenbach (bassoon), Lynn Harrell (cello), Leonard Rose (cello), Carol Pack (harpsichord), Rudolf Firkusny (piano), Marilyn Stroh (viola), Stanley McCartney (clarinet) and Robert Creech (French horn)
- Aug 9 French Program: Elizabeth Benson Guy (soprano), Carol Pack (harpsichord), Lynn Harrell (cello), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Artur Balsam (piano), Mildred Goodman (violin), Otto Armin (violin), Robert Verebes (viola) and Ronald Laurie (cello)
- Aug 14 Baroque Heritage: E. Power Biggs (organ), Elizabeth Benson Guy (soprano), Robert Oades (trumpet), Otto Armin (violin), Corol McCartney (violin), Ronald Laurie (cello), JoSeph Umbrico (trumpet) and Robert Comber (timpani)
- Aug 16 Bach Program (Choral): Lois Marshall (soprano), Jean Bonhomme (tenor), Patricia Ridout (alto), Maurice Brown (baritone), the Festival Singers and the National Festival Orchestra

1965 Director of Music: Oscar Shumsky

- Jul 11 Beethoven Program: Claudio Arrau (piano), Leonard Rose (cello) and Oscar Shumsky (violin)
- Jul 18 Mozart Program: Oscar Shumsky (violin), Beveridge Webster (piano) and the National Festival Orchestra
- Jul 23 Choral Program: Festival Choral Workshop with Festival orchestra soloists from the opera company
- Jul 24 Saturday Morning Chamber Music: National Festival Orchestra and guest instructors
- Jul 25 Classics and Jazz: Benny Goodman (clarinet), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Lea Foli (violin), Les Malowany (viola), Lynn Harrell (cello), Mario Bernardi (piano), Derek Smith (piano), Al Ferrari (bass) and Mousey Alexander (drums)
- Jul 31 Saturday Morning Chamber Music: National Festival Orchestra and guest instructors
- Aug 1 National Youth Orchestra of Canada with Leonard Rose (cello)
- Aug 7 Saturday Morning Chamber Music: National Festival Orchestra and guest instructors
- Aug 8 National Festival Orchestra with Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute), Oscar Shumsky (violin), Barbara Collier (soprano), Stephen Kondaks (viola), Judy Loman (harp), Robert Creech (horn) and John Coveart (piano)
- Aug 14 Saturday Morning Chamber Music: National Festival Orchestra and guest instructors
- Aug 15 Choral Program: Lois Marshall (soprano), Weldon Kilburn (piano) and the National Festival Orchestra
- Aug 21 Saturday Morning Chamber Music: National Festival Orchestra and guest instructors
- Aug 22 Dave Brubeck Quartet
- Aug 27 Handel's Solomon: Lois Marshall (soprano), Elizabeth Benson Guy (soprano), Charles Bressler (tenor), Norman Farrow (baritone), the Festival Singers of Toronto, members of the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir and the National Festival Orchestra
- Aug 28 Saturday Morning Chamber Music: National Festival Orchestra and guest instructors
- Aug 29 Handel's Solomon: Lois Marshall (soprano), Elizabeth Benson Guy (soprano), Charles Bressler (tenor), Norman Farrow (baritone), the Festival Singers of Toronto, members of the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir and the National Festival Orchestra

1966

- Jul 10 Beethoven Program: National Festival Orchestra with Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Leonard Pennario (piano)
- Jul 17 Mozart Program: National Festival Orchestra with Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Jose Iturbi (piano)
- Jul 23 Chamber music at the Festival Theatre
- Jul 24 Vocal Program: National Festival Orchestra with Mario Bernardi (piano, harpsichord), Mary Simmons (soprano) and Ray Sill (oboe)
- Jul 30 Chamber Music at the Festival Theatre
- Jul 31 Choral Program: Festival Singers of Toronto with Mary Morrison (soprano), Patricia Ridout (alto), Albert Greer (tenor) and Maurice Brown (bass)

Aug 5 Duke Ellington and His Orchestra
 Aug 6 Chamber Music at the Festival Theatre
 Aug 7 George Shearing Quintet
 Aug 13 Chamber Music at the Festival Theatre
 Aug 14 Schubert Program: Leonard Rose (cello), Mario Bernardi (piano), Oscar Shumsky (violin), David Montagu (violin), Sally Trembly (viola) and the National Festival Orchestra
 Aug 20 Chamber Music at the Festival Theatre
 Aug 21 National Youth Orchestra of Canada with Mary Simmons (soprano)
 Aug 27 Chamber Music at the Festival Theatre
 Aug 28 Music for Flute: Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute), Oscar Shumsky (violin) and Mario Bernardi (piano)

1967

Mar 19 Messiah by George Frideric Handel: Stratford Festival Choir, Gwenlynn Little (soprano), Nancy Greenwood (contralto), Jerold Siena (tenor), Peter Milne (bass)
 Jul 9 All-Mozart program: National Festival Orchestra
 Jul 16 Maureen Forrester (contralto) with Mario Bernardi (piano)
 Jul 22 Chamber Music Concert
 Jul 23 Yehudi Menuhin and the Bath Festival Orchestra
 Jul 29 Chamber Music Concert
 Jul 30 Julian Bream (guitar) with the National Festival Orchestra
 Aug 5 Chamber Music Concert
 Aug 6 Louis Quilico (baritone), Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute) and Mario Bernardi (piano, harpsichord)
 Aug 12 Chamber Music Concert
 Aug 13 Modern Jazz Quartet
 Aug 18 Mstislav Rostropovich (cello)
 Aug 19 Chamber Music Concert
 Aug 20 Wilbur de Paris and His Traditional Jazz
 Aug 26 Chamber Music Concert
 Aug 27 Mass in B minor by J. S. Bach: Festival Singers of Toronto, members of the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir, the National Festival Orchestra, Roxolana Roslak (soprano), Jerold Siena (tenor), Nancy Greenwood (alto), Peter Milne (bass) and Catherine Palmer (organ)
 Aug 31 The Avon Concert, hosted by Christopher Plummer with the National Festival Orchestra

1968

Music Administrator: Victor Di Bello

Apr 21 Messiah (Coronation Anthems) by G. F. Handel: Stratford Festival Choir, the Pro Arte Orchestra, Gwenlynn Little (soprano), Theodore Gentry (countertenor), Thomas Clerke (tenor) and Donald Rutherford (bass)
 Jul 7 A Concert of Sacred Music: Duke Ellington and His Orchestra
 Jul 13 Chamber Music Series
 Jul 14 English Chamber Orchestra with Jacqueline du Pré (cello)
 Jul 20 Chamber Music Series
 Jul 21 Stratford Festival Orchestra with David Nadien (violin)
 Jul 26 Van Cliburn (piano)
 Jul 27 Chamber Music Series
 Jul 28 Stratford Festival Orchestra with John Ogdon (piano)
 Aug 3 Chamber Music Series
 Aug 4 Mozart-Rossini Concert: Stratford Festival Orchestra and Judith Raskin (soprano)
 Aug 10 Chamber Music Series
 Aug 11 Beethoven program: Stratford Festival Orchestra and Ruggiero Ricci (violin)
 Aug 18 Ravi Shankar (sitar), Alla Rakha (tabla) and Kamala Chakravarty (tamboura)

- Aug 25 Music of the Spanish Court and Theatre in the Golden Age: New York Pro Musica
- 1969 Director of Music: Victor Di Bello**
- Jul 5 Beethoven Program: Guarneri String Quartet with Arnold Steinhardt (violin), John Dalley (violin), Michael Tree (viola) and David Soyer (cello)
- Jul 6 Bach/Rock: Stratford Festival Orchestra with Charles Libove (violin) and Ray Still (oboe)
- Jul 10 Joni Mitchell
- Jul 10 Music at Midnight
- Jul 11 Ian and Sylvia with the Great Speckled Bird
- Jul 11 New Music at Midnight
- Jul 12 Beaux-Arts String Quartet with Charles Libove (violin), Bernard Eichen (violin), John Graham (viola), Bruce Rogers (cello) and Nina Lugovoy (piano)
- Jul 12 Concert on the Island
- Jul 13 The Abduction from the Seraglio: Stratford Festival Orchestra
- Jul 16–18 Stratford Festival Orchestra, conducted by George Schick, with David Nadien (violin) and Leonard Rose (cello)
- Jul 17 Gordon Lightfoot with Red Shea (guitar) and Rick Haynes (bass)
- Jul 17 Music at Midnight
- Jul 18 New Music at Midnight
- Jul 19 Concert on the Island
- Jul 19 Chamber Music Concert: Musicians of the Stratford Festival Orchestra
- Jul 20 Viennese Program: Eugene Istomin (piano), Leonard Rose (cello), David Nadien (violin), Arthur Garami (violin), David Mankovitz (viola) and Malcolm Tait (cello)
- Jul 23–25 Stratford Festival Orchestra, conducted by Aaron Copland, with Peter Milne (baritone)
- Jul 24 Peter Serkin (piano) and Yuji Takahashi (piano)
- Jul 24 Music at Midnight
- Jul 25 New Music at Midnight
- Jul 26 Concert on the Island
- Jul 26 Chamber Music Concert: Musicians of the Stratford Festival Orchestra
- Jul 27 Peter Nero with Gene Cherico (bass) and Bobby Rosengarten (drums)
- Jul 30–Aug 1 Stratford Festival Orchestra, conducted by Mario Bernardi, with Patricia Kern (mezzo-soprano)
- Jul 30 Royal Canadian Regiment Band of London
- Jul 31 A Program of Contemporary Music
- Jul 31 Music at Midnight
- Aug 1 New Music at Midnight
- Aug 2 Concert on the Island
- Aug 2 Chamber Music Concert: Musicians of the Stratford Festival Orchestra
- Aug 3 National Youth Orchestra of Canada with David Nadien (violin)
- Aug 6 Royal Canadian Regiment Band of London
- Aug 9 Orford String Quartet with Andrew Dawes (violin), Kenneth Perkins (violin), Terence Helmer (viola), Marcel St.-Cyr (cello) and Stanley McCartney (clarinet)
- Aug 10 Julian Bream (lute and guitar)
- Aug 11–22 Master class with Julian Bream (guitar)
- Aug 13 Royal Canadian Regiment Band of London
- Aug 16 Guitar Recital: The guitarists of the Julian Bream master class, including Liona Boyd
- Aug 17 Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (soprano) and John Wustman (piano)
- Aug 20 Royal Canadian Regiment Band of London
- Aug 23 The Music of India: Ravi Shankar
- Aug 24 Ravi Shankar (sitar), Alla Rakha (tabla) and Amiya Das Gupta (tamboura)
- Aug 27 Royal Canadian Regiment Band of London

1970

- Jul 5 Tim Hardin
Jul 11 Orford String Quartet
Jul 11 Pepe Romero (guitar)
Jul 12 The Romeros – Spain’s First Family of Classical Guitarists
Jul 18 Paul Tortelier (cello) and Karl Engel (piano)
Jul 18 Charles Dobias (violin) and Walter Buczynski (piano)
Jul 19 Lois Marshall (soprano) and Louis Quilico (baritone), accompanied by Weldon Kilburn and Lina Pizzolongo
Jul 25 Beaux-Arts String Quartet
Jul 25 Robert Savoie (baritone)
Jul 26 A Tribute to the Berlin Philharmonic: Claudio Arrau
Jul 31 Syrx (synthesizer, saxophone, percussion)
Aug 1 Orford String Quartet
Aug 2 National Youth Orchestra, conducted by Brian Priestman, with Suzanne Shulman (flute)
Aug 8 Beaux-Arts String Quartet
Aug 8 Edward Culbreath (cello) and Charles Reiner (piano)
Aug 9 Lili Kraus (piano)
Aug 15 Orford String Quartet
Aug 15 Marek Jablonski (piano)
Aug 16 Itzhak Perlman (violin) and Samuel Saunders (piano)
Aug 21 Jan Rubes (bass-baritone), Margaret Zeidman (soprano) and Tibor Polgar (composer, piano)
Aug 22 John Boyden (baritone)
Aug 23 Hans Richter-Haaser (piano)
Aug 28 Gwenlynn Little (soprano)
Aug 30 José Feliciano

1971

- Jul 4 Melanie
Jul 6 Joseph Macerollo (classical accordion)
Jul 10 Hungarian Quartet
Jul 11 Alexander Lagoya (guitar)
Jul 11–17 Master classes with Alexandre Lagoya (guitar)
Jul 17 Alexandre Lagoya Master Class Recital
Jul 18 Jon Vickers (tenor)
Jul 20 Patricia Kern (soprano) and Stuart Hamilton (piano)
Jul 24 Steven Staryk (violin) and Joseph Schwartz (piano)
Jul 25 Gerard Souzay (baritone) and Dalton Baldwin (piano)
Jul 25 Patricia Kern (mezzo-soprano)
Jul 25–31 Master classes with Pierre Bernac (voice)
Jul 31 Pierre Bernac Master Class Singing Recital
Aug 1 Alfred Brendel (piano)
Aug 5 Joann Freeman (piano)
Aug 7 Rideau Quartet of Ottawa
Aug 8 Janos Starker (cello) and Gyorgy Sebok (piano)
Aug 12 Arthur Garami (violin) and Charles Reiner (piano)
Aug 14 Classical Quartet of Montreal with Charles Reiner (piano)
Aug 15 Lorin Hollander (piano)
Aug 16–27 Master classes with Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute)
Aug 19 Jean-Pierre Rampal Master Class Recital
Aug 21 Orford String Quartet with Katrina Vournasos (piano)

Aug 22 Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute) and Charles Reiner (piano)
Aug 26 Jane Casson, accompanied by Garth Allen
Aug 28 Vaghy String Quartet
Aug 29 B. B. King (blues guitar)

1972

Jul 1 New Chamber Winds
Jul 6 Anjali, Hindu dancer
Jul 8 Hungarian Quartet
Jul 13 Marie Lorcini (harp), Oatsy Good (harp) and James Stark (tenor)
Jul 15 Alberta Trio
Jul 16 Alexandre Lagoya (guitar)
Jul 16–22 Master classes with Alexandre Lagoya (guitar)
Jul 20 Alexandre Lagoya Master Class Students (guitar)
Jul 22 Orford String Quartet
Jul 23 Rudolf Firkusny (piano)
Jul 27 Riki Turofsky (soprano) and Rafi Armenian (piano)
Jul 29 Orford String Quartet
Jul 30 Itzhak Perlman (violin) and Samuel Sanders (piano)
Aug 3 Michael Edwards (clarinet) and Charles Reiner (piano)
Aug 5 Vaghy String Quartet
Aug 6 Roberta Peters (soprano) and John Wustman (piano)
Aug 10 Cantor Sheldon Merel (tenor)
Aug 12 Classical Quartet of Montreal
Aug 13 Antonio Janigro (cello) and Charles Reiner (piano)
Aug 13–19 Master classes with Antoni Janigro (cello)
Aug 17 Antoni Janigro Master Class Students (cellos)
Aug 19 Lorand Fenyves (violin) and Menahem Pressler (piano)
Aug 20 Van Cliburn
Aug 21–27 Master classes with Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute)
Aug 26 Jean-Pierre Rampal Master Class Students (flute)
Aug 25 Music for a Summer Day: Beaux Arts Trio of New York, Jean-Pierre Rampal, the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, the Dorian Woodwind Quartet and Canadian Brass
Aug 27 Tony van Bridge as G.K.C.: a one-man show based on the writing of Gilbert Keith Chesterton
Oct 19 Charles Aznavour

1973

Jul 5 Paul Brodie (saxophone) and Antonin Kubalek (piano)
Jul 7 Orford String Quartet
Jul 12 Claude Garden (harmonica) and Louis-Philippe Pelletier (piano)
Jul 14 Tsuyoshi Tsutsumi (cello) and Arthur Rowe (piano)
Jul 16–21 Master classes with Alexandre Lagoya (guitar)
Jul 19 Alexandre Lagoya Master Class Students (guitar)
Jul 20 Music for a Summer Day: the Vermeer Quartet and Ronal Turini, piano; Lilit Gampel, violin; New York Philharmonic; Air Transport Command Band; Alexandre Lagoya, guitar
Jul 21 Toronto Winds
Jul 26 An Evening with J. S. Bach: Richard Birney-Smith (harpsichord) and Alan Scarfe (narrator)
Jul 28 Ararat Trio with Raffi Armenian
Aug 2 An Evening of Robert and Clara Schumann: Kathryn Root (piano) and Barry MacGregor (narrator)
Aug 4 Canadian Brass
Aug 9 Elizabeth Strauss (soprano) and Theo Lindenbaum (piano)

- Aug 11 Victor Bouchard and Renée Morisset, piano duo
 Aug 12 Music for a Summer Day: Douglas Haas, organ; Cantor Jacob Barkin and Synagogue Choir; The Gentleman and Boys of St. Simon's Church Choir; the Beaux Arts Trio of New York; the Chicago Symphony Orchestra; Philippe Entremont (piano); the New York Brass Quintet
 Aug 16 An Evening of Indian Music: M. Ranganathan (vina) and P. H. Amarnath (mrdanga)
 Aug 18 Czech String Quartet
 Aug 23 Pierre del Vescovo (French horn)
 Aug 25 Oscar Ghiglia (guitar)
 Aug 26–31 Master classes with Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute)
 Aug 30 Jean-Pierre Rampal Master Class Students (flute)

1974 Music Director: Raffi Armenian

Music Administrator: Stuart Knussen

- Jun 29 Festival Singers of Canada
 Jun 30–Jul 1 Master classes with Maureen Forrester (lied interpretation)
 Jul 2 A Lieder Recital
 Jul 6 Canadian Brass
 Jul 7 Maureen Forrester (contralto) and Raffi Armenian (piano)
 Jul 13 One Third Ninth
 Jul 25 Alvin Reimer and Raffi Armenian
 Jul 27 Anna Chornodolska (soprano) and John Newmark (piano)
 Jul 28 Stratford Festival Ensemble with Phyllis Mailing (mezzo-soprano)
 Jul 29–Aug 4 Master classes with Ray Still (oboe)
 Aug 3 Stratford Festival Theatre Ensemble, conducted by Raffi Armenian, with Phyllis Mailing (mezzo-soprano)
 Aug 4 Barry Tuckwell (French horn) and John Newmark (piano)
 Aug 5–11 Master classes with Stuart Knussen (double bass)
 Aug 11 Trio di Trieste
 Aug 17 Purcell String Quartet
 Aug 22 Members of the Stratford Festival Ensemble
 Aug 24 Camerata, Chamber Group
 Aug 25 John Lill (piano)
 Aug 29 Members of the Stratford Festival Ensemble
 Aug 31 Lorand Fenyves (violin) and Elyakim Taussig (piano)

1975

- Jul 13 Stratford Festival Ensemble
 Jul 15–24 Master classes with Steven Saryk (violin)
 Jul 20 Gisela Depkat (violoncello) and Raffi Armenian (piano)
 Jul 24 Midnight Chamber Music Concert
 Aug 3 Shakespeare and Other Poets: Cleo Laine and John Dankworth
 Aug 10 Stratford Festival Ensemble with Raffi Armenian, Janice Taylor (narrator), Glyn Evans (tenor I), Victor Martens (tenor II), Philip May (bass I and narrator) and Giulio Kukurugya (bass II)
 Aug 10–19 Master classes with Barry Tuckwell (French horn)
 Aug 14 Midnight Chamber Music Concert
 Aug 17 Stratford Festival Ensemble, conducted by Raffi Armenian, with Janice Taylor (contralto), Otto Armin (violin) and William Aide (piano)
 Aug 23–31 Master classes with Ray Still (oboe)
 Aug 24 Bruce Cockburn
 Aug 28, 30 Midnight Chamber Music Concerts

1976

- Jul 18 Stratford Festival Ensemble
Jul 21 Midday Chamber Music
Jul 22 Midnight Chamber Music
Jul 25 Sunday Afternoon Chamber Concert
Jul 25 Stratford Festival Ensemble with Raffi Armenian (piano)
Jul 26 Cleo Laine and John Dankworth
Jul 28 Midday Chamber Music
Aug 1 Sunday Afternoon Chamber Concert
Aug 1 Stratford Festival Ensemble with Raffi Armenian (piano)
Aug 4 Midday Chamber Music
Aug 5 Midnight Chamber Music
Aug 8 Sunday Afternoon Chamber Concert
Aug 8 Stratford Festival Ensemble, conducted by Victor Martens, with the Laurier Singers
Aug 11 Midday Chamber Music
Aug 15 Sunday Afternoon Chamber Concert
Aug 16–23 Master classes with John Fletcher (tuba)
Aug 16–25 Master classes with Steven Stryk (violin)
Aug 18 Midday Chamber Music
Aug 19 Midnight Chamber Music
Aug 22 Stratford Festival Ensemble with Jeannette Zarou (soprano) and Raffi Armenian (piano)
Aug 23–30 Master classes with William Bennett (flute)
Aug 25 Midday Chamber Music
Aug 26 Midnight Chamber Music
Aug 29 Stratford Festival Ensemble

1977

Festival Director of Music for Drama: Berthold Carrière

- Jul 25 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Aug 25 Anna Russell, Frank Bartholomew (piano)

1978 Director of Music: Berthold Carrière

- Jul 3 Bruce Cockburn
Jul 10 Oscar Peterson
Jul 17 Dan Hill
Jul 24 Lina Boyd
Aug 28 Louis Quilico (baritone), Gino Quilico (baritone) and Lina Pizzolongo (piano)

1979

- Jul 2 Dizzy Gillespie (trumpet)
Jul 9 Sarah Vaughan
Aug 6 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Aug 13 Gary Burton Quartet
Aug 20 Valdy
Aug 27 Kate and Anna McGarrigle

1980

- Aug 11 Stratford Youth Choir with guest artist William Hutt
Aug 18 Stratford Youth Choir with guest artist Peter Ustinov
Aug 25 Stratford Youth Choir with guest artists Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronyn

1981

Jul 6 Judy Collins
Jul 13 Cleo Laine and John Dankworth
Jul 27 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Aug 17 Mel Tormé
Aug 24 John Abercrombie, Ralph Towner Solos and Duets / Sonny Rollins
Aug 31 Rob McConnell and the Boss Brass

1982

Jul 5 Len Cariou
Jul 12 Oscar Peterson
Jul 26 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Aug 2 Kris Kristofferson
Aug 9 Chick Corea and Gary Burton
Aug 16 Benny Goodman, soloist; the Primavera String Quartet and the Benny Goodman Sextet
Aug 23 Bruce Cockburn
Aug 30 Roberta Flack

1983

Jul 4 Ella Fitzgerald with the Paul Simon Trio; Joel Pass
Jul 11 Great Swing Piano Celebration, starring the
George Shearing Duo and the Adam Makowicz Duo
Aug 1 Ray Charles with the Raeletts and the Ray Charles Orchestra
Aug 8 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Aug 15 Neil Sedaka
Aug 22 Mel Tormé with Rob McConnell and the Boss Brass
Aug 29 Roberta Flack and the Nylons

1984

Jul 23 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Jul 30 The Nylons
Aug 13 Oscar Peterson
Aug 27 Gospel Festival

Music Administrator: Marilyn Dallman

1985

Jul 8 An Evening with Dave Brubeck
Jul 22 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Jul 29 Al Hirt
Aug 5 Dionne Warwick
Aug 12 Judy Collins
Aug 19 Sarah Vaughan
Aug 26 The Dizzy and Moe Jazz Supershow: Dizzy Gillespie and the Moe Koffman Quintet
Sept 9 An Evening with Melissa Manchester

1986

June 30 Ann Mortifee
Jul 7 Claude Bolling
Jul 14 Liona Boyd
Jul 28 Silver Anniversary Tour: Preservation Hall Jazz Band
Aug 4 The Copasetics
Aug 11 Barbara Cook

Aug 18 Gary Burton Band with Betty Carter
Aug 25 Bruce Cockburn

1987

Aug 30 Musicians from the Stratford Festival with John Hirsch

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

*** No official Festival concerts 1988-1991 ***

1992

Words and Music Concert Series:

Jul 10 Family Experience: Lucy Peacock and Tom Goerz
Jul 13 International Festival of Bands
Aug 14 Chapter and Verse: Edward Atienza
Aug 23 The Female of the Species: Susan Wright
Aug 29 Once Upon a Time: Douglas Rain
Sept 3 Satire: David William
Sept 12 Unfamiliar Shakespeare: Brian Bedford

1993

Words and Music Concert Series:

June 3 My Shakespeare: Edward Atienza, Colm Feore, Deborah Milsom, Nicholas Pennell and Goldie Semple
Aug 14 The Beat Goes On: Ted Dykstra, Lucy Peacock and the Moe Koffman Quintet
Aug 20 Early Days: Peter Donaldson, Sheila McCarthy, Sonia Chan (piano) and Anthony Rullo (violin)
Aug 25 Infinite Variety: Barbara Bryne and the Penderecki String Quartet
Aug 29 Viveza: Salon Music Sensation
Sept 11 Inductions Dangerous: William Hutt, Thomas Goerz, Jim Anagnosson and Leslie Kinton

1994

Jul 16, 24; Workshop Concerts: musicians of the Stratford Festival
Aug 6, 20, 21
Sept 18; Lesley Andrew and David Playfair
Oct 20

1996

Jul 6, 20, 21; Workshop Concerts: musicians of the Stratford Festival
Aug 3, 17, 24

1998

Jul 4 The Food of Love: Niagara Vocal Ensemble
Jul 11, 19; Workshop Concerts: Musicians of the Stratford Festival
Aug 2, 16, 29

1999

Jul 5 Niagara Vocal Ensemble
Jul 12 Renaissance Music
Jul 18 Workshop Concert: musicians of the Stratford Festival
Jul 19 Exploring the Classics
Jul 24, 31; Workshop Concerts: musicians of the Stratford Festival

Aug 8
 Aug 9 Members of Puirt a baroque
 Aug 16 Songs by Sondheim
 Aug 21 Workshop Concert: musicians of the Stratford Festival
 Aug 23 El Sabor
 Aug 28 Workshop Concert: musicians of the Stratford Festival

2000

Jul 1 Music for Winds
 Jul 3 Old, New, Borrowed and Blue: Pam Gerrand
 Jul 8 Music for Violin and Piano
 Jul 10 Tunes and Ballades Old and New: Terry McKenna and Mark Rowsom
 Jul 15 Horn, Voice and Piano
 Jul 17 Summer Winds: Stratford Festival musicians
 Jul 22 A Little Jazz Music
 Jul 24 Songs of Life and Love – Slightly Bent: Karen Skidmore
 Jul 29 Music Old and New
 Jul 31 Musical Pranks and Other Fun: Derek Conrod, Elizabeth Gowen, John Gowen, Peter Shackleton and Henry Zielinski
 Aug 7 Johnny Noubarian Trio
 Aug 12 Songs and Dances
 Aug 14 The Songs of Sondheim: Barbara Fulton and Paul Shilton (piano)
 Aug 21 Water Music – Oceans, Rivers, Lakes and Streams: Niagara Vocal Ensemble

2001

June 25 St. Marys Children’s Choir
 Jul 2 Woodwind Fantasy, with Elizabeth Gowen (bassoon), Peter Shackleton (clarinet) and Jim Mason (oboe)
 Jul 9 The Glass Ship – Tales from the Canadian Imagination: Michael Fawkes (reader), Henry Zielinski (violin), Karen Zielinski (violin), Artur Jansons (viola) and Patricia Mullen (cello)
 Jul 16 Songs My Mother Used to Try and Whistle: Christina Gordon
 Jul 23 Tunes and Ballads – The Sequel: Terry McKenna (lute/guitar) and Mark Rowsom (tenor)
 Jul 30 Cartoon Music: Festival musicians
 Aug 6 Jigs, Reels and Songs of the Sea: Derryreel, featuring Sharon Kahan (Irish flute/pennywhistle), Dermot Hurley (mandolin) and Oliver Whitehead (guitar)
 Aug 13 Songs from Sondheim: Barbara Fulton and Paul Shilton (piano)
 Aug 20 Johnny Noubarian Trio, with Johnny Noubarian, Daryl Stacey and Michael Wood
 Aug 27 Songs of Heart and Mind – Slightly Broken: Karen Skidmore

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

2002

June 17 Devils and Dervishes: Derek Conrod (horn), Peter Shackleton (clarinet), Henry Zielinski (violin), Wayne Brennan (piano) and Elizabeth Gowen (bassoon)
 June 24 Il Favorito – Music and Song: Terry McKenna (lute/classical guitar) and Mark Rowsom (tenor)
 Jul 1 MuSic in Common: Monica Whicher (soprano), Peter Shackleton (clarinet), Heather Morrison (piano) and Derek Conrod (horn)
 Jul 8 A Celtic Feast: Sharon Kahan (Irish flute/pennywhistle), Terry McKenna (guitar) and Sharlene Wallace (Celtic harp)
 Jul 15 Pam Gerrand: Tripping on the Truth
 Jul 22 Please Play Again: Glenn Murch Trio

