

FORTY YEARS OF *THESPIS* SCHOLARSHIP

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(The abridged and amended text of a talk delivered at the Sullivan Society Festival weekend, Cirencester, Saturday 21 September 2002. Many live and recorded musical examples were included, normally indicated in the text by the word demonstrated. It will be helpful if readers have a copy of the Thespis libretto in front of them.)

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This year is not only the 25th anniversary of our Society's foundation. It also marks 40 years since the first production of a new and scholarly performing version of *Thespis* put together by Terence Rees and Garth Morton for the University of London – the production which lay behind Terence's masterly and ground-breaking book, *Thespis; A Gilbert & Sullivan Enigma* (London 1964). Forty years ago Terence's researches unearthed more than anyone could then have dreamed remained to be learned about the original music, the original production and playing-style, the cast, the script, (the omissions in the text and other deficiencies in the published libretto) and the reaction of the public in 1871. His book is still the place where anyone wanting to know what *Thespis* was like on stage ought to start; it is the source from which most references in this article to the circumstances of the piece's writing have been taken; and the time is long overdue when some enterprising publisher ought to think about reprinting.

This combination of anniversaries led us to think that more could be learned about *Thespis* if an opportunity was made to review some of the guises in which he has appeared over those 40 years, and some of the music that has accompanied him. To conclude, we, who have had many occasions to think about him over the 12 years since stumbling across his original Ballet musicⁱ, would then present a version of the opera that takes account of our own recent thoughts. To keep no-one in unnecessary suspense - we have no more newly-identified manuscripts; but we do have a consistent hypothesis, based largely on musical grounds and a great deal of circumstantial evidence, which leads us to suggest the identification of the original settings of several more pieces of *Thespis*, all lurking inside one other very well-known score.

Thespis was first produced at the Gaiety Theatre, London, on Boxing Day 1871, after a period for writing, composition and rehearsal which Gilbert later variously estimated at five or three weeks. He was ridiculously busy at the time, as he had just written and produced several other plays, and various key members of the cast were involved in other productions either at the Gaiety or elsewhere immediately before and during the rehearsal period. J L Toole, for example, who was due to play *Thespis* himself, did not return from a tour until a week before opening night, and played in revivals of seven other pieces in that week. *Thespis* ran for 64 performances until 8 March 1872. Mlle Clary, the original Sparkeion, had a benefit performance on 27 April, since when Sullivan's score has not been heard intact. Her song *Little Maid of Arcadee* found its solitary way into print a few months later.

In the autumn of 1875, capitalising on the success of *Trial by Jury* which G & S had written for him in March, Richard D'Oyly Carte suggested a revival of *Thespis* in London to catch the Christmas market again. Gilbert intended to rewrite 'a considerable portion' of it – but being unable to raise enough capital to set the project in motion, Carte called the whole thing offⁱⁱ.

Once established at the Opera Comique and the Savoy, both Gilbert and Sullivan conveniently ignored *Thespis*, with its girls in short skirts (some of them playing men), its broader comic style and its general lack of sophistication. It was not

until 1885 that for the first time *Thespis* headed the list of previous works by G&S given on the title page of vocal scores and libretti.

It is famously alleged that at some time in the 1890s, in the course of an interview with a reporter, Sullivan was asked a direct question about the music of *Thespis*. Identifying this interview has so far eluded the present writers. He is supposed to have laughed, and claimed that he had used up all the music in other operas. Certainly, as has been recognised for years, in writing *The Pirates of Penzance* the chorus 'Climbing over rocky mountain' was deliberately transplanted virtually wholesale; and as has become apparent more recently, other re-use of early and unwanted material by Sullivan is not at all unlikely in the compilation of some of his later scores. In 1897, for instance, during the writing of the ballet *Victoria & Merrie England*, several numbers from his first ballet *L'Ile Enchantée*, and some of the ballet from *Thespis* itself, were pressed into serviceⁱⁱⁱ.

Apart from one or two well-known references to *Thespis* in the correspondence of Gilbert or Sullivan, the piece lay dormant for the rest of their lifetimes. It is believed that no score was amongst Sullivan's papers at his death, and Gilbert himself died with the proofs of a possible corrected text of the libretto still on his desk^{iv}.

There the matter effectively rested – until in 1953 Frank Miller, principal 'cello of the NBC Symphony Orchestra, decided to write new music to the libretto for his amateur company, the Gilbert & Sullivan Opera Company of New York (otherwise the New York Savoy-Aires). Suddenly *Thespis* was awake again; and in 1962, Terence Rees and Garth Morton at London University decided to put together another version, this time choosing music from certain other operas by G&S or Sullivan alone – their choice being deliberately restricted to operas which were not then in the D'Oyly Carte company's touring repertoire but were still hireable from their library.

Ever since, organisers of any sort of production of *Thespis* have had three major questions to ask themselves, and they are typified by the different approaches of those two early versions.

1. Sullivan or not Sullivan? Continue the work that Rees and Morton began, and use real Sullivan tunes, from an ever-widening pool as more of his material becomes known – and in so doing, try not infrequently to establish a case for some of that music being 'original' – or commission someone to write another entirely new score? (In this context it is worth noting that Frank Miller, on grounds of musical consistency if nothing else, wrote his own new settings of both 'Climbing over rocky mountain' and 'Little maid of Arcadée').
2. Terence or not Terence? Take advantage of Rees's scholarship, insights and deductions – not least his information drawn from press reports of the original production – and correct the enormous number of undoubted discrepancies between the published libretto and what clearly happened on stage, or simply ignore all this and use the basic corrupt text?

3. Savoy or not Savoy? Do you have an established company and style, for which you simply want to provide a new G&S show in an easy and familiar mould, or will you take the risk of presenting the piece as it was originally? Do you want to be real, but difficult and different? Do you, for instance, try to turn Sparkeion into a tenor, or do you keep him as a mezzo or even soprano?

Most arrangers, if answering the first question with ‘Sullivan’, have begun their work not with pencil and paper but with a pin and a shoe-horn. Lyrics have often been matched to ‘tunes’ with little degree of sensitivity or even competence. Few adapters have begun with music, or with what is known about the styles of the original music rather than the written text, and tried to re-work accordingly. But in a genuine attempt to be fair to both words and music, the strictly musical problems of adaptation must be taken seriously as a matter of first importance. Sullivan after all was a professional musician, and would simply never have allowed some of the inevitably uncomfortable things that others have done to his melodies or to the words. The present writers – we believe uniquely – have tried to begin with music and work from there; and it should surprise no-one that our answers to those three questions have been ‘Sullivan’, ‘Terence’ and ‘as far away from regular G&S or traditional D’Oyly Carte playing style as possible!’ We wish to pay tribute not only to Rees and Morton’s cast, but also to that of the St Pat’s Players of Toronto in 1993, for the freedom of their styles and their closeness to the pantomime or music hall ethos that was such a feature of the original performances.

To look at some of the ways in which *Thespis* has been treated by producers and directors over the past 50 years, one must start by asking the obvious question, How many versions of *Thespis* have there been? North Americans will know to guess at a higher total than people from the European side of the pond. Including both the original opera at the Gaiety in 1871 and the version produced for this Festival, we can count at least 22, and would be not surprised to discover more^v.

These versions have been composed or arranged as follows:

1. The original production at the Gaiety, 1871 – burlesque extravaganza
2. An unknown adapter in New York who first had the idea of using melodies by Sullivan sometime in the 1940s or earlier. The late Louis Weissman of New York G&S Society subsequently noted down his settings from a score, and Weissman’s notes are now in the possession of William Hyder of Maryland. This version is presumed unperformed.
3. Frank Miller and the G&S Opera Company of New York, 1953 (new music, Savoy style)
4. Jerry Bilik, University of Michigan Gilbert and Sullivan Society (hereafter UMGASS), 1954 (new music)

5. Robert Brandzel, for UMGASS in the later 1950s, unperformed (new music)
6. Colin Johnson, in the UK 1957, unfinished and unperformed (new music in mock-Sullivan style)
7. Terence Rees/Garth Morton, London University 1962 and subsequent revivals (Sullivan). This ground-breaking piece appears to be no longer performable – all vocal score and band part material has deteriorated to such an extent, through being stored in damp conditions, that it is now unusable^{vi}.
8. Alex Brand/Maxwell Smart for Purves's Puppets (voices supplied by the Edinburgh University Gilbert & Sullivan Opera Group and G&S Society) – Edinburgh Festival Fringe 1968 and revivals (new music)
9. London Academy of Music and Dramatic Arts (LAMDA), student production sometime in early 1971 – (new music)^{vii}
10. Bruce Montgomery, G&S Players, Philadelphia - centenary performance 1971 and many revivals (new music)
11. Roger Wirtenberger/Ron Orenstein/Gersh Morningstar, UMGASS 1972 (Sullivan)
12. Terence Rees/Eugene Minor (complete new music) - score published by Kalmus in 1974
13. Stewart Nettleship, Cardiff University G&S Society, 1975 (new music)
14. Jonathan Strong, Somerville, Massachusetts – a 'performing edition' score privately published in 1977 (Sullivan) – it is unclear if any performances went alongside this
15. Kingsley Day, Pary Production Co (Chicago) 1981 – (new music)^{viii}
16. Victor Golding/David Eden, Sir Arthur Sullivan Society, 1981 (Sullivan). The physical setting of the piece was modernised, and all the lyrics re-written, to allow of little-known pieces of Sullivan being introduced.
17. Michael Stone, New York University dissertation performance 1983 and revivals (Sullivan)
18. Jonathan Strong, Connecticut G&S Society 1988 (Sullivan, entirely different settings from the 1977 version)
19. Ron Orenstein/John Huston, St Pat's Players of Toronto, 1993 and revivals (Sullivan, entirely different settings from Orenstein's version of 1971, burlesque style)

20. Dr Will Hutchinson, Weymouth and London, 1994, believed unperformed (new music, Savoy style)
21. Quade Winter, Ohio Light Opera 1996 – (new music)
22. Roderic Spencer/Selwyn Tillett, Chimes Musical Theatre for the Sir Arthur Sullivan Society Festival 2002 (Sullivan, burlesque style)

Of these 22 versions, therefore, only 10 have used music by Sullivan, and the vast majority of them have been produced in the USA. To some extent this simply reflects the undying interest in G&S in all its forms that still persists in North America, and the continuing strength there of both research and performance. It undoubtedly means that any British researcher wanting to hear the result of others' work will most often experience the text of *Thespis* in an American accent. It is probably worth respectfully indicating, therefore, two of the kinds of occasional self-imposed problems that have persistently arisen with the text where its users have been divided from Gilbert by our common language.

