

SERVING THE PRODUCTION : TANYA MOISEWITSCH'S APPLICATION OF
COLOUR IN SHAKESPEAREAN THEATRICAL COSTUME DESIGN

BY

CECILE M. CLAYTON-GOUTHRO

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

Serving the production: Tanya Moiseiwitsch's application of colour in Shakespearean costume design.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's theatre costume and set designs are particularly significant within Canadian theatre because of her association with and assistance in the development of the Stratford Festival. Her costume creations for Stratford spanned a period of 32 years and influenced numerous designers who followed. Through her association with the Festival, Moiseiwitsch contributed to the 20th century transplantation of British design tradition to North America. Moiseiwitsch's position within that tradition was clarified by tracing the development of the designer role in British theatre. Beginning in the mid 1930s, she helped to shape a more metaphorical, less decorative-oriented design approach, emphasizing a collaborative production process and incorporating aspects of Gordon Craig and Adolphe Appia's design theories. Studies pertaining to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's theatrical experience have described some of the strong and consistent characteristics in her work (Behl, 1981; Blom, 1982; Bundick, 1979; Stuart, 1974). The purpose of this study was to identify Tanya Moiseiwitsch's application of colour in Shakespearean costume designs and to add to our understanding of costume colour and characterization relationships. By examining selected costume designs from two Shakespeare plays, All's Well That Ends Well and Romeo and Juliet, created by a variety of designers in Britain, Canada and the United States, it was possible to distinguish Tanya Moiseiwitsch's approach to colour and characterization. Costume designs from selected theatres in all three countries were colour coded using the Pantone Professional Colour System to ensure accuracy in colour readings. Colour charts for each character provided a visual reference from which to establish characterization and colour relationships.

Using established colour associations compiled by Pantone, costume colour and character interpretations were correlated. By researching numerous designers' applications of colour for the selected characters in the two productions, it was possible to determine pervasive cultural colour attributes existing both geographically and temporally. The research findings indicate that Moiseiwitsch's palette for these plays favored a low to medium hue saturation with an emphasis on the warm colour spectrum. Overall she applied a colour coding similar to that used by the other designers, but often used different hues having similar associative meaning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Six years ago, when I first considered studying for my doctoral degree, knowing that I wanted to research theatre costume, Dr. Francis Carroll suggested that I look at the work of Tanya Moiseiwitsch. That was a wonderful suggestion. Dr. Marilyn Baker supported this idea and encouraged me to pursue my studies. I am grateful for her sustained support and guidance as my thesis advisor. Dr. Susan Turnbull Caton was equally important in encouraging my decision to do this research. I want to thank Dr. Peter Bailey and Dr. Chris Johnson for helping me to negotiate less familiar disciplines. I am proud to have worked with these scholars. I appreciate the comments of Dr. Richard Knowles, my external reader, whose rigor strengthened my work.

Many individuals who are closely associated with the theatre were generous with their time and information. Their names, too numerous to be listed here, are recorded in Appendix G. I need to thank Tanya Moiseiwitsch herself. Her anecdotes about her costume design experiences and her enthusiasm for her life's work contributed greatly to my understanding of the subject. Most of the material related to Tanya Moiseiwitsch is preserved at the Stratford Theatre Archives. Lisa Brant from the Stratford Theatre Archives is a great resource person.

I acknowledge the financial support of a University of Manitoba Graduate Fellowship and a University of Birmingham Scholarship which helped to make the research project possible.

In the course of writing this thesis, I have gained new respect and appreciation for the role of editing. I want to thank Louise Jonasson for taking this role, and before her, my husband Steve Gouthro and my son Ian Clayton for their help. Thank you to them, to my daughter, and to my friends for their patience and encouragement while I did my research. I recognize my good fortune in having the friends and colleagues that I have.

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PREFACE

Thesis structure

The first chapter of this study presents the thesis topic: Serving the production : Tanya Moiseiwitsch's application of colour in Shakespearean theatrical costume. This chapter establishes Tanya Moiseiwitsch's importance within international theatre since 1934 and within Canadian theatre since 1953. It provides the justification for studying costume colour in relation to characterization and outlines the reasons for choosing two of Shakespeare's plays , Romeo and Juliet and All's Well That Ends Well, as the basis for the costume data collection. The objectives and purposes of the research are stated within this chapter.

The second chapter is a review and discussion of the literature related to this study. The literature is organized in sections introducing biographical data about Tanya Moiseiwitsch, her association with Tyrone Guthrie, and the establishment of the Stratford Festival in Canada. Literature related to her design approach, to colour research generally, and literature which considers costume on the thrust stage (a stage which she helped to reintroduce) are also reported on in this chapter.

Chapter three explains the method of inquiry for the research. The development of a research model, the Theatrical Costume Colour Analysis Model, based on an established colour system is detailed and research sources listed. The limitations and parameters of the study are delineated in this chapter.

The next three chapters outline the findings of the study. An analysis of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within British theatre design history is presented in chapter four.

As part of the analysis, a diagrammatic model indicating the larger tendencies in British design and clarifying Tanya Moiseiwitsch's place within that tradition was developed. That model is shown here in approximate chronological order. Chapters five and six document the analyses of costume colour within the two plays. Chapter five examines costume colour for four characters in 14 productions of Romeo and Juliet, while the next chapter follows suit with 7 productions of All's Well That Ends Well. The analyses in these chapters are based on charts of the different costume colours utilized by the various designers. Watercolour illustrations of the various characters are reproduced throughout chapters 5 and 6.

The information in the last three chapters of the dissertation is summarized, the connections addressed, and conclusions drawn, in the final two chapters. The study's findings both reinforce existing knowledge regarding colour and Tanya Moiseiwitsch's use of it in Shakespearean costume, and suggest further possibilities for investigation. The thesis concludes with appendices containing the costume colour/characterization charts, references to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's extensive production designs, designer biographies, production lists, and other relevant material.

I. TANYA MOISEIWITSCH

Tanya Moiseiwitsch : Costume design

Even without the actors animating the script of a play, theatre costumes retain characteristics that allow them to be viewed from a variety of figurative and literal perspectives. When removed from their original context and placed in a gallery setting, the costumes exist as artifacts worthy of appreciation in their own right. They can be evocative referents to remembered scenes and emotions, or celebratory evidence of a particular creative endeavour; the dominant perspective ultimately rests with the viewer. However, when the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario opened a major theatrical costume exhibition on the 27th of June, 1974, the focus was celebratory. The artifacts included hundreds of costumes, a selection of design sketches, and several masks. They were chosen from productions at the Stratford Festival in Ontario, the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis and from production designs in Great Britain. All were the work of one designer: Tanya Moiseiwitsch.

In mounting this exhibit, the citizens of Stratford honoured the designer who helped launch its Shakespeare Festival 21 years earlier. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's contribution to the Festival began with her designs for two Shakespeare plays, Richard III and All's Well That Ends Well, and spanned the years from 1953 to 1985. During that time she designed costumes and sets for 29 Stratford Festival productions: two-thirds of these were plays by William Shakespeare.

During her career, which began in the 1930s and continued into the 1980s, Tanya Moiseiwitsch achieved international distinction as a designer of both sets and costumes. Her importance to theatre design was clear even before her 1953 Canadian debut. Moiseiwitsch's talent was first recognized with her student designs for The Faithful at the

Westminster Theatre in London (1934). She honed her skills as a designer at theatres in the United Kingdom including the Abbey Theatre in Dublin (from 1935-39), commercial theatres in London's West End (from 1940), the Oxford Playhouse (classical repertory from 1941-44), the Old Vic (classical repertory from 1944), the Royal Opera House Covent Garden (1947), and finally, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-Upon-Avon (from 1949) before working in North America.

Tyrone Guthrie, the first director of the Festival at Stratford Ontario, appreciated her expertise and invited her to become Stratford Festival's inaugural designer (Figure 1). To



Figure 1. Harry Showalter (Festival organizer) (L) welcoming the Guthries, (centre) and Tanya Moiseiwitsch (R). 1953
Photograph courtesy of the Stratford Festival Archives

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's legacy to the Festival is most visible in the architectural features based on her designs: the main theatre and its thrust stage. References to either a thrust stage or 3/4 stage indicate a similar type of structure: the audience is situated close to the stage, on three sides of it. This brings the audience physically, and according to those who

prefer it, emotionally closer to the action of the play when compared to the proscenium stage, with the audience seated in front and the play presented within a framed pictorial format. Moiseiwitsch's collaboration with Tyrone Guthrie in designing the thrust stage at the Stratford Festival and later at the Guthrie Theatre count among her most noteworthy accomplishments.

In addition to her contribution to the structure of the theatre, her influence on costume design at Stratford went beyond her own productions and can be observed to the present time. Debra Hanson, the head of Design at the Festival in 1992, attested to this when she asserted that the Festival's production team strives to be the best (Macleans, 29 June, 1992). To this end, the article states, the Festival has allocated considerable time and money for the design and construction of high quality costumes. According to Louise Champion, then Head of Wardrobe, that degree of commitment to high standards of costume production, observable in the choice of materials and the attention to construction details, began with Moiseiwitsch's involvement at the Festival (personal communication, 1991) .

Tanya Moiseiwitsch also contributed to the Festival through her roles as teacher and mentor to other international designers who worked at the Stratford Festival. Desmond Heeley and Brian Jackson are notable in this regard. In an interview with Pat Quigley of the Festival, Desmond Heeley referred to Tanya Moiseiwitsch as "such a graceful teacher..." (1990) and stated that he was very much aware of following in her footsteps. His development as a designer reveals an emphasis on painterly costumes that blur structural details rather than feature them. Heeley credited Moiseiwitsch as a mentor who influenced his own design approach through her appreciation of apparel as architectural forms. His finished product might be significantly different in aesthetic sensibility, but, like Moiseiwitsch, Heeley always respected the shape of a costume as one of its foremost elements. Moiseiwitsch's influence in Heeley's work was more apparent in the earlier

stages of his career, prior to the expressionistic fabric colours and textures which have since become his trademark. Moiseiwitsch's role as mentor can be seen in Brian Jackson's designs during the time he worked with her at the Festival in the 1960s. His designs have a restraint in decorative detail and an impressionistic sense of period. Sometimes they even look like Moiseiwitsch's renderings.

Throughout the years, analysts of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's costume designs have frequently noted two distinctive features: their striking sculptural quality and their distinct orchestration of colour. Asked to describe her most salient design characteristics, theatre scholars refer to Moiseiwitsch's costume designs as "architectonic" (Ingram, personal communication, 1991) or "sculptural" (Bryden, personal communication, 1990). These qualities are closely (though not exclusively) related to her capacity as a designer of, and designer on, a thrust stage. The architectural and sculptural assessments of Moiseiwitsch's costume designs arise from the clear style silhouettes and often flat colouring of her stage costumes. These traits are emphasized by the contrasting minimal background of the thrust stage and the proximity of the audience to the players.

However important this sculptural quality is in the visualization of the production, it is Tanya Moiseiwitsch's use of colour that attracted the most attention from the reviewers. Toronto Globe and Mail critic Herbert Whittaker felt she had a "...rare sense of color" (1964, January 4), which he later defined as a "...subtle color sense" (1974, May 25). That sense of colour was perceived as a "...low-key palette" (Sangster, 1977), but it could also feature vibrant accents. Writing as critic for the Toronto Globe and Mail, Whittaker's description of the splendour of Moiseiwitsch's designs for the Festival's opening production Richard III particularly focused on her application of costume colour. Whittaker wrote: "The colors are muted for the most part, with many blacks and greys, so that Richard's enormous coronation robe filled the eye richly with its crimson splendor" (Bryden, 1985, p.39). This costume must have been stunning as it swept the stage, but it

was particularly the contrast of the brilliant red colour set against a muted background which enthralled the critic. Costume structure supported by colour functioned as an expressive symbolic tool within this production. Whittaker's account is significant because it offers clues to Moiseiwitsch's colour sensibility, a sensibility that is mostly associated with a subdued colour palette.

Objectives and purposes of the study

It was the specific description of her application of colour in the first few seasons at the Stratford Festival in Ontario that initiated my inquiry into the way Tanya Moiseiwitsch used colour in costume. A number of questions shaped the research system. What is distinctive about her application of colour, what is culturally related, and what is related to the traditions of staging?

Three purposes exist within this study. The first is to add to the appreciation of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's place in the history of design with particular reference to her use of colour. The second evolves from that: to expand our knowledge of the dynamics of costume design within theatre history. The third purpose of this study is to increase our understanding of colour meaning in a specific cultural context (the theatre) and within the framework of a classical repertoire (Shakespeare).

It is the objective of this study to identify Moiseiwitsch's choices of colour in costume design and to understand how they relate to characterization. In order to interpret the material, a contextual framework for the British design traditions out of which her work evolved was established. Further, this study set out to analyse how her use of colour compared with that of her contemporary colleagues in costume design, and finally, to distinguish references to cultural colour attributes as they exist in costume design. To do this, a central basis of comparison was required. Accordingly, costumes from Shakespeare's plays were chosen for this study. A full explanation for this choice of

playwright and specific productions is provided in the section outlining the justification for the study.

Careful independent investigation by the researcher was required to answer the questions shaping this study. Design is not a subject which Tanya Moiseiwitsch is willing to look at in a systematic way. She is known for her reluctance to analyse her design work, believing that to do so is, in her own words " ...a very dangerous thing" (Hayes & Barlow, 1991). While Moiseiwitsch's accounts of her experiences in the theatre are filled with gentle humour and sprinkled with brief references to specific productions and the odd design generalization, she remains veiled with regard to any dissection of her design approach. This attitude seems to have developed while she was still a student at school in England where, as part of her studies, she was required to attend productions at the Old Vic. Moiseiwitsch found that the plays were better appreciated when they were acted on the stage "...rather than torn apart line by line in an English class" (Stratford Beacon-Herald, 1974, June 1). The same appreciation for the potential magic of any theatrical experience underscores her beliefs with regard to being analytical about her own designs. She has stated: " There's a feeling of mystery and surprise which applies to almost anything in life. Talk about it, and it usually falls through in some way or other" (Stratford Beacon-Herald, 1970, June 6). Analysis of her work must therefore evolve from an examination of the designs themselves in the context of other variables: Shakespeare productions, theatrical conventions, and cultural influences.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch orchestrates meaning through her signature colour application in costume design, establishing characterization and setting the tenor of the scene. In the 1961 production of Love's Labours Lost for Stratford Festival, a play that begins with an atmosphere of warmth and laughter but concludes in a sombre mood, Moiseiwitsch supported the script by first dressing all the court women in different tints of palest white silks to establish the carefree feeling at the start of the play. "The mood of 'Love's Labours

Lost' is pastoral and soft, light colors ...", she explained at the time of its performance at Stratford (Stratford Beacon-Herald, 1961, June 17). The atmosphere of the play shifts dramatically with the French messenger's arrival announcing the King's death. At that point in the 1961 production the women donned dark brown chiffon cloaks, evoking the saddened atmosphere. The ethereal quality of the garments so suited to the characters of the princess and her ladies, was thus undiminished and the shift in mood was instantly conveyed through the use of a deeper shade. It was a beautiful, practical, and effective measure on Moiseiwitsch's part, one regarded as a typical "Tanya touch" (Behl, 1986).

This recollection exemplifies Tanya Moiseiwitsch's well declared intent to make costume subservient to the production's needs. She achieved this through collaborative interaction and decision making with directors and other members of the production team (Behl, 1982; Blom, 1981). In any interview, recorded or otherwise, she stresses this aspect of the production process over and over: designing costumes must be a collaborative effort in order to elicit a unified experience. This includes making decisions regarding costume colour. " A designer must always work with the idea he's serving the production not just decorating the play, but interpreting what's inside the text, what has to be got out of it" (Stratford Beacon-Herald, 1974, June 1).

Tanya Moiseiwitsch was always careful to convey a sense of a specific period if it was integral to the production, regardless of playwright. She sought to interpret the material in a manner intended to capture the essence of the production rather than literally transcribing it. Her designs, including her choices of colour, were based on research of the period. The examination of a particular work of art often guided her decisions. This approach to design interpretation reflects her roots within the British theatrical tradition which, even in its modern exposition, continued to show vestiges of the 19th century ideal of careful historical research as a component of quality. Her distilled use of a period or an artist's

colour, and attention to historical detail attest to her early interest in how people dressed (Hayes & Barlow, 1991).

Justification

Tanya Moiseiwitsch

In the realm of the theatre world, Tanya Moiseiwitsch's influence has been far-reaching both in time and place. Her design work on costumes, props, settings, and stages has brought her recognition as one of the most important theatre designers of the 20th century (Behl, 1986). In a career spanning 51 years worldwide, she designed over 170 productions. She helped to reintroduce the concept of staging in 3/4 round, and was, as noted, directly involved in the establishment of two theatres in North America.

Rarely do any discussions of theatrical productions at the Stratford Festival in Canada occur without the eventual mention of Moiseiwitsch's designs. In 1952, with the support of the Canada Council, Tom Patterson set about to bring his dream of a Shakespeare festival to his hometown of Stratford, Ontario. He sought Tyrone Guthrie's assistance in establishing the Festival. Guthrie advised Patterson to secure the help of one of England's greatest designers, Tanya Moiseiwitsch (Patterson, 1987). At that time, Moiseiwitsch was in "...her mid-career" (Leech, 1985, p.18). She had distinguished herself with designs for Uncle Vanya at the Old Vic in 1945, and assured her place in British design with her designs for Shakespeare's history cycle at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in 1951. Although she was an established designer in Britain, Canadians were unfamiliar with her accomplishments. However, by the beginning of the 60s, the Toronto Daily Star was reporting that she was "...at the summit of her costume-designing profession: a name that has become a standard by which others are often judged" (1962, June 16).

An examination of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's work is important not only because of her association with the development of a major theatre in Canada, but also because of her role

as mentor in theatre design. Along with Heeley and Jackson noted earlier, Dennis Behl (1981, p. 356) included John Jensen, James Bakkom, and Rodney Ford in the list of those whose work she has influenced.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's contributions to North American theatre are evident both in Canadian theatre and in the United States, particularly at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis. Such a strong connection with North American theatre, and specifically with the development of a major Canadian theatrical venture, firmly establishes her as someone whose design approach warrants study.

While various articles and two theses (Behl, 1981; Blom, 1982) have been written about her work, a comprehensive examination of the specific character and content of individual costumes as they relate to characters within productions remains to be more extensively explored. In Thrice the Brinded Cat Hath Mew'd, a record of the Stratford Festival in Canada (1955, p.113), Tyrone Guthrie and Tanya Moiseiwitsch urged scholars to place more emphasis on technical accounts of productions for future use as historical sources of information about theatrical practice of their times. They pointed out that such accounts would establish context for the interpretation of classics.

Shakespearean costume as focus

A catalogue of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designology is included in Appendix D. It includes 171 productions. Of these, 42 (constituting the largest percentage of works by one author) are works by William Shakespeare. Out of Shakespeare's 37 plays, Moiseiwitsch designed 28 of them; she has worked on a total of 42 Shakespeare productions. Forty-two Shakespeare productions in 51 years constitutes an impressive record, and argues well for choosing costumes from productions of his plays as a focus for analyzing Moiseiwitsch's use of costume colour.

The decision to focus on Shakespeare's plays was also guided by broader considerations. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's disinclination to analyse her work created a need for some method of establishing its distinctiveness beyond pure description. The distinguishing features with regard to her use of colour would be most recognizable if they were compared to the work of other designers. Because of this approach, it was important to choose plays with a record of several accessible productions so that a basis for comparative evaluation would be possible. Shakespeare productions are profuse and universal; they were therefore a logical choice as vehicles for comparing numerous designers' application of costume colour. Together with Tanya Moiseiwitsch's extensive record of Shakespearean production design, this element reinforced an investigative focus based on his plays. Shakespeare's texts are thus the connectors linking the costume colour choices made by Tanya Moiseiwitsch and other designers. The differences between Moiseiwitsch and other designers' applications of colour are more easily discernible when we study them within the same time frame. To provide an expanded context for costume colour application in theatre within that analysis, the influence of culturally related variables such as period fashion colours and theatrical conventions were also considered.

Costume colour and Shakespeare

Shakespeare used colour symbolically, as well as to evoke certain moods. When the Prince of Morocco asks "What says the silver with her virgin hue?" (II.vii.22) in The Merchant of Venice, he was making a reference to a well-understood and specific Elizabethan conception of that colour. In the sixteenth century, silver was understood to represent purity. Fashion was determined at the court of Elizabeth I by the Queen herself, trickling down through the courtiers and their ladies only with her approval. Clothing and clothing colour were symbolic vehicles of expression during her reign, and the language could be very complex. Jane Ashleford (1988, p.102) records that in 1583 one of the most influential treatises on colour symbolism was translated into English from its French

origins. The book, entitled A Rare True and Proper Blazon of Coloures and Ensignes Military with theyr Peculiar Signification by Sicile, outlined the meaning of colours and was taken very seriously by those caught up in the courtly love tradition. Allen (1936, p.82) suggested that there were four treatises on the subject during the 16th century and that the colour symbolism they decoded "became an intrinsic form of symbolism in the English literature" of that time. He explained that the symbolism was derived from uses in art, folk customs, blazonry, and church ritual of medieval times; but actually it had widespread use in the 16th century because of intentional incorporation by English Renaissance writers such as Shakespeare, Spenser, Ford and Jonson.

Queen Elizabeth's favorite colours were black and white (Ashelford, 1988; Norris, 1938; Strong, 1983) because they symbolized virginity and constancy at that time. Many of her courtiers wore those colours in deference to her. In 1578, while on a visit to Suffolk, she was met by a number of men who were described as "two hundred yong Gentlemen, cladde in white velvet and three hundfed [sic] of the graver sorte apparelled in blacke velvet coates" (quoted in McCracken, 1985, p.518).

From the various treatises, we learn that black indicated grief as well as constancy. Black as a symbol of mourning has been an enduring symbol in the Western world. Roy Strong (1983, p.80) believed that association of constancy with black resulted from of its inability to take other colour. Black is the only colour unaffected by others, thereby remaining constant in hue. Because of this associative meaning, it was the favoured colour for the background of small portraits in the Elizabethan period (Strong, 1983). There were likely more practical reasons for such a colour choice, such as the high contrast which a dark background provided, but black's symbolic association with constancy was significant. Within the Western world, black has also signified malevolence, aggression, and the darker side of life. Even in Shakespeare's comedies, it appears in this context. In one of the loquacious speeches in Love's Labours Lost, the King enunciates this sentiment:

"O Paradox! Black is the badge of hell/The hue of dungeons, and the school of the night: (IV.iii. 249-50). In As You Like It, Ganymede scathingly alludes to Phebe's letter: " Such Ethiop words, blacker in their effect / Than in their countenance." (IV.iii. 34-5) implying quite clearly that they were not welcome to her.

Other colour meanings included yellow, which signified joy, but could also represent jealousy. This is the interpretation that Shakespeare gave it in The Winter's Tale: "...mongst all colour / No yellow in't lest she suspect, as he does, / Her children not her husband's."(II.iii.106-8.). Red signified prowess, tawny signified that one was forsaken, russet signified prudence, hope and constancy (Bruster, 1991), green signified love and youthfulness or freshness, and blue signified amity (Ashleford,1988) and fidelity in love (Allen,1936). In Love's Labours Lost, the Spaniard Don de Armado states emphatically: "Green, indeed is the colour of lovers," (I.ii.85). Shakespeare seems to have been familiar with the colour meanings listed, and it is possible, from the examples given, to observe in his use of colour an accord with the stated symbolism.

With the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, the structures inherent in the literature of the time were emptied of their meanings. These structures, dominant from the 12th to the 17th century, were part of the romantic genre associated with the medieval poet Francesco Petrarch. This romantic concept idealized courtly behaviour based on chivalric codes of honour. As the preceding review of colour in 16th century literature suggests, colour symbolism was an important visual component in the genre's elaborate system. Given the period Shakespeare wrote in -- late 16th and early 17th century -- there is ample justification in literature to suggest that his active writing career occurred at a time when colour meaning was entrenched within English verbal and visual language. The codes that established those meanings have long disappeared, but remnants of their colour symbolism remain today.

Costume colour as cultural signifier

Costume historians have long recognized that their area of study provides an intriguing method of documenting the history of mankind. While the majority of past studies have concentrated on describing the costume of moneyed classes, new approaches to interpreting costume as aspects of material history have increasingly been explored. Paoletti (1983) recognizes the social significance of clothing colour in helping to define masculine roles. Her study shows how blue came to be recognized as the colour for boys and pink deemed a feminine colour in the first two decades of this century. Prior to that time, the opposite had been the social norm in the Western world. Paoletti's study underlines the significance of colour's potency as a visual signifier of gender at an early age in addition to indicating the changes in cultural attitudes which the colours connoted.

Kidwell and Steele (1989) further demonstrate the role of costume colour in the evolution of men's and women's roles. Their report examines aspects of clothing as gender symbols in sporting wear, work clothes, children's clothes, and clothing of an erotic nature. They indicated that the shift to darker colours in men's apparel reflected the class consciousness of 18th century England in which: "The new masculine ideal became the English country gentleman....In place of the old belief that gentle birth alone made one noble was the new idea that by acquiring gentle manners (including gentle appearance) any man might potentially achieve distinction" (p.16). The darker country and sporting clothes of the aristocracy became a visible means to affect this particular persona. Studies such as these exemplify the semiotic importance of clothing colour within the broader confines of a culture.

By extension, the role of costume within a production is an important one, for it serves to accentuate a character, and perhaps describe a mood or attitude. As the examples above reveal, shared cultural colour associations establish colour as one of the most powerful means for offering particular clues through costuming, signifying character traits that enrich

audience perception of the play as a whole. Within a production, colour makes the strongest initial visual impact. It has a direct sensory appeal, causing definite subjective conscious or unconscious reactions in the beholder (Gilette, 1987; Hope and Walch, 1990; Pantone, 1991). It is this emotional potential of colour that gives it its consummate status as a vehicle of artistic expression, and makes it such a valuable tool in establishing character relationships within a production. Individual characterization as well as group identification can be charted through colour specification. Designers are aware, both consciously and unconsciously, of colour's potency as a social signpost of characterization. Their application of colour is a response to the associated meanings at the time in which they design: it enables them to manipulate colour as a design tool either by choosing it to make characterization immediately recognizable, or conversely, by using ambiguous colour associations to intentionally confuse, in order to complement carefully orchestrated character development. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's training in art reinforced such an awareness and she was influenced by the understanding of colour meaning current to the period during which she designed. The cultural significance of colour is therefore a relevant focus within this study of costume.

Within the framework of the larger societal associations of colour, personal preferences contribute to costume colour choices. Individual designers' works can often be instantly recognizable by their distinctive colour palettes, suggesting idiosyncratic methods of conveying characterization to an audience. The degree to which they vary in costume colour and character interpretation within different times will add to our knowledge of theatre history, and, through the designers' societal translation of clothing colour, material clues of their culture are documented for the future. The value of academic study of designers' work within particular productions has been recognized only within the past twenty years (Cordner, University of Birmingham lecture, 1991). In the annals of theatre history, this is a relatively brief time period. For these reasons, research of this nature is especially timely.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Interdisciplinary integration

Three concerns determined the focus of this literature review: first, the need to know Tanya Moiseiwitsch and her work; second, the necessity to see her work in the context of theatre design and its evolution, particularly in Britain; and third, the need to develop a comprehensive framework for that work within the realm of costume and colour meaning.

A review of literature pertaining to the first concern is addressed in the section entitled *Tanya Moiseiwitsch: Biographical detail and design*. As its title suggests, the focus is on biographical literature specific to her life and her design work: dissertations written specifically about her, piecemeal information gleaned from interviews, articles related to the theatres where she worked and books on theatre. Literature detailing her collaborative endeavors with director Tyrone Guthrie and their association with the Stratford Festival in Canada provided further insight into her design career and its Canadian context. Finally, interpretive literature outlining Tanya Moiseiwitsch's design approach constitutes the remaining component examined in this section.

The next section, *Theatrical components*, addresses the second concern. It is a survey of literature on theatre, costume, and set design history from an historical perspective. Included in this literature is technical information regarding the mechanics of the production process and the special considerations associated with the thrust stage.

The third section, *Colour and critical elements*, addresses the final issue, through a review of literature on costume and colour meaning. Out of this material a system was developed for examining Moiseiwitsch's application of colour in costume and changing trends in the associated meanings for colour. The literature supports the scope and importance of colour association within both the theatre and the non-theatre community.

Along with information about costume colour, critical reviews examining the two Shakespeare plays serving as source material for the costume colour analysis are included in this section. The selection of scholarly writing on Shakespeare's plays emphasizes literary thought current to the time of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's career. In addition, there are some examples of earlier literary thinking that helped to define her work. There have been new developments in literary theory since that time, but because of the stated focus they remain outside the parameters of this study.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch: Biographical detail and design

Developmental stages: Origins and associations with theatre

Looking at the forces that shape a personality and identifying the stages in their creative development is central to any investigation of an individual's achievement. Psychologists are particularly concerned with the rudimentary foundations which may have effected a certain life course. For similar reasons, scholars in other fields are also concerned with an individual's formative period. With respect to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's background, three questions were prominent: Were there discernible early influences that favoured her development as one of the 20th century's most eminent theatrical designers? What was the nature of her education? How is it reflected in her later work?

References to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's early life are brief and are mostly concerned with her illustrious parentage and her artistic education. Dennis Behl's unpublished doctoral dissertation Tanya Moiseiwitsch: Her contribution to theatre arts 1935-1980 (1981) provides the most extensive discussion in this regard. He presents an amalgam of facts in his thesis chapter dealing with Moiseiwitsch's parents, her apprenticeship, and her first ten years in design. Behl's information is derived from a variety of sources including interviews with Tanya Moiseiwitsch herself. His communication with Ruth Keating, a teacher at the Central School of Arts and Crafts where Moiseiwitsch was a student, yielded

insight into the emphasis on thoroughness that was part of the educational process and which is a characteristic of British design work. It was from this tradition that Tanya Moiseiwitsch evolved. In addition to the interviews, Behl drew from the numerous brief references to Moiseiwitsch in published works such as Tyrone Guthrie's A life in the theatre (1959) and James Forsyth's Tyrone Guthrie: a biography (1976). Behl presents a biographical portrait of a shy individual whose creative development was fostered by her parentage and by her family's social position within the world of entertainment. Focusing primarily on Moiseiwitsch's set designs, Behl begins his account with her early education, reviews her work experience, and concludes with his analyses of her contribution to design. Behl's text, interspersed with photographic documentation for some of the productions she designed, is by no means a complete survey, but it is a respectable presentation of a woman known for her reticence and desire for privacy.

Patricia Blom used many of the same sources as Behl. In addition to archival reviews in her unpublished doctoral dissertation Tanya Moiseiwitsch, costume designer: The creative process (1982), she also relied on personal interviews with Moiseiwitsch. The biographic details in this work concentrate on the designer's early years in the theatre in England, with selective allusions to family influences. Blom's discussion is much narrower in orientation and less comprehensive than Behl's. Beyond a brief examination of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's early years in the British theatre, her investigation offers mostly generalized information related to Moiseiwitsch's time at Stratford and the people who worked there. Overall, it fails to offer any substantial new insights into Tanya Moiseiwitsch's career as a designer, nor does it adequately investigate the designer's role in the creative process. Her topic is not an easy one. Blom's thesis outlines the general stages in the creative process and the designer's involvement along the way. This is essentially a blend of the costume design job description defined in most technical theatre texts with the established creative stages outlined in design texts such as Bevin (1980), and Evans and Dumesnil (1982).

Nevertheless, her dissertation does augment the modest amount of literature written about Tanya Moiseiwitsch and so was useful to this study.

Many newspaper clippings of interviews and articles written about Tanya Moiseiwitsch, her work at Stratford, Ontario, and at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis contain pockets of biographical data germane to any discussion regarding this designer. An article written by Betty Lee in the Globe Magazine July 22, 1967 provides a colourful and informative image of the young woman destined for international recognition. The article informs the reader that Tanya Moiseiwitsch grew up "...in drawing rooms [which had been] peopled by musical luminaries, literary figures and such public giants as George Bernard Shaw." Even the country house she lived in in Brampton, Huntingdon, near Cambridge, was a tourist attraction. It had been owned by the 17th century gossip Samuel Pepys (Moiseiwitsch, personal communication, 1991). In a revealing aside, Lee's article relates how Moiseiwitsch came across a family photograph on exhibit at the Victoria and Albert Museum, on which her mother had written: "Where's Tanya?" Besides her family, the photograph included a group of celebrities, and in retrospect it seems to foreshadow her 'behind the scenes' attitude from a very early age.

These sources make it very clear that Tanya Moiseiwitsch began her life in exceptional circumstances. She was born in England in 1914. Her father, Benno Moiseiwitsch, was a concert pianist who, having won the Anton Rubinstein Prize at the Imperial School of Music in Russia at the age of nine, moved to England and developed into a world renowned musician (Behl, 1981; Candee, 1955). Her mother, Daisy Kennedy, was an Australian and, like Benno Moiseiwitsch, was a professional musician. In an interview with the theatre critic Herbert Whittaker published in The Toronto Globe and Mail (May 25, 1974), Moiseiwitsch described herself as Irish-Scottish-Russian-Jewish. Her mother's family resided in Australia, and although her father's family were from Russia, Whittaker's article relayed Moiseiwitsch's seeming lack of concern as to whether her actual ancestry

was Latvian or Lithuanian. Years later, her friend and fellow designer Desmond Heeley (1992) referred to her as looking like a "Russian Countess"; but although she travelled extensively, her father's homeland was never one of the places visited. By contrast, Australia was often included in her travel itinerary.

Despite her diverse ancestry, it would appear that her art was firmly rooted in British traditions and nourished by her musical environment and the atmosphere of the British stage. As a young child, Moiseiwitsch often accompanied her parents to concert halls. From her observations of her parents' public engagements, she came to appreciate the demands made on performers. In an interview with Hayes and Barlow (1991), Moiseiwitsch recounted how she listened to an unusual rendering of Beethoven played by her father in a London concert hall during the Great War. The concert hall was packed, leaving no extra seat for the musician's young child. Tanya Moiseiwitsch listened to the concert seated beneath the piano, at her father's feet. It was to be one of her few appearances on stage; from an early age, the future designer showed no inclination to actually perform.

One connection with her Russian ancestry seems to have had a direct influence in guiding her towards design. The Ballet Russes' Bluebird ballet from The Sleeping Beauty made a tremendous impression on her. Since their first visit to the west in 1909, the Ballet Russes had influenced general fashion and theatrical costume. Their designers, including Leon Bakst, used exotic fabrics and colours that, when combined with the freer expression of the human figure, had a dramatic effect on all areas of western design during the first two decades of the 20th century. In 1919, when Moiseiwitsch first saw Bluebird, the colourful and lavish ballet served as a catalyst for her first design efforts; she dressed both herself and her dolls up in ribbons. Many years later, reflecting on her career, she regretted that although she had created costumes for theatre, opera and television, she had never designed for ballet (Hayes & Barlow, 1991).

With her parents' divorce in 1924 and her mother's subsequent marriage to playwright John Drinkwater (Candee, 1955), Moiseiwitsch's artistic milieu extended beyond music to encompass the sphere of theatre. She credited her stepfather with guiding her towards a career in theatre design (Blom, 1982; Hayes and Barlow, 1991). Drinkwater had been one of the founders of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre in 1913. J.Trewin's account of that theatrical venture, The Birmingham Repertory Theatre 1913-1963 (1963), provides useful background on the man who became Tanya Moiseiwitsch's stepfather. Both a playwright and producer, John Drinkwater staged over sixty plays, including many of his own works. The Birmingham Repertory Theatre was an experimental centre of progressive design in its first two decades, making it a strong regional presence in England at a time when British theatre was mostly concentrated in London. Paul Shelving's designs for Sir Barry Jackson's productions, referred to in chapter four of this thesis, exemplify this pioneering spirit (Rosenfeld, 1973).

In 1927, a modern dress production of All's Well That Ends Well was enacted at the theatre. Whether or not fifteen year old Tanya Moiseiwitsch saw that particular production is a matter of speculation. What is certain is that she *did* attend productions at the theatre at a time when modern dress for Shakespeare's plays was a relatively new and innovative occurrence. Twenty-four years later, when Moiseiwitsch came to design the same play for the opening of the Stratford Festival, she also chose to give it a modern dress interpretation¹⁶.

¹⁶The 1953 All's Well at the Stratford Festival was designed in a pseudo-Edwardian style. Anything from the 20th century is considered to be modern dress. This explains the reference to precedent.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's professional association with the theatre began in 1930 with her enrollment in theatre related studies at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London. Both Behl (1981) and Blom (1982) provide some account of the training which helped to shape her career. While Blom traces Moiseiwitsch's experience from her apprenticeship with Lillian Baylis at the Old Vic in London in the early 30s to her eventual association with Tyrone Guthrie, Behl reaches even further back to examine the philosophy of the educational program at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. His discussion of the school includes some attention to its position within British theatre, a tradition examined in more detail in chapter four of this thesis. The school set out to produce individuals who were highly accomplished in their fields, both practically and theoretically. Teachers such as Ruth Keating were actively involved in theatre design and assisted students to bridge theory with practical experience.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's theatrical palette was guided by an understanding of design and colour theory learned as a student at the school. There she learned the value of researching paintings and prints in order to develop an understanding of period costume. Along with fellow students such as designer Alix Stone, Moiseiwitsch's design training was strengthened by visits to the Victoria and Albert Museum where she studied artifacts and heard lectures on period costume given by such notable costume historians as James Laver (Behl, 1988).

In 1932, following her formal education, Tanya Moiseiwitsch began an apprenticeship at the Old Vic, an established London theatre with a rich history of Shakespeare productions dating from 1898.² Throughout the 34 years that Lillian Baylis operated it,

² From 1963 until 1976 it became the home of Laurence Olivier's National Theatre Company. After a period of disuse, the theatre was bought in 1983 and refurbished by a

and in the time of Moiseiwitsch's involvement there, the Old Vic was an important training ground for all facets of theatre. The theatre provided apprentices the opportunity to observe and work with some of Britain's leading designers and directors. It was here that Moiseiwitsch's talent was first recognized. In 1935, following her student design work on The Faithful at the Westminster Theatre (one of London's West end theatres), director Hugh Hunt was sufficiently impressed to offer Moiseiwitsch a position designing for repertory³ at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin (Figure 2).

Her appointment at the age of 21 was an undeniable opportunity and it launched her career. From its beginnings in 1904, the Abbey Theatre was Ireland's most important theatre, serving as both the "...home and symbol of the Irish dramatic movement" (Thomson & Salgado, 1985, p.77). It was also a challenging position for a young designer. Prior to Moiseiwitsch's arrival at the Abbey, costuming was haphazard, but Hugh Hunt was, she stated, "open minded about costume" (Hayes & Barlow, 1991). In consequence, her time at the theatre was a valuable learning experience. Designing more than 50 productions over a four year period, Moiseiwitsch learned to expedite design work by adopting practical measures for meeting the demands of productions which had high standards but small budgets and short deadlines.

Canadian businessman named Ed Mirvish, better known as 'Honest Ed' (Thomson & Salgado 1985).

³ Repertory theatres presented a series of their own plays (independent of touring companies) for short runs. It was a British system that began in the 20th century. The movement thrived particularly well, though not exclusively, in the provinces. Variations existed in the brevity of the production runs and policies of operation. As an example, the Old Vic under Lillian Baylis was considered part of the Repertory Theatre Movement, but did not operate under the weekly demands for new productions which marked some of the other Repertory theatres (Thomson & Salgado, 1985).

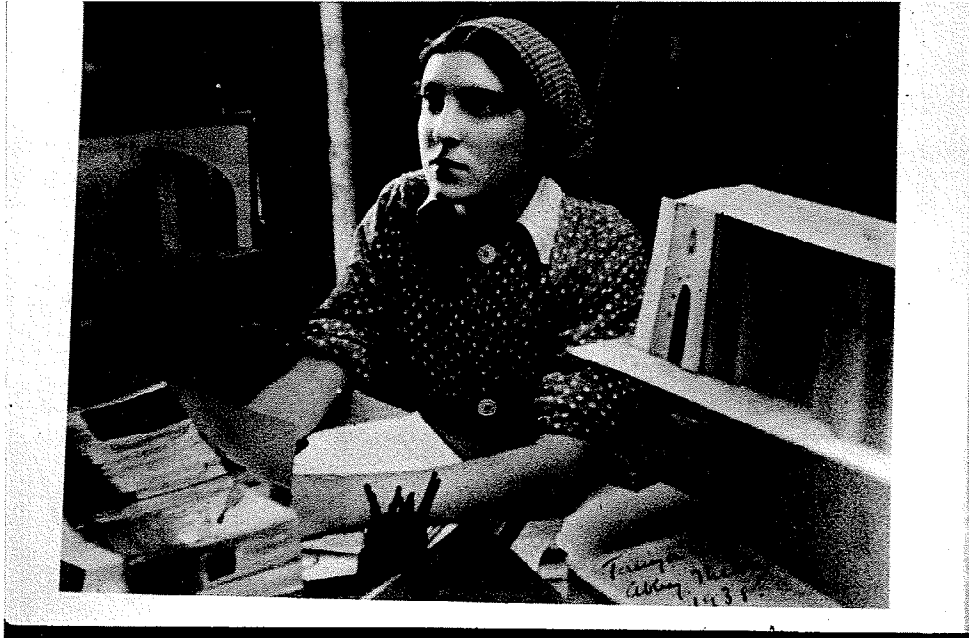


Figure 2. Tanya Moiseiwitsch : resident designer at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, 1938
Photo courtesy of the Stratford Festival Archives

Following her designs for repertory at Oxford and her work at West End theatres, Tanya Moiseiwitsch began working with director Tyrone Guthrie at the Old Vic's Liverpool Playhouse in 1943. She had previously observed his work while serving her apprenticeship at the Old Vic in London. Of the seven plays Guthrie produced at the Old Vic between 1933-34, five of them were by Shakespeare. As a new director, Guthrie had very definite ideas regarding the best way to produce Shakespeare plays. Moiseiwitsch observed that "He knew what he wanted -- and he got it" (Hayes & Barlow, 1991). One of the things Guthrie wanted was a permanent stage set -- a built up central structure. It marked a radical departure from the more usual painted scenic backdrops. His Shakespeare productions immediately became known for their severe spare sets, which in the prevailing

decorative atmosphere of the time, were not always appreciated. Critic J. C. Trewin commented: "The Old Vic audiences were loyal to what they were used to. Now they could not get used to Guthrie's pace. They found his setting bleak..." (quoted in Rossi, 1980, p. 32). Guthrie's innovative approach offered a style of presenting Shakespeare's plays that suited Moiseiwitsch's readiness to explore new designs. Their collaboration in 1943 initiated a fruitful partnership and from that time forward Moiseiwitsch became Guthrie's foremost designer and colleague, progressing steadily to gain prominence on an international level.

Apart from the public information regarding her parentage and schooling, remarkably little has been written about Tanya Moiseiwitsch's personal life. She has a reputation for being a warm and generous individual who quietly but adroitly channels conversations away from private issues. Despite all the attention that her work has brought her for over 50 years, she has managed to remain a very private person. She had a sister named Sandra (Behl, 1981), but few other personal details about her life outside the theatre are known. She was married in 1944 to a young actor-director from the Oxford Playhouse Theatre named Felix Krish who died in a plane crash shortly afterwards; she never remarried. Krish had been with the Royal Air Force at the time. Raymond Ingram, the Head of Drama and Television at King Alfred College in Winchester, England is now gathering data for an official biography. His completed volume will no doubt resolve the gaps in biographical information. What is clear from all research sources is her total commitment, privately and publicly, to the world of theatre.

In 1949, while working on Henry VIII at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-Upon-Avon, England, Moiseiwitsch had the help of an apprentice designer Desmond Heeley. Their association blossomed into a lifelong friendship. Desmond Heeley considers he found, that day in 1949, "...a truly brave new world and a friend for life" (Heeley, 1992). Heeley later joined Moiseiwitsch as a designer for the Stratford

Festival in Canada. His comment affirms what Behl (1986) and others have noted: Moiseiwitsch was an important role model for emerging designers from the post-war years to the early eighties and was instrumental in transplanting aspects of the British theatrical tradition to North America.

Work across the ocean: Tyrone Guthrie and the Stratford Festival

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's lengthy artistic association with the late Tyrone Guthrie has been well chronicled. Their theatrical collaboration spanned 27 years on three continents and helped to shape the development of the major Shakespeare festival at Stratford, Ontario, beginning in 1953. Many sources (Behl, 1981; Blom, 1982; Bundick, 1979; Goodwin, 1988) assert that Guthrie was the greatest influence on Moiseiwitsch's career, an assertion justified by Tanya Moiseiwitsch's own frequent comments. Their association was based on mutual respect both within and without the theatre environment. Behl (1981) points out that Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch's professional affiliation was enhanced by a strong friendship that, as Heeley's account suggests, typified many of Moiseiwitsch's relations with her theatre co-workers.

In 1944 Guthrie offered Moiseiwitsch a position with the Liverpool Old Vic Company. It was the beginning of a highly creative professional association. Audrey Williamson saw them as a most complementary team from their initial collaboration. In Old Vic Drama 2, (1958) she described their mutual suitability:

He (Guthrie) has worked fairly continuously in recent years with Tanya Moiseiwitsch, a designer whose sensitivity for a drama's style is expressed through a strictly functional medium. Her colours can sing, her costumes and banners be radiant, but her settings usually have the spare linear architecture that plots the action rather than decorates it. She is the ideal partner in Guthrie's mobility, his clustering of group and waving standard against the clean angles of step and terrace, and his ability to think of a stage picture perpendicularly as well as three dimensionally. Together they show influences of the style of Adolph Appia which enormously affected continental design and the work of Gordon Craig... (p.87)

Allusions to their collaborative work history are included in most of the literature relating to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's experience in Canada. These sources underline her significance in Canadian theatre design.

Together Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch were responsible for the design of the first stage at Stratford. The thrust stage was an idea which intrigued Guthrie. While there was British interest in the concept, it was not until 1953 that Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch had the opportunity to turn interest into reality when he was commissioned to design a new theatre at Stratford in Canada (Hayes & Barlow, 1991). Tom Patterson, who provided the initial push leading to the development of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival in Ontario, emphatically acknowledges the importance of the Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch collaboration to the Festival's success in First stage: The making of the Stratford Festival (1987). Patterson's book is a detailed account of the roller-coaster events that led to the development of a Canadian Shakespeare theatre, an account which is more concerned with 'stating the facts' than with any technical production information. As a first-hand account of the Festival's inception, Patterson's book is an important contribution to Canadian theatre history.

Nora Campbell's unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Stratford Shakespeare Festival of Canada: Evolution of an artistic policy (1953-1980) written in 1982, is helpful in its assessment of the people and policies influencing the Festival's direction from its beginning in 1953 through to 1980. The thesis includes an interview with Moiseiwitsch, augmenting the information already available about her design approach.

The issue of design at Stratford (and Tanya Moiseiwitsch's role) has been featured in literature regarding other aspects of the Festival's history. An article by Richard Knowles illustrates the interpretive dynamics existing between both artistic direction and design, and the physical structure of this particular theatre. In "The legacy of the Festival stage" (1988) Knowles emphasizes the powerful presence of the theatre's thrust stage. As part of his analysis, Knowles describes the physical attributes of the stage and includes examples of

how the structure both affects and has been affected by differing design approaches at Stratford. Within the broader context of his article, Knowles' outlines a polemic design history exemplified by "... the larger-than-life theatricality of Desmond Heeley's decorative designs, or the clean, understated lines of those by Daphne Dare" (p. 40). For Knowles, Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designs are situated alongside of Heeley's more opulent and theatrical costuming.

Thrice the brinded cat hath mew'd (Davies, R., Guthrie, T., Neel, B., Moiseiwitsch, T., 1955) a record of the Stratford Festival in Canada, includes a section by Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch about their production of King Oedipus. It is an account offering some insight into their design approach within a specific production. The text makes it clear that Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch were an integrated team. Guthrie himself is reported to have said: " By the time I've uttered three words of a sentence, Tanya knows how it's going to end "(Behl, 1981, p.42). It seems likely, given the tone of the text and his interest in recording his ideas, that of the two, Guthrie was the main voice in Thrice the brinded cat hath mew'd. Design concepts are explained, but the tenor of the discussion is largely directorial. Guthrie felt strongly that any theatre should be associated with pleasure; theatre, he believed, was a form of illusionistic ritual. This was reflected in his grand scale productions, and it was a perspective that influenced Tanya Moiseiwitsch's approach to design by virtue of her extensive collaboration with him.

Two other volumes written specifically about the Stratford Festival contain useful resource material. Stratford: the first thirty years, Volumes I and II, written by John Pettigrew and Jamie Portman (1985), provides a chatty review of all aspects of the Festival. The books are primarily the work of Pettigrew but were completed by Portman following Pettigrew's death. They acquaint the reader with numerous personalities involved in the development of the Festival from its conception in Tom Patterson's mind to John Hirsch's leadership in the eighties. Volume I considers the formative years from

1953 to 1967, while Volume II continues from 1968 to 1982. These volumes relate numerous anecdotes illuminating the forces within the Festival. They provide a straightforward account of the events leading up to the Festival and throughout its formative years, and include reviews of many productions. All productions during the period covered are listed in the second volume's appendix. A helpful index is also included. Moiseiwitsch and Guthrie are discussed in both volumes.

The published excerpts from a series of CBC radio interviews by Grace Lydiatt Shaw commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Festival in 1977 include talks with both Moiseiwitsch and Guthrie. In Stratford under cover Shaw incorporates cameo interviews from those programs into her text illustrating the roles various individuals had at Stratford. The interview with Tanya Moiseiwitsch confirms her design approach: creating design solutions that serve the needs of the production.

Joan Ganong's Backstage at Stratford is a popularized account of the 1961 season at Stratford. Her book profiles two Shakespeare productions, Coriolanus and Love's Labours Lost, from their initial preparations to opening night. Ganong's report is not from an academic perspective, but it does include an extensive account of Moiseiwitsch's role as costume designer for the two productions. Ganong observed the day to day decisions made concerning all aspects of these plays. In this respect, her insight into Moiseiwitsch's approach to design is useful. The author's observations are mirrored in the numerous vignettes about Moiseiwitsch that have been written in newspaper articles as well as in the material included at the start of this section.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch was very involved with the establishment of a permanent Canadian Shakespeare Festival, an institution which has been the subject of considerable controversy at various times. In the years following the initial euphoria at its launching, the Festival has often been the target of criticism accusing it of being stagnant or decadent, and having an "...excessive emphasis on spectacle and lavish costume at the expense of the

inner life of the drama" (Pettigrew & Portman, 1985, p.41). One of the most persistent irritants nagging the Festival involved Moiseiwitsch indirectly. In what Pettigrew and Portman (1985) refer to as the "nationalistic seventies", the decision to hire an Englishman, Robin Phillips, as the new artistic director resulted in loud disapproval. It was felt, both in the theatre world as well as outside of it, that the Festival had relied too heavily on imported talent rather than what was readily available at home. Articles such as the one by Canadian designer Maurice Strike, published in the Canadian Theatre Review (1974), reveal the extent of discontent at this time. Strike argued that the number of imported designers hired by the Festival was disproportionately large. He asserted that between 1953, when the Festival began, up until the 1973 season, "an approximate total of 20 designers have been employed at the Festival and Avon theatres. Six of those were Canadian residents -- 14 came from abroad or the United States. Extraordinary for any so-called National Theatre. It is unfortunate to have to emphasize this point for its [sic] is essential that artistic interchange between countries continue -- the arts, above all, are not the place for petty and adolescent nationalism -- but when there is equal talent at home, it is absurd, and, indeed, irresponsible, not to use it equally " (p.45). This was a criticism that had surfaced from time to time since the start of the Festival, and although it was not directed at Tanya Moiseiwitsch, it included her by implication.

Tyrone Guthrie undoubtedly had this issue in mind when he wrote about the Festival in Twice have the trumpets sounded (1954). He made it clear that while the Festival relied heavily on British actors at the outset, by the second season the majority of players were Canadian actors whom he felt had shown a "...remarkable display of technique and discipline..." (p. 145). How Moiseiwitsch felt about the use-of-outsiders criticism is not known. By Phillip's time, when the controversy reached its height, she had largely moved on to the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis and the Crucible Theatre in Sheffield, England, as well as to other international venues. Between 1970 and 1985, she designed or co-designed seven productions for Stratford, a sparse number within the extent of her career.

Moiseiwitsch's design energy was concentrated elsewhere, but her interest in the festival she had helped to initiate in 1953 continued.

Guthrie's choice of designer for the new Stratford Festival in Canada then was a crucial one because the Festival's organizers aspired to world class status. Guthrie sought to provide exciting theatre in order to ensure its continued development. He understood the power of pageantry and the importance of historical aptness with regard to the Festival's introductory production. But the excitement needed to embark on the new venture had to be generated within the confines of the financial restraints imposed on the Festival founders and the production team. To achieve the one while coping with the other required the talent of individuals who were both imaginative and practical.

Tyrone Guthrie's choice of Richard III to inaugurate this new Canadian Shakespeare venture was significant in its symbolism because this play had also been the one to first mark the Shakespeare celebrations at Stratford-Upon-Avon in 1827. At that time, Charles Kean, who was the son of the great Shakespearean actor Edmund Kean (and a central figure in the 19th century's pictorial staging of Shakespeare), played the title-role of Richard III in a performance staged on the site of the bard's last home (Beauman, 1982, p.3). Fifty-three years later the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre was constructed in Stratford-Upon-Avon, assuring the presentation of Shakespeare's plays in his hometown. Theatrical productions at Stratford-Upon-Avon subsequently became the standard for other Shakespeare productions throughout the world.

In 1953 at Stratford in Canada, the regal stage-covering cloak worn by Alec Guinness in his role as Richard III also had a precedent; Gordon Craig had used a sweeping cloak symbolically in a 1911 Moscow production of Hamlet (Rosenfeld, 1973).⁴ Moiseiwitsch

⁴ Craig's theories at the turn of the century though regarded as radical at the time, influenced a change in design concepts from the high realism of the 19th century to a more

appreciated Craig's use of poetic expressionism: design which interpreted the essence of an original setting in place of historical realism. Her cloak for the 1953 Richard III (Figure 3) at the Stratford Festival replicated Craig's interpretive sensibility. The cloak filled a stage extending approximately twelve meters across its widest part. The cloak was apparently so heavy that Alec Guinness had to wear protective padding and required assistance in getting the momentum to walk in it (Festival Theatre personnel 1992). The effort was worth it. Richard III's cloak is still talked about today.



Figure 3. Costume design for Richard III by Tanya Moiseiwitsch
From Designs for Stratford, 1992.

expressionistic approach which was variously adopted by designers in the 20th century. His influence on Moiseiwitsch and other British designers is further outlined in chapter four.