- Jul 29 An Evening of Jazz, Blues and Nat King Cole: Kory Livingstone
- Aug 5 Choral Magic: St. Marys Children's Choir and the Festival Youth Singers
- Aug 12 Preservation Hall Jazz Band
- Aug 19 Johnny Noubarian Trio
- Aug 26 Water Music: Niagara Vocal Ensemble
- Sept 9 Gordon Lightfoot

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

2003

- June 23 It Sure Beats Apples: Laura Burton, Henry Zielinski (violin), Karen Zielenski (violin), Artur Jansons (viola) and Ben Bolt-Martin (cello)
- June 30 MuSic in Common – Sonnets: Edward Atienza, Heather Morrison (piano), Peter Shackleton (clarinet), Derek Conrod (horn) and Sharon Kahan (flute)
- Jul 7 A Celtic Feast, Part Two: Sharon Kahan (flute/pennywhistle), Terry McKenna (guitar) and Sharlene Wallace (Celtic harp)
- Jul 14 3 Women of Stature
- Jul 21 Borscht to Goulash – Vodka to Tokay: Wayne Brennan (piano), Peter Shackleton (clarinet) and Henry Zielinski (violin)
- Jul 28 Romancing the Song: Barbara Dunn-Prosser (soprano) and Brian Jackson (pianist)
- Aug 4 Lute's Labour's Loved: Terry McKenna
- Aug 11 The Heart and the Mind: Kate Ashby-Craft
- Aug 18 Johnny Noubarian Trio
- Aug 25 You Were in My Eyes: Kory Livingstone

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

2004

- June 28 Madrigales Olde ... and New: Niagara Vocal Ensemble
- Jul 5 No Big Whoop!: Jerry Johnson (trombone), Don Englert (flute/sax), Alan Laing (piano), Kevin Muir (bass) and Michael Wood (drums)
- Jul 12 Love, Look Away: Lesley Andrew Trio
- Jul 19 Fandango!: Terry McKenna
- Jul 26 It's About Time ... : Kevin Muir (double bass), John McFadyen (narrator), Henry Zielinski (violin), Karen Zielenski (violin), Artur Jansons (viola), Ben Bolt-Martin (cello), Don Englert (flute and saxophone), Alan Laing (piano) and Michael Wood (percussion)
- Aug 2 Music in Good Company: Heather Morrison (piano), Peter Shackleton (clarinet), Derek Conrod (horn) and Ben Bolt-Martin (cello)
- Aug 9 Songs from Sondheim ... and So On!: Barbara Fulton and Paul Shilton
- Aug 16 Bassoon Bonanza!: Elizabeth Gowen, Jerry Robinson, Bill Cannaway and Julie Shier
- Aug 23 Ed Vokurka's Jazz Violin Ensemble: Tony Quarrington and Abbey Sholzberg
- Aug 30 In the Garden of Adonis: Sharon Kahan (flute), Artur Jansons (viola) and Julie Shaw (harp)

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

2005

- June 27 Festival City Big Band
- Jul 4 AbsoLUTELY!: Terry McKenna
- Jul 11 Shaggy Haggis
- Jul 18 MuSic in Common: Heather Morrison (piano), Derek Conrod (horn), Julie Baumgartel (violin) and Peter Shackleton (clarinet)

Jul 25 3 Women of Stature: Eileen Smith, Tania Parrish and Jill Diane Filion
 Aug 8 Festival Gems: Christina Gordon, Marion Day, Eileen Smith and Alan Laing
 Aug 15 Swing, Swing and Swing Again!: with Michael Wood (vibes), Brian Harris (piano), Kevin Muir
 (bass) and Richard Brisco (drums)
 Aug 22 Ed Vorkurka Jazz Violin Ensemble
 Aug 29 Sondheim, with Barbara Fulton and John Hughes

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

2006

Jun 26 A Garden of Choral Delights: Niagara Vocal Ensemble
 Jul 3 The Guitar Family Album: Terry McKenna
 Jul 10 Bassoon Bonanza II: Elizabeth Gowen
 Jul 17 Shaggy Haggis
 Jul 22 Music workshop concert
 Jul 24 Songs of the Reel – Not a Fishing Show but Fishermen Welcome, with Christina Gordon
 Aug 5 Music Workshop Concert
 Aug 7 An Evening of Broadway, with Festival actors
 Aug 12 Music Workshop Concert
 Aug 14 Show Jazz!: Michael Wood
 Aug 21 Festival City Big Band
 Aug 26 Music Workshop Concert
 Aug 28 Affairs of the Heart: Kate Ashby-Craft

2007

Jun 25 Broadway Favourites: Festival actors
 Jul 2 Barbara Budd
 Jul 9 Crack a Smile with MuSic in Common: Barbara Fulton, Heather Morrison (piano), Peter Shackleton
 (clarinet) and Derek Conrod (horn)
 Jul 16 Songs of Sweet Fire: Diane Nalini
 Jul 23 Shut Up and Play Your Guitar!: Terry McKenna
 Jul 30 Bassoon-O-Rama
 Aug 13 Festival City Big Band
 Aug 20 Brubeck Braid: Matt Brubeck and David Braid
 Aug 27 Pray Rain: Pam Gerrand

2008

Director of Music: Rick Fox

Director of Music Emeritus: Berthold Carrière

June 30 Niagara Vocal Ensemble
 Jul 7 Terry McKenna
 Jul 14 Festival City Big Band
 Jul 21 Suite Dreams: Julia Seager Scott, Heather Morrison (piano), Peter Shackleton (clarinet) and
 Derek Conrod (horn)
 Jul 28 Shaggy Haggis
 Aug 4 Music Old and New, Borrowed and Blue: Festival musicians
 Aug 11 Festival City Big Band
 Aug 18 Canadian Sunset: Michael Wood and Kevin Muir
 Aug 25 Sonja Sings: Sonja Gustafson

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

2009

- June 29 Broadway Bound: Barbara Fulton and Alan Laing
Jul 6 Musicopia: All Canadian Quartet
Jul 20 Easy to See: Tim Louis Quartet
Jul 27 Sonja Sings ... Again!: Sonja Gustafson
Aug 10 Tanglefoot
Aug 17 Rant Maggie Rant
Aug 24 Festival City Big Band
Aug 31 As We Like It: Sean Arbuckle and Laura Condlin

In addition, music workshop concerts took place on designated Saturday and Sunday mornings.

2010

- June 28 Niagara Vocal Ensemble
Jul 5 Karen and Henry Zielinski, Ben Bolt-Martin and Paul Earl
Jul 12 Barbara Fulton with Paul Shilton, Dave Champion and Kevin Muir
Jul 19 MuSIC in Common – Heather Morrison, Peter Shackleton and Derek Conrod
Jul 26 Bassoon-O-Rama Quartet
Aug 9 Kevin Ramessar and Kevin Muir
Aug 16 Larry Larson and his Guys
Aug 23 Festival City Big Band
Aug 30 Michael Wood, Kevin Muir and Chris Norley

2011

- June 27 Barbara Fulton, Paul Shilton, Dave Champion and Kevin Muir
Jul 4 Terry Young and Sandra Swannell
Jul 11 Denise Pelley Group
Jul 18 Heather Morrison, Peter Shackleton and Derek Conrod
Jul 25 Larry Larson with Dave Martin, Paul Shilton, Kevin Muir and Dave Champion
Aug 8 Lesley Andrew, Kevin Muir and Kevin Ramessar
Aug 15 Kerry-Anne Kutz with Michael Cartile
Aug 22 Festival City Big Band
Aug 29 The Avon-Garde Trio of Louise Pauls, Ben Bolt-Martin and Kevin Muir

2012

- June 25 Charles Rallo and his quartet
Jul 2 Denise Pelley Group
Jul 9 Wayne Brennan, Jeremy Hake, Karen and Henry Zielinski and Leila Kelleher
Jul 16 Heather Morrison, Peter Shackleton, Derek Conrod and Scott Belluz
Jul 23 Michael Wood and his trio
Jul 30 Larry Larson, Dave Martin, Paul Shilton, Kevin Muir and Dave Champion
Aug 13 Festival City Big Band
Aug 20 Arrythmia – Anna Atkinson, Graham Hargrove, Ian Harper, George Meanwell and Kevin Muir
Aug 27 Barbara Fulton with Paul Shilton, Kevin Muir and Dave Champion

In addition, Late Night with Lucy, cabaret evenings hosted by Lucy Peacock, occurred on select Friday nights at 11:30 pm.

2013

- May 23, 24, Cynthia Dale in Concert: Outside Looking In with special guest Dan Chameroy
28, 30,
June 4, 6, 11,

- 13, 18, 21
 June 10 Remembering Louis – the Festival Gems, commentator Walter Pitman
 June 16 ARC Ensemble (director Simon Wynberg): Tradition and the Jewish composer, commentator Alon Nashman
 June 17 Movies and TV Shows a la Jazz – Charles Rallo, Chris Norley (guitar), Richard Brisco (drums)
 June 24 Celebrating Stanley – Laura Burton and Ian Harper, host Ben Silverman, introductions Martha Henry, James Blendick, Miles Potter, Paul Nolan, Steve Ross
 July 22 Non-Speaking Parts – Music in Common
 Aug 12 Larry’s Jazz Guys – Larry Larson, David Martin (trombone), Paul Shilton (piano), Dave Campion (drums)
 Aug 19 Arrythmia – Anna Atkinson, Graham Hargrove, Ian Harper, Terry McKenna, George Meanwell
 Sept 21 ARC Ensemble (director Simon Wynberg): Music Suppressed in Fascist Italy

In addition, Late Night with Lucy, cabaret evenings hosted by Lucy Peacock, occurred on July 5, 19, August 9 and 23.

2014 Director of Music, Franklin Brasz

- May 4, 18 Church Sessions: Leading Canadian songwriters, including Matthew and Jill Barber and Peter Elkas, perform at the Church Restaurant. Curated by Andrew Shaver
 June 23 Canadians Do Jazz, Eh? Pianist Charles Rallo and his quartet
 June 30 Church Sessions: Leading Canadian songwriters, including Matthew and Jill Barber and Peter Elkas, perform at the Church Restaurant. Curated by Andrew Shaver
 July 5 Transgressive Cabaret: Inspired by the songs of Tom Lehrer and the spirit of taking on the taboo, Festival actors and special guests present a late-night cabaret.
 July 7 The Music and Mind of George Gershwin: Richard Kogan gives a lecture performance
 July 21 Making Merry with Musical Madness: Barbara Fulton and friends
 July 28 Church Sessions: Leading Canadian songwriters, including Matthew and Jill Barber and Peter Elkas, perform at the Church Restaurant. Curated by Andrew Shaver
 Aug 11 Festival City Big Band: swing, Latin and jazz, with room for dancing
 Aug 18 Larry’s Jazz Guys: Larry Larson, Paul Shilton, Dave Campion and guests
 Aug 25 Church Sessions: Leading Canadian songwriters, including Matthew and Jill Barber and Peter Elkas, perform at the Church Restaurant. Curated by Andrew Shaver
 Sept 13 ARC Ensemble presents “The Hell Where Youth and Laughter Go”: music of the First World War, including Edward Elgar’s *Quintet for Piano and Strings*

In addition, showcase performances of Next to Normal, with Festival actors presenting a sing-through of the Pulitzer Prize- and Tony Award-winning rock musical by Brian Yorkey (book and lyrics) and Tom Kitt (music), occurred on June 29, July 6, and July 13.

Production: Tom Brown (director); Louis Applebaum (conductor); Brian Jackson (designer); Graham Spicer (stage manager).

Cast: Ernest Adams (Constable, Nimming Ned); Helen Burns (Diana Trapes, Molly Brazen); Ann Casson (Mrs. Peachum, Mrs. Vixen); Robert Christie (Mr. Lockit); William Cole (Filch); Alan Crofoot (Constable, Matt of the Mint); Brendon Dillon (Beggar, Robin of Bagshot, Turnkey); Marie Gauley (Lucy Lockit); Igors Gavon (Ben Budge); Robert Goulet (Macheath); Sylvia Grant (Jenny Diver); Maxine Miller (Polly Peachum); Mary Savidge (Mrs. Coaxer); Jacqueline Smith (Dolly Trull); Chester Watson (Mr. Peachum); Norman Welsh (Jemmy Twitcher, Player, Turnkey).

Production note: performance taped for CBC radio, broadcast August 6, 1958.

Orpheus in the Underworld

1959

Theatre: Avon

Jul 10–Jul 25

Performances: 17

Authorial: Jacques Offenbach (music); Ludovic Halévy (libretto); 1858; Robert Fulford and James Knight (adapters).

Production: Tom Brown (director); Louis Applebaum (conductor); Brian Jackson (designer); Keith Green (stage manager).

Cast: John Arab (Vulcan); Brian Beaton (Morpheus); William Cole (Mercury); Alan Crofoot (Bacchus); Constance Fisher (Hebe); Marie Gauley (Diana); Genevieve Gordon (Cupid); Alexander Gray (Neptune); Luba Hanushak (Minerva); Eric House (Public Opinion); Joanne Ivey (Juno); Irene Jordan (Eurydice); John McCollum (Orpheus); Sheila Piercey (Cybele); Jean Ramsay (Ceres); Jan Rubes (Pluto, Aristeus); Martial Singher (Jupiter); Barbara Strathdee (Venus); Donald Young (Mars).

Production note: In a new English version by Robert Fulford and James Knight (after Hector Cremieux).

H.M.S. Pinafore

1960

Theatre: Avon

Jul 15–Aug 6

Performances: 24

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1878.

Production: Tyrone Guthrie (director); Louis Applebaum (musical director); Brian Jackson (designer); Mario Bernardi (assistant conductor); Jack Merigold (assistant director); John Hayes (production manager); Charles Allen (stage manager).

Cast: Irene Byatt (Buttercup); Douglas Campbell (Boatswain); Andrew Downie (Ralph Rackstraw); Eric House (Sir Joseph Porter); Elizabeth Mawson (Hebe); Howard Mawson (Dick Deadeye); Harry Mossfield (Captain Corcoran); Marion Studholme (Josephine); Vaclovas Verikaitis (Carpenter);⁶⁴⁴ *with chorus of sisters, cousins, aunts and sailors* – Leonard Bilodeau; Robert Briggs; Maurice Brown; Rosemary Callum; Walter Dinoff; Igors Gavon; Genevieve Gordon; Alex Gray; Darlene Hirst; Robert Jeffrey; Gwen Little; Margo MacKinnon; Arlene Meadows; Ron Nelson; Barbara Strathdee; Danny Tait; Donald Young.⁶⁴⁵

Production note: performance taped for CBC radio, broadcast July 27, 1960.

⁶⁴⁴ Vaclovas Verikaitis is credited as Carpenter in the House Program, but is listed with the unnamed sailors in the Souvenir Program. I have followed the House Program, where there is a discrepancy.

⁶⁴⁵ House Program lists Donald Young but the Souvenir Program incorrectly lists Robert Young.

Taping: Videotaped for CBC TV in Toronto, Aug 25-29, 1960; aired October 10, 1960.

Tour, 1960: U.S. tour under management of Contemporary Productions at the Phoenix Theatre, New York (September 6-October 23, 1960; 40 performances).

Tour, 1962: U.K. tour opened at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, February 7, 1962 with a Gala performance for HRH Queen Elizabeth II. Nightly performances until the opening of *Pirates* on February 15, after which the two operettas were performed on alternate nights (number of performances unknown). U.S. tour opened August 6, 1962 and included stops in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle and Vancouver (number of performances unknown).

Leonard Rose, Glenn Gould and Oscar Shumsky, Festival Music Director

The Pirates of Penzance

1961

Theatre: Avon

Jul 7–Aug 9

Performances: 45

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1880.

Production: Tyrone Guthrie (director); Louis Applebaum (musical director); Douglas Campbell (choreographer); Brian Jackson (designer); Jack Merigold (assistant director); Mario Bernardi (assistant conductor); Hamp Williams-Kelley (stage manager).

Cast: Irene Byatt (Ruth); Andrew Downie (Frederic); Marie Gauley (Edith); Howell Glynne (Sergeant of Police); Genevieve Gordon (Isabel); Alexander Gray (Samuel); Darlene Hirst (Kate); Eric House (General Stanley); Harry Mossfield (Pirate King); Marion Studholme (Mabel); *with chorus of pirates, policemen and General Stanley's daughters* – Annabelle Adams; Brian Beaton; Leonard Bilodeau; Victor Braun; Maurice Brown; Edward Evanko; Carman Fleischer; Diane Gibson; Maria Harris; Robert Jeffrey; Anne Linden; Elizabeth Mawson; Howard Mawson; Peggy Anne McMurray; Arlene Meadows; Helen Murray; Murray Olson; Cornelis Opthof; Nasco Petroff; Daniel Tait; Vaclovas Verikaitis; Donald Young.

Production note: performance taped for CBC radio, broadcast July 26, 1961.

Taping: Videotaped for CBC TV in Toronto, after Stratford closing and before U.S. tour; Norman Campbell (director for TV); 90-minute version aired Oct 2, 1961.

Tour: U.S. tour under management of Contemporary Productions began at The Phoenix Theatre, New York (Sep 5–Oct 24; 42 performances), and continued across 19 states (itinerary not documented).

Tour, 1962: U.K. tour opened at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, Feb 15, 1962 (number of performances unknown).

The Gondoliers

1962

Theatre: Avon

Jul 6–Aug 18

Performances: 45

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1889.

Production: Leon Major (director); Louis Applebaum (musical director); Alan Lund (choreographer); Mark Negin (designer); Mark Furness (stage manager).

Cast: John Arab (Marco); Victor Braun (Guiseppe); William Copeland (Antonio); Douglas Campbell (Don Alhambra); Ann Casson (Duchess of Plaza-Toro); Brian Crabb (Francesco); Jack Creley (Duke of Plaza-Toro); Alexander Gray (Luiz); Darlene Hirst (Tessa); Ilona Kombrink (Casilda); Elizabeth Mawson (Inez); Howard Mawson (Giorgio);

Arlene Meadows (Giulia); Dodi Protero (Gianetta); Elsie Sawchuk (Vittoria); Barbara Strathdee (Fiametta); *with a chorus of gondoliers and contadine* – Arthur Apy; Margaret Booth; Garnet Brooks; Douglas Chamberlain; Carrol Anne Curry; Peter van Ginkel; June Grant; Maria Harris; Anne Linden; Elizabeth Mawson; Gary Miller; Helen Murray; Cornelius Opthof; Roxolana Roslak; Donald Saunders; Eraine Schwing; Danny Tait; Vaclovas Verikaitis; *pages* – Sebastian Campbell; Murray Diegel; Daniel Lee.

Taping: Videotaped for CBC TV in Toronto, Aug 28, 1962; Norman Campbell (director for TV); aired Nov 19, 1962.

The Mikado

1963

Theatre: Avon

Jul 5–Aug 17

Performances: 45

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1885.

Production: Norman Campbell (director); Louis Applebaum (musical director); Alan Lund (choreographer); Brian Jackson (designer); Mark Furness (stage manager).

Cast: Maurice Brown (Mikado); Irene Byatt (Katisha); Andrew Downie (Nanki-Poo); Howell Glynne (Pooh-Bah); Eric House (Ko-Ko); Anne Linden (Peep-Bo); Kathryn Newman (Pitti-Sing); Arthur Sclater (Pish-Tush); Heather Thomson (Yum-Yum); *with a chorus of schoolgirls, nobles, guards and citizens* – Arthur Apy; Jamie Apy; Vicki Berniolles; Jean Bonhomme; Garnet Brooks; Peter Brown; Robert Carley; Mary Carr; John Harcourt; Benita James; Leslie Mackey; Elizabeth Mawson; Howard Mawson; Sharon Meckling; Helen Murray; Joanna Myhal; Murray Olson; Donald Saunders; Barbara Strathdee.

Taping: adapted for CBC TV as a 90-minute version; taped in Toronto, Aug 27, 1963; aired Oct 2, 1962.

The Yeoman of the Guard

1964

Theatre: Avon

Jul 3–Aug 22

Performances: 47

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1888.

Production: William Ball (director); Louis Applebaum (musical director); Mark Negin (designer); John Cook (associate conductor); Eoin Sprott (production manager); Jack Merigold (production stage manager); Thom Trethewey (stage manager).

Cast: Jack Bittner (Wilfred Shadbolt); Maurice Brown (Sergeant Meryll); Brian Crabb (Chaplain); Rita Gardner (Elsie Maynard); Howell Glynn (Sir Richard Cholmondeley); Muriel Greenspon (Dame Carruthers); Anne Linden (Kate); Barry MacGregor (Jack Point); Kathryn Newman (Phoebe Meryll); Thomas Park (Leonard Meryll); Robert Peters (Colonel Fairfax); *with chorus of yeomen, citizens and tormentors* – Jean Bonhomme; Robert Briggs; Garnet Brooks; Paul Brown; Mary Carr; Brian Crabb; Carol Anne Curry; David Geary; Nancy Greenwood; Caroline Guay; John Harcourt; Darlene Hirst; Leslie Mackey; Elizabeth Mawson; Howard Mawson; Helen Murray; Roland Richard; Donald Saunders; Kenneth Schultz; Arthur Sclater; Kenneth Smale; Donald Young.

Production note: performance taped for CBC radio, broadcast July 27, 1960.

The Marriage of Figaro**1964**

Theatre: Avon

Aug 4–Aug 22

Performances: 9

Authorial: W. A. Mozart (music); Lorenzo da Ponte (libretto); 1786; Ruth Martin and Thomas Martin (English translation).⁶⁴⁶

Production: Jean Gascon (director); Richard Bonyngue (musical director); Patrick Hurde (choreographer); Mark Negin (designer); Eoin Sprott (production manager); Jack Merigold (production stage manager); Thom Trethewey (stage manager).

Cast: Jean Bonhomme (Don Basilio); Garnet Brooks (Don Curzio); Maurice Brown (Antonio); Howell Glynn (Dr. Bartolo); Caroline Guay (Barbarina); Darlene Hirst (2nd Peasant Girl); Laurel Hurley (Susanna); Ilona Kombrink (Countess Rosina); Anne Linden (1st Peasant Girl); Elizabeth Mawson (Marcellina); Cornelis Opthof (Count Almaviva); Jan Rubes (Figaro); Huguette Tourangeau (Cherubino); *with a chorus of country men and women* – Robert Briggs; Mary Carr; Brian Crabb; Carrol Anne Curry; Nancy Greenwood; John Harcourt; Howard Mawson; Helen Murray; Kathryn Newman; Thomas Park; Roland Richard; Donald Saunders; Donald Young.

Production note: performance taped for CBC radio, broadcast August 9, 1964.

Oscar Shumsky, Festival Music Director

**The Rise and Fall
of the City of Mahagonny****1965**

Theatre: Avon

Jul 2–Aug 28

Performances: 34

Authorial: Kurt Weill (music); Bertolt Brecht (libretto); 1930; David Drew and Michael Geliot (English translation).

Production: Jean Gascon (director); Louis Applebaum (musical director); Alan Lund (choreographer); Brian Jackson (designer); Gabriel Gascon (assistant director); Wallace Russell (lighting designer); Elspeth Gaylor (stage manager).

Cast: Jean Bonhomme (Fatty the Bookkeeper); Len Cariou (Moneybag Bill); John Coveart (Piano Player); Muriel Greenspon (Mrs. Begbick); Yoland Guérard (Trinity Moses); Max Helpmann (Narrator); James McCray (Jack/Jake); Thomas O'Leary (Jim Mahoney); Donald Saunders (Tobby Higgins); Martha Schlamme (Jenny); Bernard Turgeon (Alaska Wolf Joe); *alternates* – William Copeland (Alaska Wolf Joe); James McCray (Jim Mahoney); Wallace Williamson (Jake); *with* – Abbott Anderson; Maurice Brown; Mary Carr; William Copeland; Tito Dean; David Geary; Mona Kelly; Howard Mawson; Helen Murray; Thomas Park; Roxolana Roslak; Donald Saunders; Elsie Sawchuk; Arthur Sclater; Phil Stark; Daniel Tait; Wallace Williamson; Marcelle Zonta.

The Marriage of Figaro**1965 (remount of 1964 production)**

Theatre: Avon

Jul 6–Aug 28

Performances: 30

New castings only (see above for original list)

Authorial: W. A. Mozart (music); Lorenzo da Ponte (libretto); 1786; Ruth Martin and Thomas Martin (English translation).

⁶⁴⁶ All of the operas at the Stratford Festival appeared in English translations. However, I have given the title of the opera in the original language if that is how it appeared in published Stratford materials such as the Visitor's Guide and House and Souvenir Programs.

Production: Mario Bernardi (musical director); Alan Lund (choreographer); Jack Merigold (assistant director); Wallace Russell (lighting designer); Elspeth Gaylor (stage manager)
Cast: Carrol Anne Curry (Barbarina); Gwenlynn Little (Susanna); Daniel McCaughna (Count Almaviva); Helen Murray (1st Peasant Girl); Joan Patenaude (Cherubino); Phil Stark (Don Basilio); Lilian Sukis (Countess Rosina); Daniel Tait (Don Curzio); Marcelle Zonta (2nd Peasant Girl); *with* – William Copeland; David Geary; Mona Kelly; Roxolana Roslak; Elsie Sawchuk; Arthur Sclater; Wallace Williamson.

Don Giovanni

1966

Theatre: Avon

Jul 8–Sep 3

Performances: 29

Authorial: W. A. Mozart (music); Lorenzo da Ponte (libretto); 1787; Edward J. Dent (English translation).

Production: Jean Gascon (director); Mario Bernardi (musical director); James Cunningham (choreographer); Robert Prévost (designer); Jack Merigold (assistant director); Patrick Crean (fight arranger); Elspeth Gaylor (stage manager).

Cast: Maurice Brown (Masetto); Howell Glynne (Commendatore); Sylvia Grant (Donna Elvira);⁶⁴⁷ Gwenlynn Little (Zerlina); Cornelius Opthof (Don Giovanni); Jan Rubes (Leporello); Sylvia Saurette (Donna Anna); Jerold Siena (Don Ottavio); *with* – Ernest Atkinson; Mary Carr; Carrol Anne Curry; David Geary; Mona Kelly; Karen Malone; Blaine Parker; Oskar Raulfs; Herman Rombouts; Roxolana Roslak; Elsie Sawchuk; Arthur Sclater; Danny Tait; Paul Trepanier; *onstage musicians* – Charles Dobias; Talman Herz; Ronald Laurie; Harvey Seigel.

Così fan Tutte

1967

Theatre: Avon

Jul 7–Sep 2

Performances: 27

Authorial: W. A. Mozart (music); Lorenzo da Ponte (libretto); 1790; Ruth Martin and Thomas Martin (English translation).

Production: Jean Gascon (director); Mario Bernardi (musical director);⁶⁴⁸ Desmond Heeley (designer); Patricia Arnold (movement coach); Hidetaro Suzuki (concert master); Robert Reinholdt (lighting designer); Jack Merigold (production stage manager).

Cast: Corinne Curry (Dorabella); Gwenlynn Little (Despina); Mary Munroe (Fiordiligi); Cornelius Opthof (Guglielmo); Jan Rubes (Don Alfonso); Jerold Siena (Ferrando); *with chorus of peasants, servants and soldiers* – Garnet Brooks; Anne Marie Clark; Michael Fletcher; Judith Forst; Nancy Greenwood; Muriel James; Frances Martin; Ralph Oostwoud; Oskar Raulfs; Roxolana Roslak; Donald Rutherford; Elsie Sawchuk; Wallace Williamson.

⁶⁴⁷ Irene Salemka is credited as Donna Elvira in the 1966 Souvenir Program, however she stepped down from the role after becoming ill. Her understudy, Carrol Anne Curry, first stepped in for six performances, then the role went to Sylvia Grant.

⁶⁴⁸ John Matheson replaced Mario Bernardi as the conductor in the middle of the season.

Albert Herring**1967**

Theatre: Avon

Jul 11–Sep 2

Performances: 19

Authorial: Benjamin Britten (music); Eric Crozier (libretto) based on Guy de Maupassant's novella *Le rosier de Madame Husson*; première Glyndebourne, UK 1947.

Production: David William (director); John Matheson (musical director); Leslie Hurry (designer); Patricia Arnold (movement coach); John Gomez (concert master); Robert Reinholdt (lighting designer); Jack Merigold (production stage manager).