First, for instance, in the opening chorus, the solo star laments that “Our light, it’s true,/Is not worth mention”. American researchers have frequently suspected a misprint or deliberately adapted to their own natural idiom (‘not worth a mention’), and the insertion of a single syllable has had far-reaching effects on the stress of this and subsequent lines, and consequently on the rhythm and musical setting of the whole text. Similarly there is an almost universal American tendency to pronounce characters’ mock-Greek names as though they were real classical Greek rather than punning Victorian slang^{ix}. Yet it was a recurring theme throughout much nineteenth-century British comic writing to spell a foreign character in a way that looked authentic but, on pronunciation, revealed a feeble but appropriate joke. Sparkeion, to a British reader, is obviously so called because he is a sparky ‘un; in the same way that Tipseion is a tipsy ‘un, Timidon a timid ‘un and Pretteia prettier. To throw the stress on to the middle syllable and make the vowel long, as modern scholarship might dictate for real Greek, is simply to miss both the point and the joke, and incidentally once again to create unnecessary problems of rhythm and stress for any potential musical setting. Gilbert and his audience would no more have said Spar-kAY-on than they’d have said Kikero.

By the kindness of other *Thespis* scholars contacted throughout 2002, the present writers have been able to compile a complete checklist of all the Sullivan melodies used in or considered for previous productions. This is obviously too long and too complex to present here, but it might usefully be produced as a separate document at some future date. In the same way it would be pointless and time-consuming to take each individual version and analyse and discuss its use of themes, their appropriateness or musical skill, one by one. What will prove profitable, however, is to take each musical number in *Thespis* in turn, and to study briefly how previous researchers have used Sullivan’s melodies or their own, to determine what if anything can be learned not only about possible originals but about general theatrical effectiveness. Here after all is the absolute rub – what works on stage? In the end you have to make a show!

Overture

Most adapters, if using an overture, have naturally written their own, either as a stand-alone piece or as a summary of tunes from the show in true Savoy style; some have taken *Little Maid of Arcadee* and *Climbing over rocky mountain*, as the two best-known pieces of existing Sullivan, and worked them together. No-one has tried so far to find the original. *Mr Sullivan's overture is scarcely worthy of him*, sneered 'Vanity Fair' after the first night, while 'The Standard' remarked

The Overture is the least satisfactory portion of the work. As it could not be intended to be original, we need not take the trouble of characterising it; it is sufficient to say the subject reminds us of Mr Molloy's popular song 'Thady O'Flynn' and might well be eliminated.

(Thady O'Flynn was then sung by Elizabeth Menezes)

That is a song which has a passing resemblance to Mr Grigg in *The Contrabandista*, and naturally enough to any number of things in *The Emerald Isle*. But what do the press reports actually mean? *The subject* seems to indicate a single main theme, perhaps much repeated in rondo fashion, while something that was *scarcely worthy* and 'unsatisfactory' implies perhaps slightness, shortness, frothiness. All these criteria are fulfilled with a startling accuracy in the Dance of Nymphs & Satyrs from *L'Île Enchantée (demonstrated)*. This also shows a marked thematic and harmonic similarity to *Thady*, in both its major and minor sections, and would have been as easy to lift intact from the ballet score as the other items known to have been used in *Thespis* – perhaps introduced, as in the ballet itself, by the lively Allegro from the end of the preceding Prelude.

We therefore offer this Dance as a potential candidate for the original Overture. Its only likely rival, having for the purposes of this talk closely scrutinised the entire G&S canon and a majority of Sullivan's other output, would seem to be the initial chorus of Act 1 of *The Pirates of Penzance (demonstrated)*; its grand opening, complete with drum roll, might imply an original placement as the real beginning of another piece, while its solo verses, at least, share a rhythmic and structural similarity with *Thady*.

Opening Chorus

This was described by 'The Era' as *a melancholy strain* – and indeed most adapters have tried to find a suitable melody to convey the depressed character of the words. The unknown American scholar of the 1940s, for instance, suggested 'None shall part us' from *Iolanthe*; – Rees and Morton volunteered 'All is darksome' from *The Grand Duke* – St Pat's Players introduced 'On the heights of Glentaun' from *The Emerald Isle*. Frank Miller, on the other hand, wrote a very upbeat and jaunty tune in a solid 4/4 (*demonstrated*), and Jonathan Strong (1988) seems to have aimed at something similar by utilising the Gavotte from *The Gondoliers*. That apart, the natural rhythm is a gentle 3/4, which our cast fell into immediately they were asked to read the words aloud. Following their example, the melody that comes inescapably to mind proves to be 'When he is

here' from *The Sorcerer*, which was indeed used by Jonathan Strong in his first version (1977 - *demonstrated*).

But if searching genuinely for a possible original setting, we should remember what many of the press said about much of *Thespis*, for example The Morning Advertiser:

The music is thin without liveliness. There is an evident attempt to copy the creations of a foreign composer who is so popular at the present time, and who has written some charming music for the gods and goddesses en bouffes

and The Athenaeum:

The music was arranged and composed by Mr A S Sullivan (the first verb was not in the bills as it ought to have been).

In other words, much of the music of this piece has been acquired from elsewhere, and largely from Offenbach (which would, if provable, at least be in keeping with the ethos of most other burlesques of the time). Yet no-one apparently has ever tried to follow up this line of enquiry, largely because so many scholars treat G&S in isolation even from the rest of English musical theatre, to say nothing of continental opera and operetta. The obvious parallel to *Thespis* in the music of Offenbach is *Orpheus in the Underworld*^x. In *Orpheus*, when we are first introduced to Mount Olympus at start of Act 2, the gods are not merely worn out, like the stars in *Thespis*, but actually asleep. After 39 bars of orchestral scene-setting, in the same key, time and mood, they sound like this:

Chor. Sopr. (Among them Minerva, Hebe and Juno.)

(sleeping) We sleep, we sleep, hop-ing that this is a slum-ber e-tern-al and deep. —

The image shows a musical score for a chorus of sopranos. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom two staves are the piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: "(sleeping) We sleep, we sleep, hop-ing that this is a slum-ber e-tern-al and deep. —". The piano accompaniment features a steady, rhythmic pattern of chords, with a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

The whole atmosphere is undoubtedly melancholy, the scene and sentiment are identical, and the time is a gentle 3 / 4. Could Sullivan's original have been a direct lift or obvious parody of this? If so, then we may still have it in much re-fashioned guise, though the opening phrase at least remains the same, as the slow introduction to 'Braid the raven hair' in *The Mikado* (*demonstrated*)! Another possibility might be the long and very similar opening to scene 3 in *The Martyr of Antioch*. That in itself leads one to think about whole areas of Sullivan's work which so far no-one has explored when hunting for original *Thespis* material. Sullivan was a great joker, and the idea of privately hiding something away in a very public but 'unthinkable' new place could have appealed to him very much. (His no doubt intentionally dull hymn tune *Litany No 3*, for instance, turns up scarcely altered, and with harmonies substantially intact, as 'Humbly beg and humbly sue' in *Princess Ida*.)

We have used none of these things. Rather, we have taken another melancholy scene-opening chorus, that of Act 2 of *The Pirates of Penzance* - not least because in its familiar solo verse there is a reference to the moon, rather more complimentary than the anonymous star's at the beginning of *Thespis*. Perhaps the musician's sense of humour might have been working there too.

Incidental music

(for the entrances of Mercury and Jupiter, and in other places)

Many arrangers seem to have been misled by the whole concept of 'incidental music' into providing a long and sometimes elaborate piece to cover a character's entrance. St Pat's Players, for instance, in their otherwise excellent score, bring Mercury on over the whole introduction to 'Hobble, hobble' in *The Beauty Stone*. Contrast that with Rees and Morton who provided just a drum roll and a cymbal crash! A study of helpful publications dealing with this area of stage music^{xi} reminds us that most theatres had books and collections of all sorts of bits of 'agit' (*agitato*), by a resident musician or just 'trad', that could be dropped into any production at will. It is worth considering the possibility, even given Sullivan's own ability as a parodist, that what there was of this kind of thing in *Thespis* was probably about four bars in each case and might even have been Gaiety stock, not by Sullivan himself. For ourselves, we have taken advantage of our burlesque style to make a modern musical joke for the entrances of both gods in Act 1, and borrowed a *leitmotiv* for each of them from Holst's familiar *The Planets* - in the case of Jupiter's entrance, supplied by an elderly recording with the composer himself conducting.

On much the same grounds, that is, the danger of over-composition, we have avoided altogether a musical setting for the tiny bits of recitative that the three gods hurl at Thespis himself in both acts. The press commented fairly unanimously that they held up the action and the gods sang them frightfully out of tune! But once again it is worth pointing out, for arrangers wanting to reflect accurately the ethos of Sullivan's original, that if those recits are to be set to music, the original progression of voices will have been the exact opposite of the way most modern adapters have felt it. Frank Wood, singing last as Mars, had the highest of the three original voices, not the lowest.