The parallels between Guthrie's choice of the same play as the one which had begun the parent Shakespeare Festival in Britain, and Tanya Moiseiwitsch's translation of a majestic and massively proportioned robe similar to Craig's symbolic cloak design in Hamlet some 42 years earlier are striking. The sweeping cloak design is the kind of poetic link to historical precedent which characterized Tanya Moiseiwitsch's work: acknowledging the past and translating it within a new expressive context. The grandeur of the costume set the stage at Stratford in more ways than one, expressing as it did not only Richard III's exalted power, but also, however unintentionally, the Festival promoters' grand hopes for the theatre's future. Guthrie's imprint was clear. He had chosen a designer who understood his style of presentation, who was sensitive to the symbolism inherent in his choice of opening play, and who was capable of visually interpreting his ideas.

Design approach

Every source in this discussion comments directly or indirectly on Tanya Moiseiwitsch's approach to design: in essence, it was poetic realism achieved through collaboration. Behl (1981, 1986), Blom (1982), Bundick (1979), Campbell (1982), Ganong (1962), and Shaw (1977), provide some of the best written information.

In Costume Design at the Guthrie Theatre in Its First Ten Years (1979), Theresa Bundick focuses on what she terms "design concepts": decisions made in the design process by costume designers who were at the Guthrie Theatre during its first ten years' operation. Bundick reviews design theory and its interpretation at the Guthrie analyzing materials from the theatre and interviews with the costume designers. Her dissertation contains interview transcripts with three of the four most productive designers working there from 1963-1972: Tanya Moiseiwitsch, Lewis Brown, Desmond Heeley, and John Jensen. These interviews form the basis of her study.

Bundick notes the importance original art works have as inspirational sources for costume designers. Tanya Moiseiwitsch (personal communication, 1991) emphasized that art was one of her main sources of inspiration and guidance in costume and set design. She particularly stressed how fortunate she was to have worked with so many visually articulate directors. Tyrone Guthrie and Douglas Campbell were especially gifted in this respect, according to the designer. However, most other directors also relied on the fine arts to coalesce their visual concept of a production.

Moiseiwitsch cited Picasso's *The Three Musicians* as the inspiration for Douglas Campbell's 1963 production of The Miser at the Guthrie Theatre (Bundick, 1979, p.50), and several other examples of art as reference source exist within her oeuvre. Holbein, suggested by Guthrie, was an obvious choice for Henry VIII at Stratford-Upon-Avon in 1949. For the 1957 production of Twelfth Night at the Stratford Festival Canada, the Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch collaborative reference to 17th century Dutch painters such as Van Dyck and Frans Hals was perceptible in the silhouettes and colours of the costumes (Figure 4).

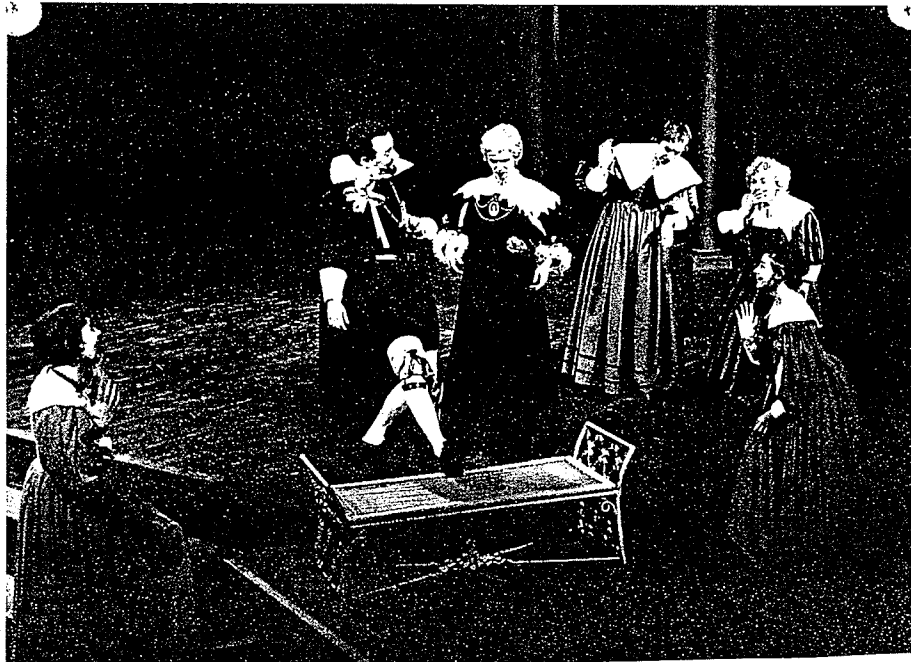


Figure 4. Twelfth Night, 1957 Stratford Festival
Designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch
Photo courtesy of Stratford Festival Archives

"The Cavalier period sets and costumes had the flavor of a Frans Hals painting with the palette gradually evolving from russets and browns at the beginning to brighter pinks and yellows at the finish" (L. Brown in Leiter, 1986, p. 779). The shift from a more sombre palette to a brighter one assisted the action of the play, which begins in confusion and sorrow and ends with clarity and resolution.

Seventeenth century Spanish artists influenced Moiseiwitsch's designs for the 1961 Love's Labours Lost at the Stratford Festival, and Titian was cited as a source for the 1964 production of Volpone at the Guthrie Theatre (Behl,1981). In her London sitting room, Moiseiwitsch recalled that Daumier was the design source for the 1973 Guthrie Theatre production of The Government Inspector and Hogarth for the following year's Stratford Festival's The Imaginary Invalid.

In addition to the silhouette and style of a period, the artist's colour palette also offered guidance and direction (Moiseiwitsch, personal communication, 1991). A designer's work might be instantly recognizable by its colour, according to costumers (McGibbons, 1990; Nohner, 1991, personal communication), and yet still have reference to the palette of a specific art source. A quote by Desmond Heeley in Bundick's (1979) thesis offers his perspective on Moiseiwitsch's preferred palette and at the same time relates how the apparent contradiction in the previous statement is resolved: "Tanya Moiseiwitsch always refers to two of the most useful colors in the theatre--blue and brown, the Madonna and St. Francis. One can play endless variations and the audience is not aware of the fact that we have used a limited palette" (p.196). Heeley's reference to the variations of the two hues makes it possible to include them within most artists' palettes while still retaining (not necessarily consciously) a designer's preferred base hues.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's colour application was guided by her belief that it is only one mechanism a designer uses to assist the playwright and actor define the character. This recognition helps to explain her frequent use of restrained colour. Desmond Heeley told

Behl (1988) that Tanya Moiseiwitsch taught him to "spend" colour by carefully controlling how it is applied, using it to make a dramatic psychological or aesthetic statement when that is essential to the movement of the play: "...only by holding back with restrained earth tones, brown, blacks, or very dappled, muted shades, can the bold display of color create the contrasts to demand the spectator's attention" (Behl, 1988, p. 243). The group photo from the 1961 production of Coriolanus (figure 88) illustrates how this was done. In contrast with the sombre but rich deep blues and browns, the figure wearing the yellow costume was thrown into greater relief within the crowd. At the same time, the chosen yellow was not brilliantly saturated, allowing it to blend comfortably within the overall colour composition.

Production reviews that include commentaries on Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designs offer another perspective on how her application of colour has been perceived, describing her stage colours from the audience's vantage. Magazine articles, such as Dorothy Sangster's *The designing woman of Stratford*, Macleans Magazine (July 20, 1957), and Betty Lee's *Tanya: mystery by design*, The Globe Magazine (July 22, 1967), and numerous thematic newspaper stories, provide additional confirmation of a distinctive colour application in Moiseiwitsch's work. Her use of colour's warm and cool attributes was often mentioned as a means to distinguish between two groups within a play. For Michael Langham's 1967 Antony and Cleopatra at the Stratford Festival, she chose warm colours for the Egyptians and pale "calculating" colours for the Romans in order to clearly delineate the two camps for the audience (Lee, 1967). Although warm and cool colour signals were frequently present in her work, their use was not formulaic.

In addition to the above commentary on costume colour, a text by Esme Crampton, A handbook of the theatre (1972) includes a section on costumes listing Moiseiwitsch as a contributor. It discusses the importance of colour decisions in costuming: a topic which is germane to this study. The preceding account has singled out references to

Moiseiwitsch's costume designs, but overall, literature that specifically addressed her design approach tended to focus on her set designs (Behl, 1986, 1981; Blom, 1982; Campbell, 1982) rather than on her costume designs and use of colour.

Theatrical components

An examination of three study areas related to theatre was integral for this research: theatre set and costume design history, the elements of production, and scholarly criticism relating to the plays themselves. The particular attributes of a thrust stage with respect to costume design is included as a corollary of the second component.

Theatre history

Literature relating the history of the Stratford Festival has been included in the preceding paragraphs dealing with the Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch theatrical association. As the chronicles indicate, the Festival has been a subject of varied commentary ranging from the memoirs-type material of those involved with its inception, such as Tom Patterson and Gould (1987), to more introspective accounts such as Guthrie, Davies and Macdonald (1954), Davies, Guthrie, Neel, and Moiseiwitsch (1955), and Pettigrew and Portman (1985). Ganong's (1962) gossipy review of the 1961 season and Shaw's (1977) capsule portraits add colourful details to the available information. Campbell's (1982), and Knowles (1990, 1988) academic investigations provide some understanding of the political and operational events which helped to shape the Festival. Because of the focus of this study, the issues of theatre politics and management were not intensively reviewed, but their importance to an understanding of the theatre's development is recognized.

A recent publication, the Stratford Festival story by Somerset (1991), which only became available in the final stages of this research, provides a complete record of all the productions at the Festival since its inception; it includes lists of review sources for each production. While accounts of these productions are recorded elsewhere, their accessibility,

alongside the review lists in a single volume, will be useful to researchers wishing to investigate Stratford Festival theatre production history.

Mullin and Muriello's Theatre at Stratford-Upon-Avon, I (1980), offers similar information about productions at Stratford-Upon-Avon. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre has been the subject of numerous texts. Addenbroke (1974), Beauman (1982), and Ellis (1948) all record particulars of the theatre's history. Beauman's account, a well rounded source of information, begins with the intensified interest in Shakespeare that occurred during the eighteenth century. The anecdotal material interspersed throughout the text makes it not only a good reference source, but equally, a good read.

Because of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's connection to the Old Vic, the Abbey Theatre, and through her stepfather to the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, literature focused on these theatres was reviewed. The relevance of Trewin's (1963) history of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre to this study, has already been addressed at the beginning of this chapter. Similarly, L. Robinson's (1951) study of Ireland's Abbey Theatre provides a detailed record of the productions for which Moiseiwitsch designed; it also offers insight into the theatre milieu during the 1930s.

L. Hale (1950), P. Roberts (1976), and A. Williamson (1958, 1948), all examine the Old Vic Theatre specifically, while J. Gielgud (1974) necessarily refers to it within the context of his own work in British theatre. Hale's text book details the 1949 season at the Old Vic. At that time, Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed sets and costumes for A Month in the Country. Hale reviewed the production and included visual documentation of the performance. Of the four texts mentioned here, Williamson gives the most comprehensive examination. Williamson's volumes incorporate references to Tanya Moiseiwitsch, thus providing some information about her early design work in Britain. The author also includes more general contextual information for design and theatre during the 1940s and 50s, and his texts contain some visual documentation of Moiseiwitsch's work.

The British theatrical tradition was Tanya Moiseiwitsch's background and for that reason it has received the most attentive historical review in this study. Her extensive association with the Stratford Festival made researching that theatre a logical focus for examining aspects of Canadian theatre history. The same rationale has informed investigation of her work within the context of the American theatre. In relation to her work in Britain and Canada, her American experience was not as extensive. Out of the numerous productions she designed in those countries, approximately 73% were in Britain, 17% were in Canada and only 10% were in the United States.

Relevant literature on American Shakespeare theatre history was limited. Theresa Bundick's (1979) unpublished doctoral dissertation provides information not only about design at the Guthrie Theatre, but also some of that theatre's history as well. O. Larson (1989) dealt specifically with American stagecraft from 1915 to 1960. His account suggests that American design history was closely connected to British design. The author chose 1915 as the starting point for his discussion because it marked the appearance of stage designs by Robert Edmond Jones whose work, according to Larson, embodied the teaching of Appia and Craig. In the United States, Jones singlehandedly changed the fundamental idea of set design: moving it from decorative representation of reality, to design which embodied a far more expressive manifestation of the central concept of a production. Larson's thesis shows that American theatrical design paralleled British design during the first part of the 20th century.

Burdick, Hansen and Zanger's (1974) Contemporary stage design discusses the links between British and American design specifically through the seminal theories of Adolphe Appia and Gordon Craig. It also has a helpful biographical section about some American designers whose work is reviewed in this study.

Costume and set design history

Perhaps because it is a relatively recent area of academic interest, set and costume design history in all three countries is not a well documented topic. In order to analyze Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within British design history, it was necessary to search out literature specific to individual designer's work, (such as Gordon Craig and Adolphe Appia). An examination of specific production examples found in more general theatre history texts was also helpful. From this it was possible to compile a composite of the designer's evolution in Britain, and discover how Moiseiwitsch fits within it. In addition to the paucity of design history literature, most available information did not distinguish precisely between costume and set design because they were most frequently carried out by the same individual.

Two works specifically addressing the evolution of costume design throughout Western history were written by the noted costume historian, James Laver (1964), and by the experimental director Theodore Komisarjevsky (1932). The materials in these texts overlap to a considerable degree, but offer an overview for both theatre and costume. Anne Hollander's (1978) provocative examination of the relationship of the human figure in art and fashion includes some pertinent background information on the topic of theatre design history, specifically with relation to the cultural context of theatrical costume.

S. Rosenfeld (1973) was a particularly helpful source for explaining some of the changes within British theatre design, supplying visual documentation and connecting designers with directors and theatres during the first half of this century. J. Elsom's (1976) text on theatre trends helped to outline the role of design in British theatre productions after the Second World War. While Elsom's work is not specifically about design, it offers a detailed academic examination of some of the forces of change in British theatre. By co-ordinating the dates and locations of productions with the significance of

specific directors and the more well-documented changes within the theatre, it was possible to develop some sense of the corresponding evolution of the designer's role.

Theatre design: The modern age edited by J. Goodwin (1988), gives one of the most concentrated reviews of British design history to this time. The book, which has the blessing of the Society of British Theatre Designers (founded in 1971), includes essays written by such notables as British directors Peter Hall and Trevor Nunn, former director of the Victoria and Albert Museum Roy Strong, and designers such as Timothy O'Brien, among others. The essays complement the multitude of photographic and illustrative documentation covering all forms of contemporary British performance (opera, plays, musical, and dance). Further references to British design history can be found within the various biographical writings about contemporary designers. These elements, together with the richness of its visual documentation, make this book an extremely valuable resource for the study of theatre design in Britain. A more detailed explication of some of the individual essayist's interpretation is incorporated in the analysis of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within British design history in chapter four of this thesis.

The production process

Much of the previous material contains references to the various elements in a production. Other literature addressing the visual components within productions was also consulted. The distinctive roles of three production agents -- the playwright, the director, and the designer -- were specifically examined.

One of the most direct discussions with regard to the relationship of the designer to the director is Charles Marowitz's (1986) Directing the action. Marowitz sees the process of visually expressing a production as a tripartite agency amongst the playwright (living or deceased), the designer, and the director. Control should never be equally distributed amongst the collaborators, but rest with the director, according to Marowitz. "A production

is not a parliament with everyone entitled to a vote, but a dictatorship in which members serve the higher will of one man ..." (p.44). However, the degree of control shifts from production to production. Marowitz states that there is always constant jockeying for the controlling position in visually expressing a production:

Which vision ultimately dominates depends on the weight and influence of the respective collaborators. An established director with a clear personal view can usually call the tune. Sometimes, if the strongest member of the triumvirate is the playwright, he can insist on the supremacy of his vision.... Sometimes, where a star designer is involved, the director gratefully accepts his visual concoctions and adapts his production accordingly (p.42).

It is important to recognize that the author wrote during a time many refer to as "designer's theatre", in the 1980s. Marowitz's perspective on production advocates the opposite of designer's theatre, favoring instead a distinctly stated philosophy with hierarchical relationships between director and designer and between playwright and director respectively. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's assessment of the designer's role is in accord with Marowitz's theories. This premise is based on her comments to Hayes and Barlow (1991) that the idea of having other members of the production team, such as actors, tell the director what to do was a potential recipe for chaos.

Several textbooks have been written in an attempt to guide potential costume designers and define their role. The work by B. and C. Anderson (1984) concentrates on actual costume design. Crampton (1972) discusses costume design within the broader overview of theatre production, as J. Gillette does in his more detailed text (1987). A very important contribution to this category of discussion is Designing and making stage costume originally published in 1964 by the design team named Motley. The book was reissued in 1992, edited by M. Mullin. Written by a design team who were leading designers in Britain and the United States (1932-1976), the text contains practical and informative material about costume design. Their discussion of specific methods for applying costume colour helps to explain why certain colour choices were made in the productions of Romeo

and Juliet which the team designed for John Gielgud (1935) and for Glen Byam Shaw (1954). Costume colours from both productions are analyzed in this study.

The thrust stage

The thrust stage presents distinct challenges for costume designers. It must be considered in this study because of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's involvement with its reintroduction and her extensive experience designing costumes for it. Euan Ross Stuart's unpublished doctoral dissertation An analysis of productions on the open stage at Stratford (1974), examined the effectiveness of the thrust stage and by virtue of their role in designing it, made some reference to the Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch association. The value of Stuart's thesis for this study is in its discussion of costume on the thrust stage. He states that costume is the most emphatic design element on the open stage. The accentuation occurs, Stuart says, because the "...stress on movement on the open stage" (p.222) emphasizes costumes in the same way a fashion runway reaching out into an audience does.

Stuart includes a few specific examples from productions, demonstrating the impact a thrust stage has on a play's presentation:

In the 1970 production of The Merchant of Venice, Desmond Heeley covered the stage floor and background in gold to support Gascon's thematic concept. The set, without costumes and properties, was attractive and impressive and successfully conveyed the desired mood. However, Heeley's beautiful costumes appeared less impressive when they blended into the colourful floor. In contrast, the costumes for Guthrie's 1955 production seemed most striking, because they stood out against the neutral colour of the stage (1974, p.205)

The 1955 production of The Merchant of Venice had been designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. She had also designed the stage, and, as Stuart implied, she understood the efficacy of the neutral floor in providing a foil for the players movements, costumes, and

props. In the 1970 production, Desmond Heeley inadvertently demonstrated its dynamic presence by attempting to disguise it.

Knowles (1988) also identified some of the design challenges related to the thrust stage. He reiterated director Urjo Kareda's observation that because the stage has fewer props and sets, costumes become one of the principal indicators of a play's context, suggesting period, place, season and social setting. Furthermore, the focus on costume is intensified by the natural material of the stage. The actors stand out in high sculptural relief against the rich wood floor and surrounding background. Costumes are delineated more distinctly against the solid unbroken surface; they are contrasted with a genuinely natural ground. As a consequence, director David Jones noted: "Wood offers a very strong criticism of any object you put against it, and nothing can be on that stage that does not seem to be the real article. Excellent props and costumes are essential" (quoted in Knowles, 1988, p. 41).

Designers have an additional challenge created by a thrust stage: accommodating the audience vantage point. Designing for the thrust stage requires particular attention to the shape of a garment, according to Heeley (1990). Costumes become "like architecture" with an increased focus on three-dimensionality created by the three vantage points of the audience. The players become the manipulators of space; they have greater exposure than they would within the enveloping architectural structure of a proscenium stage. In addition to the increased visibility, the players on a thrust stage are closer to the audience. This means designers must be careful and pay attention to garment details that would be less obvious from a distance. As Tanya Moiseiwitsch once pointed out to a volunteer who had spent hours on part of a costume which was ultimately covered with a cloak on stage, if the actress had turned quickly or tripped and so on, the audience would have immediately seen that the costume's integrity was questionable (D. Sangster, 1957; D. Bell, 1990, personal communication). The same attention to detail explains the use of natural fibres on a thrust stage. Natural fibres such as cotton, linen and silk take dyes more readily than

synthetic fibres, and more closely resemble the fabrics of the period the costumes represent.

Bundick's (1979) unpublished doctoral dissertation records some designer and director discussion with respect to the thrust stage and costume requirements. Designer Fred Voelpel elaborated on Heeley's reference to the costume as architecture and Moiseiwitsch's reference to detail: "...the sculptural quality has to be a strong consideration. Also, ... there's no backstage. ... It's just all there so that the backs and all of that have to be as carefully designed, and the closures and all of that have to be considered much more than if you're designing a proscenium play" (p.223). Michael Langham observed that because three-fourths of the house is above eye level, for many audience members, the floor becomes partially or all of the background. This further enhances the costume's impact. Designer Carolyn Parker explains how costumes become more sculptural in response to this neutral ground when compared to the more pictorial presentation of a proscenium stage. She felt that this called for simplified costumes in order for a unified whole to evolve. Bundick concludes that during the first ten years at the Guthrie, costume designs were influenced by the thrust stage format and tended to be more representational -- more recognizably period clothing, "albeit heightened clothing" (p.250).

Bundick's distinction between clothing and "heightened clothing" is an important one, for it identifies the difference between costume for the stage and clothing. Boucher (1965) defines clothing as a body covering necessitated by external factors, whereas costume implies a matter of choice: a particular garment for a particular use. The latter term applied within the context of the theatre concurs with this distinction: costume in the theatre is "... an enlargement, a comment, and a focus on the use of costume in real life" (Crampton, 1972, p.140).

At Stratford, prior to the addition of a more sophisticated stage lighting system, designers were faced with other challenges due to the stage lighting effects on the

costumes. For the majority of the time that Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed for the Festival, the lights were entirely white and flooded the stage equally from three sides; the lights could be dimmed, but not tinted (Ganong, 1962). As a result, shadows had to be carefully painted onto the costumes in order to create curves and highlights. Otherwise the costumes would look flat.

From a colour perspective, the fact that the costumes were often the main props meant potentially greater freedom to explore colour. Just as the floor provides a neutral background for the audience situated above eye level, the reduction in background stage detail acts in much the same way for the rest of the audience. Primarily, the audience focus is on the player within the costume. Hence, clues to setting are embodied in actor and costume, and a corresponding audience reliance on colour meaning to express character status consciously or subconsciously occurs. According to Dennis Behl (1981), Tanya Moiseiwitsch learned that the thrust stage required stronger and bolder statements. Behl cited Richard III's coronation robe as an example of how Moiseiwitsch effectively dealt with this. The dramatic effect of a cloak filling the stage "...with a sea of bloody red" (p.237) has been the subject of numerous accounts and is referred to elsewhere in this thesis.

Behl's choice of metaphor to describe the colour of the king's cloak is certainly an evocative one. Moiseiwitsch chose a colour that was both regal and brutal, strongly suggesting the bloody deeds attributed to Richard III in his quest for the English crown. Neither the vivid image of all that red nor its pointed double meaning were easily forgotten by those who saw the production.

Colour and critical elements

Colour/ emotional association

Because colour is central to this study, it was looked at from a variety of perspectives: scientific, technical, historical, and cultural. Numerous studies have been done to determine the extent of human psychological and physiological response to colour. Although their results are not always in accord, they do offer direction for further research. By examining this information, the foundation for assessing Tanya Moiseiwitsch's application of colour was established.

References to the effects of colour are made on a regular basis in our daily lives. We speak of feeling "blue", believing that those addressed understand it to mean that psychologically we are feeling somewhat depressed. Another time we may recount that we were so angry we saw "red", clearly describing not only a state of mind but also some associated physiological reaction. These culturally understood meanings are at the basis of colour choices designers make to clarify a character's role in a production. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's choice of red for Richard III's robe is an obvious example of this, but frequently the meaning is more subtly contained within the costume colour, emitting clues which the observer may never consciously register but react to nevertheless. This is a well established belief and the subject of a wide variety of literature.

Various sources are available to identify colour with emotional association. In the realm of theatrical texts, B. and C. Anderson (1984) Costume design and H. Heffner et al (1973) Modern theatre practice briefly discuss its role in characterization. R. Fuelop-Miller (1972) gives accounts about colour symbolism throughout history in a variety of cultures. Works such as Burnham, Hanes and Bartleson (1963), Color: A guide to basic facts and concepts and Sharpe (1974), The psychology of color and design include pertinent information.

Some of the most renowned publications on colour involve the work of Johannes Itten. His text The elements of color, which was translated and published in 1970, addresses both colour theory and its emotional attributes. Faber Birren also has written extensively on colour and focuses specifically on the emotional perception of colour in Color psychology and color therapy (1950) and in other popularized publications such as Color in your world (1962). These sources emphatically assert that colour is a strong emotional force.

More recent studies in colour theory substantiate similar theories regarding colour and emotion. Johnson, Johnson and Baksh examine the relationship between colour terms and emotion terms cross-culturally in "The colors of emotions in Machiguenga" (1986). R. D'Andrade and Egan address the same issue in "The Colors of emotion" (1974). An important study by M. Frank and T. Gilovich, "The dark side of self-and social perception: Black uniforms and aggression in professional sports" (1988) demonstrates how different colours affect perceptions of the wearer. Through a study of professional North American sports teams, they found a direct relationship between the colour black and aggressiveness, both perceived and actual. The researchers conclude that "... there are strong universal trends in the attribute of affect in the color domain" (p. 135).

Several studies concentrate on clothing colour as it relates to perception of the wearer. While S. Francis and P. Evans (1987) investigate the effects of hue, value, garment style and personal colouring on "person perception" generally, most recent studies concentrate on the effect clothing colour has on employment potential. Results from studies by L. Gibson, and C. Balkwell, (1990), Francis and Evans, (1988), and C. Scherbaum and D. Shepherd (1987) suggest person perception is influenced by colour, and that value is frequently more potent than hue. Overall, employers were more apt to favour males wearing blue, and were more accepting of greater colour variation in female clothing suitability.

Two studies that directly investigate physiological responses to colour were carried out by P. Hamid (1992) and H. Wohlfarth (1986). Hamid's research into the effect of warm (pink, yellow) and cool (blue, green) coloured pages on student performance supports the theory that colour can have a physiological effect on humans. He observes that students made fewer errors when using the cooler coloured paper, concluding that "... on a task that required prolonged attention colour of the pages affected performance" (p.690). While he was cautious about the results, Hamid suggests his study justifies further examination of the effect page colour has on fatigue. Wohlfarth (1986) also was concerned with student's response to colour. His research directly investigates the effect of colour and light on students' achievement, behaviour, and physiology. Wohlfarth observes some increases in student blood pressures and "...significant relationships ...between the independent variables of color/light and student pre-adolescent mood variations and noise levels" (p. ii).

Further support for the physiological effects of colour include a 1988 study on the function of epidermis cells, reported in Hope and Walch (1990); it states that "human skin is highly sensitive to coloured light and, in fact, does aid in the conversion of spectral colors to chemical reactions within the human body" (p. 75). The work of Antonio Torrice, a designer specializing in children's environments, is based on such findings. His own research in clinical, hospital, and residential settings led him to believe in the healing power of colour. As recorded in Hope and Walch (1990), Torrice asserts: " The restorative effect of colors was emphasized by the shortening in patient hospital stays following a facility's renovation with color" (p. 75).

In the same text, Hope and Walch present a negative opinion regarding human response to colour. They cite a critical review was undertaken for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in 1987 that largely discredits subconscious response to colour. The authors of the study, B. Krya Wise and J. Wise, conclude: " There are no 'hard-wired' linkages between environmental colors and particular judgmental or emotional

states. Specifying colors on the basis of spaces being 'active', 'contemplative', 'restful', or whatever to be congruent with the mental or behavioral activities they enclose is simply unjustified" (p. 264). The two opposing studies emphasize the diverse interest in colour and the controversy existing with regard to its real impact.

The field of colour study is often the site of contention, but studies such as the examples referred to in this chapter attest to the interest in colour phenomena generally and indicate the scope of research possibilities within it. Overall, the literature indicates less doubt about colour conventions and the recognized meanings of different colours than about the reliability of experiments examining its physiological effects.

Costume in the theatre is a forceful transmitter of culturally encoded meanings and colour is an inherent aspect of this: as placards for an actor's character, costume colours are powerful agents in this dynamic. Colour meaning is used to both reflect and consequently reinforce, or challenge and thereby change established perceptions. Such considerations are important to character clarification, and Tanya Moiseiwitsch and other designers give evidence of understanding this. For Moiseiwitsch, it was an understanding reinforced by her theatrical association with Tyrone Guthrie. A. Rossi's (1980) section on Moiseiwitsch's recollections of her work with Guthrie includes the following explanation of how Guthrie influenced her appreciation for colour's potency:

...I know from working with him, that he paid unfailing attention to the author's shaping, phrasing, colouring of scene, as it followed scene. And this, in turn, would have an effect on the colours that we chose to dress people in and the background against which they were seen. And I discovered that colour meant a great deal to Tony in the effect that it had either on one's nerves or one's senses (p. 53).

These statements reveal that as a designer, Tanya Moiseiwitsch believed costume colour could elicit physiological and psychological responses. This knowledge, in conjunction with her own colour preferences, affected the colour choices she made. Through an examination of those choices within the context of Shakespeare's plays, her distinctive

application of colour can be assessed. But ultimately, recognizing how Moiseiwitsch applied colour in production is of interest because it provides a more concrete, less speculative understanding of costume colour in general and its uses for theatrical characterization.

Colour as Cultural Signifier

As the previous review of studies indicates, colours may share a degree of common emotional significance across cultures, but colours can also be applied in distinctive ways within particular cultures and thus provide another approach to identify elements of that culture at any given time. Historically, dress colour has frequently provided immediate clues to an individual's social, and even political standing.

Grant McCracken's article "Dress colour at the court of Elizabeth I: an essay in historical anthropology" (1985), illustrates the significance of specific clothing colour within a cultural situation. He was able to demonstrate that black, worn by older men at the court of Elizabeth I, and white or light colours, worn by younger courtiers, had distinct political signification and it was manipulated by each group to achieve their own aims. McCracken has written a provocative article that supports the relevance of colour research in Shakespearean costume design by virtue of its historical specificity and its verification of colour signification. Jane Ashleford's study, Dress in the age of Elizabeth I (1988), provides additional weight of purpose in this regard. She places considerable emphasis on the symbolic meaning of colours during that era giving examples of how they were used.

Of particular import to this research is an article by D. Allen: "Symbolic color in the literature of the English Renaissance" (1935). Allen was able to show how writers during Shakespeare's time shared a vocabulary of common colour meaning within their texts. How designers and directors subsequently interpret the colour references has the potential to reinforce colour meanings or redirect the audience toward new colour associations.

Either way, some degree of cultural signification is recognizable. Douglas Bruster's (1991) examination of the meaning of a 'russet mantle' is a more recent study in the same tradition as Allen's. Bruster compares colour terminology and meaning in the Hamlet and Love's Labours Lost scripts with similar references by Shakespeare's contemporaries, and he determined that russet consistently symbolized hope and steadfastness. Bruster then applied these symbolic interpretations to Horatio's lines in Hamlet (I.i) with similar results.

A recent translation of A history of colors by Manilo Brusatin (1991) includes an excellent account of colour meaning in the Western world. Beginning with the ancient Egyptians, Brusatin traces some of the origins of specific colour symbolism within a larger discourse on the evolution of colour theory. This scholarly text is based on comprehensive reference sources.

British costume historian James Laver's review of theatrical costume, Costume in the theatre (1964), includes the premise that any creative endeavor carries with it an imprint of the time in which it evolved. Edward Maeder convincingly argues in his curatorial statement for the exhibit Hollywood and history (1987) that while costume designers may strive to achieve an accurate portrayal of a specific period, traces of their own time and place are almost always evident to the observant eye. Hollander devotes a substantial section to theatrical costume history in Seeing through clothes (1978) and addresses this issue. Her work is an interdisciplinary study of art and fashion history. Her work employs the visual arts as a device for understanding how clothing is perceived throughout history, establishing a social context for effective study in lieu of limiting research to a purely technical understanding of how garments were constructed. She provides a clear rationale for the contemporary traits evident in period stage costume described by Maeder and Laver. With respect to clothing for the stage, Hollander states: "However fantastic, they [actors] had to connect with the public's sense of itself in its own clothes. Costume

design was continuously wedded to current conceptions of appropriate and attractive dress, and current habits of mind about personal expression through dress" (p.245). She supports her discussion with numerous visual examples. This is a worthwhile text to read for its fresh perspective and for its expansion of the costume material Laver outlines.

In The color compendium (1990), A. Hope and M. Walch state that apparel colours may characterize a historical period by reflecting on the continuing human need for change. They offer examples of period colour reference and discuss apparel colour as a mirror of technologies (aniline dye invention in 19th century Europe is an example), politics (a preference for black in the 16th century due to Spanish influence in taste as well as power), artistic tastes (Tutankhamen exhibit in 1970s instantly popularized earthtoned golds and browns) and economics (practical colours during the 1930s depression).

E. Wilson and L. Taylor (1989) concentrate on the history of dress in Great Britain from 1860 to the late 1980s in Through the looking glass. Their work is primarily a social history investigating the individual elements that influenced fashion changes in Britain during those years. References to specific colour associations for particular periods are interspersed throughout the text: it is a solid account.

Respected costume historians such as James Laver (1969) make clear associations between certain colours and certain periods. In A concise history of costume, Laver goes so far as to characterize some decades by colour as shown in statements such as the one describing the late 1890s as favouring yellow. He further states: " It is no accident that the most exciting publication of the decade was called The Yellow Book " (p. 210).

Two other clothing history sources emphasize the extent of colour's cultural signification: C. Kidwell and V. Steele's (1989) Men and women: Dressing the part, and J. Paoletti's (1983) "Clothes make the boy". Both sources indicate how colour visibly

signifies a social attitude at a specific time. Furthermore, through historical research, they reveal the origins of some of our contemporary views.

It is possible that the findings regarding the intrusiveness of contemporary influence in any period representation of costume cut and style may also hold true for "fashionable" colour. The identification of such a phenomenon was considered as a possibility in this study because of the time span it surveys and the number of productions reviewed. The additional dimension of comparing fashionable colour with colour concurrently used in theatre costume may provide further historical insight and contribute to an understanding of how colour is used as a cultural signifier within theatre.

The play

Much of the research literature stressed the importance of the playwright's text for developing relevant costumes. Tanya Moiseiwitsch reiterated what Marowitz (1986) and others understand to be the most important element of a production, the *raison d'être* of any production process: the language and corresponding meaning of the play. "Shakespeare dictates -- listen to the words and there you are..." (Moiseiwitsch in Hayes & Barlow, 1991). Moiseiwitsch's seemingly straightforward approach to interpreting Shakespeare's text skips lightly over the meticulous examination and ongoing questioning that characterizes the preparatory stage of production. As the following review of some of the critical literature relating to Shakespeare indicates, interpretive possibilities are varied and sometimes controversial.

A review of critical literature relating to the playwright's text was essential for suggesting character readings pertinent to the analysis of the costume colours and characterization. Anne Barton's essays, which preface All's Well That End Well and Romeo and Juliet in the Riverside Shakespeare (1979), are clearly stated treatises describing the action and characterization in both plays. More specific references to these essays are included in the

relevant chapters. Other critical literature, which was helpful in the same way, includes Wilders (1988) New prefaces to Shakespeare and Price (1968) The unfortunate comedy (specific to All's Well).

C. Lenz, G. Greene, and C. Neely (1980), Neely (1985), M. French (1981), I. Dash (1981), J. Dusinger (1975), and C. Rutter (1989) present feminist perspectives on Shakespeare's oeuvre and subsequent performances. Juliet Dusinger argues that Shakespeare and his contemporaries wrote about women from a revisionist viewpoint, reflecting the Renaissance intellectual's questioning of accepted beliefs. She suggests Shakespeare's female characters were frequently modelled after real women in an age when an awareness of gender equality already existed. Irene Dash shares Dusinger's view of Shakespeare being an early proponent of feminist thinking. For Dash, Shakespeare was a man "...whose understanding of the human condition extended beyond his sex and beyond his own time" (p.6). Marilyn French also agrees that Shakespeare was deliberate in testing and probing established ideals regarding gender equality. She suggests this was especially evident in his problem plays such as All's Well. Carol Rutter is particularly concerned with female representations in Shakespearean productions. Rutter's work was also helpful, providing first-hand accounts of players' performances in production, one of which is included in this study.

From another theoretical base, recent literary scholarship presents new ways to consider the text and characters in drama. Works such as J. Dollimore and A. Sinfield's Political Shakespeare (1985) challenge the idea of continuity of meaning within Shakespeare's texts. They suggest that any reading of the text is not dependent on a continuum of unified audience understanding, but is reconstructed for subsequent audiences according to their ideological context. In essence they challenge the authority of the text, maintaining an a-historical position that emphasizes dynamic fluidity in textual meaning. J. Reinelt and J. Roach's (1992) edition of essays on critical theory and

performance includes succinct introductions, explaining some of the new theory underlying Dollimore and Sinfield's discourse. Referring to these theories within a postmodern performance "condition", Reinelt and Roach include essays on cultural studies, semiotics and deconstruction, post-Marxism, feminism, new historiography, psychoanalysis, hermeneutics and phenomenology. The editors recognize that while the development of new ideas about acquiring knowledge challenges more established thought, these new ideas do not necessarily represent a replacement of theories such as Marxism and feminism, that "...are in fact changing but vitally alive" (p. 1). Reinelt and Roach's text provides a helpful introduction to understanding both the new thinking and how it affects various types of performance. These new literary interpretations espoused by postmodern theory are, however, outside the focus of this study. I have concentrated instead on representative literary theory relating to Romeo and Juliet and All's Well that is specific to the time period of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's working career, on literature that has necessarily influenced the research approach in this interdisciplinary study.

A scholarly understanding of Romeo and Juliet and All's Well was required in order to recognize characterization possibilities inherent in the texts. In addition to literary criticism, examination of reviews for specific productions pertinent to this study provides information about the actual interpretations as they were understood by the audience. The reviews were obtained from a variety of sources. Newspaper or popular journal reviews written at the time of the performance are balanced with more directed critical analysis from literary journals such as Shakespeare Survey and Shakespeare Quarterly. Occasionally, books such as R. Bryden and B. Neal's Whittaker's theatre (1985) yielded information about characterization in specific productions. Whittaker's reviews are mostly oriented towards Canadian theatre, while James Agate (1937; 1948) reviews pre-World War Two British theatre, and K. Tynan (1984) focuses on British theatre from 1944 to 1965.

Two reference sources offer brief synopses of production reviews within single volumes. Of the two, W. Babula's Shakespeare in production (1981) was less reliable and not as complete as S. Leiter's Shakespeare around the globe (1986). Although Babula includes a greater number of reviews, Leiter's text has accounts that are more extensive and intensive, and proved most helpful for suggesting further reference sources.

The literature review highlighted in this chapter reflects the interdisciplinary nature and scope of this study. In addition to providing information related to my research, the various sources referred to in this chapter helped to shape the investigative approach. Influenced by facets within the literature, I developed a method of inquiry for collecting and examining data. The research method includes a working model designed for the analysis of Tanya Moisewitsch's application of colour in Shakespearean theatrical costumes. The following chapter offers an explanation of my method of inquiry.

III. METHOD OF INQUIRY

Overview

To serve the production by providing designs in styles and colours that complement the director's artistic vision and the play's content, is the objective of most designers' work. This study examines how Tanya Moiseiwitsch used costume colour to achieve this. It examines her colour choices for two selected plays: Romeo and Juliet, and All's Well That Ends Well. The specific objectives of this research and how these objectives were met are explained in this chapter.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's colour choices for costume design are relevant to the characterization and content of specific productions. Thus, visual evidence such as design sketches and photographs from various Shakespeare productions form the primary materials in this investigation. The foci of study are two plays Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed for: two productions of Romeo and Juliet (in 1943 and again in 1960) and three productions of All's Well (in 1953, 1959, and 1977). A review of these five productions allows for a comparison of her interpretive colour choices over time.

As there were numerous productions of both plays, information on how several of her contemporaries used costume colour in their productions of these same two plays, helps to pinpoint Tanya Moiseiwitsch's singularity as well as her connection to a shared interpretive tradition. Characters selected from Romeo and Juliet and All's Well form the interweave for all the costume colour analysis. The rationale for choosing the characters examined in depth is provided in this chapter. To establish a similar bank of comparative data with regard to work by other designers, only those productions of Romeo and Juliet and All's Well performed in one of the three countries where Moiseiwitsch mainly worked, and only those produced during or close to the time she was active in design are surveyed. In total,

the productions reviewed for this research span a period of 50 years (the 1930s to the 1980s), corresponding to the time of Moiseiwitsch's own career.

In addition to the review and comparison of costume colour from productions of the two plays, it was also necessary to establish the context in which Tanya Moiseiwitsch's work developed. The study of theatrical design is still in its infancy and because design is so connected to the movements within theatre generally, a review of 20th century British theatre provides a structure essential to this research. Yet to understand Moiseiwitsch's place in this historical context it was necessary to chronicle and organize that history. Thus, significant individuals and movements of 20th century British theatre are included here as a counterpoint to the discussion of Tanya Moiseiwitsch. From this information, a model indicating the evolution of different design styles evolved and Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within it is highlighted. A description of the development of British theatrical design, showing how Moiseiwitsch contributed to it, is contained in the next chapter.

Theatrical reviews that describe costume colour in productions have mostly been impressionistic in nature. The unique approach of this research attempts a more systematic examination of colour application in order to gain new insights, and confirm, or challenge the predominantly impressionistic attitude pervading the literature. Through a methodical analysis the following aspects of colour implementation are examined: what role colour meaning plays in a designer's costume decisions, how colour choices are affected by cultural context, and how they are affected by convention.

The way designers have applied costume colours for selected characters in the two plays Romeo and Juliet and All's Well throughout the chosen decades of their presentation offers clues to pervasive colour meanings. To distinguish references to culturally specific colour attributes as they exist in costume design, a model was developed using the Pantone Professional Colour Selector System. This model has been labeled the Theatrical Costume

Colour Analysis Model (TCCA Model). The Pantone System was used in the collection and analysis of research data because it provided a consistent means for recording costume colour from the various sources and offered the most comprehensive compendium of associative colour meanings. Explanations of the Pantone System and how the TCCA Model were applied are also given within this chapter.

With regard to cultural signification, it seemed appropriate to look beyond Shakespeare's plays to women's fashion in order to further identify any colour specificity. Consistent parallels between women's apparel colours and the production costume colours chosen by all the designers over the 50 year period would help to establish whether a colour relationship existed between the two areas. In the presence of a parallel accord between fashionable and costume colours from a particular time, the degree of resonance between the two areas would indicate an added dimension in which colour serves as a cultural signifier.

Negotiating the avenues of an interdisciplinary study has its own unique challenges. Chief among these is the need to maintain a strong focus despite the digressive pulls from the different disciplines. The previous chapter illustrates the diverse data sources that were reviewed in order to gain knowledge of the thesis subject and clarify the importance of the different scholarship areas within it. Guided by this literature review, a research plan for the collection and analysis of necessary data has evolved. The limitations and parameters of the research are also stated in this chapter.

Research sources

The materials for this research were obtained through :

1. Library searches. This included literature containing information about Tanya Moiseiwitsch and her work: critical interpretation of the plays; visual documentation

of the productions; reviews of the productions; theatre personnel's biographies, diaries, and memoirs. The review of this literature is recorded in chapter two of this study.

2. Personal Communication. Interviews and correspondence with designers, co-workers, and others having first hand information regarding this topic augmented written material. A list of those consulted is included in appendix G.

3. Archival and theatre searches. Archival and theatre searches have provided primary documents about the productions: director's notes, design sketches, production reviews, and costume or wardrobe "bibles". The bibles contain coloured renderings or photographs and fabric swatches of the original designs in the same folio. Because costumes are frequently used more than once and thus often reworked for an entirely different production, the costumes themselves were not considered to be consistently reliable representations of designers' colour interpretations. Therefore, the primary data sources in this research were designers' sketches within costume bibles or photographic reproductions of costumes from a specific production. Inconsistencies are inherent in reviewing this type of material, but the value in having a record of the available visual references to the costume colour was considered to outweigh these difficulties. Although the designers' initial conceptions -- as they were recorded in the costume bibles -- might change somewhat following production team meetings or initial rehearsals, it was the original design interpretation of the character's part and thus is valid for consideration in this study. The archives and theatre collections consulted for this study are listed in appendix G.

Productions

As previously noted, two Shakespeare plays provide the impetus for investigative information. A familiar play with well known characters offers a reliable model for observing relationships amongst costume colour choices, colour meaning, and

characterization: Romeo and Juliet met this criteria. To undermine any bias or preconceptions regarding that well-known story, a play of lesser renown was also needed. Furthermore, a play with distinctly contrasting characters and/or context would more convincingly demonstrate costume colour and character relationships. All's Well fulfills these requirements. It is one of Shakespeare's lesser known plays and contains characterizations that contrast both socially and psychologically with those in Romeo and Juliet.

Various considerations led to the decision to focus on Shakespeare. First, his plays are widely staged and provide a representative assemblage of productions to examine. The extensive material, which exists because there are myriad Shakespeare productions, ensures a broad base for comparative study. A second reason for this focus was Tanya Moiseiwitsch's association with the Shakespeare Festival at Stratford in Canada and her role in its development. Her work there and in Britain with Tyrone Guthrie, one of the 20th century's most notable Shakespearean directors, reinforces this reasoning. Finally, this particular focus was chosen because of Moiseiwitsch's international experience designing for Shakespeare productions, which included the two plays featured in this study.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed costumes for Romeo and Juliet produced for repertory theatre in Great Britain at the Oxford Playhouse (1943), and in 1960 for the Stratford Festival. She designed costumes for All's Well the first season of the Stratford Festival in 1953, again in 1959 for Britain's Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon, and once more for the Stratford Festival (1977). These spans of time and place provide ample room for comparative analysis. Further, by observing similarities and changes in colour choices made by Moiseiwitsch and other designers within that time, the cultural significance of those colours might be better understood.

Since Tanya Moiseiwitsch is associated with theatres in Canada, Great Britain and the United States, this study includes Shakespeare plays produced in all three countries. Her close and longstanding association with the Stratford Festival made that location essential for researching productions by herself and other designers. The same rationale governed research at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis and at Stratford-Upon-Avon in Britain. Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed for each of these theatres within the 50 years in which the various productions were reviewed.

Other theatre archives that were independent of any association with Tanya Moiseiwitsch were also utilized. They provided primary production data in a field which has relatively few examples. At the American Conservatory Theatre in San Francisco it was possible to research costume colours for one of the two plays within the production dateline for this research, and to interview the designer who offered insights into the designer's rationale for particular colour choices. Thus, the reasons for choosing specific productions for this research analysis were based on their relationship to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's design experience with respect to time and location, or the expedient accessibility of material that fit within those parameters. It is not really possible to state precisely how representative the dramatic interpretations researched in this study are for all Romeo and Juliet and All's Well productions during those 50 years. We can gain some sense of this matter from the descriptions of different interpretations given at the start of the forthcoming individual chapter analyses on the two plays.

Coloured visual documentation (designer sketches, fabric swatches, photographs, prints) of the costumes from each play are the reference source for this study. In total, there are more than 40 characters within the two plays. By multiplying that number by the 21 productions examined, it would have been possible, hypothetically, to study a minimum of 840 separate costumes. This number does not include any costume changes

integral to the particular production, which could potentially increase the number threefold. I therefore decided to reduce the number of characters studied to four from each play. The complete number of costume colours observed for the two plays was over 300. Because fewer characters were reviewed, the number of costume colours analyzed totalled approximately half that amount. This number excludes costume colours from other productions designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch which are cited in order to illustrate her particular application of costume colour and characterization. In addition to Moiseiwitsch's designs, the work of fourteen other designers is included in this study.

A cast of characters for the two productions, as listed in the Alexander text (1951), follows. The four characters whose costume colours were analyzed are highlighted within this list of dramatis personae. The particular characters were chosen as a result of two considerations: their importance within the play, and the availability of coloured visual costume documentation. A more detailed explanation of the selection process accompanies the analyses of the respective plays.

Dramatis Personae

Romeo and Juliet

Escalus - Prince of Verona

Paris - a young nobleman, kinsman to the prince.

Montague and **Capulet** - heads of two houses at variance with each other.

An old man - of the Capulet family.

Romeo - son to Montague.

Mercutio - kinsman to the prince, and friend to Romeo.

Benvolio - nephew to Montague, and friend to Romeo.

Tybalt - nephew to Lady Capulet.

Friar Laurence and Friar John - Franciscans.

Balthasar - servant to Romeo.

Sampson and Gregory - servants to Capulet.

Peter - servant to Juliet's nurse.

Abraham - servant to Montague.

An Apothecary.

Three Musicians.

Lady Montague - wife to Montague.

Lady Capulet - wife to Capulet.

Juliet - daughter to Capulet.

Nurse to Juliet.

Citizens of Verona: Gentlemen and Gentlewomen of both houses; Maskers, Torchbearers, Pages, Guards, Watchmen, Servants, and Attendants.

All's Well That Ends Well

King of France.

Duke of Florence.

Bertram, Count of Rousillon.

Lafew - an old Lord.

Parolles - a follower of Bertram.

Steward, Clown, Page - servants of the Countess of Rousillon.

Countess of Rousillon - mother to Bertram.

Helena - a gentlewoman protected by the Countess.

A Widow of Florence.

Diana, daughter of the Widow.

Violenta, Mariana - neighbors and friends to the Widow.

Lords, Officers, Soldiers, (both French and Florentine).

Lavache - a clown (servant to the Countess of Rousillon).

Research Tool

Each set of costume colours was examined and the specific colour interpretation matched with the corresponding hue classified in the Pantone Professional Color Selector System (Pantone System). This system, along with others like it, provides a means by which colours can be accurately described and compared. The Pantone System was chosen as a comparison gauge for this study because of its accessibility and comprehensiveness.

The Pantone System has colours arranged in order of value, hue and chroma as they are perceived by the eye, with each strip devoted to a single hue. *Hue* is understood to mean the name assigned to a colour. The Pantone System plots a range of hues described on the colour wheel (Figure 5) which is divided into 64 radial sectors that distinguish different hues and variations of particular hues.

Each colour has a numerical designation consisting of three paired numbers, for example: 14-1234. The first pair of digits (14) represents the value of the hue, the second pair (12) represents the hue itself, and the third pair (34) indicates the degree of saturation. According to the Pantone system, the number 12 (designating hue in this example), places this colour within the orange family of hues: it is indicated by an x in figure 5.

Value describes the lightness or darkness of a colour. The Pantone value scale ranges from 19 (the equivalent of black), to 10 (the equivalent of white) (Figure 6). The value of the example hue (14) is designated by x on the scale.

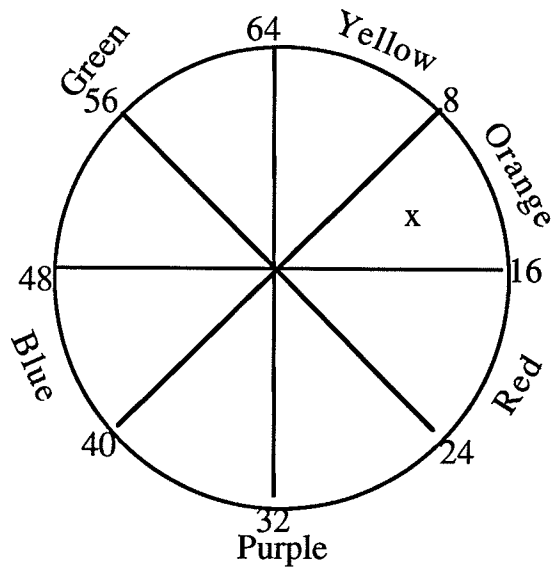


Figure 5. Pantone Colour Wheel

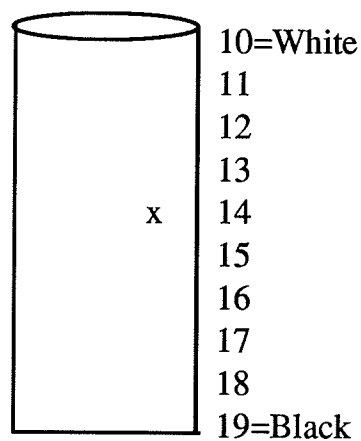


Figure 6. Pantone Value Scale

The scale is represented in a cylindrical form to illustrate that the numerical designation is consistent with that particular colour's position on the colour wheel. This form of recording demonstrates how the notation for the Pantone System numbers is based on a solid colour wedge from the cylinder. For the example (14) given, this visual representation of value suggests a medium range orange colour.

In order to fully establish what the colour looks like, it is also necessary to know its *saturation*. This is understood to be its chroma, or intensity of brilliance. The Pantone System signifies a colour's chroma with the last two digits of numerical designation. These numbers correspond to degree of proximity to the most intense saturation point on the colour wheel (Figure 7). Pantone offers a range starting at the axle (0), the dullest intensity, following a scale along each spoke to the most saturated point at the rim (64).

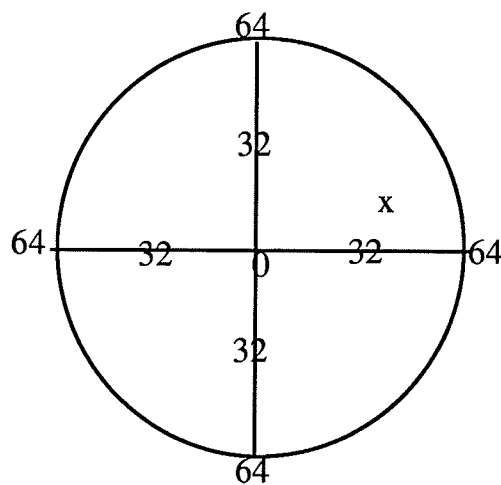


Figure 7. Pantone Chroma Designation

With the inclusion of this aspect of the colour wheel, a complete image of the particular colour in the above example is discernible. The approximate position of the example (34) colour number is marked on the wheel by an x. When amalgamated with the information given by the other two pairs of numbers, it can be ascertained that 14-1234 is located in the peach tones of the orange family of hues.

In addition to a numerical designation, the Pantone System refers to each colour by a commercial name which is intended to provide immediate perceptual clues from a verbal description. The closest corresponding Pantone colour to the example provided is 14-1230, which a medium (in this case a light medium) orange hue listed as *Apricot Wash*.

Costume colour data collection

The method employed to record the costume colours has components similar to the American Society for Testing and Materials (ASTM) standard for Visual Evaluation of Color Differences of Opaque Materials (Designation D 1729 -89), and the Canadian Government Specifications Board (CGSB) Grey Scale for Evaluating Change in Color (Method 46 - 1977). Both standards outline the procedure for attaining optimal accuracy and consistency in matching and evaluating colours visually without the aid of colour measuring instruments. Like the CGSB, ASTM recommends the use of illumination conditions equivalent to "...light from a moderately overcast northern sky" (p.246) if daylight illumination is used, and recommends artificial daylight (incandescent) or cool-white fluorescent illumination from lamps "...commonly used for home and business lighting" (p. 247), which meet specific requirements set out by the International Commission on Illumination. In both methods the coloured object is viewed at a 45 degree angle (to avoid any glare), in an area free from extraneous light, with the colour surrounded by a neutral enclosure equivalent to a medium grey from the Munsell Color System's chroma of neutrals. The Munsell Color System is a method of colour standardization commonly used in science and industry. While the CGSB procedure compares the color sample against a Grey Scale, the ASTM method matches perceived colours with the equivalent Munsell colour system notation describing hue, value, and chroma. Ideally, both procedures are carried out in carefully controlled viewing booths, with every item viewed under the exact same conditions.