Cast: Ernest Atkinson (Mr. Upfold); Carrol Anne Curry (Emmie Spashett); Gregory Dempsey (Albert Herring); Sylvia Fisher (Lady Billows); Howell Glynne (Superintendent Budd); Alexander Gray (Sid); Muriel Greenspon (Mrs. Herring); Muriel James (Cissie Woodger); Mona Kelly (Nancy); Peter Milne (Mr. Gedge); Patricia Rideout (Florence Pike); Peter Young (Harold Wood); Jeannette Zarou (Miss Wordsworth). *Understudies* – Garnet Brooks (Albert Herring); Anne Marie Clark (Emmie and Cis); Michael Fletcher (Mr. Gedge); Judith Forst (Nancy); Nancy Greenwood (Florence Pike); Gwenlynn Little (Miss Wordsworth); Frances Martin (Lady Billows); Gregory Misener (Harold); Oskar Raulfs (Superintendent Budd); Donald Rutherford (Sid); Elsie Sawchuk (Mrs. Herring); Wallace Williamson (Mr. Upfold).

Production note: Performance taped for CBC radio, broadcast on August 8, 1967.

*Jean Gascon, Artistic Director**Victor Di Bello, Festival Music Director***Cinderella (La Cenerentola)****1968**

Theatre: Avon

Jul 6–Aug 10

Performances: 19

Authorial: Gioacchino Rossini (music); Jacopo Feretti (libretto); 1817; based on the fairy tale *Cendrillon* by Charles Perrault; Arthur Jacobs (translator).

Production: Douglas Campbell (director); Lawrence Smith (music director); Marvin Gordon (choreographer); Leslie Hurry (designer); Robert Reinholdt (lighting designer); Elspeth Gaylor and Bernard Havard (stage managers).

Cast: Howell Glynne (Don Magnifico); Muriel Greenspon (Tisbe); Patricia Kern (Angelina Cinderella); Gwenlynn Little (Clorinda); Jean-Louis Pellerin (Ramiro); Robert Savoie (Dandini); Peter van Ginkel (Aliodoro); *alternate* – René Rosen (Angelina Cinderella, 4 performances); *with* – Anne Marie Clark; Nancy Gottschalk; Muriel James; Peter Milne; Danielle Pilon; Oskar Raulfs; Herman Rombouts; Donald Rutherford; Daniel Tait; Leslie Wertman.

Production note: Performance taped for CBC radio, broadcast August 11 and 13, 1968.

The Satyricon**1969**

Theatre: Avon

Jul 2(Jul 4)–Aug 2

Performances: 24

Authorial: Tom Hendry (book and lyrics); Stanley Silverman (music); 1969; based on the writings of Petronius.

Production: John Hirsch (director); Lawrence Smith (music director); Marvin Gordon (choreographer); Michael Annals (designer); Keith Turnbull (assistant director); Eoin Sprott (projections); Gil Wechsler (lighting designer); Tril Smiley (electronic music); Elspeth Gaylor (stage manager).

Cast: Jeri Archer (The Emperor's Sister); James Blendick (Eumolpus); Jane Casson (Scintilla); Dinah Christie (Circe); Robert Christie (Diogenes); Johnny Christopher (Ascyltus); Jack Creley (Trimalchio); Alan Crofoot (Habbinas); Eric Donkin (Cinnamus); David Drummond (Britannicus); Stephen Foster (Giton); Marilyn Garnder (Fortunata); Irving Harmon (Echion); Kevin Kamis (Trimalchio's Butler); Marc Mantell (Croesus); Margaret Rowan (Soprano); Arnold Soboloff (Julius Proculus); Don Sutherland (Encolpius); Powys Thomas (Rev. Dama); James Tolkan (Agamemnon); Robert Weil (Niceros); Diane Young (Tryphaena); *with dancers* – Diana Broderick; Marcia Brooks; Martha Cutrefello; Birdie Davis; David Drummond; Ray Edwards; Kevin Kamis; Sanford Levitt; Marc Mantell; Nancilou Moretti; Al Perryman; Christina Wachowiak.

The Threepenny Opera

1972

Theatre: Avon

Jun 29(**Jun 30**)–Jul 29

Performances: 36

Authorial: Bertolt Brecht (book and lyrics); Kurt Weill (music); 1928; Marc Blitzstein (English adaptation, Off-Broadway, 1956).

Production: Jean Gascon (director); Alan Laing (music director); Robert Prévost (designer); Gil Wechsler (lighting); Alec Stockwell (assistant director); Elspeth Gaylor (stage manager).

Cast: J. Kenneth Campbell (Streetsinger, Money Matthew); Jack Creley (Mr. Peachum); Bernard Engel (Reverend Kimball, Smith); Denise Fergusson (Jenny); Michael Fletcher (1st Constable); Marilyn Gardner (Lucy); Lewis Gordon (Bob the Saw); Jeff Jones (Crookfinger Jake); Lila Kedrova (Mrs. Peachum); Monique Leyrac (Polly); Anne Linden (Dolly); Iris MacGregor (Coaxer); Robin Marshall (Filch); Henry Ramer (Tiger Brown); Anton Rodgers (Macheath); Elsie Sawchuck (Molly); Errol Slue (2nd Constable); Anni Lee Taylor (Betty); Kenneth Wickes (Walt Dreary); *with chorus of beggars* – Leo Burns; Vincent Cole; Eric Hutt; Stephen Nesrallah; Tim Whelan.

Orpheus:

A Liturgy in Seven Parts

1972

Theatre: Third Stage

Jul 11–Jul 16

Performances: 6

Authorial: Gabriel Charpentier (poem and music); 1969; Michael Bawtree (translation and adaptation); 1972.

Production: André Brassard (director); Ursula Clutterbuck (music director); Richard and Shirley Cohen (choreographers); Art Penson (designer); F. Mitchell Dana (lighting); Ron Francis (stage manager)

Cast: Richard Cohen (Orpheus 3, dancer); Stephen Markle (Chorus-leader); Monique Mercure (Eurydice); Roland Richard (Orpheus 2, singer); David Schurmann (Orpheus 1, actor); *with* – Michael Burgess; Guiseppe Condello; Suzette Couture; Jean Leclerc; Veronique LeFlaguais; Allan K. Migicovsky; Nicole Pelletier; Pam Rogers.

Patria II:

Requiem for the Party Girl

1972

Theatre: Third Stage

Aug 23–Aug 26

Performances: 3

Authorial: R. Murray Schafer (music/libretto); 1972.

Production: Michael Bawtree (director); Serge Garant (music director); John Barron (orchestral direction); Eoin Sprott (designer); F. Mitchell Dana (lighting); Bart Techter (projection assistant to designer); Brian Longstaff (stage manager).

Cast: Christine Bennett (Serbo-Croatian Nurse); Michael Burgess (Orderly/Aram Smish); Guiseppe Condello (Orderly/Massimo Quigg); Suzette Couture (Ariadne's spirit); Lewis Gordon (Nietzche); Jean Leclerc (Doctor/Napolean/Greek youth); Phyllis Mailing (Ariadne); Robin Marshall (Doctor/Eddie Le Chasseur/Freud); Colleen McInnis (Ariadne as a child); Nicole Pelletier (Nellie Frencheater); Pam Rogers (Second nurse/Julie November); David Schurmann (Alchemist/Doctor/English psychiatrist); Jonathan Welsh (Irmtraut Sprunken).⁶⁴⁹

Production Note: World Première; part of Schafer's *Patria* cycle; author's note by Schafer call this work a chamber opera or "co-opera."

Exiles

1973

Theatre: Third Stage

Aug 15–Aug 26

Performances: 11

Authorial: Beverly Pannell (music/libretto); Raymond Pannell (music/libretto); 1973.

Production: Michael Bawtree (director); Eoin Sprott (set designer); John Ferguson (costume designer); Robert Scales (lighting); Brian Longstaff (stage manager); Beverly Pannell (photography).

Cast: Jason Czajkowski (Little Boy); Bob Dermer (Charlie Quinn); Candy Kane (La Suparella); Phyllis Mailing (Woman); Janette Moody (La Cantarina); Edward Pierson (Pierrot); Gary Relyea (Man); Gary Reineke (Don Balloon); David Schurmann (Granpiano); Gene Watts (Bud Gala).

Production Note: World Première; commissioned for the Festival with support from Canada Council.

Raffi Armenian, Festival Music Director

La Vie Parisienne

1974

Theatre: Avon

Jun 26(Jun 27)–Sep 1

Performances: 78

Authorial: Jacques Offenbach (music); Meilhac & Ludovic Halévy (libretto); 1866; Jeremy Gibson (translation).

Production: Jean Gascon (director); Raffi Armenian (music director & conductor); Christina Williams and Patricia Arnold (choreography); John Plank (assistant director); Robert Prevost (designer); Francois Barbeau (costume designer); Elspeth Gaylor (stage manager).

Cast: Barry MacGregor (Bobinet); Gabriel Gascon (Raoul de Gardefeu); Jack Roberts (Gontran/Urbain); Denise Fergusson (Metella); Jack Creley (Joseph/Prosper/Alfred); Douglas Campbell (Baron de Gondremarck); Marilyn Garnder (Baroness de Gondremarck); Michael Burgess (Brazilian); Mary Lou Fallis (Gabrielle); Anne Linden (Gabrielle); Jack Creley (Frick); Sam Moses (Alphonse); Lise Lasalle (Pauline); *with* – Ken Atkinson; Dianna Barrington; Sara Botsford; Bonnie Britton; Barbara Carter; Diane Dewey; Nancy Belle Fuller; Jose Hernandez; Robert Godin; Patricia Griffin; Donald

⁶⁴⁹ *Patria II* included recorded choral passages, sung by: Ann Cooper; Glyn Evans; Mary Lou Fallis; Carol Forte; Bill Graham; Deborah Jeans; Bruce Kelly; Peter Manierka; Edward Matthiessen; Kathryn Newman; Rene Rosen; and Robert Vigod, under the direction of John Barron.

Hunkin; John Keane; Tony Moffat-Lynch, Wolfgang Oeste, Penny Speedie; Christina Williams; Elias Zarou.

The Summoning of Everyman 1974

Theatre: Third Stage **Jul 10**–Jul 19 Performances: 5

Authorial: Eugene Benson (libretto); Charles Wilson (music), 1974.

Production: Michael Bawtree (director); Raffi Armenian (music director); Susan Benson (designer); Jeremy Gibson (assistant director); Brian Longstaff (stage manager).

Cast: Keith Batten (Steward); Darryl Beschell (Servant/Monk); Garnet Brooks (Everyman); Eleanor Calbes (Cousin); Sister Barbara Ianni (Faith); Dan Lichti (Kindred); Phyllis Mailing (Paramour); Philip May (Death); Lynda Neufeld (Good Deed); Alvin Reimer (God/Goods); George Reinke (Doctor of Theology/Fellowship); Phil Stark (Devil); Larry Zacharko (Servant/Monk).

Production note: The house program included the statement, “Stratford’s 1974 production marks the first fully professional stage presentation of the opera, and has been made possible with the generous assistance of the Canada Council and the Ontario Arts Council.”

The Medium 1974

Theatre: Third Stage **Jul 11**–Jul 20 Performances: 11

Authorial: Gian-Carlo Menotti (music/libretto); première Columbia University, New York, 1946, Broadway, 1947.

Production: Michael Bawtree (director); Raffi Armenian (music director); Jeremy Gibson (assistant director); Susan Benson (designer); Brian Longstaff (stage manager).

Cast: Janis Orenstein (Monica, daughter of Madame Flora); Sebastien Dhavernas (Toby, a mute); Maureen Forrester (Madame Flora (Baba); Lynda Neufeld (Mrs. Gobineau); Dan Lichti (Mr. Gobineau); Sister Barbara Ianni (Mrs. Nolan).

Ready, Steady, Go 1974

Theatre: Third Stage **Aug 14**–Sep 1 Performances: 22

Authorial: Sandra Jones (author); Berthold Carrière (music); 1974.

Production: Arif Hasnain (director); Berthold Carrière (music director); Patricia Arnold (choreography); Grant Guy (designer); Brian Longstaff (stage manager).

Cast: John Bayliss (McClot); Jean Bergmann (Marie); J. Kenneth Campbell (McClump); Patricia Collins (Laevinia); Diane D’Aquila (Ramona); Rosemary Dunsmore (Sasparilla); Luba Goy (Vanilla); Susan Hogan (Miss Mumbles); Terry Judd (McClutter); Hardee T. Lineham (Scrumptious); Robert Thomson (Ready Steady); Jonathan Welsh (Derek, a song-writing spider).

Robin Phillips, Artistic Director

The Fool 1975

Theatre: Third Stage **Jul 30**–Aug 9 Performances: 6

Authorial: Harry Somers (music) Michael Fram (libretto); 1953.

Production: Jan Rubes (director); Raffi Armenian (music director); John Ferguson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Stuart Knussen (associate conductor); Thomas Schweitzer (stage manager).

Cast: Giulio Kukurugya (King); Brian Roberts (Fool); Roxolana Roslak (Lady in Waiting); Janice Taylor (Queen).

Program Note: Part of a double bill with *Le Magicien*.

Le Magicien

1975

Theatre: Third Stage

Jul 30–Aug 9

Performances: 6

Authorial: Jean Vallerand (music/libretto); 1961.

Production: Pat Galloway (director); Raffi Armenian (music director); John Ferguson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Stuart Knussen (associate conductor); Thomas Schweitzer (stage manager).

Cast: Barbara Carter (Columbine); D. Glyn Evans (Harlequin); Gary Relyea (Magicien).

Program Note: Part of a double bill with *The Fool*.

Ariadne auf Naxos

1975

Theatre: Third Stage

Jul 31–Aug 9

Performances: 5

Authorial: Richard Strauss (music) Hugo von Hofmannstal (libretto); 1912.

Production: Jan Rubes (director); Raffi Armenian (music director); John Ferguson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Thomas Schweitzer (stage manager).

Cast: Robert Calvert (Sailor); Barbara Carter (Naiad); D. Glyn Evans (Mr. “Scar” A. Muccio); Mary Lou Fallis (Miss Netta); Giulio Kukurugya (Mr. T. Ruffaldin); Gary Relyea (Mr. H. Arle Quinn); Brian Roberts (Brig H. Ella); Roxolana Roslak (Echo); Janice Taylor (Dryad); Jeannette Zarou (Ariadne).

Berthold Carrière, Festival Music Director (1977)

A Gala Shakespeare Revel

1978

Theatre: Festival

June 5

Performances: 1

Production: Berthold Carrière (Musical Director, Stratford Festival Company); Raffi Armenian (Conductor, COC and Nat. Ballet of Canada); Nora Polley (stage manager).

Cast: *Stratford Festival Company* – Mervyn Blake; Domini Blythe; David Dunbar; Edward Evanko; Martha Henry; William Hutt; Marti Maraden; Roberta Maxwell; Richard McMillan; Richard Monette; William Needles; Nicholas Pennell; Robin Phillips; Jennifer Phipps; Alan Scarfe; Cathy Wallace; Brian Bedford; Maggie Smith; *Canadian Opera Company* – Maureen Forrester; Allan Monk; Roxolana Roslak; *National Ballet of Canada* – James Kudelka; Veronica Tennant.

Production Note: Season opening gala performance.

Candide

1978

Theatre: Avon / Festival

May 27(**Jun 8**)–Sep 30

Performances: 41

Authorial: Leonard Bernstein (music); based on the novella by Voltaire; Broadway première 1956; “Chelsea version” revival by Harold Prince: Hugh Wheeler (book); Richard Wilbur (lyrics); John Latouche & Stephen Sondheim (additional lyrics); Broadway 1974.

Production: Lotfi Mansouri (director); Berthold Carrière (music director); Brian Macdonald (choreography); Mary Kerr (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Barrie Wood (assistant choreographer); Laurie Freeman (stage manager).

Cast: Theodore Baerg (Governor); Edward Evanko (Candide); Michael Fletcher (Voltaire/Dr. Pangloss); Susan Gudgeon (Baroness); William Hutt (“Heavenly Voice”); Gerald Isaac (Maximillian); Andrea Martin (Old Lady); Caralyn Tomlin (Cunegonde); Cathy Wallace (Paquette); Richard Whelan (Baron/Grand Inquisitor); *with* – Stephen Beamish, David Dunbar, Iris Marie Fraser, Donald Hunkin, Richardo Keens-Douglas, Anne Linden, Pamela MacDonald, Richard McMillan, Marylu Moyer, Maida Rogerson, Robert Vigod, Peggy Watson, Barrie Wood, Elias Zarou.

Gala Performance

1979

Theatre: Festival

June 4

Performances: 1

Production: Berthold Carrière (musical director); Arthur Lang (pianist); Brian Macdonald (Resident Choreographer, Les Grandes Ballets Canadiens); Robert Cooper (Conductor, Ontario Youth Choir); Nora Polley (stage manager).

Cast: *Stratford Festival Company* – Mervyn Blake; Domini Blythe; Clare Coulter; David Dunbar; Edward Evanko; Edda Gaborek; Martha Henry; William Hutt; Gerald Isaac; Alicia Jeffery; Marti Maraden; Richard McMillan; Richard Monette; Nicholas Pennell; Robin Phillips; Douglas Rain; Maida Rogerson; Tom Wood; *Vocalists* – Odetta; Ontario Youth Choir; *Les Grandes Ballets Canadiens* – Vincent Warren; Annette av Paul; Betsy Baron; John Shields; Jacques Drapeau; Dwight Shelton; Jacques St-Cyr; David La Hay; Jerilyn Dana; Heather Farquharson; Cathy Buchanan; Edward Hillyer; James Bates.

Production Note: Season opening gala performance celebrating the International Year of the Child.

Happy New Year

1979

Theatre: Avon

May 28(**Jun 9**)–Oct 27

Performances: 57

Authorial: Cole Porter (music and lyrics); Burt Shevelove (author); based on the play “Holiday” by Philip Barry; Daniel Troob (orchestration); 1979 (Stratford preview), Broadway première 1980.

Production: Burt Shevelove (director); Buster Davis (music director); Donald Saddler (choreography); Michael Eagan (designer); Robin Fraser Paye (costume designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Barrie Wood (assistant choreographer); Laurie Freeman (stage manager).

Cast: Leigh Beery (Julia Seton); Eric Donkin (Edward Seton); David Dunbar (Ned Seton); Edward Evanko (Johnny Case); Ted Follows (Narrator); Victoria Snow (Linda Seton); *with* – William Copeland; Carol Forte; Wally Michaels; Marylu Moyer; Maida Rogerson; Hank Stinson; Heather Summerhayes; Barry van Elen; Barrie Wood.

The Beggar’s Opera

1980

Theatre: Avon

May 23(**Jun 9**)–Sep 13

Performances: 31

Authorial: John Gay (author); Frederic Austin (music); Dr. Pepusch (music); 1728; Berthold Carrière (additional music) Caryl Brahms and Ned Sherrin (additional lyrics).

Production: Gregory Peterson (director); Robin Phillips (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Jeff Hyslop (choreography); Daphne Dare (set designer); Sue LePage (costume designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director) Laurie Freeman (stage manager).

Cast: Stephen Beamish (Slippery Sam); Barbara Budd (Jenny Diver); Graeme Campbell (Mr. Peachum); Brent Carver (Henry Paddington); Patrick Christopher (Mr. Lockit); David Clark (Robin of Bagshot); Stephen Cross (Nimming Ned); David Dunbar (Filch); Janet Feindel (Sukey Tawdry); Carol Forte (Mrs. Coaxer); Edda Gaborek (Polly Peachum); Janice Green (Molly Brazen); Jeffrey Guyton (Walt Dreary); David Harris (Ben Budge); Sten Hornborg (Jemmy Twitcher); Alicia Jeffrey (Lucy Lockit); Jim McQueen (Macheath); Marylu Moyer (Sally Tawdry); Elizabeth Murphy (Betty Doxy); Jennifer Phipps (Mrs. Peachum/Mrs. Slammekin); Mary Savidge (Diana Trapes) Gerald Smuin (Peter Piper); Barry Van Elen (Drawer); Paul Wagar (Tom Tipple); Cathy Wallace (Mrs. Vixen); Gregory Wanless (Matt of the Mint); Peggy Watson (Dolly Trull); Elias Zarou (Crook-Fingered Jack); *featuring The Stratford Youth Choir*, Robert Cooper (director): Beverly Anderson; Megan Cooper; Susan Cooper; Carolynne Davy-Godin; Elizabeth Dobie; Elizabeth Forster; Leslie M. Jost; Marjorie Louise Patterson; Sandra Reid; Adrienne Savoie; Debra Selig; Sung Ha Shin; Lisa Sullivan; Mary Lynne Weeks; Victoria Whaley; Monica A. Zerbe; Robert B. Anderson; L. Ken Beal; Mel Braun; Robert D. Dirstein; Russell Drago; Laurent Ewashko; Dennis B. Giesbrecht; Daniel J. Godin; Brian Gow; Michael LaLeune; Lawrence LeBarge; Jeffrey Andrew Marshall; Gord MacLeod; John A. G. McKeown; Kevin Reeves; Patrick Timney.

Production note: Segment of the show telecast live on CTV Terry Fox special, “Marathon Continues” on September 7, 1980.

John Hirsch, Artistic Director

H.M.S. Pinafore

1981

Theatre: Avon

Jun 4(**Jun 15**)–Aug 9

Performances: 70

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1878; Berthold Carrière (additional music).

Production: Leon Major (director); Berthold Carrière (music director); Judith Marcuse (choreography); Murray Laufer (set designer); Astrid Janson (costume designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Laura Burton (assistant music director); Laurie Freeman (stage manager).

Cast: Kenneth Baker (Bob Becket); Stephen Beamish (Sail-Mending Able Seaman); Michael Burgess (Captain Corcoran); Janet Coates (Constantly Smiling Sister); Elise Dewsberry (Aggressive Cousin); Eric Donkin (Sir J. Porter, K.C.B.); Dennis Goodwin (Vain & Incompetent Able Seaman); Kevin Jenson (Admiral’s Marine); Debora Joy (Dancing Cousin); Patricia Kern (Little Buttercup); Avo Kittask (Dick Deadeye); Anne Linden (Hebe); Richard Marsh (Studious Able Seaman); Ted Marshall (Admiral’s Sailor); Paul Massel (Bill Bobstay); Loreena McKennit (Repressed Sister); James McLean (Ralph Rackstraw); Dale Mieske (Slow-witted Able Seaman); Kenneth Pearl (Admiral’s Sailor); Scott Smith (Almost Competent Seaman); Gerald Smuin (Tall Rope-Pull Seaman); Reid Spencer (Port Sail-Mending Seaman); Heather Suttie (Fishing Aunt); Arnold Tays

(Admiral's Marine); Katherine Terrell (Josephine); Marcia Tratt (Sneezing Aunt); Peggy Watson (Sober but Topsy Aunt); Dale Wendel (Haughty Cousin); Lynn West (Very Nervous Sister); Jim White (Young Unable Abel Seaman); Sandy Winsby (Enthusiastic Able Seaman); Karen Wood (Timid Cousin).

Taping: Videotaped in Toronto, Dec. 13-18, 1981 for CBC Television; aired Jan 1, 1982; Paul Starkman (director for TV). *New castings:* Kenneth Baker (Carpenter); Paul Gatchell (Able Seaman); Christopher House (Able Seaman); Paul Massel (Boatswain).

The Mikado

1982

Theatre: Avon

May 28(**Jun 7**)–Aug 1

Performances: 69

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1885. John Banks (additional lyrics).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director);

Susan Benson (set and costume designer); Douglas McLean (set designer); Michael J.

Whitfield (lighting designer); Anne Wootten (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant

musical director); Kelly Robinson (dance captain); Laurie Freeman (stage manager).

Cast: Marie Baron (Yum-Yum); Eric Donkin (Ko-Ko); Henry Ingram (Nanki-Poo); Christina James (Katisha); Richard McMillan (Pooh-Bah); Gidon Saks (Mikado); Karen Skidmore (Peep-Bo); Allen Stewart-Coates (Pish-Tush); Karen Wood (Pitti-Sing); *with a chorus of schoolgirls, Nobles, Guards and Tumblers* – Aggie Cekuta; Timothy Cruickshank; Elise Dewsberry; Glori Gage; Allison Grant; Deborah Joy; Avo Kittask; John Lawson; Ben Magnin; Richard March; Ted Marshall; Dale Mieske; Kelly Robinson; Mark Roth; Scott Smith; Gerald Smuin; Martin Spencer; Reid Spencer; Jean Stilwell; Heather Lynn Suttie; Marcia Tratt; Tony Wilhelm.

Tour: National Arts Centre, Ottawa, Nov 10-14, 1982 (7 performances).

Taping: Videotaped in Toronto, following the National Arts Centre run, for CBC Television; aired Jan 2, 1983; Norman Campbell (director for TV).

Additional Tours: see entry for *Mikado* remount in 1983, below, for tours that occurred between the 1983 and 1984 seasons.

The Gondoliers

1983

Theatre: Avon

May 20(**Jun 6**)–Jul 31

Performances: 70

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1889. John Banks (additional lyrics); Berthold Carrière (additional music).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (music director);

Susan Benson (set and costume designer); Douglas McLean (set designer); Michael J.

Whitfield (lighting designer); Anne Wootten (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant

musical director); Kelly Robinson (assistant choreographer and dance captain); Laurie

Freeman (stage manager).

Cast: *The Contadine:* Marie Baron (Gianetta); Aggie Cekuta (Giulia); Karen Skidmore (Tessa); Marcia Tratt (Fiametta); Karen Wood (Vittoria); *Gondoliers:* Stephen Beamish (Antonio); John Keane (Marco Palmieri); Richard March (Francesco); Paul Massel (Guiseppe Palmieri); Dale Mieske (Giorgio); Jim White (Annibale); *Nobles:* Eric Donkin (Duke of Plaza-Toro); Douglas Chamberlain (Duchess of Plaza-Toro); Deborah Milsom (Casilda); Kimble Hall (Luiz); Richard McMillan (Don Alhambra); Jean Stilwell (Inez); *Zanies:*

Alison Grant (Zany); Larry Herbert (Zany); Debora Joy (Zany); Kelly Robinson (Zany); David Smith (Zany); *with* – Timothy Cruickshank; Cynthia Dale; Glori Gage; James Leatch; David M. Smith; Eileen Smith; Martin Spencer; Gwynyth Walsh.

Production Note: Live performance broadcast on CBC radio, date unknown.

Tour, 1983: National Arts Centre, Ottawa, Sep. 6-17, 1983 (10 performances).

Taping: Videotaped in Toronto, following the National Arts Centre run, for CBC Television; aired Jan 1, 1984; Norman Campbell (director for TV).

The Mikado

1983 (remount of 1982 production)

Theatre: Avon

Jun 28(**Jun 30**)–Aug 26

Performances: 32

New castings only (see above for original list)

Authorial: John Banks (additional lyrics); Berthold Carrière (additional music).

Cast: John Keane (Nanki-Poo); Avo Kittask (Mikado); Paul Massel (Pish-Tush); *with* – Stephen Beamish; Cynthia Dale; Larry Herbert; James Leatch; Gwynyth Walsh; Jim White.

Tour, 1983: National tour itinerary: N.A.C., Ottawa, Sep 6-17 (12 performances); Queen Elizabeth Theatre, Vancouver, Sep 20-25 (8); Manitoba Theatre Centre, Winnipeg, Sep 29–Oct 22 (28); Place des Arts, Montreal, Oct 27-30 (6).

Tour, 1984: The Old Vic, London, U.K., Feb 29–Apr 7 (48 performances).

Iolanthe

1984

Theatre: Avon

May 26(**Jun 11**)–Aug 12

Performances: 43

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1889. Jim Betts (adapter); John Banks (additional lyrics); Berthold Carrière (additional music).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (music director); Susan Benson (designer); Harry Frehner (lighting designer); Anne Wotten (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Kelly Robinson (assistant choreographer and dance captain); Margaret Palmer (stage manager).

Cast: Marie Baron (Phyllis); Stephen Beamish (Mountarat); Douglas Chamberlain (Tolloller); Eric Donkin (Lord Chancellor); Maureen Forrester (Queen of the Fairies); Allison Grant (Celia); Larry Herbert (Stage Hand); Avo Kittask (Private Willis); Paul Massel (Strephon); Katharina Megli (Iolanthe); Kelly Robinson (Stage Hand); Karen Skidmore (Leila); David Smith (Stage Hand); Gwynyth Walsh (Wardrobe Mistress); Jim White (Stage Hand); Karen Wood (Babs); *alternate* – Jean Stilwell (Queen of the Fairies); *with a chorus of Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, Barons and Fairies* – Elizabeth Adams; Aggie Cekuta; Timothy Cruickshank; Paul Gatchell; Debora Joy; David Keeley; Richard March; Janet Martin; Dale Mieske; Lyndsay Richardson; Joy Thompson-Allen; Sandy Winsby.