Mercury's song

Here the rhythm is obviously 6/8, and, naturally enough but rather ignoring the sense of the actual lyrics, the majority of previous arrangers have set them to something bright. Rees and Morton offered 'I once gave an evening party' from *The Grand Duke*; Michael Stone suggested 'Let all your doubts take wing' from *Utopia Ltd*. Even new writing has followed this jaunty mood (*Frank Miller demonstrated, with a patter baritone*), while a breathtakingly appropriate setting is Jonathan Strong's 1988 idea, which uses 'Oh gentlemen, listen I pray' from *Trial by Jury*. But unfortunately for these researchers, according to the Daily Telegraph *Mercury's song was suited with a very pretty minor tune* - which immediately disqualifies them all. After much thought we turned to a minor melody that in its familiar setting appears to date from a time when Sullivan may indeed have been using up parts of *Thespis*^{xii}. This is 'Oh, I was like that when a

lad' from *Trial by Jury*. In so doing we have kept the major passage, into which the tune develops, in 6/8 rather than allowing it to turn into 2/4, and have done the same with the play-out afterwards. This deliberately demonstrates what strictly *musical* 'reworking' might actually have to involve, and is of course a more complex task than just struggling to fit words more or less adequately. But throughout the rest of our score, wherever we have felt greater reworking might be needed, we have fought shy of it, even if on other grounds we feel the piece in question might originally have found a home in *Thespis*. Neither of us would care to enter a contest of musical ingenuity when Sullivan was the other entrant!

Quintet

Mars' entry at the beginning of this number is the clumsiest thing imaginable. It has, however, a practical musical reason. In concerted pieces, musicians need to think about the balance of voices available to them because of the natural bearing this will have on the way their piece is to be set. Before Mars's entry, Sullivan has at his disposal Mercury, a soubrette; Diana, an older woman of indeterminate voice; Apollo (his brother Fred), a high comic baritone, and Jupiter, an older man of lower range - effectively soprano, alto, baritone and bass. He is missing a tenor to plug what would otherwise be a huge harmonic gap at the heart of the structure; and the original Mars, Frank Wood, was, as we have seen above, a passable tenor. He had previously sung *Box*, for example, and he is brought on now solely because the music, to be satisfying, demands his range.

Most previous researchers have ignored this, or been unaware of the nature of Frank Wood's voice, and have understandably concentrated on the piece's other difficulties, which are already huge. It falls into four distinct sections - the opening couplets; a recurring ensemble; 'Jupiter, hear my plea' and 'If, mighty Jove'. Jonathan Strong in a *tour de force* in 1977 set the whole thing to 'Here is a case unprecedented' from *The Gondoliers*, with remarkably little musical or syntactical damage. Others have been less successful because of the oddities in the piece's structure. St Pat's Players, for instance, set the Galop from *The Grand Duke* to the words of the repeated ensemble ('Goodness gra-ha-cious, How aud-a-ha-cious') but in so doing served merely to underline another very common adaptive fault. Arthur Jacobs^{xiii} was not the first to establish that Sullivan never takes an orchestral theme and puts words to it. This is again where the musician and the 'setter' work differently. Those of us who are setters think in terms of *tunes*, and anything going on underneath a good tune is purely accompaniment as in a vocal score; musicians, especially orchestral ones, think of the whole *structure* of a piece in full score as a unity from the ground up. When Sullivan writes orchestral material, and when he writes only tunes, are quite different occasions.

For our part, we have gone back to the claims about Sullivan's 'borrowings' from Offenbach. He and burlesque were the Gaiety's staple fare. Within the few weeks before the premiere of *Thespis*, several of the cast had appeared in *The Princess of Trebizonde*, *Le Mariage aux Lanternes*, *The Grand Duchess*, *La Belle Hélène*, and others. We have made a close examination of all those scores, indeed of all the Offenbach pieces sufficiently well known to London public and players alike (e.g. *Bluebeard*, *La Vie Parisienne* etc), and there is only a tiny number of places where

any Offenbach ‘tune’ fits any of the *Thespis* words, largely because comfortable metres and rhyme-schemes appear to work totally differently in English and French. Startlingly, three of those places are within this Quintet, and in consecutive numbers from *Le Mariage aux Lanternes*. First, consider the opening of the drinking quartet *Quand les moutons sont dans la plaine*, and sing, for instance, the four lines of our text beginning ‘Speak quickly, or you’ll get a warming’ against the melody below:

Si Dieu nous dé-fen-dait de boi-re, Au-rait-il fait le vin si
bou? non; Si l'eau nous pousse à l'hu-meur noi-re, le vin dis-
-si-pe notre en-mi,

From the beginning of the whole piece as far as ‘In hundreds, aye in thousands too’ there is an exact fit. Shortly afterwards in the same quartet, and then again in the immediately following duet *Ah! la fine, fine mouche*, there are choruses in 2/4, with quick quavers in exactly the same rhythm as the natural patter of ‘Goodness gracious, how audacious’ etc. Both are comparatively repetitive and fixed in the mind with little effort. We consider that the potential advantages of this for Sullivan, Gilbert and the cast would have been great – with so much being performed and rehearsed all around them, an easy and catchy tune, frequently overheard, would no doubt pass into a performer’s conscience even if he or she were not in the relevant piece. Indeed the only person on stage during this Quintet who had also played in *Le Mariage* was Frank Wood. It is tempting to suggest that he has been whisked on as Mars not simply to provide the tenor line but to hold the whole thing together! For we do indeed want to suggest that these were the pieces, and this was the process, behind the original setting of this part of the Quintet. We were unable to decide, for our performing purposes, between Offenbach’s quartet and duet. Eventually on the grounds of simplicity and, therefore, speed of learning, we decided on the duet. We shall see later that such factors may well have played a part in the way other musical numbers were constructed.

We pass now to the section beginning ‘Jupiter, hear my plea’, and for this it is necessary to refer in some detail to an article by David Russell Hulme^{xiv}. Dr Hulme describes how in the Lord Chamberlain’s licence copy of *Trial by Jury* there is an extra eight-line ballad for the Usher, much later in the piece than his existing song as we know it. Sullivan’s MS working sketches for the score of *Trial* are now in the Library of Congress, and they include the beginning of the melody of this song – which turns out to be what we know now as the tenor’s song, ‘I loved her fondly’ in *The Zoo*. This was never included in the performed text of *Trial*, but Sullivan obviously thought it too good to lose. Only 16 bars are needed to set all the words of the Usher’s ‘new’ song, but Dr Hulme guesses that Gilbert

may have provided more text than in the licence copy, if Sullivan had suggested re-using a complete song, rather than part of one, from some earlier piece. He further suggests that this was indeed the case, because in all his other sketches Sullivan writes out the complete melody of a song. Here he gives just a trace, a few notes only, as though to remind him of what he wants to use. Dr Hulme therefore proposes that he did indeed intend to draw on ready-made material, and that the tune in question might originally have been something from *Thespis*. This section of the Quintet is the only set of *Thespis* words which fits. We therefore decided to act on Dr Hulme's perceptive suggestion. It certainly works with only minor editing, and dovetails beautifully into the Offenbach that we have used for the recurring ensemble.

Finally, in considering the section 'If, mighty Jove, you value your existence', two well-known themes stand out head and shoulders above all other suggestions. We have reluctantly resisted Ron Orenstein's idea, consistent over more than 20 years, of 'Kind captain, I've important information' from *HMS Pinafore*, and followed Jonathan Strong's 1988 usage of 'But if patriotic sentiment is wanted' from *The Mikado*. This was partly on grounds of brevity – the *Pinafore* quotation feels unnecessarily long-winded – and partly because one of us had hit upon the identical theme from *The Mikado* many years before Strong. There is probably little doubt that neither of these has the remotest case for being 'original', but like so many others we have remembered that we had to make a show, and this works with huge effectiveness. Pragmatism is a good theatrical maxim.

Duet – Sparkeion & Nicemis

The most obvious difficulty with this is the unusual and problematic metre. The lines are of an uneven length and the rhyme-scheme is complex. None of the previous attempts to find a suitable tune by Sullivan has been at all satisfactory. Rees and Morton, for instance, set the verses to two separate ideas from *Haddon Hall* ('When yestereve I knelt to pray' and 'There's no-one by'), then strung them together to make a double-chorus effect. This is inordinately clever musically, but still rather clumsy in practice.