Although it was impossible to control the viewing situations for this study, certain controls were utilized that reflect the ASTM and CGSB standards. All the data used in this study were examined under overhead artificial light sources with the data placed directly below. The fragile nature of the older illustrations examined, and the cumbersome fan arrangement of the Pantone colour swatches, necessitated a flat viewing rather than the

recommended 45 degree angle set out in the ASTM and CGSB standards. A medium gray, dual opening mask (Figure 8) assisted in matching of the colours on the Pantone strips with the costume material being viewed.

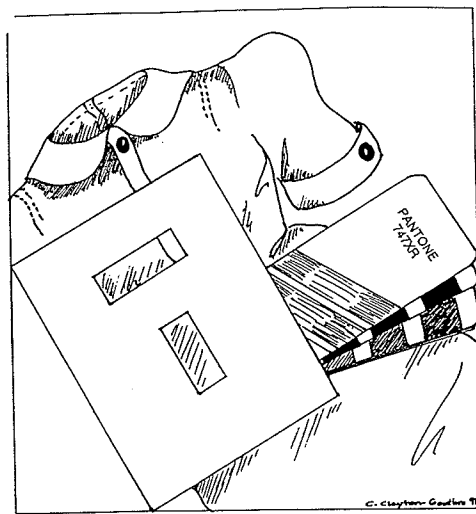


Figure 8. Gray mask used to eliminate simultaneous contrast distortion

The use of a mask, in which windows for the material examined are surrounded by the same medium gray neutral ensured that both colours were seen without the bias of simultaneous contrast which negates accurate colour perception. Simultaneous contrast is the phenomenon whereby an intensified contrast results when two different colours are placed side by side. This may result in a distorted perception. The same colour will appear

to be more or less intense than it really is dependent upon which colours surround it (Itten, 1970).

Costume colours were matched as closely as possible with the Pantone equivalent notation of hue-value-chroma. The corresponding Pantone number was then recorded on a data collection sheet developed for this purpose (an example of this sheet is included in Appendix F). Incorporating this information with the other data collected for the costume, character, production, period setting, director, designer, and date of production provides a more complete reference base. This consistent method of recording ensured a verifiable data base.

Using the corresponding Pantone colour chips, individual charts were then established for each of the eight selected characters. Each chart documents the palettes chosen by the 15 designers in chronological order of production date. This enables a comparison among different designers' approaches to colour application for the same roles, and serves as a reference for identifying any differences or similarities to the colours fashionable at the time of production. References such as Hope and Walch (1990) provide an overview of women's fashion colours decade by decade; they were used to compare the costume colours chosen by theatrical designers in the productions reviewed. Costume colour choices not related to convention or Pantone's cultural associations were assessed for influence by the appropriate decade's current fashion colours.

The costume colour charts help to identify any colour related to a particular emotional association by making apparent the use of repeated colours to describe the same character. Analyzing the colours was critical and descriptive in nature, incorporating the colour meaning recognized by Pantone. A consistent and repeatable reading of the costume colours was thus possible. Pantone asserts that "...each family of colour evokes particular emotions and associations." They caution those who choose colour in clothing to be aware

of the potency and strength of colours' associate meanings: " When someone approaches from a distance, the first thing seen is the color of the clothes. The closer the individual approaches, the more space he or she occupies in our visual field and the greater its effect on our nervous system" (Pantone,1990, p.25). They inform us that because most colours are not viewed alone, the dominant colour carries the most emphatic message. To understand the associate attributes of the various hues, Pantone carried out research at the Pantone Color Institute adding their results to existent studies such as "Basic Color Terms" by anthropologists Berlin and Kay (1969). From this research, a list of associated colour meanings was developed. This list formed the basis for the analysis of individual costume colours in this study, and it is included in Appendix H.

In addition to the overall costume colour charts, separate graphs identifying the ascribed allocation of hue and saturation used by Tanya Moiseiwitsch are set in comparison to the other designers. A comparative value scale for each character was also drawn up. The charts and graphs are included in chapters five, six and seven.

Theatrical Costume Colour Analysis Model

The analysis for this research was carried out using a model derived from two related examples. C. Johnson's (University of Manitoba, personal communication, 1992) theatrical model views any production as an integrated interactivity amongst the text, the actor, and the audience with change in one area affecting the other two: a triangle of forces. In this model, "...the actor point of the triangle really includes all aspects of production excluding text" (Johnson 1992). This includes not only acting and acting style, but also the director's interpretation, all aspects of design, and the specifics of the production site itself. The text point of the triangle is the playwright's script, and the audience point of the triangle comprises the audience from a societal perspective. In this model, the concept of an audience is culturally specific, requiring "... reference to the society from which the

audience is drawn" (Johnson 1992). The dynamics amongst the three areas are fluid and determine the theatrical experience. C. Rutter's (University of Birmingham Summer School, 1991) performance model also consists of a triad, among playwright's text, performance text, and production text. In the latter model, the performance text incorporates those directions actually outlined in the text as opposed to a director's interpretation of it. The production text encompasses the entire interpretation including direction, design, and actors' performance of the play as it is presented to an audience. Both of these models include all aspects of theatrical experience. A model that isolates the role of costume colour within the theatrical experience was required for this study.

Based on the interactive concept of the Johnson and Rutter models, a new three-step model was developed for this study, incorporating the three fundamental texts that had to be examined before a conclusive analysis of costume colour and characterization could be achieved. These were: *Shakespeare's Text*, the *Performance or Interpretive Text*, and the *Audience or Interpreted Text*. This paradigm can be readily explained by referring to the following figure (figure 9):

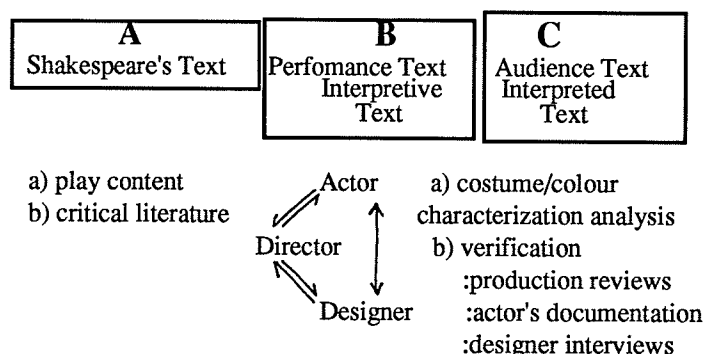


Figure 9. Theatrical Costume Colour Analysis Model

Step A explores the possibilities for characterization provided by *Shakespeare's text*. Physical descriptions of the characters, their ages, particulars of nationality and any costume references were extracted from the text to provide a composite image of the character. In addition to the physical character traits, any clues offered regarding his/her intellectual or psychological make up were also examined. Finally, the text was reviewed to identify any references Shakespeare himself made to colour. Having established the data base, the results of an investigation of the literature were factored in. This two-pronged analysis enhanced a fuller comprehension of the potential for characterization within the plays, and assisted in understanding the literary climate current to the various productions.

Step B addresses the context within which the agents of interpretation -- the director, the designer, and the actors -- approached the text. This step primarily served to identify who these interpreters were, and the cultural conditions of time and place for the particular productions. At this point, the designers' costume colour decisions and period choice were recorded. Cultural variables -- such as the date, location and social climate of the time a play was produced in -- were considered important factors for gaining clarity in understanding a particular production's interpretive focus. At this step also, Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within British design history becomes evident.

The arrows connecting the director, designer, and actor are intended to illustrate the dynamics of the interpretive process. Within the history of theatre, each of the three have had their turn to dominate production interpretation at one time or another. English director Peter Brook's outline of the different types of directors demonstrates some of these possible shifts. The first type of director is clearly at the helm of a production, and uses "...all the elements of theatre, actors, designers, musicians, etc. as his servants, to communicate to the rest of the world what he has to say" (Marowitz, 1986, p. xi). In contrast to this type is the director who "...makes himself the servant, becoming the coordinator of a group of actors, limiting himself to suggestions, criticisms, and

encouragement." Finally, Brook describes what he perceives to be the ideal director: someone who takes charge "...making decisions, saying yes and no, having the final say." At the same time, that director guides the action while keeping an open mind for other approaches to the production, and is prepared to "radically modify and transform his own ideas " if other's suggestions warrant it (Marowitz, 1986, p.xi-xii). This synopsis of directorial style illustrates how shifts in one area affect the interpretive energy of the others.

The final stage in this analysis model is *Step C*, the *Audience* or *Interpreted Text*. The focus shifts from what is possible in a production to what was actually done: how the text was represented by the producers making interpretive decisions, and how that interpretation affected the audience's reaction.

This step encompasses the actual analysis of the costume colour data in relation to characterization, and seeks to verify that analysis with those who produced it, or with those who saw it, by gleaning all the available information. The tool for carrying out this inquiry -- the Pantone Professional Color Selector System -- and its use within colour data collection in this study has been described in detail. Its application is demonstrated in chapters five, six and seven.

In order to assess the accuracy of my character interpretation based on costume colour readings (as a means of attesting to the power of colour meaning), three sources were examined. Whenever possible, a player's or designer's own description of the character was matched to the character reading suggested by the costume colour. These sources were regrettably not abundant. The main source for verification of characterization came from newspaper or journal production reviews. The reviewers' perceptions of a production's character interpretations were then compared with my character interpretation based on costume colour. This is not to suggest that the reviewers' perceptions of a particular character relies on costume colour but rather, that the production's overall

interpretation formed the basis of comparison for the researcher's colour based interpretation.

These sources were reviewed *after* the costume colour analysis thus minimizing possible influence from accounts of the production. As the following chapters' records of those analyses indicate, inaccuracies in colour and character assessment did occur, but not as frequently as they were in accord with the perceptions of a particular production's characterization.

Interviews formed an integral part of this research, helping to create a more precise image of some of the personalities involved in costume design overall, and Tanya Moiseiwitsch specifically. They assisted in substantiating the visual analysis. Interviews helped to fill information gaps in the current theatrical journals and the monographs written for specific (but sporadic) costume exhibits.

In the initial data collection stages, an interview questionnaire based on a model by Bundick (1979) was developed for use in formal interview situations. It was only used once because it was found to be limiting by both the interviewer and the individual being interviewed. All subsequent interviews took the shape of informal discussions about theatre design, and many helpful insights were gleaned in this manner. Even when what was said was understood to be "off-the-record" (and therefore not incorporated in this study), the background it provided assisted in guiding further questions, and led to an understanding that might not have been learned otherwise.

Limitations and parameters of the study

As the literature indicates, Tanya Moiseiwitsch is world renowned for her theatre, set, and costume designs. This research is confined to an investigation of her application of colour in costumes from selected Shakespeare productions. These costume colours were

examined in relation to those from other productions of the same play prior to, during, and following Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designs. In this way, stylistic changes could be perceived both in her own work over time, and between her work and that of others, before, during and after her individual productions. At the same time, the review of costume colour and characterization over six decades and within three countries serves to identify specific shared conceptions of colour meaning.

While this study necessarily includes biographical references and an analysis of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within British theatre design history, these are not the primary purposes of this research. Summaries of these components serve to provide background details that help explain her colour approach in costume design. References to the production team as a whole are also included as reminders of the complex elements involved in creating costume designs.

This study is extremely dependent on what Barzun and Graff (1977) refer to as mute sources of evidence: visual documentation, as opposed to written material. In order to identify Tanya Moiseiwitsch's stylistic colour characteristics and the colour choices preferred by other designers, a variety of visual documentation was examined. Exact perceptions of costume colours as the designers' conceived them were not always possible because of the variations in materials studied. Original design sketches or their reproductions in costume bibles, actual photographs of the costumes from production, and coloured reproductions in promotional material constitute the visual documentary source for this study. Working with this aggregation was essential in order to garner sufficient visual information from scattered and all too frequently non-existent records.

The use of such diverse sources of visual documentation is troublesome for colour analysis. Saturation, hue and value are invariably altered by the different light diffusions existing between photographs and sketches, and between glossy and matt-finish brochure

images. The result may not represent the precise colour conception of the designer's initial sketch, but the essential colour is conveyed. In each production it was possible to identify a general colour sense, or reference to colour families, for the costumes reviewed. These colour families are groups of colours related to a common name. We can thus speak of a red family, or a blue family of colours, etc. Figure 10 provides some of the potential colour family classifications.

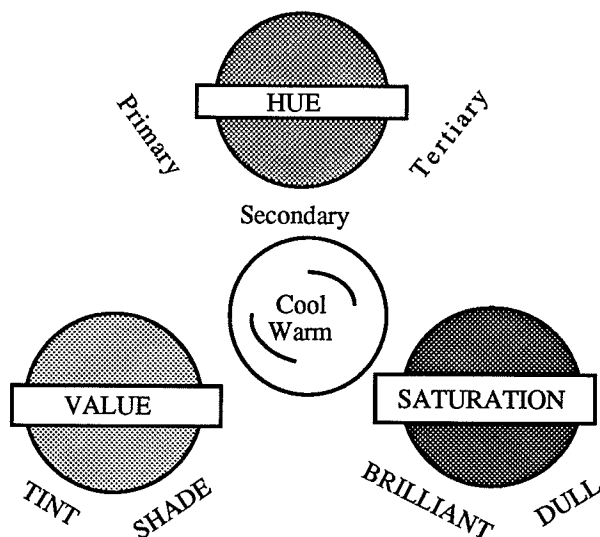


Figure 10. Potential Colour Families

Colour families may consist of colours whose base hue is similar and situated within the primary, secondary, or tertiary section of the colour wheel. The example given above (reds, blues) falls within the primary category. Designers may choose to orient the costume colours towards one or two basic hues and so provide colour themes. Lindy Hemming's designs for the 1981 production of All's Well at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre illustrate this approach. The designer used different hues to define the location of

the action. At court, the predominant costume colours were subtle degrees of blue, while the final scene at Rousillon was presented on a stage filled with characters wearing various cream/beige coloured costumes.

Colour families may contain shades of similar value or tints of different hues. For example, differently coloured costumes might all be the same number on the Pantone value scale, resulting in a balanced range of hues for the audience to focus on as a whole. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designs for the 1961 Stratford Festival production of Coriolanus provide an example of this approach. Even though the costumes were predominantly from opposite sides of the colour wheel, photographs suggest that the blue and brown (orange base) hue costumes were roughly equal in their degrees of darkness and lightness. Because of this costume colour treatment for the majority of the characters, individuals who needed to be highlighted at specific points in the production could be readily made more visible by increasing the value of their costume. The lighter coloured costume would act as a beacon, compelling the audience's gaze. Figure 88 in the final chapter demonstrates this effect.

In a similar vein, costumes might be from differing hues, or one costume might have several components which are differently coloured but have a similar degree of intensity or saturation, to the other costumes on stage. A production that has most of the characters wearing different -- but all highly saturated -- hues would have a high energy impact on the audience; the aural equivalent would be a stage filled with continually screaming players. Contrarily, a stage filled with low saturation costumes would more likely create a soothing, restful composite image for the audience. Both approaches have their place within theatrical productions.

All of these costume colour applications can be considered to form distinct colour families. Reference to costume colours might incorporate particular colour families for the production as a whole, for groups of costumes, or for individual costumes. Most

importantly, by providing this type of colour affiliation, preserving the essence of the designers' colour choices for characterization enhancement is possible despite the variations in the material viewed.

In addition to the unavailability of consistent documentation for each production set of costumes, observing the variation of hue, value and saturation could not always be precise because the viewing conditions were uncontrollable. Also, the disparity in age between respective costumes incurred additional imprecision. Some of the costume bibles and photographs reviewed have existed for over a quarter of a century. These items were not always maintained in optimum archival conditions. Uncontrolled storage conditions accelerate the reduction of colour saturation over time, and because certain colours are more fugitive than others, the changes are not necessarily uniform. To minimize lighting distortion in the different viewing chambers, a natural light source was used for viewing the material whenever possible. This was feasible at the Stratford Festival Archives, the Shakespeare Centre Library, and the American Conservatory Theatre costume storage and record area. However, the same conditions did not exist at other locations such as the Metropolitan Toronto Public Library, the Guthrie Theatre, and the Theatre Museum, where artificial fluorescent lighting is the norm.

The completeness of visual documentation varies considerably for the different productions reviewed in this study. The majority of archives did not have material that provides a colour sense of the whole cast. This not only influenced the choice of characters available for study (a limitation in itself), but it also represented the potential for costume colour -- and hence the perceived character associations -- to be understood outside of the original production context. This is a significant limitation. There were two reasons for proceeding: it seemed possible to determine similarities in the choices of costume colour regardless of those limitations, and in so doing provide some support for shared perceptions of the colour, if these exist. The interdisciplinary nature of the research

warrants such an undertaking where a pure theatre history study might not. Most importantly, in view of the often ephemeral nature of the data and the incomplete accounts of available information, the value of a collective record of these costume colours outweighs these limitations. A single text encompassing a review of the intellectual and emotional colour/character associations in these specific theatrical costume designs, coloured illustrations of many of these costumes, reviews of specific productions' characterization, and records of the individual production players, directors and designers, will provide valuable reference material for future theatrical costume designers, theatrical historians, costume historians, art historians and theatre patrons generally.

There are many sources (sometimes contradictory) that include interpretations of colours different meanings. Theatre texts by Anderson (1984) and Gillette (1987) include reference to colour meaning. They agree that red is an active, powerful hue, but offer varying attributes for most other colours. For example, Anderson describes orange positively, as a festive stimulating colour. Gillette agrees, but at the same time he also assigns the more negative qualities of "disturbed" and "distressed" to it (p.91). Another example concerns blue; Gillette sees this colour almost entirely as a positive hue, while Anderson begins her description of it with "coldness". Anderson's text presents colour meaning very definitively, whereas Gillette cautions the reader that his list of affective meanings is necessarily ambiguous because it is constantly in flux.

Hope and Walch's (1990) comprehensive text includes descriptions of colour attributes, illustrating some cross-cultural differences and changes within specific cultures over time. They point out that within the Western world, colour meaning became firmly entrenched through the introduction of heraldry in medieval times. At that time, the colours were carefully chosen to convey " ...very exact symbolic meanings, exemplifying real or hoped-for qualities of the leader. For instance, red stood for love and martyrdom, purple for majesty, blue for piety, green for contemplation, and yellow for wisdom" (p. 281). The

authors stress the subsequent appropriation of related colour coding by later societies. "The direct descendant of this tradition can be seen in modern company logos and images. The green of American banknotes recalled not only the uniforms of the Revolutionary soldiers, but also the rise of a youthful new order from British colonialism" (p. 281).

The Pantone list of associative colour meaning was adhered to as the standard for costume colour meaning in this study because of its connection to the tool of inquiry, the Pantone Professional Colour Selector System. It offers one of the most current reports regarding colour meaning and is both authoritative and accessible. The Pantone system has the limitations of any colour coding system, but its virtues -- ensuring the consistency of analysis both within and across productions -- makes it suitable for this research.

This study uses an interdisciplinary approach. It is based on a wide range of understandings: an understanding of the dynamics of psychological colour choices in clothing at a cultural and individual level, an understanding of the aesthetic principles underlying those choices within the theatre, an understanding of the history of theatre, art and costume, an understanding of design and colour theory, and an understanding of theatrical costume requirements within a production.

The first findings of the research analysis focus on Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within the development of British theatrical design: that analysis is in the next chapter. It is followed by two chapters containing the colour analysis of costumes from the various productions of the selected Shakespeare plays, and the final chapters outline the research results.

IV TANYA MOISEIWITSCH: POSITION IN BRITISH THEATRE COSTUME DESIGN

Shifts of focus

In the latter part of the 1980s, a group of prominent British Shakespearean actresses expressed dissatisfaction with what they described as "designer's theatre". They were referring to the "...spiralling dependence of directors on their designers..." which, they said, contrasted with the "director's theatre" of the 1960s and 70s (Rutter, 1989, xxi-ii). Their reference to the changes occurring within theatrical production sheds light on Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position in British theatre costume design. It offers a perspective on the tradition from which Moiseiwitsch emerged; it gives information about the theatre in which she prospered; and it suggests that in the realm of British design, as Marowitz's comments recorded in the previous chapter establish, production dominance is often contentious. For these reasons an appreciation of Moiseiwitsch's early work experience in Britain requires an understanding of the changing forces within British theatre.

Costume and set design are barometers for the continually negotiated positions within theatre production. Yet the study of costume design in its own right has only recently received the scholarly attention warranted by its importance to the interpretation of a production. This topic has been addressed by contemporary theatre historians such as Cordner (University of Birmingham lecture, 1991), Ingram (1990), Knowles (1985), Mullin (1991) and Rutter (1991).

Model of British design styles

Art historian Anne Hollander argued that "recognizing signals is the main visual pleasure in theatrical experience..." (1978, p.303). In Shakespeare's time, costumes were "dominant signifiers" used by the playwright to provide an audience with immediate clues to the wearer's status within the setting of the play (Rutter, personal communication, July,

1991). Consciously or unconsciously, this type of signification has continued to the present time. The subtle and not-so-subtle signals costumes embody reflect designers' own cultural context (as the ensuing overview of designers discussed in this chapter indicates). And, although most designers resist categorization, certain tendencies in their design approaches are apparent.

Understanding the tradition that helped to shape Tanya Moiseiwitsch's design approach was achieved through a review of prominent 20th century British costume designers. The survey identifies stylistic similarities and the relationship of personal styles to more general theatre movements in this century. This representative review recognizes the existence of five design styles closely allied to the times in which they appeared. For purposes of discussion these tendencies were assigned the following labels: experimental, decorative, morphological, ideological, and materialistic (Figure 11). Against this model of general tendencies Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within British design history was further clarified, providing the important context for her career, if only summarily.

The result is a diagram outlining some of the shifts that have occurred in British design history in the last 90 years at the same time as it indicates costume design's dynamic nature. It is important to note that the categories are not constrained by either their stylistic characteristics or by time. It would be inaccurate to suggest these distinctions are absolute. The model is designed to clarify stylistic variation, not to confine designers to one style or period. The following section examines the various design styles and includes examples of designers' work, through an analysis of their stylistic characteristics.

 Twentieth Century British Design Styles

(Gordon Craig) Paul Shelving G. Sheringham C. Lovat Fraser	Experimental 1900s-1930s >	: new approaches (eclectic) : establishment of designer role	<i>Rejection of 19th century predilection for historical reproduction</i>
Oliver Messel Cecil Beaton Rex Whistler Leslie Hurry	Decorative 1920s-1940s >	: ornamental (painterly) : glamour linked with actors/high society	<i>Tendency for design to be imposed on text</i>
Motley Tanya Moisewitsch Roger Furse Alix Stone Desmond Heeley	Morphological mid 1930s-1950s >	: functional (sculptural) : metaphorical	<i>Interprets text</i>
J. Bury J. Herbert R.Koltai	Ideological 1960s-1970s >	: minimalist (spare) : anti-illusionistic	<i>Script reinterpreted</i>
Ultz	Materialistic late 1980s >	: post-modern (designer's theatre) : inundating visual action (of TV/pop video era)	<i>Super-imposition</i>

Figure 11. Model of 20th century British design styles

Experimental style: turning from realism

During the mid-19th century, actor Charles Kean made every effort to draw upon authentic costume sources, choosing garments in which that information was meticulously reproduced. Laver credits him with making historical veracity an important component in theatrical design. Kean's costume for Hamlet (Figure 12) is an example of this. Although the length of his tunic reflects the Victorian code of modesty the costume, complete with actual sword, indicates an attempt to replicate medieval costume.



Figure 12. Charles Kean as Hamlet, c. 1850.
Laver, 1964, p.131

By 1925 the desire for period accuracy, which had characterized 19th century naturalism, was supplanted by a new expressiveness in theatre. After almost a century's focus on historical costuming, some directors and designers cast Shakespeare's characters in modern dress. Sir Barry Jackson helped to establish the fashion for contemporary dress in costume with his production of Hamlet (1925). Jackson's experimental production at the Kingsway Theatre, London is one example amongst many from the decade prior to when Tanya Moiseiwitsch began her career (1934). During that time, a group of designers explored new design means. Within this study, these designers are classified as *experimental*.

The *experimental* classification encompasses those designers at the beginning of this century who, largely following Edward Gordon Craig's teachings, moved away from the naturalism and exactitude of the 19th century costume tradition towards a modern design style, encompassing ideas such as abstract poetic expression and the use of contemporary dress. There are parallels to general tendencies in the fine arts. In the same way that visual artists came more and more to ignore the details of realism in order to explore a more abstract or expressionist sensibility in both two and three-dimensional art, set and costume designers also sought to convey similar attitudes on the 20th century stage.

It was during this period, from the turn of the century to the 1920s, that the particular role of *costume designer* was first recognized as a distinct entity. Previously, costumes were often made by a separate firm, independent of theatre and stage designers (Rosenfeld, 1973). When costumes *were* made as part of the full production proceedings, they were likely to be handled by the same person designing the set: a scene painter. Costume design was thus affected by the evolution of scene painters, whose inventiveness changed the conceptual attitude towards productions in the first two decades of this century. Gordon Craig, Paul Shelving, George Sheringham, and Claud Lovat Fraser were the main exponents of this style. The new scenic artists strove for a unified visual effect, in contrast to earlier staging techniques that featured different sets and costumes for each subdivision of an act with, as Mullin (1988) noted, program credits for the individual scenes. In essence, the scenes served to illustrate the production. Artists such as those listed above believed design should do more and pursued more expressive design interpretations. Gordon Craig's concept of poetic expressionism offered one way to achieve this.

Thus the 19th century theatrical appreciation for historical veracity, which required settings and costumes of historical, geographical, and even archeological accuracy (Mullin, 1988), was replaced by "poetic expressionism". Instead of merely illustrating the play, sets and costumes became the visual interpreters of the play. This was an important

moment for theatrical design: essentially, this formative period heralded the recognition of a distinctly new and vital role within theatrical production, the role of the designer. It was also a significant moment within theatre as a whole, for the changes yielding more recognition for the designer also gave designers greater agency within the production, leading to more interpretive potential in place of the role of straightforward embellisher.

The change from illustrative design to interpretive design was greatly influenced by the aesthetic theories of theatrical mavericks Adolphe Appia and Gordon Craig, two of the most important influences in British theatrical design during the first two decades of the 20th century. These two men had minimal production experience, but their ideas about design led to significant conceptual changes within it. Appia was writing about theatre design as early as 1895, but his L'oeuvre d'art vivant (1921) provides the most complete account of his aesthetic theories. Appia designed his first full-scale production, Tristan at La Scala (1923), just five years before he died (Taylor, 1985). Like Craig, Appia's influence upon design was based on his concept of a unified theatrical production where "the word, the music, the movements of the performers, [and] the whole stage picture -- would be fused into one infinitely complex experience" (Taylor, 1985, p. 13). A single artistic vision would give the production a cohesive unity. Appia also espoused a more abstract design concept. One of his methods for realising this promise was to use light to establish the appropriate atmosphere: changes in lighting could create colour in place of a painted scenic backdrop and emphasize the players' three-dimensional presence.

Both Craig and Appia emphasized the three-dimensionality of theatre, placing the actors within a stage environment rather than in front of a painted backdrop. A player's three-dimensional presence was accentuated on a stage that had fewer set changes. Appia promoted altered lighting effects to convey a different scenic atmosphere while Craig adapted a set rather than replace it with another. Craig's famous screens are an example of this. Both approaches result in a metaphorical rather than representational stage setting and

place greater emphasis on costumes. As Johnson points out, an approach minimizing the number of sets suited Tyrone Guthrie's interest in Elizabethan staging, a staging style that requires versatility and fluidity from scene to scene. Craig and Appia's teachings anticipate Guthrie's own approach to theatrical productions: hence, directly and indirectly, the two designers' influenced Tanya Moiseiwitsch's work.

Gordon Craig, working prior to World War I, is credited with promoting metaphorical expressiveness (from which the term poetic expression is derived) and with advocating a unified artistic vision in the theatre. His actual designs were created primarily for theatres outside of Britain, in Berlin (Venice Preserved, 1905), Ireland (The Hour Glass, 1911), Moscow (Hamlet, 1911-12), and Copenhagen (The Pretenders, 1926) (Salgado, 1985).

Craig also promoted the idea of a single individual at the helm of production design. He maintained that a total theatrical realization was best effected if the same person had technical control over all aspects of design from lighting to sets to costumes. Craig particularly saw design and direction as being intimately connected. His career in this capacity, as a designer/director, did not begin until 1900 and was over, in effect, by 1912 with his work on Stanislavsky's Hamlet in Moscow (Taylor, 1985).

Gordon Craig's poetic interpretation was realized through abstract, symbolic costume design and eloquent use of material. In the 1911 production of Hamlet, for instance, Claudius was clothed in an enormous gold cloak that covered most of the stage. It was a poetic rather than literal expression of regal status. His costumes (Figure 13) for The Vikings (1903) allude to actual Viking costume, but abandon Kean's style of realism for a more lyrical interpretation of the original garments.



Figure 13. Designs by Gordon Craig for The Vikings, 1903
Nash, (1967). Figures 37 and 38.

The free form bands circling the arms in the two figures illustrated are an example of this expressive style. They evoke the original Viking attire, but the kinetic experience of these costume elements, created by the players' movements, would also have been enhanced by the sound and lighting on the stage. The entire sensory evocation is one illustration of Craig's unified conception of total theatrical experience, reflecting the "... tone of the times: synaesthesia..." (Taylor, 1985, p.12).

Synaesthesia is a term used to describe the response of one sense to stimulus applied to another sense. Seeing particular colours when hearing specific words, referred to as

"chromatic-lexical synesthesia", is the most common form of sensory pairing (Honore, Globe and Mail, 8 August, 1992). But it also includes the association of particular sights with smell, and textures with sounds. The possibilities of the phenomenon were particularly intriguing for scientists, musicians, and artists at the beginning of the 20th century. For example, composers Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov and Aleksandr Scriabin, and visual artist Wassily Kandinsky "saw" colours for musical notes (Hope and Walch, 1990).

As proponents for a totality of experience related to their interest in synaesthesia, Craig and Appia worked towards synthesizing as many artistic media as possible within dramatic presentations (Taylor, 1985). Their theories reflect an attitude towards the arts that the French poet Charles Baudelaire had espoused in the mid-19th century. Baudelaire asserts that "All the arts are one, the one manifestation of the universal essence" in his sonnet Correspondances (Chamber's Encyclopaedia, 3.p.163). In essence, Baudelaire's belief in the indivisibility of the arts was a forerunner of the holistic approach promoted by Craig and Appia, one that echoed the basic tenets of synaesthesia.

Craig and Appia's ideas regarding unity in theatre really encompass two "unities". The concept of synaesthesia illustrates a unity of the arts, with all the elements interacting to produce a central image. A second unity relates to the overall effect of staging a production by following the dictates of a single vision, guided by the stage director's "benign dictatorship". The concept of "serving the production", an unwritten but universally understood corollary effective for most of this century, derives from the second position (C. Johnson, personal communication, 1992).

Craig and Appia's concepts of unified productions represent theories that have subsequently been challenged. A growing number of contemporary theatre associates are convinced it is no longer essential, or even possible, to achieve unity within a production. This stems from the belief that viewers gain differing and individual experiences from the

same production because they approach the production from distinct and unique perspectives which necessarily influence how they perceive a play's meaning. The *materialistic* classification embodies this new attitude. The dramatic shift in thinking from Craig and Appia's turn-of-the-century theories to end-of-the-millennium postmodern thought demonstrates the dynamic nature of the designer's role and its interconnectedness with the intellectual developments of a particular time.

Within the changing environment of Western theatre, Appia and Craig's theories encouraged an experimental approach to stage and costume design amongst a group of British designers working in the first three decades of this century. In what is often referred to as the "new stagecraft" (Larson, 1989; Mullin, 1990), the designers employed new means, achieving innovative abstract visualization of a text. They turned away from what was primarily decorative and realistic design, striving instead for a new presentation that both visually supported and expressed the central idea of the production (Larson, 1989). It was their fresh eclectic approach to design coupled with the emerging status of the designer role that gave their style its experimental nature.

The new stagecraft

Prominent costume designers from the 1900s to the 1930s, often worked interchangeably in a variety of venues: London's West End commercial theatres, ballet, opera, and British repertory theatre. During the first 30 years of this century, designers such as George Sheringham, Paul Shelving, and Claud Lovat Fraser were especially notable for their designs of both costumes and sets.

Throughout the 1920s and 30s Shelving was the principal designer for British director Barry Jackson at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. He also worked at Stratford-Upon-Avon in the 1940s. Shelving's set work (Figure 14) manifests the influence of Appia's and Craig's teachings.



Figure 14. Paul Shelving's design for Back to Methuselah c.1920.
Sheringham and Laver (1927), plate 30.

In place of realistic scenery, the stage design relies on abstract shapes and spare stage props to create atmosphere. The background incorporates bold outlines and expressive forms not so much representative as evocative of plant life. It is difficult to determine the exact details of the costume, but the overall effect, which the lighting, colour values and silhouette create, was sculptural rather than painterly. The restraint in decor and costume detail ensure audience focus on the player and the words s/he spoke.

In addition to his experimental use of light and abstract forms, Shelving was known for his modern dress Shakespeare productions, such as the 1923 Cymbeline at the Birmingham

Repertory Theatre. For both reasons, he may be regarded as belonging within the *experimental* classification.

George Sheringham was another designer active during the 1920s and 30s. He was one member of a design team for Shakespeare productions at Stratford-Upon-Avon in 1932 and 1934. Earlier, in 1927 Sheringham co-authored a book on design with James Laver: it outlines the position of British designers within British theatres during the 20s. In Design in the theatre, they suggest how the designer's role should develop.

Sheringham's reference to the designer's work as "stage decoration" attests to his seminal position within 20th century British design history. At the time of his writing, the two terms, *stage decoration*, to describe the role of the designer as Sheringham used it, and the newly defined concept of *stage design*, were contested. Two letters written by producers prominent at that time, Nigel Playfair and Charles B. Cochran, delineate the contest. Facing each other on separate pages in Sheringham's and Laver's book, their letters reveal the contention surrounding the designer's role in the theatre. Playfair was in favour of the increased recognition for designers and welcomed change, stating: "I am glad to feel that ... you will use the word "Design" and not "Decor", ... It is an art which is of the utmost importance to the well-being of our theatre -- since -- for most of us at any rate -- the opportunity of deceiving the public with empty ornament is at an end" (Sheringham & Laver, 1927, p.14). By contrast, Cochran used the opportunity to caution designers to remember their place:

...keen as I am on seeing the finest pictorial and decorative talents of our time being made contributory, if not tributary, to the contemporary stage, and much as I have worked personally to bring about this consummation, I feel very definitely that the art of the decorator must always be -- and must extend, and never threaten to submerge, the talent and personality of the individual actor (p.15).

These producers use the different terms *designer* and *decorator* quite distinctively and quite deliberately. Their letters indicate that the role of theatre designers was in an important

transition phase from embellisher, which the term *decorator* implies, to the more active role inferred by the term *designer*.

Sheringham offers further proof regarding the tentative state of his art-form in his introductory essay: " Why do we fill our theatres month after month and year after year with tasteless, joyless and often anachronistic scenery and costumes? Why? -- because theatre managers so rarely employ designers" (1927, p.3). What he understood to be poor stage design was inevitable, he felt, because most theatres had costumes and sets contracted out independent of each other so that the results were often incompatible.

Sheringham acknowledged two important forces having an influence on design in the 1920s: the work of Claud Lovat Fraser and the "well designed...[and] fine colour" of the Ballet Russes which toured in Britain and Europe during that decade and was first introduced to the West in 1909 by the brilliant Russian promoter Sergei Diaghilev. By the time the company first performed in London for the Coronation Gala on June 26, 1911, audiences were aware of the Ballet Russes's exotic nature. The artistry of dancers, such as Nijinsky and Pavlova, in choreography set to music by composers like Stravinsky had already thrilled audiences in Paris, Monte Carlo and Rome. Designer Leon Bakst's unusual costume colours and set designs also ensured their enthusiastic welcome. Two of the first Parisian productions designed by Bakst, Cleopatra (1909) and Scheherazade (1910), incorporate fantastical references to ancient civilizations (Egypt and Arabia), highly decorative costume surfaces, and the Eastern love for fine fabrics in rich jewel colours. The impact of such colourful design work was dramatic. The costumes and sets had an immediate effect on contemporary fashions (most notably the work of Parisian dress designer Paul Poiret, working in the first decade of this century), and home furnishings and decor through vivid colours and Eastern references.

The Ballet Russes was one of the first artistic ventures from the pre-World War I era to stress collaboration of composer, designer and choreographer. Numerous visual artists of

the Modernist Movement (in the first decades of the 20th century), including Picasso, Miro, Braque, Utrillo and Matisse, designed for this ballet. In England, Sheringham credits Ballet Russes with both getting the public interested in the art of modern stage design, and changing public taste, which resulted in removing some of the barriers that "... had kept the form of costume and scene in the rut of Victorian naturalism" (1927, p.4).

Although Claud Lovat Fraser died in 1921 at the age of 31, he made an impressive contribution to theatre during his short career as a stage designer. Like Shelving, Fraser is regarded as an innovator. His 1919 designs for As You Like It were denounced by critics for being "futuristic" (Rosenfeld, 1973, p.175). His costume sketch for the First Forest Lord (Figure 15) illustrates his adventurous exploration of styles that only remotely resembled accurate period dress. The high contrast of the first lord's cowl-like cape, which on its own is reminiscent of the Middle Ages, in combination with the wide brimmed hat and bold linear-patterned gown create a strong silhouetted figure, more imaginative than realistic.

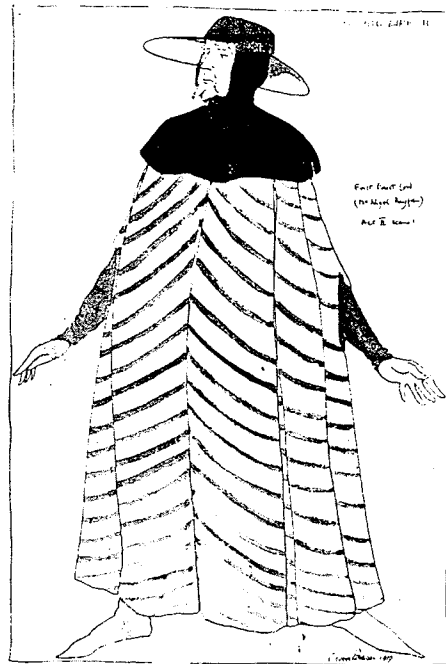


Figure 15. Claud Lovat Fraser's design for As You Like It, 1919, Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. Steinberg, (1985), p. 24.

Fraser's best-known design was for the famous revival of The Beggar's Opera, performed in 1920 at the Lyric Hammersmith under Nigel Playfair's direction. For this production, Fraser designed a permanent set which he adapted according to scenic requirements. His costumes for the same production (Figure 16) suggest 18th century apparel but eliminate all unnecessary detail, thus simplifying the overall design and ensuring that the viewer would not be distracted from the action of the play (Banham, 1988; Laver, 1964).

These changes are very subtle. The silhouettes of the specific design illustrated -- the hoop, wigs, and style of shoes -- are accurate, though less decorative than their period sources would have been. Fraser chose to disregard the use of ribbons, laces and trimming generally associated with 18th century dress, retaining only the distinctive lines of the garments. Also, he opted for fabric in solid, unsentimental colours: these were more suited to the hard edge of the play than the flowered and figured characteristics of actual period apparel.

His working method, incorporating a distillation of period costume, influenced future designers. Furthermore, the Beggar's Opera helped make permanent sets popular. Fraser's use of a central stage set eliminated the need for massive amounts of materials and numerous scenic changes. This was a welcome development particularly for the financially hardpressed repertory theatres throughout Britain (Rosenfeld, 1973). The idea that modernism in design was successful partially due to a lack of resources is a provocative one. The fact that Fraser was of particular importance to designers at less financially secure theatres in the 20s and also for designers during the difficult Second World War years, strengthens such speculation.

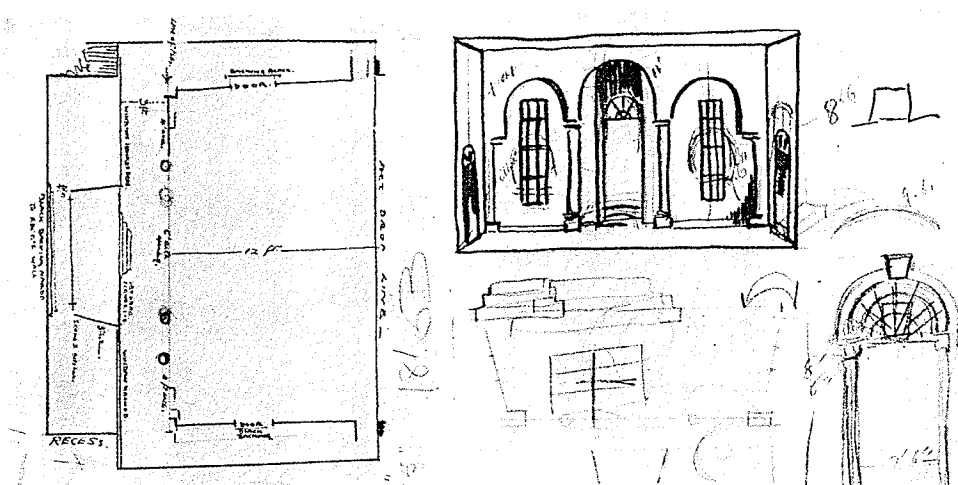


Figure 16. C. Lovat Fraser's designs for The Beggar's Opera, 1920
 Sheringham and Laver (1927), plates 5 and 6.

Fraser helped establish a more practical and functional approach to design which was visible in the work of some designers active in the 1930s. This functionalism was characterized by an emphasis on adapting the design to suit a particular purpose within the production. It was rooted in practicality and, at the same time it visually enhanced the play. Fraser's adoption of the permanent stage is one example of this functionalism, and his paring down of period detail in favor of more metaphorically expressive costume is another.

Thus Shelving, Sheringham and Fraser were important pioneers in theatre design. Their novel approaches, based on Appia and Craig's theories, have influenced designers, from the 30s and 40s forward, while their colourful aesthetic flourished in the generation of designers who were their immediate successors. Successive designers, such as Messel and Beaton, were less concerned with new theories than with exploring the visual possibilities for decorating a production.

Decorative Style: towards high society

Decorative design incorporates highly ornamental, colourful, and painterly elements in order to convey a high degree of theatricality. British theatre up until the 1930s and 40s, frequently reflected this genre and its main purveyors were designers such as Oliver Messel, Rex Whistler and Cecil Beaton. These designers emphasized decorative details, heightening the visual components of a production.

If the theatre in the 1920s and 30s continued to be an experimental one, it was also, through much of the 30s and 1940s a theatre whose emphasis was on its stars, as David (1978), and Hinchcliffe (1974) suggest. Actors such as Laurence Olivier, John Gielgud, Peggy Ashcroft, Michael Redgrave and Edith Evans mostly performed in heroic roles within productions retrospectively regarded as providing "...elegant escapism..."

(Hinchcliffe, 1974, p.21). Stressful political and economic conditions, coupled with new developments in the competitive film media led, it may be conjectured, to a tendency by British theatres to offer productions more likely to be "crowd-pleasers".

Beginning with his use of costume masks in 1925, and continuing with his work for Cochran's Revues from 1926 into the 1930s, Oliver Messel helped fashion the lavish decorative stage characteristic of British theatre between the two wars. Messel's application of colour and design favored costly baroque and rococo styles. His painterly sets and costumes conveyed the colour and ornamentation of those periods in addition to embodying picturesque elements of pure fantasy. Messel reached his peak as a theatrical costume and set designer in the late 1940s, and later became an interior designer in the United States and the Barbados.

Oliver Messel's first credited work consisted of his "masks and symbols" for the Ballet Russes's Zephyre et Flore performed first in Paris, and later in London in 1925 (Pinkham, 1983). It was a prestigious enterprise for the young designer, and one which suited his love of elaborate and exotic style. In addition to revues and plays, he also designed opera costumes and sets for the Sadler's Wells Company. He worked with Tyrone Guthrie at the Old Vic from 1932 to 1940: most notably in The Country Wife (1936); A Midsummer Night's Dream, (1937); and The Tempest, (1940) (Pinkham,1983). Messel designed the costumes for two productions of Romeo and Juliet. The first was an M.G.M. film version starring Norma Shearer and Leslie Howard in 1936. Messel supervised and assisted with every costume detail. His painterly, decorative approach can be seen in the costumes' lavish patterns. Their extensive painted and hand embroidered surfaces required six months to execute. One of Juliet's costumes, which critics recognized as a direct reference to Botticelli (Castle, 1986) (figure 17), illustrates Messel's style. The visual reproduction of the illustration does not fully reflect its opulent detail, but it does illustrate Messel's

fantasy. The dress may evoke the Renaissance period, but it includes elements such as the crown and sleeve details which are mainly imaginative.

With reference to Sleeping Beauty, one of Messel's best known works, Roy Strong (1988, p. 17) asserts that for the designer: "Enchantment was the keynote, reflected in the fact that Messel preferred to be credited as having 'decorated' a production rather than having designed it." Strong's description of the term *painterly* is relevant to the proposed design model (Figure 11). He specifically harnessed it, creating pictures bound by a frame (the proscenium stage) with cut cloths (muslin or canvas backdrops) and flats (a scenic element consisting of a standing wooden frame over which canvas or muslin has been stretched) that were scenically painted in some way. Elaborately ornamented and colourful costumes completed the pictorial image.



Figure 17. Norma Shearer as Juliet, 1936. Costume designed by Oliver Messel
Castle (1986). p.103

Messel's contemporary, Rex Whistler, also approached design in a similar painterly manner. In 1922, they had been students at the Slade School of Art. Whistler was better known for his painted sets, particularly his murals, but he designed costumes as well. He worked with Messel on Cochran's *Revue*s at the London Pavilion in 1929 and 1931.

Cecil Beaton, whose career spanned the years from 1922 to 1970, was another British designer working in a decorative manner. In addition to ballet and film, he designed costumes and sets for numerous West End productions. Beaton particularly delighted in the Edwardian (1901-1911) style, and often replicated that period in the fashionable society-oriented productions which were his speciality. By the 1930s, Beaton was well established. In productions such as Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windemere's Fan* at the Haymarket Theatre (1945) he continued to present elegant designs (Figure 18) for a post-war British audience whom he described as "...starved for bright colours, rich silks, artificial flowers..." (Spencer, 1975, p.34).



Figure 18. Cecil Beaton's designs for *Lady Windemere's Fan*, 1945
Goodwin, 1989, p.18.

Beaton's position within the decorative style is clearly illustrated by his designs for this production. This is confirmed by Roy Strong's statement that Beaton "... swept his audiences away into a beau monde of high glamour and chic bearing no relation to the reality of Wilde's play; instead he presented them -- in a grey era of austerity -- with a never-never land of security before the devastation of two world wars and the dissolution of the old class system" (Goodwin, 1989, p. 17).

Despite the desire to hold on to an elegant theatrical experience, the denial of a world irrevocably changed could not prevent reality from seeping in, even within the world of theatre. In the years prior to World War II, Beaton was lavishly praised for his designs. But in the Cold War era of the early 1950s, his opulent, decorative period extravaganzas lost favor according to a then young critic Kenneth Tynan. Tynan wrote of Beaton's designs in the 1950s: "Modern English decor, as we have smiled at it in many a Victorian revival, really amounts to little more than a prolonged duel with icing-guns between Cecil Beaton and Oliver Messel" (Spencer, 1975, p.48). Indeed, both Messel and Beaton's designing careers waned after World War II. They were clearly in one camp, committed to an ideal that conveyed a beautiful, fanciful world which appealed to and played for the upper classes (and those who wished to emulate them). They were unable, or perhaps chose not to adapt to what one commentator referred to as the "barbed wire and concrete schools" (Pinkham, 1983, p.7.) that were part of the post-war scene. Roy Strong saw designers, such as Beaton and Messel, as "...exponents of British insularity, firm adherents to that between-the-wars neo-romanticism which had so firmly rejected the modernist movement" (1988, p.17).

The *decorative* period in British design was a flourishing one and it sought not so much to explore the change Appia and Craig promoted, but to celebrate magical and colourful theatre. At the same time, it was a period of recognition for the designer within theatre. Roy Strong credits Messel and Beaton as the first British designers to achieve public

awareness for the status of their profession. This was not primarily because of their considerable talent, but because of their social connections. Messel's nephew was the future Lord Snowden and Beaton was an established member of the society which he loved to portray. That society in turn supported their work. The public recognition both designers received in the popular press and fashionable journals of their time ensured a high profile for costume designers.

Morphological Style: metaphor and structure

Ingram (personal communication, July, 1991) regards the 1930s as a critical time of change because the prevailing decorative design style began to be challenged by a more structured orientation. The design collective known as Motley exemplifies this tendency. In 1930, director/actor John Gielgud began a professional association with three designers who called themselves Motley. The name represented the artistic amalgamation of Elizabeth Montgomery, Margaret Harris and her sister Sophie Harris. The Motley collaboration with Gielgud began with his 1932 production of Romeo and Juliet for the Oxford Dramatic Society, and continued with numerous productions in Britain and later in the United States. Mullin characterizes their role as "part of a group of young people who revolutionized theatrical production in London during the years between the two World Wars" (1988, p.1). He refers to a move away from the tradition of overly-elaborate costume and sets in prevailing Shakespeare productions, and to the cessation of frequent scene changes requiring blackouts or curtains (Eaton, 1988; Mullin, 1988).

Less overtly, the Motley team epitomizes a design philosophy whose stated purpose was to assist the director's interpretation of the production. They were more concerned with demonstrating the inner meaning of the play than designers such as Messel, who were more intent on decorating a production. Stylistically, their costumes capture the essence of a period but are not perfectly representative of it.

This group of designers placed greater emphasis on the interrelationship between the various components of a production and saw themselves as collaborative interpreters of the director's artistic vision. Their costume style seems more sculptural than painterly and is visually leaner than the decorative style. It represents a move away from scenic painting and its accompanying highly embellished costumes, which were characteristic of the decorative mode. This style is metaphorical rather than realistic, and it is often practical in its approach. Because the practitioners' stated intent to have design serve as a formative structure, assisting the interpretation of the production, it was labelled a *morphological* design style. (Morphology refers to the form and structure of an organism, regarded as a whole). And because of its metaphorical, practical and collaborative approach, it is seen as a style which tends to interpret the text.

In many ways the exponents of the morphological style applied the teachings of Appia and Craig: they used metaphorical designs within the realization of a total production plan, as marshalled by the director. Thus the adherents of this style were active participants in the new stagecraft which commenced at the turn of the century. Experimenting with new materials they achieved more practical, less elaborate costumes and sets. Design was viewed as a supportive structure for the overall production. Its purpose was to reinforce the director's vision, and "collaboration" became the operating credo. Motley stated this quite simply: "The success of the designer depends in a large measure upon his collaboration with the director, who, in the very real sense, is like the highest ranking officer in a chain of command" (Motley, 1964, p.11). One example of this style, illustrated by the Motley team's costume sketch (Figure 19), reflects their interest in fostering the director's interpretation of the play. Their sketches are, in the fullest sense of the word *sketches*, existing only to support the production. The sketches only function as visual blueprints for a single entity within the entire production. This is reflected in the fact that the sketches were rarely polished works of art in themselves, even though they were often sought after by collectors.



Figure 19. Design for Richard II by Motley, 1937
Motley (1964), p.19

By the 1970s Motley's design pioneering was overshadowed by newer, more daring attitudes and theatre commentators such as May remarked that Motley were labelled "safe" and "tasteful" (1973, p.122). Nevertheless, they had made an impressive contribution to costume design both in Britain and in the United States. Motley ideas still continue to influence students of design through their textbook on the subject.

In addition to Motley, Roger Furse and Alix Stone fit within the *morphological* classification. Roger Furse had a lengthy design career, beginning in the 1930s and extending through to the 1960s. During that time, his stagecraft was utilized in theatres from London's West End to the Old Vic to the New York stage. Like most other British designers, Furse worked on both sets and costumes. His designs have been described as more functional than decorative, supporting his position within the *morphological* style.

Tynan (1961, p.99) refers to his designs for Byam Shaw's 1955 Stratford-Upon-Avon production of Macbeth as "serviceable", and again acknowledges his effectiveness in disguising Portia in The Merchant Of Venice at the Old Vic (1953) as being "...for the first time in memory, almost credible" (p.36). It constitutes a somewhat damning praise, but highlights Furse's intent to interpret the production rather than star in it, placing him firmly alongside designers such as Motley, shaping a new stagecraft whose focus was practical rather than ornamental. In Furse, we do not have a sense of great innovation, but rather a sense of consistent quality and utility.

Alix Stone's designs also fall within the *morphological* category in a manner similar to Furse. Her work was noted not so much for invention as for its straightforward functional approach to meeting the needs of a production. She trained at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London under the tutelage of Jeanette Cochrane at the same time as Tanya Moiseiwitsch. Stone designed for productions at the Old Vic in the 1947/48 season and again in the 1960s. In 1951 she assisted Tanya Moiseiwitsch with Shakespeare's history plays (Richard II, 1 Henry IV, 2 Henry IV, Henry V) at Stratford-Upon-Avon. Her designs are more architectonic than painterly, a trait which this group of designers shares.

Not all designers experimenting in the 1930s and 40s, when the *morphological* style was most vigorous, can be classified within that style. Other innovative designers such as Leslie Hurry, a visual artist whose prevailing medium was paint, worked in British theatre. Hurry began his theatre career in 1942, designing sets and costumes for the Sadler's Wells ballet of Hamlet (Figure 20). He imbued his sets and costumes with a painterly elegance and a high degree of psychological detail (Ingram, 1990) that was in accord with his somewhat expressionistic, surreal style of painting.

Among the many stage designs he created, Hurry worked with Tyrone Guthrie, on Marlowe's Tamburlaine the Great at the Old Vic in 1951. The production was remounted by Guthrie at Stratford, Ontario and was followed by ten additional designs at Stratford

between 1964 - 1973. By this time, at British director Peter Hall's urging, Hurry had begun to employ a more sculptural design approach (Ingram,1990). It was particularly suitable for the thrust stage at Stratford, Canada.