Production Note: Live performance broadcast on CBC radio, date unknown.

Tour: National Arts Centre, Ottawa, Sep. 11-15, 1984 (6 performances).

Taping: Videotaped for CBC Television in Stratford, Nov 12-16 (sound pre-recorded in Toronto, Nov 5-10); aired Jan 1, 1984; Norman Campbell (director for TV). *New castings:* Sandy Winsby (Stage Hand).

The Gondoliers**1984 (remount of 1983 production)**

Theatre: Avon

Jun 6(**Jun 14**)–Sep 1

Performances: 40

New castings only (see above for original list).

Production: Douglas A. McLean (set designer); Margaret Palmer (stage manager).

Cast: Joy Allen-Thompson (Guilia); Aggie Cekuta (Fiametta); Larry Herbert (Francesco); Richard March (Luiz); Katharina Megli (Casilda); David Smith (1st Zany); *with* – Elizabeth Adams; Stephen Beamish; Paul Gatchell; David Keeley; Janet Martin; Lyndsay Richardson; Sandy Winsby.**The Mikado****1984 (remount of 1982 production)**

Theatre: Avon

Jul 10(**Jul 12**)–Sep 1

Performances: 25

New castings only (see above for original list).

Authorial: John Banks (additional lyrics); Berthold Carrière (additional music).

Production: Douglas A. McLean (set designer); Susan Monis (stage manager).

Cast: John Keane (Nanki-Poo); Avo Kittask (Mikado); Paul Massel (Pish-Tush); Jean Stilwell (Katisha) *with* – Elizabeth Adams; Stephen Beamish; Paul Gatchell; Larry Herbert; David Keeley; Janet Martin; Lyndsay Richardson; Joy Thompson-Allen; Gwynyth Walsh; Jim White; Sandy Winsby.*Production Note:* this production was revived again by Ed and David Mirvish, directed by Brian Macdonald for a tour of North America, Britain and Australia 1986-1987, but documentation for the tour is incomplete.*Tour, 1987:* Tour itinerary: John F. Kennedy Centre for the Performing Arts (Opera House), Washington, DC; Virginia Theatre, New York, NY; Music Hall Centre for the Performing Arts, Detroit, MI.**The Pirates of Penzance****1985**

Theatre: Avon

May 14(**May 27**)–Aug 25Performances: 109⁶⁵⁰

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1880. Jim Betts (adapter); Berthold Carrière (additional music).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (music director); Phillip Silver (set designer); Suzanne Mess (costume designer); Harry Frehner (lighting designer); Anne Wotten (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Kelly Robinson (assistant choreographer); Suzanne Maynard (stage manager).

Cast: Stephen Beamish (Sergeant of Police); Brent Carver (Pirate King); Douglas Chamberlain (General Stanley); Pat Galloway (Ruth); Allison Grant (Isabel); Jeff Hyslop (Frederic); Karen Skidmore (Kate); Caralyn Tomlin (Mabel); Jim White (Samuel); Karen Wood (Edith); *alternate* – Aggie Cekuta Elliot (Mabel); *with* – Wendy Abbott; Mario Adler; Michael Beattie; Timothy Cruickshank; Aggie Cekuta Elliot; Dom Fiore; David Gale; Nigel Hamer; Scott Hurst; David Keeley; Larry Mannell; Richard March; Dale Mieske; Ruth Nichol; Ted Pearson; Jeffrey Prentice; Max Reimer; Lyndsay Richardson; Bradley C. Rudy; Mark Wilson.

⁶⁵⁰ Somerset lists 110 performances.

Production note: taped for CBC radio on June 22; broadcast on CBC Stereo June 29 and on CBC Radio July 1.

Taping: Videotaped in Toronto for CBC Television; Norman Campbell (director for TV).

John Neville, Artistic Director

The Boys from Syracuse

1986

Theatre: Festival

May 9(**May 19**)–Oct 25

Performances: 65⁶⁵¹

Authorial: George Abbott (book); Richard Rodgers (music); Lorenz Hart (lyrics); Broadway première 1938; Berthold Carrière (additional arrangements).

Production: Douglas Campbell (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Max Reimer (choreographer); Polly Scranton Bohdanetzky (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Nora Polley (stage manager).

Cast: Wendy Abbott (Courtesan/Galatea); Marion Adler (Luciana); Benedict Campbell (Dromio of Syracuse); Colm Feore (Antipholus of Ephesus); Neil Foster (Angelo Goldsmith); Kim Horsman (Fatima); Alicia Jeffrey (Adriana); Richard March (Aegeon/Goldsmith Apprentice); Eric McCormack (Tailor's Apprentice); Dale Mieske (Sergeant); William Needles (Merchant of Syracuse); Max Reimer (Pygmalion); Tanya Rich (Courtesan/Amazon); Renee Rogers (Maid/Amazon); Goldie Semple (Courtesan); Bruce Swerdfager (Tailor/Merchant of Ephesus); Keith Thomas (Dromo of Ephesus); Leslie Toy (Maid/Amazon); Maria Vaccratsis (Corporal); Jeremy Wilkin (Duke/Sorcerer); Susan Wright (Luce); Geraint Wyn Davies (Antiphous of Syracuse); Caroline Yeager (Maid/Seeress); *with* – Edward Balka; Paul Bond; Eric Coates; Darcy Gordon.

Cabaret

1987

Theatre: Avon

May 16(**Jun 1**)–Nov 1

Performances: 66

Authorial: Joe Masteroff (book); John Kander (music); Fred Ebb (lyrics); based on John Van Druten's play *I Am a Camera*, adapted from Christopher Isherwood's novel *Goodbye to Berlin*; Broadway première 1966; Berthold Carrière (additional music).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Susan Benson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Kelly Robinson (assistant director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Peter McGuire (stage manager).

Cast: Wendy Abbott (1st Lady/Heidi); David Brown (Max); Brent Carver (Emcee); Eric Coates (Waiter); Faye Cohen (2nd Lady/Christina); Patrick A. Creelman (Waiter); Richard Curnock (Herr Schultz); Denise Fergusson (Fraulein Schneider); Maurice Good (Herr Wendel); Darcy Gordon (Taxi Man); Jennifer Higgin (Inge); Sharon Heldt (Ursula); Susan Henley (Helga); Jennifer Higgin (Inge); John Innes (Customs Officer/Herr Erdmann); Calla Krause (Fraulein Kost); Lee MacDougall (Waiter); Larry Mannell (German Sailor/Waiter); Sheila McCarthy (Sally Bowles); Eric McCormack (Waiter); Dale Mieske (German Sailor/Waiter); Jeffrey Prentice (Mauzy); Tanya Rich (Betty); Bradley C. Rudy (German Sailor/Waiter); Stephen Russell (Ernst Ludwig); Gerard Théorêt (German Sailor/Waiter); Scott Wentworth (Clifford Bradshaw); Anne Wright (Telephone Girl); *Onstage musicians:* Rosemary Collins (Piano); Don Sweete (Trombone); Keith Thomas

⁶⁵¹ Somerset says 69 performances.

(Saxophone); Michael Wood (Drums); *with* – Donald Adams; Hazel Desbarats; Eli Gabay; Allan Gray; Anna Louise Richardson; Erin Treischl.

My Fair Lady

1988

Theatre: Festival

May 14(**Jun 3**)–Oct 30

Performances: 72

Authorial: Frederick Loewe (music); Alan Jay Lerner (lyrics); adapted from George Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion*; Broadway première 1956.

Production: Jean Gascon (director); James de B. Domville (co-director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Donald Saddler (choreographer); Richard Seger (set designer); Lewis Brown (costume designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Margaret Palmer (stage manager).

Cast: Alexandre Beaulieu (Pearlie King); Andrew Binks (4th Costermonger/Footman to Higgins); Sally Cahill (Maid to Higgins/Pearlie Queen); Douglas Campbell (Alfred P. Doolittle); Ann Casson (Mrs. Higgins); Douglas Chamberlain (Dr. Themistocles/Harry/Muffiman); Richard Curnock (Colonel Pickering); Hazel Desbarats (Mrs. Pearce/Queen of Transylvania); Eric Donkin (Drunk/Head Steward/Pieman/Zoltan Karpathy); Michael Hanrahan (Hoxton Man; Jamie); Sally Heit (Maid to Higgins); Sharon Heldt (Maid to Mrs. Higgins); Susan Henley (Maid to Higgins); Kate Hennig (Girlfriend to Doolittle/Lady Boxington); Scott A. Hurst (1st Costermonger); David Keeley (Bystander/George); Michel LaFleche (Busker); Anne Linden (Flower Girl/Lady Boxington); Richard March (Freddy Eynsford-Hill); John McPherson (Busker); Dale Mieske (3rd Costermonger/Butler to Higgins); John Neville (Henry Higgins); Lucy Peacock (Eliza Doolittle); Tanya Rich (Maid to Higgins); Bradley C. Rudy (2nd Costermonger/Steward); Kim Scarcella (Busker); Joseph Shaw (Cecil/Lord Boxington/Prince Consort); Kent Staines (Charles/Constable/Major Domo); Susan Wright (Girlfriend to Doolittle/Mrs. Eynsford-Hill/Mrs. Hopkins); *with* – Ted Atherton; Brian Gow; Roger Honeywell; Melanie Janzen; Larissa Lapchinski; Tony Martin; Jeffrey Prentice.

Irma La Douce

1988

Theatre: Avon

Jul 27(**Jul 29**)–Oct 29

Performances: 32

Authorial: Alexandre Breffort (libretto); Marguerite Monnot (music); Paris première 1956; Broadway première 1960.

Production: Jeff Hyslop (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Andrew Murray (set designer); Sue LePage (costume designer); Harry Frehner (lighting designer); Max Reimer (assistant director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Janine Ralph (stage manager).

Cast: Alexandre Beulieu (Penguin Dancer); David Brown (Defense Attorney); Douglas Campbell (Polyte le Mou); Richard Curnock (Bob le Hotu); Keith Dinicol (Roberto les Diams); Allan Gray (Police Inspector); Nigel Hamer (3rd Warder/Honest Man); Michael Hanrahan (1st Warder); Susan Henley (Irma la Douce/Penguin Dancer); Scott A. Hurst (Bougnier); David Keeley (2nd Warder); Michel LaFleche (Penguin Dancer); John McPherson (False Mec/Penguin Dancer); Dale Mieske (Persil le Noir); Jeffrey Prentice (False Mec/Gendarme/Penguin Dancer); Bradley C. Rudy (JoJo les Yeux Sales); Joseph

Shaw (Priest/Prosecuting Attorney); Kent Staines (Warder); Keith Thomas (Frangipane); Scott Wentworth (Nestor le Fripe).

Kiss Me Kate

1989

Theatre: Festival

May 6(**Jun 2**)–Oct 29

Performances: 73

Authorial: Cole Porter (music and lyrics); Bella and Sam Spewack (book); based on William Shakespeare's play *Taming of the Shrew*; Broadway première 1948.

Production: Donald Saddler (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director and additional arrangements); Brian Jackson (set designer); Lewis Brown (costume designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Ken Scott (assistant director); Jeffrey Prentice (assistant choreographer); Dirk Lumbard (co-choreographer for "Too Darn Hot"); Margaret Palmer (stage manager).

Cast: Douglas Chamberlain (1st Man); Juan Chioran (Stage Doorman); Michael Hanrahan (Ralph); Deryck Hazel (Harrison Howell); Susan Henley (Lois Lane/Bianca); Kate Hennig (Harriet); Larry Herbert (Hortensio); Jayne Lewis (Lilli Vanessi/Kate); Dirk Lumbard (Bill Calhoun/Lucent); Dale Mieske (2nd Man); Jeffrey Prentice (Gremio); Bradley C. Rudy (Paul); Joseph Shaw (Harry/Baptista); Victor A. Young (Fred Graham/Petruchio); *with* – Andrew Binks; Allan Craik; Nancy Ferguson; Brenda Gorlick; Phillip Hughes; Melanie Janzen; Janet Martin; Cassel H. Miles; David Playfair; Claire Rankin; Stellina Rusich; Christopher Shyer.

David William, Artistic Director

Guys & Dolls

1990

Theatre: Festival

Apr 30 (**Jun 1**)–Nov 9

Performances: 80

Authorial: Frank Loesser (music and lyrics); Abe Burrows and Jo Swerling (book); based on a story and characters by Damon Runyon; Broadway première 1950.

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director and additional arrangements); Susan Benson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Anne Wooten (consulting director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Margaret Palmer (stage manager).

Cast: Marie Baron (Sarah Brown); Clarence Brodhagen (Calvin); Douglas Chamberlain (Arvide Abernathy); Peter Donaldson (Harry the Horse); Karen K. Edissi (Miss Adelaide); Lorraine Foreman (General Cartwright); Peter Gaudreault (Pedro); Brenda Gorlick (Agatha); Larry Herbert (Drunk); Melanie Janzen (Mimi); Alan Jordan (Nathan Detroit); Debora Joy (Martha); Tim Koetting (Big Jule); Gary Krawford (Benny the Ox); Larry Mannell (Rusty Charlie/Master of Ceremonies); Dale Mieske (Angie the Ox); Ted Pearson (Waiter in Hot Box); Brian Smegal (Lieutenant Brannigan/Voice of Biltmore); Donna Starnes (Carmen Gonzales); Gérard Théorêt (Jeraldo); Scott Wentworth (Sky Masterson); Jim White (Nicely-Nicely Johnson); *with* – Diana Cartwright; John Devorski; Adam Fleck; Sean Hewitt; Janice Luey; Claire Rankin; Lyndsay Richardson; Fernando Santos; Sal Scozzari; Kerri Lyn Wasylik.

Carousel**1991**

Theatre: Festival

Apr 29(**Jun 1**)–Nov 9

Performances: 81

Authorial: Richard Rodgers (music); Oscar Hammerstein II (book and lyrics); adapted from Ferenc Molnár's play *Liliom*; Broadway première 1945.

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director and additional arrangements); Neil Peter Jampolis (set designer); Christina Poddubiuk (costume designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Anne Wooten (consulting director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Janine A. Ralph (stage manager).

Cast: Marsha Bagwell (Nettie Fowler); Mervyn Blake (Dr. Seldon); Geoffrey Brumlik (Enoch Snow Jr.); John Devorski (Billy Bigelow); Eric Donkin (Star Keeper); Michael Fawkes (Jigger Craigin); Peter Gaudreault (2nd June Sailor/2nd Policeman); Allison Grant (Julie Jordon); Ron Hastings (David Boscombe); Kate Hennig (Mrs. Mullin); Larry Herbert (3rd June Sailor); Melanie Janzen (June Girl/Arminy); Dale Mieske (Captain/Principal); Kiri-Lyn Muir (Oldest Ms. Snow); William Needles (Heavenly Friend); Daniel T. Nelson (Carnival Boy); Ted Pearson (1st Policeman); Claire Rankin (Louise); Martin Spencer (Enoch Snow); Jim White (1st June Sailor); Karen Wood (Carrie Pipperridge); *with* – Paul Aikins; Timothy French; Barbara Fulton; Ellen Horst; Ellen Wilkes Irmisch; Monique Lund; Lori A. Martin; Michael Querin; Natalie Sebastian; Donna Starnes. *Children* – Andrea Burns; Crystal Lawson; Mackenzie Lush; Kelly McGregor; Robin Purves-Smith; Dave Reath; Rob Wigan.

H.M.S. Pinafore**1992**

Theatre: Avon

May 12–Aug 18

Performances: 138

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1878. Jim Betts (book and lyric revisions); Berthold Carrière (additional arrangements).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Susan Benson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Anne Wooten (consulting director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director/conductor); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Janine A. Ralph (stage manager).

Cast: Marsha Bagwell (Little Buttercup); Michael Brian (Ralph Rackstraw); Douglas Chamberlain (Sir Joseph Porter); David Dunbar (Captain Corcoran); Thomas Goerz (Dick Deadeye); Kristina Marie Guiguet (Cousin Hebe); Joanne Hounsell (Josephine); John Watson (Bob Becket); Shawn Wright (Bill Bobstay); *with* – Doug Adler; Danny Austin; Lori Chiles; David Connolly; Allan Craik; Bruce Dow; Barbara Dunn-Prosser; Timothy French; Pamela Gerrard; Liz Gilroy; David Hogan; Ellen Horst; Melanie Janzen; Monique Lund; Brian McKay; Martin Murphy; Micheal Querin; Ian Simpson; Donna Starnes. *Swings* – Sabrina Grdevich; Geoffrey Tyler.

Gypsy**1993**

Theatre:

May 3–Nov 14

Performances: 85

Authorial: Jule Styne (music); Stephen Sondheim (lyrics); Arthur Laurents (book); loosely based on Gypsy Rose Lee's *Gypsy: A Memoir*; Broadway première 1959. Additional arrangements for this production by Berthold Carrière.

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Debra Hanson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Anne Wootten (consulting director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Donna Starnes (assistant choreographer/dance captain); Janine A. Ralph (stage manager).

Cast: Doug Adler (Tulsa); Danny Austin (Angie); Douglas Chamberlain (Weber/Cigar); Peter Donaldson (Herbie); Karen K. Edissi (Mazeppa); Bernard Hopkins (Mr. Goldstone/Uncle Jocko); Liz Gilroy (June); Phillip Hughes (L.A.); Melanie Janzen (Agnes); Monique Lund (Louise); Larry Mannell (George/Kringelein/Phil); William Needles (Pop); Sandra O'Neill (Rose); Mary Pitt (Tessie Tura/Maid) Becky Shanks (Baby Louise); Mari Trainor (Miss Cratchitt/Electra); Geoffrey Tyler (Yonkers); Stacey Wheal (Baby June); Shawn Wright (Pастey/Bourgeron-Cochon); *with* – Heidi Bricknell; Benjamin Canny; Allan Craik; Craig Fair; David Hogan; Kerrin Mehagan; Cory Pagett; Salvatore Scozzari; Natalie Sebastian; Donna Starnes; Robert Yeretch. *Swings* – Sabrina Grdevich; Derek Sangster.

The Mikado**1993**

Theatre: Avon

Jun 23–Oct 30

Performances: 104

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1885. John Banks (additional lyrics); Berthold Carrière (additional arrangements).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Susan Benson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Anne Wootten (consulting director/choreographer); Laura Burton (associate conductor/rehearsal pianist); Stephen Woodjetts (associate conductor/rehearsal pianist); Timothy French (assistant choreographer/dance captain); Marylu Moyer (stage manager).

Cast: John Avery (Mikado); Juan Chioran (Pooh-Bah); Eric Donkin (Ko-Ko); Barbara Fulton (Peep-Bo); Thomas Goerz (Pish-Tush); Christina James (Katisha); Glynis Ranney (Yum-Yum); Stephen Simms (Nanki-Poo); Karen Wood (Pitti-Sing); *with* – Lesley Andrew; Brian Brockenshire; Bruce Dow; Amy Everingham; Vince Fera; Timothy French; Pamela Gerrand; Larry Herbert; Scott Hurst; Sylvain Landry; Heather Lea-Brown; Deborah Ludolph; Doug Macnaughton; Louise-Marie Mennier; Julain Molnar; Lori Peck; Marilyn Peters; Elana Post; Micheal Querin; Eileen Smith; John Watson; Jim White. *Swing* – Michael Boyuk.

Richard Monette, Artistic Director

The Pirates of Penzance**1994**

Theatre: Festival

May 9–Nov 12

Performances: 83

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1880. Jim Betts (book and lyric revisions), Berthold Carrière (additional arrangements).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Susan Benson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); John Hazen (sound designer); John Stead (fight and stunt director); Donna Starnes (assistant director/choreographer); Timothy French (assistant director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director/conductor); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Jennifer O'Connor (stage manager).

Cast: Stephen Bogaert (Jimmy Kent); Barbara Bryne (Ruth); Douglas Chamberlain (Major-General Stanley); Marion Day (Fannie); Aggie Cekuta Elliot (Mabel); Colm Feore (Pirate King); Pamela Gerrand (Kate); Larry Herbert (Older Frederic); Melanie Janzen (Isabel); Gabrielle Jones (Billie); Lee MacDougall (Samuel); Scott Nichol (Lew Lane); Jeffrey Prentice (Carlyle); Bradley C. Rudy (Sergeant of Police); Donna Starnes (Gladys); Karen Wood (Edith); Tom Wood (Heinrich Von Shtompine); Robert Yeretch (Frederic); *with* – Lesley Andrew; Danny Austin; Brian Brockenshire; Allan Craik; Vince Fera; Timothy French; Bradley Garrick; Christina Gordon; Mark Harapiak; Sylvain Landry; Margery Lowe; Daniel MacDonell; Michael MacLennan; David Playfair; Micheal Querin; John Watson; Geogrey Whynot. *Swings* – Bradley Garrick, Lina Giornofelice.

The Boy Friend

1995

Theatre: Avon

May 10–Oct 28

Performances: 70

Authorial: Sandy Wilson (book, music, lyrics); West End première 1953, Broadway première 1954. Additional arrangements for this production by Berthold Carrière.

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Patrick Clark (designer); Harry Frehner (lighting designer); Keith Handegord (sound designer); Donna Feore (associate director/choreographer); Timothy French (associate director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Margaret Palmer (stage manager).

Cast: Danny Austin (Bobby van Husen); Douglas Chamberlain (Lord Brocklehurst); Eric Donkin (Percival Browne); Karen K. Edissi (Mme. Dubonet); David Hogan (Pepe); Gabrielle Jones (Hortense); Lee MacDougall (Lady Brocklehurst); Micheal Querin (Gendarme/Waiter/Living Statue); Natalie Sebastian (Lolita); Ian Simpson (Tony); Amy Walsh (Living Statue); *Young Ladies* – Frances Chiappetta (Fay); Allison Grant (Nancy); Cara Hunter (Maisie); Blythe Wilson (Dulcie); Patty Jamieson (Polly Browne); *Young Men* – Phillip Hughes (Alphonse); Jeffrey Prentice (Pierce); Robert Yeretch (Marcel); *with* – Kerry Gage; Carolyn Lupien; Allan Craik; Mark Harapiak; Geoffrey Whynot. *Swings* – Diana Coatsworth; Ryan DeSaulnier. *Also with* – Miss Chowsie (Madame Dubonnet's Dog).

The Gondoliers

1995

Theatre: Avon

May 16–Oct 28

Performances: 118

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1889. David Mayerovitch (additional lyrics), Berthold Carrière (additional arrangements).

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Susan Benson (designer); Michael J. Whitfield (lighting designer); Keith Handegord (sound designer); Timothy French (associate director/choreographer); Marilyn Dallman

(assistant musical director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Janine Ralph (stage manager).

Cast: Douglas Chamberlain (Duchess of Plaza-Toro); Eric Donkin (Duke of Plaza-Toro); Karen K. Edissi (Inez); Lee MacDougall (Don Alhambra); Glynis Ranney (Casilda); Robert Yeretch (Luiz); *Contadine* – Barabara Dunn-Proseer (Fiametta); Aggie Cekuta Elliot (Gianetta); Allison Grant (Tessa); Patty Jamieson (Giulia); Gabrielle Jones (Vittoria); *Gondoliers* – Craig Ashton (Marco Palmieri); David Hogan (Annibale); Jeffrey Prentice (Francesco); Ian Simpson (Antonio); Curtis Sullivan (Guiseppe Palmieri); Christopher Wilson (Giorgio); *Zanies* – Danny Austin; Frances Chiappetta; Allan Craik; Phillip Hughes; Amy Walsh; *with* – Kerry Gage; Cara Hunter; Carolyn Lupien; Natalie Sebastian; Amy Walsh; Blythe Wilson; Mark Harapiak; Micheal Querin; Geoffrey Whynot. *Swings* – Diana Coatsworth; Ryan DeSaulnier.

The Music Man

1996

Theatre: Festival

May 10–Nov 3

Performances: 89

Authorial: Meredith Willson (book, music, lyrics); Broadway première 1957.

Production: Brian Macdonald (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); James Daniel White (associate director/choreographer); Debra Hanson (designer); Harry Frehner (lighting designer); Ronald J. Sinko (sound designer); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Leslie Andrew (Alma Hix); Danny Austin (Tommy Djilas); Jacqueline Blais (Mrs. Paroo); June Crowley (Marian Paroo); Eric Donkin (Mayor Shinn); Karen K. Edissi (Eulalie Mackecknie Shinn); Phillip Hughes (Oliver Hix); Cara Hunter (Zaneeta Shinn); Scott A. Hurst (Marcellus Washburn); Gabrielle Jones (Maud Dunlop); Tim Koetting (Charlie Cowell); Janice Luey (Mrs. Britt); Dirk Lumbard (Harold Hill); Lee MacDougall (Ewart Dunlop); Marisa McIntyre (Amaryllis); Jeffrey Prentice (Jacey Squires); Michael Querin (Conductor/Constable Locke); Jennifer Rockett (Ethel Toffelmier); Bradley C. Rudy (Olin Britt); Meg Walter (Mrs. Squires); Amy Walsh (Gracie Shinn); Jonathan Wexler (Winthrop Paroo); *Travelling Salesmen* – Allan Craik; Mark Harapiak; Lee MacDougall; Michael Moore; Mark Prince; Ian Simpson; Robert Yeretch; *Boy's Band* – Jesse Barclay; Drew Clark; Andrew Hill; Trisha Lee Keller; Michael Meusel; Charlie Ronzio; Joe Ronzio; Jason Speek; *Majorettes* – Sharon Kahan; Holly Shephard; *with* – Christina Gordon; Jon-Erik Lappano; Carolyn Lupien; Marc McNamara; Natalie Sebastian; Irene Wittaker-Cumming; Blythe Wilson. *Swings* – Graham Coffeng; Jennie Ford.

Camelot

1997

Theatre: Festival

May 21 –Nov 8

Performances: 88

Authorial: Alan Jay Lerner (book and lyrics); Frederick Loewe (music); based on T.H. White's novel *The Once and Future King*; Broadway première 1960.

Production: Richard Monette (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Michael Lichtefeld (choreographer); Desmond Heely (designer); Michael J. Lichtefeld (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead and James Binkley (fight directors); Antoni Cimolino (assistant director); Timothy French (assistant director/musical staging); Marilyn

Dallman (assistant musical director/rehearsal pianist); Laura Burton (assistant musical director/rehearsal pianist); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Tamara Bernier (Lady Sybil); Douglas Chamberlain (Merlyn); Dan R. Chameroy (Lancelot); Richard Curnock (Pellinore); Cynthia Dale (Guenevere); Mark Harapiak (Sir Sagamore); Gabrielle Jones (Lady Anne); Jon-Erik Lappano (Tom of Warwick); Richard Lurnock (Pellinore); Tom McCamus (Arthur); Julain Molnar (Nimue); Steve Ross (Squire Dap); Brad Rudy (Sir Dinadan); Ian Simpson (Sir Lionel); Michael Therriault (Mordred); “*Guenevere*” soloists – Julia Jamison; Steve Ross; *with* – Suzanne Bennett; Adam Brazier; Drew Clark; Diana Coatsworth; Ryan DeSaulnier; Barbara Fulton; Pamela Gerrand; Jennifer Gould; Phillip Hughes; Julia Jamison; Richard Kresky; Jonathan Wieser Munro; Mark Prince; Jennifer Simser; Regan Thiel; Andrew Thuss; Jay Turvey; Jenniver Wigmore; Shawn Wright; Drew Young; “Patches” the dog. *Swings* – Larissa Mair; David W. Smith.

Man of La Mancha

1998

Theatre: Festival

May 11–Nov 8

Performances: 94

Authorial: Mitch Leigh (music); Joe Darion (lyrics); Dale Wasserman (book); based on Wasserman’s 1959 teleplay *I, Don Quixote*, inspired by Miguel de Cervantes *Don Quixote*; 1964, Broadway première 1965.

Production: Susan H. Schulman (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Michael Lichtefeld (choreographer); Debra Hanson (designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); James Binkley (fight director); Brian Hill (assistant director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Phillip Hughes (assistant choreographer); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Danny Austin (Miguel); Adam Brazier (Padre); Douglas Chamberlain (Governor/Innkeeper); Juan Chioran (Cervantes/Don Quixote/Alonso Quijana); Diana Coatsworth (Fermina/Moorish Girl); Susan Cuthbert (Antonia); Cynthia Dale (Aldonza); Ryan DeSaulnier (Jose); Bruce Dow (Manservant/Sancho Panza); Kevin Gudahl (Captain of Inquisition/Pedro); Mark Harapiak (Pablo); David Ludwig (Duke/Dr. Samson Carrasco, Knight of the Mirrors); Larry Mannell (Barber); Daniel T. Nelson (Garcia); Mark Nykoluk (Ricardo); Mary Pitt (Maria, Innkeeper’s Wife/Housekeeper); Steve Ross (Tenorio); David W. Smith (Juan); Jay Turvey (Anselmo); *with* – Jennifer Lyon; Jennifer Simser. *Swing* – Darcy Evans.