Thinking, indeed, purely of musical capability, can we ascertain what the two original singers (Mlle Clary and Constance Loseby) actually were, both mezzos or a soprano and a mezzo? Who was higher, and what had they previously done? We are grateful to Michael Walters for information on their careers, particularly that both had played, for instance, Paris in *La Belle Hélène* (top B flats) at the Gaiety itself^{xv}. The possibility must be faced that vocally they were practically interchangeable, or even that Sparkeion (Clary) had the higher voice. In terms of Sullivan's writing for her, all we have to judge by is 'Little maid of Arcadée', and who is to say that this was not originally more complex, and in a higher key, simplified and brought down to G or F for publication? Indeed Ray Walker has brazenly suggested^{xvi} that the tune we associate now with these words may not be the original one at all. Conversely, Clary has usually been identified as the 'star' with whom Gilbert indulged in a famous spat ("Why should I stand here, I'm not a chorus-girl?" – "No madam, your voice isn't strong enough, or no doubt you would be . . .") Perhaps Sparkeion, as befits a principal boy, was meant to survive on personality and figure and was of a mezzo range but no real voice, while

Nicemis was the true singer? Constance Loseby certainly already had a reasonably long and distinguished career in French opera and operetta, quite a bit of it at the Gaiety, even though at the time of *Thespis* she was only 20. Each arranger's answer to such questions as these has of course hitherto influenced the music superimposed on the duet. Michael Stone tried the wistful, lyrical approach with 'The world is but a broken toy' from *Princess Ida*, while Jonathan Strong (1988) went for the more joyful duet for the King & Lady Sophy in Act 2 of *Utopia Ltd.*

Is it possible to cheat, and to reduce the words in order to regularise the text and thus clear the way for an easier and gentler setting? It must be admitted that Sullivan himself, of course, did this all the time – or rather, often persuaded Gilbert to cut. The MS early texts of familiar operas are full of long-winded lyrics, descending into short repetitive lines rather like the present text, all of which have been deleted by the time of setting and performance. Trying that approach, as Terry Hawes has done in his superb new version of *His Excellency*, can be a hugely successful method, and opens the gates wide to the potential use of recognisable lyrical material set more or less plausibly to this originally unwieldy verse. With the omission of but a few superfluous words, for instance, most of either verse of this duet can be convincingly sung to 'The sun whose rays' from *The Mikado (demonstrated)* or even the Invocation to Death from *Orpheus!*

There is of course an additional problem in the case of the duet under discussion. What are they actually doing? Are they genuinely having a row or merely teasing each other? Are both verses really different, or is it the love duet expected of a pantomime principal boy and girl? Is Nicemis trying to break away, or lingering in the hope that Sparkeion will interrupt her? In any event, with two mezzos or a soprano and a mezzo, the effect of the two similar voices intertwining is one which, common enough in 'real' opera, would have made the duet stand out from the rest of the score if Sullivan responded deeply to real emotion as he customarily did. It is worth recollecting the opinion of the *Morning Post*, that this was *one of the best numbers in the entire work.*

So in the continuing search for a setting which is not only convincing but might be original, does there exist anywhere a duet for two mezzos, or a mezzo and a soprano, of this character? The answer, clearly, is no. Even bearing in mind that the mezzo in trousers was the Gaiety's regular substitute for a tenor (and, like most substitutes . . .) there is no obvious number, in Sullivan's comic operatic work, for a tenor and a mezzo together, with the noticeable exception of the strange little duet for Yussuf and Heart's-Desire that opens Act 2 of *The Rose of Persia*. But allowing the possibilities both that Sparkeion and Nicemis have found themselves in a real argument, and that it is permissible to shorten the text by losing a few ungainly words, one might try the equally intriguing prospect of a duet for tenor and contralto, and set the whole of the first verse perfectly happily to the first verse of the duet for Frederic and Ruth in *Pirates (demonstrated)*. The serious and virtually insuperable problem arises when trying to twist Ruth's slower verse, and the subsequent concerted section, into anything of musical competence or worth if set to Nicemis' words.

It is frequently forgotten that in 1873 Joseph Rummel, a prolific arranger of operas and operatic selections for the piano, wrote to Sullivan asking for a copy of the duet between Sparkeion and Nicemis to work up for publication in his typical way. Sullivan replied that “*Thespis* is not published but if you like I will send you the Full Score of the Duet in question”^{xvii}. Nothing came of it; but self-evidently, for Rummel to remember the number after 18 months or two years, and to want to capitalize on it, the music must have been very much out of the ordinary. Remember, too, that for one of the Press at least the duet was among the best single items in the piece. Clearly if we are to hunt for a potential original, then we are looking not only for a place where the words fit easily, but the mood and setting are exceptional; a place no doubt where Sullivan has responded to the option of the real love duet, and allowed the emotion to carry the music out of the realms of mere whimsy. A possible reason for the unsatisfactory nature of many attempted reconstructions is the understandable reluctance of arrangers to use, here and in many other circumstances, such a melody from a ‘mainstream’ opera rather than from something of a backwater. Jonathan Strong, for instance, is on record as preferring his listeners not to spend the evening playing ‘Name that Tune’, but rather to take each new setting on its own merits. Occasionally however the courage to use something well known produces a remarkably apposite new combination of words and music, and in our opinion we have found the best possible setting for these unwieldy lyrics. It is ‘Oh, is there not one maiden breast’ from *Pirates*. It requires neither the shoe-horn nor the scissors, but carries every word of the original text with only a passing need for a single syllable to be set to two or three notes – and even here the setting can be made musically and sensitively with no damage to the music itself or to the words. Possibly significantly, wherever the sense of the complex text is carried through a series of unmatching lines of varying stress and length, the melody responds and carries the sense and metre without the slightest effort. It may also be significant that Sullivan’s consistent key for conveying real emotional intensity is always D flat, as here (examples are legion – the big duet in *Kenilworth*, Katisha’s ‘O living eye’, the duet for Sir George and Lady Vernon in the last Act of *Haddon Hall*, ‘There grew a little flower’ in *Ruddygore*, the duet for Elsie and Prince Henry towards the end of *The Golden Legend*, and many others – it is his real key for passion). In other words to turn this scene into a real love-duet, and to set it accordingly and well to a musical outpouring of genuine feeling, seems to fulfil all the criteria which Rummel might have remembered.

Climbing over rocky mountain

It is well-known now that in the MS autograph score of *Pirates* this chorus exists, torn out of a copyist’s score of *Thespis*, up to the key-change before the first solo verse. It then stops and the verse continues in a new hand. In other words, from that point until the end of the number it has been reworked. There is little point for our purposes in trying to re-write these later passages and to ‘simplify’ if we think they might once have been less elaborate. For performance we must gratefully make do with what we have. What has not been previously noticed, however, is how the Gaiety chorus’s limited skill, and the pressure of writing- and rehearsal-time on all the participants, clearly had a practical effect on the way a great deal of the choral writing originally was. We have seen already the

probable need for simplicity and speed of learning. It is telling and instructive to follow simply the bass line of the chorus throughout the whole of this first section (*demonstrated*). It consists almost exclusively of B-flats, with a brief interlude of tonic and dominant in the section in F. Even those who could hardly carry a tune in a picnic-basket would have it mastered after two hearings at most.

Picnic Waltz

One of the many discoveries in Rees's researches^{xviii} was the fact that under the dialogue in the picnic scene a waltz was played, no doubt to provide suitable backing to the antics of the Payne brothers as Stupidas and Preposterous. After extensive discussion with one of the present writers, St Pat's Players in 1993 decided to import the long Tempo di Valse from *L'Île Enchantée*, on the grounds that so much of the ballet seems to have made its way into *Thespis* already. It works undoubtedly well, though a little intrusively, and is made up of several sections that could easily be repeated or cut at given cues, depending on how fast the scene was playing. We have followed their example, while nevertheless being open to another intriguing possibility. We pointed out, when the music of *L'Île Enchantée* was first under scrutiny, the undoubted similarity between the treatment of the main theme of this waltz and the familiar melody of 'Poor wand'ring one' in *Pirates*^{xix}, particularly noticeable in the emphatic descending harmony in the bass under the phrase 'Take heart of grace/Thy steps retrace' which is exactly paralleled in the *L'Île* waltz at the identical point. We may perhaps be forgiven for pausing to wonder if there is not some possibility here of a consistent re-use and re-working of a favourite idea – rather along the lines of the treatment of the Pas de Châles, also from *L'Île*, which appears in various later guises in works as diverse as *Macbeth* and *Victoria & Merrie England*.

Railway Song

Most G&S aficionados know well what Rees and Morton did with this; most of us at times have been forced into singing Box's song and adding carefully rehearsed railway noises; yet even Terence himself would admit that it is a very uneasy fit, but the best he and Garth Morton could do with the deliberately limited range of material from which they wanted to choose. Jonathan Strong has twice utilised something else that was clearly in Rees's and Morton's original remit, namely 'Do you know who I am?' from *The Grand Duke*. There is an immediate and obvious problem with each of these attempts, as with several others; the effect simply does not sound like a train, least of all a steam express going at full speed. Nor does working entirely from scratch mean that a new composer's insight produces anything better or more convincing – Frank Miller, for instance (*demonstrated*) wrote something that could be easily mistaken for an Olde English folksong, of the kind collected by Cecil Sharp or Vaughan Williams, before breaking into a Lehar waltz for the beginning of the chorus.

The recurring problem with this lyric is not merely tempo or emphasis; it is the simpler and more basic question of rhythm. Sullivan's working method is well known. The rhythm was always the first thing he settled on. His working sketches for 'Were I thy bride' from *The Yeomen of the Guard*, for instance, have often been tellingly reproduced^{xx} – he may not always have adopted the obvious

or easy setting, but deciding on the rhythm was essential. What is the inescapable rhythm of a British steam express at full speed? (*Audience participation very quickly settled into a fast 4/4, with a huge emphasis on the first beat of the bar; to prove the point, once the rhythm had been established, both speakers broke into the melody of Vivien Ellis's 'Coronation Scot'.*) So what did Sullivan do?

The hit of the night was undoubtedly Mr Toole's ballad. The entire company join in the chorus, the music of which admirably expresses the whirl and thunder of a railway train at express speed.

- Sunday Times

The song, being admirably sung by Mr J L Toole, and furnished with a screaming, whistling and shouting chorus, fairly brings down the house.

- The Era

The orchestration is very novel, including, as it does, the employment of a railway bell, a railway whistle, and some new instrument of music imitating the agreeable sound of a train in motion.

- The Pall Mall Gazette

Shouting, whistling, chuffing, bells and sandpaper blocks – it was a musical as well as a visual tour de force. There is probably only one single demonstrable piece of silly railway music that does all this, and that is the *Copenhagen Steam Railway Galop* by Hans-Christian Lumbye, who has a fair claim to being the Danish Sullivan (*demonstrated*^{xxi}).