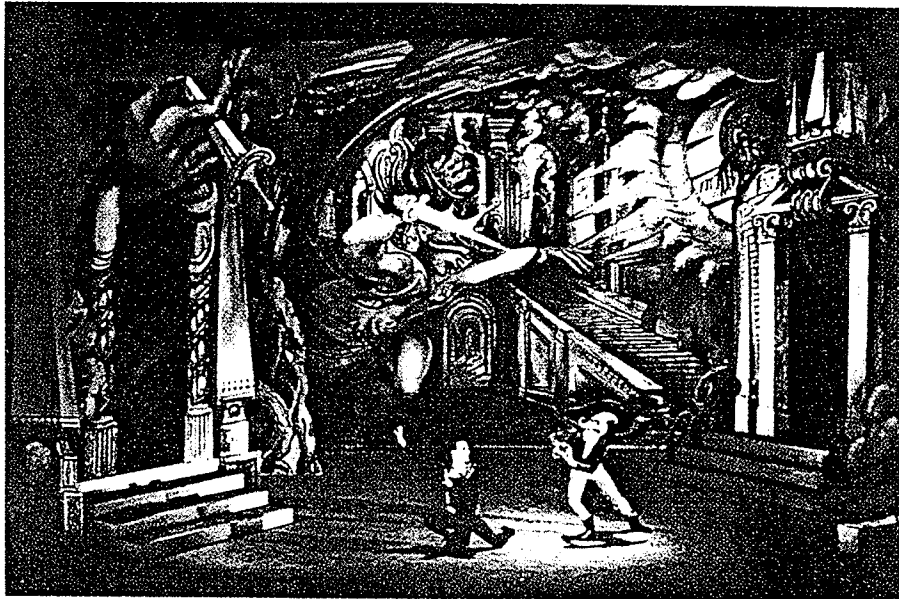


Figure 20. Design by Leslie Hurry, for Sadler Wells Hamlet, 1942.
Ingram (1990).

Hurry's paintings express his own very personal artistic vision. Frequently filled with violent swirls of colour and imagery, his work reflects his horror of the two World Wars. But while Hurry's work was highly fantastic and painterly, his style of set and costume design is not completely classifiable within the decorative school of Messel and Beaton, nor is it as functional as Motley's work. Hurry's surreal imagery, brilliant colour and juxtaposition of design elements foreshadowed aspects of the *materialistic* style. Although it was highly individualistic, it must be considered within any discussions of British costume and set design. As the design style model suggests, Hurry's work straddles the *decorative* and *materialistic* styles.

Ideological: defining the message

Following the second World War, new theatrical perspectives emerged, something critic James Agate and others had foreseen. Agate, one of the leading critics, asserted that change in the theatre was long overdue; he believed that theatre was not addressing the needs of a new audience in the changing post-war society. In an article for the Sunday Times (December 2, 1945) he writes: "I just do not believe that the theatre can pass through the greatest of wars into the era of the atom without having something to say about it. It is too early to say what that something will be, but I feel it will not be entirely expressed, though it may be partly expressed, by the dramas of Sophocles and Shakespeare" (1946, p.242). Almost ten years later, Hinchcliffe notes, Shakespeare was still being performed in "...elaborate and curious settings" in British theatre. He goes on to describe it: "Certainly the theatre looked like Harrods at Christmas" (1974, p.46). But by the mid 50s, the period of time to which Hinchcliffe refers, change had begun: change that was not without concern for designers. A sense of transformation and anxiety over design's evolution existed, and is clearly seen in the theatrical journals of the time. Articles such as the one designer James Bailey wrote for Theatre World, January 1956 appeared, which "...defended escapism and suggested that the charm of the theatre lay precisely in its being a refuge from humdrum realities" (Hinchcliffe, 1974, p.46).

The London visit of Brecht's Berliner Ensemble to the Palace Theatre in 1956 proved to be a key event in British theatre history. The post-Brechtian years are characterized by a movement towards a more skeptical and grim viewpoint in playwriting as influential playwrights placed greater emphasis on ideology than entertainment. Costume and set design inevitably underwent changes. The visual expression accompanying this change resulted in more sombre, darker and grimmer sets and costumes. According to Hunt (1962):

...The social revolution was deeper than the form of the play itself; it concerned a total change in the theatre: a change in the architectural form of

theatre, in its scenic art, in its acting, management, and direction. The old conception of theatre as a cultural decoration was dead; so too, was the conception of the theatre as the entertainment of an exclusive leisured class (pp. 150-51).

Because of the concern for veracity in production designs, and because of the stated intent to deliver a message free of fanciful theatrical trappings, the related design style for this time can be best labelled as *ideological*. In this style, there is a predominant agenda: the script's ideological position is immediately recognizable. The text is interpreted in a manner relevant for the audience regardless of the play's actual period setting. The related style is thus considered to assist in the reinterpretation of the text, to make obvious its sub-textual meaning. Costume and set design provide a direct means to alienate or persuade the audience with regard to the action of the play, thereby participating in its ideological nature. In the *ideological* style, the set and costumes are designed with austere lines and spare functionality, emphasizing anti-illusionism rather than expressive metaphor or decoration. This was demonstrated by Jocelyn Herbert's designs for the Royal Court Theatre, London during the mid-50s, and by the work of individuals like John Bury who designed for directors such as Peter Hall and Peter Brook at Stratford-Upon-Avon in the 1960s.

Much has been written about Bertolt Brecht and his influence in theatre throughout Europe. Elsom (1976) describes the more salient attributes of Brecht's art as being anti-illusionistic, imbued with political consciousness, and having a preference for plain and simple statements. Elsom believes that "Brecht used to insist that no bourgeois trappings should disguise how theatrical effects were achieved...", maintaining that an anti-illusionistic treatment would "...allow[ing] a truer concentration upon the dramatic arguments" (p.114).

Elsom suggests that the fullest extent of Brecht's influence can be seen in British theatre of the 1960s: " If, as has sometimes been claimed, British theatre in the 1960s was to become a director's theatre, the ultimate responsibility lies with the persuasiveness of

Brecht" (p.124). One of the British directors influenced by Brecht was Peter Hall. Interviewed by Marowitz (1967), he describes the importance of creating productions having a message: " I think our job is to put on plays in order to convey such meanings relevant to our lives, and so take away that which doesn't *mean*. One tries constantly to strip away things which are decorative" (p.151). For Hall and other directors influenced by the reality-oriented attitude of Brechtian theatre, it was theatre's responsibility to 'tell it like it really is'. Their focus was reflected in productions that "...ceased to be an escape from the dreariness of post-war Britain into a magical world; rather, in the 1960s and 1970s, it was theatre which reminded its audiences -- buoyant in the 'You never had it so good' era -- that an unpleasant real world still existed" (Goodwin, 1988, p.19).

Ultimately, in terms of stagecraft, Brecht fostered a change from a more formal, ornate theatre setting -- both in the design of the auditorium and the visual design of a production -- to a more informal, functional, even austere setting. Sombre colours prevailed in costumes and sets, so that "... whole theatres and sets became monuments to a Stygian gloom" (Goodwin, 1988, p. 19). This was possible because, as Agate had foreseen, World War II had rattled the social balance within British society and helped to create a society that could no longer be totally satisfied with a fantasy-oriented dramatic experience.

Another event in 1956 was part of this theatrical zeitgeist: John Osborne's play Look Back In Anger deals, on an individualized basis, with the overall mood of frustration and sense of stasis characterizing the social and political attitudes of the British in the immediate post-war years. The nature of the play and its success decisively mark, as Hinchcliffe recognizes, a major change in Britain from pre-war theatre to a theatre of a new age (1974, p.45). Look Back In Anger , with its focus on the ordinary environment and common British people, reflects the shift in attention from the exalted and fanciful imagery that had dominated pre-war British theatre to the prosaic and the every-day.

The resulting attitudinal shift marked by these two events could be seen in all areas of British theatre, including Shakespeare productions at Stratford-Upon-Avon. Hinchcliffe wrote of the Royal Shakespeare Company during the early 1960s that so many of the productions: "... suggest a view of the world as an existential nightmare, a world bereft of hope, gentleness, and compassion" (Elsom, 1976, p.175.). He was particularly referring to such productions as director Peter Brook's King Lear (1962) (Figure 21) which critic Robert Speaight describes as a "Brechtian interpretation" (Babula, 1981, p.140).

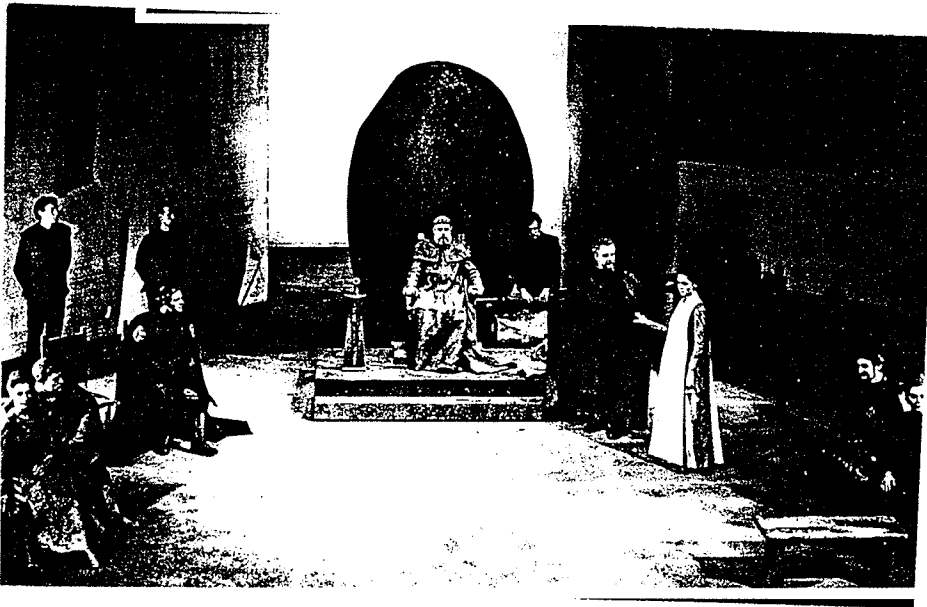


Figure 21. RSC King Lear directed by Peter Brook, 1962, showing Brechtian influence: spare, somber and dark design. Steinberg, (1985), p. 85.

The designers embracing this attitude largely came from the "left-wing stable of [director] Joan Littlewood" (Goodwin, 1988, p.19) and worked in the more experimental

theatres outside of London. They worked closely with the director to ensure a parallel vision and to establish relevant meaning in the text. Designers working in this mode stressed visual elements aimed at clearly distinguishing the production from reality. The audience viewed scenery changes and the stage lighting instruments, reminding them of the theatrical situation. Sympathetic to Brecht's concept of "alienation", costumes and sets were not necessarily intended to be historically accurate, nor even to create the illusion of place. Rather, by virtue of their anti-illusionistic nature, designs were intended to connect the audience very directly to the action of the play: "Such devices prevent a production from lulling the audience into a feeling of security and timelessness, and engage the spectator's judgement in such a way as to arouse his social consciousness." (Brockett, 1974, p.366). The costumes and sets became a strategic means for delivering the message of the play in a more pointed fashion than ever done previously.

Philosophically, the intent to interpret the text, which was the basis of Craig's theories, is also present in the *ideological* style, but the approach to illusion upon the stage differs. Craig advocated poetic expressionism in contrast to the Brechtian anti-illusionism. They also differed in their use of materials. Craig utilized painted or sculptural representations in contrast to the *ideological* style's use of actual objects made out of their predictable materials. In essence, the first approach was representational, engaging the viewer through allusion to known images, whereas the second one veered towards being presentational -- placing greater emphasis on theatricality.

John Bury's design experience is closely related to the *ideological* style through his work with Joan Littlewood and Peter Hall. He worked almost exclusively with Littlewood from 1947 to 1962, and with Hall from 1962 to 1985. In keeping with their anti-illusionistic stance, he used authentic materials such as metals, stone, and natural wood (as opposed to painted cloths and flats) for his set designs and his costumes were never designed beforehand, but evolved after he "...saw what the actors would do"; dressing

them in a "believable, acceptable way" (Lampert, 1992, p.51). He was forthright regarding the dominant influence on his work, describing it as a "...more realistic style, inspired by Brecht" and additionally, by the realism of the cinema (Lampert, 1992, p. 51). Bury was instrumental in establishing The Society of British Theatre Designers in the late 1970s. With its institution, British designers achieved official professional standing.

Materialistic: affluent fluency

Finally, there is the *materialistic* style, which celebrates the visual diversity of several sources in a single production. This style reflects the post-modern society from which it evolved. Designers such as Ultz employ modern technology and often combine eclectic materials to provide a stimulating visual entity.

In contrast to the more overt convictions, to deliver the text in a manner which has relevance for those who watch, and the rejection of decoration marking the previous style, materialistic designs tend to be a celebration of materials and art forms. The audience is often bombarded by visual stimuli in much the same way that television videos deliver fast-paced excitement.

One of the most striking characteristics of this style is its post-modern attitude, borrowing from different sources and presenting several diverse elements within the same production. Ultz's production of Julius Caesar for the 1990 season at the Stratford Festival is an example of this. As figure 22 indicates, actors appear in costumes varying from jeans and logo T-shirts, to togas and military tunics within the same scene. The colours for the costumes are in garrish contemporary hues: vibrant purples, orange-reds and bright yellows, as well as the ubiquitous black and white.

Audiences familiar with the text, expecting to see a period piece, may have been disconcerted to see "Roman citizens" sauntering about wearing familiar clothing advertising their favorite gym, at the same time as a toga and laurel wreathed protagonist delivered a

soliloquy. For others, the significance of the distinctive units of dress overrode references to period. Ultz's approach to design reflects more recent attitudes, placing greater emphasis on the viewer's agency in experiencing the action of a play.



Figure 22. Designs by Ultz for Julius Caesar, Stratford Festival, 1990
Stratford Festival Souvenir Catalogue 1990, p. 23

Some of Timothy O'Brien's descriptions regarding the future of British theatre design (recorded in 1988) are in many ways characteristics of elements in the *materialistic* style. He notes that the effect of technology on design has resulted in a "...neo-Victorian populist fluency" (Goodwin, 1988, p. 202). Further comments in Goodwin's edition support the post-modern borrowing referred to earlier. O'Brien also cites the role of the cinema in showing designers that "...a story may be told in hints and startling juxtapositions"

(p.202). While O'Brien refers primarily to set design, the comments serve costume design equally well.

British design tradition

By reviewing the various styles as they have evolved both chronologically and in relation to the wider culture, it is possible to identify certain tendencies within British design tradition. Thus, the proposed model (supported by the literature review) suggests the broader outlines of British design history.

The design style model also traces the development of the role of the designer in the production team, specifically as it relates to the director. It indicates quite conclusively, what Marowitz described as a process of negotiated dominancy, amongst the director, the playwright, and the designer. Which production agent dominates appears to have a relationship to the wider cultural zeitgeist, as the various labels such as "actor's theatre" of the glamour seeking 1930s and 40s, "director's theatre" of the revolutionary 1960's, and the "designer's theatre" of the materialistic 1980s indicate. Since such considerations are not the focus of this study, this synopsis is somewhat abbreviated, but its application in characterizing elements of British design tradition is helpful for situating Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within it.

What appears to emerge from the British tradition is a strong collaborative system in which a particular designer and director work in an interpretive union that often reaches beyond time and place. Beginning with the Shelving/Jackson collaboration at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre in the 1920s, this system can be seen in the Littlewood/Bury, Hall/Bury, Motley/Gielgud, and later, Motley/Glen Byam Shaw productions (so much so that Mullin remarks on it especially when they did not) (1988, p.8). It was a tradition that continued in its transplantation to Canadian theatre, not only through the Tanya Moiseiwitsch/Tyrone Guthrie team, but also with the Robin

Phillips/Daphne Dare collaboration at Stratford Ontario, in the 1970s and early 80s. This strong director/designer alliance can be readily understood within the context of the "director's theatre", which writers (Elsom, 1976; Hinchcliffe; 1974, Miller, 1986) in the post-war period describe as the fall-out from the Brechtian-sensibility (while recognizing that Brecht was not the sole cause of such an attitude). As collaborators in the theatrical experience, these director's designers present a highly responsive, adjunctive visual articulation of a particular director's interpretation. But the fact remains that in essence, as the examples from the 30s (Motley/Gielgud etc.) indicate, this close interpretive association existed prior to that time. The earlier examples suggest this was an established part of British theatrical tradition, in place well before the years attributed to director's theatre.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position

With this understanding of the forces shaping the development of British costume design, it is easier to understand Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within it and her individual contribution to it. The definition of the *morphological* style -- sculptural rather than painterly, metaphorical rather than realistic, interpretive rather than decorative, tending towards the practical, and having a dominant collaborative focus -- clearly links her to that tradition. It is possible to trace her position within it, not only contextually through time and place, but also by comparing her work with the *morphological* stylistic characteristics.

While still a student at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in 1932, Tanya Moiseiwitsch helped to make costumes at the Old Vic in London. The experience led to her apprenticeship at that theatre for the next two years. There she had the opportunity to work with and observe some of the most prominent individuals in theatre at that time. While still an apprentice and a young woman barely out of her teens, Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed her first production, The Faithful, for the Westminster theatre in London (1934). This occurred two years after the debut of the Motley firm in British design. In fact, Motley designs were part of the 1932 production of The Merchant of Venice at the Old Vic in the

same year that Moiseiwitsch began her brief apprenticeship there. She thus had the opportunity to observe Motley's progressive but practical methods firsthand.

The young designer so sufficiently impressed director Hugh Hunt that he invited her to be resident designer at the Abbey Theatre in Ireland (1935). She remained there until 1939, leaving at the same time as Hunt did. From the beginning of her work at that theatre, as the Cambridge Guide to World Theatre, (1988) describes, Tanya Moiseiwitsch's work was typified by simple, direct, presentational sets embodying the visual metaphor of the play. Moiseiwitsch regards that time as a period of apprenticeship when she learned how to design for repertory theatre with director Hugh Hunt's guidance. It was also her first director/designer collaborative association, resulting in over fifty productions at the Abbey Theatre, followed by others at the Old Vic.

Behl (1981) notes that Moiseiwitsch singled out her experience designing for Uncle Vanya, directed by John Burrell, as an important step in her career. According to Behl, she pointed to the 1945 production at the Old Vic as the beginning of what was to become a trademark of her design work: poetic realism. She described it as a blending of historical references in costumes and set with the director's interpretation in order to achieve a unified work. Behl concluded: "Rather than be true to a reference book, she prefers costumes and setting be true to one another so they reveal character relations, atmosphere and locale and reflect the director's point of view" (1981, pp.23-24).

Tanya Moiseiwitsch began her career at a time when some of the greatest theatre designers were establishing design as a profession. While Cecil Beaton's work is most aligned with the commercial theatre and films, Oliver Messel was present at the Old Vic during the time of Moiseiwitsch's apprenticeship. His rich and opulent design style seems to have had some influence on the young designer's early work. Two productions designed by her reveal a decorative influence: Bless The Bride at the Adelphi Theatre, London (1947), and A Month In The Country produced at the Old Vic during the 1949-50

season. Bless The Bride was produced by C.B.Cochrane, allowing Moiseiwitsch six months to prepare for it. She responded with exuberant and lavish designs whose descriptions, along with the tenor of reviews for the production, suggest they were more decorative than functional. The London Times (April 28, 1947) describes it as an "...ornate valentine painted and lavendered by artists whose taste commands respect".

Tanya Moiseiwitsch continued to explore her art and at times revealed her development within a predominantly decorative era of theatrical design style. In 1949 she designed sets and costumes for Michel Saint-Denis' A Month in the Country at the Old Vic. Viewing her designs, (Figure 23) critic Philip Hope-Wallace seems to have observed traces of decorative elements alongside of a distinct leaning towards a more functional, structured approach. Hope-Wallace comments:

And Tanya Moiseiwitsch had designed rooms which looked neither too opulent nor too crowded with period bric-a-brac, with a garden beyond where raspberry canes and a pampas hedge hid from us the sultry empty landscape that washes this tormented household round about with silence. Such atmospherics are well worthwhile getting right for an author who elsewhere showed so keen a sense of the genius loci, and if Rakitin was a trifle too dashing and Natalya a shade over-bonneted these were very minor blemishes in a production which may not have satisfied the heart or the intellect, but certainly lingers happily on the inward eye (Hale, 1950, p.68).

It is significant that Hope-Wallace's review of the production praised Moiseiwitsch's set designs while gently tapping her wrist for some of the costumes. His apportion of praise for the set and costumes has particular import because it reflects the state of Moiseiwitsch's design at this point and foreshadowed her future stylistic attributes; her set design led the way. Shifts in her design style were evident in her sets before they were recognizable in her costume designs. The photograph (figure 23) from the Old Vic production of A Month in the Country demonstrates some of this. The set is spacious and free of numerous distinctive props identifying a specific location. Instead, there exists a combination of impressionistic landscape references and trellis-like structures suggesting architectural features. But while the set may be impressionistic, the costumes appear to be

accurate representations of fancy period dress. For critic Hope-Wallace, the literal costumes were a weak design feature when situated in the poetic expression of place.



Figure 23. Set and costume designs by Tanya Moiseiwitsch for A Month in the Country, 1947. Hale (1950), between pages 56-57.

From recorded descriptions, it seems clear that Tanya Moiseiwitsch had established her design style by the late 1940s, passing from decorative exploration to morphological interpretation. Her apprenticeship was complete. The poetic realism characterizing the production of Uncle Vanya (1945) was significant, not least because it assisted in establishing her forthcoming collaborative work with Tyrone Guthrie. By the end of the 1940s she had become his favorite designer. In 1947 when she designed a Month in the Country, she had already collaborated with Tyrone Guthrie on four productions. His preference for more abstract, poetic expression helped to shape Moiseiwitsch's design style immeasurably, but Guthrie's vision, combined with her visual interpretation were not

always avidly received. Benjamin Britten was less than enthusiastic about their work for his opera Peter Grimes at Sadler Wells (1947). Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch had chosen a design approach that, in the director's own words, incorporated "...boldly abstract expressions of atmosphere and emotion...expressions of a far-reaching imagination" (quoted in Behl, 1981, p.34). At the time, Britten preferred a more realistic design approach. By the time that Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch tackled the production for the New York Metropolitan Opera in 1967, Britten had changed his attitude (Hayes & Barlow, 1991). Theatrical design had undergone dramatic transformations, and the two members of the repeat production team had by then reached their apex. Stylistically, Moiseiwitsch's designs had moved away from the painterly, becoming distinctly more sculptural.

In 1953, before the effects of Brechtian staging and Osborne's gritty focus were felt in Britain, Moiseiwitsch joined Guthrie in launching a new Shakespeare Festival in Canada. Roy Strong infers that she left Britain as one of the " ...victims of a cruel fate...going out of fashion at the opening of the 1960s as a result of a revolution in the theatre" (Goodwin, 1988, p.18). He categorized her work within the same galaxy as Messel, Beaton, and Hurry, all of whom had largely disappeared from the British design scene in the 60s. Hurry and Moiseiwitsch, he stated "...found work abroad at Stratford" (p.18). Strong was certainly correct about the revolution in the theatre at the beginning of the 1960s, but he was off track with both his assessment of her design style and her reasons for leaving Britain (not to mention her date of departure). As this study indicates, her work may have begun at a time when the decorative genius of Messel and Beaton prevailed, and indeed, it was influenced by it, but her design approach quickly shifted towards a more functional and structured style. Her style was informed by a different attitude than Messel's stated intent of decorating a production. Desmond Heeley places the two designers at the opposite end of the spectrum (Quigley, 1990). "According to Heeley, who served apprenticeships under both Moiseiwitsch and designer Oliver Messel, Tanya taught him about creating worlds of reality blended with poetry, while Messel was the mentor of a magical world of moon-

lighted fantasies" (Behl, 1981, p.356). Moiseiwitsch had been gone for at least three years before the visit of the Berliner Ensemble to Britain, and nearly a decade before its real effects were firmly established within British design.

Like the other designer/director associations, Tanya Moiseiwitsch's artistic collaboration with Tyrone Guthrie has become something of a legend. She has credited him with being one of the greatest influences on her work and her career (Candee, 1955). Guthrie was one of Britain's most acclaimed directors, known for his dramatic staging and his propensity for bending the rules in all aspects of theatrical production, to the extent that critics sometimes accused him of taking liberties with the script. Kenneth Tynan suggests that Guthrie was "inventive" (1961). Moiseiwitsch adamantly disagrees with this perception. She asserts that Guthrie paid unfailing attention to the text (Rossi, 1980). The Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch team complemented each other's method of working and developing innovative design ideas through a shared appreciation for practicality, experimentation, and humor. Together they shared an appreciation for the "...professional discipline of separating the essential from the trim and meeting deadlines." These were values which had been learned in their separate experiences with repertory theatres in England (Behl, 1988).

When Tanya Moiseiwitsch boarded the *Beaverford* at the Tilbury Docks, London in 1953, with a model of the Stratford Festival stage in the cargo, she embarked on what she later described as "...the turning point of my theatre designing life" (Moiseiwitsch, 1988). In many ways it was also the key point in her refinement of stylistic traits, which were present in her work in Britain -- of traits that were directly connected to her development of a permanent set. These began with her designs for the cycle of the histories (Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V) at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in 1951. "Few acknowledged the radical and ingenious nature of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's permanent staging, which in an era of opulent and operatic sets was astonishingly and uncompromisingly plain..." (Beauman, 1982, p.208). By creating a single, swiftly

adaptable, uncluttered platform for the four plays Moiseiwitsch saw how the focus on the actors was highlighted. Costumes became like props and were shown in greater relief against a more neutral background.

Two years later she was able to push her ideas further through her collaboration with Guthrie in the development and refinement of design for the open stage at Stratford Festival Theatre, Ontario. The experiment proved successful and was repeated at The Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis and The Crucible Theatre in Sheffield, England. In response to the clean lines of the stage and its neutral setting, her costume design style became clarified. Its most salient features consisted of a blend of poetic realism intended to assist the interpretation of the play, subdued costume colours allowing the player to be the focus of the action by not overshadowing actions or speech, and the use of architectonic costume lines that ensured the player's dominance through a sharply etched contrast with the stage.

Her work in Canada and the United States did not end her association with British theatre. As the account of her designology in Appendix D indicates, she was involved with theatre design in Britain throughout her career, creating her only designs for television there in 1983. From 1953 when she left Britain to begin her work in Canada until 1985, she continued to design almost yearly for plays in the United Kingdom: 26 productions in 32 years. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's active career in theatre design was completed in 1985 with the staging of The Government Inspector, which she co-designed with Polly Bodhanetzky at the Stratford Festival.

Serving the production

All of the literature and interviews with Tanya Moiseiwitsch reiterate her integration of the collaborative credo that characterizes designers' attitudes towards the production team distinguished in the morphological design style classification. Moiseiwitsch describes it as

"serving the production" (Behl, 1981), an endeavor that could best be carried out by collaborating with the director and visually interpreting his artistic conception of the text. Her attitude towards this process of design supports Marowitz's viewpoint: the director's position as the chief interpreter of the playwright's text should prevail. Speaking to critic Herbert Whittaker, Moiseiwitsch described the designer's job as one which is "to get inside a director's think" (Whittaker, 1974). It is a design approach which parallels that of the morphological design style within British design history, and supports Tanya Moiseiwitsch's placement within it.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch, like the Motley group, created design sketches that were intended to be guidelines, not works of art in their own right. "Not a draftsman but a designer, Moiseiwitsch drew to be understood, not to impress. Her purpose was ultimately practical since the end product was a costume that came to life when it was worn by the actor" (Behl, 1981, p.50). This is another example of her collaborative effort to privilege the real work of art: the play itself. With its underlying singular intent -- facilitating the director's vision -- it further establishes her position within the morphological design style.

Her belief that a designer's role was to collaborate went beyond merely meeting the needs of the director, but through his direction to support the actor's characterization within the production. This was not always accurately perceived by the actors themselves, a situation which seems to rankle somewhat. In a recent interview, she looked back on her experience and stated that following her costume designs for King Oedipus at the Stratford Festival in 1954 (Figure 24), someone asked her if she'd "...got it in for actors" (Hayes & Barlow, 1991).



Figure 24. Costume design for King Oedipus, 1954, Stratford Festival by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. The Stratford Festival 1953-1957, (1958), p.29

Moiseiwitsch assured the questioner that she was in fact very fond of actors; the costume requirements dictated materials that made them bulky and hot for the players in the production. She had placed the players behind paper mache masks, on raised platform footwear, and under voluminous garments. As the performance progressed, the temperature within their costumes arose, making the actors increasingly more uncomfortable. The discomfort of the costumes was offset by their extraordinary theatrical effect, emphasizing the ritual aspects of the production.

From a contrary position, actors such as William Hutt praised her flexibility in recognizing players' costume needs. He recalls her readiness to heed his advice in the design of Argan's cap in the Festival production of The Imaginary Invalid (1974). She had designed a cap for Hutt in the part of Argan (Figure 25). In performance, when his stage



Figure 25 . Design for Argan by Tanya Moiseiwitsch for the Stratford Festival 1974 production of The Imaginary Invalid. Tanya Moiseiwtsch adjusts William Hutt's cap. Photograph courtesy of the Stratford Festival Archives

wife (played by Dawn Greenhalgh) admonished him to cover his ears, he would attempt to pull the cap over his ears. After several performances, Moiseiwitsch decided to rework the cap. "Bill suggested ear-flaps. I was delighted. We have achieved a double effect. The new cap fits Dawn Greenhalgh's line and it also makes Bill look babyish, which is the way he's acting as the invalid" (Whittaker, 1974). This quote is a small but explicit example of her desire to support the actor.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's contributions to theatre design grew out of her experience in Britain. From the information reviewed in this study, it is justifiable to integrate her position within the mainstream of that country's evolving design tradition. The literature and examples of her work support her position within a classification of a design style labelled *morphological* because of its concern for structure and form, and its service to the production as a means of interpreting the text rather than merely illustrating it.

It is possible to trace how she arrived at this particular style by reviewing the decorative atmosphere of design at the time of her introduction to it, her exploration of it,

and the forces which influenced her redirection from it. Simply put, her own talents and preferences for the theories of Craig and her respect for the theatricality of the work of Messel, combined with her association with director Tyrone Guthrie (who not only shared her stylistic preferences, but provided her with the opportunity to express them), meshed together to create her own design history. She arrived at her position within British design history through a well voiced process of collaboration: a process in which she succeeded in aligning her creative insight as a designer with the director's vision in a manner enriching the overall production rather than compromising it. Moiseiwitsch's actual designs may serve as credits to the results of these endeavors, but it is her inherent philosophy of collaboration that has formed her outstanding contribution for the designers whom she has influenced.

This philosophy can be recognized in her costume colour choices. The following two chapters review costume colours for four characters from two plays as they have been treated in a total of 21 productions, five of which were designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch.

V. ROMEO AND JULIET: COSTUME COLOUR/CHARACTERIZATION ANALYSIS

With Shakespeare's own experience as playwright, actor and production manager, it is not surprising that his scripts reveal a sensitivity towards the stage business the actor engages in while speaking his part and the visual features that help to define a role: his drama is meant to be seen as well as heard. Then, as now, costume acts as a signal for characterization. In any analysis, colour, along with the costume's architectonic and kinetic components, contribute to its visual impact. As the literature discussed in Chapter II indicates, colour has historically been one of the means for instantly recognizing a person's status. McCracken (1985) Bruster (1991) and Allen (1935) have all shown how colour codes were employed during Elizabethan times. Bruster's specific focus on Shakespeare's use of colour symbolism attests to the playwright's application of colour to assist characterization. Shifts in character interpretations in Romeo and Juliet since Shakespeare's time have been realized by differing textual emphasis (youthfulness vs maturity, impulsiveness vs aggressiveness, etc.), with corresponding changes in the visual appearances of stage characters. The varied possibilities for compatible colour interpretations pose several questions. How do costume colours reflect the changing times in which productions have occurred? Have the clues to characterization offered by the costume colour meanings remained constant? In spite of the differences in costume periodization, can we expect to see similar colour choices? Is there agreement or dissent between Tanya Moiseiwitsch's colour interpretation of costume colours and other designers' application? The following discussion indicates that any attempt to correlate the efficacy of inherent colour meaning with its use as an interpretive tool for drama demonstrates both the consistency *and* the ambiguity of meaning within different contexts.

This chapter presents the examination of four characters' costume colours in 15 different productions of Romeo and Juliet. Using the Pantone System as reference, the possible meanings for these colour choices are documented. The account -- of how the suggested

costume colour and character readings compare with what can be discerned from the available literature regarding the direction of these productions -- forms an important component in this analysis. The comparison relies on a variety of production reviews and wherever possible, on reports by the actors themselves. While this system of analysis does not assure a definitive understanding of the production teams' intent, or the audience's perception and reception of it, some estimation of particular costume colours' communicative status can be determined. The resultant rendering makes it possible to observe Tanya Moiseiwitsch's particular attendance to, or divergence from the collective norm in her choice of costume colours. Such an analysis also avails the examination of individual interpretation with relation to cultural stereotypes.

Fifteen Romeo and Juliet productions were reviewed because this was the number that had production records available in theatre archives at the Shakespeare Centre (Stratford-Upon-Avon), the Theatre Museum (London), the Stratford Festival, the Guthrie Theatre (Minneapolis), and the American Conservatory Theatre (San Francisco), for productions staged within the same five decades that Tanya Moiseiwitsch was active in design. Moiseiwitsch's work is featured in the total discussion rather than in a separate section in order to maintain a chronological overview. The following review, of the four characters forming the core of the character and costume colour analysis, outlines the widely accepted character readings presented in mainstream theatre productions. This overview is included here to 'set the stage' for the character analyses which ensue. Greater ranges of character interpretation exist within academic criticism and experimental theatres, but they fall outside the parameters of this study.

Romeo and Juliet: theme, content and production history

Romeo and Juliet was written by Shakespeare *circa* 1595. The play closely resembles an Italian tale entitled Storia ...di due nobili Amanti (1530), and set in Verona, about two feuding families (Montecchi and Cappellati). Shakespeare's play is a retelling of that story,

based on an intermediary source: fellow-Englishman Arthur Brooke's narrative poem The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet (1562) (Kermode in Riverside Shakespeare, 1977). Within that text, the Friar's opinion that: "These violent delights have violent ends, / And in their triumph die" (II.vi. 9-10), is in many respects an apt synopsis for the action in Romeo and Juliet.

Romeo and Juliet is a play filled with dynamic contrasts: young love thriving in an atmosphere of old hate, the simple but poignant juxtaposition of youth and maturity, and vibrant life prematurely quelled by tragic death, all within a brief temporal span. The young protagonists, Romeo and Juliet, meet in forbidden circumstances under the cloud of a bitter vendetta, surrendering themselves to each other with a confidence and hope that can only be explained by their youth. With the assistance of the Friar and Juliet's nurse, their romance flourishes in spite of seemingly impossible odds and a good deal of bawdy business provided by the Nurse and the young men from both families. Ultimately, a series of fatal misadventures conspires to destroy them both: their surrender to destiny is mutual and complete, forever ensured by their coupled deaths.

With its archetypal depiction of tragic teenage love, and its blend of bawdiness, laughter, and lyrical beauty, Romeo and Juliet is one of Shakespeare's best known and most loved plays. And while this may ensure good box office returns, it inevitably presents a special challenge to the director and the designer wishing to present a fresh interpretation to their audiences. Because the plot is so well known, certain deeply rooted expectations are held by audiences concerning appropriate visual depictions of the characters. Moreover, as Trewin (1978,p.92) has noted, the names of Romeo and Juliet "have been cheapened, punned upon, pushed into the world's 'epic love stories', [and] dragged through the thorn-brakes of minor fiction. Much has to be forgotten before a *Romeo* begins".

Directors have met this challenge in different ways. Fresh approaches have been presented by shifting thematic emphasis, highlighting individual actors' interpretations, and presenting innovative production designs. In some instances, the resulting success has seemed so complete that directors, actors, and designers have been intimidated by the past triumphs of particular predecessors. Two British productions are repeatedly cited in this regard: John Gielgud's 1935 New Theatre production and Franco Zeffirelli's 1960 Old Vic production. The Gielgud production was notable because he alternated playing the roles of Romeo and Mercutio with Laurence Olivier, and also because it starred Edith Evans as the Nurse and Peggy Ashcroft as Juliet. The staging of Italian Renaissance Verona presented in this Romeo and Juliet, combined with its distinguished cast, established a dramatic standard. A discussion of its characterization dynamics is included in the analysis of Juliet's costume for that production. Zeffirelli's Romeo and Juliet cast young unknown actors which contributed to the realistic feel of the production. Zeffirelli later produced a film version using a similar approach. Director Michael Kahn, who was at the Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford, Connecticut in the 70s, felt that Zeffirelli's "... film has really investigated the visual aspects of the Renaissance so completely that there's no way for us to do it [in that period]" (Berry, 1977, p.85). For Kahn and other directors, productions such as these two become particularly "hard acts to follow".

Londre (in Leiter, 1986) reiterates Kahn's view regarding the impact of these particular productions. "British directors who wished neither to seem to imitate nor to rebel against those two [Gielgud (1935) and Zeffirelli (1960)] memorable revivals simply avoided the play altogether" (p.625). He suggests that this has contributed to diminished production popularity in recent years. According to Londre, the number of Romeo and Juliet productions in Britain and the United States peaked in the 1950s and then swiftly declined. Londre lists the following production statistics for three decades in the United States and Britain :

	Britain	United States
1950s	31	57
1960s	7	24
1970s	11	13 (p.625)

Blurred lines

Romeo and Juliet has thus far had a diverse interpretive history. In the 18th century David Garrick, one of the major actor-managers of the English theatre, cast it to suit the decorum of his audience. Garrick idealized the characters of Romeo and Juliet exaggerating their noble qualities so that as tragic figures, they would conform to acceptable 18th century stereotypes. During this time, the play's tragic theme pre-empted the love theme. Garrick encouraged more individual actor interpreted characterization: actors expressed "inner responses through voice, face, and body" (Levenson, 1987, p.28). The subjective acting style promoted by Garrick led to the dominance of an actor-as-interpreter approach, considered to be standard until the 20th century when the more controlling vision of the director gained pre-eminence.

Londre (in Leiter, 1986) has suggested four predominant foci in Romeo and Juliet productions throughout North America and Britain. Prior to the 1950s, the emphasis was on lyric romanticism celebrating and lamenting the passionate young love destroyed by hot-blooded family feuding. By the 1960s, the play presented a medium for social commentary, with an increased stress on realism and physical action. West Side Story, a modern day re-writing of the same theme, provides a clear example of this approach. This thematic adaptation of a tale of interracial love doomed in the midst of racial intolerance was

dramatically real for a North American audience striving to overcome similar prejudices. In the same spirit, director Philip Burton (Washington Shakespeare Summer Festival) presented an element of racial conflict in his 1968 Romeo and Juliet production, and in the same year at the Stratford Festival in Canada, director Douglas Campbell emphasized a French/English political conflict. By the 1970s, an increased societal focus on "sexual liberation" was reflected in productions of Romeo and Juliet: bawdiness was emphasized. During the decade of the 80s, numerous productions presented a darker more pessimistic play, either from the viewpoint of youth's turmoils (Ron Daniels, 1980 RSC), or through a return to racial and political conflict themes, such as Gavin Cameron-Webb's direction of the Boston Shakespeare Company in 1982. Set in contemporary Northern Ireland, the lovers became pawns in the present-day conflict between Catholics and Protestants.

Throughout these shifts in thematic focus, costumes and costume colour have assisted interpretation. In a 1983 production of Romeo and Juliet at La Jolla Playhouse, Des McAnuff used staging effects to dramatically emphasize the extent of the century-long feud between the Capulets and Montagues. The play began with the actors wearing simplified modern clothing. As the play advanced to the Capulet's ball, the actors appeared in costumes from successively earlier eras, back to the Renaissance and then again returning to black and white modern dress at the end. In this way, a sense of "forever feuding" was subliminally entrenched in the audience's consciousness, adding another dimension to the play.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed costumes and sets for Romeo and Juliet in 1943 at the Oxford Playhouse Theatre in England, and in 1960 at the Stratford Festival Theatre in Canada. During the interval between the two design experiences, as this examination of production history shows, major shifts in focus had occurred. Her first Romeo and Juliet was designed for repertory outside of London during World War II, and at the outset of her career. The second production was designed after she had established herself in both

Britain and Canada, at a time when she was one of the most prominent designers in theatre. The accounts of the 1960 production of Romeo and Juliet, directed by Michael Langham, are numerous, making it possible to thoroughly examine her use of costume colour within it. Unfortunately, the scant information surrounding the wartime production makes it impossible to do more than assume that it followed the general trends described in this study.

Character choices

The four characters whose costume colour and meaning are the subject of analysis in this study are the protagonists Juliet and Romeo, Capulet, an authority figure in opposition to the central characters, and Mercutio who, as a vibrant foil to Romeo, is central to the action of the play and therefore a pivotal character. As the production history suggests above, Juliet may be portrayed in different ways. Many directors have chosen to emphasize her status as that of a young girl on the threshold of womanhood but not yet aware of it. In this type of view, she is portrayed with a childlike naivety compatible with the notion of a sheltered, doted-upon daughter from a wealthy household. Her instant and overwhelming passion for Romeo is thus explained as a rite of passage, with the expected course overruled by the story's evolving circumstances: the shift from hopeful maiden to doomed heroine is thus enhanced. Earlier productions such as Gielgud's (1935) were more likely to feature this sort of interpretation.

Other productions have attempted to capitalize on possible political readings, presenting Juliet as a strong-willed young woman whose love for Romeo is a symbol of revolt in a socially hostile world. Tamas Major's 1971 Hungarian production portrayed Juliet in this manner. In Terry Hands 1973 RSC production, Estelle Kohler's Juliet was "...no shrinking young virgin, but a vigorous young woman who was intrigued by the possibility of sexual experience from the outset" (Gross in Leiter, 1986, p.647). It is also possible to interpret Juliet like a 1980 Swiss production did, characterizing her as a 'typical

teenager' who, like Romeo, is a product of middle-class parental oppression, eager to grasp the first chance for escape.

Critics were not always kind to the individual productions or their varying interpretations, and overall, the more conventional reading of a youthful innocent Juliet has remained the one most favored by audiences. As recently as John Caird's 1984 RSC production, Amanda Root personified Juliet as a "...breathless, wondering young girl on the threshold of adulthood." (RSC Yearbook 1984/85, p.43).

Regardless of later interpretative variation, Shakespeare's text introduces Juliet as a young woman. Responding to Paris's marriage proposal, her father says of her: " My child is yet a stranger in the world, / She hath not seen the change of fourteen years;" (I.ii.6-7). Capulet would have Paris wait two more years, but his wife is more resolved and advises Juliet : " Well, think of marriage now. / Younger than you, / Here in Verona, ladies of esteem, / Are made already mothers." (I.iii.69-72). Between the two clues to Juliet's chronological, emotional, and cultural maturity, directors, actresses, and designers are given considerable scope for characterization and visual expression.

From the text we are told by Capulet that Romeo "A bears him like a portly gentleman; / And to say truth, Verona brags of him / To be a virtuous and well-governed youth."(I.v.64-66). We have his parents' concerns about his secretive and mournful state at the beginning of the play, suggesting he is a romantic figure: "Away from light steals home my heavy son, / And private in his chamber pens himself, / Shuts up his windows, locks fair daylight,out, / And makes himself an artificial night"(I.i.135-8). His friends engage him in lusty chatter to which he readily responds, and his speech regarding Rosaline situates him as a sexually eager youth: "She hath Dian's wit, / And in strong proof of chastity well arm'd...She will not stay the siege of loving terms, / Nor bide th' encounter of assailing eyes, / Nor ope her lap to saint-seducing gold."(I.i.207-212). It is tempting to attribute his impetuosity in love and feuding to the youth Friar Lawrence refers

to when he asks: "Art thou a man? Thy form cries out thou art: / Thy tears are womanish;" (III.iii.109-10).

Although Romeo has received greater interpretative range than Juliet has, he was invariably represented as being tall, dark and handsome in the early history of modern Romeo and Juliet productions. Referring to pre-1960 productions, Brown observes Romeo's predictable image: "A white shirt is usually open at the neck; a dark wig accentuates a tall noble brow; the eyes are made up to appear large and deep" (1962, p.147). This image reflects the actor-oriented theatre, wherein 'stars' dominated the stage, assuring by their presence the support of adoring audiences. It was a pattern broken, Brown suggests, by Zeffirelli's 1960 Old Vic production which featured a less romantic, more exuberant John Stride as Romeo. Subsequently, as noted in Leiter's text (1986), Romeo's romantic qualities were not always emphasized and his physical appearance has correspondingly been given a wider range of expression. He has been variously portrayed as a "...lovable buffoon, big, blond, and callow-looking..." (Spencer Theatre, Kansas City, 1985, p. 65), and as "...graceful, lean, and elegant ..." with a suggestion of mannered, dispassionate presence (Old Vic, 1955, p. 637). Romeo also has been cast as a "...sorrowful Hamlet" (Moscow, 1956, p. 638), as restless and physically engaged, (RSC, 1973), or as "...pale and cerebral..." (Globe Playhouse, Los Angeles, 1977, p. 649). Other productions have presented him as a privileged, decent young man caught in the midst of a blood feud that he does not really care about: a youth preoccupied with the wonders of romance.

Shakespeare's text suggests rather than dictates characterization. When we are introduced to Juliet's father, Capulet, he is *in his gown* impetuously calling for his sword to attack his family's old enemy. " My sword, I say! Old Montague is come, / And flourishes his blade in spite of me." (I.i.74-76) By the next scene, he has calmed down and incidentally offers a relative clue to his character age when he states; "...and 'tis not

hard, I think, / For men so old as we to keep the peace." (I.ii.2-3) Thus far, we are presented with a man who is fiercely proud of his family honour, but showing signs of mellowing. Capulet can also be seen as an approachable and loving parent, justified if close attention is given to his words to Paris regarding Juliet: " She is the hopeful lady of my earth. / But woo her, gentle Paris, get her heart; / My will to her consent is but a part. / And, she agreed, within her scope of choice / Lies my consent and fair according voice." (I.ii.15-19) Capulet is not prepared to arbitrarily arrange a marriage for his daughter at the expense of her happiness.

Shakespeare's texts are filled with an understanding of human nature: Capulet's generous concern for his daughter's well-being is withdrawn when his once pliant daughter defiantly refuses to marry Paris. In a short span of time, the loving father turns on his daughter in a manner that can only be described as brutal: " Unworthy as she is, that we have wrought / So worthy a gentleman to be her bridegroom?...proud me no prouds, / But fettle your fine joints 'gainst Thursday next, / To go with Paris to Saint Peter's Church / Or I will drag thee on a hurdle thither. / Out, you green-sickness carrion! Out, you baggage! / You tallow-face!" (III.v.144-45/153-152-58). When Juliet does not give in he threatens to disown her: " An you be mine, I'll give you to my friend; / An you be not, hang, beg, starve, die in the streets, For, by my soul, I'll ne'er acknowledge thee, / Nor what is mine shall never do thee good." (III.v.192-5). Capulet's words appear to establish him as a domineering patriarchal figure. And yet, because of the caring sensitivity to Juliet's wishes he displays earlier, he may merely be a frustrated parent unused to the changes associated with youth's developing independence. Shakespeare may have created the image of a man who has been pushed beyond what he comprehends as acceptable behaviour from his once obedient daughter: a man who, in the modern idiom, would be described as someone who has "lost it".

Further information provided in the text suggests that pride might, in fact, be at the root of his reversed sentiments. As the head of a proud family, it is important for Capulet to show his position. He is referred to as "the rich Capulet", but a good number of lines are dedicated to conversation concerning hiring suitable servants for the marriage feast. It would be possible for a director to hint that the alliance to Paris was an essential one for the family coffers. Juliet's refusal can thus be seen in a different light, which by default, hints at Capulet's characterization as someone determined to maintain his place in society.

If Romeo sought his spiritual and paternal solace from Friar Lawrence, his secular counterpart in the streetworld of Verona was Mercutio. Regardless of interpretation, Mercutio represents the cynical member of Romeo's crowd with respect to love. He advises a suffering Romeo: "If love be rough with you, be rough with love; / Prick love for pricking, and you beat love down." (I.iv.27-8). Mercutio may be cast as an intelligent young man whose genteel demeanor cloaks his underlying bitterness. This was how Paul Rogers characterized him in Robert Helpmann's 1955 production for the Old Vic, London. At the other end of the spectrum, Mercutio could also be portrayed as a slightly older jaded figure, whose worldly experiences have left him weary of romance, but whose experience and wit place him as a leader for Romeo's companions.

Between these extremes, several variations in characterization have occurred. Bernard Lloyd's Mercutio (1973, RSC) reflected both the Brechtian dark mood of that production and the punk subculture emerging in that period. As Gross (in Leiter, 1986, p.647) reports: in a brutal Verona staged on an austere metallic set "Mercutio was a perverse punk who made his first entrance dragging along a lifesized doll that he dismembered, with savage glee, in his later conjuration of Rosaline. Slightly drunk in his early scenes, hung over in the later, Mercutio was disgusted by sex and contemptuous in raillery." Some productions have explored other new manners of characterization for this role. In the 1985 Missouri Repertory Theatre at Kansas City, Michael LaGue's Mercutio conveyed a sense

of borderline madness, presenting his speeches in a "...compulsive oratory that is absolutely chilling" (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.655).

By contrast however, most productions present Mercutio as an intelligent, privileged young man whose aggression is explained by his youth and leisure. This view is more in keeping with Wilders' (1988) opinion that "Mercutio and Benvolio are boisterous, earthy, daring, irresponsible youths affectionate towards one another but contemptuous of their sworn enemies" (p.91). In whichever way directors, actors, and designers have chosen to present him, Mercutio is an important figure in Romeo and Juliet: in many ways, his mocking attitude in the first half of the play presages the action in the second half. With his death, the entire mood of the play shifts dramatically from romantic/bawdy/humorous to tragic. His characterization is therefore integral to the action of the play and very early on is a foil not only to Romeo's character, but to the innocent context of Romeo and Juliet's love. Mercutio's metaphor to describe Romeo's lovesick mooning is strikingly prophetic: "Alas, poor Romeo, he is already dead: stabb'd with a white wench's black eye;" (II.iv.14).

Thematic colour

Colour references are gently peppered throughout Romeo and Juliet providing an emphatic comment on the mood of the play. Colour references also underscore individual characterization. In the very first scene, Montague laments his son's secretive preoccupation with Rosaline, worrying about his son's disposition: "Black and portentous must this humour prove," (I.i.138). It is the first of many references to black and in itself a portent for the play's resolution.

Costume colour is not specifically referred to in Romeo and Juliet. Shakespeare's primary use of colour in this play is to establish mood and embellish sombre imagery. Green and yellow are negatively described: "Be not her maid, since she is envious; / Her vestal livery is but sick and green, / And none but fools do wear it;" (II.ii.7-9), "With reeky

shanks and yellow chapless skulls;" (IV.i. 83). Crimson and scarlet are associated with a lover's lips and cheeks: " By her high forehead and her scarlet lip," (II.i.18). White symbolizes the courtly ideal of refined womanhood: "On the white wonder of Juliet's hand," (III.iii.36). References to idealized women's white hands appear in several Elizabethan plays besides Shakespeare's, and at times he appears to gently mock the convention. The only other colours mentioned are grey, used descriptively as in the 'Queen Mab speech': "Her waggoner, a small gray-coated gnat,"(I.iv.64); purple, used to describe passion and blood (I.i.82); pink used to allude to sex (II.iv.56-7); and silver employed in lyrical imagery as well as to describe the time of day: "How silver-sweet sound lover's tongues by night," (II.ii.166). Whether or not they heeded Shakespeare's implicit textual colour references, designers in the following 15 productions, used costume colour to underscore the characterizations within this play.

As indicated in the section on methodology, the costume colours/characterization method of analysis employs the Pantone Colour System. An example of how this system works is provided in Chapter III. Reference to it may be initially helpful in understanding the process of numerical designations for the hues and the corresponding Pantone colour reading. A list showing Pantone colour meaning is included in Appendix H. Associative colour meanings are not listed in any rank order, but are randomly recorded within this study. When the colour being described has been given a colour name by Pantone, it is recorded in *italics*. All associative colour meanings are based on Pantone's findings unless otherwise specified.

Because costume components vary in their proportions, the allocation of colour content in the costume colour/character charts has been assigned according to the relative proportions shown in figure 26.

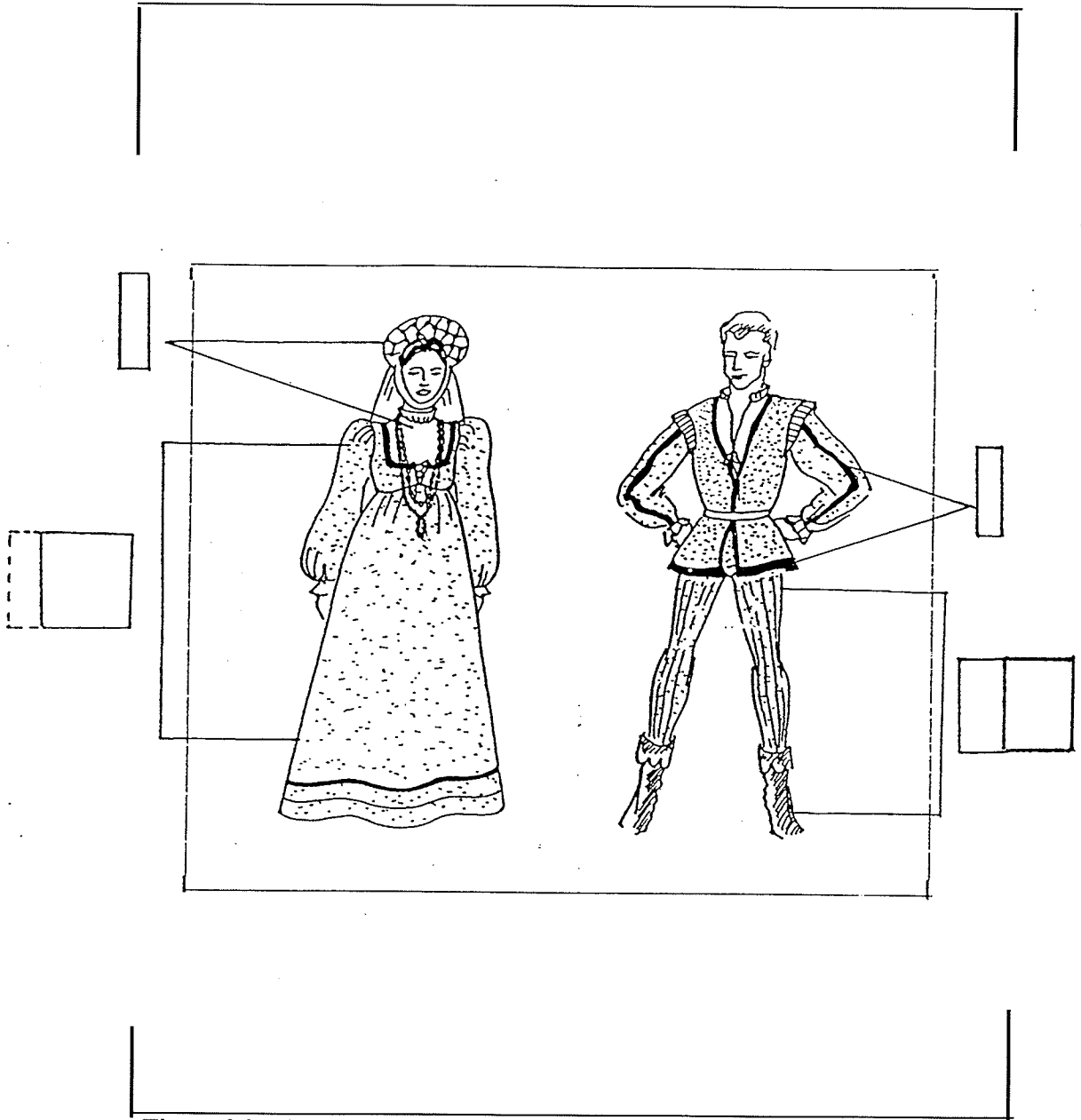


Figure 26. Approximate costume/colour ratios used in costume colour and characterization analysis

Costume colour/characterization: JULIET

Thirties

Motley's design (Figure 27) for the Gielgud Old Vic production (1935) of Romeo and Juliet at the New Theatre combined gold star shapes and trim on a fiery red background, over a white *camisia* (chemise). Juliet wears the dress in both the ball and balcony scenes.