West Side Story

1999

Theatre: Avon

May 8–Nov 6

Performances: 156

Authorial: Arthur Laurents (book); Leonard Bernstein (music); Stephen Sondheim (lyrics); loosely based on William Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*; original concept, choreography and direction by Jerome Robbins; Broadway première 1957.

Production: Kelly Robinson (director); Berthold Carrière (music director); Sergio Trujillo (choreographer); Ruari Murchison (designer); Charlotte Dean (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Barbara Yonge (musical consultant); Laura Burton (assistant music director); Marilyn

Dallman (assistant music director); Tracey Flye (assistant choreographer); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: *The Jets* – Clyde Alves (Action); Jordan Cable (Baby John); Jane Cooke (Graziella); Nicholas Dromard (Big Deal); Krista Leis (Pauline); Daniel Murphy (A-rab); Christine Nowland (Velma); Tyley Ross (Tony); Jake Simons (Riff); Dan Sutcliffe (Diesel); Devon Tullock (Snowboy); Amy Walsh (Anybodys); Catherine Wreford (Clarice). *The Sharks* – Karen Andrew (Anita); Charles Azulay (Chino); Amanda De Freitas (Francisca); Ma-Anne Dionisio (Maria); Christine Donato (Teresita); Tara Macri (Rosalia); Phillip Nero (Indio); Raymond Rodriguez (Bernardo); Arthur Lee Rose (Pepe); Simrata Shukla (Consuela); Richard Smith (Loco); Mark Vicente (Nibbles); *The Adults* – Michael Fawkes (Officer Krupke); Michael Fletcher (Lt. Schrank); Lewis Gordon (Doc); Shawn Wright (Glad Hand). *Swings* – Tracey Flye; Eric Robertson; Jay T. Schramek.

Dracula:

A Chamber Musical

1999

Theatre: Avon

May 19– Nov 7

Performances: 52

Authorial: Richard Ouzounian (book and lyrics); Marek Norman (music); based on Bram Stoker's *Dracula*; première at the Neptune Theatre, Halifax, 1997.

Production: Richard Ouzounian (director); Marek Norman (musical director); Douglas Paraschuk (designer); Laura Burton (associate musical director/conductor/piano); Alix Dolgoy (associate costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); James Binkley (fight director); Marylu Moyer (stage manager).

Cast: Benedict Campbell (R.M. Renfield); Juan Chioran (Dracula); June Crowley (Mina Murray); Michael Fletcher (Abraham Van Helsing); Roger Honeywell (Jonathan Harker); Amy Walsh (Lucy Westenra); Shawn Wright (Jack Seward); *with* – Jane Cooke; Sadie Hoy; Ether Maloney.

Production Note: The Stratford production was filmed and broadcast as a co-production of TVOntario and CBC Television. Juan Chioran won the 2000 Gemini award for Best Performance in a Performing Arts Program or Series.

Fiddler on the Roof

2000

Theatre: Festival

May 6–Nov 4

Performances: 97

Authorial: Jerry Bock (music); Sheldon Harnick (lyrics); Joseph Stein (book); based on *Tevye and His Daughters* and other stories by Sholem Aleichem; originally directed and choreographed for Broadway by Jerome Robbins, 1964.

Production: Susan H. Schulman (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Michael Lichtefeld (choreographer); Debra Hanson (designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); James Binkley (fight director); Brian Hill (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Barbara Young (music consultant); Phillip Hughes (assistant choreographer); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Craig Ashton (Constable); Babara Barsky (Golde); Brent Carver (Tevye); Stephen Cota (Yakov); Keith Dinicol (Rabbi); Bruce Dow (Nachum); Jake Elliot (Hershel); Michael Fawkes (Mordcha); Barbara Fulton (Fruma-Sarah/Bluma); Jonathan Goad (Fyedka);

Christina Gordon (Grandma Tzeitel/Rifka); Michele Graff (Rachel); Paul Guitard (Russian Dancer); Kirk Hansen (Duvidel/Russian Dancer/Bottle Dancer); Lisa Horner (Shimone); Emilia Dallman Howley (Bielke); Phillip Hughes (The Fiddler); Robin Hutton (Tzeitel); Gerald Isaac (Mendel); Aidan Keeley (Itzak); Stephen Lilly (Chaim/Russian Dancer/Bottle Dancer); Fred Love (Perchik); George Masswohl (Lazar Wolf); Tracy Michailidis (Hodel); Eric Robertson (Moishe/Russian Dancer/Bottle Dancer); Steve Ross (Avrahm); Karen Skidmore (Shaindel); Sam Strasfeld (Yussel/Bottle Dancer); Michael Therriault (Motel); Theresa Tova (Yente); Jennifer Waiser (Shprintze); Amy Walsh (Chava). *Swings* – Kim Jamieson; Stephen Beckon.

Patience: In Concert

2000

Theatre: Avon

Jul 11—Oct 13

Performances:

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1881.

Production: Brian Hill (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Douglas Paraschuk (designer); Renée Brode (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Barbara Young (musical consultant); Anne Murphy (stage manager).

Cast: Craig Ashton (Duke of Dunstable); Barbara Barsky (The Lady Angela); Bruce Dow (Reginald Bunthorne); Barbara Fulton (The Lady Ella); Christina Gordon (Patience); Marc McNamara (Major Murgatroyd); George Masswohl (Archibald Grosvenor); Steve Ross (Colonel Calverley); Karen Skidmore (The Lady Saphir); Theresa Tova (The Lady Jane); *with* – Lesley Andrew; Darcy Evans; Michael Fawkes; Jonathan Goad; Paul Guitard; Kirk Hansen; Lisa Horner; Robin Hutton; Gerald Isaac; Kim Jamieson; Fred Love; Tracy Michailidis; Eileen Smith; Reid Spencer; Jennifer Waiser; Amy Walsh. *Also with* – Patricia Mullen as Lady Jane’s violoncellist.

The Sound of Music

2001

Theatre: Festival

Apr 25—Nov 4

Performances: 113

Authorial: Richard Rodgers (music); Oscar Hammerstein II (lyrics); Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse (book); based on Maria von Trapp’s memoir *The Story of the Trapp Family Singers*; Broadway première 1959.

Production: Kelly Robinson (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Sergio Trujillo (choreographer); Ruari Murchison (designer); Michael J. Witfield (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Barbara Young (musical consultant); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Megan Barker (Louisa); Lally Cadeau (Frau Schmidt); Douglas Chamberlain (Admiral von Schreiber); Cynthia Dale (Maria); Jordan Dawe (Friedrich); Adam Dolson (Kurt); Barbara Dunn-Prosser (A New Postulant); Larry French (Baron Elberfeld/Trio Member); Barbara Fulton (Sister Sophia/Trio Member); C. David Johnson (Captain Georg von Trapp); David Kirby (Franz); Jeanne Lehman (Mother Abbess); Lisa Manis (Brigitta); Mary Ann McDonald (Elsa Schraeder); Cory O’Brien (Rolf); Raymond O’Neill (Max Detweiler); Deborah Overes (Trio Member); Aislinn Paul (Gretl); Karen Skidmore (Sister Berthe/Baroness Elberfeld); Eileen Smith (Frauline Schweiger); Shannon Taylor (Liesl);

Deborah Tennant (Sister Margaretta); Regan Thiel (Ursula); Alicia Thompson (Marta); Ian White (Herr Zeller); *with* – Katie Besworth; Kyle Blair; Sophie Dinicol; Aaron Franks; David Hogan; Julia Jamison; Aidan McCabe; Mary Ann McDonald; Ian Novak; Gloria Parker; Phillip Psutka.

My Fair Lady

2002

Theatre: Festival

May 4–Nov 10

Performances: 112

Authorial: Frederick Loewe (music); Alan Jay Lerner (lyrics); adapted from George Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion*; Broadway première 1956.

Production: Richard Monette (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Donna Feore (choreographer); Debra Hanson (designer); Kevin Raser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight consultant); Timothy Askew (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Barbara Young (musical consultant); Phillip Hughes (dance captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Thom Allison (Costermonger); Charles Azulay (Costermonger, Ballroom Footman); Kyle Blair (Jamie); James Blendick (Alfred P. Doolittle); Joyce Champion (Mrs. Higgins); Shane Carty (Prince of Transylvania); Diana Coatsworth (Angry Woman); Naomi Costain (Mrs. Higgins's maid); Cynthia Dale (Eliza Doolittle); Colm Feore (Professor Henry Higgins); Barbara Fulton (Mrs. Eynsford-Hill); Susan Gilmour (Mrs. Pearce); Kirk Hansen (Hoxton Man, Angry Man); David Hogan (Harry); Phillip Hughes (Cosstermonger); Barry MacGregor (Colonel Pickering); Laird Mackintosh (Freddy Eynsford-Hill); George Masswohl (Costermonger, Ballroom Footman); Richard Monette (Professor Henry Higgins); Cory O'Brien (Bartender George, Higgin's Butler); Raymond O'Neill (Professor Zoltan Karpathy); Tony Rauchberger (Bystander, Policeman); Stephanie Roth (Queen of Transylvania); Sam Strasfeld (Another Bystander); Carly Street (Mrs. Hopkins); Regan Theil (Flower Girl); Mike Tracz (Chauffeur); Blythe Wilson (Lady Boxington); Geraint Wyn Davies (Professor Henry Higgins); Robert Yeretch (Selsey Man, Lord Boxington); *with* – Kerry Gage; Adrienne Gould; Philip Griffith Pace; Eric Stensland Robertson; Amy Sellors. *Swings* – David W. Smith; Dayna Tekatch.

Production Note: The role of Prof. Henry Higgins was split between Colm Feore (May 4-July 13), Geraint Wyn Davies (July 14-Sept 14), and Richard Monette (Sept 18-Nov 10). Three different house programs were produced to reflect the change in actor.

The Threepenny Opera

2002

Theatre: Avon

May 18–Nov 2

Performances: 75

Authorial: Bertolt Brecht (book and lyrics); Kurt Weill (music); 1928; Marc Blitzstein (English adaptation, Off-Broadway, 1956).

Production: Stephen Ouimette (director); Don Horsburgh (music director); Donna Feore (choreographer); Peter Hartwell (designer); John "Jock" Munro (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); James Binkley (fight director); Diane D'Aquila (assistant director); Sandra Mogensen (assistant music director); David Hogan (fight and dance captain); Louise Currie (stage manager).

Cast: Thom Allison (Streetsinger, Crookfinger Jake); Charles Azulay (Walt Dreary, Warden Smith); Kyle Blair (Charles Filch); Shane Carty (Matt); Diana Coatsworth (Polly Peachum); Peter Donaldson (J. J. Peachum); Barbara Fulton (Molly); Susan Gilmour (Jenny); Kirk Hansen (Constable #2); David Hogan (Constable #1); Laird Mackintosh (Reverend Kimball); George Masswohl (Tiger Brown); Tom McCamus (Macheath); Sheila McCarthy (Mrs. Peachum); Eric Stensland Roberston (Bob the Saw); Stephanie Roth (Dolly); Amy Sellors (Betty); Carly Street (Coaxer); Blythe Wilson (Lucy Brown); *with* – Lara Jean Chorostecki; Naomi Costain; Cory O’Brien; Tony Rauchberger; Sam Strasfeld; Regan Thiel; Mick Tracz; Robert Yeretch.

The King and I

2003

Theatre: Festival

Apr 28–Nov 9

Performances: 120

Authorial: Richard Rodgers (music); Oscar Hammerstein II (book and lyrics); based on Margaret Landon’s novel *Anna and the King of Siam*; Broadway première 1951.

Production: Susan H. Schulman (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Michael Lichtefeld (choreographer); Debra Hanson (designer); Roger Kirk (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight consultant); Darcy Evans (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Barbara Young (musical consultant); Joe Bowerman (associate choreographer); Phillip Hughes (assistant choreographer and dance captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Thom Allison (The Kralahome); Charles Azulay (Lun Tha); Gabriel Burrafato (Phra Alak); Madeleine Chin-Yee (Princess Ying Yaowalak); Robert Hamilton (Sir Edward Ramsay); Karla Jang (Eliza); Anthony Malarky (The Interpreter); Thom Marriott (Captain Orton); Jodi-Lynn McFadden (Uncle Thomas); Ian McLennan (Louis Leonowens); Tammy Nera (Topsy); Nicola Pantin (Fan Dancer); Lucy Peacock (Anna Leonowens); Vienna Poon (Little Eva); Anne Marie Ramos (Tuptim); Eric S. Robertson (Simon of Legree); Wayne Sujo (Prince Chulalongkorn); Victor Talmadge (The King); Mark Vincente (Angel George); Helen Yu (Lady Thiang); *with* – Carla Bennett; Michael Faigaux; Julia Fong; Kirk Hansen; Neesa Kenemy; Shara Kim; Chad McFadden; Nina Negri; Robbie Niño Rementilla; Mike Tracz; Wilson Wong; *Royal Princes and Princesses* – Cameron Azulay; Jessica Azulay; Winnie Chang; Benjamin Chin-Yee; Lauren Hasegawa; Lindsay Hasegawa; Jenna Lee; Kerri Lee; Michael Thai Nguyen; John Tuer-Sipos; Axel Villamil. *Swings* – Lindsay Clarke; Phillip Hughes.

Gigi

2003

Theatre: Avon

Apr 10–Nov 1

Performances: 96

Authorial: Frederick Loewe (music); Alan Jay Lerner (book and lyrics); based on Colette’s novella *Gigi*; film 1958, Broadway première 1973.

Production: Richard Monette (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Donna Feore (associate director and choreographer); Cameron Porteous (designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Melody McShane (assistant

musical director); Barbara Young (musical consultant); Kerry Gage (dance captain); Louise Currie (stage manager).

Cast: James Blendick (Honoré); Domini Blythe (Mamita (Inez Alvarez)); Douglas Chamberlain (Mr. Laverne/Maitre Dufresne); Dan Chameroy (Gaston Lachailles); Patricia Collins (Aunt Alicia); Randy Ganne (Jacques); Adrienne Gould (Madame Laverne); Jennifer Gould (Gigi); Stephanie Graham (Liane); Jacob James (Head Waiter); Laird Mackintosh (Manuel the Barber); Cory O'Brien (Telephone Installer/Jean-Paul); Philip Griffith Pace (Charles the Butler); Amy Sellors (Juliette); Robert Yeretch (Maître Duclos); *with* – Naomi Costain; Jade Elliott; Michael Falcucci; Barbara Fulton; Kerry Gage; David Hogan; Krista Leis; Stephanie Roth; Dayna Tekatch. *Swings* – Jon Tsouras; Heather E. Wilson.

Guys and Dolls

2004

Theatre: Festival

Apr 17– Nov 7

Performances: 111

Authorial: Frank Loesser (music and lyrics); Jo Swerling and Abe Burrows (book); based on story and characters by Damon Runyon; Broadway première 1950.

Production: Kelly Robinson (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Michael Lichtefeld (choreographer); Debra Hanson (designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Barbara Young (musical consultant); John Stead (fight director); Joe Bowerman (associate choreographer); Michael Waller (assistant director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Philip Hughes (assistant choreographer); Cindy Willems (dance captain); David Hogan (fight captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Douglas Chamberlain (Arvide Abernathy); Patricia Collins (General Matilda B. Cartwright); Cynthia Dale (Sarah Brown); Bruce Dow (Nicely-Nicely Johnson); Nigel Hamer (Harry the Horse); David Hogan (Drunk); Geordie Johnson (Nathan Detroit); Grant Linneberg (Big Jule); George Masswohl (Lt. Brannigan); Sheila McCarthy (Miss Adelaide); Marianne McCord (Mimi); Jimmy Spadola (Joey Biltmore/Rusty Charlie); Aaron Walpole (Angie the Ox/MC); Scott Wentworth (Sky Masterson); Shawn Wright (Benny Southstreet); *Mission Band*: Barbara Fulton (Agatha); Phillip Hughes (Calvin/Walter); Dayna Tekatch (Martha); *with* – Carla Bennett; Christine Donato; Michael Falcucci; Noah Henne; Mark Huculak; Adele Mackenzie Maybury; Chad McFadden; Jodi-Lynn McFadden; Tammy Nera; Rhonda Roberts; Jason Sermonia; Julius Sermonia; Mike Tracz; Barrie Wood. *Swings* – Randy Ganne; Cindy Willems.

Anything Goes

2004

Theatre: Avon

May 8–Oct 31

Performances: 96

Authorial: Cole Porter (music and lyrics); P.G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton, and Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse (original book); Broadway première 1934; Timothy Crouse and John Weidman (new book), Broadway revival 1987.

Production: Anne Allan (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Patrick Clark (designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Barbara Young (music consultant); Phillip Hughes (assistant director/choreographer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman

(assistant musical director); Randy Ganne (tap coach); Dayna Tekatch (dance captain); Louise Currie (stage manager).

Cast: Carla Bennett (Chastity); Douglas Chamberlain (Elisha Whitney); Patricia Collins (Evangeline Harcourt); Cynthia Dale (Reno Sweeney); Elizabeth DeGrazia (Hope Harcourt); Bruce Dow (Quartet Tenor #1); Michael Gruber (Billy Crocker); Nigel Hamer (FBI agent); David Hogan (Fred); Phillip Hughes (Quartet Baritone #1/Trumpet Player); Grant Linneberg (Henry T. Dobson); Adele Mackenzie Maybury (Purity); Laird Mackintosh (Lord Evelyn Oakleigh); George Masswohl (FBI Agent #1/Quartet Baritone #2); Sheila McCarthy (Erma); Jodi-Lynn McFadden (Virtue); Rhonda Roberts (Charity); Jason Sermonia (John); Julius Sermonia (Luke); Jimmy Spadola (Moonface Martin); Aaron Walpole (Quartet Tenor #2); Barrie Wood (Purser); Shawn Wright (Captain); *with* – Christine Donato; Randy Ganne; Barbara Fulton; Noah Henne; Mark Huculak; Chad McFadden; Dayna Tekatch (dance captain); Mike Tracz; Cindy Willems. *Swings* – Michael Falcucci; Tammy Nera.

Hello Dolly!

2005

Theatre: Festival

May 7–Nov 6

Performances: 99

Authorial: Jerry Herman (music and lyrics); Michael Stewart (book); based on Thornton Wilder's play *The Matchmaker*; Broadway première 1964.

Production: Susan H. Schulman (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Michael Lichtefeld (choreographer); Patrick Clark (designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Darcy Evans (associate director); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Phillip Hughes (assistant choreographer and dance captain); Thom Allison (fight captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Thom Allison (Rudolph Reisenweber); Bruce Dow (Stanley); Kyle Blair (Ambrose Kemper); Keith Dinicol (Court Clerk); Peter Donaldson (Horace Vandergelder); Barbara Fulton (Ernestina); Christina Gordon (Mrs. Rose); Lawrence Haegert (Barnaby Tucker); Nigel Hamer (Policeman); Robin Hutton (Irene Molloy); Christina Gordon (Mrs. Rose); David Kirby (Policeman); Laird Mackintosh (Cornelius Hackl); Lucy Peacock (Mrs. Dolly Gallagher Levi); Dayna Tekatch (Ermengarde); Amy Walsh (Minnie Fay); Barrie Wood (Cook/Judge); *with* – Marion Adler; Barbara Dunn-Prosser; Michel Faigaux; Michael Falucci; Stephanie Graham; Kirk Hansen; Mark Huculak; Adele MacKenzie; Chad McFadden; Jodi-Lynn McFadden; Ayanna Sealey; Mike Tracz; Jennifer Waiser; Jesse Weafer; Cindy Willems; Heather E. Wilson; Gabriel Wolinsky. *Swings* – Phillip Hughes; Sammy Rosen; Valerie Stanois.

Into the Woods

2005

Theatre: Avon

Apr 19–Oct 30

Performances: 94

Authorial: Stephen Sondheim (music and lyrics); James Lapine (book); Broadway première 1987.

Production: Peter Hinton (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Dany Lyne (designer); Robert Thomson (lighting designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Julia Sasso (movement); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman

(assistant musical director); Phillip Hughes (dance captain and fight captain); Brian Scott (stage manager).

Cast: Marion Adler (Lucinda); Thom Allison (Wolf/Cinderella's Prince); Kyle Blair (Jack); Peter Donaldson (Narrator/Mysterious Man); Bruce Dow (Baker); Barbara Dunn-Prosser (Cinderella's Mother/Giant's Shadow); Barbara Fulton (Jack's Mother); Susan Gilmour (Witch); Christina Gordon (Cinderella's Stepmother); Stephanie Graham (Snow White); Lawrence Haegert (Steward); Martha Henry (Voice of the Giant); Laird Mackintosh (Rapunzel's Prince); Mary Ellen Mahoney (Baker's Wife); Jodi-Lynn McFadden (Florinda); Dayna Tekatch (Cinderella); Jennifer Waiser (Little Red Riding Hood); Amy Walsh (Rapunzel); Heather E. Wilson (Sleeping Beauty); Barrie Wood (Cinderella's Father/Granny).

Production Note: This production is dedicated to the memory of actor Nicholas Pennell (1938-1995).

Oliver!

2006

Theatre: Festival

Apr 24–Oct 29

Performances: 99

Authorial: Lionel Bart (music, book & lyrics); based on Charles Dickens' novel *Oliver Twist*; West End première 1960, Broadway 1962.

Production: Donna Feore (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Santo Loquasto (designer); John "Jock" Munro (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Edward Daranyi (assistant director); Natalie Sebastian (assistant choreographer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Lindsay Thomas (dance captain); Brad Rudy (fight captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Kyle Blair (Noah Claypole); Scott Beaudin (The Artful Dodger); Grace Chan (Mrs. Bedwin); Bruce Dow (Mr. Bumble, the Beadle); Colm Feore (Fagin); Barbara Fulton (Mrs. Sowerberry/Old Sally/Milkmaid); Christina Gordon (Strawberry Seller/Old Lady); Antony Grice (Charlie); Donnie Macphee (Knife Grinder); Mary Ellen Mahoney (Widow Corney); Brian McKay (Mr. Sowerberry, the undertaker/Dr. Grimwig); Tyler Pearse (Oliver); Stephen Russell (Mr. Brownlow); Brad Rudy (Bill Sikes); Katy Schroeder (Bet); Dayna Tekatch (Charlotte Sowerberry/Rose Seller); Blythe Wilson (Nancy); Barry Wood (Long Song Seller); *Orphans* – Brandon Banks; Heather Brezden; Christopher Fulton; Antony Grice; Andrew Hancock; Erin Hessey; Olivia Kramer; Erik Jay Larson; Nathan McLeod; Izabella Mijas; Jamie Murray; Thomas Murray; Miles Seward; Nicholas Van Bakel; Stuart Weir; *with* – Jayme Armstrong; Naomi Costain; Stephen Cota; Michelle Galati; Ryan Gifford; Kirk Hansen; Lindsay Thomas; Heather E. Wilson; Gabriel Wolinsky. *Swings* – Stephen Roberts; Anyanna Sealey. *Child swings* – Michael Bachner; Alec Fowler. *Dog* – Ink or Boy.

South Pacific

2006

Theatre: Avon

May 1–Oct 28

Performances: 91

Authorial: Richard Rodgers (music); Oscar Hammerstein II (book & lyrics); based on James A. Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific*; Broadway première 1949.

Production: Michael Lichtefeld (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Douglas Paraschuk (designer); David Boechler (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); Phillip Hughes (associate director); Joe Bowerman (associate choreographer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Phillip Hughes (assistant choreographer/dance captain); Maxwell T. Wilson (stage manager).

Cast: Jayme Armstrong (Ens. Pamela Whitmore); Theodore Baerg (Emile de Becque); Kyle Blair (Professor Hamilton Steeves); Grace Chan (Bloody Mary); Stephen Cota (Herbert Quale); Cynthia Dale (Nellie Forbush); Bruce Dow (Luther Billis); Barbara Fulton (Lt. Genevieve Marshall); Armon Ghaeinizadeh (Jerome); Christina Gordon (Ens. Cora MacRae); Kirk Hansen (Bob McCaffrey); David Hogan (Tom O'Brien); Ray Hogg (Henry/Morton Wise); Phillip Hughes (William Harbison); Jaelyn Lance (Ngana); Kerri Lee (Tehani); Nicolette Liwanag (Liat); Laird Mackintosh (Lt. Joseph Cable); Donnie Macphee (Stewpot George Watts); Brian McKay (Captain George Brackett); Ayanna Sealey (Polynesian Dancer/Ens. Bessie Noonan); Dayna Tekatch (Ens. Dinah MacGregor); Tommy Tuer-Sipos (Marcel); Blythe Wilson (Ens. Sue Yaeger) Jonathan Winsby (Kenneth Johnson/Lt. Buzz Adams); Gabriel Wolinsky (Richard West). *Swings* – Ryan Gifford; Heather E. Wilson.

Oklahoma!

2007

Theatre: Festival

Apr 10–Nov 4

Performances: 108

Authorial: Richard Rodgers (music); Oscar Hammerstein II (book & lyrics); based on Lynn Riggs' play *Green Grow the Lilacs*; Broadway première 1943.

Production: Donna Feore (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Patrick Clark (designer); Alan Brodie (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Edward Daranyi (assistant director); Natalie Sebastian (assistant choreographer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Stephanie Graham (dance captain); Matt Cassidy (fight captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Kyle Blair (Will Parker); Ashley Burton (swing); Matt Cassidy (Cord Elam); Mark Cassius (Ike Skidmore); Dan Chamero (Curly); Jonathan Ellul (Ali Hakim); Stephanie Graham (Gertie Commings); David W. Keeley (Jud Fry); Jamie McKnight (Fred); Nora McLellan (Aunt Eller); Paul Nolan (Slim); Lindsay Thomas (Ado Annie); Blythe Wilson (Laurey); Ryan Wilson (swing); Barrie Wood (Andrew Carnes); *with* – Tessa Alves; Naomi Costain; Stephen Cota; Rachel Crowther; Barbara Fulton; Élodie Gillett; Sean Hauk; Ray Hogg; Phillip Hughes; Victoria Lamond; Chad McFadden; Julius Sermonia; Heather E. Wilson. *Swings* – Ashley Burton; Ryan Wilson.

My One and Only

2007

Theatre: Avon

May 12–Oct 28

Performances: 92

Authorial: George Gershwin (music); Ira Gershwin (lyrics); Peter Stone and Timothy S. Mayer (book); Broadway première 1983.

Production: Michael Lichtefeld (director/choreographer); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Douglas Paraschuk (designer); David Boechler (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting

designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); Sean Nieuwenhuis (video designer); John Stead (stunt co-ordinator); Phillip Hughes (associate director); Joe Bowerman (associate choreographer); Laura Burton (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Dayna Tekatch (assistant choreographer/dance captain); Maxwell T. Wilson (stage manager).

Cast: Kyle Blair (Achmed); Mark Cassius (Mr. Magix); Cynthia Dale (Edythe Herbert); David W. Keeley (Prince Nicolai Erraclyovitch Tchatchavadze); Laird Mackintosh (Captain Billy Buck Chandler); Marcus Nance (Rt. Rev. J. D. Montgomery); Dayna Tekatch (Mickey); *New Rhythm Boys* – Kyle Blair, Ray Hogg, Julius Sermonia; *Ladies of the Aquacade* – Stephanie Graham (Prawn); Naomi Costain (Sturgeon); Heather E Wilson (Kipper); Élodie Gillett (Flounder); Tessa Alves (Minnow); Lindsay Thomas (Anchovie); *The High Hat Boys* – Stephen Cota; Sean Hauk; Chad McFadden; Steward Adam McKensy; Stephen Roberts. *Swings* – Phillip Hughes; Victoria Lamond.

Des McAnuff, Marti Maraden & Don Shipley, Artistic Directors
Rick Fox, Festival Music Director

The Music Man

2008

Theatre: Avon

Apr 26–Nov 1

Performances: 141

Authorial: Meredith Willson (music and lyrics); Meredith Willson and Franklin Lacey (book); Broadway première 1957.