In terms of rhythm, identical orchestration and sheer energy, that is what *Thespis's* song undoubtedly sounded like, and it very quickly explains why so many recent attempts at setting the lyrics simply fall short. But there is, startlingly, only one piece in the whole G&S canon, and almost certainly in the whole Sullivan canon, that has this incessant driving express train rhythm – and that is the Major-General's song from *Pirates*. The vamp leading into each verse establishes the train rhythm (fast 4/4 with a natural heavy downbeat); the 'tune' of the whole song is really nothing but pure rhythm, to enable the words to be spat out more or less musically at speed; the constant driving eight-quaver pulse through each bar 'writes back', almost without noticing, into consistent phrases of crotchet plus two quavers to suit the *Thespis* lyric, and with no loss of impetus; the occasional irregular number of syllables at the end of a 'railway' line, resulting in a necessarily inconsistent setting from one verse to the next, is utterly typical of the kind of fast music-hall patter song in which J L Toole revelled; the chorus's 'Fol diddle' line slides naturally and easily into the chorus's interjection in the middle of each verse of the more familiar song, and ends each time with a potential whistle carefully preserved at the top of the orchestration before the soloist takes up the concluding lines (*all this demonstrated musically*). Such 're-working' as is necessary is tiny throughout, and, most important of all, both easy and musically acceptable while still remaining fair to both words and music.

It is, therefore, our contention that a more than reasonable case can be made, on strictly musical grounds, for the one song being the original of the other. This has obvious far-ranging implications, to which we shall return; for the present, one more piece of weighty circumstantial evidence can be adduced to suggest deliberate re-working of this number from one score to the other. *Pirates*, in its original American version, ended with a reprise of the Major-General's song ('At last we are provided, with unusual facility') and a dance; *Thespis* ends with a reprise of the railway song, followed by the somewhat detachable Ballet.

Suddenly the tiniest germ of something not merely interesting but potentially very exciting is happening - because in our search for *Thespis*'s music there is one piece to which we have kept returning, over and over again, for a hugely divergent set of potential reasons and suggestions, all of them strictly musical, and it is *The Pirates of Penzance*. We have seen a possible link between the *Pirates* opening chorus and whatever had been used as the *Thespis* Overture; two candidates, one far more convincing than the other, for the theme of the Sparkeion/Nicemis duet; 'Climbing over rocky mountain' transplanted wholesale; a striking musical similarity between the treatment of 'Poor wand'ring one' and the best candidate for the picnic waltz; an undoubted musical relationship between the songs for the Major-General and *Thespis* himself. Both sets of pieces occur in the same order throughout each opera. The whole of the musical, and indeed also the developing dramatic structure of both first Acts, can circumstantially but plausibly be said to be marching in step. Could this be more than co-incidence or wishful thinking? Let us consider the Act 1 Finale in each case.

Act 1 Finale

The Finale of *Thespis* begins with the section 'So that's arranged, you take my place my boy'. The unknown American researcher set this to 'Now Julia, come, consider it' from *The Grand Duke*; Jonathan Strong in 1977 suggested 'I've wisdom from the east and from the west' from *The Yeomen of the Guard*. Michael Stone tried out 'Your Highness, there's a party at the door', also from *The Grand Duke*; St Pat's Players, 'In days of old' from *Haddon Hall*, which works least well of all. Jonathan Strong in 1988 went for the Act 2 Finale from *Utopia, Ltd*, which we have gladly chosen to follow. It may incidentally be worth considering the complicated history of Act 2 Finales for *Utopia*. There have been at least three entirely different ones - not merely 'versions' - including one written from the ground up in the 24 hours between the dress rehearsal and the premiere, and a previous one for which Gilbert in despair asked Sullivan to write the music first^{xxiii}. Is it possible that all he did was to lift something left over from an earlier piece?

For *Thespis*'s air 'While mighty Jove goes down below' the unknown American offered 'I cannot tell what this love may be' from *Patience*; Ron Orenstein in 1971 did his best with the Christy minstrels' song from *Utopia*. Jonathan Strong in 1977 utilised 'So go to him and say to him', also from *Patience*, while St Pat's Players, working after the discovery of the *Thespis* ballet by the present writers, attempted to press No 1 of that into service. All of these suggestions need substantial trimming, either of words or music, and all finally trip to some extent

over the rhyme 'deities/me it is'. There is an undoubted and real problem in finding something that includes those awkward syllables properly set. But there is of course one little tune, to which we were drawn initially because of the neatness with which it copes with this, and yet again it proves to be from *Pirates*. This time it is the song of the Pirate King himself.

Passing on in the Finale we come to the repeated business where the gods and mortals swap roles. There are four verses, each with an identical chorus, implying that the music of that at least might have been repeated each time, but raising a question as to whether the verses themselves were different? Certainly in a more mature score they would have been, but *Thespis* was put together in huge haste and for less competent voices. Sparkeion, Nicemis, Timidon, Daphne – two mezzos, a negligible baritone and a soprano – do not make for a well-balanced or well-constructed ensemble. Many different settings have been tried, and the majority work and fit well, because all the verses share a natural and easy 6/8 or 3 / 4 pulse. Rees and Morton, for example, used Zara's waltz from the Act 1 Finale of *Utopia* – Jonathan Strong offered Hildebrand's earlier song from *Princess Ida*. Bruce Montgomery's score has some splendid ideas that obviously maintain the stylistic links with Offenbach. In our opinion it may be possible that if we are to look for 'original' settings of any of these words from *Thespis* then we may find some of them in *The Zoo* (the opening chorus, 'And when the lion's cage' and 'Once more the face I loved so well' would all fit admirably against any of these verses). St Pat's Players found a major inspiration in setting Nicemis' verse to 'Hassan, thy pity I entreat' from *The Rose of Persia*, which has an undoubted rightness of mood – except that, as we have seen, the real Nicemis is not a coloratura soprano. Once again, the researcher is dogged by the perennial question - are we simply looking for something that works, or are we trying to claim something as original? An identical problem arises with Timidon's verse. St Pat's Players struggled rather to set it to 'Who'd to be robber chief aspire' from *The Contrabandista*, some parts of which work undoubtedly well; but the real Mars, as we have seen, is not a bass, and there is no reason to suppose his replacement is, particularly not when this short verse is all he has to sing.

So it may of course be no more than coincidence. But at precisely this point in the Act 1 Finale of *Pirates* comes a familiar little tune, in 6/8, in a very Offenbachian style, indeed almost identical to 'En avant les jeunes femmes' in *La Vie Parisienne* :

The equivalent of this in *Pirates* is introduced with no warning at all except a rehearsal letter, and any soprano who has ever tried to sing ‘Oh happy day, with *joyous* glee’ will undoubtedly have found her vocal production sorely tried by the altitude and the awkward first diphthong of the italicised word. These purely musical rough edges disappear at once if we substitute ‘I am the moon, the *lamp* of night’ or the equivalent line of any of the other three verses at this point in *Thespis*. Pressing on through this number in *Pirates*, ‘Should it befall *auspicious* lee’ presents the whole chorus with a similar vocal difficulty – whereas substituting ‘The *rarest* fun and *rarest* fare’ copes far more sympathetically with the natural dotted ‘kick’ in the stressed vowel (‘ra-erest’). *Thespis*’s words arguably fit the musical material better (*all this musically demonstrated*).

Look now at the final substantial chorus in this Act of *Thespis*, ‘Here’s a pretty tale for future Iliads and Odesseys’. Arrangers have been caused countless problems by this. Rees and Morton, rather hampered by their self-imposed restrictions, forced it into ‘With martial gait’ from *The Rose of Persia*; Ron Orenstein subjected it to the Christy minstrels’ song; Jonathan Strong returned to ‘So go to him and say to him’ from *Patience* and, later, to the end of the Act 1 Finale of *HMS Pinafore* (‘His nose should pant’). St Pat’s Players tried first ‘Who’d to be robber chief aspire’ and rejected it, then ‘Sing hey the jolly jinks’ from *The Grand Duke* and rejected it, and finished with the Galop from the *Thespis* ballet, with lots of repeats of the initial phrase ‘Here’s a pretty tale’, not apparently realising that although the original libretto repeats only those few words, a moment’s thought will show that clearly the whole chorus is meant to be reprised. Bruce Montgomery sets it to a very fine stirring tune, another Galop of sorts.

Trying to be fair to both words and music, if finding something of Sullivan’s to carry the text, seems so far to have been elusive, as though with the present text it is impossible to do justice to one without serious damage to the other. Part of the problem is the natural Savoy-based tendency to treat these four lines as very fast patter, because that is what we now expect when we read a stanza of long jingly lines; indeed the unknown American set them to the Major-General’s song precisely for this reason, (and no less a scholar than Reginald Allen effectively hinted the same thing^{xxiii}). But there is a natural obstacle in the way of all this haste, in the shape of the apostrophe in the last line, ‘Jupiter’s perplexity is

Thespis's opportunity'. Take the line fast, fall over it at that point, and the whole effect is ruined. No-one apart from Bruce Montgomery has suggested slowing the whole thing down to apparent half speed, and taking advantage of this to find a big upbeat tune, perhaps sung in full chorus unison before any kind of musical development continues. Try speaking it aloud at a kind of walking pace, and think of each syllable, until the last word of each line, as a single crotchet:

*Here's a pretty tale for future Iliads and Odysseys,
Mortals are about to personate the gods and goddesses.
Now to set the world in order, we will work in unity,
Jupiter's perplexity is Thespis's opportunity.*

Now read it over again, but this time concentrate on the final word (or three syllables) of each line, which fall naturally into the pattern of two quavers and a crotchet, with an accent on the first syllable – the word 'Thespis's' itself falls into this new shape. And indeed the stress and rhythm of that single word 'Thespis's' is very telling; try also reading just the fourth and last line, but stop dead after the word itself -