Figure 27. Juliet costume by Motley, 1935

Although Pantone labels the hue *Mandarin Red*, it recalls the Renaissance colours of Raphael and his contemporaries. Christ's mother's gown in Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* c.1504 (Figure 28) could have been an inspirational source, or perhaps Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi* c.1470. Michael Mullin (personal communication 1992) states that Motley referred to the work of Vitorre Carpaccio (c.1460-1526) in particular. These artists have similar palettes.



Figure 28. Raphael's Marriage of the Virgin c.1504

In technical terms *Mandarin Red* (17-1562) reflects 20-30% according to Pantone, making it a relatively darker value. It is a highly saturated hue in the orangey-red position on the Pantone colour wheel. Combined together, these elements present a dramatic image, ensuring a strong costume stage presence. Because *Mandarin Red* is almost mid-point between the orange and red sectors, it was necessary to extrapolate meaning from both colours, placing particular weight on repeated descriptors. In Pantone, the costume colour signifies a warm, even hot, vital, glowing, happy, excited, passionate individual. Both hues were described as *hot* and *happy*, while many of the other descriptors were similar in meaning (for example, *vital* and *active*). Bright red is often associated with passion, provocativeness and sex, and also carries the negative connotation of rage. Choosing gold for pattern and trim underlines a noble reading, befitting to an only daughter of the Capulet

household. Gold has maintained its rich and valuable connotations consistently over time and place, throughout the world. Another costume, a nightgown of white with gold trim, carries associations of cleanliness, coolness and purity, as well as the pristine. White reinforces our concept of Juliet as young, virginal, and pure; the repetition of gold in the trim strengthens the aristocratic motif. This reading can be either verified or disputed by referring to reviews and other literature written about the production.

From the associative meaning for the colours described above, we may detect that this interpretation of Juliet was a dynamic one, enhancing the sexual tension within the script alongside youthful passion. Juliet was perhaps presented as an intense young woman, whose self assurance and warm personality had blossomed due to her privileged position in a secure and adoring world.

While Gielgud's Romeo and Juliet has received considerable attention in theatre literature, James Agate (1937) appears to be the only critic to specifically refer to Peggy Ashcroft's interpretation. His statement is regrettably brief: "Miss Peggy Ashcroft's Juliet has been greatly praised. Certainly the eager and touching childishness of the early part could not be bettered, so that we prepared to be greatly moved. Personally I found the performance heartrending until it came to the part where the heart should be rent. And then nothing happened,..." (pps. 185-6). Following a subsequent visit to the same production, he revised his opinion somewhat, noting: " Miss Ashcroft's Juliet is gaining in depth and power while losing nothing of the childish fragrance,..." (p.206). Five decades later, one of the most complete composites of production reviews states: " Peggy Ashcroft was a never to be equalled Juliet,..." (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p. 625).

Any correlation of the initial costume colour and character reading with these descriptions of Juliet appears tenuous. Agate's first description of a young and eager, innocent youth suits the orange-red colour concept of vitality within a protected environment, but not much else can be discerned. Overall, the production seemed to dwell

on the play's pathos, stressing the grief inherent in such tragic events. For this production, Mullin (1991) is in accord, emphasizing Juliet's passion and youth rather than accentuating her innocence and naivety (p.47).

When we are fortunate enough to have the particular actor's description of his/her interpretation, the result is more than a happy coincidence. Dame Peggy Ashcroft wrote that she felt she had in portraying the 14 year-old Juliet (even though she herself was closer to 30), as an eager and excited young girl. With regard to the famous balcony scene, she states: " Instead of it being what you might think of as a languishing moonlight scene, gazing at the sky, it's a girl who is almost out of breath with excitement, who rushes out into the air "(1987, p.13). With such an understanding, the *vital* quality of the intense orange-red costume colour is fitting: it expresses a young girl's first heady experience of romantic passion.

Levenson (1987) provides an account of Motley's costume interpretation for the production as a whole. According to her, the design team "...emphasized colour (rather than detail) to differentiate both between the houses and among the characters...[and] presented the Montagues as aristocratic and the Capulets as commercial: Romeo's family appeared resplendent in greens and reds, while Juliet's looked sombre in darker colours and much more black" (p.60). Juliet's vibrant red dress would have made her even more remarkable when seen in contrast to the apparel worn by the rest of the Capulets.

According to Levenson, Motley consciously chose the costume colours to reflect the character's physical and psychological states. She provides a written description of Juliet's second costume colour to illustrate this point. Following her initial appearance when she is dressed in the red and gold gown, Juliet wears a "...sage-green brocade covered in light flowers" alluding to Botticelli's *Primavera*. "With its allusions to the painting, this dress associated Juliet with fertility and new life, heightening the irony of her unwitting, swift progress towards death" (p.61)

Forties

Contextually, the richness and the vibrancy of the colour chosen reflects the period of theatre history it belongs to. During the 30s the focus was on star performers. By choosing an orange-red hue for Juliet, Motley ensured attention would be concentrated on the female lead, and contributed to the richness of theatrical staging for the 30s' audience. The production of Romeo and Juliet from the 40s designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch for the Oxford Playhouse, also reflects the period in which it was produced. As she describes it (personal communication, 1991), it was a clear case of the "make-do and mend" philosophy made necessary by World War II. Costume and stage materials were scarce, especially for the smaller theatrical companies outside London. A surplus of lace curtain material supplied the impulse to design "Goya-esque" (Figure 29) costumes and colours: the limitation of black or white lace dictated the period choice. Juliet wore white; Romeo wore black.

Unfortunately, visual documentation for this production appears to be non-existent, and in general, information about it is scarce. Those with recollections of it usually date it between the years 1941-44. A survey of British newspapers did elicit one reference to a production of Romeo and Juliet at the Oxford Playhouse during this period of time. The London Times of May 18, 1943 (6e) describes a "Romeo and Juliet in Spanish costume at the Playhouse as part of the second Oxford Summer Festival of the Arts." It seems likely that this was the production designed and described by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. White was considered to be suitable for Juliet because it has associations with purity, innocence and virginity. It is a colour that continues to appear for Juliet's costumes in subsequent productions.



Figure 29. Example of Spanish style costume from Goya. The Maja c.1811

In 1947, 21 year old Peter Brook produced a Romeo and Juliet at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon that he felt was *the* play intended by Shakespeare (News Chronicle, April 8, 1947). Designer Rolf Gerard chose an impressionistic Elizabethan-Italianate atmosphere for both costumes and set. The stage had a central ediface created from blocks, suggesting a child's fortress. As an alternative to changing sets, Gerard relied on the play of light to create different locales and moods. Against a simple indigo backcloth Juliet wore a Renaissance-style costume, predominantly white with a gold metallic border stripe and stylized overall pomegranate design in black (Figure 30). These colours were gleaned from the single costume sketch available at the Shakespeare Centre Library. Black and white photographs suggest that another costume worn by 18 year-old Daphne Slater (who played Juliet) was mostly dark in value.

Gerard's choice of fabric pattern for Juliet's costume has a basis in historical dress and is in itself a highly symbolic one. The pomegranate was regarded as a symbol of fertility in

Greek mythology and in ancient Rome newly wedded women wore wreaths of pomegranates for this reason (Matthews, 1986). As early as the 15th century, Italian weavers absorbed ancient motifs such as pomegranates within their decorative repertory, continuing the incorporation of the motif for personal adornment (Boucher, 1984). By using fabric which resembled the rich silks of the Italian Renaissance period, Gerard drew attention to that time; by choosing a traditional symbol of fertility in a colour associated with death, Juliet's costume served as a reminder of the thwarted fruition of her love for Romeo.



Figure 30. Juliet's costume by Rolf Gerard 1947

The significance of gold (in the detailing) and white have already been discussed, but black is a new element. Black suggests boldness, sophistication, mystery, strength, invulnerability and sexiness. It also holds strong negative connotations in Western society: death, depression and sinister agencies. Hence, Juliet was characterized as an innocent (white), privileged (gold), young girl whose fate (black) was stamped all over her apparel. As with all costume colour, a range of possible interpretation does exist for this costume, but within the purview of the theatre and the production date, the suggested reading is

credible. Regardless of whether designers make consciously or subconsciously symbolic colour decisions, the literature reviewed for this study (Bundick, 1979; Behl, 1981; Moiseiwitsch, 1990, 1991; Mullin 1991) indicates that designers are very attentive to colour's overall effect on mood.

Brook's 1947 production was perceived as a somewhat dark and sinister one, lending credence to the negative qualities associated with the black accent. Critics decried Slater's youth and inexperience, suggesting she was out of her depth portraying anything more than a "puppyish" girl (Daily Mail, April 7, 1947), "appealing if sometimes immature" (Daily Worker, April 8, 1947), Juliet who was "better at girlish speed than tragic depth" (Manchester Guardian, April 7, 1947). Speaking for himself, Brook's intention was to highlight *Romeo and Juliet* as "...two children lost in the maelstrom around them, and I think this emphasizes the real pathos..." (News Chronicle, April 7). In terms of colour association, as the colour/character reading above suggests, the strong value contrast in Juliet's costume colours reflects this idea. The critics seem to have missed the point.

Fifties

Motley designed a 1954 production of Romeo and Juliet (Figure 31) for Glen Byam Shaw, then co-director of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. Mullin (1991) points out that although this Romeo and Juliet (along with numerous other plays) was billed "designed by Motley", it was principally the work of only one team member, Margaret Harris.

The designs were illustrated on storyboards displaying critical moments in each scene (Mullin, 1991). Mullin goes on to record that, based on their interpretation of the play, Motley used colour very symbolically in this production, dressing "the *nouveaux riches* Capulets somewhat ostentatiously" in bright colours, while the older more established Montagues appear in more sombre dark "conservative colours" (p.47). In colour and in cut, the costumes give the impression of the Italian Renaissance period.

Pantone describes Juliet's costume colour (15-1523) as *Shrimp*. Technically, it is of medium value (40-50% reflectance), and like Motley's 1935 Juliet, has an orange-red base. However, unlike the earlier costume hue, the saturation for this colour is weak. Overall, the costume colour is soft and subdued. The closest match for Pantone colour meaning is *Terra Cotta* (16-1526) associated with warmth, wholesomeness, earthiness, welcome, and rustic. For Motley, Juliet began her role in this manner, as a fresh, responsive and approachable young woman.



Figure 31. Juliet's costume by Motley 1954

The other costume assessed from this production is the one Juliet wore in the last act. Juliet approached her death dressed in blue (*Cloud Blue*, 14-4306). This colour is in approximately the same value range as her first garment's colour, but shifts to the other side of the spectrum, possibly supporting the impending shifts in mood as the play progresses. The closest Pantone colour with associated meaning is *Sky Blue* (14-4318); it has a higher saturation, but is otherwise comparable. This hue has associations with being calm, clean, cool, happy, peaceful, fresh, soft, faithful, constant, and true. Given that the costumes (and their colours) were specifically selected for critical moments in the staging, it

seems likely that the last three colour meanings were (consciously or subconsciously) at the heart of choosing a gentle muted blue for Juliet's dress, once her destiny was sealed. The audience knows the tale's sad ending, and would appreciate the signals received, however subliminally, regarding Juliet's *constancy* and *faithfulness* in her love. This use of a *cool, calm* blue is in strong contrast to the earlier (1935) version with its fiery red, a fact seeming to suggest an emphatic shift from Juliet, the uncertain changeable young girl to Juliet, the more purposeful maturing woman. The transition from warm to cool hues also reiterates the play's changes, shifting from warmhearted romance and bawdy jocularly to the menacing conspiracy of fate.

Reviews of the production were generally less favorable than otherwise. Critics found fault with everything, from Motley's set to Shaw's direction. The actors shared the brunt of negative criticism and Zena Walker, the 20 year old playing Juliet, received a good percentage of it. While the majority felt she did not convey the mature expression necessary in the role's rite of passage, all seemed to agree that her portrayal of 14 year old adolescence was successful. The Gloucester Echo (April 28, 1954) puts it plainly: "The mistake seems to lie in the emphasis on Juliet's 14 years and the all-too-successful attempt to show the girl as a child is disconcerting." Alan Dent of the News Chronicle (April 28, 1954) basically agrees: "Zena Walker is a dear and roguish little dumpling, ...who has been chosen to play Juliet. But Juliet is an Italian girl ablaze with her first passion and not just a little candle alight on a child's birthday cake. This Juliet, in short, needs a year or two more." What both critics fault is the less passionate, softer, more childlike interpretation of Juliet's character. And, what both critics bemoan (supported by other reviews) is Zena Walker's unsuccessful portrayal of the more mature, resolved young woman who emerges during the course of the play. This criticism supports the colour interpretation implemented by Motley. The first dress represents Juliet's *soft, fresh, wholesome* youthfulness. The second dress heralds the metamorphosis to a cooler, more

mature image of *faithfulness, constancy* and *truth* that was apparently unconvincing due to Miss Walker's acting.

Four years later, in 1958, Motley designed another Romeo and Juliet for Glen Byam Shaw, at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. Once again, the design team chose costume styling reminiscent of the Italian Renaissance, dressing Juliet in white, with red and green trim (Figure 32).



Figure 32. Juliet's costume by Motley 1958

As with the previous productions, the colours convey a distinctive interpretation. We could expect Juliet to be as fresh and as pure as her dominant dress colour (white) suggests, but the touches of green and red hint at further characterization depth. Once more the red chosen by Motley was an orange-red, the red in their 1935 production,

suggesting passion. The green (*Stone Green*, 17-0123) a medium-dark value (20 to 30 % reflectance) containing a hint of yellow (making it warm) and low in saturation. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Dark Green*, a hue described as classic, cool, earthy, rich, quiet, expensive, arboreal, and traditional. The descriptors allude to "established values" (*classic, rich, quiet, expensive*), and to an elemental connection with nature (*cool, earthy, arboreal*). The colour composite portrays a substantial character of good breeding, capable of deep and enduring emotion.

Motley chose costume colours of high contrast for this production; green, red and black were featured. When juxtaposed with the intense overall palette, Juliet's predominantly white costume would ensure her prominence on the stage. Dorothy Tutin was a much heralded actress, and by having her stand out visually, Motley supported the star-oriented theatre system referred to earlier.

In contrast to the 1954 production, critics had fulsome praise for Dorothy Tutin's Juliet and their descriptions of her characterization carries the costume colour reading suggested above. Rosemary Sisson of the Stratford-Upon-Avon Herald (April 11, 1958), saw Tutin's Juliet as a real person participating in the full range of human emotions: with fits of temper and defiance, a believable engaging youth capable of passing from excitable child to passionate woman. The Stage (April 10, 1958) describes her as a "...fresh young Juliet full of ardor and new-found passion. This is a girl with the joy and ache of love in her breast and with faith and hope in her eyes. ...But when tragedy breaks on her innocence and ecstasy, she grips us powerfully." While the critics' reviews may seem on first reading to refer solely to the actors' abilities, they can also reveal much about the specific interpretation of a particular part. Thus, the costume colour reading reflects the personality portrayed by Tutin. She was fresh and innocent (white), but capable of deep passion (orange-red), and seemed like a "real" person who behaved naturally (green).

Sixties

The second Romeo and Juliet designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch was produced in 1960 for the Stratford Festival in Canada. Michael Langham was the director and Juliet was played by Julie Harris. Like most earlier productions, the costume and set designs were inspired by the Italian Renaissance period. This production has one of the most complete costume colour records. Five separate costume sketches were examined and individually analyzed. The first dress, Juliet's ball gown, was a soft peach colour (*Apricot Ice*, 13-1020) (Figure 33). This colour has a medium-light value (60-70% reflectance), an orange hue, and a weak saturation. It most closely corresponds to Pantone's *Peach* colour reading, listing its qualities as fresh, soft, sweet, and warm in addition to being luscious and inviting. Any one of those adjectives could describe a young girl in the first flush of romance. In accord with Motley's choice 25 years earlier, white was the colour of Juliet's nightgown in this production, most likely with similar significance.

For Act II Juliet's dress colour was a pinker cast than that of the ball gown. The colour (*Coral Blush*, 14-1909) is a medium value (50-60% reflectance), a red-hue base and a low saturation most closely resembling Pantone's *Dusty Pink*. Some of the adjectives describing its colour meaning are: soft, soothing, cozy, classic, romantic, rosy and subtle. Applying these descriptors to a character elicits an image of malleable romantic femininity. It is a portrait that could comfortably suit the young Juliet, caught between her parents' demands for her to marry Paris, and the advice of her nurse, and the wonder of her love for and consequent marriage to Romeo.



Figure 33. Juliet's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch 1960

There are two more costume changes for Juliet in this production. She wore what was described as a "day dress" of softest blue (*Plume*, 13-4809), with two-coloured trim and white fichu detail at the neck. The soft blue is akin to Pantone's *Sky Blue*: its attributes are addressed in the discussion of the 1954 Motley designs. As the most prominent colour, its associated meaning would also colour any characterization it was meant to support. However, adding the two trim colours could give subtle hints not otherwise available in a one colour garment. The first trim colour *Pastel Yellow* (11-0616), is a pale yellow suggesting mellowness, softness, warmth, sweetness, sun, and cheer. The second trim colour *Sierra* (18-1239) corresponds to *Terra Cotta* (16-1526), also previously described for the 1954 Motley designs. The colour balance suggests an interpretive continuation of the *warm*, inviting (yellow, terra cotta) young woman whose dominant colour ("true blue"), subtly emphasizes her *constancy* and depth of commitment to her new husband in spite of the numerous obstacles before them.

In the final scene, her dress is covered with a cloak; the colour dramatically underscores the shift in the mood of the play. The cloak was a rich dark brown, *Brown Stone* (19-1322), a colour having positive associations of warmth and dependability, but also suggesting more negative elements such as somberness and something soiled. The peach-tinted (*Apricot Ice* 13-1020) lining sustains the fresh soft feminine perspective presented in Act I, removing any potential character aspersions, but the sober darkness of the deep brown suites Juliet's new status, announcing her sad and poignant future. Throughout the performance, Juliet's pale costume colours were in contrast to the production palette as a whole. Costume colours for others in the cast ranged from plum, indigo, green, and brown tones to greys, golds and silver all in medium values. Juliet was the exception, having the only lighter costume colour values.

Julie Harris is said to have provided a "...grave, modest, and introspective Juliet ", conspicuous against the colourful background at her father's ball. She convincingly portrayed a " Shy and inexperienced [girl] in the ways of the world, her earnestness was that of a girl largely sequestered from the world" (Gross in Leiter, 1986, p. 639). Further mention describes her as "so young and yet so willing" (p.639). Directly and indirectly, Tanya Moiseiwitsch's colour choices support such a characterization.

Dorothy Tutin, Juliet in the 1958 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre production, played the role again in Peter Hall's 1961 production at the same theatre. Desmond Heeley designed the sets and costumes. (Figure 34) He chose dusty pink and white for Juliet's costume, with a silhouette likely inspired by Callot's Venetian etchings, according to one critic (Glasgow Herald, August 17, 1961). Juliet's dress was chiefly dusty pink (*Coral Blush*, 14-1909), with white sleeves and head veil. The colour appears to be the exact match to the one used by Tanya Moiseiwitsch in the Stratford Festival production the year before, suggesting a similar characterization of Juliet's role. And like Moiseiwitsch, Heeley set Juliet's (light) costume colour values in contrast to those of her fellow actors.

When in proximity to her nurse's efficient practical navy blue costume, the *sweet fresh* qualities of Juliet's dusty pink costume would have been accentuated.

Production reviews reinforce this surmise. Peter Hall may have filled his production with high jinks and laughter, but the play's main emphasis "... is upon the youthfulness of the legendary lovers.... Dorothy Tutin's Juliet is a keenly observed portrayal of the sensitive adolescent girl dreaming of love, wanting to love and be loved, trying desperately to cope with all the conflicts that arise" (Theatre, August 17, 1961). As the previous production's costume colour analysis for dusty pink indicates, the dress colour suggests a malleable romantic femininity, an image evocative of the critic's description.



Figure 34. Juliet's costume by Desmond Heeley 1961

A review of the various costumes from the 1930s to the 1960s indicates that there is a repeated usage of certain colours, suggesting a degree of consistency between character and colour association during this time. Juliet's costume colours most frequently have associated meanings with *innocence* and *femininity*. Pale colours are most frequently utilized, a phenomenon that continues with the exception of one or two productions. In other productions, such as the following description of the one at the Stratford Festival in 1968 (Figure 35), more intense colours were added.



Figure 35. Juliet's costume by Carolyn Parker 1968

The play, directed by Douglas Campbell and designed by Carolyn Parker, was set in the early 1800s, in an era often referred to as the Empire or Napoleonic period. For women, it heralded a return to the more classic, high waisted "empire line" dress silhouette. For

men, it was a period when breeches were waning in favour of pants. Carolyn Parker used the costume styles of this period to introduce fresh colour possibilities for the characters. On the whole, the production palette was a mixture of warm greens, varied yellows and golds contrasted with burgundy, grey and an assortment of blues. In addition to donning a coat for the final scene, actress Louise Marleau appears to have had three actual costume changes. Her first dress was in shimmering gold, emphasizing her position as the daughter of a wealthy man, and perhaps, her own preciousness.

Juliet is again wearing warm colours in her second costume, a pale yellow. The colour (*Sunshine*,12-0727) is of light value (70-80% reflectance) and medium saturation. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Yellow Cream* with its connotations of sunshine, warmth, softness, sweetness, and cheerfulness. Carolyn Parker's colour choices during the first half of the play are a visual metaphor for Juliet's radiant contentment.

Parker chose virginal white for Juliet's third costume change, perhaps suggesting a sacrificial lamb rather than a chaste maiden at this point in the play. And, finally, Juliet is clad in a golden coat. The gold (*Golden Glow*,15-1050) is a medium value (40-50% reflectance) with a highly saturated orange base hue. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Golden Yellow* (15-0953) a colour with autumnal associations of wheat, warmth, richness and harvest. After consistently presenting the audience with a radiant Juliet, Parker then subtly expresses a transition from summer sunshine towards the fall, signifying in metaphorical terms, the phase of decline preceding death. This colour interpretation presents a costume colour/characterization most likely perceived by the audience on a subliminal level, reinforcing the tenor of the play.

In reviewing the production, John Pettigrew (in Raby, 1968) found Louise Marleau's Juliet inadequate due to her inexperience with the part; however, this rendered a charming attitude. Pettigrew wrote: "Of Juliet's devotion to Romeo, Miss Marleau left no doubt, and both lovers caught the bewilderment of innocence in the face of hard experience" (p.166).

Nevertheless, he did not find much evidence for what he felt the play called for: the two lovers engaging in an extraordinary growth to maturity. This is little substance to go on, and this analysis can only suggest a possible colour/character interpretation for this particular production, that on the surface, at least, supports the conception of Juliet's role in the play.

Seventies

Trevor Nunn and Barry Kyle co-directed Romeo and Juliet at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-Upon-Avon (1976). Francesca Annis was cast as Juliet, and was clothed in an Italian Renaissance-style gown featuring an overall gold (*Shrimp*, 15-1234) jacquard fabric design on a white background (Figure 36).



Figure 36. Juliet's costume by Chris Dyer 1976

The golden colour evokes the sunshine warmth of Italy and holds the promise of an equally glowing receptive being within it. In combination with virginal white, it can describe a loving, happy and innocent young girl: her eventual fate thus seems sacrificial in nature.

Francesca Annis characterized Juliet as a very young girl, seemingly appropriate for the play's first half. But according to critic Richard David (1978, p.118), her "nervous chatter and constant fluttering movement dissipate the mood of ecstasy" in the balcony scene. Taken together with David's (1978) image of a "perpetually laughing Juliet" who does not mature until too late in the play, it suggests a rather playful characterization, one that is supported by the sunshine and innocence of her costume colour.

Two costume colours for Marti Maraden's Juliet in the 1977 production at the Stratford Festival were recorded. These costumes were designed by John Ferguson and the play was directed by David William. Juliet's principal costume was cream coloured (*Angora*,12-0605) with tiny floral sprays embroidered all over it. (Figure 37)

The other costume was a nightgown of the palest cream colour (*Cream Pearl*,12-1006). The two costumes' colours are very close to each other on the colour wheel and share associated colour meaning. *Cream* expresses smoothness, richness, sweetness, warmth, and softness. It is classic and neutral and also has the negative connotation of blandness. The term *classic* often implies tradition, wealth and taste -- traits appropriate to associate with an old and established Veronese family such as the Capulets.

The associated meanings for the colours chosen by Ferguson are similar to the majority chosen by other designers examined in this study. By far, most of the previous productions' palettes encourage similar readings of Juliet: *warm, soft* and *sweet* young girl.



Figure 37. Juliet's costume by John Ferguson 1977

A review of Marti Maraden's Juliet describes her as "an adolescent girl, quicksilver and totally winning" (New York Times Theatre Reviews, 8 June, 1977). This capsule portrait is compatible with the costume colour and characterization analysis given above. Furthermore, the reviewer describes the production as a more traditional one, depicting the Capulets as an established Veronese family.

At the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis, director Ron Daniels (on loan from the RSC), produced an innovative Romeo and Juliet in 1979. Designer Dunya Ramicova dressed her Juliet in contemporary clothing and chose all-white for most of her appearances, even donning a white veil for her wedding to Romeo (Figure 38), until the final scene, when her costume was supplemented by a black cummerbund. Dunya Ramicova's choice of white for the predominant costume colour is similar to Motley's decision for the 1958 RSC production, presenting the two main protagonists as innocent and fresh. But unlike Motley's less direct analogue suggests by its touches of red and green, Ramicova's

addition of a mourning black accent is a straightforward symbol for loss of innocence and life.

Ramicova visually underscored Romeo and Juliet's romantic connection by twinning their costume colours. At the same time that Juliet cinched her black cummerbund, Romeo donned a black vest. Both youths began the performance in pure white dress on a spare and stylized stage, deep blue plexiglass with polished steel forms suggesting major structures: balcony, bed, banquet table and catafalque viewed under elemental monochromatic lighting (Clayton, 1980). Against this background, Mercutio and Tybalt wore black contemporary clothing. Ramicova approached her costuming from a non-historical but socially significant perspective, dressing elder characters in a blend of period costume while Romeo's friends appeared in tight jeans and t-shirts.



Figure 38. Juliet's costume by Dunya Ramicova 1979

Daniels interpretation was a "streamlined conception" with choreographed contemporary music in the "West Side Story idiom" (Thomas Clayton 1980). The costumes contributed a

"sense of contemporaneity and sensuality" in the younger characters (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.629). Both descriptives reflect this chapter's introductory statement regarding the tendency for productions from this decade to have more emphasis on the play's inherent sexuality. The only comment about Juliet's characterization comes from Clayton (1980) who wrote: "...she looked a woman in her late twenties working to play an early-teenage girl suddenly become a woman" (p.241). Regretfully, it is not substantive enough to make a comparison with the colour and character analysis; on the surface, the two images do not mesh.

Again in the United States, Warren Travis's designs for the American Conservatory Theatre at the Geary Theatre in San Francisco, led to an affectionate labelling of the production as the "bathroom show" because of the extensive use of velour fabric (personal communication with costume workers, 1991). This 1979 production was directed by Allen Fletcher and seems to have been a family affair, starring as it did Fletcher's daughter Julia (who was a student at the Conservatory), his wife Anne Lawder as Juliet's Nurse and his son as the assistant director. Fletcher was known for his adherence to the text (Travis, personal communication, 1991).

Essentially, in this production, Juliet has three costume changes, but the addition of accessories such as a paisley shawl in II.ii. create the illusion of more. She first appears in a peachy-pink dress (*Tropical Peach*, 13-1318) (Figure 39) for the Capulet ball and her initial meeting with Romeo. The colour connotations of peach have been described previously in Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designs for the 1960 Stratford Festival production. These associations underpin the depiction of a warm and inviting young woman whose merriment at her father's ball is suddenly altered when she comes face to face with Romeo. At first sight (despite the masks they are wearing) she is instantly smitten, and in the same moment, captivates Romeo. The endearing and inviting qualities alluded to with the peach colour linger in the trim on her cream (*Cream Pearl*, 12-1006) coloured negligee and robe.

For her final scene she wears her wedding dress, predominantly cream-coloured (12-1006) with white trim. Once again, the image of Juliet conveyed by these colours parallels those presented in earlier productions, most notably the 1977 Stratford Festival performance. This conventional reading of costume colour/characterization fit director Allen Fletcher's interpretation of Romeo and Juliet.



Figure 39. Juliet's costume by Warren Travis 1979

Warren Travis deliberated over his colour presentation, using it very consciously to manipulate the mood on the stage and the correspondent audience reaction. He states his approach was intentionally "very theatrical" (personal communication, 1991). The performance began with a dark monochromatic colour theme, shifting with the ball scene to purples/mauves/reds/peaches connected by a thread of yellow touches throughout the collective stage imagery. As the play progressed, the colours lost their intensity, until finally, in keeping with the action of the play, the colour was entirely "leached out"

(Travis, personal communication, 1991) so that essentially, only stark black and white modulations remained to emphasize the bleakness of the conclusion.

Eighties

If the San Francisco production colours adhered to a more traditional characterization of Juliet, director Peter Dews's 1984 production at the Stratford Festival presented innovations. Designer David Walker also applied the pale tints so prevalent in the last two decades, but added some intensity, thus hinting at a parallel degree of character intensity. Seana McKenna starred as Juliet, and wore a cream (*Cream Pearl*, 12-1006) dress (Figure 40) with pearl trim, suggesting the wealth and refinement of person and position referred to earlier.



Figure 40. Juliet's costume by David Walker 1984

Juliet is then attired in a pale mauve (*Chalk*, 12-2902) nightdress and cloak for her balcony scene. This colour has a light value (70-80% reflectance), falls in the red-purple range of hues, and has very light saturation. It is most similar to Pantone's *Mauve*, continuing the allusion to the classic, soft, soothing, and subdued. Mauve is also regarded as a sophisticated colour. With a base hue of very pale red-purple, it likely serves in this instance as a transition colour both actual and symbolically. Although the restrained colour hints at the subdued child, the red-purple base suggests a newly awakened sexuality, underscored by the young woman's tryst with Romeo. This idea is amplified by her third costume colours, *Terra Cotta* (16-1350), and white. By dressing the actress primarily in earthy terra cotta with innocent white, the designer implies that Juliet's has an increased understanding of her sexuality.

Shakespeare provides numerous opportunities for emphasis on sexuality in Romeo and Juliet: in the nurse's banter and the interplay between Romeo and his friends, especially Mercutio. Director Peter Dews appears to have run with this element of the play, exploiting every *double entendre* towards this end (Leiter, 1986). Owen Brady (reported in Leiter, p.654) states: "Everyone in Verona seemed to have a dirty mind except Romeo and Juliet, the purity of whose love shone out amid the lewdness that surrounded them. Their love, however, is "not Platonic; instead they embody both physical passion and love, projecting an image of wholesome and innocent sexuality."

The internal conflict and strength of character suggested by the greater colour intensity of Juliet's terra cotta dress was recognized by Ralph Berry (in Leiter, p.654). He refers to her as a "...sensitive, willful Juliet, very much in transition from girlhood to womanhood... When she delivers "*What satisfaction can thou have tonight?*" it startles from her, leaving no doubt in the mind of the laughing audience that childish chastity is hard-pressed by womanly passion." Overall, Walker presented a carefully co-ordinated palette of costume colours: teal, russet, burgundy, cream and black predominated.

In Michael Bogdanov's 1986 production at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-Upon-Avon, Ginny Humphries and Chris Dyer chose contemporary clothing for the cast, placing Juliet in white and blue (Figure 41). By doing so, Juliet's innocence is once again emphasized, but the choice of blues seems to have offered a thematic twist. Juliet's top is completely white, while her skirt is white with a blue design. This blue (*Niagra*,17-4123) is like Pantone's *Sky Blue* with its calm, fresh, constant, faithful, and true connotations. Juliet's belt is a darker-valued blue (*Deep Cobalt*,19-3935), most closely resembling Pantone's *Navy*. Navy is a colour identified with positions of authority in the Western world, from business men's suits to military and policeman's uniforms. Navy and by association the person wearing it, is perceived as dependable, traditional, classic, credible, and strong hence the aphorism "true blue." What is not included in the Pantone colour associations is the sense of blue describing emotional depression, as it is used in the reference to feeling blue.



Figure 41. Juliet's costume by Ginny Humphries 1986

Regardless of this oversight, both associations can be readily applied to Juliet's costume colour and characterization. Not only did the designers wish to suggest that Juliet was young and *innocent* (*White*), but they also added touches of blue (*Sky Blue*), inferring that she was *faithful* while hinting, however subliminally (with the darker value of the *Navy*) at the *sombre* and *sad* "blue" mood that drives the play to its resolve.

Critics were not kind to this production, describing the whole as a "...torrent of noisy modernity" (Shrimpton, 1987, p.178). Michael Billington (Guardian, April 10, 1986) dubbed it "Alfa-Romeo and Juliet" because of what he saw as an excessive use of real vehicles for stage props. Benedict Nightingale (New Statesman, April 18, 1986) thought that Niamh Cusack's "...Juliet isn't fraught and stricken enough at crises, but manages to be sweet without cuteness, warm without mawkishness." John Barber (Daily Telegraph, April 10, 1986) suggested that Juliet "... seems from the first a bright thin-armed angel doomed...", while the critic from the Financial Times thought Niamh Cusack was a "convincing teenager" (April 9, 1986).

The image of Juliet gleaned from these critical commentaries is one of a young *innocent*, a *sincere* and loving person who is *sweet*, but not without substance. She remains pristine, assured and pure despite the confused commotion in her environment. She was portrayed in a poetic manner (even playing the flute at one point), and the production's visual images reveal a sense of stillness in Juliet and Romeo, due partly to the effect of the colours they wore contrasting with those of the other cast members. On a stage filled with characters dressed in colourful contemporary clothing contributing to the "torrent of noisy modernity" Shrimpton refers to, Romeo (in a white linen suit) and Juliet (in white and blue) would have been a calm but distinctive visual entity. From this we may conclude that the costume colours were a convincing external expression of the characters so clothed.

This analysis encompasses 14 of the 15 productions researched. Colour images of Roger Furse's designs for Juliet for the 1952 Old Vic production directed by Hugh Hunt were not located, but black and white images indicate that one of her costumes had a light value while a second one seemed to be of medium-light value. As the overview of Juliet's costume colours and associated meanings show, lighter valued colours have been the most frequent choices by designers, including Tanya Moiseiwitsch, in the decades from the 1940s to the 1980s.

Costume colour/characterization: ROMEO

Coloured images of Romeo's costumes were examined for 12 of the 15 productions. Romeo's costume by Motley for Gielgud's 1935 production of Romeo and Juliet was not viewed, but a description contained in Levenson's (1987) review of performances of the play illustrates the designer team's symbolic expressiveness regarding costume colour. According to Levenson: "When Romeo first appeared in a melancholy state...he wore a sober dove-grey and pale blue short tunic - but a yellow hat betrayed higher spirits. ... In banishment, Romeo's appearance became emblematic of his desperation and his exile: a blood-red tunic ... with dark blackberry-coloured tights and boots for travel" (p.61).

No colour image of Rolf Gerard's 1947 design for the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre was located, although a black and white picture (Steinberg, 1985, p.51) seems to indicate an all-black costume. Levenson (1987) substantiates that costume colour for Romeo's tights, worn with an "oilskin cape" (p.71). Desmond Heeley's 1961 costume for Romeo was not verified and therefore not included in the colour chart. (One distant group image suggests he may have worn a costume entirely of dark brown.)

Forties

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's first Romeo (1941-4, Oxford Playhouse Theatre) was dressed in black, in keeping with the Spanish motif referred to in the discussion on Juliet. In many

respects the sharp contrast of Romeo's black with Juliet's white parallels Shakespeare's fundamental application of colour in his text, with white echoing the light (clarity, freshness) of day and black (mysterious, sinister) embodying the dark of night. Such a significant textual contrast would thus have provided an explicit colour interpretation for the audience, one that reverberates the ecstasy and despair prevalent in the play.

By having Romeo dressed in black, which suggests not only mystery and power, but also death and depression, the spirit of costume colour in Goya's art and his era as well as the allusion to the more sinister elements of the play are sustained. If this is a workable analysis, then it seems likely that the material limitations imposed by the war did not cripple the designer's ability to support the production through interpretative costume colour. Tanya Moiseiwitsch may have been limited by her material options but she was able to achieve creative solutions that not only met the needs of the production, but enhanced it. She did this by heeding the script's inherent colour symbolism.

Fifties

For Hugh Hunt's 1952 production of Romeo and Juliet at the Old Vic Theatre in London (first performed in Edinburgh, Scotland), designer Roger Furse placed Romeo in a white camisa (shirt) and doublet of grey-blue (*Chicory*, 16-4013). It has a moderately dark value (30-40% reflectance), lies very close to the blue/purple sector border on the colour wheel, and has low saturation. This blue most closely relates (given the choices) to *Sky Blue* for colour meaning, suggesting that the wearer of this colour might be calm, fresh, happy, faithful, and loyal. If we take into account the low saturation and the dark value, which gives it a greyed appearance, the meaning also includes the sombre and ghostly aspects. Taken altogether, these associations suggest that Alan Badel, who played the part, presented his audience with a somewhat introspective, cerebral (*calm, sobre*) youth (*freshness*) who had found happiness and was single-hearted (*loyal and faithful*) in his hope for the future despite the unreality (*ghostliness*) of his position because he is one

of the Capulet family's long-standing enemies. Over-all, the subdued colour and its associative meanings tend to downplay the character's presence on stage, particularly on a stage filled with "...pink, white and olive green houses" (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.633) and other Renaissance costume colours in medium values of blue, rust, gold, and purple.

It is unfortunate that a colour image of Juliet was not found for this production as the part was played by Claire Bloom, who was referred to as "an exquisite Juliet" (Londre, p.633). By contrast, the same critics who had praised Bloom so highly, found that " Alan Badel's Romeo was an ill-defined character, and Badel was thought physically and emotionally unsuited to the part" (Londre, p.633). Arguably, Badel's stage presence might have benefited from a stronger saturation, or a warmer more attention-demanding costume colour. While it may not have altered the critics estimation of Badel's interpretive abilities, a more intensely coloured costume would have been more in keeping with the conventions of that star oriented theatrical age.

Continuing with the Renaissance period as the production setting, Motley's design (Figure 42) for the 1954 RSC production dressed Laurence Harvey in a wine-coloured (*Ruby Wine*, 19-1629) doublet, white *camisia*, and grey (*Goat*, 16-0806) hose (tights). *Ruby Wine* has a very dark value (0-10% reflectance), borders red and orange on the colour wheel, and is moderately saturated. Its associative meaning would be similar to *Burgundy*: rich, elegant, classic, expensive and refined. Worn in combination with grey (*classic, cool, sober, practical, ghostly*), it reinforces the *classic* attribute, intimates the play's sombre resolution and foretells the character's fate. Furthermore, the dichotomy presented by a deep warm hue and a neutral cool one might indicate inconsistencies in the character, revealed in mood swings from intense to suave behaviour.

Critic Alan Dent (*News Chronicle*, April 28, 1954) described Harvey's characterization as being somewhat restrained and tentative: "As soon as Mr. Harvey learns the subtle art of seeming to lose control without losing it, he will be the most superb Romeo of our time -

passionate, urgent, stricken Italianate, and proud even in his distress." The most informative review with regard to characterization was in the Bristol Evening Post (April 28, 1954) which states that Harvey "...played down the young comedy hero side of the character in favour of the man and was less overshadowed by Mercutio than one might have expected." Assessing the two descriptions, we are presented with a young man who wavers between passion and sobriety: from the analysis of the colours Motley cast him in, it is an image that his costume abetted.



Figure 42. Romeo's costume by Motley 1954

In the 1958 RSC production directed by Glen Byam Shaw, Motley chose to emphasize strong colour contrasts within individual costumes and between character pairs such as Romeo and Juliet. Whereas Juliet was dressed in white with red and green touches, Romeo was garbed in black and white, sometimes donning a red (*Geranium*, 17-1753) cloak with a white lining (Figure 43), perhaps suggesting a lusty passion bridled by a pure heart.



Figure 43. Romeo's costume by Motley 1958

The contrasted costumes would thus serve to emphasize the play's overall tonal shifts from light to dark and from joy to despair in the same way that Tanya Moiseiwitsch's costume colours were considered to do so in the Oxford production. The addition of the bright red cloak with its white lining both adds to, and changes the costume colour and characterization for Romeo within the larger context of the play. The red is similar to the *Mandarin Red* worn by Juliet in the 1935 production designed by Motley. Just as it was suggestive of passion in that part, so too, it functions as an indication of the vibrancy of the character wearing it in this one. It can also be regarded as a direct signal for the bloodshed vested in the play, with the white lining symbolizing its sacrificial quality. This Romeo is no "shrinking violet". On the other hand, he is young and his youth may cause him to behave impetuously at times -- but never maliciously.

Most of the reviews called for more depth in Richard Johnson's Romeo. They suggest that while his Romeo was sincere and caring, with style and "...manliness of young blood"

(The Stage, April 10, 1958), he lacked nobility and passion. Generally, as Rosemary Sisson from the Stratford-Upon-Avon Herald (April 11, 1958) states, Romeo's youth and inexperience were not emphasized: "His [portrayal] has instead a strength and maturity which blessedly save him from seeming namby-pamby (the greatest danger), but which do forfeit some necessary sympathy". The reviews indicate some discrepancies with the colour reading of Romeo's characterization in this production: the strength of the black is evident in these comments, but the passion suggested by the red appears to have been absent.

Sixties

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designs for the Stratford Festival in 1960 offer some variation from the costume colour and characterization interpretations reviewed to this point. Bruno Gerussi, as Romeo, first appeared in a tunic-type top of a warm reddish colour and most similar to Pantone's *Barn Red* (18-1531) (Figure 44). Moiseiwitsch had made a notation next to the costume sketch calling for a "glowing red." The tunic was worn over a white camisa and darker red hose (*Brick Red* 19-1543).

Barn Red has a dark value (10-20% reflectant), falls within the orange sector of the colour wheel (which accounts for its capability to appear glowing), and is a moderately saturated colour. The hose colouring of *Brick Red* has an even darker value (0 to 10% reflectance) and is also within the orange colour wheel sector, but it is highly saturate. The colours are closely related. *Brick Red* is deemed to be classic, earthy, strong, warm and bucolic. From conversations with the designer about how red is perceived and from her reference to *glowing*, it is clear that she had hoped to focus attention on Romeo at the play's outset by placing him in a colour demanding of audience attention; thus she portrayed him as *exciting* and *energetic*.

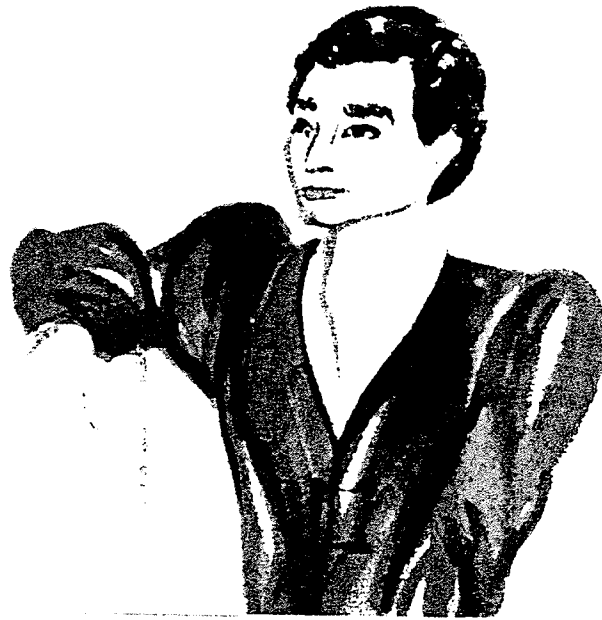


Figure 44. Romeo's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch 1960

The first impression of this young man was of strength and vitality. This was a full-blooded Romeo resonating with sexual (*earthy*) allure rather than the intangible poetic love he professed to feel for Rosaline when he first set foot on the stage. The colour of Romeo's cloak promoted this point of view: it was a rich terra cotta colour called *Mineral Red* (17-1537), with a muted green lining that Pantone labels *Balsam Green* (18-5606). *Mineral Red* has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), falls within the orange sector of the colour wheel, and is fairly well saturated. Altogether, it can be related to both *Brick Red* and *Terra Cotta* in its colour associations. Both colours feature *warmth*, *rurality*, and *earthiness*, redoubling the previous reading. *Balsam Green* has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), a green-yellow base, and a weak saturation. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Dark Green* associations: classic, rich, quiet, woodsy, arboreal, traditional and earthy. Once again, certain connotations reappear, with the addition of wealth. Thus, the fact that Romeo is a physical, sensual human being rather than a cerebral, spiritual aesthete is restated through his cloak colours. Additionally, his position as the son of an established

and wealthy noble family is highlighted (in the lining) by the traditional and classic traits associated with *Balsam Green*.

By the second half of the play, the story's tragic elements are insinuated by Romeo's costume colours. His jacket was a deep plum colour (*Raisin*, 19-1606) worn with a white camisa and dark blue (*Blue Nights*, 19-4023) hose. *Raisin* has a very dark value (0-10% reflectance), borders red and orange on the colour wheel, and has low saturation. It is akin to Pantone's *Plum*, with its associations of wealth, royalty, mystery, spirituality and power. It bears the sadness of mourning and melancholy. Each of these associations, when applied to Romeo in the second half of the play, imply the doom of his situation.

The colour of Romeo's hose, *Blue Nights* like *Raisin* has a dark value. In hue, it borders blue and blue-purple, and is moderately saturate. Because of its resemblance to *Navy*, it shares similar attributes such as credibility, authority, strength, dependability, serenity and quiet. When the sum of qualities are ascribed to Romeo's character, the result is an image of someone with a strength of purpose and an ability to carry action through to its conclusion.

Romeo's nobility is embellished by the colour of his cloak in the second half of the play. It is a deep rich purple (*Mulberry Purple*, 19-3722) with a charcoal-coloured lining (*Black Olive*, 19-0608). The predominate cloak colour corresponds to Pantone's *Royal Purple* (19-4642) associations: excitement, sensuality, flamboyance, and royalty, as well as the negative association of loudness. The charcoal grey associations provide a countercheck to these attributes *vis-a-vis* its own connotations of *solidity*, *endurance* and *maturity*. The audience was thus presented with the opportunity to consciously or subconsciously enhance their understanding of Romeo's part as a dramatic (*flamboyant*, *exciting*) individual capable of tough and mature (*solidity*, *endurance*) decisions whose actions spoke forcefully (*loudly*) against his family's vendetta.

Some critics describe Bruno Gerussi's Romeo as a "...spirited young man pained and horrified by situations beyond his control...constantly in the grip of situations and emotions beyond his experience, he grew more desperately confused and grief-stricken as the tragedies multiplied" (Gross in Leiter, 1986, p. 639). Gross further refers to him as "only a shade more worldly than his Juliet." Brooks Atkinson (The New York Times, July 1, 1960) saw him as "...young and defenseless." Tanya Moiseiwitsch's choice of colours amplified Romeo's characterization, sounding the depths of feeling and change in the young man as he matures (perhaps unwittingly) from a high-spirited youth, to a sorrowful, determined man.

In contrast to the previous Italian Renaissance-inspired productions of Romeo and Juliet, Carolyn Parker's designs for the Stratford Festival in 1968 suggest the Napoleonic period. Besides the addition of two different capes, Romeo had three complete costume changes; most productions have only two. Romeo begins the performance dressed in a blue-grey (*Trellis*, 17-5110) coloured jacket, buff coloured breeches (*Brush*, 16-1317) and white shirt (Figure 45).

Trellis is a colour with a moderately dark value (20-30% reflectance) and low saturation, in the blue-green sector of the colour wheel. It most closely corresponds to Pantone's *Aqua*, a colour that is cool, fresh, soft, with a soothing, aqueous nature. The buff colour of the breeches also has a medium dark value (30-40% reflectance), comes from the orange family of hues and has low saturation. *Brush* is most similar to Pantone's *Beige*: classic, earthy, neutral, soft and warm. The image of Romeo thus presented is of a rather unassuming (*soft, neutral*) youth who is approachable (*warm, soothing*), sensual (*earthy*), of good bearing (*classic*), and undogmatic (*aqueous*).



Figure 45. Romeo by Carolyn Parker 1968

He next appears dressed elaborately in a silver-grey tailcoat (*Limestone*, 16-4702), light buff breeches (*Reed Yellow*, 13-0915) and gilt silver vest. *Limestone* has a medium dark value (30-40% reflectance), belongs to the blue family of hues and has very low saturation. It is closest to Pantone's *Neutral Grey* having the following attributes: classic, cool, sober, and practical. *Reed Yellow* has a light value (60-70% reflectance), is situated just inside the orange sector of the colour wheel close to yellow, and has a low saturation. It is situated somewhere between Pantone's *Cream* and *Yellow Cream* colours with respect to associative meaning. These two colours share *warm*, *soft*, and *sweet* connotations, but also individually have attributes suggesting *cheerfulness*, being *classic*, and *neutral*. The resulting picture accents the concept of a youth of good bearing who is gentle and unassuming, but it offers no sign of his situation's impending sadness.

This was likely redressed when he donned a black cape, dramatically changing his mellow image to a more sombre one. This transition from light to dark is continued with

his third costume change: a jacket having a considerably darker value than the previous one. The jacket is in a deep burgundy colour (*Mauve Wine*, 19-1716) and was worn with buff coloured breeches similar to the ones in the previous costume. *Mauve Wine* has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), a low saturation, and belongs to the red family of hues. *Burgundy* is the closest related Pantone associative reading. As noted before, *Burgundy* is associated with being classic, expensive, deep, warm, elegant, and refined. The associated meanings do not significantly change with this particular costume and hue, but the degree of darkness added to the base hue likely enhanced the audience's appreciation for the metamorphosis in the young man himself. By the time he returns from banishment in Mantua and is at the tomb where he finds Juliet, Romeo's youthful view of the world has changed dramatically. He has been forced by circumstances to a maturity well beyond his young years, a fact that was likely conveyed to the audience by the dark grey cape (*Gunmetal*, 18-0306), in which he traveled to that lonely reality. Dark grey is associated with maturity and sobriety, perfectly enveloping Romeo's final altered state.

John Pettigrew (in Raby, 1968, p.166) felt the choice of costume period, particularly for Romeo, probably added to the production's romanticism. Furthermore, he felt that Romeo, like Juliet, did not convey the extraordinary growth to maturity which he felt the play called for. According to Pettigrew, Christopher Walken's Romeo showed little intensity in his devotion to Juliet. Acknowledging the traditional visual stereotype of tall, dark and handsome Romeos, Pettigrew found Romeo "...refreshingly fair-haired, looked like everyone's image of Shelley, and clearly brought out the maternal instincts...." This review suggests that the initial costume colour interpretation of Romeo as a gentle somewhat sweet and approachable young man was accurately reflected in the actual performance. The implications of the subsequent tonal shifts in costume colour appear not to have been fully realized in the performance. The importance of the supporting cues provided by the costume colour would have been more poignant to the action of the play. If Christopher Walken's portrayal of Romeo did not convey the degree of growth of

maturity the part called for, the darkened colours of his costume in the second half of the play would have helped to impress the gravity of his position upon the audience.

Seventies

The use of highly contrasting colours to symbolize the dualistic light and dark elements in Romeo and Juliet was evident in the 1976 RSC production co-directed by Trevor Nunn and Barry Kyle. Romeo was played by Ian McKellen, who "... first entered in a black cloak with dress as disordered as Hamlet's when he frightened Ophelia" (David, 1978, p.116). He continued to wear black in an Italian Renaissance doublet and hose of somewhat bulky appearance with a bunched up fiery red cloak on his upper back (*Mandarin Red* 17-1753), lined in *Hedge Green* (17-6323) (Figure 46). The red added a dynamic element to his costume, suggesting an exciting, intense, daring, energetic and passionate character. The touch of green revealed his earthiness and naturalness.

David's (1978, pp.116-7) review of this production describes these characteristics quite directly. Romeo was an engaging young man who was filled with the natural energy and emotionalism of youth. This energetic adolescent "... jumped off stools, popped up unexpectedly in various balconies, and finally made a jet-landing from the staircase stage-left to snatch Juliet for their first meeting."

For the contemporary 1970s' audience it was an imaginable action, in keeping with the daring and aggressive behaviour of many of that decade's less socially constrained youth. A clear image of the contemporary expressiveness of this production and Romeo's characterization is given by Benedict Nightingale (in Babula, 1981, p.290) when he refers to Romeo as "a libido in search of an object" who at one point lay on his back and simulated an orgasm. Obsessive, incapable of patience, Romeo is "unstoppable whether his aim is sex or death."



Figure 46. Romeo's costume by Chris Dyer 1976

Romeo's black costume colour provided a foil to Juliet's white and gold colours, and also served to emphasize his forceful spirit throughout the play, culminating with his grim resolution. The red cloak was not only signing his energy and passion, but it was also emblematic of the bloodshed that would remove any chance of a happy future for the two lovers.

One year later at the Stratford Festival (1977) designer John Ferguson returned to Renaissance artists' colours for director David William's concept of Romeo. Richard Monette wore a teal blue (*Blue Coral*, 19-4526) doublet over a white camisa, and wheat-coloured (*Gravel*, 14-1014) hose. For his marriage to Juliet, he wore a vibrant red (*Grenadine*, 17-1558) pillbox-type hat. (Figure 47)

Blue Coral has a very dark value (0-10% reflectance), is firmly in the centre of the blue sector of the colour wheel, and has moderately low saturation. It relates to Pantone's *Teal Blue*, a colour described as classic, cool, expensive, sophisticated, unique and rich.