Production: Susan H. Schulman (director); Berthold Carrière (musical director); Michael Lichtefeld (choreographer); Patrick Clark (designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Joe Bowerman (associate choreographer); Darcy Evans (assistant director); Charlene Nafziger (assistant musical director); Marilyn Dallman (assistant musical director); Dayna Tekatch (assistant choreographer); Ryan Wilson (dance captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Matt Cassidy (Constable Locke); Stephen Cota (Conductor); Rachel Crowther (Zanetta Shin); Michelle Fisk (Mrs. Paroo); Eddie Glen (Marcellus Washburn); Jonathan Goad (Harold Hill); Christina Gordon (Maud Dunlop); Aveleigh Keller (Amaryllis); Lee MacDougall (Mayor Shinn); Laird Mackintosh (Quartet/Ewart Dunlop); W. Joseph Matheson (Charlie Cowell); Jonathan Monro (Quartet/Jacey Squire); Marcus Nance (Quartet/Olin Britt); Leah Oster (Marian Paroo); Fiona Reid (Eulalie Mackenknie Shinn); Eric S. Robertson (Tommy Djilas); Stephanie Roth (Mrs. Britt); Eliza-Jane Scott (Mrs. Squires); Shelley Simester (Alma Hix); Lindsay Thomas (Gracie Shin); Sara Topham (Ethel Toffelmier); Christopher Van Hagen (Winthrop Paroo); Shawn Wright (Quartet/Oliver Hix); *River City Townspeople* – Matt Cassidy; Darcy Evans; Kyle Golemba; Alison Jatzie; Krista Leis; Lynda Sing; Devon Tullock; Ryan Wilson. *River City Children* – Madison Bast; David F. Crowley; Jared Degenstein; Olivia Kramer; Vanessa Kramer; Jamie Nicole Murray; Kolton Stewart. *Swings* – Matt Alfano; Kelly Grainger.

Cabaret**2008**

Theatre: Avon

May 13–Oct 25

Performances: 116

Authorial: Joe Masteroff (book); John Kander (music); Fred Ebb (lyrics); based on John Van Druten's play *I Am a Camera*, adapted from Christopher Isherwood's novel *Goodbye to Berlin*; Broadway première 1966.

Production: Amanda Dehnert (director); Rick Fox (musical director); Kelly Devine (choreographer); Douglas Paraschuk (designer); David Boechler (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); Sean Nieuwenhuis (video designer); Phillip Hughes (assistant director/fight captain); Laura Burton (associate musical director); Mike Jackson (assistant choreographer); Julius Sermonia (dance captain) Maxwell T. Wilson (stage manager).

Cast: Tessa Alves (Edna A. as the Taxi Man); Sean Arbuckle (Clifford Bradshaw); Jordan Bell (Louis/Louise as the Boy/Girl); Jewell Blackman (Angelic Rivera as the Violinist); Ashley Burton (Gabiella Marcialla as the Circus Girl); Stephenos Christou (Sven as the First Sailor); Diana Coatsworth (Frälein Kost as the Prostitute); Naomi Costain (Rosin Müller as the New Tart); Lindsay Croxall (Elsa Bundchen as the Sausage Girl); Bruce Dow (Emcee); Kelly-Ann Evans (Erika Mann as the Sister); Omar Forrest (Victor as the Boyfriend); Deidrea Halley (Alicia Graff as the Runaway); Phillip Hughes (Gottfried von Schwanzenbaum as the Euphonium Player); Trish Lindström (Sally Bowles); Monique Lund (Max as the Owner); Nora McLellan (Fräulein Schneider); Frank Moore (Herr Schultz); Andrew Moyes (Klaus Mann as the Brother); Paul Nolan (Bobby as the Boyfriend); Cory O'Brien (Ernst Ludwig); Julius Sermonia (Tobi as the Second Sailor); Sam Strasfel (Kalman Ratz as the Third Sailor and Ukelele Player); Robert Yeretch (Herr Zweig as the Working Man). *Swings* – Marc Kimelman (Fritz Vogler as the Swing); Carla Giuliani (Mallena Flores as the Swing). *Onstage musicians* – Eugene Laskiewicz; Joseph Macerollo.

*Des McAnuff, Artistic Director***West Side Story****2009**

Theatre: Festival

Apr 11–Oct 31

Performances: 100

Authorial: Arthur Laurents (book); Leonard Bernstein (music); Stephen Sondheim (lyrics); loosely based on William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*; original concept, choreography and direction by Jerome Robbins; Broadway première 1957.

Production: Gary Griffin (director); Rick Fox (musical director); Sergio Trujillo (choreographer); Joshua Bergasse (co-choreographer); Douglas Paraschuk (designer); Jess Goldstein (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Simon Fon (fight director); Laura Burton (associate musical director); Edward Daranyi (assistant director); Krista Leis (assistant choreographer); Marc Kimelman (dance captain); Kim Lott (stage manager).

Cast: *Jets*: Brandon Espinoza (Riff); Paul Nolan (Tony); Matt Alfano (Action); Kyle Golemba (A-Rab); Josh Assor (Baby John); Graeme Goodhall (Snowboy); Mac Kimelman (Big Deal); Eric S. Robertson (Diesel); *Jet Girls*: Krista Leis (Graziella); Jennifer Mote (Velma); Lindsay Croxall (Minnie); Jessica Keeling (Clarice); Josie Marasco (Anybods); *Sharks*: Andrew Cao (Bernardo); Chilina Kennedy (Maria); Jennifer Rias (Anita); Marco

Antonio Santiago (Chino); Joe Perez (Pepe); Jacques Monfiston (Indio); Nicko Giannakos (Luis); Julius Sermonia (Nibbles); *Shark Girls*: Mary Antonini (Rosalia); Tessa Alves (Consuela); Carla Bennett (Teresita); Genny Sermonia (Francisca); Jessica Keeling (Margarita); *Adults*: Stephen Russell (Doc); Dan Chamero (Schrank); Bruce Dow (Krupke); Mike Nadajewski (Glad Hand). Kolton Stewart (Boy). *Swings* – Jordan Bell; Stephen Cota; Randy Ganne; Eran Goodyear.

**A Funny Thing Happened
on the Way to the Forum**

2009

Theatre: Avon

Jun 11–Nov 1

Performances: 79

Authorial: Stephen Sondheim (music and lyrics); Burt Shevelove and Larry Gelbart (book); inspired by the farces of *Plautus*; Broadway première 1962.

Production: Des McAnuff (director); Franklin Brasz (musical director); Wayne Cilento (choreographer); John Arnone (designer); Dana Osborne (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); James Magruder (dramaturge); Simon Fon (stunt coordinator); Jeff Gordon (physical comedy consultant); Marilyn Dallman (associate conductor); Daryl Cloran (assistant director); Ted Banfalvi (assistant choreographer); Bruce Coughlin (orchestrator); Rick Fox (music supervisor); Krista Leis (dance captain); Marc Kimelman (stunt captain); Maxwell T. Wilson (stage manager).

Cast: Tess Alves (Geminae); Jordan Bell (Protean); Carla Bennett (Tintinabula); Dan Chamero (Miles Gloriosus); Stephen Cota (Protean); Lindsay Croxall (Gymnasia); Deann deGrujter (Domina); Bruce Dow (Pseudolus); Eran Goodyear (Geminae); Randy Hughson (Senex); Chilina Kennedy (Philia); Mike Nadajewski (Hero); Stephen Ouimette (Hysterium); Jennifer Rias (Vibrata); Cliff Saunders (Marcus Lycus); Julius Sermonia (Protean); Sara Topham (Panacea); Brian Tree (Erronius). *Swings* – Marc Kimelman; Krista Leis.

Kiss Me Kate

2010

Theatre: Festival

Apr 10(**June 8**)–Oct 30

Performances: 93

Authorial: Cole Porter (music and lyrics); Bella and Sam Spewack (book); based on William Shakespeare's play *Taming of the Shrew*; Broadway première 1948.

Production: John Doyle (director); Franklin Brasz (musical director); Tracey Flye (choreographer); David Farley (designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Daniel Levinson (fight director); Rachel Slaven (assistant director); Kelly Fletcher (assistant choreographer); Rick Fox (new musical arrangements/musical supervisor); Julius Sermonia (dance captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Jordan Bell (A Boy/Gregory); Juan Chioran (Fred Graham/Petruchio); Naomi Costain (Wig Mistress/Padua Lady); Stephen Cota (Flyman/Philip); Lindsay Croxall (Props Mistress/Padua Lady); Keisha T. Fraser (Hattie, Lilli's Dresser/Padua Woman); Kyle Golemba (Stage Carpenter/Gremio); Eran Goodyear (Prompter/Padua Lady); Douglas E. Hughes (Harry Trevor/Baptista); Mike Jackson (Bill Calhoun/Lucentio); Chilina Kennedy (Lois Lane/Bianca); Monique Lund (Lilli Vanessi/Katherine); Lorena Mackenzie (Wardrobe Mistress/Haberdasher); Jennifer Rider-Shaw (Assistant Stage Manager/Padua Lady); Steve Ross (First Man); Cliff Saunders (Second Man); Jaz Sealey (Stage Electrician/Hortensio); Julius Sermonia (Dance Captain/Nathaniel); Vince Staltari (Ralph,

the Stage Manager); Kristian Truelsen (Harrison Howell/Cab Driver); Rudy Webb (Pops, Stage Door Man/Priest); Josh Young (Paul, Fred's Dresser/Padua Man). *Swings* – Josie Marasco; Nicko Giannakos.

Evita

2010

Theatre: Avon

May 28(**Jun 10**)–Oct. 30

Performances: 96

Authorial: Andrew Lloyd Webber (music); Tim Rice (lyrics); album released 1976, West End première 1978, Broadway première 1979.

Production: Gary Griffin (director); Rick Fox (musical director); Tracey Flye (choreographer); Douglas Paraschuk (designer); Mara Blumenfeld (costume designer); Kevin Fraser (lighting designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); Sean Niuwenhuis (video designer); Daniel Levinson (fight director); Franklin Brasz (associate musical director); Aaron Willis (assistant director); Kelly Fletcher (assistant choreographer); Stephen Cota (dance captain); Kim Lott (stage manager).

Cast: Juan Chioran (Juan Perón); Chilina Kennedy (Eva Perón); Josie Marasco (Mistress); Vince Staltari (Magaldi); Josh Young (Che); *People of Argentina* – Naomi Costain; Stephen Cota; Keisha T. Fraser; Nicko Giannakos; Kyle Golemba; Eran Goodyear; Douglas E. Hughes; Mike Jackson; Monique Lund; Lorena Mackenzie; Jennifer Rider-Shaw; Steve Ross; Jaz Sealey; Julius Sermonia; Kristian Truelsen; Rudy Webb; *Children* – Mariana Buchanan; Sarah Gazzola; Aveleigh Keller; Avery Lemon; Katerina Manolakos; Thyra Morton. *Swings* – Jordan Bell; Lindsay Croxall.

Jacques Brel Is Alive and Well and Living in Paris

2010

Theatre: Tom Patterson Theatre

May 14–September 25

Performances: 64

Authorial: Jacques Brel (music and lyrics); Eric Blau and Mort Shuman (production conception, book and English lyrics); Off-Broadway première 1968.

Production: Stafford Arima (director); Laura Burton (musical director); Katherine Lubinski (designer); Steven Hawkins (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Rick Fox (musical arrangements/supervision); Todd L. Underwood (musical staging); Marilyn Dallman (associate conductor); Dian Marie Bridge (assistant director); Robin Hutton (movement captain); Julie Miles (stage manager).

Cast: Jewelle Blackman; Brent Carver; Mike Nadajewski; Nathalie Nadon. *Understudies* – Robin Hutton (Jewelle, Natalie); Stephen Patterson (Brent, Mike).

Camelot

2011

Theatre: Festival

Apr 16(**May 31**)–Oct 30

Performances: 98

Authorial: Alan Jay Lerner (book and lyrics); Frederick Loewe (music); based on T.H. White's novel *The Once and Future King*; Broadway première 1960.

Production: Gary Griffin (director); Rick Fox (musical director); Warren Carlyle (choreographer); Debra Hanson (set designer); Mara Blumenfeld (costume designer); Alan Brodie (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Michael Barber (associate musical director); Todd Campbell (fight director); Simon Fon (aerial stunt coordinator);

42nd Street**2012**

Theatre: Festival

Apr 12(**May 29**)–Oct 28

Performances: 91

Authorial: Harry Warren (music); Al Dubin (lyrics); Michael Stewart and Mark Bramble (book); based on the novel by Bradford Ropes and the 1933 film adaptation of the novel; Broadway première 1980.

Production: Gary Griffin (director); Michael Barber (musical director); Alex Sanchez (choreographer); Debra Hanson (designer); Paul Miller (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Franklin Brasz (associate conductor); Kerry Gage (associate choreographer); Simon Fon (stunt coordinator); Kristen van Ginhoven (assistant director); Stephen Cota (dance captain); Kyle Golemba (fight captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Sean Arbuckle (Julian Marsh); Matthew Armet (Waiter/Archie); Kyle Blair (Billy Lawlor); Naomi Costain (Annie “Anytime” Reilly); Stephen Cota (Frankie/Thug/Marco Panaducci); Cynthia Dale (Dorothy Brock); Carl Danielsen (Mac); Kyle Golemba (Andy Lee); Larry Herbert (Thug/Lawrence Arthur); C. David Johnson (Pat Denning); Gabrielle Jones (Maggie Jones); Jennifer Rider-Shaw (Peggy Sawyer); Steve Ross (Abner Dillon); Jay T. Schramek (Young Man/Jerry Conway); Jordan Till (Doctor/Dominic Vlau); Geoffrey Tyler (Bert Barry); *the kids of “Pretty Lady”*: Carla Bennett (Robin); Rachel Crowther (Phyllis Dale); Julianne Hobby (Gladys); Jessica Horn (Millie); Kayla James (Lorraine Flemming); Lorena Mackenzie (Ethel); Jennifer Stewart (Diane Lorimer); Nicko Giannakos (Danillo Panaducci); David Silvestri (Elroy Mahoney). *Swings* – Keely Hutton; Galen Johnson.

You’re a Good Man**Charlie Brown****2012**

Theatre: Avon

May 15(**May 30**)–Oct 28

Performances: 80

Authorial: Clark Gesner (music, lyrics and book); based on Charles M. Schulz’s “Peanuts” comic strip; Off-Broadway première, 1967; West End, 1968; Broadway première, 1971. This production had additional dialogue by Michael Mayer and additional music and lyrics by Andrew Lipka (originally added for 1998 U.S. tour and 1999 Broadway revival).

Production: Donna Feore (director/choreographer); Laura Burton (musical director); Michael Gianfrancesco (set designer); Dana Osborne (costume designer); Kimberly Purtell (lighting designer); Sean Nieuwenhuis (video designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); Daniel Levinson (stunt coordinator); Marilyn Dallman (associate conductor); Kevin Hammond (assistant director); Ryan Wilson (assistant choreographer); Dylan Woodley (video game designer); Heather McGuigan (dance and stunt captain); Meghan Callan (stage manager).

Cast: Andrew Broderick (Schroeder); Stephen Patterson (Snoopy); Erica Peck (Lucy); Ken James Stewart (Charlie Brown); Amy Wallis (Sally); Kevin Yee (Linus); *off-stage singers/understudies* – Troy Adams; Heather McGuigan; Travis Seetoo.

Pirates of Penzance**2012**

Theatre: Avon

May 3(**Jun 1**)–Oct 27

Performances: 89

Authorial: W.S. Gilbert (libretto); Arthur Sullivan (music); 1880.

Production: Ethan McSweeney (director); Franklin Brasz (musical director); Marcos Santana (choreographer); Anna Louizos (set designer); Paul Tazewell (costume designer); Howell Binkley (lighting designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); Michael Starobin (orchestrator); Mark Camilleri (arranger); Daniel Levinson (fight director); Simon Fon (stunt coordinator); Michael Barber (associate conductor); Darcy Evans (assistant director); Tammy Nera (assistant choreographer); Matthew Armet (dance captain); Stephen Cota (fight captain); Galen Johnson (fight captain); Michael Hart (stage manager).

Cast: Sean Arbuckle (Pirate King); Kyle Blair (Frederic); Naomi Costain (Edith); Stephen Cota (pirate/policeman); Nicko Giannakos (pirate/policeman); Larry Herbert (pirate/policeman); Keely Hutton (Kate); C. David Johnson (Major-General Stanley); Galen Johnson (pirate/policeman); Gabrielle Jones (Ruth); Jay T. Schramek (pirate/policeman); Jordan Till (Samuel); Geoffrey Tyler (pirate/policeman); Amy Wallis (Mabel); Abigail Winter-Culliford (Isabel); *Pirates* – Andrew Broderick; Kyle Golemba; Travis Seetoo; David Silvestri; *Wards* – Sarah Afful; Jacquelyn French; Julianne Hobby; Monique Lund; Ayryn Mackie; Jennifer Stewart; Tahirih Vejdani. *Swings* – Matthew Armet; Rachel Crowther. *Onstage musicians* – Anna Atkinson (violin); Terry McKeena (guitar); George Meanwell (concertina).

Wanderlust

2012

Theatre: Tom Patterson Theatre Jun 20(**Jul 11**)–Sep 28 Performances: 44

Authorial: Marek Norman (music); Morris Panych (book & additional lyrics); based on the poems of Robert Service; Stratford première 2012.

Production: Morris Panych (director); Marek Norman (musical director); Diana Coatsworth (choreographer); Ken MacDonald (set designer); Dana Osborne (costume designer); Alan Brodie (lighting designer); Sean Nieuwenhuis (video designer); Jim Neil (sound designer); Todd Campbell (fight director); Simon Fon (fight director); Laura Burton (associate conductor); Rachel Peake (assistant director); Diana Coatsworth (dance captain); Anne Murphy (stage manager).

Cast: Troy Adams (Ballad Singer/Ledgerkeeper); Barbara Barsky (Teller); Dan Chameroy (Dan McGrew); Diana Coatsworth (Teller); Ryan Field (Ledgerkeeper); Xuan Fraser (Blount); Randy Hughson (Mr. McGee); Robin Hutton (Louise Montgomery); Cyrus Lane (Bank Guard); Heather McGuigan (Teller); Stephen Patterson (Ledgerkeeper); Lucy Peacock (Mrs. Munsch); Tom Rooney (Robert Service); Ken James Stewart (Noah); Kevin Yee (Teller). *Understudies from outside the cast*: Nigel Bennett (Mr. McGee understudy); Erica Peck (Tellers).

Production note: Commissioned and premièred by the Stratford Festival. *The following artists participated in the development of this piece*: Sean Arbuckle; Mairi Babb; Barbara Barsky; David Bradstreet; Craig Fair; Randy Ganne; Robin Hutton; David Hurwitz; Chilina Kennedy; George Masswohl; Frank Moore; Mike Nadajewski; Paul Nolan; Leah Oster; Noah Reid; Tom Rooney; Jennifer Schamehorn; Justin Stadnyk; Geoffrey Tyler; Brendan Wall.

Fiddler on the Roof

2013

Theatre: Festival

Apr 23(**May 28**)–Oct 20

Performances: 87

Authorial: Jerry Bock (music); Sheldon Harnick (lyrics); Joseph Stein (book); based on *Tevye and His Daughters* and other stories by Sholem Aleichem; originally directed and choreographed for Broadway by Jerome Robbins, 1964.

Production: Donna Feore (director/choreographer); Shelley Hanson (musical director); Allen Moyer (set designer); Dana Osborne (costume designer); Michael Walton (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); David Auster (producer); Beth Russell (casting director); Jason Miller (creative planning director); Kerry Gage (associate choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (associate conductor); Ann Baggle (assistant director); Dr. Darren C. Marks (Jewish culture consultant); Stephen Cota (dance captain); Brad Rudy (fight captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager).

Cast: Jewelle Blackman (Fruma-Sarah/Ziva); Matthew G. Brown (Nachum); Jacquelyn French (Hodel); Barbara Fulton (Grandma Tzeitel/Samara Rubensteing); Anna Gough (Bielke/Shosha); Sean Alexander Hauk (Yussel); Valerie Hawkins (Shaindel); Kate Hennig (Golde); Larry Herbert (Avram); Effie Honeywell (Bielke/Shosha); Keely Hutton (Chava); Gabrielle Jones (Yente); Gary Kidd (Clarinet Player); Jeremy Kushnier (Mordcha); Krista Leis (Shprintze); Robert Markus (Mendel); André Morin (Motel); Sam Moses (The Rabbi); Mike Nadajewski (Perchik); Paul Nolan (Fyedka); Steve Ross (Lazar Wolf); Brad Rudy (The Constable); Julius Sermonia (Sasha); Lee Siegel (“To Life” tenor/Eduard); Jennifer Stewart (Tzeitel); Scott Wentworth (Tevye); *The Community* – Matt Alfano (Alfons/Russian Dancer/Bottle Dancer); Gabriel Antonacci (Gavril Kanevski/Bottle Dancer); Matthew Armet (Levi Hayes/Russian Dancer); Stephen Cota (Mashel/Bottle Dancer); Sean Dolan (Benesh); Robin Hutton (Rifka); Galen Johnson (Zeff Orenstein/Russian Dancer/Bottle Dancer); Katrina Reynolds (Charna Leeba Baron); Julius Sermonia (Eytan/Russian Dancer); Shayne Simpson (Itsak); Anna Atkinson (The Fiddler). *Swing* – Julia Juhas; Nicholas Nesbitt; Jennifer Rider-Shaw.

Tommy

2013

Theatre: Avon

May 4(**May 30**)–Oct 19

Performances: 78

Authorial: Pete Townsend (music, lyrics and book); Des McAnuff (book); based on The Who’s 1969 rock opera double album (by Pete Townsend, with additional material by John Entwistle, Keith Moon and Sonny Boy Williamson); La Jolla Playhouse, San Diego, 1992; Broadway première, 1993.

Production: Des McAnuff (director); Rick Fox (musical director and supervisor); Wayne Cilento (choreographer); John Arnone (set designer); David C. Woolard (costume designer); Howell Binkley (lighting designer); Andrew Keister (sound designer); Sean Nieuwenhuis (projection designer); Lisa Portes (creative consultant); Tracey Langran Corea (musical staging consultant); Steve Rankin (fight director); Chad Sylvain (dramaturge); Marek Norman (associate musical director); Laura Burton (associate conductor); David Auster (producer); Beth Russell (casting director); Jason Miller (creative planning director); Lee Wilson (assistant director); Julius Sermonia (assistant choreographer/dance captain/fight captain); Krista Leis (dance captain); Brian Scott (stage manager).

Cast: Matt Alfano (Local Lad/Security Guard); Gabriel Antonacci (Allied Soldier #1/Local Lad/Security Guard/Pinball Lad #1); Matthew Armet (Allied Soldier #2/Local Lad/Security Guard/Pinball Lad #2); Jewelle Blackman (The Gypsy); Conor Bergauer (Ten-year-old Tommy); Matthew G. Brown (Officer #1/Barrister/Specialist); Joshua Buchwald (Ten-year-old Tommy); Steven Cota (Local Lad/Security Guard); Arden Couturier (Four-year-old Tommy); Adrienne Enns (Four-year-old Tommy); Kira Guloien (Mrs. Walker); Sean Alexander Hauk (Lover/Harmonica Player); Larry Herbert (Minister/Barrister/Mr. Simpson); Keely Hutton (Nurse/Local Lass/Specialist's Assistant); Robin Hutton (Local Lass/Mrs. Simpson); Julia Juhas (Kevin's Mother/Local Lass); Jeremy Kushnier (Captain Walker); Monique Lund (Minister's Wife); Robert Markus (Tommy); Nicholas Nesbitt (Officer #2/Local Lad/Security Guard); Paul Nolan (Cousin Kevin); Laurin Padolina (Local Lass); Katrina Reynolds (Local Lass); Jennifer Rider-Shaw (Local Lass/Sally Simpson); Steve Ross (Uncle Ernie); Julius Sermonia (Local Lad/Security Guard); Lee Siegel (Judge/Kevin's Father/Hawker/News Vendor/Pink DJ). *Swings* – Galen Johnson; Krista Leis.

Franklin Brasz, Festival Music Director

Crazy for You

2014

Theatre: Avon

Apr 21(May 27)–Oct 12

Performances: 83

Authorial: George Gershwin (music); Ira Gershwin (lyrics); Ken Ludwig (book); largely based on the 1930 Gershwin musical *Girl Crazy*, Guy Bolton and John McGowan (book); Broadway première, 1992.

Production: Donna Feore (director/choreographer); Shelly Hanson (musical director); Debra Hanson (designer); Paul Miller (lighting designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); David Auster (producer); Beth Russell (casting director); Jason Miller (creative planning director); Kerry Gage (associate choreographer); Marilyn Dallman (associate conductor); Geoff Scovell (associate fight director); Ann Bagglely (assistant director); Stephen Cota (dance captain); Matt Alfano (fight captain); Cynthia Toushan (stage manager and production stage manager).

Cast: Matt Alfano (Jimmy); Matthew Armet (Junior); Carla Bennett (Susie); Lally Cadeau (Mrs. Lottie Child); Shane Carty (Lank Hawkins); Stephen Cota (Wyatt); Natalie Daradich (Polly Baker); Keith Dinicol (Everett Baker); Marisa Falcone (Margie); Josh Franklin (Bobby Child); Sean Alexander Hauk (Pete); Alexandra Herzog (Patsy); Robin Hutton (Irene Roth); Kayla James (Tess); Bonnie Jordan (Betsy); Monique Lund (Patricia Fodor); Ayrin Mackie (Elaine); Chad McFadden (Billy); Natalie Moore (Louise); Marcus Nance (Mingo); Cory O'Brien (Clem); Stephen Patterson (Sam); Kimberley Rampersad (Mitzi); Tom Rooney (Bela Zangler); Steve Ross (Moose); Jason Sermonia (Custus); Mike Tracz (Harry); Breanna Willis (Sheila); Shawn Wright (Eugene Fodor). *Onstage bass player* – Michael McClennan (Slim). *Swings* – Bethany Kovarik; Galen Johnson.

Man of La Mancha**2014**

Theatre: Festival

May 8(May 28)–Oct 11

Performances: 86

Authorial: Mitch Leigh (music); Joe Darion (lyrics); Dale Wasserman (book); based on Wasserman's 1959 teleplay *I, Don Quixote*, inspired by Miguel de Cervantes *Don Quixote*; 1964, Broadway première 1965.

Production: Robert McQueen (director); Franklin Brasz (musical director); Mark Kimelman (choreographer); Douglas Paraschuk (set designer); Dana Osborne (costume designer); Kimberly Purtell (lighting designer); Sean Nieuwenhuis (projection designer); Peter McBoyle (sound designer); John Stead (fight director); David Auster (producer); Beth Russell (casting director); Jason Miller (creative planning director); Shelly Hanson (associate conductor); Geoff Scovell (associate fight director); Sara-Jeanne Hosie (assistant director); Krista Leis (assistant choreographer); Matt Alfano (dance captain); Cory O'Brien (fight captain); Maxwell T. Wilson (stage manager and production stage manager).

Cast: Matt Alfano (Tenorio, Brigand); Matthew Armet (Anselmo); Shane Carty (Governor/Innkeeper); Stephen Cota (Paco, Brigand, Inquisitor Priest); Paul Duncan (Guard); Harry Edison (Guard); Sean Alexander Hauk (Padre); Robin Hutton (Aldonza); Kayla James (Antonia, *Alonso's niece*, Brigand); Galen Johnson (Jose, Brigand); Monique Lund (Housekeeper, Brigand); Ayrin Mackie (Fermia, Brigand Dancer); Marcus Nance (Captain of the Inquisition, Brigand); Cory O'Brien (Pedro, Attendant to the Enchanter); Stephen Patterson (Barber); Kevin Ramessar (Romero, *a guitarist*); Kimberley Rampersad (Maria, *Innkeeper's wife*); Tom Rooney (Miguel de Cervantes/Don Quixote/Alonso Quijana); Steve Ross (Manservant/Sancho Panza); Jason Sermonia (Juan, Brigand, Attendant to the Enchanter); Shawn Wright (Duke/Dr. Carrasco/Enchanter); *understudies* – Bonnie Jordan (Maria, Fermia). *Swing* – Chad McFadden.

APPENDIX D: STRATFORD FESTIVAL FINANCIAL DATA

Stratford Festival Box Office 1953-1983

As published in the "Stratford Festival Story" on the back of souvenir programs, which stopped being produced in 1984.