- and cast your mind back to a more familiar set of words and the music that accompanies them, a set of jingling lines ending, like the *Thespis* lines above, with several rhymes in '- ity', and in particular, compare your old friend

A doctor, a doctor, a doctor of divinity (dead stop) – *of* (long note) *divinity*

with the new possibility

Jupiter's perplexity is Thespis's (dead stop) – *op* – (long note) – *portunity.*

Last, if really necessary, look at the two sets of words side by side. The conclusion is inescapable, and it has been formed first of all on rhythmical and musical grounds – not only do we have a musical setting which has been easily if cunningly reworked, but almost certainly a new set of words (those in *Pirates*) which have been deliberately written around the format of an existing tune and the words (from *Thespis*) that went with it. Indeed the more one now studies the familiar words from *Pirates*, and the ways in which they are set, more than once, to the familiar tune, the more awkward that lyric appears, and the more inconsistent and clumsy the various settings of that crucial final line. In particular, ponder for a moment what would appear to be the basic need of the culminating line of a first act Finale. Surely it needs to be a strong statement of some kind, drawn from the more important of the lines or sentiments which have preceded it – it needs to have a finality, a sense of definite closure, and a relevance to the main thrust of the previous discussion. It needs, in short, to present and hold some kind of dramatic tension that will then be worked out in the second act – such as is well supplied by, for instance, lines like 'Who brings him here alive or dead' or, 'My wrongs with vengeance shall be crowned'. In the case of the *Pirates* Finale it is, self-evidently, the being matrimonified (or not) which is the climax of the lyric, not the unfortunate cleric who might (or not) have performed the ceremonies, still less the fact that he happens to live locally; yet what does the act end on? 'Tho' a doctor, a doctor, resides in this vicinity –

this vicinity'. Clearly things stop here because this phrase is the strongest musically, however weak the words are and however contrary they run to the emphasis of the setting – but how much stronger is that phrase as a closure, when the words on which the curtain falls are actually 'Jupiter's perplexity is Thespis's opportunity'!

If our conclusion is correct, then we know at last why *Thespis* died, or rather, was deliberately killed off. The minute what we are suggesting had happened, any possibility of a revival, however reworked, was out of the question. There are further circumstantial evidences within the musical text of the Act 1 Finale of *Pirates* to indicate the kind of reworking of an original score that we would postulate. We have mentioned already the probable musical simplicity of the people of the chorus at Gaiety, and some of the shortcuts Sullivan must have been required to make in order that *Thespis* could be learned and staged in such a short time. The final two or three pages of that Finale, even in a standard vocal score, show obvious elaborations of the original simple tune, with Mabel now soaring over the top of some unexpected modulation; but the four bars before letter M, and the two after it, either show unusually slapdash part-writing or reveal that the Gaiety chorus was safer trying to sustain only two parts, or at most three, in big concerted numbers. Where else in one of Sullivan's choral works does he carelessly keep the altos and tenors in unison an octave apart?

There remains one section of the Act 1 Finale of *Thespis* to be considered, and even this may have an incidental bearing on the specific argument just put forward. Immediately before the last reprise of 'Here's a pretty tale (etc)', three of the gods 'are in a corner together' before they depart for earth, and sing 'We will go/Down below/ Revels rare/ We will share'. This is an unusual metre for Gilbert, and therefore creates its own problems for the arranger. The unknown American introduced 'Ring forth ye bells' from *The Sorcerer*, Rees and Morton continued their use of 'Hark the distant roll of drums' from *The Rose of Persia*, Jonathan Strong in 1977 attempted 'Our lordly style you shall not quench' from *Iolanthe*, while the St Pat's Players took up the big brass tune from the middle of the *Thespis* Galop. All these, and other researchers, have of course been thinking only inside the G&S box. We on the other hand began this act with the possibility of a parody of *Orpheus in the Underworld*, Act 2; and at the end of *Orpheus* Act 2, all the gods of Olympus go down, not to earth but to Hades for a holiday. Whichever of the available versions and translations of *Orpheus* is being used, at this point an assortment of gods sing "Now to Olympus say goodbye, goodbye, goodbye/ Off on a holiday away to Hades we must fly;/Off to the Underworld below, below, below . . ." or something very like it, and a little later, in shorter lines, "We go – we go – below". Finally there is a huge choral sound, very fast, and all march off to a big upbeat tune. The similarity of the words between this and Gilbert's gods is surely deliberate, for Gilbert in his time had written enough real burlesques. If the words are meant to be a recognisable parody of a familiar piece, then, in context, *a fortiori* Gilbert's use of the words implies Sullivan's use of the familiar tune:



Finally there is one thing so far absent from this reconstruction of *Thespis*, and that is that familiar Sullivan trademark, the double chorus. One set of characters sings one thing, others sing something totally different, and to conclude the composer skilfully brings the two themes together. It is noticeable, and yet further circumstantial evidence, that one can take the setting we have established above for ‘Here’s a pretty tale’, and the Offenbach theme for ‘We will go/Down below’ and fit them together convincingly for at least the first few bars. Beyond that, more violence is presently required to Sullivan than either of us is prepared to inflict; but it seems to be plausible to suggest that something along these lines might indeed have been presented.

The basic contention of our whole argument should long have been apparent. There is a strong enough case, we believe, to suggest that the music of much of the first act of *Thespis* was deliberately chopped up and re-used in *Pirates* – or rather, that the first act of *Pirates* was deliberately grown around it.

We are perfectly conscious that in even suggesting this, we are treading on dangerous ground. The history of the writing and earliest performances of *Pirates* is quite complicated enough without our adding to it. To see it set out with astonishing clarity, one needs to read Marc Shepherd’s article ‘Climbing over rocky mountain – the Happy Accident that Wasn’t’^{xxiv}. This is a masterful summary and discussion of all the conflicting evidence that has been adduced over many years.

To summarise even further – there exist four partly contradictory documents, all well known from standard literature, bearing witness to the collaborators’ intentions and working methods. The first document is a letter of 10 December 1879 from Sullivan, in the USA, to his mother saying in a panic that he has left all his sketches of the first act of *Pirates* at home; there is now no time for them to arrive if he cabled for them, so he has to rewrite it all, and can’t recollect every number he did. Second is a manuscript copy of the first act libretto, found among Sullivan’s papers when he died, which Gilbert is supposed to have written out and given him to work from when this musical re-writing became necessary. Third is the Lord Chamberlain’s licence copy, filed only a couple of days before the first British copyright performance in Paignton. Fourth and last is the notorious letter of 1902 from Gilbert to Mr Percy de Strzelecki, saying that putting ‘Climbing over rocky mountain’ into *Pirates* was a last-minute substitution *because* Sullivan had left all his sketches behind.

Almost every aspect of these documents has been repeatedly picked over and challenged for years, and scholars have remained hotly divided over such matters

as whether Gilbert or Sullivan or both might be directly lying in their stories of lost sketches and last-minute substitutions, or doubting the very existence of Gilbert's unpronounceable correspondent. Shepherd's article unravels, detail by patient detail, the entire complex story of these documents, before arriving at certain inescapable conclusions.

First, as Arthur Jacobs also briefly showed, we may be sure that Sullivan did indeed leave sketches for part of the new opera behind in England^{xxv}. There is a further letter to his mother, dated from New York 6 February 1880^{xxvi}, which states that he has wired Frank Cellier to hunt for the words and music of the 'hymn' he had previously written to Lord Lorne's words about Canada. It contains the sentence, "*I left it in England of course, having carefully put it aside to bring with me.*" The weary 'of course' clearly refers back to previous correspondence on the subject of lost music. While an argument could once have been made for the invention of such a story if it were only to cover for the re-use of earlier material, there would be no reason to persist in the deception where an entirely new and much slighter piece was involved. Secondly, the manuscript probably given to Sullivan to work from turns out to be not one consistent text at all, but provides clear evidence of several stages of re-writing; it is indeed a kind of composite working text, as it contains not only pencilled ideas from the composer as to the possible key and tempo of musical settings but has obviously been used and marked up with stage pictures and moves during rehearsals.

Third, the licence copy, although submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's office only four days before the Paignton performance, is clearly in most respects a much earlier and more diffuse state of the text than that which Sullivan had to work on in the USA. Evidently it was left behind (deliberately this time) for transmission to the censor's office only once the general outline of what was to happen at Paignton was clear, but in the sure knowledge that writing and re-writing would continue practically down to the first night in New York, by which time it would be too late to send the 'real' text. The lie is however given to Gilbert's claim in the fourth document, by the fact that 'Climbing over rocky mountain' is present already both in this licence copy and on some of the earliest pages of the manuscript text; these in turn almost certainly pre-date the licence copy itself. Whatever Gilbert's reasons for indicating otherwise, the familiar chorus was deliberately included in the new libretto months before the loss of Sullivan's sketches became apparent.