Figure 47. Romeo's costume by John Ferguson 1977

Gravel has a medium light value (50-60% reflectance), falls within the orange family of hues, but has a very low saturation. No closely corresponding Pantone colour with associated meaning could be found. Overall, it appears to be a neutral colour, with related associations of understatement (*neutral, bland*). *Grenadine* has a moderately dark value (20-30 % reflectance), sits just inside the orange sector bordering with red on the colour wheel, and has strong saturation. It is similar to Pantone's *Fiery Red* and thus carries those associated colour meanings: excitement, passion, intensity, as well as being dramatic, stimulating, daring, and happy. Ferguson's colour reading for Romeo implies a reserved (*cool*), well-bred (*classic*) and wealthy man, with a degree of experience (*sophisticated*) with life suggesting he is not a young teenager. The warmth of the *neutral* wheat colour of

his hose contrasted with the *cool* blue colour, suggests a receptive individual. The addition of the red touch for his marriage implies an intensity and passion that the cool blue colour keeps in check.

The associative meanings of colour do not of their own accord create characterization, but the reality embedded in these clues, perceived from costume colours, has been repeatedly demonstrated. In a performance, which was not seen as sparkling, Ralph Berry reports: "Richard Monette's Romeo, struck many critics as too mature" (1978, p.223). However imperceptibly, Romeo's subdued and sophisticated costume colours visually embodied that criticism.

The emphasis on the fresh appeal of youth seems to have been uppermost in the 1979 casting of Christopher Rich as Romeo in the Guthrie Theatre production directed by Ron Daniels. Designer Dunya Ramicova sought to present a timeless quality in the costumes. These were very deliberately intended to reveal the characters' age, sex, status, and occupation (Clayton, 1980) by blending formal and informal dress from differing periods.

Romeo appears in tight jeans and shirt, all in white until the apothecary scene (V.i.), when he adds a black vest (Figure 48). He is very much the image of a contemporary teenager from the 70s. By presenting him in pristine dramatic contrast to the rest of his more colourful friends, Ramicova highlighted both Romeo's fresh and pristine position, and his union with the other white-robed figure, Juliet. Thus attired they would have stood out: a quiet oasis in the urban maelstrom of frenzied contemporary Verona. The addition of black to both costumes was an obvious "mourning armband" symbol heightening perceptions of their tragic situation. Overall the costume colour provides a straightforward, overt statement of characterization: a costuming solution in which the danger of oversimplification and superficiality is always present.



Figure 48. Romeo's costume by Dunya Ramicova 1979

While not specifically referring to costume colour, reviewer Thomas Clayton seems to have found that this danger tainted Christopher Rich's characterization of Romeo. He describes him as "... an appealing Romeo of the clean-cut, athletic, blond and blue-eyed type, with a pronounced taste for rhetoric, repartee, and horseplay as well as love. ...better at the surface than the depths of tragedy: full of necessary action, dispatch, and fret, but perhaps lacking something of the core of deeper feelings" (1980, p.241). Clayton suggests that the audience was not given enough substance to engage their fullest attention and interest. In short, the characterization was too superficial and too predictable -- an "easy read". That the costume added to this is indicated by Clayton's further remark: "The character of Romeo may have been irremediably foreshortened as well as naturalized by the contemporary-teen image and subtext" (p.241). This is more than a critique of Shakespeare in modern dress: it points to a degree of oversimplification that appears to have prevented an engrossing probe into Romeo's character. The seemingly overt costume colour symbolism may have aggravated this difficulty.

At The American Conservatory Theatre in San Francisco, Warren Travis was inspired by the palette of Paolo Uccello for his 1979 Romeo and Juliet costume colours. He chose to add warmth to the sombre darkness of Uccello's blacks, placing Romeo in rich browns that could appear black with lighting changes. In Act I Romeo wore a brown tunic and white camisia (Figure 49). The hue (*Aztec*,18-1130) has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), falls within the orange family of hues, and has medium saturation. Like Pantone's *Dark Brown*, it has associative meanings of earthiness, richness, masculinity, warmth, dependability, and ruggedness, in addition to the negative connotations of sombreness and being soiled. This Romeo's colours would have given the impression of a "man's man": a sensual (*earthy*) man, dependable and approachable (*warm*), but not afraid to "get tough".



Figure 49. Romeo's costume by Warren Travis 1979

For the apothecary scene (V.i.) Romeo dons a black cape. Not only does the colour continue the allusion to Uccello, but it serves quite deliberately as a reminder that this young man would soon meet with tragedy.

L. Jacobs (1980, p.276) made few comments regarding specific characterization in this production, but did state that Thomas Nahrwold's Romeo met the challenge of his part while remaining "the male ingénu." The image of an innocent, inexperienced and unworldly young man does not completely correlate with the description that the colours suggest. Besides the inherent approachability that we might assume an "ingénu" to have, the only other moment where the two readings meld is with respect to Romeo's ruggedness, for Jacobs describes how "...Romeo was allowed to dispatch Paris with one thrust of his sword"(p.276). It is hard to imagine an audience accepting this violent and expert action as that of a complete ingenu.

Eighties

The theme of darkness after light permeating Romeo and Juliet is evident in David Walker's designs for Peter Dews's production at the Stratford Festival in 1984. Romeo first appears dressed in a rich and warm rust coloured doublet and hose, and a white camisa (Figure 50), but changes into a more sombre coloured costume for the second half of the play.

The rust colour (*Red Earth*,18-1444) has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), falls within the orange family of hues, and has low saturation. This colour is very similar to Pantone's *Brick Red* with its meanings of classic, earthy, homey, strong, warm, and rural. These adjectives suggest a characterization resembling Gerusi's Romeo in the 1960 Festival production designed by Moiseiwitsch: a sensual, robust and vital young man fully aware of his manhood.

For the final scenes, Romeo wears a deep teal blue and black doublet and hose. This blue (*Seaport*,19-4342) is only a slight variation on John Ferguson's colour choice for the Festival's 1977 Romeo (*Blue Coral*,19-4526). They share the same dark value, fall within the same blue colour range (with *Seaport* being slightly further from blue-green than *Blue*

Coral), but differ in saturation. Walker's choice of costume colour is far more saturated, and is thus more vibrant than Ferguson's choice. It is a significant difference because it intensifies Romeo's stage presence.



Figure 50. Romeo's costume by David Walker 1984

If Romeo began as a warmhearted individual full of life, his second costume colour reading suggests that his experiences have created a character of new depths, of someone who has faced the realities of life and accepted them. This is particularly true if the black element is considered. Not only does it suggest greater strength (of character), but it also is clearly connected to the darker atmosphere of the play's second half. Romeo's costume colours parallel the dominant motif of Romeo and Juliet in the same manner as the opening sentence for this production's analysis details: by moving from light to dark.

Ralph Berry describes Colm Feore's interpretation of Romeo as an "...ardent, emotional "young man whose physicality and intensity are evidenced in Act II. when he is "...goaded to such passion that his repeated stabs lifted Tybalt into the air. After that, the sight of a boy silently weeping over the slaughter cadenced the supreme excitements of the

violence" (1985, p.90). Overall, Berry perceived a mostly youthful Romeo: one who did not suggest a real sense of development from youthful innocence to experienced maturity demanded by the play. Berry's comments about Romeo's slaughter of Tybalt and his subsequent behaviour do not offer an image of transformed persona, but only of a frightened young man who was not in control when he behaved so rashly: one who is anguished by the senseless vendetta deaths for which he feels responsible, but who is without any real sense of understanding. Both Berry (1985) and Brady (in Leiter, 1986) agree that this Romeo was aware of his sexuality. The characterization Berry (and Brady regarding sexuality) describes, fits well with Romeo's first suit of colour, but Berry's perception of Feore's characterization suggests that the second set of costume colours more effectively suits the broader action of the play and Romeo's fate within it, rather than his acting persona.

The final production analyzed for Romeo's costume colour is from the 1986 Royal Shakespeare Company production directed by Michael Bogdanov, designed by Ginny Humphries and Chris Dyer (who also designed the set). The play is set in contemporary (1986) Verona amidst an atmosphere of urban violence and oppression. On a set filled with the accouterments of the 20th century, Romeo's all-white costume stands out starkly and symbolically. Romeo wears a suit (Figure 51) that struck Sheridan Morley (Punch, April 4, 1986) as "a natty set of white lounging pyjamas."

We can expect to have a similar character reading to that of Ron Daniels 1979 production at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis. Romeo was a wholesome youth in the midst of a sordid atmosphere, an individual who steps outside of his milieu and presents an element of reason and calm in an otherwise frenzied situation.



Figure 51. Romeo's costume by Ginny Humphries/Chris Dyer 1986

Roger Warren's (1987, p.85) description of Romeo's and Juliet's initial meeting illustrates this concept very directly: " The pair first met on the stairs during Capulets' ghastly poolside party, and their shared sonnet became the shy, tentative, tender statement of two people coming together in defiance of their environment." Sean Bean's Romeo was a confused young man who convincingly portrayed his love for Juliet and ensured the audience's real sympathy for the lovers' predicament.

For Sean Bean the white costume colour was not a superficial oversimplification because of the depth of characterization conveyed by his acting ability. The youthful freshness and innocence conveyed by the costume colour held firm through the actor's development of the role.

Out of the 12 productions in which Romeo's costume colors were examined, the colour choices fell almost exclusively within the orange, blue and neutral (black, white) colour families. In itself, this is not dissimilar to Juliet's range of colour families, but Romeo's costume colours differ dramatically in value and saturation for the hues within those families. Whereas Juliet wore lighter more pastel colours, Romeo's costumes were more likely to be in darker tones. The consistent dichotomy in colour value for the first five

decades, from the 1930s to the 1970s, suggests that a strong cultural association for gender appropriate clothing colour existed during this time. Contextually, the freer expression of sexuality within productions of Romeo and Juliet in the 1970s corresponds with fashionable clothing colour shifts for men and women at the same time. Both of these issues are addressed more fully in chapter seven.

Costume colour/characterization: CAPULET

Fifties

Only seven of the 15 productions reviewed include coloured documentation of Capulet. Black and white images from at least two productions give fairly strong evidence of value, but not of specific hue and intensity. They will be referred to, but do not form part of the core of the following analyses.

The first analysis is from the 1954 RSC production directed by Glen Byam Shaw and designed by Motley. The design team chose to place Capulet in a long black robe with gold trim over a white shirt and sash. The robe is in keeping with Shakespeare's production cue stating that Capulet wore a gown (I.ii.). Such a dark and powerful colour has marked associations with authority (*invulnerable, powerful, sober, aggressive, prestigious, expensive, bold and strong*) in addition to its more sophisticated connotations regarding its sexual appeal (*nighttime, sexy, elegant and mysterious*). The hue also has negative associations with death, depression, toughness and sinister elements. In a production set in the Italian Renaissance, the black gown also denotes revered age and wisdom as well as patriarchal power. Its remnant can be found today in our academic and judicial gowns (Tortora and Eubank, 1988).

The gold trim is almost certainly an allusion to Capulet's wealth and position, while the addition of the white sash suggests a gentler patriarch than a severe unbroken black might have implied. Motley may have been interpreting a director's reading of the part,

emphasizing Capulet's stern (black=*powerful*) but inherently good (white=*pure*) character, whose stature in Veronese society was important to advertise (gold trim=*wealth*).

This reading seems to be accurate, according to a review in the Wolverhampton Express, (April 28,1954) stating that William Devlin portrayed a "...Capulet with a bark far worse than his bite." Other reviews refer to him as an "...amusing fusspot" (News Chronicle London, April 28,1954), while the reviewer from the South Wales Argus (April 28, 1954) seems to have found him "rather vulgar" as well as fussy in comparison to Montague. The fact that Capulet was intentionally presented as patriarchal seems borne out not only by the first reviewer, but also by the Liverpool Post's (April 28,1954) description of his character: " Capulet seems to be far removed from Shakespeare's conception. It is irascible rather than fussy and energetically dictatorial rather than beguiling in a senile way." On the basis of their associative meanings, Motley's colour choices would have suited the "old" gentleman very well.

Motley essentially repeated their colour choices for Capulet in the 1958 Royal Shakespeare Company production, also set in the Italian Renaissance period. Capulet wore a type of dressing gown, all in black with a yellow-gold (*Cream Gold*,13-0739) trim and a cream coloured sash. Apart from the slight tonal shift in the trim's gold and the warmer sash colour (from white to cream), the colours are virtually parallel in colour meaning. The cream does, perhaps, suggest more warmth of character, but otherwise the associative meanings remain the same and our expectations for this Capulet 's character are similar to those in the 1954 production.

Critics seem unable to agree in their assessment of Mark Dignam's Capulet. The Stage (April 10,1958) asserts that he lacked authority and depth in his role; The Sunday Times (April 13,1958) claims that he deserved commendation. Given the three day difference in their headlines, it is possible that the actor's performance improved past opening night. The Stratford-Upon-Avon Herald (April 11,1958) was most verbal about Capulet's

characterization stating that he was a man of "violent and whimsical temper." The reviewer found Mark Dignam to be "... a terrifying figure of Capulet, threatening even when he makes us laugh." The image thus presented is one a black costume (*authority*) with touches of yellow-gold (alluding to his status in Verona) forcefully underlines.

Sixties

The black-bedecked figure in the two 1950s productions gave way to more colourful interpretations in the 1960s. For the Stratford Festival's Romeo and Juliet in 1960, Tanya Moiseiwitsch assigned Capulet (Jack Creley) two costume changes. Capulet first appears dressed in a deep plum-coloured robe with an indigo blue cloak. The plum colour (*Plum Perfect*, 19-3316) has a dark value (1-10% reflectance), is in the purple-blue colour family, and has low saturation. This colour has the same associative colour meaning as Pantone's *Deep Purple*: expensive, regal, rich, mysterious, spiritual, powerful, and also has the negative associations of mourning and melancholy. These qualities conjure an image of one who is well positioned in life (*rich, regal, expensive, powerful*), but whose being is permeated with deep internal sorrow (*mourning, melancholy*). The associations with spirituality and mystery infer that this person is more introspective than extroverted.

The indigo cloak colour (*Patriot Blue*, 19-3925) also has a very dark value, falls within the purple-blue colour family (but lies closer to the blue border) and has a moderately low saturation. *Patriot Blue* most closely resembles Pantone's *Navy* associative colour meanings: credible, authoritative, classic, conservative, strong, dependable, traditional, vocational, confident, and professional. The list reads like a sales pitch or a banker's salute and makes a clear, definitive statement about the character of the individual wearing that colour. Clearly, this Capulet is in control and has been for some time. The combined costume colour meanings present an image of quiet solidity and source of strength, an image that Capulet could quite easily fit.

For Capulet's second costume (Figure 52), Tanya Moiseiwitsch chose a dark green (*Black Forest*, 19-0315) for his tabard, and deep purple (19-3323) for his tights. *Black*

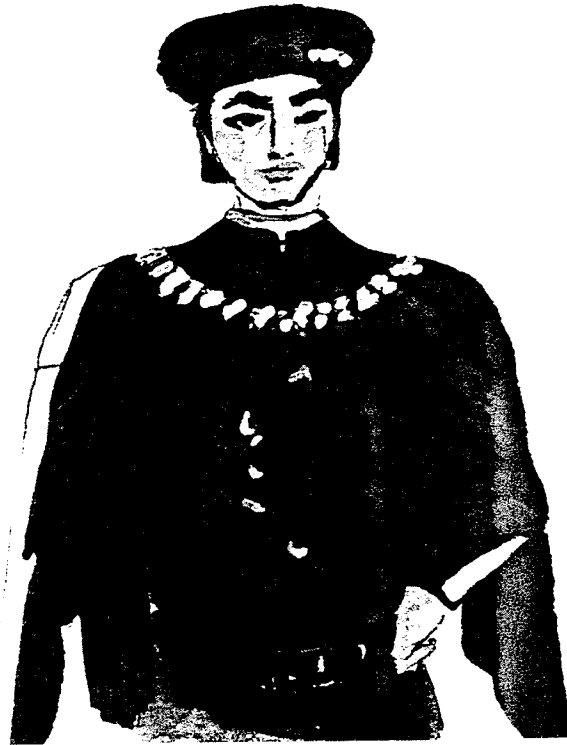


Figure 52. Capulet's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1960

Forest has the darkest value (1-10% reflectance), falls within the yellow sector (close to the yellow-green border) of the colour wheel, and has a low saturation. It shares the same associative colour meanings as Pantone's *Dark Green*, reiterating the notions of richness, quiet, expensive and traditional, described in the first costume's colour reading. The reappearance of deep purple once more reinforces the perceptions already established, so that even though the colour scope has broadened, the image of Capulet remains essentially the same as in earlier productions.

We have very little direct information regarding Langham's concept of Capulet or of Jack Creley's performance other than Brooks Atkinson's brief description of a "...vigorous

characterization" (New York Times Reviews, 7. 1960-66). Gross (in Leiter, 1986, p. 639) states that this production was not solely the story of the lovers and notes that Langham "... paid careful attention to the reconciliation of the families in the final scene." The accent on sorrowful colours, when examined in the light of a production that emphasized an increased understanding of life's brevity (alluded to by Capulet's second costume colour), supports this sad finale.

Desmond Heeley (1961, RSC) echoed Motley's use of black with contrasting light components for Capulet, with a black gown (Figure 53) and white camisa. Taken altogether, Heeley provided his audience with a costume colour reading similar to Motley's. The black gown added to Capulet's sombre position as the father of a calamitous daughter. And, the stark relief provided by white would not only enhance the other colour's dark value by contrast, but also (like the Motley team) hinted that Capulet was inherently a good man. The sole critical review found referring to his character is in the Glasgow Herald (August 17, 1961) informing readers that "...the Capulets look like Juliet's parents and not grandparents." The critic was commenting on the tendency to cast Capulet as an old man in most productions to that time. Referring not only to Heeley's costumes but also to the set, this same critic faulted what he perceived as an emphasis on the "visual side of the play." Desmond Heeley is known for his love for painting with costume colour, often literally layering and appliquéd different fabrics and colours, creating a new material altogether: the result can be quite lavish. Whether or not this was the case for this production, the degree of focus on design was considered to be overwhelming, and the critic felt this production suffered because of it.



Figure 53. Capulet by Desmond Heeley 1961

The costume colour choices made by Carolyn Parker for the 1968 Stratford Festival production of Romeo and Juliet yield more variety for Capulet than in other productions reviewed. Capulet first appears in a deep yellow-gold tailcoat (*Golden Yellow* 15-0953), a corn yellow vest and breeches (*Cornsilk*, 13-0932). *Golden Yellow* is of medium value, distinctly yellow in hue, and is highly saturated. *Cornsilk* is also of medium value and distinctly yellow in hue but it has medium saturation. Both colours share associative meanings with Pantone's *Golden Yellow*: wheat, autumn, harvest, rich, sun, and warm. By association, the character wearing these colours could be perceived as privileged (*rich*) and gregarious (*sun, warm*). It is less likely, but still possible for the autumnal associations to be subconsciously recognized. The extent of consistent coverage for such a warm and light colour seems more in keeping with a younger, active man because of its association with sun and wheat (wheat = staff of life).

When Capulet next appears, he is clad in an olive green dressing gown (*Ecrú Olive*, 17-0836) with a deeper olive green trim (*Plantation*, 18-0832). Apart from the degree of value, the two colours are virtually the same: both are from the yellow family of hues, both are moderately saturated colours, but the trim has a 10% darker value (20-30% versus 10-20% reflectance). Pantone's *Olive* colour resembles Capulet's dressing gown colours and suggests things military, camouflaged, European, classic and the negative quality of

drabness. The colour and character reading carries forward the sense of the prestige conveyed by the previous costume colour, with only barely perceptible tonal changes in mood from light to shade, signalling a graver more serious demeanour on the character's part.

Finally, Capulet is dressed in a dark brown tailcoat (*Olive Brown*, 19-1116), pale golden vest (*Raffia*, 13-0725), charcoal grey breeches (*Gunmetal*, 18-0306), and a black cape. Through the sustained darkness of value (18 and 19=0-20% reflectance), the maturity and gravity associated with the costume colours (dark brown and charcoal grey in combination with the black) carry powerful messages of deep and enduring change for both this character and his plight, corresponding with his movement from lightness to dark. Only the pale gold vest remains, a remnant of Capulet's sunshine spirit.

John Pettigrew (in Raby, 1968, p.15) offers us some insight into Kenneth Pogue's portrayal of Capulet. He sees Pogue's Capulet as a man who is only 40 or so: a man whose humanity is emphasized through his bewilderment. Pettigrew concludes that Pogue's Capulet offers "...a good reminder of just how much that character (yet another in the play who means "all for the best") provides a first sketch for Lear." Pettigrew is not the first to perceive parallels between Capulet's predicament and King Lear's shift from a state of power with a reasoning mind to that of an outcast madman caught betwixt forces he cannot fully comprehend. In this production, the shifts in Capulet's costume colours and their associative meanings support this perception.

Seventies

For the Stratford Festival's 1977 production of Romeo and Juliet Leslie Yeo, as Capulet, wore a dark brown gown (*Mustang*, 19-1217) over a burnt orange tunic (*Orange Ochre*, 16-1253) and a matching hat (Figure 54). *Mustang* has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), is situated within the orange sector of the colour wheel, and has low

saturation. Its associative meaning is the same as *Dark Brown*: earthy, rich, masculine, warm, dependable, secure, durable and rugged. It also has the negative connotations of being sombre and soiled. Because this colour predominates, the costume colour/characterization seems to emphasize Capulet's manliness: as head of the household, he provides security.



Figure 54. Capulet's costume by John Ferguson 1977

The addition of the orange colour (resembling Pantone's *Orange Peel* : happy, warm, hot, glowing, vital, harvest, playful, gregarious, friendly and the negative of being loud) further invests such character attributes as warmth and vitality. Adding this warm colour heralds a strong physical presence (*earthy, rugged*) more attuned to the external world (*gregarious*) than to his own internal or spiritual estate. We gain the sense of a middle-aged man who is confident in his position, comfortable with himself and happiest when he is with others.

Regretfully, neither the role of Capulet nor Leslie Yeo's characterization of it are referred to in any available reviews for this production. Ralph Berry (1978) gave most of the actors' performances (Nicholas Pennell's Mercutio excepted) a poor review generally, while the critic for the New York Times Reviews (1977-78) found it to be a pure delight.

Although a colour image was not discovered for the 1979 Guthrie Theatre production, the written material states that Capulet wore a frock coat and dark "regular" trousers (Clayton, 1980, p.241). Robert Pastene who played the part was an "admirable aging Capulet...fond and solicitous of both his wife and daughter, and as restrained and penitent under normal circumstances as [he was] ready with anger when crossed by Juliet in his very best efforts on her behalf."

The visual image of Capulet designed by Warren Travis for the 1979 American Conservatory Theatre production presents the warmest interpretation of Capulet thus far. Capulet is clothed in a deep red-brown outer gown (*Red Earth*, 18-1444), and an inner gown of subdued ochre (*Gold Earth*, 15-1234). *Red Earth* has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), falls within the orange sector of the colour wheel, and has a moderately high saturation. It most closely resembles the associative meanings of Pantone's *Brick Red*: classic, earthy, homey, strong, warm and bucolic. *Gold Earth* has medium value (40-50% reflectance), is also within the orange family of hues but is situated closer to yellow than *Red Earth*., and it has medium saturation. In hue it most closely matches Pantone's *Orange Peel*, though it is more subdued. (*Orange Peel* has a darker value and is more saturate.) As we have seen in John Ferguson's costume colour choices (1977), this colour suggests a gregarious, outgoing, vital man. In fact, given the attributes of Capulet's gowns, the colour reading matches that of Ferguson's Capulet addressed earlier.

Unfortunately, we can only speculate how accurate this interpretation is as the only comments found regarding actor Michael Winter's characterization state only that he "...managed the nearly impossible task of avoiding absurdity in Lord Capulet's strangely

fluctuating behaviour in his dealings with his daughter" (Jacobs, 1980, p.276). From this statement we can surmise that Winters presented a very natural and convincing portrayal of Capulet. The humanity such an interpretation would require, given the cues written by Shakespeare, would have been readily perceived by the audience reading of his costume colour.

No other colour images of Capulet were accessible for the remaining productions. Black and white photographs suggest that Capulet wore a very dark colour in David Walker's 1984 design for the Stratford Festival, but the hue was not ascertainable. It is therefore not included in this analysis. Overall, examples of costume colour for the seven productions observed indicate a tendency towards dressing Capulet in darker values. Carolyn Parker was the exception, but even she reverted to darker colours for Capulet's costume in the play's final scene.

Costume colour/ characterization: MERCUTIO

Colour images of Mercutio were observed for eight of the 15 productions in this study. Numerous black and white images of John Gielgud's 1935 Romeo and Juliet production exist, indicating Mercutio was clad in a dark doublet and hose, with a white shirt and metallic belt. The only reference to Mercutio's costume colour was found in Levenson's discussion of the Gielgud production. Commenting on Motley's use of costume colour to emphasize the focus on youth in Romeo and Juliet, Levenson reports that most of the younger characters, wore the colours of springtime: "light, fresh, and clear colours" (p.60). Mercutio wore green with a bit of red, emphasizing the young man's vitality. Because the precise green colour of Mercutio's costume is impossible to determine from Levenson's description, it is not included in the overall analysis.

Fifties

Roger Furse's design sketch of Mercutio for the 1952 Old Vic production shows a costume from the Italian Renaissance period in a warm medium brown colour. The brown (*Tobacco Brown*, 17-1327) has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), belongs to the orange family of hues, and has medium saturation. Pantone does not have a parallel colour for associative meanings, the closest being *Dark Brown*.

Thus, Peter Finch, who played Mercutio, may have conveyed traits of earthiness, richness, masculinity, warmth, dependability, durability, or ruggedness for his audience. The resulting characterization was probably of a friendly (*warm*) privileged (*rich*) man skilled in manly pursuits (*ruggedness, durability*). Seen in contrast to a Romeo clad in cool blue, Mercutio may have appeared more energetic and responsive to those around him. The only comment found regarding Peter Finch's Mercutio was in a London Times review (September 2, 1952), stating very succinctly that he was "..an excellent Mercutio." Unfortunately it does not allow for any extrapolation of specific characterization.

Motley also designed a brown coloured costume for Mercutio in the 1954 Royal Shakespeare Company production at Stratford-Upon-Avon (Figure 55). His doublet is a reddish-brown colour (*Paprika*, 17-1553) with black and dark green sleeves and is worn over a white camisa. *Paprika* has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), belongs to the orange colour family and has high saturation. It has a darker value and is more saturated than *Terra Cotta*, the Pantone colour it most closely resembles for associative meaning: earthy, warm, wholesome, and bucolic (country). Transferred to the characterization, these attributes suggest a man not unlike the Mercutio in Furse's design: someone who is more physical than cerebral, who is friendly and approachable, a welcome member of a group of men. The touches of dark green on his sleeves add to his earthy, natural image, while the black echoes the impending demise of his stage life.



Figure 55. Mercutio's costume by Motley 1954

Motley completed Mercutio's costume with *Slate Grey* hose (16-5804) and a white cloak. Taken altogether, it is an interesting colour combination, and one that might seem to send conflicting messages. *Slate Grey* has medium dark value (30-40% reflectance), belongs to the green family of hues, and has very low saturation. Like *Neutral Grey*, the Pantone colour it resembles, it suggests the classic, cool, sober, practical and timeless. It also has the more negative connotations of being boring, mousy, and ghostly. White is also a *cool* and *classic* colour that can have sterile negative associations.

The practicality of the grey colour was likely uppermost in the designers' minds, serving both as a foil to the warm brown doublet and as a reference to the Renaissance

period, the production's setting. However, when juxtaposed with the vitality of the costume's upper half, the *sober, cool* and *ghostly grey* suggests, perhaps, that Mercutio is no longer "grounded" and not long for this earth. When these colours are seen in conjunction with a pure white cape on an energetic young man, the subconscious is likely to perceive a more ethereal overall impression than the warmth promised by brown and green.

The extended associations for "country" frequently include "common sense", a term one critic applied to Tony Britton's characterization of Mercutio (Bristol Evening Post, April 28, 1954). The same critic calls him "full-blooded", a euphemism alluding to sexuality, readily identifiable alongside such terms as earthiness and warmth. This Mercutio is labelled by turns, "gay and gallant" (Gloucester Echo, April 28, 1954), "Attractive" (Coventry Evening Telegraph, April 28, 1954) and "audacious but gallant" (Liverpool Post, April 28, 1954). All these descriptors fit the image Mercutio's doublet colour conveys. With no reference to introspective characteristics, the meanings associated with the white and grey colours seem not to have prevailed over the reassuring warmth of the reddish brown.

Sixties

Thus far, warm brownish hues seem to have been the accepted colour preference for Mercutio. At the Stratford Festival in 1960 Tanya Moiseiwitsch continued in this vein, choosing a reddish brown colour (*Barn Red*, 18-1531) for both his tunic and his cloak, with a tan coloured lining (*Brush*, 16-1317). The prevailing colour attitude would have been one that parallels the connotations associated with Pantone's *Brick Red*: earthy, homey, strong, warm, rural. From these associations, the picture gained of Mercutio is one of a strong and masculine, warm-hearted individual. Given Mercutio's role in the play, we may also surmise from the warm red-brown costume colour that he presented an image of a somewhat hot headed individual more apt to resort to action than talk.

The use of a neutral colour such as *Brush* for Mercutio's lining is (apart from an obvious colour contrast for the warmer brown) a reminder that there is another side to his character -- one that like the lining of his cloak, a glimpse is caught from time to time. *Brush* has medium value (30-40% reflectance), falls within the orange sector of the colour wheel and has low saturation. Its associative meanings are closest to Pantone's *Beige*: classic, earthy, sandy, neutral, soft and warm. Mercutio's costume colours suggest that he was not only a warmhearted individual but was also a somewhat ambivalent character, as the associations with *neutral*, *sandy* (sifting/shifting) and *soft* (undogmatic) indicate.

Brooks Atkinson (The New York Times, July 1, 1960) describes Christopher Plummer's characterization as: " ...swaggering, witty...an exciting person, gallantly humorous." It is a description his *Barn Red* costume colour provides accessible signals for. Atkinson does not distinguish any uncertainty or softness in Mercutio's character, that aspect of Mercutio's costume colour analysis may have been too hypothetical, or it may simply not have registered significantly enough to influence the critic's perceptions. The critic's characterization assessment provides the necessary measure for evaluating the costume colour analysis in this study. The incomplete substantiation of this costume colour analysis illustrates the interconnectedness of production units: costume colour exists as only one element in the total visual entity. As a supportive element, it serves to amplify the player's characterization. Thus it is clear that correlating the efficacy of inherent colour meaning with its use as an interpretive tool for drama demonstrates both the consistency and the ambiguity of meaning within different contexts.

If the previous interpretations appear to focus on the warm qualities of Mercutio's character, Desmond Heeley's colour interpretation provides a more direct reference to his fate, as well as suggesting other character traits. Heeley's design for the 1961 Royal Shakespeare Company production at Stratford-Upon-Avon was a black "Italianate" doublet with black hose over a white camisa. Perhaps this Mercutio delivered a very different

impression to the audience than those in earlier productions, presenting a more sophisticated, powerful, aggressive individual. Heeley's palette visualizes a Mercutio that is connected to elemental human behaviour (specifically, sex) in a way somehow more mysterious and sinister than previous portraits of Mercutio. All these adjectives are connected to the meaning of black; collectively they provide us (some thirty years later), with a picture of Mercutio as an experienced and provocative man most likely older than his friend Romeo.

Ian Bannen's characterization emphasized the role's bawdiness and seems to have aimed at being humorous (Daily Worker London, August 17, 1961). Levin (Daily Express, August 17, 1961), reviewing Bannen's action, leaves us in no doubt of the self-confidence which Mercutio exhibits as an indication of his more experienced demeanor: "When he fights a duel with Tybalt he stops in the middle, produces a Spanish wine bottle,... squirts the wine high in the air, and catches it in his mouth." Thus, Mercutio's black costume colour would not only have hinted at his darker fate, but pointed to his "cool" more "bohemian" outlook on life.

With Carolyn Parker's designs for the Stratford Festival in 1968, Mercutio begins his performance dressed in somewhat vibrant colours, in contrast to the other productions reviewed. Wearing attire set in the Napoleonic era, Mercutio first appears in a dark teal blue frock coat (*Blue Coral*, 19-4526) with red trim and sash (*Poinsetta*, 17-1654), buff coloured pants (*Gravel*, 14-1014), and wine coloured cloak (*Pompeii*, 18-1426) (Figure 56).



Figure 56. Mercutio's costume by Carolyn Parker 1968

Blue Coral has a dark value (0-10% reflectance), is situated within the blue range of hues, and has moderately low saturation. *Teal Blue's* associative meanings relate most closely to it: classic, cool, expensive, sophisticated, pleasing, rich, unique. If we add to this a reading of the red trim (similar to Pantone's *Fiery Red* in meaning), we are presented with an image of Mercutio as a privileged (*rich, expensive*) individual who appears to be restrained (*cool, sophisticated, classic*), but who is also passionate. The buff coloured pants are typical of the period (as is the deep blue colour of his frockcoat, but not usually in combination with the red) and support the elegant sophistication the deep blue frockcoat colour suggests. The pale yellow vest, with its suggestion of sunshine and cheer, could visually cue the audience to a jocular sensibility in the character who wears it.

The wine coloured cloak (*Pompeii* is closest to Pantone's *Burgundy*) implies the classic, expensive, warm, elegant, rich, and refined. The combination of costume colours is thus consistent with a colour/character reading emphasizing Mercutio's status and sophistication (teal blue coat, wine cloak), and yet hinting at a fiery core (vibrant red trim). From the

many descriptors referring to the sophisticated and the classic for this particular costume, there is an inference that Mercutio is more mature than either Romeo or their friends.

The colours chosen for Mercutio's second costume colours diverged from those chosen for the first, moving towards a more subtle, complex costume colour/ character reading. His frock-coat is in an olive green colour (*Amber Green*, 18-0840), a greenish-yellow tone similar to his pant colour (*Raffia*, 13-0725), and his vest (*Oxblood Red*, 19-1524) and sash (*Dry Rose*, 18-1725) are reddish brown. *Olive Green* is readily associated with camouflage, the military, with aggression and defense. *Olive Green* can also refer to drabness (lacking vital colour, hence lifeless and depressed). The total effect is decidedly more sombre and less joyous than his first costume colour. Whether or not olive green's warrior references are recognized on a conscious or subconscious level, the associative meanings for the main body of Mercutio's costume (his frock-coat), in combination with the deep red accents of his vest and sash, cogently represent a saddened individual. The yellow pant colour is the only vestige of the fun-loving character first encountered by the audience.

For this production, Mercutio appears to be a man in his forties, closer in age to Capulet than Romeo. From Leo Ciceri's portrayal, John Pettigrew (in Raby, 1968, p.167) developed a narrative explaining Mercutio's character make-up and this, incidentally, paints a remarkable portrait of Mercutio for readers today:

The gaiety of this middle-aged Mercutio -- experienced soldier rather than dashing gallant -- was seldom felt; it was rather a visor for defense against world and life that he had found bad and that had hurt him. His face was deeply scarred and tough. His eyes were sunken, sad and haunted. His companionship with the younger men was one in which he perhaps hoped to find vicariously a happiness that had been denied him. He was clearly troubled by bad dreams. The "poetry" of the Queen Mab speech was jettisoned to make the speech epitomize his proud and bitter cynicism for anything romantic and reflect his attempt to hide from life....The bawdiness was stressed in every way more intensely than it probably ever has been before; this Mercutio was earthy rather than airy, obsessed by death rather than fascinated by life.

The clues to characterization inherent in the costume colours are borne out by this perception. Furthermore, Pettigrew recognizes the accord between the costume colour and characterization directly when he states that Mercutio's " ...aloneness [was] wonderfully emphasized by a heavy and richly coloured costume that set him apart from the prevailing lightness and pastels of the others" (p.167). Although he refers specifically to the second costume, in which Mercutio dies, his statement also holds true for the first one.

Seventies

At the Guthrie Theatre in 1979, Dunya Ramicova returned to the more straightforward colour characterization approach applied by Desmond Heeley in 1961. Despite the several hundred years difference between the two costume periods depicted (1500's and 1970's), both Mercutios are dressed primarily in black. Ramicova embellishes the costume with a lavender scarf, in lieu of Heeley's touch of white. Lavender is likened to softness, sweetness, delicacy and nostalgia. It is also associated with aging, and in the past when mourning apparel was more strictly prescribed, it was deemed to be an acceptable transition colour following a certain period of time wearing black. Ramicova may have intended (on whatever level) to refer to gentle traits in Mercutio's character, but in combination with the concentrated black and Mercutio's well-known fate, the message conveyed by the costume colour leans more conclusively towards sombreness and sorrow. It also suggests, in a manner similar to Heeley's earlier design, a certain toughness and aggressiveness on the part of its wearer. The lavender and black offer a dual reference to an older, more experienced Mercutio, rather than to a younger, lighthearted individual. Overall, these costume colours reflect the darker side of Mercutio's role in the play.

Reviewer Thomas Clayton felt this production's Mercutio had, like Tybalt, a sinister appeal. He describes a "deep voiced " Justine Deas (who played Mercutio) as "a Mick Jagger of a Mercutio with a youthfully Rabelaisian elan and swagger impossible to upstage" (1980, p.241). In contrast to his costume's colour reading, Mercutio's age was

not as dominant a factor as his life experience. Clayton's review alludes to a world-weary and street-wise individual. The image of Mercutio as a tough, somewhat bored streetfighter, which the black of his costume suggests, is tempered by the hint of softness inherent in the lavender colour. Together, the black and the lavender costume colours contribute to the image of a blasé young man who is unguarded in his action (and doomed because of it). Clayton's description of Mercutio's duel with Tybalt illustrates this concept precisely: " The match began half in jest, Mercutio once sparing a floored Tybalt with amused contempt, but ended in deadly earnest shortly after Tybalt spat in Mercutio's face..." (p.242). This quote paints the portrait of a somewhat disengaged individual who considers himself detached from the intense affairs of other human beings. He is a man who does not pay enough attention to real danger until it is too late.

Warren Travis' colour interpretation of Mercutio's character is essentially the same as Roger Furse's design for the 1952 Old Vic production. Travis dressed Mercutio primarily in warm browns for the American Conservatory Theatre production in 1979. Mercutio's doublet and parti-coloured hose are *Amber Brown* (17-1147). The second hose colour, which is also a brown (*Tobacco Brown*, 17-1327), is the exact colour Roger Furse used for his Mercutio costume colour. *Amber Brown* has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), is located in the orange sector of the colour wheel, and has medium saturation. It combines the associative meanings of dark brown and orange: earthy, rich, masculine, warm, rugged, vital, fun, playful and gregarious. A character with these attributes could be perceived as friendly and approachable (*warm, gregarious*), eager to be part of a 'good time' (*playful, fun, vital*), and aware of his body (*masculine, rugged*). When he dons his black cape, this image may have been somewhat subdued, but the repetition of the warm brown colour in the cloak lining would have preserved the first impression. No mention of Daniel Davis's portrayal of this part was found in the reviews, but discussions with the designer indicate that Mercutio was considered to be " ... arrogant and somewhat older and more worldly than Romeo and his friends" (personal communication, 1991). Apart from

the addition of the stronger black colour, this perception would not have been overtly emphasized by his costume colour.

Eighties

The sole 80s costume colour observed for Mercutio was from the 1984 Stratford Festival production designed by David Walker. Richard Monette first appears in a deep blue colour (*Seaport*, 19-4342), and ends his performance wearing a grey (*Frost Grey*, 17-0000) doublet and hose with red (*American Beauty*, 19-1759) tabs on his shoulder "wings" and the lining seen through the panning (slashes) of his sleeves (Figure 57).

Seaport has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), is from the blue family of hues, and has medium saturation. It approximates the associative colour meanings for a dark *Teal Blue* in the same way that Carolyn Parker's 1968 design for Mercutio did: classic, cool, expensive, sophisticated, rich, and unique. On its own, this appears to be a very rich colour particularly well suited to a privileged scion of a noble Veronese family. From the aspect of visual design, the single cool colour provides a strong contrasting foil for Romeo's warm wine coloured costume. However, as the previous statement reveals, it does suggest a colder, less approachable character.



Figure 57. Mercutio's costume by David Walker 1984

Mercutio's second and final costume offers a direct commentary on both his character (within the final moments of the first half of the play) and on his own demise. The coolness promised by the first costume colour is fulfilled in the *Frost Grey* of the second costume colour. In a particularly effective "visual tease", Walker places both Mercutio and the man who will kill him in similar ghostly grey colours for their duel scene. However, whereas Tybalt's grey is accompanied by touches of silver and gold, Mercutio's grey is stained with touches of red. The costumes, with their neutral colours, are indistinguishable from one another during the fight scene action, amplifying the significance of the gestural flashes of red, silver and gold. Both men are potential ghosts, but only one is tinged with the bloodshed colour that makes that prophesy a reality. Whether or not the audience was attuned to this, these were almost certainly meaningful colour selections for the designer.

The perception of Mercutio as a visual foil for Romeo, conveyed in the first costume colour (Mercutio in teal blue, Romeo in wine), reflects their characterizations. Richard Monette's Mercutio is described as "...quite shiveringly effective as a foil for Romeo" (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.654-5). The same review states that this Mercutio was played as being somewhat older than Romeo which "...allowed him a jaded cynicism in his responses to his friend's romantic affairs" (p.654). The costume colours for Mercutio

thus serve to emphasize his specific characterization and its role within the broader context of the play.

Although a colour image of Mercutio from the 1986 Royal Shakespeare Company production was not available, a black and white photograph shows a shades-bespectacled and ruffled figure dressed in jeans, plaid shirt, bomber-style lightweight dark-coloured jacket and light-coloured fedora type hat. In contrast to Romeo's all-white apparel, other youths' T-shirts and jeans, and particularly in contrast to Tybalt (dressed all in black leather, and chasing Mercutio around a poolside table rattling a chain), Mercutio appears to be somewhat middle-aged and pedestrian in appearance. Critics describe Michael Kitchen's portrayal as depicting a mocking, laid-back boozier (New Statesman, April 18, 1986, Time Out, April 16, 1986). His contrasting costume and colour value support the image of someone who was less concerned about his external appearance blending in as part of the crowd, than as someone who knew himself to *be* outside of it.

In the final analysis, as the characterization from the 1986 Royal Shakespeare Company production of Romeo and Juliet implied, Mercutio remains a distinctive character in all productions reviewed. It is a position that the costume colours chosen by the various designers supports, frequently using costume colour contrasting with Romeo's in the same way that the two characters are often contrasted in the play.

As a whole, the costume colour and characterization relationships reviewed from these productions show considerable consistency. Out of the 15 productions examined, costume colours for 14 different Juliets, 12 different Romeos, 7 different Capulets, and 8 different Mercutios ranging over a period of 51 years were analyzed. Costume colour readings were applied within the various productions. The character commentaries, supplied by the readings, were subsequently appraised through a comparison with information provided by the actors', designers' and critics' assessments of related performance interpretations. The information in this chapter has provided a response to the questions posited at this chapter's

outset. Based on this data, those initial questions are more fully considered in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

The familiarity of Romeo and Juliet creates particular problems for any fresh analysis of costume colour and character association. By closely following an established colour system that lists associative meanings, an attempt has been made to adjust the imbalance inherent between what *is* observed and what is *expected* to be observed. This is less of a problem in the following analysis of All's Well That Ends Well, because of its complexity and its relatively limited production history.

VI. ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL: COSTUME COLOUR/CHARACTERIZATION

The second play chosen for costume colour and character analysis reads opposite to Romeo and Juliet. In contrast to that play, All's Well That Ends Well challenges what Anne Barton, in her preface to the Riverside Shakespeare edition of the play (1974, p.500), describes as the "laws of established [Elizabethan] society". Barton refers to the convention wherein a young man and woman of unequal status wishing to marry for love must first overcome resistance from their authority figures such as parents, guardians and rulers. All's Well deviates from this convention because the contrary situation exists: the authority figures encourage and assist the heroine in achieving her desired union. Both of the plays examined in this thesis address fairy-tale aspects of romance, either within a form that more closely parallels the "laws of established society " mentioned above (as Romeo and Juliet does), or the "happily-ever-after" mode represented by All's Well .

Following a similar format to the one set out in the previous chapter to address the same questions, the costume colours for four characters from seven different productions of All's Well in England and Canada were studied. No coloured visual documentation for this play was available at the American theatre archives visited in the course of this research.

All's Well was one of the opening season productions designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch for the Stratford Festival in Canada. Because of this, the play has particular significance and importance not only within Canadian theatre history, but also within the study of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's application of colour.

All's Well That Ends Well: theme and content

In an exceedingly wry summary of All's Well, a critic for The Toronto Star (June 17, 1977) asks her readers to:

Picture a disheveled playwright being urged by an impetuous actor-manager to produce a play in a hurry: "something light, funny, fanciful, pulls the crowds in. Put in some sex, and remember, we've got lots of actors out of work." Thus William Shakespeare may have sat down, and, probably longing for a drink, spun off All's Well That Ends Well...

Shakespeare almost certainly did write under pressure, in an age that relished the spoken word and fresh conceptions of its enactment. And this critic's narrative conjures a whimsical context for the origins of this play, promising a lighthearted theatrical romp. In theatre history since Shakespeare's time, it is a promise that has not often been fulfilled.

The directions of the imaginary actor-manager suggest that All's Well will be a romantic comedy, but the text is permeated by a strong melancholia. For the first half of this century, most Shakespeare scholars have noted that All's Well, along with Troilus and Cressida and Measure for Measure were written at a time when Shakespeare had undergone a psychological crisis (Jamieson in Muir and Wells, 1981, p.127). The three plays reflect a reassessment of moral issues and a challenge to dramatic structure itself. For these reasons, they are often referred to as "problem plays" (Muir & Wells, 1982; Price, 1968).

Apparently, Shakespeare borrowed his plot from a trusted source, Boccaccio's Decameron. (Barton in Evans, 1974). It contains a story about a young woman named Giletta of Narbona whose ingenuity and determination secure her marriage to Beltramo, a man of higher social standing. The portrayal of Giletta's character, as a vigorously determined and selfish woman, is implicit in the tale (Smallwood in Muir and Wells, 1982). Shakespeare very likely read the story in William Painter's English translation written in 1575 (Barton in Evans, 1974). Helena, Shakespeare's heroine in All's Well, is clearly fashioned after Giletta.

In part, it is this source for Helena that has contributed to the problem play label that has dogged All's Well. Critics, directors, and actors have been unable to agree about her virtue. Is she, as Giletta so forthrightly was presented, a conniving female out to get her

man at any cost? Or is she a genuinely fine young woman using her talents to achieve what she justly deserves, the hand of a nobleman in marriage? Just how did Shakespeare envision her, and how did he want his audience to perceive her? How directors choose to answer these questions influences whether the play is performed as a serious morality play, or as some form of romantic comedy.

In Shakespeare's tale, Helena is the genteel but impoverished daughter of a highly esteemed physician, now deceased. Helena is under the guardianship of the recently widowed Countess of Rousillon. Also in this household is the son of the Countess, Bertram, whom Helena has grown up with and secretly and hopelessly worships. Helena is devastated when Bertram, accompanied by a swaggering soldier named Parolles, leaves for the court of the King of France. With the death of his father, Bertram has become the ward of the King. The young man is eager to engage in the courtly pursuits championed by his more experienced friend Parolles.

When the news that the King is suffering from an incurable fistula reaches her, Helena is determined to cure him by using some of the semi-magical skills that were her father's bequest. This decision sets the action in motion, culminating in her marriage to Bertram and her elevation in status to that of his wife and social equal. As with any arresting tale, the path to this point is littered with obstacles, not only creating the play's tension, but also diverting the audience's sympathies for the various characters within it.

The King's cure is effected and Helena's reward, the right to choose a husband of her liking, is granted. Bertram, the husband-to-be, does not want to be a part of the proceedings. He is essentially forced into the role, and determines rather cruelly to be her husband in name only by rushing off to soldier in Italy with Parolles. Shakespeare makes it clear that Parolles has a negative effect on young Bertram, who otherwise has many of the virtues of his deceased noble father, the Count of Rousillon. Eventually, Parolles's true nature is disclosed. Through this revelation Bertram advances in his own maturing

process, but not before he attempts to compromise Diana, the virtuous daughter of an Italian widow. By coincidence, Helena, who in shame has fled the court of France to become a pilgrim, arrives in Italy and meets the widow and her daughter. Together they devise a ruse, exchanging Helena in Diana's place, that leads to Bertram's unwitting consummation of their marriage.

Helena disappears from sight and word is received by the Countess (and a remorseful Bertram) that she has died. In the final scene, Helena returns to a crowded stage, obviously pregnant. The child belongs, of course, to Bertram. Expressing contrition about his dishonorable treatment of both Diana and Helena, Bertram vows to cherish his returned wife. The King's words reiterate the line that gives the play its title, suggesting that all seems well that has apparently ended well: "All yet seems well, and if it end so meet, / The bitter past, more welcome is the sweet." (V.iii. 326-7). The audience is not always convinced that this is the case.

The plot is, as Barton (in Evans, 1974, p.499) has so eloquently noted, a "...tissue of traditional folk motifs." It features a heroine who achieves great good fortune by knowing how to cure the king (when everyone else has failed), the association of virginity with magical power (Helena as a mysterious agent of health), and a united couple beginning a new life together (at the play's tentative happy ever after ending). In All's Well, the plot winds its way to a victorious romantic resolution, but that victory is disturbing. Shakespeare has created a complex situation with this "love story"; it has never been considered an audience favorite.

All's Well's particular focus on an intelligent but aggressive heroine has posed interesting interpretive challenges in recent times. Helena's significance as a representative of changing attitudes during the Renaissance intrigued Marilyn French (1981). She believes that Shakespeare's text gives evidence of anxiety concerning issues of power and sex, and serves as a testing ground for exploring shifting assumptions surrounding these

issues. In All's Well, French asserts: "Shakespeare tests his own ideals, probes his own prejudices" (p.332), but ultimately, acceptance of women's strength and their agency in the area of sexuality remains in an uneasy limbo within the play. French concludes that in All's Well, constancy and chastity remain idealized symbols of feminine virtue and the tentative transference of power from male to female is uneasily explored.

Juliet Dusinberre (1975) has a somewhat similar opinion. She contends that Shakespeare's plays challenged the accepted gender roles and that his female characters were often modelled on some of his contemporaries. Dusinberre believes Shakespeare lived at a time when reform thinking towards gender equality "... dominated the society for which Shakespeare and his contemporaries wrote their plays" (p.1). Helena's assertiveness, intelligence, and social ambition can thus be understood as a reflection of the overall intellectual questioning associated with the Renaissance.

The tentativeness with which the issues of gender power and sexuality are presented in All's Well is reflected in its conclusion. Does the ending signify a hopeful beginning, a dismal jailterm for Bertram, or a disappointing capitulation to the status quo by Helena?

Blurred Lines

Aside from the differing character interpretations, the ambivalence regarding the play's ending is partially responsible for its limited production history. Remarkably few production accounts exist prior to Tyrone Guthrie's 1953 All's Well at the Stratford Festival in Canada. And since that time, as Londre (in Leiter, 1986, p.3) points out: "Although directors are no longer as squeamish about tackling *All's Well That Ends Well* as they once were, the play has incurred -- even in recent years -- a relatively high percentage of 'failure' ratings in production." This play was produced fairly frequently in the 50s and during the 1975 to 1989 period, but with few performances between 1960 and 1974.

Productions of All's Well have been presented in a variety of interpretations whose conceptions "...impose some stylistic unity or context within which the story can be made to be credible" (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.3). For example, the play can be treated as a fairy-tale: Michael Benthall's production at the Old Vic in 1953 depicted Claire Bloom as a blonde Cinderella figure, with Bertram as her Prince Charming, a young man whose faults could all be attributed to Parolles's overwhelming influence. "Indeed, the fairy-tale approach to the plot was reinforced by a morality pattern of the goodness of Helena vying with the demonic influence of Parolles" (Price, 1968, p.53).

Another production approach emphasizes the comedic elements of All's Well. In some cases, this has resulted in little more than a farce -- a criticism made regarding Jon Jory's production for the Oregon Shakespeare Festival in 1975. By eliminating the darker side of the play, or covering it over with "broad physical humour" (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.11), Jory ensured a good audience response. On the other hand, by skewing the tone of the play so dramatically in one direction, Londre points out that "while greatly appreciated by its audiences, this production was only half of Shakespeare's play" (p.12). Other similar approaches to All's Well have extended to musical farce. The 1978 Central Park version directed by Wilford Leach is an example of this: "...with a cast of caricatures. The Florentines speak with thick Italian accents; some speeches are turned into arias. Marching songs and serenades punctuate the script" (Simon in Leiter, 1986, p.5). In a 1979 Los Angeles musical production directed by David Schweizer, Helena's II.i. persuasive speech to the King beginning "What I can do can do no hurt to try," became an earthy rhythm and blues piece (Londre in Leiter, p.5).

If focusing extensively on the comic elements of the play risks subverting Shakespeare's text, a similar danger exists with swaying the balance in the other direction, emphasizing the play's melancholic elements. Helmut Strassburger and Ernstgeorg Hering's first 1979 production at the Volksbuhne in East Berlin had Brechtian overtones,

intended to show "the conflict between impotent senility in power and youth still uncertain of its aims and ideals." The production was redirected later the same year and turned more towards slapstick and farce, a move that made it more favorably received (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.13).

Sexuality could be accentuated in productions of All's Well. Konrad Swinarski's 1979 production at the Teatr Stary im in Krakow, Poland, featured both hetero and homo-eroticism. Helena cured the King by giving him a "half-sexual" massage, and the whole story between Bertram and Parolles was presented as a homosexual one, based on the intrigue of the old lord Lafeu wanting to get Parolles for himself (Berry in Leiter, 1986).

Critic Robert Speaight saw Jonathan Miller's 1975 production at the Greenwich Theatre, England as a morality play wherein Helena's devotion to Bertram was a means of curing his "moral obliquity", while Bill Pryde's 1979 production for the Birmingham Repertory Studio, England accentuated class and political conflicts. This production was set in 1930s Europe, with Florence suggesting General Franco's Spain and Rousillon Mussolini's Italy. Within this fascist atmosphere, characterizations intended to reflect class structure, such as the depiction of Helena as a genteel spinster in tweeds and the clown Lavache as a Scots caddie, managed instead to give the audience a confused impression, according to one reviewer (Babula, 1978).

Inevitably, feminist theory has affected the play's interpretation and increased interest in it. In particular, Helena's portrayal has been influenced. Assessing the play from an academic viewpoint, Carol Rutter (1991) observes two aspects of All's Well that make it "...ripe for feminist recuperation": "A female role that initiates the play's action" and "a clean performance text, unencrusted with the sediment of theatrical tradition and previous performances" (p.2). Rutter believes that a return to a more sympathetic portrayal was possible because of these two elements. Productions such as Ulf Gran's, in Sweden in 1981, have addressed the issue directly, giving it a feminist emphasis: "The women...were

strong, intelligent, and enterprising. They also shared a common sense of purpose...The men... were foolish boys still playing war games and afraid of the women around them" (Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.4).