Year	Type	# of weeks	Attendance	# of Performances	Gross
1953	Drama	6	68,087	42	\$ 206,000
1954	Drama	9	125, 155	69	\$ 392,000
1955	Drama	9	126,791	72	\$ 421,000
	Music	4	13,999	22	\$ 32,682
Combined		9	140,790	94	\$ 453, 862
1956	Drama	9	119,363	75	\$ 402,449
	Music	5	18,353	31	\$ 53,037
Combined		9	137,716	106	\$ 455,486
1957	Drama	10	163,432	83	\$ 563,413
	Music	5	13,988	20	\$ 43,167
Combined		10	177,420	103	\$ 606,580
1958	Drama	12	171,100	98	\$ 579,174
	Music	4	26,309	30	\$ 68,294
Combined		12	197,409	128	\$ 647,468
1959	Drama	12	165,257	99	\$ 550,480
	Music	6	23,782	47	\$ 47,556
Combined		12	189,039	146	\$ 598,036
1960	Drama	12	203,870	99	\$ 683,514
	Music	6	31,502	31	\$ 99,789
Combined		12	235,372	130	\$ 783,303
1961	Drama	14	218,454	113	\$ 731,021
	Music	6	59,447	54	\$ 173,721
Combined		14	277,901	167	\$ 904,742
1962	Drama	15	263,239	123	\$ 913,025
	Music	6	61,027	58	\$ 184,556
Combined		15	324,266	181	\$1,097,761
1963	Drama	15	228,389	124	\$ 793,767
	Music	6	60,365	59	\$ 180,668
Combined		15	288,754	183	\$ 974,435
1964	Drama	16	254,018	129	\$ 932,452
	Music	7	62,415	73	\$ 225,230
Combined		16	316,433	202	\$1,157,682
1965	Drama	16	264,395	129	\$ 984,963
	Music	8	68,840	82	\$ 256,286
Combined		16	333,235	211	\$1,241,249

1966	Drama	18	261,808	162	\$ 987,453
	Music	8	54,546	56	\$ 206,184
Combined		18	316,354	218	\$1,193,637
1967	Drama	18	287,237	155	\$1,071,170
	Music	8	40,262	61	\$ 143,909
Combined		18	327,499	216	\$1,215,079
1968	Drama	18	311,623	176	\$1,312,999
	Music	8	37,933	41	\$ 159,721
Combined		18	349,556	217	\$1,472,720
1969	Drama	20	329,966	188	\$1,375,543
	Music	8	47,034	49	\$ 192,791
Combined		20	377,000	237	\$1,568,334
1970	Drama	18	325,768	218	\$1,668,190
	Music	9	13,754	16	\$ 66,422
Combined		18	339,522	234	\$1,734,612
1971	Drama	22	357,608	299	\$1,766,325
	Music	9	14,073	17	\$ 53,365
Combined		22	371,681	316	\$1,819,690
1972	Combined	23	413,187	336	\$2,030,624
1973	Combined	23	406,561	334	\$2,364,770
1974	Combined	23	401,307	357	\$2,403,032
1975	Combined	21	437,302	362	\$2,637,649
1976	Combined	22	518,421	338	\$3,714,798
1977	Combined	23	504,963	342	\$4,237,106
1978	Combined	23	557,991	396	\$4,636,502
1979	Combined	26	504,775	481	\$4,713,944
1980	Combined	27	518,861	431	\$6,111,187
1981	Combined	22	422,818	340	\$5,521,513
1982	Combined	22	511,870	442	\$7,742,104
1983	Combined	23	505,973	492	\$9,040,355

Canada Council for the Arts⁶⁵²—Stratford Festival Funding History

The Canada Council for the Arts has awarded the Stratford Festival grants every year since the council was first created by an act of parliament in 1957.

Year	Amount of Grant Awarded	Amount adjusted to 2013 dollars	Type of Grant ⁶⁵³	Comments ⁶⁵⁴
1957	\$50,000.00	\$411,744.97	Operating grant	For music festival, film festival, generally ensure continued growth and development
1958	\$2,000.00	\$16,039.22	Operating grant	To assist with travel expenses of delegation to Moscow to visit and observe the Russian Theatre
	\$12,000.00	\$96,235.29	Operating grant	To present an exhibition of Eskimo art and culture in 1959
	\$50,000.00	\$400,980.39	Operating grant	For 1959 season
1959	\$75,000.00	\$593,709.68	Operating grant	For 1960-61 season
1960	\$25,000.00	\$195,382.17	Operating grant	For 1961 season
	\$15,000.00	\$117,229.30	Operating grant	University tour, to give special performances designed for university students at 11 institutions in ON & QC
1962	\$25,000.00	\$191,718.75	Operating grant	To present a festival of theatre and music in Summer of 1962
1963	\$20,000.00	\$150,552.15	Operating grant	For 1963 Festival of plays and music
	\$25,000.00	\$188,190.18	Operating grant	For trip to Royal Shakespeare Theatre in London
1964	\$50,000.00	\$369,578.31	Operating grant	For 1964-65 program
1965	\$140,000.00	\$1,004,561.40	Operating grant	For 1965 season
1968	\$30,000.00	\$191,718.75	Operating grant	Tour
1969	\$475,000.00	\$2,899,626.87	Operating grant	Operations
1970	\$365,000.00	\$2,206,182.27	Operating grant	For 1970-71 season
1971	\$385,000.00	\$2,217,816.90	Operating grant	For 1971-72 season
1972	\$435,000.00	\$2,382,790.18	Operating grant	For 1972-73 season
	\$460,000.00	\$2,519,732.14	Operating grant	Festival season 1973 and Tour Third Stage Program
1973	\$3,470.00	\$17,378.33	Operating grant	Costs for Opera Exiles

⁶⁵² From the Canada Council website: “The Canada Council was created by an Act of Parliament in 1957 with a very broad mandate - “to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts.” Originally funded by the revenues from an endowment fund, it began receiving annual appropriations from Parliament in the late 1960s.” <http://canadacouncil.ca/en/council/about-the-council/the-evolution>

⁶⁵³ The Stratford Festival has received *Operating Grants* and *Multi-year Grants* since 1957 and, as of 1979, they have received an annually portion of the *Vida Peene Award* (as per the will of Vida Peene – see <http://www.canadacouncil.ca/en/council/prizes/find-a-prize/prizes/vida-peene-awards>)

⁶⁵⁴ Comments can be found in the Canada Council Annual Reports, are available on their website at <http://www.canadacouncil.ca/en/council/about-the-council/corporate-reports/annual-reports>

	\$477,000.00	\$2,388,893.88	Operating grant	Festival season 1974 and Third Stage Program
1975	\$493,000.00	\$2,003,016.56	Operating grant	For Festival 1975 and special workshops
1976	\$510,000.00	\$1,961,661.44	Operating grant	For 1976 season and workshop
	\$40,000.00	\$153,855.80	Operating grant	For Tour Easter Cdn/Spring 1976
1977	\$535,000.00	\$1,880,931.23	Operating grant	For 1978 season
	\$535,000.00	\$1,880,931.23	Operating grant	For 1977 season
1978	\$500,000.00	\$1,618,733.51	Operating grant	For 1979 season
1979	\$550,000.00	\$1,622,235.58	Operating grant	For 1980 season
1980	\$550,000.00	\$1,460,714.29	Operating grant	For 1981 season
1981	\$625,000.00	\$1,480,453.67	Operating grant	For 1981-82 season
1982	\$730,000.00	\$1,582,526.50	Operating grant	For 1982-83 season
1983	\$750,000.00	\$1,554,476.35	Operating grant	For 1983-84 season
1984	\$780,000.00	\$1,558,729.64	Operating grant	For 1984-85 season
	\$18,000.00	\$35,970.68	Communication Fund	Playwright dev. Activities
1985	\$3,750.00	\$7,178.24	Communication Fund	
	\$770,000.00	\$1,473,931.36	Operating grant	Playwright in residence Erika Ritter
1986	\$967,000.00	\$1,776,211.08	Operating grant	For 1986-87 season
	\$20,000.00	\$36,736.53	Communication Fund	For a workshop
1987	\$790,000.00	\$1,392,715.52	Operating grant	For 1987-88 season
1988	\$125,000.00	\$212,136.93	Operating grant	Supplemental allocation for 1987-88 season
	\$800,000.00	\$1,357,676.35	Operating grant	For 1988-89 season
1989	\$830,000.00	\$1,338,252.30	Operating grant	For 1989-90 season
1990	\$830,000.00	\$1,274,605.76	Operating grant	For 1990-91 season
1991	\$830,000.00	\$1,228,480.10	Operating grant	For 1991-92 season
1992	\$830,000.00	\$1,202,373.08	Operating grant	For 1992-93 season
1993	\$788,500.00	\$1,123,681.18	Operating grant	For 1993-94 season
	\$2,500.00	\$3,562.72	Book Publishing Support	Book publishing support for "Le Gars de Québec" by Michel Tremblay, translated by Jhn Van Burek
1994	\$2,365,500.00	\$3,363,231.17	Operating grant	For 1994-95, 1995-96, 1996-97 seasons
1997	\$852,000.00	\$1,157,099.00	Operating grant	For 1997-98 season
1998	\$710,000.00	\$954,184.01	Operating grant	
	\$710,000.00	\$954,184.01	Operating grant	
	\$710,000.00	\$954,184.01	Operating grant	
1999	\$10,285.00	\$13,468.19	Vida Peene Awards	
2000	\$11,764.00	\$14,927.02	Vida Peene	

			Awards	
2001	\$753,000.00	\$948,594.46	Operating grant	
	\$753,000.00	\$948,594.46	Operating grant	
	\$753,000.00	\$948,594.46	Operating grant	
	\$12,000.00	\$15,117.04	Canadian Creation Program	
	\$12,000.00	\$15,117.04	Canadian Creation Program	
	\$12,000.00	\$15,117.04	Canadian Creation Program	
	\$8,077.00	\$10,175.03	Vida Peene Awards	
2004	\$753,000.00	\$876,594.88	Operating grant	
	\$753,000.00	\$876,594.88	Operating grant	
	\$753,000.00	\$876,594.88	Operating grant	
	\$753,000.00	\$876,594.88	Operating grant	
	\$1,417.00	\$1,649.58	Vida Peene Awards	
2006	\$400,000.00	\$448,628.88	Supplementary Operating Funds Initiative	
	\$600,000.00	\$672,943.33	Supplementary Operating Funds Initiative	
	\$90,000.00	\$100,941.50	Theatre Touring and Special Initiatives Program	
	\$9,403.00	\$10,546.14	Vida Peene Awards	
2007	\$9,646.00	\$10,567.54	Vida Peene Awards	
2008	\$1,000,000.00	\$1,082,965.58	Operating grant	
	\$1,000,000.00	\$1,082,965.58	Operating grant	
	\$6,254.00	\$6,772.87	Vida Peene Awards	
2010	\$1,000,000.00	\$1,044,255.32	Operating grant	
	\$780,000.00	\$814,519.15	Operating grant	
	\$2,823.00	\$2,947.93	Vida Peene Awards	
2011	\$981.00	\$1,001.40	Vida Peene Awards	
Total	\$32,907,370.00	\$68,881,510.02		

Ontario Arts Council⁶⁵⁵—Stratford Festival Funding History

The Ontario Arts Council has awarded the Stratford Festival a grant every year since the council was first founded in 1963.

Year	Amount of Grant Awarded	Grant Adjusted for Inflation to 2012/13 dollars
1963-1964	\$30,000	\$226,770
1964-1965	\$26,500	\$196,649
1965-1966	\$26,500	\$191,967
1966-1967	\$40,000	\$278,171
1967-1968	\$85,000	\$571,519
1968-1969	\$85,000	\$550,239
1969-1970	\$85,000	\$525,102
1970-1971	\$100,000	\$599,507
1971-1972	\$115,000	\$669,641
1972-1973	\$197,250	\$1,096,134
1973-1974	\$220,000	\$1,134,492
1974-1975	\$228,000	\$1,059,069
1975-1976	\$266,000	\$1,116,283
1976-1977	\$280,000	\$1,095,691
1977-1978	\$294,000	\$1,064,875
1978-1979	\$250,000	\$831,284
1979-1980	\$560,000	\$1,703,800
1980-1981	\$155,000	\$428,716
1981-1982	\$351,500	\$864,193
1982-1983	\$375,000	\$831,284
1983-1984	\$620,000	\$1,298,692
1984-1985	\$1,200,000	\$2,409,901
1985-1986	\$1,168,000	\$2,256,279
1986-1987	\$1,311,542	\$2,433,150
1987-1988	\$1,248,712	\$2,218,515
1988-1989	\$1,281,000	\$2,189,574
1989-1990	\$1,361,500	\$2,215,168
1990-1991	\$1,429,560	\$2,219,100
1991-1992	\$1,686,560	\$2,478,917
1992-1993	\$1,748,224	\$2,532,844
1993-1994	\$1,591,348	\$2,262,466

⁶⁵⁵ The Ontario Arts Council began awarding grants in 1963, and the Stratford Festival was among the 58 original recipients of these provincial arts grants. From the OAC website: “On April 26, 1963, Bill 162 – the legislation setting up the arts council – was given its final reading in the Ontario Legislature. The Ontario Arts Council (OAC) was created with a mission to *foster the creation and production of art for the benefit of all Ontarians.*” <http://www.arts.on.ca/Page5052.aspx>

1994-1995	\$1,539,180	\$2,185,743
1995-1996	\$1,123,601	\$1,560,984
1996-1997	\$1,061,500	\$1,453,145
1997-1998	\$865,122	\$1,164,661
1998-1999	\$865,000	\$1,153,018
1999-2000	\$865,000	\$1,133,159
2000-2001	\$778,500	\$993,118
2001-2002	\$865,000	\$1,076,385
2002-2003	\$865,000	\$1,052,705
2003-2004	\$1,115,000	\$1,319,995
2004-2005	\$1,303,000	\$1,514,566
2005-2006	\$1,303,000	\$1,482,010
2006-2007	\$1,303,000	\$1,453,484
2007-2008	\$1,407,240	\$1,535,974
2008-2009	\$1,571,669	\$1,676,355
2009-2010	\$1,693,900	\$1,801,990
2010-2011	\$1,693,900	\$1,769,508
2011-2012	\$1,693,900	\$1,719,330
2012-2013	\$1,693,900	\$1,693,900
2013-2014	\$1,693,900	\$1,693,900
Total	\$43,716,508	\$68,983,924

INTERVIEWS

Blair, Kyle	August 3, 2012
Burton, Laura	March 15, 2013
Carrière, Berthold	June 12, 2013
Chioran, Juan	February 15, 2013
Costain, Naomi	August 31, 2012
Dale, Cynthia	November 19, 2012
Danielsen, Carl	August 30, 2012
Fox, Rick	February 22, 2013
Golemba, Kyle	August 30, 2012
Keeley, David	March 15, 2013
Macphee, Donnie	December 19, 2012
McAnuff, Des	May 10, 2013
Norman, Marek	Email November 16, 2012
Peacock, Lucy	May 23, 2013
Playfair, David	September 9, 2013
Polley, Nora	February 21, 2013

BIBLIOGRAPHY

STRATFORD FESTIVAL

Ahern, Victoria. "Des McAnuff rocks Stratford with 'JCS'." *The Canadian Press*, June 3, 2011. Accessed June 20, 2011. http://inmusic.ca/junos/des_mcanuff_rocks_stratford_with_jcs/dcf60094

Aikens, James R. "The Story of the Festival Stage," in *The Stratford Festival 1972 Souvenir Program*, 1972. Stratford Festival Archives.

Applebaum, Louis. "Stratford's music festival." In *The Stratford Festival scene, 1958-1968*. Ed. Peter Raby, 58-75. Toronto: Clarke, Irwine & Co., 1968.

_____. *A Folio of Shakespearean songs. for medium voice and piano*. Toronto: Canadian Music Centre, 1987.

Arkelian, John. "Dracula without kitsch." *Canadian Forum* 78, 879 (1999): 26-28.

_____. "Fresh blood at the Stratford festival: Dracula." *Performing Arts & Entertainment in Canada* 32, 2 (1999): 26-27.

Beckwith, John and Udo Kasemets. *The modern composer and his world: A report from the International Conference of Composers, held at the Stratford Festival, Stratford, Ontario, Canada, August 1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Behl, Dennis L. "Tanya Moiseiwitsch: her contribution to theatre arts from 1935-1980." PhD diss., Kent State University, 1981.

Campbell, Nora René. "The Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada: Revolution of an artistic policy (1953-1980) as a basis for its success." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1982.

Chapman, Geoff. "New top-heavy baggage almost capsizes *Pirates*." *The Toronto Star* (June 2, 1994), C9.

Chapman, John. "Tyrone Guthrie's *Pinafore* goes back to G&S for its charm,." *Daily News* (8 September, 1960),

Coleman, Robert. "Guthrie's *Pinafore* sparkles." *New York Mirror* (8 September, 1960),

Conlogue, Ray. "Musty musical not fully revived." *The Globe and Mail* (May 20, 1986), D7.

Coulbourn, John. "Stratford Fest fiasco a tragedy." *Canoe.ca* March 18, 2008. Accessed December 19, 2013. <http://jam.canoe.ca/Theatre/2008/03/18/pf-5037446.html>

- Crew, Robert. "Boys From Syracuse a highly enjoyable romp," *Toronto Star* (May 20, 1986), B1.
- Cushman, Robert. *Fifty seasons at Stratford*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002.
- _____. "As lovely as you'd expect it to be." *National Post* (May 30, 2002).
- _____. "42nd Street at Stratford makes the showy best of it," *The National Post*, May 30, 2012. Accessed September 12, 2013. <http://arts.nationalpost.com/2012/05/30/theatre-review-42nd-street-at-stratford-makes-the-showy-best-of-it/>
- Donnelly, Pat. "Stratford Shakespeare Festival celebrates 60th season with 42nd Street?" *Montreal Gazette*, June 30, 2012. Accessed September 12, 2013. <http://blogs.montrealgazette.com/2012/06/30/stratford-shakespeare-festival-celebrates-60th-season-with-42nd-street/>
- Edgecombe, David Percy. "Educational programs of four North American Shakespeare festivals: Stratford Shakespeare festival, the New Jersey Shakespeare festival, the Folger theatre and the Oregon Shakespearean festival (Ontario, Washington, D.C.)." PhD diss., Kent State University, 1986.
- Falocco, Joe. *Reimagining Shakespeare's playhouse: early modern staging conventions in the twentieth century*. Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2010.
- Forsyth, James. *Tyrone Guthrie: a biography*. London: Hamilton, 1976.
- Gaines, Robert A. *John Neville takes command: the story of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in production*. Stratford, Ont: William Street Press, 1987.
- Ganong, Joan. *Backstage at Stratford*. Toronto: Longmans, 1962.
- George, Graham. "Music." *Saturday Night* Vol. 79, No. 10 (Oct. 1964), pp. 37-39.
- Godfrey, Stephen. "Candide presents double troubles." *The Globe and Mail* (May 20, 1978), 35.
- Gould, Glenn. "Music at the Stratford Festival." *GlennGould* 3, 1 (1997): 10-13.
- Graham, June. "*HMS Pinafore*: Dr. Tyrone Guthrie and CBC's Norman Campbell recreate the Stratford production, with the original cast, for CBC-TV viewers." *CBC-Times* 13 no. 14 (October 8-14, 1960), 10.

- Gray, A. W. "Dysfunctional Festival family dynamics." *On Stratford Stage Blog*. March 31, 2008. Accessed December 20, 2013.
http://onstratfordstage.blogspot.ca/2008_03_01_archive.html
- Groome, Margaret Estelle. "Canada's Stratford festival, 1953-1967: Hegemony, commodity, institution." PhD diss., McGill University, 1988.
- Guthrie, Tyrone. *A life in the theatre*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959.
- _____. "Pinafore up to date." *The New York Times* (19 June, 1960).
- _____. *A new theatre*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
- Guthrie, Tyrone, Robertson Davies, and Grant Macdonald. *Renown at Stratford; a record of the Shakespeare Festival in Canada, 1953*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953.
- _____. *Twice have the trumpets sounded; a record of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Canada, 1954*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1954.
- Guthrie, Tyrone, Robertson Davies, Boyd Neel and Tanya Moiseiwitsch. *Thrice the brindled cat hath mew'd: a record of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Canada, 1955*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1955.
- Gussow, Mel. "Shakespearean potpourri in Canada," *The New York Times* (June 8, 1986), H5.
- Higgins, Michael W. "A classical gas." *The World & I* 17, 1 (2002): 82-85.
- Hunter, Martin. *Romancing the bard: Stratford at fifty*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2001.
- Kareda, Urjo. "Sold out: Scenes from the life and times of Richard Monette." *Toronto Life*, (July 1, 2000), 76.
- Kidd, George. "A Sure and saucy ship: *Pinafore* rides a critical crest." *The Telegram* [Toronto] (8 September, 1960),
- _____. "*The Gondoliers* is a pretty good show, but let's have a rest from G&S." *The Telegram* (July 7, 1962),
- Kidnie, Margaret Jane. "Shakespeare performed: "What world is this?": Pericles at the Stratford Festival of Canada, 2003." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (2004): 307-319.
- Knelman, Martin. *A Stratford tempest*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

- Knowles, Richard Paul. "From nationalist to multinational: The Stratford Festival, free trade, and the discourses of intercultural tourism." *Theatre Journal* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 19-41.
- Kraglund, John. "Music in Stratford: A festival for 1957? Time of decision near." *Globe and Mail* (August 4, 1956), 8.
- Langham, Michael. "Twelve Years at Stratford." In *The Stratford Scene 1958-68*. Ed. Peter Raby. Stratford ON: Mirror Press, 1968.
- Leitch, Adelaide. *Floodtides of fortune: The story of Stratford and the progress of the city through two centuries*. Stratford, ON: The Corporation of the City of Stratford, 1980.
- Littler, William. "Much Ado about music at Stratford this year." *The Toronto Star* (August 2, 1980).
- Mallet, Gina. "Andrea Martin gets laughs in *Candide*." *The Toronto Star* (June 9, 1978).
- McGill, Robert Emmett. "Stratford '55: the establishment of convention." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1972.
- McKowen, Scott. "Fifty years of Stratford Festival posters." In *Worth a thousand words: International theatre poster design*. Curated by Scott McKowen for Gallery Stratford (catalogue), 2002.
- Moiseiwitsch, Tanya, T. J. Edelstein, and Alan Barlow. *The stage is all the world: the theatrical designs of Tanya Moiseiwitsch*. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, the University of Chicago, in association with the University of Washington Press, 1994.
- Monette, Richard, and David John Prosser. *This rough magic: the making of an artistic director: a memoir*. Stratford, Ont: Stratford Festival of Canada, 2007.
- Nestruck, J. Kelly. "America's story plays best on Canadian stage." *The Globe and Mail* (June 8, 2009), R3.
- _____. "McAnuff vs. Cimolino: A tale of two Shakespeares." *The Globe and Mail* August 25, 2012. Accessed 18 October 2012 <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/theatre-and-performance/mcanuff-vs-cimolino-a-tale-of-two-shakespeares/article4497100/?page=all>
- _____. "Now showing at Stratford: Falling numbers and a bit of stage fright." *The Globe and Mail*, March 9, 2013. Accessed September 12, 2013. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/theatre-and-performance/now-showing-at-stratford-falling-numbers-and-a-bit-of-stage-fright/article9517866/>

- _____. "Stratford and Shaw: Are musicals the key to attracting audiences?" *The Globe and Mail*, July 30, 2009. Accessed October 12, 2013.
<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/theatre-and-performance/nestruck-on-theatre/stratford-and-shaw-are-musicals-the-key-to-attracting-audiences/article4280860/>
- Off, Carol. "Balancing the Books at the Stratford Festival." *CBC Primetime News* (May 20, 1994), Accessed Sept. 30, 2013. <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/theatre/the-stratford-festival-the-first-50-years/balancing-the-books.html>
- Ouzounian, Richard. *Stratford gold: 50 years, 50 stars, 50 conversations*. Toronto: McArthur & Co., 2002.
- _____. "All's well that ends well sung." *The Toronto Star* (May 7, 2006), C5.
- _____. "Richard Monette's final bow at Stratford." *The Toronto Star* (August 5, 2007).
http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/stage/2007/08/05/richard_monettes_final_bow_at_stratford.html
- _____. "This *Story* achieves greatness." *Toronto Star* (June 8, 2009), E1-E2.
- _____. "Music makes one festival grow stronger." *The Toronto Star*, July 22, 2009.
Accessed October 12, 2013.
http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/stage/2009/07/22/music_makes_one_festival_grow_stronger.html
- Parolin, Peter. What revels are in hand?: A change of direction at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada. *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2009): 197-224.
- Patterson, Tom, and Allan Gould. *First stage: the making of the Stratford Festival*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- Pettigrew, John, and Jamie Portman. *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume I: 1953-1967*. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985.
- _____. *Stratford: the first thirty years. Volume II: 1968-1982*. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985.
- Pitman, Walter G. *Louis Applebaum: a passion for culture*. Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2002.
- Plummer, Christopher. *In spite of myself: a memoir*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.
- Pope, Karl Theodore. "A historical study of the Stratford, Ontario festival theatre." PhD diss., Wayne State University, 1966.

- Portman, Jamie. "Stratford's in trouble; musicals outdrawing Shakespeare." *Montreal Gazette* Feb. 2, 1991.
- _____. "Dale and Feore more than fair." *Southam News* (appeared in *The Ottawa Citizen* June 3, 2002; *The Calgary Herald* May 30, 2002; and *The Windsor Star* May 31, 2002).
- _____. "Putting the Shakespeare back in Stratford." *CanWest News* May 15, 2008.
- Posner, Michael. "The unravelling of Stratford's dream team." *Globe and Mail* (March 15, 2008) A3.
- Posner, Michael and Kate Taylor. "Applause (mostly) for Stratford artistic director Des McAnuff." *The Globe and Mail* (September 23, 2011).
- Racette, Anna. "Shakespeare in the body: An exploration of student audiences at the Stratford festival." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2007.
- Rantin, Stan. "Jazz review: Festival jazz is 'gasser'." *Toronto Star* (July 12, 1956), 3.
- Rekai-Rickerd, Julie. "Birthday gift: Ontario's Stratford festival adds a 250-seat theatre for its 50th anniversary." *Entertainment Design - The Art and Technology of Show Business* 11 (2002): 2-3.
- Rossi, Alfred. *Astonish us in the morning: Tyrone Guthrie remembered*. London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1977.
- Shaw, Grace Lydiatt. *Stratford under cover: memories on tape*. Toronto: NC Press, 1977.
- "Shaw, Stratford plays enjoyable." *The Globe and Mail* (June 21, 1986), A7.
- Slotkin, Lynn. "Des McAnuff renews contract, reveals 2012 season." *The Slotkin Letter*. June 5, 2011. Accessed September 22, 2013. <http://www.slotkinletter.com/site/?p=837>
- _____. "A bit of perspective on the Stratford Shakespeare Festival." *The Slotkin Letter*. March 13, 2012. Accessed September 22, 2013. <http://www.slotkinletter.com/site/?p=1433>
- Solga, Kim. "Realism and the ethics of risk at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 28 no. 4 (Winter 2010): 417-42.
- Somerset, J. Alan B. *The Stratford Festival story: A catalogue-index to the Stratford, Ontario, festival 1953-1990*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Stratford Festival. *The Stratford Festival story 1961*. Stratford, Ont: Mirror Press Ltd., 1961.

- _____. *The Stratford Festival story 1984*. Stratford, Ont: Mirror Press Ltd., 1984.
- Stuart, Euan Ross. "An analysis of productions on the open stage at Stratford, Ontario." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1974.
- _____. "The Stratford Festival and the Canadian theatre." In *Theatrical touring and founding in North America*. Ed. L. W. Conolly, 173-191. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1982.
- _____. "Summer Festivals and theatres." In *Later stages: Essays in Ontario theatre from the First World War to the 1970s*. Ed. Ann Saddlemeyer and Richard Plant, 24-259. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Taylor, Kate. "Saving Stratford from the excess of success." *Globe and Mail* (July 18, 1998), C1.
- _____. "Stratford and Shaw Festivals 2002: a mix of fresh and familiar." *The Globe and Mail* (May 18, 2002), R4.
- _____. "It should have been the best of years." *Globe and Mail* (August 31, 2002).
- Thomson, Hugh. "Festival Review: Discreet Cuts Possible, 'Beggar's Opera' on CBC." *The Toronto Star* (July 30, 1958).
- Van Rhijn, Judy. "Loreena McKennitt, merchant of song: Acclaimed Canadian Celtic bard Loreena McKennitt discusses the music she composed for the 2001 Stratford festival production of *The Merchant of Venice*." *Canadian Theatre Review* 111 (2002): 60-62.
- Walker, Johnnie. "Drama Club: Brush up your Shakespeare." *Torontoist.com*, (March 4, 2009), http://torontoist.com/2009/03/drama_club_brush_up_on_your_shakespeare/
- Watts Jr., Richard. "Gilbert and Sullivan and Guthrie." *New York Post* (8 September, 1960).

DISCOGRAPHY AND FILMOGRAPHY (PUBLISHED)

- Ameling, Elly. *Elly Ameling live at Stratford*. Stratford, ON: Stratford Summer Music, 1981, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm.
- Barenaked Ladies. *As you like it*. Vancouver: Desperation Records, 2005, compact disc.
- Dale, Cynthia. *To dream*. Stratford, ON: D2 Entertainment, 2002, compact disc.
- _____. *More*. Stratford, ON: D2 Entertainment, 2004, compact disc.