An obvious question arises. If 'Climbing over rocky mountain' was an original part of the text, why should not a conscious decision have been made to 'use up', in Sullivan's famous alleged phrase, other parts of *Thespis* as well, at least so far as the music was concerned? Clearly such a decision could not have been made without Gilbert's consent, unless one argues that by a long co-incidence he happened to write several lyrics of the same metre and shape as some in *Thespis*, so that Sullivan was struck by the cumulative effect and decided to make life easy for himself. Of the various items suggested above, on musical grounds, as having a possible origin in *Thespis*, Frederic's ballad, 'Here's a first-rate opportunity', the Major-General's song and 'Oh happy day, with joyous glee', to name only the main contenders, are all also present in the licence copy and Gilbert's manuscript draft. Admittedly Gilbert is on record as hating to write

words to pre-existing tunes because in his opinion the result was generally ‘mere doggerel’^{xxvii} – but what else is his original lyric to Frederic’s ballad? (‘Oh do not spurn the pirate’s tear/ Nor deem his grief unreal and frothy;/ He longs to doff his pirate gear/ And turn tall-hatty and broad-cloth’). These particularly inefficient words are in one of the earliest pages of the MS worked on by Sullivan in the USA, pages which probably pre-date even the licence copy; might they not simply be deliberate nonsense intended on one hand to indicate the original metre (and therefore melody) to be preserved, and on the other to convey a general gist of the lines along which Frederic’s appeal to the girls might eventually run? Sullivan’s note ‘3 / 4 Moderato’ against the text might just as easily be a reminder as a suggestion for something new. Likewise, one of the earliest pages of the US draft shows Gilbert having considerable difficulty with the text towards the end of ‘Here’s a first-rate opportunity’. Perhaps this merely shows him wrestling unwillingly with an existing musical format.

There is an innate attractiveness about the idea of using up, for a so-called ‘new and original opera’, a great deal of musical material which no-one in the States would ever have heard, and which by 1879 would have been so far out of Richard D’Oyly Carte’s memory as to make it unlikely that he would feel himself short-changed. But of course, at least on Sullivan’s part, there was another very cogent reason for it being an attractive, indeed a life-saving, idea. The prospect of writing a comic opera for America and a cantata for the Leeds Festival in reasonably close conjunction had thrown him into a panic. On 30 June 1879 he wrote to the Leeds Secretary, Fred Spark, relieved at the possibility of the Festival being postponed for a year “*because in consequence of my approaching visit to America I should have very little time to write in the next six months, and I have been very seriously perplexed how to manage it.*”^{xxviii} Exactly a month later he wrote also to John Hollingshead, the manager of the Gaiety Theatre, asking for the return of the orchestral parts of *Thespis*. The inference is obvious. He now had control of the musical half of *Thespis*, and was certainly at liberty to re-work anything usable wherever he pleased. More telling perhaps, he had control of *all* the significant performing material of *Thespis*. There was no way in which the most dedicated busybody could hear it, see it, use it, or even make a positive identification of anything from the earlier piece. In this context it is useful to note his exactly parallel behaviour with the performing material of *The Sapphire Necklace* soon after his return from the USA^{xxix}. Buying the full score back from its potential publisher meant that, similarly, he had control and disposal of the entire piece.

While flying this particular kite two further small ideas are worth mention. The original (American) Act 2 Finale of *Pirates* culminated with a reprise of the Major-General’s song, with new words, which we have used as circumstantial evidence towards identifying the Railway song (which closes *Thespis*) as a possible original for the later piece. Might one of the reasons for the adaptation to what we now know as the Finale, for the London opening in April 1880, be the slight danger of people recognising ‘the hit of the night’ from the earlier work in its new guise? Admittedly this would pre-suppose that an audience was so enthralled with the new patter and the re-worked setting in Act 1 that they missed the fact that some of them had heard this before. Secondly, *Pirates* came back from New York an advertised smash hit, yet the vocal score was not published until October – six

months after the London opening. Was the delay deliberate? Was six months a useful cooling-off period, a time for any recognition of the earlier score to be voiced and any necessary changes made to the musical text? By autumn were they safe?

Certainly – to press on with this hypothesis – they must have felt safe enough by the time of *The Mikado* to allow *Thespis* to head the list of their joint works. It was far enough in the past, perhaps, to have no more than curiosity value, and anyway, the claim to have used up all the music in other things was convincing if disappointing. Unfortunately there was one key player who, for obvious enough reasons, had not been let in on the secret. His name was Richard D'Oyly Carte. Out of the blue in 1895, almost 20 years after he had first made the suggestion, he suggested a revival of *Thespis*!^{xxx} On 24 April, Helen Carte wrote a long letter to Gilbert about his rehearsing revivals. Among a series of questions about notification, payment and other things, she asked if he would object to adding *Thespis* to the possible list, as Carte had said he would particularly like Gilbert to include it^{xxxi}. Perhaps, aware of the similarity of themes and setting, Carte wanted to make sure no-one else staged it in competition with *The Grand Duke*, or maybe there was an intention to stage it as a Christmas novelty. In the agreements signed in May, however, *Thespis* is not included. Apparently Gilbert had voiced some objection, or ignored the idea, or Carte had changed his mind, and there appear to be no other letters on the subject^{xxxii}. As far as can be shown Gilbert may not have mentioned it to Sullivan at all; at least there is no reference in Sullivan's diary. One diary ended on 22 April 1895, two days before Helen Carte's letter, and Sullivan then began another which is 'a week to view' and records little but dinner invitations until August. On the other hand any possible conversation between the two, knowing what they knew, would make an entertaining dramatisation.

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It will be obvious that so far our argument has been based entirely on the music of Act 1 of each opera. There are reasons for this. To begin with, the parallels we have noted in the development of the first Acts are not present in the second. As *Pirates* proceeds, the relationship and planning between the Major-General and the newly-introduced police (heavily worked up for the USA market, of course), and the love interest between Mabel and Frederic, lead in a series of new directions. Contrast this, particularly, with the loving couple in *Thespis* – we rather lose sight of the relationship between Nicemis and Sparkeion except when the Other Woman stakes her claim. Indeed, as has often been noted, the growth of the second Act of *Pirates* out of the first is untypical in the 'Savoy canon', and the second act itself is unique in structure and dramatic intent. The first act crisis (such as it is) does not produce any kind of topsy-turvy situation; it is merely vaguely unresolved owing to General Stanley's excess of remorse. Effectively the status quo of Act 1 is then restored by the revelation of Frederic's birth and his return to blind duty, all of which merely serves to set up the incident that fills the rest of the act. Were we less familiar with them, we might be forgiven for feeling that the two acts are in fact from two different works, cleverly but not altogether convincingly sewn together.

The day after they arrived in the USA to work on *HMS Pinafore* and *Pirates*, the New York Herald ran a long interview with both Gilbert and Sullivan^{xxxiii}. The reporter referred to a tale, already leaked from some source, that part of the plot of the new piece was to deal with six burglars who became enamoured of the six daughters of a house into which they had broken, and questioned Gilbert about it directly. His reply was to the effect that they “*originally mapped that out for a little one-act piece like Trial by Jury, and very likely shall use it in the present work*”. He might have added that the source of the leak was none other than Arthur Sullivan, and that he would be speaking severely to him about it afterwards. For Sullivan had spoken very freely to the New York Times before leaving Britain, and described the ‘notion’ of this incident in great detail, including references to soft music setting the night-time scene, a mysterious chorus for the burglars, a scene in which the daughters’ elderly father sees and hears nothing but the sighing of the breeze despite the burglars being at work all around him, and a final rescue by the police.^{xxxiv}

It has been recently and powerfully shown by Kevin Wachs of Ohio^{xxxv} that the ‘little one-act piece’ thus described can be identified, on strong circumstantial evidence, with the piece being written for D’Oyly Carte’s management early in 1876, immediately negotiations for the then projected revival of *Thespis* had disintegrated^{xxxvi}. Despite the frequent assumption that this piece never got beyond initial sketches, Wachs makes a very good case for its being not only begun but virtually completed, both words and music, by early March 1876, and then abruptly shelved because Carte, as in the case of the *Thespis* revival, was simply not able to meet Gilbert and Sullivan’s financial terms.

If therefore we are to believe both Sullivan’s description of this ‘little one-act piece’ and Gilbert’s admission that they would ‘very likely . . . use it in the present work’, then the reason for the second act of *Pirates* feeling like a separate piece is crystal clear. It was. More than this – if indeed *The Robbers* (as we may justifiably call it) provided the heart of Act 2, we would be unlikely to find much or any of *Thespis* in it. The intriguing possibility opens up that in writing (perhaps we should say assembling) the text of *Pirates*, both collaborators were deliberately ‘using up’ good material from two distinct sources, neither of which had ever been heard in the USA, and neither of which, so far as they then knew, anyone would want to hear again in Britain. Their ‘new and original opera’ had a more shop-soiled look about it than either of them would have been prepared to admit in public, and the need for a campaign of silence afterwards was made doubly necessary.

But there is of course a point at which the two ‘notions’, and therefore possibly the two extensive borrowings, begin to merge. It is the point at which Frederic, with his sense of duty re-born, lets slip the ‘terrible story’ the Major-General has told. There then follow a ‘revenge’ trio, at effectively the moment at which in *Thespis* the three gods return – powerfully echoed in Jonathan Strong’s 1977 version by setting “Oh rage and fury” from the one opera to “Away, away!” from the other – and various contrivances to get everyone on stage for the grand denouement. There is a fight (half-hearted in *Pirates*, largely verbal in *Thespis*) during which one side proves itself the clear winner. In *Pirates* all end up friends by a combination of the British sense of fair play and loyalty to the crown (all,

naturally, for the US market again); in *Thespis* there is no reconciliation, rather the actors are sent packing. Each piece however ends, plausibly, with a reprise of the Railway/Major-General's song and a dance. Perhaps any further *Thespis* material should be sought only at the far end of the *Pirates* text and score.

For completeness' sake it is therefore worth noting what we have done with the remaining music of Act 2 of *Thespis*. For the opening chorus, 'Of all symposia', we are glad to adopt St Pat's Players' delightful suggestion of 'With cards and dice' from *The Beauty Stone*. The solo verse for Sillimon rather defeated them, and they found themselves sidetracked into 'We have thought the matter out' from *Haddon Hall*, but we continue with an easy adaptation of the men's unison chorus. Despite the fact that this works very well, we are inclined to doubt that it is original. The openings of Act 2 of *The Grand Duke*, and of scene 4 of *The Martyr of Antioch*, have frequently been mentioned as perhaps sharing a common ancestor – both being ancient Greek in ethos, both sharing the same incessant semiquaver pattern and rhythm. We believe that something from *Thespis* may well lie behind both, but at this distance unsolveably.