From a contemporary feminist point of view, Helena's determination to take control of her own destiny is laudible, but any interpretation which emphasizes that she can only achieve higher social standing and wealth by marrying Bertram presents a dilemma. Carol Rutter's observation regarding the play's "clean performance text" underscores her belief in the potential for productions of All's Well to present fresh interpretations that fight stereotypes. She perceives sufficient latitude in Shakespeare's text to support feminist-acceptable representations of Helena's character.

The scope of interpretation in these examples demonstrates the challenges the production team must meet. They may choose to emphasize the inherent sexuality within the play, its comedic elements, its melancholic strains, the contrast between youth and age, or an equal proportion of these. Productions offering a balance amongst these various aspects of the play are described as "straight" or "traditional" interpretations (Londre in Leiter, 1986).

Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed three productions of All's Well: two in Canada, and one in England. The 1959 version for the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre was a revision of the earlier 1953 Canadian production. Tyrone Guthrie was the director for both productions. The third production was directed by David Jones at the Stratford Festival in 1977.

Character Choices

The four characters chosen for costume colour analysis are Helena, Bertram, The King of France, and Parolles. They were chosen for the reasons outlined below. Most productions of All's Well focus on the inherent problems of the relationship between Helena and Bertram. Like Romeo and Juliet, Bertram's and Helena's dilemma is at the heart of the play. They were both, therefore, necessary choices for this study. In contrast to Bertram's and Helena's youthfulness, the King of France and the Countess of Rousillon represent the mature authority forces in the play. To present a balanced assessment of the play, at least one of these two characters had to be included in this study. Because a greater amount of coloured visual documentation was available for the King, he was chosen. The fourth character whose costume colour was examined in this study is Parolles because, as Barton (in Evans, 1974, p.501) notes, he is "...the embodiment of the discrepancy between words and deeds which plays so important a part in the play as a whole." Parolles's character is clear to the audience from the outset; but the very traits that reveal his superficiality are important to the play's impetus because they initially influence Bertram's quest toward manhood and his eventual discovery of Parolles true value. To Bertram, Parolles appears to be as a free-spirit, a brave and sophisticated individual who will assist him in becoming established at court. Shakespeare offers the most direct instructions for Parolles costume colour, giving a clear indication of his importance to the play. Because Parolles provides such a contrast to Bertram throughout the play, it was essential to examine how designers have incorporated those instructions into their costume schemes.

The establishment of credibility in Bertram's and Helena's relationship must be resolved through their individual character portrayals. Some directors have opted for creating an admirable Bertram whose attractiveness provides a convincing enough reason for Helena to love him, or conversely, a Helena with such obvious character defects that Bertram's initial

revulsion is excusable. Michael Kahn's 1970 production for the American Shakespeare Festival at Stratford, Connecticut adopted the latter position: " Bertram's reluctance to marry is understandable given Roberta Maxwell's Helena, an unbearably perfect 'girl scout leader' " (Smith in Babula, 1978, p.6). One method of assuring audience sympathy for Bertram is to cast him (as he was in Kahn's production) as an inexperienced young man unfamiliar with courtly behaviour because of his provincial upbringing. In other productions, his character is presented as a "...baby-faced mischievous moppet" (New York Shakespeare Festival 1978), (Simon in Babula, 1978, p.9).

According to R. Smallwood (1982, p.38), establishing Bertram's immaturity is crucial to the play's effect, for understanding how the play could indeed end well. Recognizing that not everyone agrees Bertram is deserving of the happiness Helena is determined to bring him, Smallwood states:

It is essential that the audience should acquiesce in the forgiveness of Bertram at the end, and not go away,...unable to reconcile their hearts to the fact that he is dismissed to happiness. So the shape of his career is carefully controlled by Shakespeare; his relationship with Helena is suggested at the beginning with economy and precision, so that his horror at the marriage is understandable, and the terms in which he expresses it, ...not unexpected.

Smallwood asserts that Shakespeare ensures this eventuality by presenting Bertram as a "...foolish and misled boy, in need of rescue from the dangers of his own folly" (p.38). Smallwood perceives Bertram to be a young man possessing the virtuous essence of his noble parentage -- an innate nobility that will eventually overcome the confusion of youth.

Emphasizing Bertram's youth to justify his arrogance and discourtesy towards Helena, to explain his initial absorption with Parolles, and to excuse his rutting instinct towards Diana makes sense, according to Carol Neely (1985), because in Shakespeare's text Bertram remains completely subordinate to his elders. Neely observes: "Unlike both the heroes of the comedies, who are usually parentless, and those of tragedy, who often struggle with fathers or father figures, Bertram either submits or flees [from the demands

made by authority figures]" (p. 66). In order for the relationship of Bertram and Helena to succeed, Neely asserts: "Bertram must escape the suffocating authority of his mother and the King..." (p. 71).

Shakespeare establishes Bertram's parentage and position at the play's outset. Very early in the action, his mother the Countess of Rousillon, offers Bertram her blessing as he leaves for the court of the King of France: " Be thou blest Bertram, and succeed thy father, / In manners, as in shape! Thy blood and virtue / Contend for empire in thee, and thy goodness / Share with thy birthright!" (I.i. 54-57). At the same time, Helena laments the fact that "... he is so above me" (I.i. 81).

With a mother's eye and concern, the Countess gently worries that her son is "...an unseasoned courtier;" (I.i.64), suggesting Bertram is young and untested in his filial obligations. The King regards him with a favorable eye, recalling the young man's father and hoping that Bertram also shares "Thy father's moral parts" (I.ii. 21). This hope seems doomed when Bertram rudely rejects Helena's request to marry him. Bertram deems Helena to be too far beneath him socially: " A poor physician's daughter my wife! / Disdain / Rather corrupt me ever!" (II.iii. 112-3). The King's response is rapid and critical, further attesting to Bertram's immaturity: " Here, take her hand, / Proud scornful boy, unworthy this good gift," (II.iii.148-9).

Like any caring mother hearing of her child's misbehaviour, the Countess believes the root of such defiance to be another individual's undesirable influence. She identifies Bertram's friend Parolles as the problem, referring to him as " a very tainted fellow, and full of wickedness. / My son corrupts a well-deserved nature / With his inducement" (III.ii.85-86). Some critics believe that Shakespeare intended Bertram's character to progressively develop and mature as the play evolves. Robertson Davies is adamant in this belief: "Without getting into a welter of psychological surmise, we can see Bertram

moving toward maturity from his first appearance until at last he recognizes Helena as she really is" (1953, p.75).

Two other aspects of Bertram's character are given notice in All's Well: the account of his success at war given by the Widow and her daughter Diana in III.v. suggests Bertram is courageous and brave, while his behavior towards Diana reveals another less palatable side of his character. Regarding Bertram's attempts to divest Diana of her virginity, Parolles declares: " ... a foolish idle boy, but for all that very ruttish...for I knew the young Count to be a dangerous and lascivious boy, who is whale to virginity, and devours up all the fry it finds" (IV.iii.199-205). Parolles being Parolles, however unreliable a source, offers an embellished description of Bertram's lustiness a colourful image of youthful virility, reinforcing the preceding portrait of vigorous youth.

Reviews of various productions of All's Well reflect the varying degrees of sympathy that Bertram's part has received. One reviewer, who saw Joseph Papp's New York Shakespeare Festival production at the Delacorte Theatre in 1966, suggests " Bertram [is] portrayed as a bored nincompoop with a low blood pressure" (Babula, 1981, p.5). As the script frequently infers, Bertram is most often seen as being a young, inexperienced boy, susceptible to Parolles's influence. At the 1975 Oregon Shakespeare Festival production directed by Jon Jory, Bertram was a "Shallow, petulant youth, clearly under Parolles's control. Bertram nearly kisses Helena as they part, but is forestalled by a signal from Parolles; she blows the kiss, he catches it, but the kiss is wiped off by Parolles" (Babula, 1981, p.7).

Among the directors who have chosen to emphasize Bertram's youth and so gain audience sympathy for his apparent boorishness, John Barton seems to have been very effective with his 1968 production for the Royal Shakespeare Theatre. Bertram was presented as a very young man " filled with boyish uncertainty before the King." It is difficult not to have an indulgent tolerance for a young man who " bumps into fellow

courtiers, catches his sword in a hanging banner, coughs when he smokes a pipe" (Babula, 1981, p.6).

If Bertram is everywhere criticized and requiring forgiveness, Helena is one of the chief mediums for obtaining it. In contrast to Bertram, the elder personages such as the Countess, the King, and the courtier Lafeu all offer continual commendations with respect to Helena's character and worth. Smallwood believes that the attitude these older characters show towards Helena is consistently used by Shakespeare "...to guide the reactions of the audience" (in Muir and Wells, 1982, p.27). The Countess approves of Helena's plan to win Bertram by curing the King, assuring Helena that she will "...pray God's blessing into thy attempt. / ...and be sure of this, / What I can help thee to thou shalt not miss." (II.i. 245-47). The King of France praises her courage and daring: " Thy life is dear; for all that life can rate / Worth name of life in thee hath estimate: / Youth, beauty, wisdom, courage, all / That happiness and prime can happy call" (II.i. 178-81). When word reaches the Court of Rousillon that Helena has died of grief for the love of Bertram, the Countess laments that Helena was " the most virtuous gentlewoman that ever nature had praise for creating. If she had partaken of my flesh and cost me the dearest groans of a mother I could not have owed her a more rooted love"(IV.v. 8-11). And Lafeu sorrowfully speaks for the entire court when he says "Twas a good lady, 'twas a good lady" (IV.v. 12).

Despite this favourable regard, Helena's character has likely suffered the most disparagement over time. Robertson Davies, when writing in the conservative 1950s, felt that the explanation rested in the fact that :

... Helena belongs to a type of woman uncommon, but credible and admirable in Shakespeare's day, though not in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not everyone likes or understands the type today, but two wars and a social revolution have made it commoner than it was; intelligent, determined women, perfectly capable of managing a romance and a profession, and ready to do so on the same terms as men, are to be met with everywhere (1953, p.49).

Davies even went so far as to state that "...compared with Helena, [other Shakespeare heroines such as] Juliet, Desdemona and Ophelia are ninnies" (p.49). His words suggest a degree of tolerance towards women's increased independence at the time of his writing, but they also point to the anxiety surrounding the new women. Davies's appreciation for independent women was unusual in the 1950s, a decade commonly regarded as conservative, when the more traditional women's roles of wife and mother were advocated.

There is no question that Helena is a very determined young lady, so much so that she is prepared to gamble her life in the course of achieving her goal. When the King thanks her kindly but rejects her offer to try to cure him, Helena pushes beyond her position to try to convince him, even staking her life on the outcome. In response to the King's question: "Upon thy certainty and confidence / What dar'st thou venture?" she replies: "Tax of impudence, / A strumpet's boldness, a divulged shame, / Traduc'd by odious ballads; my maiden's name / Sear'd otherwise; ne worse of worst -- extended / With vilest torture let my life be ended" (II.i.169-70). And although she originally flees France on a pilgrimage to atone for the danger to which she feels she has driven Bertram, her choice of location coincidentally happens to cross his. Having done so, she once again takes advantage of her situation, convincing Diana to trade places with her and so trick Bertram into consummating their marriage. Helena is clearly a risk taker, prepared to engage in subterfuge in her determined pursuit of Bertram. Actresses have approached the role in different ways, from Claire Bloom's Cinderella-like portrayal of the part at the Old Vic in 1953, to the coolly confident young woman expressed by Lyn Farleigh at London's Aldwych Theatre in 1968. As noted earlier, the 1950s societal attitude towards women's roles is in accord with the "cinderella" treatment of the Old Vic production from that time, while the more confident character portrayal in the later production mirrors changing attitudes in the 1960s. The shifting emphasis on Helena's agency frequently reflected the prevailing social attitudes of the production period.

The role of the King of France has been tempered by the play's overall direction. He is frequently a comic focus in productions that emphasize the humorous aspects of the play. For Michael Benthall's 1953 production at the Old Vic, London, he was, according to critic J. Trewin, mocked "as a senile valetudinarian" (Babula, 1981, p.3). At the 1961 Oregon Shakespeare Festival he was seen as "both funny and amusingly fussy" (Babula, 1981, p.5), while Jon Jory's production at the same site in 1975 pushed the comic elements further, presenting a King who was a "doddering, comic figure, mocked behind his back by young courtiers" (Babula, 1981, p.7).

Such interpretations are possible when the comedy inherent in All's Well is emphasized, but as R. Smallwood (1982, p.28) states, Shakespeare's text introduces the King as a melancholy and diseased figure whose reminiscences regarding his youthful friendships are poignant and distressing. Productions which present a "straight", "balanced" version, or ones focussing on the sadder side of the play, present the King in a more dignified manner, stressing his authority and benevolent leadership.

The part of Parolles offers many opportunities for an actor to hone his skills. The role calls for swaggering flashy talk and delicately steps along a fine line between cruelty and comedy, all the while masking a cowardice that, when exposed, extracts audience sympathy. Shakespeare is not kind to Parolles and summarizes the core of his being in Lafeu's cautionary advice to Bertram "There can be no kernel in this light nut; the soul of this man is his clothes; trust him not in matter of heavy consequence" (II.v. 42-4). It is Lafeu, more than any other character in the play, who provides an early and ongoing assessment of Parolles. And it is Lafeu who contrasts Parolles's dishonour with his own when in the end, he offers shelter to the humiliated and humbled character Parolles has become by the play's climax. Robertson Davies did not find this pairing troublesome:

It is not as strange as it may at first appear that Lafeu takes a fancy to Parolles and, in the end, seems about to add the rascal to his household. They have much in common, these two. Both know a great deal of the

world; both know themselves and their own worth; ... It is true that Lafeu has honour and dignity, and that Parolles has neither. But Lafeu understands Parolles, and Parolles understands himself. If Lafeu has decided to keep Parolles for the amusement he can get out of him, we may be sure that Parolles will not give short weight (1953, p.82).

Many of the play's scripted stances concerning Parolles use his apparel as the focus of ridicule. Lafeu asks him: "Why dost thou garter up thy arms o' this fashion?" (II.iii. 242-9). Diana refers to him as "That jack-an-apes with scarfs" (III.v. 82). And following the public disclosure of Parolles's cowardice, a courtier vows: "I will never trust a man again for keeping his sword clean; nor believe he can have everything in him by wearing his apparel neatly" (IV.iii. 137-9). Extravagant dress masking the real person parallels the theme of fine words cloaking innate baseness (Barton, 1974). Shakespeare employs these references to Parolles's external appearance as metaphors for disguising the man hidden within; these passages also provide designers with guidelines for costuming Parolles.

Productions of All's Well may present Parolles as a stereotypic swaggering comic figure, like the 1961 Oregon Shakespeare Festival did, or as a "twitchy victim of the bullies in the officer's mess" like he was portrayed in the 1979 Birmingham Repertory Studio performance directed by Bill Pryde. Jonathan Miller's 1975 production at the Greenwich Theatre in England chose to downplay the extremes in his personality, presenting Parolles as more of a regular fellow without swagger and arrogance. Critics found this portrayal to be lacking conviction and impact. In a production emphasizing eroticism, Polish director Konrad Swinarski cast Parolles (and Bertram) as homosexual. When Parolles addresses Bertram as "sweetheart" (II.iii. 261, 264), it was explored more overtly, and his acceptance into the old courtier Lafeu's household was explained as a lovers' union. The numerous examples provided here indicate the interpretive scope has been expansive and diverse.

Thematic colour

While Shakespeare offers clues to Parolles's costume within the script, his actual references to colour are very spare. All's Well begins with the stage direction: "enter Bertram, the Countess of Rousillon, Helena, and Lafeu, *all in black*". Reference is made again to wearing black in I.iii.89, and it is used by a Lord to emphasize the virtuous position of the Italian Duke's side in the war with his enemy: "Holy seems the quarrel / Upon your Grace's part; black and fearful / On the opposer" (III.i. 4-5). The first references allude to the mourning aspects of black, while the latter reference clearly presents its darker more aggressive meaning. In another reference to colour, Helena hopes that she will not blush with the shame of being refused by her chosen husband-to-be: "The blushes in my cheeks thus whisper me: / 'We blush that thou shouldst choose; but, / be refused / Let the white death sit on thy cheek for / ever, / We'll ne'er come there again'" (II.iii. 67-70). Helena's musing is prophetic, and Bertram's recantation will ensure that her maidenly blushes of hope and humiliation are tested in a manner that removes her need to ever blush again.

In a scathing, but reassuring statement to the Countess regarding her son, Lafeu tells her: "No, no, no, your son was misled with a snipt-taffeta fellow there, whose villainous saffron would have made all the unbak'd and doughy youth of a nation in his colour" (IV.v. 1-4). He is clearly associating the colour yellow with showiness, and with cowardice. Once again, Shakespeare offers a suggestion for costume and costume colour to some degree. But the colour reference designers seem to acknowledge most, apart from the directions regarding black at the play's outset, is delivered by Lafeu in IV.v.6 as part of the discussion commented on above. Lafeu describes Parolles as "...that red-tail'd humble bee." In Shakespeare's time, red signified prowess (Ashleford, 1988) and it is possible that Lafeu is describing Parolles as a man whose proficiency and mastery is backward, or significantly diminished. Given the Elizabethan love for word-plays, it more likely refers,

quite overtly, to the fact that Parolles is, by this point, *embarrassed*: being thus figuratively exposed, Parolles's true colours are revealed. The following analysis indicates designers' use of Shakespeare's colour cues.

Costume colour/ characterization: HELENA

Fifties

Two designs for Helena by Tanya Moiseiwitsch have been examined from the 1953 All's Well production (in modern dress) at the Stratford Festival, Canada, for this study. Although images for three costumes have been assessed, two were observed in black and white reproduction. The first costume, a dateless coat-gown had a light value. Arnold Edinborough (1954) described it as being all white, so it has therefore been included in this study. The second costume was described as a black gown and blue doctor's robe. Because the actual blue colour was not observed, it has not been included in this analysis other than in respect to black as a colour of mourning. The coloured costume observed for Helena was the yellow evening dress designed by Tanya Moseiwitsch and constructed by Valentino in New York (Figure 58).

Helena wore a white dress when she went to court to cure the King and select her future husband. With Helena wearing only white, the connection between virginity and white magic became more pronounced (although this was not necessarily consciously recognized by the audience). At the same time, a negative association attributed to white -- sterility -- acted as a forewarning of Helena's frustrated marital expectations. Edinborough provides a visual description of the moment: "The vivacious Helena, when choosing her husband, stood out in white against a group of dresses varying from tangerine through beige and grey to purple;" (1954, p.50). The image depicts a woman who is clearly outside of, and free from, courtly conventions. The contrast created by her stark white dress against the multi-colours of the other gowns also underlined her virginal status.



Figure 58. Helena's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1953

At the play's climax, when it appears that she will have a life with Bertram, Helena wears a bright yellow dress. The colour (*Buttercup*,12-0752) has a light value (70-80% reflectance), is clearly from the yellow sector of the colour wheel, and has strong saturation. It most closely corresponds to Pantone's *Sundance* with its associative colour meanings of cheer, happiness, heat, sunshine, luminosity and energy; it also has the negative association of jaundice. In the final scene in this production, a court ball setting, Helena believes she is about to have her dream come true; she is happy and radiant with the success of her endeavors.

The bright, advancing yellow colour ensures that all eyes are on the star attraction, but at the same time, the association with jaundice suggests a more cynical perspective on the joyous proceedings -- a cynicism offering commentary perhaps, on the success of the marriage. Although this costume colour has been analyzed in a more "situation specific manner", the overall character attributes it suggests can also be observed. The person

wearing this colour is someone who is at the center of her universe. This Helena is a giver of life, both literally (she is pregnant by the last scene) and figuratively. Those around her receive energy from their proximity to her, and are made richer through their association with her. Those who saw the performance of this production recall how vividly Helena stood out from the crowd of women gowned in soft pastels (ranging from violets through blues and pinks) and men attired in dark tuxedos (Bell, Hayes, personal communication, 1990).

Critics refer to Helena's modesty and sincere passion: "Irene Worth as Helena communicated by her soulful gaze her love for Bertram from her first silent entrance" (Londre, in Leiter, 1986, p.6). In a production minimizing the darker elements of the play, Helena's amorous pursuit of Bertram seemed to Edinborough no more than a "...sweetly logical wifely manoeuvre" (1954, p.49). Robertson Davies describes this Helena as having a "lovely presentation of constancy and tenderness wedded to intellect and spirit. Her greatest triumph, perhaps, was that she won our compassion for Bertram" (1953, p.51). Reviewers from Edinborough to Davies all remark on the costumes and their ability to convey the essence of the production, noting not only the illumination the modern dress provided for clarifying the context of the play, but also the mood the colours expressed.

Taken together, the critics' descriptions of Helena's character in this production suggest a young optimistic woman who plays an active role in achieving what her heart desires. Her naturally buoyant spirit sustains her throughout the drama and ultimately, it reaches not only its intended target, Bertram, but the audience as well. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's decision to employ white (presenting Helena as pure) and yellow (reflecting her energetic spirit) enhanced such a character reading.

Six years later, the Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch team produced a second All's Well, this time at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K. They chose to set the play in "Ruritania", the imaginary time and place introduced in Anthony Hope's Prisoner of

Zendà. The period was loosely interpreted as Edwardian, with a costume palette of varying greens, grays, burgundy, pink/violets and some blues. In keeping with Shakespeare's stage directions, Helena first appears all in black, in deference to the mourning household. Because of this overt cultural costume association, it will not be consecutively analysed in this section.

For her travels, Helena donned a pale beige coloured robe (*Pearl Grey*, 13-1106) with a large white collar. The colour most closely resembles Pantone's *Beige* : classic, earthy, sandy, neutral, soft, and warm. *Earthy* is not an inappropriate attribute for a young woman who not only has an understanding of such indelicate diseases as the King's fistula, but also is prepared to do what is necessary to cure it. The colour's inherent *classic* association is equally appropriate for describing an impoverished but essentially noble individual; *soft* and *warm* suggest a friendly, concerned and caring woman.

For her triumphant "coranto" dance with the King following his cure and immediately prior to the choosing scene, Helena appears in an all white ball gown. It is a fitting colour for a prospective bride, overtly reiterating her virginal quality, and subliminally reinforcing the association of white magic with virginity. The relationship between white magic and virginity is considered to be implicit in fairy-tales (Barton in Evans, 1974).

Muriel St. Clare Byrne commends the decision to set the RSC production in Ruritania:

It is one of the chief recommendations of Ruritania, with its stately salons and its nostalgic landscapes, that it has developed a traditional costume which, true to its theatrical origins, is no stickler for rigid time schemes but considers that the first requirement for a good stage costume is that it should be completely in character and suit its wearer...dress should observe conventions indicating the status and quality of the wearer, and for the rest should be simply an idealized version of more or less current modes (1959, p.559).

She describes Tanya Moiseiwitsch's choice of white for Helena's ball gown as a reversion to tradition : "theatrically, it is 'white for heroines' " (1959, p.560). Reviewers

did not doubt that this Helena was a heroine and felt that Guthrie was obviously sympathetic to her character. Zoe Caldwell's Helena was a fresh, ardent, enthusiastic and confident heroine. "Rather than hesitantly approaching the King's wards and acknowledging her presumption in giving herself to Bertram, Helena made her choice spontaneously after engaging in a series of lively dances" (Leiter, 1986, p.8). Helena is presented as a young woman whose love for Bertram and her determination in gaining his hand is derived entirely from her youthful zeal. J.Price describes Caldwell's Helena as being "...ecstatic in girlish love" (1968, p.59). Her understated but straightforward costume colours offer quiet supplementation for this characterization, assisting the actress in presenting a natural and believable young woman who was cast more in the active modern spirit than in the passive mode so common to heroines of the past.

Sixties

Timothy O'Brien's costumes for the 1967 All's Well at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford-Upon-Avon, England are set in the Cavalier (mid 1600s) period. In an explicit design manouever, he employs thematic colour to set the stage for the play's three different locales: deep blue for the Court, yellow and brown for Rousillon and bright red for Italy. The costume colours correspond to this scheme for the most part, so that a distinctly unified visual theme enveloped the production. Helena's dress is cream-coloured (*Autumn Blonde*, 12-0813) with white accents. The tint is similar to Pantone's *Cream*, suggesting the classic, neutral, sweet, soothing, soft, warm, and rich. It also bears the negative connotation of blandness. *Autumn Blonde* has a light value (70-80% reflectance), hovers between yellow and orange on the colour wheel, and has low saturation.

When Helena returned from Italy in the final scene, she wore a brown dress covered by a cream coloured cloak (Figure 59). The cloak colour (*Linen*, 12-1008) appears to be slightly warmer and paler than her previous cream costume colour. It has the same value, but its base is orange and it has a lower saturation. *Linen* carries the same associative

meanings as *Cream*. Helena's dress colour (*Beaver Fur*, 17-1417) has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), moderately low saturation, and belongs to the orange family of hues. It is most similar to Pantone's *Taupe Gray*: classic, expensive, neutral, sophisticated and practical. *Taupe Gray* also bears the negative association of blandness. There are three attributes repeated within the costume colour meanings: classic, neutral and bland. The overwhelming image they convey is that of a quiet, unassuming, but exemplary individual. Given Helena's role, we could expect this woman to be a less dramatically action-oriented character, one quietly but firmly acquiescent to fate's offerings. This woman is not flighty in any way, keeps her dignity intact and (as the cream colour suggests), she is very likely to be a charming (*soft, sweet, warm*) person.



Figure 59. Helena's costume by Timothy O'Brien, 1967

Doreen Tanner wrote in the Liverpool Post (June 2, 1967) that Estelle Kohler's Helena was "...the prototype Shakespearean heroine, all innocence and youthful face. She

was younger than Juliet; more determined than Rosalind. She conveyed everything except the heartbreak of being rejected by the man she loved." The critic from the Birmingham Mail (June 2, 1967) refers to her "sheer charm", while the Yorkshire Post (June 2, 1967) describes her as "tender." These critics may have found Helena's youthfulness effective, but at least one critic did not. "As Helena, Estelle Kohler has a wistful manner but her 'little girl' voice is hardly suitable" (Nottingham Evening Post & News (June 2, 1967). Robert Speaight seems not to have been at the same production, having found Helena to be too "mature and confident" (in Leiter, 1986, p.9).

Seventies

Tanya Moiseiwitsch worked with David Jones for her third All's Well designs. This production was performed at the Stratford Festival, Canada in 1977. Her design decisions were influenced by Jones's discovery of a Georges de la Tour painting, *La Buona Ventura* (The Fortune Teller) (Figure 60). The painting depicts a gentleman (c.mid-1600s) being slyly robbed by a group of gypsyish women. Jones felt it suited the play's plots and counterplots, and suggested it as a design source. Moiseiwitsch found it to be a "wonderful sparking off" point, even for suggesting a sense of season: "The play opens with a feeling of autumn, then goes into a winter campaign, and ends in spring" (Moiseiwitsch in Stratford Beacon-Herald, June 4, 1977). Besides the prominent red colour (which particularly suits Parolles) Moiseiwitsch created a costume palette referential to the painting. The costumes tones lean towards rusts, browns, beiges, dull greens, greys and black with flashes of other colours such as blue, mauve and peach.



Figure 60. La Buona Ventura, by Georges de la Tour, c.1593-1652

Helena first appears in the black mourning colour dictated by the text: her second costume (Figure 61) is a taupe-coloured dress (*Bark*,16-1506) with cream-coloured sleeves (*Dawn*, 12-0811) and a dark-brown petticoat (*Antler*,17-1510). *Bark* has a moderately dark value (30-40% reflectance), is situated close to red in the orange sector of the colour wheel, and has a low saturation. *Antler* has a slightly darker value (20-30% reflectance), and is situated in the exact same position on the colour wheel as *Bark*, but is slightly more saturate. The brown colours resemble Pantone's *Taupe Gray* , and in combination with the cream-coloured sleeves, suggest characteristics similar to Timothy O'Brien's designs for the earlier British production of All's Well.



Figure 61. Helena's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1977

With her second costume, Helena wore a deep blue cloak (*Dark Blue*, 19-4035). The associative colour meanings for *Dark Blue* are similar to Pantone's *Navy*: classic, credible, authoritative, basic, conservative, strong, dependable, service-oriented, confident, professional, serene and quiet. For a young woman off to cure a King, something which the most eminent physicians had been unable to do, it was a most suitable apparel colour for inspiring the King's confidence.

With her next costume, Helena continued to appear in autumnal shades (*Toasted Almond*, 14-1213). This colour has a medium value (50-60% reflectance), is from the orange family of hues and has low saturation. It also shares associative attributes similar to *Taupe Gray*.

The last costume reviewed for Helena in this production is her pilgrim's dress and cloak. The dress (*Elder Berry*, 17-1605), has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), belongs to the red family of hues (although on the border with orange) and has a very low

saturation. Its most proximate Pantone colour is *Mauve*: classic, relaxing, sophisticated, soothing, soft, subdued. From these attributes we anticipate this Helena returning from her travels, not in a blazing flush of triumph, but rather with a quiet calmness of mind and body, more experienced in matters of the heart and prepared to restore a harmonious balance in the domestic affairs of Rousillon. Her cloak (*Apricot Ice*, 13-1020) conveys a timid warmth, while the petticoat and undersleeves continue the *Taupe Gray* attributes. *Apricot Ice* has a moderately light value (60-70% reflectance), belongs to the orange family of hues, and has medium saturation. The Pantone colour whose associative meanings it shares is *Peach*: fresh, soft, sweet, warm, luscious and inviting. The colour gives Helena the appearance of an appealing character and her presence helps create a soothing, refreshing atmosphere for the "stressed-out" gathering at Rousillon.

Based on the costume colours, the personality we are presented with suggests an essentially calm individual who has a strong and quiet confidence and is basically unselfish and caring. The dramatic contrast between the warm colours and the dark blue establish her as someone prepared to give of herself, be resolute and set her feelings aside in the course of a required duty.

Ralph Berry describes Martha Henry's Helena as being "overwhelmed by passion" within a "russet-brown, autumnal, Chekhovian" atmosphere, while Roger Warren felt that in spite of a sense of genuine harmony at the climax, Helena lacked an "intense, impassioned commitment to the play." In-between, Arthur Holmberg saw her as a "level-headed woman" (in Leiter, 1986, pps. 8-9). Gina Mallet was most critical of Martha Henry's Helena, stating that she was unconvincing:

... she becomes an undeniably powerful but rather negative presence. Her voice growls with sensuality, she looks beautiful, when she weeps real tears course down her cheeks. But she never springs the release catch, allows herself to be caught off-balance, to be vulnerable. (The Toronto Star, June 17, 1977).

Most of the character traits the critics observed are essentially reflected in Helena's costume colours. Her colours present a warm and caring woman with a degree of restraint and self control. Even allowing for the differing individual responses, it is possible that the criticism regarding the lack of passion and commitment was underlined by the subdued, non-showy colours.

Eighties

Trevor Nunn's 1981 All's Well at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, had a distinct class context as well as Chekhovian overtones. The production was set in the Edwardian period, immediately preceding World War I. For Helena's dance with the King, designer Lindy Hemming chose a silvery colour (Figure 62).



Figure 62. Helena's costume by Lindy Hemming, 1981

Silver has connotations of wealth and class: expensive, glitzy, moneyed, rich, valuable and cool. Helena had just cured the King, an act the courtiers regard as a miracle. She had every reason to feel valuable, to show some sparkle, believing a reward would soon be hers. Helena had gambled her life for high stakes: a noble (and it is implied, wealthy) heir. Not only had she won her immediate prize, but her future was also secured. In a production which emphasized class consciousness, Helena's silver-coloured garment also signalled her change in status.

Caught at the start of the war while on her pilgrimage, Helena tended the wounded in a sombre muted-purple costume (*Purple Sage*, 18-3712), with a white bib. It is a sombre colour because of its dark value (10-20% reflectance), blue-purple base, and low saturation. It is most closely allied to Pantone's *Deep Purple*, with its connotations of being regal, rich, mysterious, spiritual, artistic and powerful. Given this colour's context in the production it seems likely that in addition to its *spiritual* (idealistic, moral) aspects, its negative attributes were also intended -- mourning and melancholy for a world out of balance.

The reading with respect to the silver dress fits precisely with the description of the production's class structure, as the following quote illustrates:

The play began with a pantomime of figures on a dance-floor, a man and a woman slowly circling each other, shoulders barely brushing, but without any contact. Such was the tone of the relationship between Helena and Bertram. Each belonged to a separate world, Helena justified in her admiration of Bertram, and Bertram almost justified in his fears that marriage to Helena would mean the loss of the crystal-palace world of the court, with its shining young men and elegant ladies. Helena's role was ambiguous at Rousillon, where she stood halfway between her noble patrons and the army of chambermaids and servants; at court she was an anomaly altogether, out of place beside the bejeweled ladies (Mazer in Leiter, 1986, p.14).

The critic for the Daily Express (November 18, 1981) thought Harriet Walter's Helena conveyed passion, artfulness and relentless determination. Two critics describe her

as being believably distressed by her situation, labelling her "weepy" (Financial Times, Nov.18, 1981) and a "...love stricken medico's daughter, seemingly always on the verge of tears and bursting with undentable passion" (Guardian, Nov. 18, 1981). Another critic was not favorably impressed by Harriet Walter's characterization, calling it "selfishly aloof and hardly sympathetic" (Worcester Evening News, Nov. 18, 1981).

Harriet Walter discusses the part of Helena for this production in an account documented by Carol Rutter. For Harriet Walter, Helena is a very complex character.

When I came innocent to Helena's text, I had no trouble finding in the lines a woman who was very internal -- dark, intense, ... But one who was not sure of herself -- whose lines kept exposing her tentativeness, her sense of , ' I know this is crazy. I know I'm mad. I will probably fail. But I'm going to try' (Rutter, 1989, p.78).

Rutter discerned this interpretation on stage: " Helena was hesitant, secretive, internal, her language broken" (p.75).

The sense of determination Harriet Walter recognized in Helena was crucial to the interpretation of her character because, Walter believes, it is emblematic of Helena's ability to be an achiever within a male-oriented world. Helena is prepared to take responsibility for her life despite her rational fears regarding the necessary actions achieving those goals required. She is a woman "...proving something in a man's world...by taking on various properties of maleness, in decision-making, pursuing, wooing." Furthermore, she kept her skirt on. "Helena is perhaps Shakespeare's only heroine who achieves things in a male way without putting on trousers" (Rutter, 1989, p.75).

What Rutter and Walter identify as tentativeness and defensive determination does not appear to have been understood by the critics who were more impressed by Helena's passionate and unswerving spirit (that one critic directly addressed as selfish). On the other hand, Lindy Hemmings colour choices for Helena's costume reflect some of the attitudes informing Harriet Walter's characterization. At the risk of delving too deeply into

subconscious colour interpretation, the spirituality inherent in the sombre purple of the nursing uniform is in complete accord with Harriet Walter's belief that: " In *All's Well* ... you have to believe in the possibility of forgiveness and reconciliation." As Rutter states: "For Harriet, it's this sense of awe that lifts female achievement [in this play] into a metaphysical area. ... in her winning of a husband Helena achieves something higher: she exposes the secret workings of Fate, humanity's relationship to the gods" (Rutter, 1989, p.89).

In contrast to the productions reviewed to this point, Christina Poddubiuk's designs for the 1988 Stratford Festival's *All's Well* in Canada, were set in the crinoline period (1850s). Three costumes were observed for this analysis. The first dress is a subdued grey-blue colour (*Provincial Blue*, 18-4220) (Figure 63). The colour has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), a blue base, and medium-low saturation. It is a colour with no single close match to a Pantone associative colour meaning, resting between *Neutral Gray* and *Sky Blue*. If we examine those colours' meanings and extrapolate similar attributes, the only one repeated is *coolness*. But Helena's dress also incorporates a sash, trim at the sleeves and cuffs, and flashes of colour all over its surface. The trim is white, suggesting its occupant has pristine qualities. The sash is a blue-grey colour (*Cadet Gray*, 17-4111) with a tiny overall pattern in peach (*Gossamer Pink*, 13-1513). *Cadet Gray* has a moderately dark value (20-30% reflectance), is situated in the blue family of hues, and has low saturation. It is similar to *Provincial Blue* and shares its *cool* attribute.

Gossamer Pink has a much lighter value (60-70% reflectance), is from the orange family of hues, and has low saturation. Its presence in the costume colour composition offers relief from the overall coolness. The Pantone colour meanings associated with *Gossamer Pink* are the same as those given for *Peach*: soft, sweet, fresh, warm, luscious, inviting. In a sense, the character defined by Carol Rutter and Harriet Walter in the previous production assessed is here colour coded. This Helena was reserved (*cool*) and

pure (white), but her character was permeated by a disposition that was essentially loving and receptive of others (*warm, sweet, inviting*).



Figure 63. Helena's costume by Christina Poddiuk, 1988

Helena dons a greenish-blue cloak for her travels. The colour (*Sagebrush Green*, 18-5612) has a very dark value (10-20% reflectance), sits on the blue-green border of the colour wheel and has low saturation, giving it a subdued look. It closely resembles Pantone's *Teal*, thus sharing its associative meanings: classic, cool, expensive, sophisticated, rich and unique. Whether it is the same cloak worn for her visit to cure the King or as she embarks on her pilgrimage on Bertram's behalf, the cloak colour suggests a more mature (*sophisticated, classic*) figure who had a degree of self-confidence (*cool*), and is self-reliant (*cool*).

Helena's third costume is a black jacket and a dress with a small white all-over pattern on it. The mourning attributes of the black have already been remarked upon. The tiny white design establishes a sharp contrast in the complete colour perception, from the

audience's vantage. Once again, it is possible that Helena's internal conflict and strength of resolve are reflected in the strong contrasting costume colours. Helena has suffered a series of sorrowful events: the deaths of her father and her patron Count Rousillon, and rejection by the man she loves. At the same time, her character remains essentially intact and, having recognized in I.ii. that: "Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie, / Which we ascribe to heaven" (202-3), Helena's resolve to obtain the life she desires never waivers. Throughout this production, sharply contrasting costume colours such as the black and white of this ensemble, incorporating loss (black) and rebirth (white) could be recognized as signals underlining her characterization.

Lucy Peacock's Helena was not favorably reviewed. She was, according to Ray Conlogue of The Globe and Mail (June 2, 1988), "beautiful, sweet-tempered and virtuous ... But Peacock delivers only a kind of hale and hearty, generic good-feelingness. It is a charm so insistent that it loses all charm." The attributes suggested by her peach-coloured dress pattern appear to be present in this critique, but the dignified reserve, which the balance of her costume colours imply, appears to have been unobserved. On the other hand, the charm that does not in the end seem sincere, as suggested by Conlogue, and the smothering sense of "good-feelingness" with which Lucy Peacock portrayed Helena's character, could certainly have been emphasized by the cool, passionless tone of the costume colour.

The final production reviewed for this analysis is Barry Kyle's 1989 All's Well at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K. Chris Dyer set the costumes in the Cavalier period, favouring a costume palette in greyed beiges, browns, burgundy and blues. She followed Shakespeare's directions to introduce the Countess's household dressed all in a black: "pilgrim father ...dress with square lace collar...[and then changed] into a tartan smock" (Rutter, 1991). The black garment denotes Helena's mourning status; the tartan smock was not observed and is therefore not included in this analysis. For her

next appearance, Helena was attired in a deep blue dress, with white sleeves and neckline. This colour (*Midnight*, 19-4127) has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), a blue base, and medium saturation. It shares Pantone's *Navy* attributes: credible, authoritative, classic, conservative, strong, dependable, traditional, service-oriented, confident, professional, serene and quiet. *Midnight* is very similar to the costume colour Tanya Moiseiwitsch (1977) introduced in Helena's dress at the same point in the play. In a situation requiring conviction in her ability to cure the King, Helena's appearance is strengthened by the authoritative seriousness of her conservatively-coloured garment, while the touches of white both reiterate the classic "authority model" (navy suit and white shirt), and harken to the purity of her magical cure.

Having gained her reward, Helena appeared for the "choosing scene" (also known as the recantation scene) in a brighter blue-coloured dress (Figure 64). The colour (*Milky Blue*, 15-4415) has a medium value (40-50% reflectance), a strong blue base, and low saturation. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Aqua* : cool, soothing, soft, refreshing and liquid. This Helena is sober and calm as she approaches her dream, but the reality of her hopes is as ungrounded as the liquid allusions to which her costume hints. With Bertram's rejection of her suit, the atmosphere of the scene changes rapidly, like swirling water, shifting the mood from cheerfulness to misery.

The "blue" state of Helena's mood at the moment of Bertram's recantation is carried in the colour of her travelling cloak, but its brighter intensity suggests that even when Helena's triumph is grounded in shame, her character remains constant, in her resolution and her heart. The cloak is a clear blue colour (*Amparo Blue*, 18-3945) has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), purple-blue base and fairly high saturation. It shares Pantone's *Bright Blue* colour meanings: electric, energetic, vibrant, happy, dramatic and stirring.



Figure 64. Helena's costume by Chris Dyer, 1989

Chris Dyer's costume colour cues served as a reminder to the audience (consciously or unconsciously) of Helena's valiant character, someone who was not prepared to waste away as other Renaissance heroines had been known to do. She may not have been happy, but Helena was certainly energetic and action-oriented in her travels to Italy. Even further, this particular colour choice suggests that in this production, Helena's ambitions were emphasized, allowing for the possibility that she was negatively perceived as a man-hunter.

This reading is supported by Helena's last costume which was all white. The choice of white suggests a rebirth, and a renewed woman, intimating that she needed to change in order for a happy ending to be attained. By presenting Helena in a virginal colour, her role

as Bertram's redeemer was also communicated. The power of pure intentions resulting in a magical, happy resolution would have been underlined through the virginal presentation of the central character who had effected forgiveness and reconciliation.

R. Smallwood detected a "... strong hint of white witchery " (1990, p.494) in the production, thereby providing support for some of the previous comments. This is particularly evident (according to Smallwood) in the curing of the King, when Helena kicked " ...off her shoes to perform a circling, energetic, sexually assertive, slightly fey dance around him" (p.494). He describes Patricia Kerrigan's characterization as red-haired, Scottish, and "slightly gauche." She was presented as being clearly of a lower class than Bertram and as someone who had grown up more as his sister. This achieved two things: it justified Bertram's horror at what amounted to an incestuous union and it explained Helena's despair (based on similar reasons) at the start of the play. Smallwood observes that this Helena was both self assured, and self-aware from the beginning of the performance. The *cool* quality of her predominantly blue costume colours enhances these latter perceptions. In the same way, the final white costume colour assists in the white magical overtones needed to explain how the initial allusions to incest could be acceptably worked out.

From a feminist perspective, Rutter (1991) is convinced that director Barry Kyle got the "choosing scene" (II.iii.) all wrong. It is an important moment in the play, one that reveals at an early stage how Helena is characterized in the production. Patricia Kerrigan's Helena paced before the row of men " the only agent in the choosing process." As she progressed to the next soldier, the rejected one she had passed "...sighed a huge exhalation of relief and slumped, then straightened out immediately when Helena glanced back and slumped again when she turned around." The exaggerated relief at being rejected was repeated in a variety of ways, one fellow officer shook another's hand in comradely congratulations at being spared: "wiping his brow with an oversized gesture." When Helena came to

Bertram, she knelt before him " and she remained kneeling until the King forced Bertram to take her hand some seventy lines later ." The King had to revert to brute force, slapping Bertram's face and finally drawing his sword before Bertram would obey.

The scene was an utterly humiliating one for Helena. "The Helena their [soldiers'] reactions created was nobody's choice, a complete loser" (Rutter 1991). By having all the men reject her, there was no sense that Bertram's behaviour was a violation. Helena's character was demeaned and in the process, the credibility of the play's ending was weakened.

Costume colour/chartacterization: BERTRAM

At least one coloured documentation of Bertram's costume was found for each of the seven productions analyzed.

Fifties

Bertram was attired in a black tuxedo with a white shirt, vest and tie (Figure 65) in the 1953 production of All's Well designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch for the opening season of the Stratford Festival in Canada. It is a costume colour combination closely associated with the formal style of tuxedo dress and also closely interwoven with the context in which it is worn. The costume and colour combination is one strongly associated with getting "dressed up" for important events such as weddings or balls in the 50s. Furthermore, the tuxedo style had definite associations with high society, something a diversely composite audience from that era would have immediately recognized.

Both colours have classic connotations, supporting the distinguished attributes referred to above. The strong contrast between the two colours would have clearly etched the silhouette of a character on a stage that reaches out into the audience. The character wearing the costume would have had an aura of suave urbanity, if he wore his costume

well. Tuxedo "tails" require a certain finesse when seating oneself. This is not a style for puppy-faced and inexperienced young lads unless, by contrast, their youth and inexperience are intentionally emphasized. Bertram also wore a military tunic in this production (possibly khaki with a black beret, as described by Londre in Leiter, 1986, p.6), but no coloured image was viewed and it is therefore not included in this analysis. For the same reason, his opening costume (a dark two-piece suit) is also excluded.



Figure 65. Bertram's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1953

Arnold Edinborough's single comment that "Donald Harron managed to create a not impossible Bertram" (1954, p.49) does not offer much direct information regarding his characterization. Robertson Davies is equally non-specific, but offers more substance in building Bertram's character image when he states that the Stratford production made "amply clear" that Bertram is "...nothing worse than a very young man..." who has grown up in a household dominated by women. This explains his behaviour within the play that chronicles his growth from youth to maturity:

His first move, characteristically, is to idealize someone of his own sex, who happens to be the attractive though unworthy Parolles... His next forward step is to seek a girl of his own choosing at the same time as he is disillusioned with Parolles. At last, when he is ready for the kind of woman that Helena is, Helena is waiting for him. It needs no psychoanalyst, surely, to understand this entirely normal pattern of a young man's development? (1953, p.75).

For Davies, Bertram's behaviour is perfectly normal and understandable given the circumstances of his upbringing. He suggests that Bertram is no callow fellow, nothing more than a youth needing to sow his wild oats before he can settle down. Given this capsule commentary on Bertram's character and the court setting, it seems likely that Bertram conveys an image of privileged youth, perhaps awkward at the start, but later appearing more confident as he progressively matures .

The only costume colour for Bertram observed from the 1959 revival at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, is a khaki drill uniform (Figure 66), although black and white photographs indicate a dark-coloured two-piece suit for his leave-taking from his mother, and a dress cadet-like uniform for the ball scene. *Khaki* (16-0726) has a medium-dark value (30-40% reflectance), is situated in the yellow sector of the colour wheel and has medium saturation. Like *Olive Green*, *Khaki* has associations with camouflage, safari, the military and with being classic. Within this production *Khaki* was used to convey a direct military affiliation. In the decade following the war, the strength of its military meaning would have been heightened, assuring audience sympathy for the young soldier Bertram. This could have been especially compelling in the later scenes, when the pre-World War I setting changed to a post-World War II one with microphones and sophisticated equipment.



Figure 66. Bertram's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1959

Edward de Souza's characterization seems to have been similar to Donald Harron's Bertram (Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch production at the Stratford Festival). Muriel St.Clare Byrne felt that de Souza had exactly the right kind of male good looks for the part. He was:

...very, very young, stiff with undergraduate-level masculine and aristocratic self-conceit, cut exactly to the conventional pattern, as gullible and selfish as they come, the type that is always taken in by the knowingness, the flattery and the man-of-the-world swagger of a Parolles, and mentally about twenty years younger than Helena. ...He is too normal to be basically unlikeable: one simply has to wait for him to grow up (1959, p.562).

According to another critic, Tyrone Guthrie saw Bertram as "obstinate yet ambivalent" (Shaw in Leiter, 1986, p.8), which also supports the youthful characterization. Bertram's seeming ambivalence thus offers hope for his union with Helena. Following Bertram's

rejection of Helena's desire for marriage, Guthrie created a "...dumbshow in which, after sympathizing courtiers took silent leave of Bertram, the couple walked slowly toward the marriage hall. ...[then] emerged as from their wedding, Bertram regarding Helena with a tenderness which contrasted with his verbal expression of dissatisfaction with the situation" (Shaw in Leiter, 1986, p.8-9). Bertram's inner confusion was thus made evident, and this contrast with his outwardly cold demeanor helped to make his change of heart at the play's conclusion believable.

Sixties

Timothy O'Brien's designs for the 1967 production of All's Well at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, are set in the mid-17th century, roughly corresponding to the Cavalier period. Bertram is colour co-ordinated with the set in a manner similar to the one used for the majority of the play's characters. Two costume colours were observed for colour analysis.

For the "choosing scene" he wore a blue doublet and pumpkin hose, an off-the-shoulder cape and white stocks, collar and cuffs (Figure 67). The blue colour (*Celestial*, 18-4530) has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), is centrally situated in the blue sector of the colour wheel, and has medium saturation. This blue most closely resembles Pantone's *Teal Blue* with its connotations of being cool, classic, expensive, sophisticated, rich and unique. This particular blue tone serves to establish his privileged position because he and the King are the only members of the court wearing it. The choice of an overall blue tone for this scene may define the Court as a whole, but the King and Bertram are distinguished by the lighter value and the saturation of their blue. In this way, not only the unique qualities of the colour are inferred, but the allusion to added wealth (associated with the colour) is also presented.



Figure 67. Bertram's costume by Timothy O'Brien, 1967

When Helena returned from her pilgrimage (and figuratively, from the dead), she encountered a Bertram suitably dressed in mourning black, with white cuffs and collar in the manner of the Puritans. The colour connotation was utilized straightforwardly to convey his remorse and grief for a wife he thought he had lost.

Critics refer to the production as "all sweetness and light" (Liverpool Post, June 2, 1967), "straightforward" (Nottingham Evening Post & News, June 2, 1967), and "a simple production ...set out to contrast the final frustrations of age and the first frustrations of youth" (Yorkshire Post, June 2, 1967). Within this production, Ian Richardson's Bertram was "... an energetic youth with all the off-handedness of the self-centred man" (Yorkshire Post, June 2, 1967), and "a sulky boy, comically pulling a long face when Helena chose him for a husband and getting his laughs for it" (Liverpool Post, June 2, 1967). The critic for the Coventry Evening Telegraph (June 2, 1967) perceives, in his characterization, "a slight sardonicism, coupled with an almost belligerent hypocrisy towards his mother and the King." It is difficult to reconcile these descriptions with the

same character whom another critic describes as: "charming and intelligent, but too young for the demands of either married life or courtly life" (Gross in Leiter, 1986, p.9).

Apart from the allusion to a privileged, even pampered youth, which Bertram's blue costume colour contextually implies, and apart from the idea of a certain maturity being attained by the play's end (Bertram presents at least the external motions of mourning), his costume colours offer little clue to his character. This is very likely due to the predominant, overt colour coding the designer employed to describe locale and status. From this late vantage, the pervasiveness of the general colour associations overshadow individual character readings.

Seventies

Two complete costume changes, plus the addition of a cloak, were observed from the 1977 Stratford Festival production designs by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. Bertram first entered the play clad in a mourning-black Cavalier-style jacket and breeches, with an off-white shirt. His next costume consisted of a brass-studded brown jacket (*Nutmeg*, 18-1326) with darker brown sleeves and breeches (*Dark Earth*, 19-1020), worn with a khaki-tinted shirt (*Gravel*, 14-1014) (Figure 68). *Nutmeg* has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), is from the orange family of hues, and has medium low saturation. *Dark Earth* has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), is also situated in the orange section of the colour wheel, and has a slightly lower saturation.

Both colours correspond to Pantone's *Dark Brown* : earthy, rich, masculine, warm, dependable, secure and rugged. *Dark Brown* also carries negative associations: sombre and dirty. These attributes are continued into the cloak's dominant colour (*Pinecone*, 19-1121), an even darker shade of brown.



Figure 68. Bertram's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1977

The suggestion of added warmth of character is conveyed through the cloak's lining colour (*Burnt Henna*, 19-1540). This colour also has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance) and belongs to the orange family of hues, but it is situated almost on the border between orange and red, which, along with its higher saturation, gives it greater heat. The shirt's *Gravel* colour, similar to *Khaki*, but lighter in value, adds to the masculine qualities associated with the pervasive brown-tones of his costume through *Khaki*'s military attributes.

The overall image conveyed suggests a very masculine figure, one who is sensual (*earthy*), and has a tendency to be emotional (*warm*), or perhaps somewhat hot-headed. We do not gain any sense of sophistication (he is *rugged*) or pretense (he is *secure* and therefore has no need to pretend) in this individual, but rather perceive someone having innate solid values (*dependable*) and being more a man than boy (*masculine*). On the other hand, the possibility for becoming soiled might well suggest that this Bertram is not an

angel, and the negative attribute of being sombre points to a man not essentially gay and light-hearted.

Ralph Berry (in Babula, 1981, p.8) saw, in Nicholas Pennell's characterization, a Bertram with more than one of the above attributes. Bertram had "...a certain charm, but no wholesomeness", adding that to his credit, Bertram was "...unreserved in his final pledge of love." Roger Warren hints at the essential strength of Bertram's character when he states that: "The production does not sentimentalize Bertram by suggesting that Parolles is his 'evil genius' " (in Babula, p.9). Our most complete character picture is sketched by Gina Mallet (The Toronto Star, June 17, 1977) whose portrait confirms the costume colour reading offered above. Mallet's criticism, that Nicholas Pennell's Bertram does "...not have the callous swagger", agrees with a reading that indicates a secure masculine core, and her criticism that he lacked "...boyish impetuosity" negates the "hot-head" label, but confirms the preconception of a more manly figure. Her final appellation, "sourpuss", affirms the sombre attribution.

Eighties

The first costume examined for Trevor Nunn's 1981 All's Well production at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre is a black Tuxedo-type of costume with a red pant-leg stripe (Figure 69). The similarity of this costume style and colour suggests the same characterization as Donald Harron's Bertram in the Stratford Festival production designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch in 1953: Bertram was a very young and essentially harmless individual whose behaviour was largely the result of youth and privilege.



Figure 69. Bertram's costume by Lindy Hemming,1981

The addition of the red stripe gives a spark to the costume, relaying supplementary character attributes. The stripe (*Poinsetta*, 17-1654) has a moderately dark value (20-30% reflectance), sits on the border between orange and red on the colour wheel, and is highly saturate. It corresponds to Pantone's *Fiery Red*, signifying heat, excitement, blood, passion, fire, intensity, sexiness, energy, drama, happiness, daring and provocativeness, as well as the negative attribute of rage.

From the addition of *Fiery Red* we may judge this Bertram to be part of the proper and established environment suggested by his tuxedo apparel, but he also had a strong streak of youthful rebellion and willfulness (*drama, daring, excitement, provocativeness*). He was eager to experience life (*intensity, energy*), especially its sensual elements (*sexiness, passion, fire, blood*). This Bertram was essentially a happy being. Such are the connotations the red coloured stripe may have conveyed on some level to the audience.