- _____. *Enchanted: Celebrating Rodgers and Hammerstein II*. Stratford, ON: D2 Entertainment, 2006, compact disc.
- Dow, Bruce, and Rick Fox. *Lucky to be me*. Toronto: Inception Sound, 2005, compact disc.
- Ellington, Duke, Ray Nance, Clark Terry, Harry Carney, and Johnny Hodges. *Live from the 1956 Stratford Festival*. Berkeley, CA: Music & Arts Programs of America, 1989, compact disc. Recorded 1956.
- _____. *1957 Stratford Festival public performance*. Berkeley, CA: Music and Arts Programs of America, 1989, compact disc. Recorded 1957.
- Ellington, Duke, and Stanley Silverman. *Timon of Athens*. Universal City, CA: Varese Sarabande Records, 1993, compact disc. Recorded 1963.
- Festival Gems. *Festival gems: Original song & spoken text created for The Stratford Festival*. Music by Louis Applebaum, Laura Burton, Berthold Carrière, Alan Laing, Loreena McKennitt, Keith Thomas. Performed by Marion Day, Christina Gordon, Eileen Smith and Alan Laing. Stratford, ON: Festival Friends, 2005, compact disc.
- Flahive, Gerry, and John N. Smith. *Offstage, onstage inside the Stratford Festival*. Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 2003, DVD.
- Forrester, Maureen, and the National Festival Orchestra conducted by Oscar Shumsky. *Stratford Festival of music, 1967*. Canada: CBC Radio-Canada, 1968, 33⅓ rpm. Recorded 1967.
- Fox, Rick and Michael Fox. *Cyrano*. Featuring Rick Whitelaw, Brent Carver, Patricia O'Callaghan, David Rogers, and Edmond Rostand. Toronto: rfox music, 2003, compact disc.
- Fox, Rick. "Interview with Rick Fox, musical director of *Jesus Christ Superstar*." *Inside Art with Dave Drexler*. KSDS San Diego Jazz 88.3 December 11, 2011.
<https://soundcloud.com/rickfoxmusic/jcs-ksds-interview>
- Gilbert, W. S. and Arthur Sullivan. *Iolanthe*. Directed and choreographed by Brian MacDonald; produced and directed for CBC Television by Norman Campbell. Canada: Morningstar Entertainment/CBC Home Video, 1999, DVD. Filmed 1984.
- _____. *The Mikado*. Directed and choreographed by Brian MacDonald; produced and directed for CBC Television by Norman Campbell. Canada: Morningstar Entertainment/CBC Home Video, 1999, DVD. Filmed 1985.
- _____. *The pirates of Penzance*. Directed and choreographed by Brian MacDonald; produced and directed for CBC Television by Norman Campbell. Canada: Morningstar Entertainment/CBC Home Video, 1999, DVD. Filmed 1985.

_____. *H. M. S. Pinafore*. Directed for the stage by Leon Major, produced and directed for CBC Television by Norman Campbell. Canada: Morningstar Entertainment/CBC Home Video, 2003, DVD. Filmed 1981.

Gillson, Malca. *Musical magic: Gilbert and Sullivan in Stratford*. Produced by Tom Daley. Executive producer, Barrie Howells. Director and choreographer of operettas, Brian MacDonald. Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 2000, DVD. Filmed 1984, originally released 1987.

Golemba, Kyle and Adam White. *Making Love in a Canoe: An All Canadian Revue*. Including music by Marek Norman, Leslie Arden, Jim Betts and Norman & Elaine Campbell. Toronto: Imagine Sound Studios, 2012, compact disc.

Historica Dominion Institute. "Stratford Festival." *Heritage minutes collection*. Accessed July 8, 2013, <http://www.historica.ca/minutes/minute.do?id=10221>

Holiday, Billie. *The Billie Holiday set: A midsummer night's jazz at Stratford '57*. Toronto: David Baldwin Productions, 1997, compact disc. Recorded 1957.

Macauley Gilmore, William. *The Building of the Festival Theatre*. Directed, edited and narrated by Dr. William Macauley Gilmore. Stratford: Stratford Shakespeare Festival, 2011, DVD. Filmed 1957.

McAnuff, Des. Cast of Stratford's *Tommy* on *Q*. Interview by Jian Gimeshi with *Tommy* director Des McAnuff and cast members Robert Markus and Paul Nolan. Performances of "Pinball Wizard," "I Believe My Own Eyes" and "See Me, Feel Me." Broadcast on CBC Radio on May 17, 2013, accessed May 18, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/q/blog/2013/05/17/des-mcanuff-and-the-cast-of-tommy/>

McAnuff, Des and Michael Roth. *Music from the Stratford Shakespeare Festival's Twelfth Night by William Shakespeare*. Featuring Ben Carlson, Brian Dennehy and Stephen Ouimette. Stratford, ON: Michael Roth Publishing / Des McAnuff Publishing, 2011, compact disc.

National Festival Orchestra. *1966 Stratford Festival workshop concert*. Music by Georges Enesco and Anne Eggleston. James Chambers, conductor, with Sheila Henig, David Zafer, Simon Streatfeild, and Ronald Laurie. Canada: CBC Radio-Canada, 1967, 33½ rpm. Recorded 1966.

_____. *Stratford Festival of Music and Drama, 1966*. Bach and Stravinsky programme with the Festival Singers of Toronto, conducted by Elmer Iseler. Canada: CBC Radio-Canada, 1967, 33½ rpm. Recorded 1966.

_____. *Stratford Festival of music, 1967 workshop concert*. Music by Mozart and Mendelssohn. Conducted by Oscar Shumsky. Canada: CBC Radio-Canada. 1967, 33½ rpm. Recorded 1967.

Parker, Morten. *The Stratford Adventure*. Music by Louis Applebaum, National Film Board of Canada, 1954. Accessed August, 11 2013, http://www.nfb.ca/film/stratford_adventure

Peterson, Oscar, Herb Ellis, and Ray Brown. *The Oscar Peterson Trio at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival*. New York: Verve, 1993, compact disc.

Peterson, Oscar. *A jazz odyssey*. Toronto: Verve Music Group, 2002, compact disc.

Somers, Harry. *The fool / The death of Enkidu*. For *The Fool*: Michael Fram, libretto; Tamara Hummel, soprano; Sandra Graham, mezzo-soprano; Darryl Edwards, tenor; Gary Relyea, bass-baritone; David Currie, conductor. Toronto: Centrediscs, 2009, compact disc. <http://naxosmusiclibrary.com/catalogue/item.asp?cid=CMCCD14209>

Stratford Festival. *Canadian music festivals 1968/Festivals du Canada 1968. Stratford Music Festival* _____, and Bruce Mather. Canada: Radio Canada, 1968, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm.

_____. *Sweet airs that give delight: Forty seasons of music from the Stratford Festival*. Music by Louis Applebaum, Alan Laing, Berthold Carrière, Stanley Silverman. Performed by John Devorski, Mark Dubois, Colm Feore, Gerald Isaac, Dale Mieske, James Taylor, et al. Toronto: Attic Records Ltd., 1993, compact disc.

_____. *Stratford Shakespeare Festival - Discover all Stratford has to offer*. 2011. Accessed May 18, 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YB8mAkTK_M

Stratford Festival Workshop Players. *Stratford Festival 1965 workshop concerts* : CBC Radio-Canada International Service, 1966, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm. Recorded 1965.

Townshend, Pete. Interview on *Q* by Jian Gomeishi. Broadcast on CBC Radio on May 17, 2013, accessed May 18, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/q/blog/2013/05/17/pete-townshend-on-tommy-and-his-childhood/>

Wellington, Peter. *Slings & arrows: the complete collection*. Written by Susan Coyne, Bob Martin and Mark McKinney. Silver Spring, Md: Acorn Media, 2007. DVD. Originally broadcast on Canadian Television 2003-2006.

DISCOGRAPHY AND FILMOGRAPHY (ARCHIVAL)

Bernstein, Leonard and Hugh Wheeler. *Candide*. Directed by Lotfi Mansouri. Design by Mary Kerr. Choreographed by Brian MacDonald. Filmed June 21, 1978 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

_____. *Candide*. Directed by Lotfi Mansouri. Design by Mary Kerr. Choreographed by Brian MacDonald. Filmed June 25, 1978 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Bernstein, Leonard, Stephen Sondheim and Arthur Laurents. *West Side Story*. Directed by Gary Griffin. Designed by Douglas Paraschuk and Jess Goldstein. Filmed July 5, 2009 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Brel, Jacques, Mort Shuman and Eric Blau. *Jacques Brel is Alive and Well and Living in Paris*. Directed by Stafford Arima. Filmed August 21, 2010 at The Tom Patterson Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Bock, Jerry and Sheldon Harnick. *Fiddler on the Roof*. Directed by Susan H. Schulman. Filmed 2000 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Charpentier, Gabriel. *Orpheus*. Directed by Andre Brassard. Designed by Art Penson. Filmed July 13, 1972 at The Third Stage Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

The Corporation of the City of Stratford. *Bard, Sweat and Fears: Stratford's Bold Beginning*. Produced by Kaaryn H. Gough and R. Alan Gough, Ragtop Productions Inc., 2002. Archival DVD.

Gay, John. *The Beggar's Opera*. Directed by Robin Phillips and Greg Peterson. Design by Daphne Dare and Sue LePage. Filmed September 6 and 7, 1980, The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Kander, John and Fred Ebb. *Cabaret*. Directed by Amanda Dehnert. Design by David Boechler and Douglas Paraschuk. Filmed July 12, 2008 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Leigh, Mitch, Joe Darion and Dale Wasserman. *Man of la Mancha*. Directed by Susan H. Schulman. Filmed September 19, 1998 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Lerner, Alan Jay and Frederick Loewe. *My Fair Lady*. Directed by Jean Gascon. Musically directed by Berthold Carrière. Choreographed by Donald Sadler. Designed by Richard Seger and Lewis Brown. Filmed June 17 and 19, 1988 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

_____. *My Fair Lady*. Directed by Richard Monette. Musically directed by Berthold Carrière. Choreographed by Donna Feore. Designed by Debra Hanson. Filmed September 9 and 11, 2002 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Lloyd Webber, Andrew and Tim Rice. *Evita*. Directed by Gary Griffin. Filmed September 29, 2010 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

_____. *Jesus Christ Superstar*. Directed by Des McAnuff. Filmed 2011 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

Offenbach, Jacques, Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy. *La vie Parisienne*. Directed by Jean Gascon. Filmed 1974 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

- Porter, Cole, Sam and Bella Spewack. *Kiss Me Kate*. Directed by John Doyle. Filmed October 29, 2010 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- Porter, Cole and Burt Shevelove. *Happy New Year*. Directed by Burt Shevelove. Musically Directed by Buster Davis. Design by Robin Fraser Paye and Michael Eagan. Filmed July 17 and 22, 1979 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- Rodgers, Richard and Oscar Hammerstein II. *The Sound of Music*. Directed by Kelly Robinson. Filmed 2001 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- Schafer, R. Murray. *Patria II: Requiems for the Party Girl*. Directed by Michael Bawtree. Design by Eoin Sprott. Filmed August 23 and 25, 1972, The Third Stage Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- Sondheim, Stephen. *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*. Directed by Des McAnuff. Musically Directed by Franklin Brasz. Choreographed by Wayne Cilento. Design by John Arnone and Dana Osborne. Filmed October 16, 2009 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- Sondheim, Stephen. *Into the Woods*. Directed by Peter Hinton. Design by Dany Lyne. Filmed July 30, 2005 at The Avon Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- Stratford Festival. *Blake Research Project: Louis Applebaum*. Interview conducted by Pat Quigley. Project underwritten by Mervyn "Butch" Blake. Stratford Festival Archives, 2012, archival DVD. Filmed August 18, 1991.
- _____. *A Gala Shakespeare Revel*. Directed by Robin Phillips. Featuring The Canadian Opera Company, the National Ballet of Canada, the Stratford Festival Company. Filmed June 4, 1979 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- _____. *Richard III and All's Well that Ends Well, 1953; 1956-57 Festival Building; 1964-1969 Photo Calls*. Film reels 1953, 1956-57 and 1964-69. Stratford Festival Archives, 2010. Archival DVD.
- _____. *Stratford Garden Bash*. 1983 plus Backstage footage, 1953 from William Needles. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- _____. *Stratford Festival Footage: Reg 8/16MM*. Film from 1956 to 1969. Stratford Festival Archives, 2010. Archival DVD.
- _____. *Youth Choir Concert, with Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy*. Filmed July 18, 1978 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- _____. *Youth Choir Concert, with William Hutt*. Filmed August 11, 1980 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.
- _____. *Youth Choir Concert, with Peter Ustinov*. Filmed August 18, 1980 at The Festival Theatre. Stratford Festival Archives. Archival DVD.

MUSIC THEATRE

- Acton, Lauren. "Can't help lovin' dat musical: *Show Boat* in films and revivals." In *From Stage to Screen: Musical Films in Europe and United States (1927-1961)*. Edited by Massimiliano Sala, 1-17. Lucca, Italy: Brepols, 2012.
- Adler, Steven. *On Broadway: Art and commerce on the Great White Way*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004.
- Atkey, Mel. *Broadway north the dream of a Canadian musical theatre*. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2006.
- Block, Geoffrey. "The Broadway canon from *Show Boat* to *West Side Story* and the European operatic ideal." *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1993): 525-44.
- _____. *Enchanted evenings: The Broadway musical from Show Boat to Sondheim*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Bloom, Ken. *The Routledge guide to Broadway*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Brantley, Ben. *Broadway musicals: From the pages of the New York Times*. New York: Abrams, 2012.
- Bordman, Gerald. "Jerome David Kern: Innovator/Traditionalist." *The Musical Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1985): 468-473.
- Burston, Jonathan. "Theatre space as virtual place: Audio technology, the reconfigured singing body, and the megamusical." *Popular Music* 17, no. 2 (May 1998): 205-218.
- _____. "Spectacle, synergy and megamusicals: The global-industrialisation of live-theatrical production." *Media organizations in society*. James Curran, ed., 69-81. London: Arnold, 2000.
- Burton, Humphrey. *Leonard Bernstein*. New York: Faber & Faber, 2005.
- Burton, Nigel. "Sullivan reassessed: See how the fates." *The Musical Times* 141, No. 1873 (Winter, 2000): 15-22. DOI: 10.2307/1004730
- Bush Jones, John. *Our musicals, ourselves: A social history of the American musical theatre*. London: Brandeis University Press, 2003.
- Clum, John M. *Something for the boys: Musical theatre and gay culture*. St. Martin's Press, 2001.

- Crowther, Andrew. *Gilbert of Gilbert and Sullivan*. Stroud, UK: The History Press, 2011.
- Dash, Irene G. *Shakespeare and the American musical*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Everett, William A. *The musical: A research and information guide*. New York and London: Routledge, 2004.
- Everett, William A. and Paul R. Laird, eds. *The Cambridge companion to the musical*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Ewen, David. *The world of Jerome Kern: A biography*. New York: Henry Holt, 1960.
- _____. *The story of America's musical theatre*. New York: Chilton Company, 1961.
- Flinn, Denny Martin. *Musical! A grand tour: The rise, glory, and fall of an American institution*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1997.
- Galloway, Kate. "Roughing it in the woods: Community and emplaced experience in the cultural practice of *Patria*." *MUSICultures* 39 No. 2 (2012): 30-60.
- Grant, Mark N. *The rise and fall of the Broadway musical*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004.
- Green, Stanley. *Broadway musicals show by show*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.
- _____. *Hollywood musicals year by year*. Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard, 1990.
- Guernsey, Otis L., Jr., ed. *Playwrights, lyricists, composers on theatre*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974.
- _____, ed. *Broadway songs and story: Playwrights, lyricists, composers discuss their hits*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1985.
- Hischak, Thomas S. *The Oxford Companion to the American Musical: Theatre, Film, and Television*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Hinton, Stephen. *Weill's musical theatre: Stages of reform*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012.
- Hirst, David. "The American musical and the American dream: From Show Boat to Sondheim." *New Theatre Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (February 1985): 24-38.

- Jurkowski, Edward. "CD Reviews: *The Fool / The Death of Enkidu*." *CAML Review* 37, no. 2 (August 2009): 35-37.
<https://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/caml/article/viewFile/23303/21489>
- Kirle, Bruce. *Unfinished show business: Broadway musicals as works-in-process*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005.
- Kislan, Richard. *The musical: A look at the American musical theatre*. Rev. ed. New York: Applause Books, 1995.
- Knapp, Raymond. *The American musical and the formation of national identity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- _____. *The American musical and the performance of personal identity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Knapp, Raymond, Mitchell Morris, and Stacy Ellen Wolf, eds. *The Oxford handbook of the American musical*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Kowalke Kim H. "Theorizing the golden age musical: Genre, structure, syntax." In *A music-theoretical matrix: Essays in honor of Allen Forte (Part V)*, ed. David Carson Berry, *Gamut* 6, no. 2 (2013): 133-184.
- Kreuger, Miles. *Show Boat: The story of a classic American musical*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Laird, Paul R. *Wicked: a musical biography*. Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2011.
- Lerner, Alan Jay. *The street where I live*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1970.
- Loney, Glenn, ed. *Musical theatre in America: Papers and proceedings of the conference on the musical theatre in America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Mandelbaum, Ken. *Not since Carrie: Forty years of Broadway musical flops*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Mast, Gerald. *Can't help singin': the American musical on stage and screen*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1987.
- McMillin, Scott. *The musical as drama*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Miller, D.A. *Place for us: Essays on the Broadway musical*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

- Miller, Scott. *Rebels with applause: Broadway's groundbreaking musicals*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001.
- Mordden, Ethan. *Better foot forward: the history of American musical theatre*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976.
- _____. *The Hollywood musical*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- _____. *Broadway babies: the people who made the American musical*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- _____. *Rodgers & Hammerstein*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1992.
- _____. *Make believe: The Broadway musical in the 1920s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- _____. *Coming up roses: the Broadway musical in the 1950s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. *Beautiful mornin': the Broadway musical in the 1940s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- _____. *Open a new window: the Broadway musical in the 1960s*. New York: Palgrave for St. Martin's Press, 2001.
- _____. *One more kiss: the Broadway musical in the 1970s*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.
- _____. *The happiest corpse I've ever seen: the last twenty-five years of the Broadway musical*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- _____. *The Golden Age of the Broadway musical*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- _____. *Sing for your supper: the Broadway musical in the 1930s*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- _____. *Anything goes: A history of American musical theatre*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Most, Andrea. *Making Americans: Jews and the Broadway musical*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Mulcahy, Lisa. *Building the successful theatre company*, second edition. New York: Allworth Press, 2011.

- Oost, Regina B. *Gilbert and Sullivan: class and the Savoy tradition, 1875-1896*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009.
- Rewa, Natalie. *Scenography in Canada: Selected Designers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Rodgers, Richard. *Musical Stages*. New York: Random House, 1975.
- Savran, David. *A queer sort of materialism: Recontextualizing American theatre*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Schwartz, Arthur and Howard Dietz. "That's Entertainment!" Song for the 1953 MGM film *The Band Wagon*, directed by Vincente Minnelli.
- Simeone, Nigel. *Leonard Bernstein, West Side Story*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.
- Singer, Barry. *Ever after: The last years of musical theater and beyond*. New York: Applause Theatre and Cinema Books, 2004.
- Smith, Susan. *The musical: Race, gender and performance*. New York: Wallflower, 2005.
- Sondheim, Stephen. *Finishing the hat: collected lyrics (1954-1981) with attendant comments, principles, heresies, grudges, whines and anecdotes*. New York: Knopf, 2010.
- _____. *Look, I made a hat: collected lyrics (1981-2011) with attendant comments, amplifications, dogmas, harangues, digressions, anecdotes and miscellany*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011.
- Stempel, Larry. *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2010.
- Sternfeld, Jessica. *The Megamusical*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Steyn, Mark. *Broadway babies say goodnight: Musicals then and now*. London: Faber and Faber, 1997.
- Swain, Joseph P. *The Broadway musical: A critical and musical survey*. 2d ed. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002.
- Symonds, Dominic. "The song's the thing: Capturing the "sung" to make it "song." In *Gestures of music theatre: The performativity of song and dance* ed. Dominic Symonds and Millie Taylor. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Symonds, Dominic and Millie Taylor, eds. *Gestures of music theatre: The performativity of song and dance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Taylor, Millie. "‘If I sing’: Voice, singing and song." *Studies in Musical Theatre* 6:1 (2012).

_____. *Musical theatre, realism and entertainment*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012.

Toll, Robert C. *The entertainment machine: American show business in the twentieth century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Traubner, Richard. *Operetta: A theatrical history*. rev. ed. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Wickstrom, Maurya. "Commodities, mimesis and The Lion King: Retail theatre for the 1990s." *Theatre Journal* 51, no. 3 (1999): 285-298.

Winton, Calhoun. *John Gay and the London theatre*. University Press of Kentucky, 1993.

Wolf, Stacy Ellen. *A problem like Maria: Gender and sexuality in the American musical*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

_____. In defense of pleasure: Musical theatre history in the liberal arts: [A Manifesto]. In *Theatre Topics* 17, no. 1 (March 2007): 51-60.

_____. "Wicked divas, musical theater, and Internet girl fans." *Camera Obscura* 22, 65 (May 2007): 38-71.

_____. *Changed for good: a feminist history of the Broadway musical*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Wollman, Elizabeth L. "The Economic Development of the "New" Times Square and Its Impact on the Broadway Musical." *American Music* 20, 4 (Winter 2002): 445-465.

_____. *The theater will rock: a history of the rock musical: from Hair to Hedwig*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

_____. *Hard times: the adult musical in 1970s New York City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND (CULTURAL THEORY, AESTHETICS, MUSICOLOGY, THEATRE STUDIES)

Adorno, Theodor W. *The culture industry*. London: Routledge, 1991.

- _____. *Aesthetic theory*. 1970. Translated and edited by Robert Hullot-Kentor. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image/music/text*. Translated by Stephen Heath. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.
- Benjamin, Walter, and J. A. Underwood. *The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction*. London: Penguin, 2008.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Translated by Richard Nice, 1984. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- _____. *The logic of practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- _____. *The field of cultural production*. ed. Randal Johnson. Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Brecht, Bertolt. *Brecht on theatre: The development of an aesthetic*. ed. John Willett. New York: Hill and Wang, 1964.
- Brown, Les. "Entertainment in our extended world." In *More than a movie: Ethics in entertainment*, edited by Les Brown and Laurie Trotta, 9-19. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000.
- Bryant, Jennings and Peter Vorderer, eds. *Psychology of entertainment*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. *The origin of negative dialectics: Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and the Frankfurt Institute*. Hassocks, UK: Harvester Press, 1977.
- _____. *Dialectics of seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades project*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989.
- Caillois, Roger. *Man, play, and games*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.
- Cantor, Paul A. "Popular culture and spontaneous order, or, how I stopped worrying and learned to love the tube." In *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*. Ed. William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, 160-172. Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.
- Carroll, Noël. *A Philosophy of Mass Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Cohen, Ted. "High and low thinking about high and low art." In *The Journal of aesthetics and art criticism* 51 (1993): 151-152.

- Collins, Jim, ed. *High-Pop: Making culture into popular entertainment*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.
- Cook, Nicholas. *Music, imagination, and culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. *Foundations of music history*. Translated by J. B. Robinson. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Davies, Stephen, et al., eds. *A companion to aesthetics*. 2nd edition. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Deacon, David. "Holism, communion and conversion: Integrating media production and consumption research." *Media, Culture and Society* 25, no. 2 (2003): 209-231.
- Dyer, Richard. *Only entertainment*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Fedorenko, Evelina et al. "Structural integration in language and music: evidence for a shared system." *Memory and cognition* 37: 1 (2009): 1-9.
- Fox, Aaron A. "Country Music as Bad Music." In *Bad music: the music we love to hate*. Ed. Christopher Washburn and Maiken Derno. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Frith, Simon. *Music for pleasure: Essays on the sociology of pop*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988.
- _____. "The good, the bad, and the indifferent: defending popular culture from the populists." *Diacritics* 21, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 101-115.
- _____. *Performing rites: On the value of popular music*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- _____. "Entertainment." In *Mass media and society*, 2nd ed. Edited by James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, 160-176. London: Arnold, 1997.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and method*. English translation by Sheed and Ward Ltd. New York: Crossroad, 1986.
- Gans, Eric. "Art and entertainment." In *Perspectives on musical aesthetics*, edited by John Rahn. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994.
- Gans, Herbert J. *Popular culture and high culture: An analysis and evaluation of taste*. Rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 1999.
- Griffiths, Dai. "The high analysis of low music." *Music Analysis* 18, no.3 (October 1999): 389-435.

- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Hegel's aesthetics: Lectures on fine art*. 1835. Translated by T. M. Knox. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Hesmondhalgh, David. "Subcultures, scenes or tribes? None of the above." *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, no. 1 (March 2005): 21-40.
- Holt, Fabian. *Genre in popular music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Irwin, William. "Philosophy as/and/of popular culture." In *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*, edited by William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, 41-63. Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.
- Kant, Immanuel. *The critique of judgment*. 1790. Translated by J. C. Meredith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Kerman, Joseph. *Music as Drama*. 1956. Revised edition, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- _____. *Contemplating music: Challenges to musicology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Knowles, Richard Paul. *Reading the material theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Leacroft, Richard and Helen. *Theatre and playhouse: an illustrated survey of theatre building from ancient Greece to the present day*. New York: Methuen, 1984.
- Levine, Lawrence W. *Highbrow lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Lewis, J. Lowell. "Afterword: Theoretical Reflections." In *Unstable Ground: Performance and the Politics of Place*. Ed. Gay McAuley, Dramaturgies No. 20 (Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2006),
- McAuley, Gay. *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Middleton, Richard. *Studying popular music*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990.
- Montaigne, Michel de. *Essays*. Translated by Donald Frame. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1958.

- Moretti, Franco. "The slaughterhouse of language." *Modern language quarterly* 61 (2000): 207-227.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm. *The birth of tragedy out of the spirit of music*. Trans. Michael Tanner. London: Penguin, 1993.
- Paddison, Max. *Adorno's aesthetics of music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Patel, Aniruddh D. *Music, language and the brain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Picard, David, and Mike Robinson. 2006. *Festivals, tourism and social change: remaking worlds*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Pitchford, Susan. *Identity tourism: imaging and imagining the nation*, Bingley, UK: Emerald, 2008.
- Postman, Neil. *Amusing ourselves to death: Public discourse in the age of show business*. 1985. 20th Anniversary Edition. Introduction by Andrew Postman. Toronto: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Rahn, John, ed. *Perspectives on musical aesthetics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994.
- Savran, David. "Toward a historiography of the popular." *Theatre Survey* 45, 2 (November 2004): 211-217.
- _____. *Highbrow/lowdown: theater, jazz, and the making of the new middle class*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- Schechner, Richard. *Performance theory*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Schiller, Friedrich. *On the aesthetic education of man: in a series of letters*. 1794. Edited, translated and with an introduction by Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and Leonard Ashley Willoughby. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Shusterman, Richard. "Interpretation, pleasure and value in aesthetic experience." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 56, 1 (Winter 1998): 51-53.
- _____. *Pragmatist aesthetics: living beauty, rethinking art*. 2nd edition. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.
- _____. *Surface and depth: Dialectics of criticism and culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

- _____. "Entertainment: A question for aesthetics." *British Journal of Aesthetics*. 43, 3 (July 2003): 289- 307.
- _____. "Popular art and entertainment value". In *Philosophy and the interpretation of pop culture*. Edited by William Irwin and Jorge J. E. Gracia, 131-157. Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.
- Smith, A. J. M. *Seven centuries of verse, English & American, from the early English lyrics to the present day*. New York: Scribner, 1967.
- Spradley, James P. *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979.
- Stecker, Robert. *Aesthetics and the philosophy of art*. Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.
- Steinbeis, Nikolaus and Stefan Koelsch. "Comparing the processing of music and language meaning using EEG and fMRI provides evidence for similar and distinct neural representations." *PLoS ONE* 3: 5 (2008): 1-7.
- Turner, Victor. *From ritual to theatre: The human seriousness of play*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1982.
- _____. *The anthropology of performance*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1986.
- Ubersfeld, Anne. "The pleasure of the spectator." *Modern Drama* 25 (1982): 127-139
- Washburne, Christopher and Maiken Derno, eds. *Bad Music: The Music We Love to Hate*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Williams, Alastair. *Constructing musicology*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Wilson, Carl. *Let's talk about love: A journey to the end of taste*. New York: Continuum, 2007.
- Zuccarini, Carlo. "The (un)pleasure of song: On the enjoyment of listening to opera." In *Gestures of music theatre: The performativity of song and dance*. Edited by Dominic Symonds and Millie Taylor, 22-35. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.