For Mercury's patter song 'Olympus is now in a terrible muddle', in an obvious 6/8 metre, candidates and likely adaptable themes have been legion. While enjoying Rees and Morton's use of 'Happy are we in our loving frivolity' from *The Sorcerer*, we feel that once again St Pat's suggestion of 'Bolero, bolero! The robbers' pet' in 3/8 from *The Contrabandista* wins this contest for sheer originality, and deserves recognition for the ingenuity of keeping both Sparkeion and Sillimon onstage to form a backing group.

Over the years two distinct schools of thought have grown up in the G&S literature regarding the quartet 'You're Diana, I'm Apollo'. Many have favoured using the quartet from Act 2 of *Patience* (If Saphir I choose to marry), others the 'Harum-scarum' trio from *The Rose of Persia*. Both work equally well, though 'Harum-scarum' feels noticeably later in Sullivan's style. Terence Rees suggested 'She will tend him, nurse him, mend him' from *The Sorcerer*. Bruce Montgomery's new version is probably the best of all settings, playing as a fast French gallop and offering Daphne-as-Katisha. On balance, we felt that for our purposes the extract from *Patience* worked best – especially with three girls' voices in close harmony. We had to make a show!

The Act 2 Finale consists of six or seven small and bitty sections, and it is not always easy even to say where one begins metrically and another ends. We found that much of it could be set naturally to recitative or monotone, and with one single exception the music could be supplied from *Pirates*, most tellingly from the Act 2 Finale of that work. "Jupiter, Mars and Apollo", for instance, can be obligingly set to "I'm telling a terrible story" from Act 1 of *Pirates*. "Is he to die", despite the efforts of many arrangers to over-set these lines to a real tune, makes a convincing and rapid chant for the repeated appeals of "Let us remain, we beg of you pleadingly", and "Away to earth" fits note for note and mood for mood over "With base deceit". It is difficult to resist the temptation that one Finale has been deliberately adapted to allow for the exigencies of the second; not for the first time, it is possible to suggest individual brief sections as the originals, with *Thespis* words attached, and to be wary of the way in which such identifiable

sections are strung together with what is really no more than perfunctory recitative linking them.

Throughout the thesis being advanced at length above, it has been our intention to make a case for a substantial part of the score of *Thespis* being deliberately transplanted and re-worked into Act 1 of *Pirates*, and to a much lesser extent into the Finale of Act 2, as part of the preparation for that opera's premiere in the United States. We hope that, at very least, we have elevated the plain on which such matters may be discussed in future, and have demonstrated the real nature of musical adaptation that may be required of anyone attempting to work back to the original musical text. We have postulated a degree of necessary musical sophistication ignored by many other researchers, and suggested a string of coherent reasons for the theory we put forward. It may, finally, be asked, Is there nothing which suggests that Gilbert and Sullivan have given themselves away in any of the covering of tracks necessary if our hypothesis is correct? Is there no reference where Homer can be proved to be dozing, nowhere the mask slips? Is there nowhere we can catch them out?

It would be true, but far too convenient, to suggest that families and friends are often advised to bin or burn embarrassing or compromising references on paper after someone's death. This would certainly explain manuscript silence on many of the matters we have discussed, although, as the archaeology tutor of one of us used to instil into his students, "Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence". But perhaps there is just one place where the guard has been let down. In 1890 the dogged Percy de Strzelecki wrote to Gilbert, having got his hands on a *Thespis* libretto of 1871^{xxxvii} and noticed the appalling number of obvious errors in the text, to ask why it had not been properly proof-read. Gilbert replied that he had been out of the country in the USA for part of the run-up to the production, and consequently there had been no time.

Much ink has been spilt over the question whether Gilbert was indeed in the States for part of 1871 or not. It is now known that he was indeed there very briefly, for five days in June 1872^{xxxviii}, to negotiate the production and rights of his play *Pygmalion & Galatea*, first produced in London only three weeks before *Thespis*. Writing to de Strzelecki 18 years later has he simply fused the two events – *Pygmalion* and *Thespis* date from the same month, so if I was in the USA at the time of one I must have been there and unable to proof-read the other? Or have we caught him? The only other time he had been in the USA, the famous occasion well known to everyone, was for the premiere of *Pirates* with all that entailed, in 1879. When he declares that *Thespis* was not proof-read because of his absence in the States, has his mind jumped to another time when *Thespis* and the USA were closely connected? A time in fact when he was in the USA cutting it up and calling it *The Pirates of Penzance*?

If events ran as we have suggested, then from the spring of 1880 *Thespis* was dead, and at his parents' own hands. For a while, at least. And as to the ultimate fate of the rest of the score – well, it would be perfectly easy for a package to slip over the side while they inhaled, with grateful zest, the breath of the Atlantic . . .

- i *Victoria and the Enchanted Island*, in Sir Arthur Sullivan Society Magazine 30, summer 1990, pp 4 - 15
- ii Rees, op cit, pp 83-85.
- iii Spencer & Tillett, op cit
- iv Rees, op cit, pp 93-94
- v Grateful thanks are due to Ralph McPhail and sundry contributors to SavoyNet for first indications about several of these.
- vi Info Ian Bond on the *Thespis* discussion pages, G&S Archive on SavoyNet.
- vii We know of the existence of this version solely through a review by Prof Jane Stedman in *Gasbag* for April 1982. She describes the music as ‘tentatively modern and eclectic, to say the least. It fought the lyrics’.
- viii This version also is known only through the review by Prof Stedman quoted above.
- ix E.g. Arthur Robinson, ‘A Greek Remark’, in May 1995 issue (no 42) of *Precious Nonsense* (newsletter of the Midwestern G&S Society) and subsequently on the *Thespis* pages of the G&S Archive on SavoyNet.
- x All examples from *Orpheus* are taken from the English edition by Ian Gledhill and Michael Withers (The Opera Bureau, 1990), which reconstructs the original of the opera as it would have been at the time of *Thespis*, before huge re-working on Offenbach’s part.
- xi E.g. *Four Bars of ‘Agit’* – incidental music for Victorian and Edwardian melodrama (with 62 pages of sample score) by David Mayer & Matthew Scott (Samuel French Ltd & the Theatre Museum, 1983); *Henry Irving and The Bells* – Irving’s personal script of the play, with all the incidental music – David Mayer (Manchester University Press, 1980.)
- xii David Russell Hulme, *The Usher’s Song*, in SASS booklet commemorating the centenary of the first revivals of *Trial by Jury* and *The Sorcerer* (1984), p 23.
- xiii *Arthur Sullivan, A Victorian Musician* (2nd ed, Aldershot 1992) p 418
- xiv Hulme, op cit
- xv E-mail of 31 May 2002. Clary also played Cinderella in Emile Jonas’ opera *Cinderella the Younger*, and Mephisto in Hervé’s *Le Petit Faust*; Loseby’s much wider career included Prince Raphael in *The Princess of Trebizonde*, Princess Velontine in *Aladdin II*, Galatea in Gilbert’s translation of Suppe’s *Die Schöne Galatea* and Clairette in *La Fille de Madame Angot*. All these appearances were at the Gaiety.
- xvi G&S News, Summer 1998, pp 11-13
- xvii *Sir Arthur Sullivan, Composer & Personage*, Reginald Allen, (Pierpont Morgan Library, 1975) p 67
- xviii Rees, op cit, pp 36 and 63
- xix *Victoria & the Enchanted Island*, p 9
- xx E.g. Jacobs, op cit, p 421
- xxi It can be heard best on Chandos Records, CHAN 9209, played by the Danish National Radio Symphony Orchestra, cond. Gennady Rozhdestvensky (1993)
- xxii All discussed in John Wolfson, *Final Curtain*, (Chappell 1976), pp 202 –207.
- xxiii *The First-Night Gilbert and Sullivan* (centennial ed, Chappell 1975) p 6
- xxiv (privately circulated, unpublished, November 1999)
- xxv Jacobs, op cit, page 143
- xxvi in Pierpont Morgan Library
- xxvii Wolfson, op cit, p 203

- ^{xxviii} *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals*, F R Spark and Joseph Bennett, 1892
- ^{xxix} Terence Rees, *Sullivan's Royalty Contracts* in *The Gilbert & Sullivan Journal* (Spring 1973) p 7.
- ^{xxx} Jane Stedman, *WS Gilbert; A classic Victorian & his theatre* (OUP 1996) p95
- ^{xxxi} A copy of the letter is in Carte's letter-book which contains copies of his correspondence from Dec 21 1891 to May 12 1895, now in the Theatre Museum. We owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Jane Stedman.
- ^{xxxii} E-mail from Prof Stedman to ST, 25 February 2002
- ^{xxxiii} Partly reproduced in Isaac Goldberg, *The Story of Gilbert and Sullivan* (New York 1928) p 227
- ^{xxxiv} Quoted in Ian Bradley, *The Annotated Gilbert and Sullivan Vol 1* (Penguin 1982) p 150
- ^{xxxv} Postings on SavoyNet in March and April 2000, October and December 2001. These were not known to the present writers until after our original talk and performance had been researched and given.
- ^{xxxvi} Letters between Gilbert and Carte quoted in Rees, *op cit*, pp 85-86
- ^{xxxvii} Townley Searle, *A Bibliography of Sir William Schwenk Gilbert* (London 1931) p 100, discussing the rarity of some libretti: "A letter to the Editor, printed in over 40 of the leading newspapers, brought to light an interesting *Thespis* and an original letter from Gilbert saying that he was in America when it was printed."
- ^{xxxviii} Stedman, *op cit*, p 97