Without negating this colour reading, it is recognized that the stripe is likely part of a standard uniform style for all the young soldiers at Court, signifying their position of honour within it. The meanings remain, but a greater degree of non-specificity with respect to the bearer would apply. Thus, the red stripe's associative colour meaning would characterize the unit of soldiers as a whole, and the individuals belonging to it would inherit the attributes by virtue of affiliation.

In the play's final scene the cast of characters were all attired in beige tints. Bertram wore a two-piece light-beige Edwardian suit (*Mauve Morn*, 12-2102). This colour has a light value (70-80% reflectance), is situated in the red sector of the colour wheel, and has a very low saturation. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Cream*, having smooth, rich, softness, sweet, classic, neutral and bland associations. *Mauve Corn* conveys a very different attitude than that of Bertram's first costume colour, perhaps suggesting a correspondent change in the character himself. This colour is quieter and implies a gentler, less attention-seeking characterization. Alternatively, the colour may be a commentary on Bertram's lack of commitment (*bland*), with respect to his marriage with Helena.

Production reviews support both the individual and the status associations offered in the colour readings. Bertram was perceived as essentially unlikeable because he remained "...a callow selfish cub until the last moments" (Daily Express, November 18, 1981). Michael Billington, one of the major critics of British theatre in recent years, is of the opinion that Parolles spoke the truth when he described Bertram as "a foolish, idle boy but very ruttish" (The Guardian, November 18, 1981) thus confirming the sensuality suggested by the red colour.

Other critics were more forgiving of his behaviour, believing it to be a result of his environment. The Worcester Evening News reviewer states that "Mike Gwilyms' Bertram blends with his surroundings to suggest his insensitivity" (November 18, 1981), while the Financial Times reviewer frankly observes Bertram's affiliation with the world of

soldiering: "... [Bertram] is the uncaring *Beau Soldat*, oblivious to promises and notions of duty until the circumstances of the comedy prepare him to accept them" (November 18, 1981). The same reviewer also refers to Bertram's character as having been given a "sharp amoral contemporary kick", implying that Bertram was out for what he could get: that he was eager and willing to "make out", to engage in sex. Overall, the reviews seem to indicate a characterization that, by the play's end, had indeed changed. The seeming incompatibility of the two diverse costume colour messages is thus eliminated.

In a production that appears to be set in the American Civil War, Christina Poddubiuk (Stratford Festival, 1988) dressed Bertram in a dark grey military frock coat with lighter grey trousers. The frock coat colour (*Steel Gray*, 18-4005) has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), belongs to the blue colour family, and has very low saturation. The trousers' colour (*Cadet Gray*, 17-4111) has a slighter lighter value (20-30% reflectance), and is more saturate, but like *Steel Gray*, belongs to the blue family of hues. The darker value and lower saturation of *Steel Gray* places it closer to Pantone's *Neutral Gray* with its associative meanings of quality, classic, cool, sober, corporate and practical, and the negative associations of boring, mousy and ghostly.

As the earlier notation regarding *Cadet Gray* (for Helena's costume in the same production) indicates, its predominant associative colour meaning is *coolness*. We could conclude from this repeated idea of *coolness* that this Bertram was the opposite of a hot-headed youth. And, as the other attributes suggest, duty to his position (*corporate*), both as a soldier and as the male head of his father's estate, ranked above personal desire. This Bertram was perhaps more cruelly determined in his behaviour, and less caring about the hurt he inflicted on others. Once again, the strong association of this colour with a recognizable uniform probably dominated any particular character attributes the colours may have signified on an individual level.

Conlogue (The Globe and Mail, June 2, 1988) saw a clear reflection of Gone With The Wind in this production, with Bertram as a stand in for Rhett Butler. Bertram was: "...a disdainful, womanizing hero who torments the true love of the heroine." This description of Nigel Hamer's characterization corresponds to the costume colour reading given above. By dressing Bertram in the same hue as the rest of the soldiers, the risk of his character having enough presence did exist. Ultimately, it could have been a factor contributing to Conlogue's perception that : "Hamer plays Bertram with a sonorous rhetorical quality but no personality."

Chris Dyer's costume colour choices for Bertram in the 1989 production of All's Well at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, are more individualized. For the "choosing scene" Bertram was clad in cream-coloured doublet and breeches (Figure 70). The colour (*Cream Pearl*, 12-1106) has a light value (70-80% reflectance), belongs to the orange colour family, and has very low saturation. It is most like Pantone's *Cream*: connoting smoothness, richness, neutrality, softness, sweetness, being classic and warm, with the negative attribute of blandness. By association, the character wearing it would have signaled that he was an untested youth (*soft, neutral*) who appeared to be charming (*sweet, warm*) and was from an established family (*rich, smooth, classic*). In view of the play's relatively limited production history, an audience approaching the performance with no preconceptions would have no reason to challenge such a reading as they gazed at Bertram amongst his fellow courtiers. His cruelty towards Helena would thus be all the more unsettling, sharpening the scene's dramatic edge while at the same time alluding to a youth would have helped to make his behaviour more palliative for the audience.

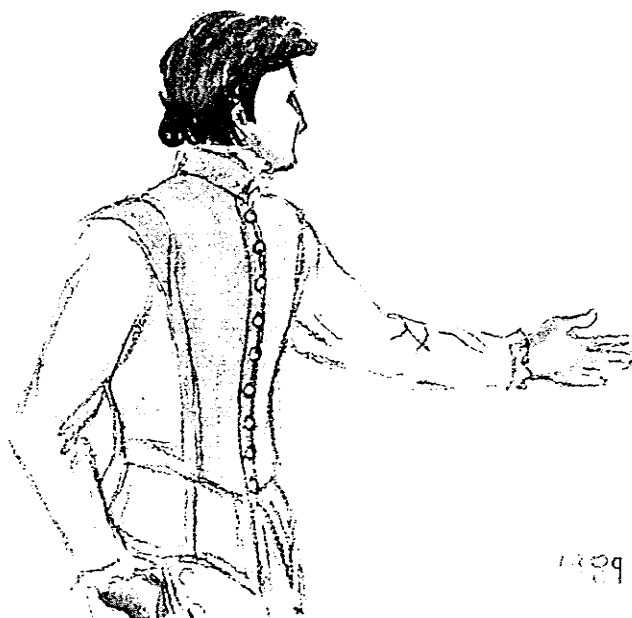


Figure 70. Bertram's costume by Chris Dyer, 1989

Bertram's second costume was predominantly blue, consisting of a blue cadet jacket (*Periwinkle*,16-4032), a darker blue sash (*Dark Blue*,19-4035) and white breeches. *Periwinkle* has a moderately dark value (30-40% reflectance), is situated on the border of blue and purple, and has medium saturation. The darker blue colour is almost identical, except for the much darker value (0-10% reflectance). *Periwinkle* shares Pantone's *Sky Blue* colour meanings: calm, cool, clean, peaceful, restful, constant, fresh, happy, soft, faithful and true. Because of its darker value, *Dark Blue* is closer to Pantone's *Spectrum Blue* : electric, happy, energetic, vibrant, dramatic and stirring. When set against the starkness of the white breeches, the combined blue tones would have been the most prominent signifiers.

The single attribute repeated in both blues is *happy*, while the *soft* attribute noted in the cream colour of his earlier costume also reappears. Taken together, the image of a young man who was untouched by life's often difficult lessons continued to be seen. And once

again, the associations of the cadet uniform would sway much of the colour and character interpretation towards group affiliation and a corresponding unit characterization.

Just as Timothy O'Brien decided to assist the credibility of Bertram's grief in the last scene of the 1967 RST production by dressing him in mourning black, Chris Dyer followed suit in this one. Bertram appeared all in black, except for his white shirt. The choice of one of the Puritan's "sadde colours" in a production set around that historical period, provided strong signals of Bertram's changed status to the audience. Not only was he grieving for his (assumed) dead wife, but he also no longer wore a *soft* or *happy* colour, thereby revealing his altered personality very directly. The colour provided a clear message that Bertram had matured from boyhood to manhood.

The initial costume colour/character readings offered above seem to have been understood by at least one reviewer, who describes Bertram as "Fair-haired, not unhandsome in a baby-faced sort of way, a little smug in his aristocratic immaturity and with a certain guilelessness, even in the hopelessly transparent lies of the final scene" (Smallwood, 1990, p.494). Smallwood's comments suggest that Bertram was convincingly young, untouched by real life problems, and happy in his position. The lack of guile, "...even ...in the final scene" is more problematic. Reviewing it with the particular black associative meanings described above, we do not gain a sense of the implied maturation, but this is resolved by Smallwood's further description of Paul Venable's Bertram. In the final scene, Bertram embraced his mother and Helena simultaneously. Smallwood believed that "The simultaneous embracing of wife and mother, of the feminine principle itself, one was surely meant to perceive, signaled Bertram's final escape from boyhood" (1989, p.495). His words parallel the intent that is apparent in the shift to the black costume colour.

Costume colour/ characterization: KING of FRANCE

Coloured reproductions of costumes from five productions were examined for this study. Black and white photographs of the Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch All's Well at the Stratford Festival show the King wearing a dark-valued smoking jacket over a white shirt in the "curing scene" (II.i.), and what is almost certainly a black tuxedo/white shirt and tie combination for the final ball scene at the end of this production. Because this exact costume colour and style combination has been analyzed in the section on Bertram's costume colour, it is not repeated here.

Fifties

The British revival of the Guthrie/Moiseiwitsch All's Well at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon in 1959 also featured a smoking jacket for the King's costume. Moiseiwitsch had specified that it should be a "dark brownish wine " colour. She had a very precise idea of what that meant, as indicated by her emphatic "no!" jotted beside a sample that was slightly less saturated.

The jacket colour (*Rosewood*, 19-1532) had a rich reddish-brown tone. It has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), belongs to the orange family of hues, and has medium saturation. The closest corresponding Pantone colour is *Burgundy* : classic, expensive, deep, warm, elegant, rich and refined. These attributes seem entirely appropriate for a man who represents royalty. Even further, the colour suggests that the type of person wearing it was, in addition to being a man of stature, a kind (*warm*) individual. This King was no shallow man encased in the trappings of royalty, but was a truly noble individual with a profound (*deep*) understanding of human nature. The King's costume included a white scarf. The *classic* association of the wine colour is repeated in the attributes of the white colour, thus reinforcing the inherent good breeding of this individual.

Robert Hardy's portrayal of the King seems to have fit this image. Muriel St. Clare Byrne describes his character as being shrewd and semi-ironic, combining the "...quiet, assured dignity of age and office with the individual, perhaps slightly hypochondriacal, irritability which is necessary for his initial resistance to Helena, his harshness to Bertram, and his sudden loss of patience with Diana at the end of the play" (1959, p.561).

Sixties

For John Barton's 1967 production of All's Well at the same theatre eight years later, designer Timothy O'Brien set the King in blue doublet and breeches with white collar, cuffs, and stocks (Figure 71). The blue (*Celestial*, 18-4530) has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), is at the centre of the blue sector of the colour wheel, and has medium saturation. Like Bertram's costume colour from the same production, it shares Pantone's *Teal Blue* associative colour meanings: classic, cool, expensive, sophisticated, rich and unique.



Figure 71. The King of France's costume by Timothy O'Brien, 1967

Just as Bertram's costume set him apart (*unique*) from the rest of the courtiers and allied his status more directly with the King, this colour coding distinguished the King of France as a man of stature and position. O'Brien's king was in control (*cool*), understood his subject's foibles (*sophisticated*) and knew how to handle them in a dignified and effective manner (*classic*). The relative brightness of his costume, like Bertram's, does not, however, suggest the depth of character that the 1959 production's colour attributes do.

Critics had little to say about the characterization. Desmond Pratt called Sebastian Shaw's character a "...reminiscent King of France" (Yorkshire Post, June 2, 1967), while Doreen Tanner described his as one of three "...extremely sympathetic performances" that "...managed to temper down their charm with wit and sharpness, something the production as a whole didn't do" (Liverpool Post, June 2, 1967). And, despite the obvious focus on the contrasting attitudes of age and youth, the King's character was also presented with a light touch: "...the King was played lightly, even whimsically, lying sprawled on a sofa with his hands over his ears while Helena tried to persuade him to submit to her ministrations" (Gross in Leiter, 1986, p.9). These comments seem to indicate a somewhat "hit and miss" situation with respect to the above costume colour and character reading. The more superficial treatment of the character is substantiated, and to a certain degree, the tempered "charm" and "wit" commented upon suits the sophisticated individual that the costume colour suggests. What seems to be lacking is the autumnal tone the "reminiscent" King appellation conjures. We do have a sense that this was someone reflecting back on his life. The emphasis on age contrasting with youth is not in any way expressed through the costume colour, thus contributing to rather than interfering with the lighter interpretation of the play as a whole.

Seventies

Age and infirmity appear to be more directly alluded to in Tanya Moiseiwitsch's designs for the King in the 1977 Stratford Festival production. When Helena approached him with

her cure, the King wore a long silver grey (*Limestone*,16-4702) dressing gown over cream-coloured (*Gravel*,14-1014) under-apparel (Figure 72). The dressing gown had slightly contrasting grey collar, cuffs and sash (*Ash*,16-3802). *Limestone* has a moderately dark value (30-40% reflectance), is from the blue family of hues, and has a very low saturation. *Ash* has the same value, is from the blue-purple sector of the colour wheel, and also has a low saturation. *Gravel* has a medium value (50-60% reflectance), is from the orange family of hues, and has low saturation.

Both grey colours correspond to Pantone's *Neutral Gray*: classic, cool, sober, practical and quality, with the negative associations, boring, and ghostly. The underclothing colour most closely correspond's to Pantone's *Cream* colour attributes: smooth, rich, soothing, neutral, soft, classic, sweet, warm and bland. Both sets of colour meanings infer rich (*quality*) and classic characterization, while the *sober* attribute directly comments on the King's health condition, a state of health that was given a sad prognostication by the ghostly connotation.

The next costume reviewed was predominantly blue. The King wore dark blue jacket and breeches (*Moroccan Blue*,19-4241), with a brown sash (*Sepia*, 18-0928) and a pale blue (*Powder Blue*, 14-4214) baldric (a ribbon crossing over one shoulder and under the opposite arm). With this costume, the King also wore a blue cloak (*Cameo Blue*,16-4414) with a paler blue lining (*Arona*, 16-4109). *Moroccan Blue* is a cross between Pantone's *Teal* and *Spectrum Blue* colour meanings: classic, cool, expensive, sophisticated, rich, unique, electric, happy, energetic, vibrant, dramatic and stirring. When both sets of attributes are considered, the character they suggest is someone of notable rank (*unique*), appropriately distinguished and wealthy (*classic, cool, sophisticated, rich*), and in charge of whatever situation he was in (*electric, energetic, vibrant*).



Figure 72. The King's costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1977

The cloak colour (both outer and lining) and the baldric colour are closest to Pantone's *Sky blue* associative colour meanings: calm, cool, peaceful, restful, constant, fresh, happy, soft, faithful and true. Two of these attributes intersect with the earlier set: *cool* and *happy*. It seems logical that a man who has just been cured of his debilitating illness would be happy, and *cool* offers testimony of his regal demeanor. In sum, all the character connotations the King's costume colours carry suggest a powerful and dynamic individual, one very much at the centre of his Court and involved in its proceedings. He was a figure of authority (*cool, unique*), who cared about his subjects and his allies (*constant, faithful, true*). Additionally, the warmth of his sash colour (*Sepia*) corresponds to Pantone's *Dark Brown* attributes: earthy, rich, masculine, warm, dependable, secure, durable, rugged, sombre, and soiled, reinforcing this perception and alluding to an approachable sovereign.

As one review indicates, the change from the sombre neutral gray to the more vibrant and energetic blue paralleled the King's character development: "William Hutt's King moves from listlessness to animation" (Berry in Babula, 1981, p.8). The King's authority and his warm approachability were remarked upon by Gina Mallet who described Hutt's characterization as a "fairy-tale" style king who rules with "grandfatherly reproof" (The Toronto Star, June 17, 1977). These reviews support the costume colour reading.

Eighties

In keeping with the pale tints colouring the cast and stage for the final scene of Trevor Nunn's 1981 All's Well at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in England, the King wore a beige-coloured Edwardian suit (Figure 73). The colour (*Sheer Pink*, 12-1106) has a light value (70-80% reflectance), belongs to the orange colour family, and has low saturation. Like Bertram's costume colour for the same production, it shares Pantone's *Cream* associative colour meanings: smooth, rich, soothing, neutral, soft, classic, sweet, warm and bland. Given the scene in which the King wears this colour, these attributes are very appropriate to his role. Not only do they convey his position (rich, classic), but they directly comment on his behaviour in that particular scene. It is the King who suggests that "All yet seems well; / and if it end so meet, / The bitter past, more welcome is the sweet" (V.iii.326-7). His words evidence a peacemaker, a soothing presence after the initial confusion and distress created by Diana and Helena's disclosures; they suggest a benevolent type of King.



Figure 73. The King's costume by Lindy Hemming, 1981

The Daily Express reviewer refers to John Franklyn-Robbins as portraying a "...benign King" suggesting that his costume colour reading is accurate. The following quote also supports this image of him: "The tone for the final scenes (of acceptance and reconciliation) was set, not by the young lovers, but by the older generation..." (Mazer in Leiter, 1986, p.14). The King was part of the dignified group of authority figures whose integrity and understanding assisted the transition from Helena's alienation to her acceptance by Bertram at the play's end.

Three costumes were examined from the 1988 Stratford Festival production of All's Well. Besides the military grey frock coat and trousers (the second costume) worn by Bertram and other men at Court, the King entered the play in an offwhite frock coat (*Vapour*, 12-4302), blue vest (*Pearl Blue*, 14-4206), brown trousers (*Otter*, 18-1018), and tie (*Brown Sugar*, 17-1134). *Vapour* has a light value (70-80% reflectance), belongs to the

blue family of hues and has a very low saturation. It is most closely related to Pantone's *White*: pure, cool, classic and pristine, in addition to the negative attribute, sterile. The image of this character is a noble one. The costume's second largest colour coverage is of *Otter*, corresponding to Pantone's *Taupe* colour meanings: classic, expensive, neutral, sophisticated, practical and negatively, bland. These attributes embellish the note of distinction (*classic*) and add the element of experience (*sophisticated*) and solidity (*practical*) to the character.

The *Pearl Blue* vest colour is similar to Pantone's *Sky Blue*, connoting calm, cool, peaceful, restful, constant, fresh, happy, soft, faithful and true character attributes for those who wore it. The *Brown Sugar* tie colour reinforces *Otter*'s colour reading. The King's third costume colour was a very deep green (*Dark Green*, 19-5513) frock coat and trousers, with a white shirt. This colour has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), is centrally situated in the green sector of the colour wheel, and has a low saturation. *Dark Green*'s Pantone associative colour meanings are: classic, cool, earthy, rich, quiet, expensive and traditional.

Two attributes are repeated, *classic* and *cool*, suggesting a reading based on those meanings. This could indicate that the character of the King was perceived to be a traditional one ("in the classic mold of") and somewhat emotionally restrained (*cool*). Thus we gain an image of a regal individual who had authority but did not exercise it at the expense of forgetting his more gentle and humane qualities, nor did he forget the value of consistency in his dealings with people.

A statement from Ray Conlogue's review of the production for The Globe and Mail supports this conception entirely: "The King is presented with dignity and verisimilitude" (June 12, 1988). Joseph Shaw's characterization appears to have been in accord with the associative meanings inherent in his costume colours.

Chris Dyer is the only designer whose observed costume colours for the King are connected overtly with the traditional royal colour, purple. The designer's first costume for Barry Kyle's 1989 *All's Well* production at the RST, Stratford-Upon-Avon is a deep blue cloak (*Strong Blue*, 18-4051) with white ermine collar (another royal symbol) over a white robe. Over all this, the King wore a rich purple shawl (*Petunia*, 19-3632). *Strong Blue* has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), is situated on the border between blue and purple on the colour wheel, and is highly saturated. This colour lies between Pantone's *Spectrum Blue* and *Teal* for its associative colour meanings: happy, electric, energetic, vibrant, dramatic, stirring, classic, cool, expensive, sophisticated, rich and unique. *Petunia* has the darkest value (0-10% reflectant), is from the purple family of hues, and has a medium saturation. It is most closely related to Pantone's *Royal Purple* for associative colour meaning: royal, happy, exciting, sensual, flamboyant, creative and negatively, loud.

The only attribute that embraces the two colours is *happy*. It seems unsuitable for the context of a costume worn at a time when the King was in ill health. The purple colour's strong association with royalty was likely the uppermost reason for the designer's choice. In combination with the richness of the blue cloak and the pristine white robe, it would present a strikingly regal figure and provide an immediate signal of his status. This characterization was strengthened by his second costume colour.

Following his cure, the King discarded his robe, cloak and shawl, and appeared in a cream-coloured (*Linen*, 12-1008) jacket and breeches, with a white shirt and stocks (Figure 74).



Figure 74. King of France's costume by Chris Dyer, 1989

He then donned a deep-purple vest and cloak over this costume. The colour was the same one as in his earlier costume and held the same significance. *Linen* has a light value (70-80% reflectance), belongs to the orange colour family, and has a low saturation. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Cream* colour attributes: smooth, rich, soothing, neutral, soft, classic and sweet, with the associated negative connotation of blandness. Given the character's part, the audience would perceive that this King, above all else, conveyed the impression his prestigious position dictates; he was confident (*smooth*), regal (*classic, rich*) and impartial (*neutral*) in his rule.

R. Smallwood was left in no doubt as to the King's characterization. Despite his feeling that the production concepts worked against the role, the King remained a respected regal

figure: " ...for all his ailments, and his court full of effete young men [meant to harken back to the tired court of James I], Hugh Ross's King was never anything but dignified and stylish, and, in his defense of Helena's claims to honor, or his control of the final scene, right-minded and decisive" (1990, p.494). It is interesting that the negative association (*bland*) of the King's cream costume colour should have been one of Smallwood's choices to describe the production as a whole: "Although in places a little bland, a little unresponsive to some of the more bitter tones...the production offered a coherent and engaging version of the play" (p.495).

Costume colour/characterization: PAROLLES

When George Bernard Shaw saw the Birmingham Repertory's production of All's Well in 1927, (a play which he stated thenceforth became "rooted in my deeper affections") the part of Parolles was "...presented as an amiable, too smart young man, a *sommelier's* scourge, (played by) a youth of nineteen, virile, heavy-browed, darkly handsome" (Trewin, 1963, p.90). The legendary actress Ellen Terry's diary notation referring to this handsome young man as "Already a great actor" was accurate, for the part of Parolles had been played by Laurence Olivier. Regrettably, that production does not form part of this analysis, but it does provide a preface for the appearance and the character perception of Parolles. It is worthwhile to note that this 1927 production, directed by H.K.Ayliff, was performed in contemporary clothing, making it one of the trail-blazers for that design approach. Equally of note is the reminder that Tanya Moiseiwitsch's step-father was a director at the theatre at that time.

For the productions in this research, only four coloured costume images for Parolles were found; three were designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. The following analysis includes one costume from each production of All's Well that she designed.

Fifties

A black and white photograph from the Stratford Festival production of All's Well in 1953 shows Parolles being interrogated by a group of soldiers. All of the players, including Parolles, are dressed in khaki drill uniforms. The only observable distinguishing feature separating Parolles from the others is his handlebar moustache. It seems evident that this costume colour had straightforward military signification, which Parolles characterization incorporated by his affiliation with it.

Parolles's dress uniform at court is a different matter. In acknowledgement of Shakespeare's cues regarding the "red tail'd humble bee" (IV.v), the designer adorned Parolles in a vermilion red uniform with canary yellow facings and cuffs trimmed in gold braid aiglettes and buttons. The specific colour names are noted by her. The equivalent Pantone red is *Grenadine* (17-1558) (Figure 75). It has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), is situated in the orange family of hues, and is highly saturated. Pantone lists a *Canary Yellow* (12-0633) that parallels the costume colour in terminology and in precise hue. The colour has a light value (70-80% reflectant), is situated in the yellow sector of the colour wheel, and has medium saturation.

Grenadine is closely related to the colour meaning of Pantone's *Fiery Red*: fire, excitement, hot, passionate, intense, sexy, energetic, active, dramatic, stimulating, happy, dynamic, daring and provocative. *Canary Yellow* most closely resembles Pantone's *Sundance* colour connotations: bright, cheerful, happy, hot, luminous, energetic and negatively, jaundice. Three attributes, *hot*, *happy*, and *energetic*, are shared by the two colours. We could thus expect that this production's Parolles was treated humorously, the "light nut" that Lafeu describes him as in Act II.(v.). We gain no sense of a victim, or of a cruel individual, but of a stereotypical swaggering Parolles who behaves rashly, loves carousing and cuts a dashing figure in comparison to the other soldiers.



Figure 75. Parolles costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1953

Whittacker (1953, p.xxi) describes Douglas Campbell as a " ...rude red Parolles." Other reviews refer to the "...low comedy" that he and his fellow soldiers provided (Edinburgh, 1954, p.50). It is little to go on, but taken together with the production's overall comic emphasis, there is ample support for the costume colour/ character reading offered above.

There was no red costume found for the 1959 revival of All's Well, designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch for the RST, Stratford-Upon-Avon. Parolles wore military summer dress, consisting of a khaki-coloured jacket, shirt and shorts, with black beret and socks for Act II (Figure 76). In addition to this standard uniform, he had an orange-coloured (*Cheddar Cheese*, 15-1150) cravat and a beret plume of similar hue.

The khaki-coloured uniform and its associations with the traditional military dress so familiar to the post-World War II audience has already been addressed (Bertram, 1959; Parolles, 1953). The orange cravat and plume offer a distinctive colour signal to the audience. *Cheddar Cheese* has a moderately dark value (40-50% reflectance), is situated in the orange sector of the colour wheel, and is highly saturate. It shares Pantone's *Orange Peel* associative colour meanings: bright, happy, warm, hot, glowing, vital, harvest, fun, playful, gregarious, friendly, and negatively, loud.



Figure 76. Parolles' costume by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1959

The attributes appear to be similar to those suggested for his 1953 costume colours, but extend that character's costume colour connotations further. This colour directly signals *fun* and *playful* along with the *happy*, and *hot* attributes. The character they seem to convey is not intended to be taken seriously in any way. The negative attribution of *loudness* extends the notion that Parolles was likely somewhat of a buffoon within the regiment, the type of swaggering "loudmouth" who appears to need to be the centre of any

jovial crowd. The orange cravat and plume serve as the colourful costume components that the old courtier Lafeu draws attention to throughout the play.

J.Trewin calls Cyril Luckham's Parolles a "...saloon-bar blowhard" (in Babula, 1981, p.5), but another reviewer states that the extreme "comic horseplay in the camp scenes ... minimized the singularity of Parolles, placing the braggart among a confederation of incompetents" (Shaw in Leiter, 1986, p.8). J. Price (1968, p.57) describes those camp scenes as being even more farcical than they had been in the earlier 1953 production. Cyril Luckham's depiction of Parolles's character is described by another reviewer as a "... beautifully observed parody of a sham officer" (The New York Times, April 22, 1959).

Muriel St. Clare Byrne's comprehensive review in the Shakespeare Quarterly offers the most complete account of characterization within this production. She recounts Cyril Luckham's Parolles as being:

... a special sponger, an Edwardian bounder with touches of the post-1945 "temporary gentleman" recognizably a modern equivalent for the parasite-braggart soldier. The Edwardian lady distrusted him at sight: with his taste for loud checks he belonged in a male demi-monde of club smoking rooms. In our time he has again become a proper-up of bar counters. He pushes in with his betters, is tolerated by his own sex for stooge-value rather than rich roguery, but remains an outsider. He must sing for his supper whatever tune they call, unless he has a Bertram in tow.... By making no bid for sympathy but submitting with complete artistic integrity to the author's ruthless onion-peeling, this outstandingly sympathetic actor wins our admiration for his truthful anatomy of the parasite's progress (1959, p.562).

Sifting through the rich descriptions provided by the critics, a clear image of Cyril Luckham's Parolles emerges. The loud and playful colour of his cravat and beret plume would have enhanced it for the audience. At the same time, placing him in the basic uniform of his fellow soldiers lends a degree of subtlety, and makes his character believably real.

Seventies

The third colour image of Parolles from a production of All's Well (Figure 77) is also designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. She created a colourful costume for the 1977 Stratford Festival production, visually realizing explicit textual comments regarding Parolles's apparel. In IV.v. 1-6, the old lord Lafeu describes Parolles to the Countess. He mentions two colours: red and saffron. Within the context of the scene, the colours' negative connotations are primarily conveyed.

The red colour of the jacket and breeches (*Mars Red*, 18-1655) has a dark value (10-20% reflectant), is situated on the red-orange border of the colour wheel, and is highly saturated. Like the red chosen for Parolles's 1953 Stratford Festival design, it shares Pantone's *Fiery Red* associative colour meanings, suggesting a similar characterization. His sash is less orange than Pantone's *Saffron*, and is closer to *Golden Apricot* (14-1041), which has a medium value (50-60% reflectance), belongs to the orange colour family, and has moderately high saturation. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Amber Yellow* associative colour meanings: bright, autumnal, rich, warm, and relating to the harvest and the sun.

Parolles wears a cloak that is predominantly wine-coloured (*Ruby Wine*, 19-1629) and has a brown lining (*Acorn*, 18-1314). *Ruby Wine* has the darkest value (0-10% reflectance), belongs to the red colour family, and is moderately saturated. It is similar to Pantone's *Burgundy* : classic, expensive, deep, warm, elegant, rich, and refined. *Acorn* has a slightly lighter value (10-20% reflectance), is situated in the orange sector of the colour wheel, and has low saturation. It is allied to Pantone's *Taupe* colour associations: classic, expensive, neutral, sophisticated, practical and the negative connotation of being bland.



Figure 77. 1977 *All's Well That Ends Well*
 Richard Monette as Parolles, Martha Henry as Helena
 Designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch
 Photo Courtesy of Stratford Festival Archives

Four attributes are repeated: *rich*, *expensive*, *warm*, and *classic*. When incorporated with the attention-getting red colour connotations, the attributes suggest a less boorish character than the previous production's Parolles appears to have been. This Parolles may have swaggered and loved to parade in his fine clothes, but he seems to have been from a higher class than the earlier one (*rich*, *classic*), though not of the same status as Bertram. Additionally, this Parolles was likely gentler in his behaviour towards Bertram (*warm*) and more in search of adulation than concerned about leading the less-experienced man astray.

The image Parolles's costume colours allude to was perceived by the audience, if the critics' own perceptions are accurate. Ralph Berry observes that "Richard Monette's charming and easy-going Parolles has no real vice in him" (Babula, 1981, p.8). He was

viewed as an ingratiating parasite: less the hard-core corrupter, someone who is eager to be part of the group. This is how Gina Mallet, then The Toronto Star's theatre critic, perceived the role she saw played at the Stratford production. Mallet states: "Richard Monette makes Parolles, Bertram's faithless sidekick, into a baby Falstaff, all hot air and bad jokes" (June 17, 1977). Her observations confirm a costume colour reading for this character: Parolles was a younger man whose insecurities necessitated his hitching himself to someone who had the keys to the club, and who would allow him to come along.

Eighties

The only set of Parolles' costume colours examined from an 80s production was that of the 1989 RST, Stratford-Upon-Avon All's Well. It was directed by Barry Kyle, designed by Chris Dyer and was set in the mid-17th century.

When Parolles prepared to accompany Bertram as he left Rousillon for the court of the King of France, he was dressed all in red, with a brown travelling cloak. The red colour (*Poinsetta*, 17-1654) has a dark value (20-30% reflectance), sits on the red/orange border of the colour wheel and is highly saturated. It most closely resembles Pantone's *Fiery Red* for its colour meaning: fire, excitement, hot, passionate, intense, sexy, energetic, active, dramatic, stimulating, happy, dynamic, daring and provocative. The cloak colour (*Marron*, 18-1415) also has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), belongs to the orange colour family, and has a low saturation. It shares Pantone's *Dark Brown* associative colour meanings: earthy, rich, masculine, warm, dependable, secure, durable, and rugged, and the negative attributes of sombre and soiled. Contrasting with each other, the two colours present a colourful and dramatic figure, filled with the heat of earthy masculinity and bawdiness. His hat had yellow, red and white plumes. In addition to the red cue and Lafeu's reference to saffron in IV.v., the white is a convenient symbolic truce device for when Parolles's duplicity is discovered in IV.i..

Parolles wears a red jacket (*Cardinal*, 18-1643) and buff-coloured breeches (*Ecrú Drab*, 14-1212) for his discourse with Lafeu (while the King danced the *coranto* with Helena). *Cardinal* has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), sits on the red/orange border of the colour wheel, and has a moderately high saturation. *Ecrú Drab* has a moderately light value (50-60% reflectance), belongs to the orange family of hues and has a low saturation. The character connotations for *Fiery Red* also apply to *Cardinal*, reinforcing the previous analysis, while the colour attributes of *Ecrú Drab* most closely resemble Pantone's *Beige*: classic, earthy, sandy, neutral, soft, warm, and bland. Two of these attributes repeat ones used earlier: *warm* and *earthy*. This suggests that the more gregarious, bawdy side of Parolles's character was emphasized in this production: an image that primarily reiterates what is suggested by his previous costume.

In the final scene, Parolles donned the clown's hat and had changed his entire costume to suit his altered status. He appeared all in brown (*Partridge*, 18-1124), with touches of black and white. *Partridge* has a dark value (10-20% reflectance), belongs to the orange colour family and has a medium saturation. Thus, Parolles ends his appearance in the play wearing a colour similar to that in which he began. The two browns share the same associative colour meanings of being *earthy* and *warm*, but now the more negative attributes were likely foremost, for Parolles's character had become soiled and he no longer maintained his earlier status. Furthermore, the sombreness of mood suggested by his costume colour was reinforced by the grieving black colour (as though mourning his earlier stature), while the white signified the truce he had arrived at with himself: having come to terms with what he really was, a coward.

This last costume colour/character analysis seems to have hit the mark. R.Smallwood describes Parolles's final scene in a manner that substantiates this:

Stripped of his black leather, [which was not observed] his feathers, and his ribbons, and of his nearly plausible military-academy accent, Bruce Alexander's splendid Parolles, always aware of the thinness of his

performance as swaggerer, the precariousness of his would-be officerly play-acting, seemed content enough to serve now in the humbler role (1990, p.495).

Unfortunately, R.Smallwood does not offer any further insights into Parolles's characterization within this production, so we can only speculate that the swaggering he refers to includes an element of *braggadacio* regarding sexual prowess. The composite characterizations of the production as a whole seem to support this postulate.

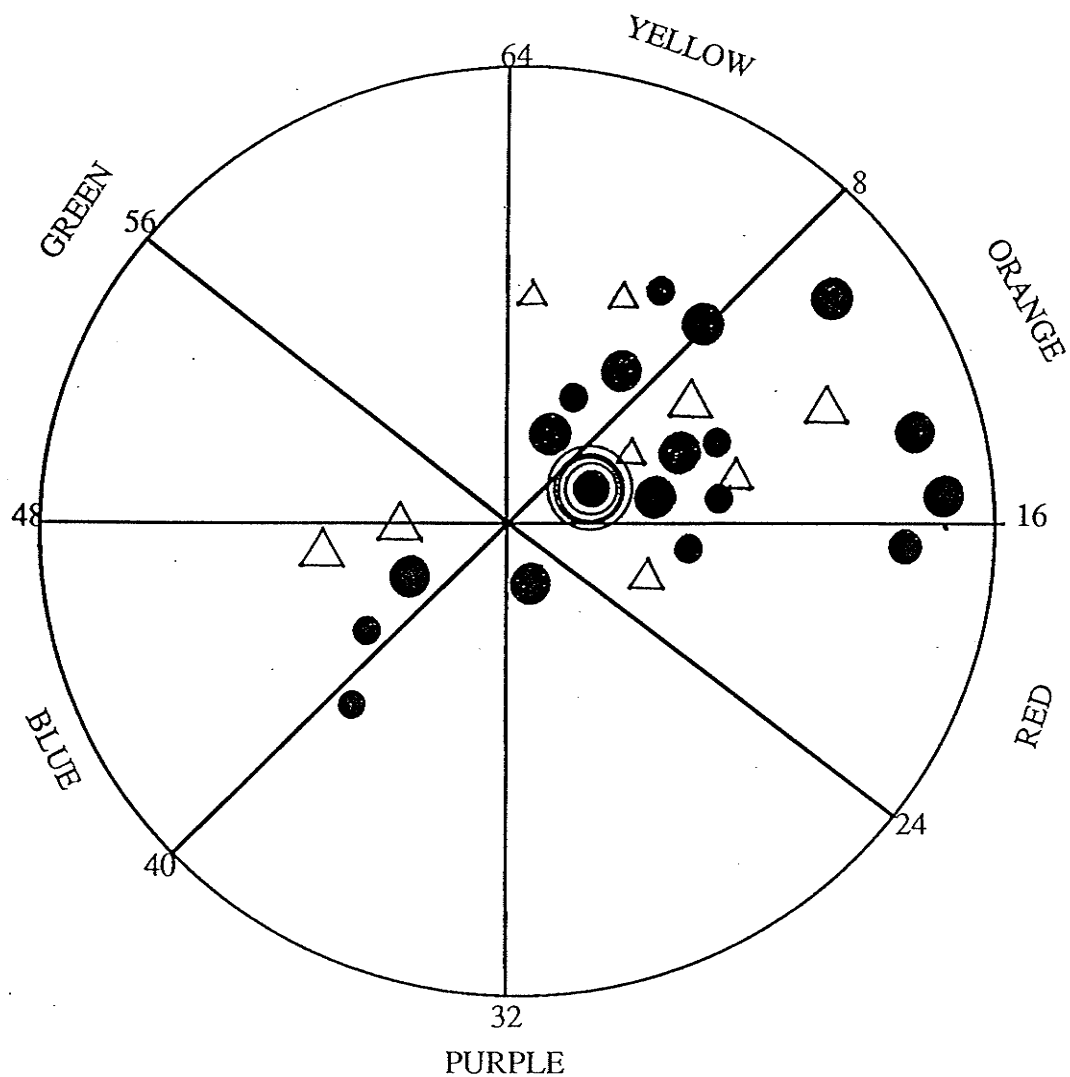
As Smallwood notes, All's Well inherently contains "...broader concern with the pains and angularities of relations between the sexes, and the generations" (p.495). These concerns are often demonstrated in productions through a humorous interplay of bawdiness with the process of individual self-realisation. From the time Shakespeare wrote All's Well That Ends Well (circa 1601-3), its complexity and ambiguities of meaning have encouraged varying interpretations. The review of productions above communicates some of the ways in which costume colour has been employed to assist with related characterizations. The three productions designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch serve to emphasize the similarities and differences between her application of colour and that of other designers. The designers' wide application of the colour spectrum reflect the variety in characterization within All's Well.

VII. MERGING COSTUME COLOUR CONCEPTS

The review of costume colour from 14 productions of Romeo and Juliet and seven productions of All's Well indicates the presence of some insistent and pervasive cultural associations and shared colour interpretations with regard to characterization. Designers' interpretive accord and differences are recognizable when charts outlining the components of their applied colour are examined.

Costume colour : saturation and hue

A current text by Gillette (1987) advises theatre students that set designers generally use hues of medium saturation and value " ...because most sets serve as a background environment for the action of the play, and the set needs to recede from the audience's consciousness after it has made its original statement" (p.91). However, the author informs us, costume designers work with a "...less constricted palette. Colors of full saturation and brilliance will direct the audience's attention to the actors. The only proviso for their use is that the hue and value be an appropriate reflection of the actor's character" (p.91). And yet, the preceding analysis of costume designer's palettes, for All's Well and Romeo and Juliet indicates, for the most part, a more restrained use of hue and saturation than Gillette's text suggests. The charts identifying costume hue and saturation (Figures 78-85) show that although the costume colours encompass a wide saturation range, a dominance of low to medium exists, and the most frequently used colours come from the limited scope of orange and blue family hues.



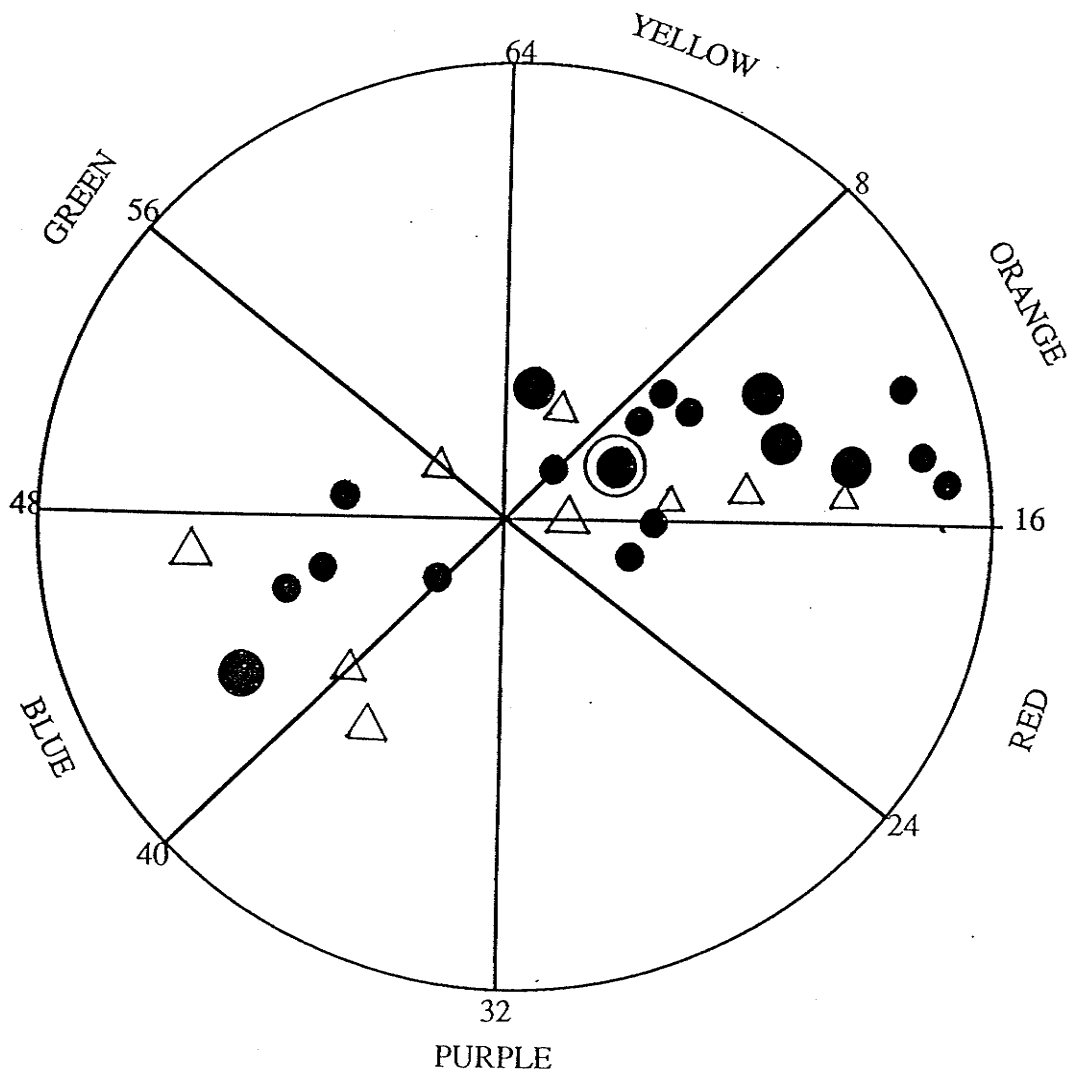
PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL

JULIET

HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

- △ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- = Other Designers
- ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
(size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

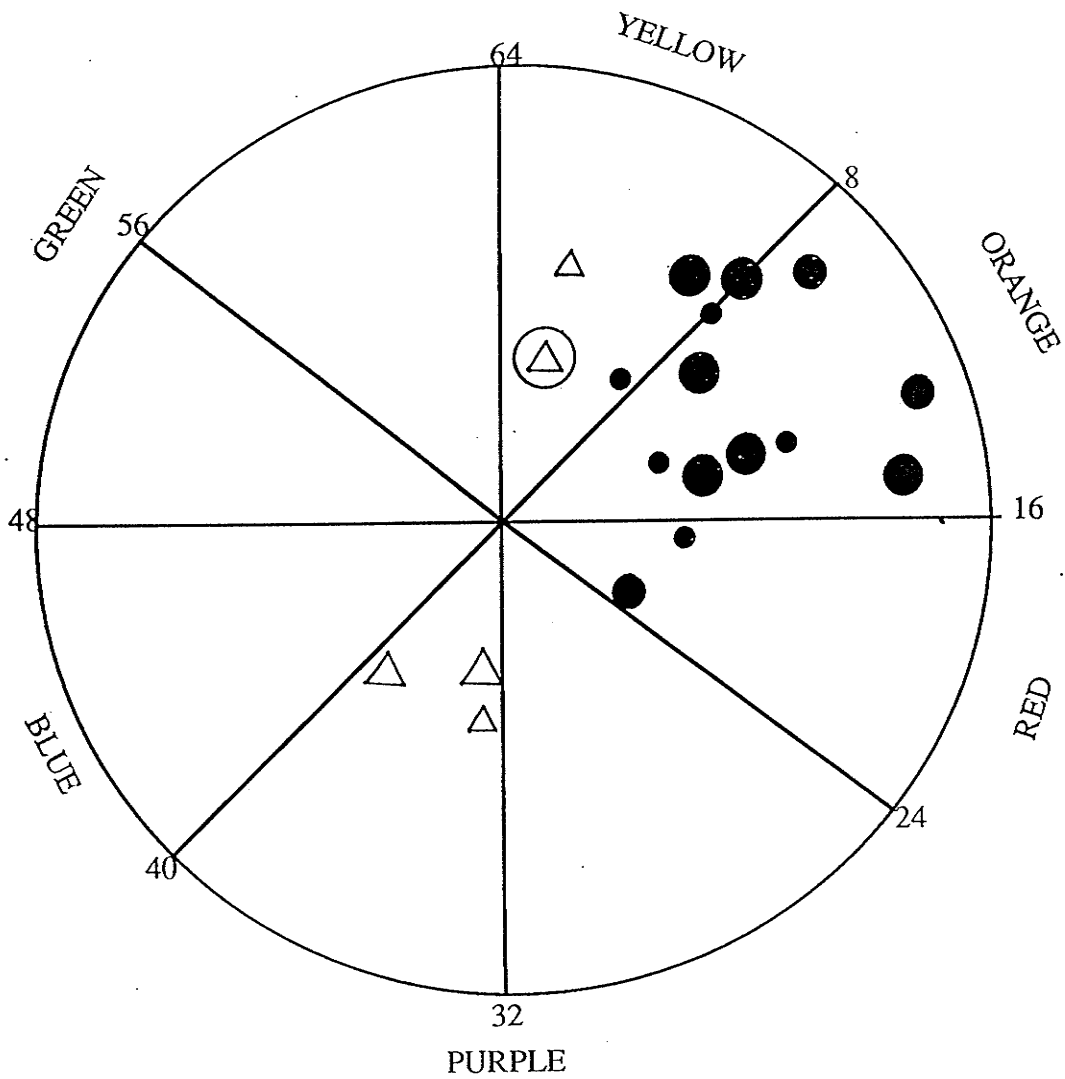
Figure 78. Costume hue and saturation chart: Juliet



PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL
ROMEO
 HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

- △ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- = Other Designers
- ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
 (size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

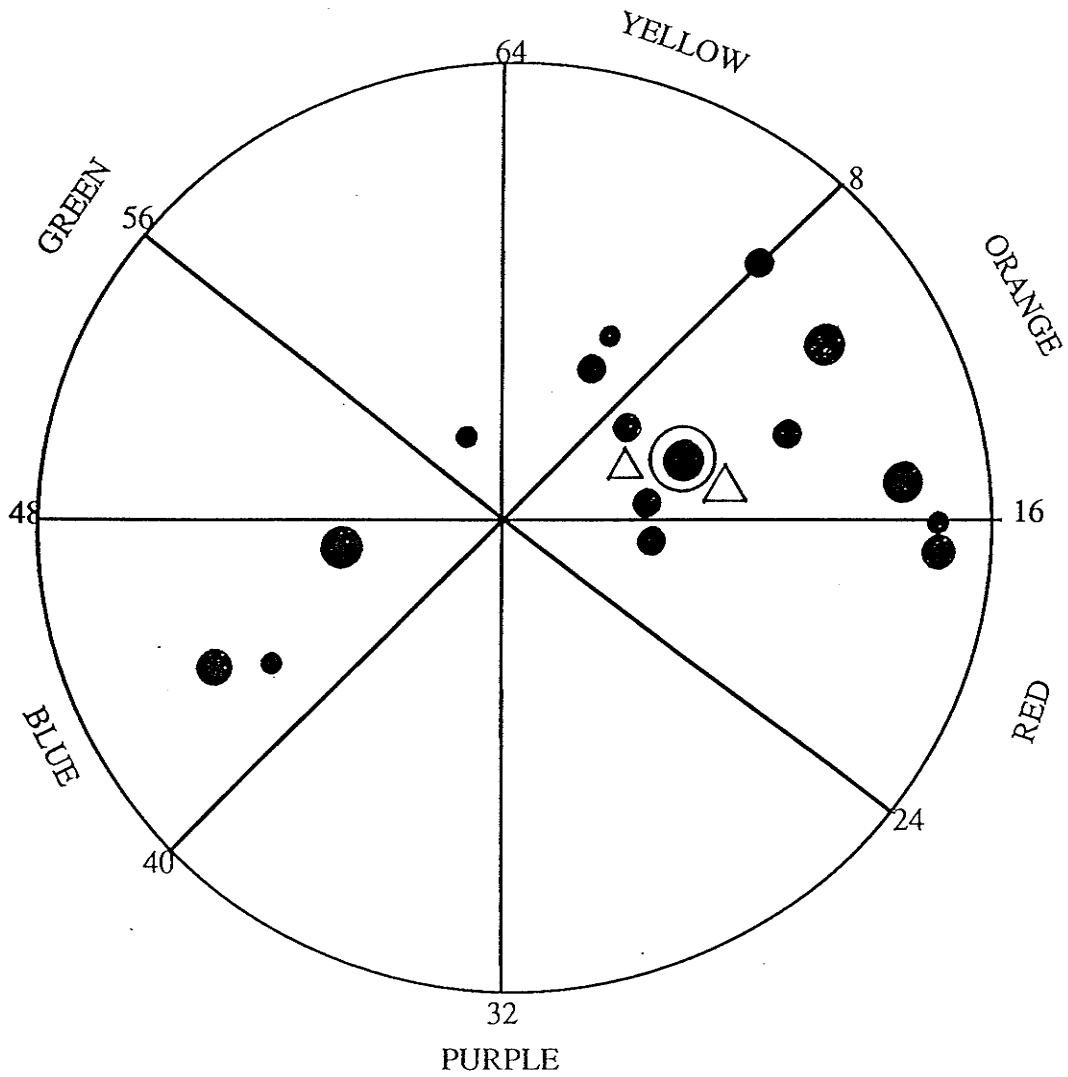
Figure 79. Costume hue and saturation chart: Romeo



PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL
 CAPULET
 HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

- △ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- = Other Designers
- ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
 (size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

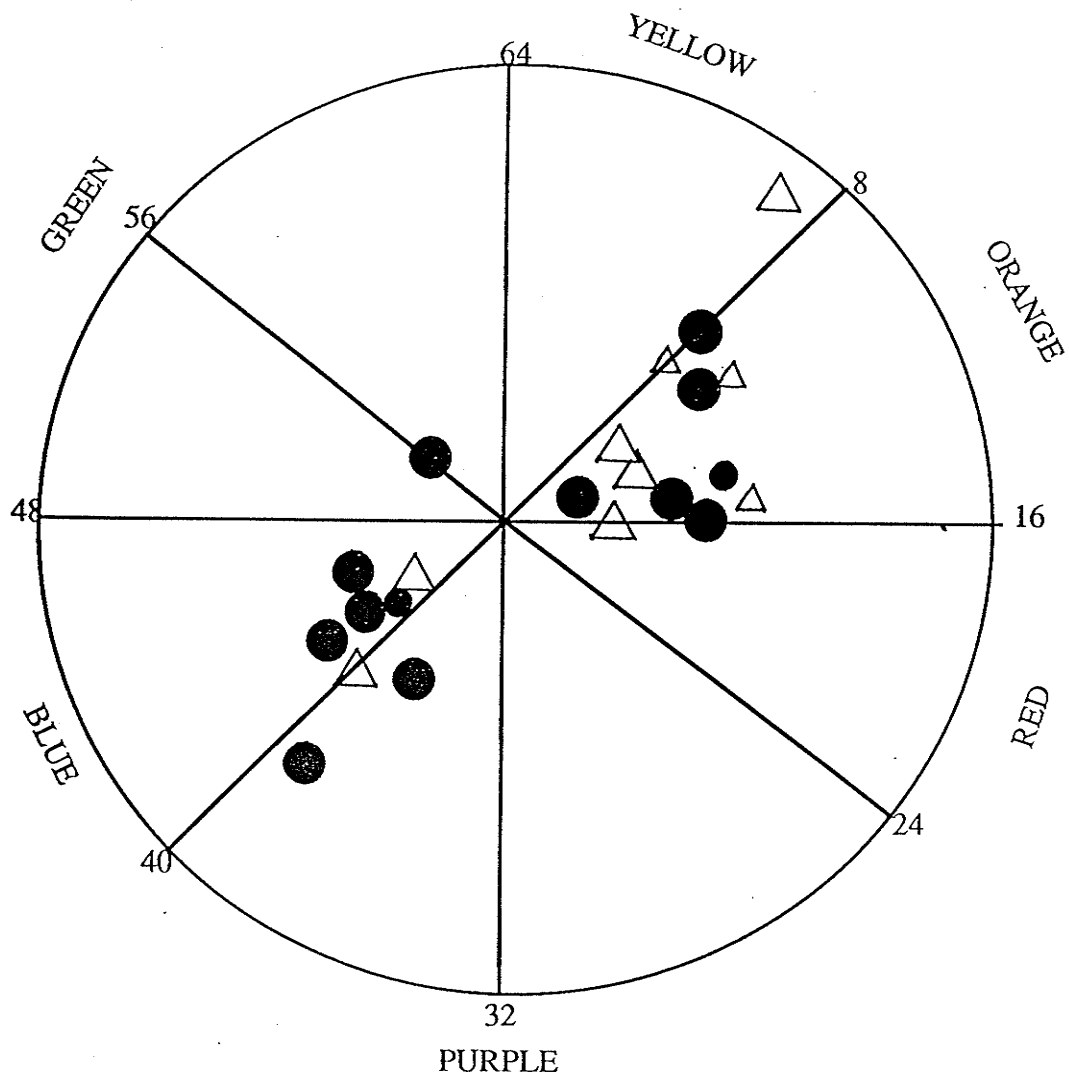
Figure 80. Costume hue and saturation chart: Capulet



PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL
MERCUTIO
 HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

- △ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- = Other Designers
- ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
 (size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

Figure 81. Costume hue and saturation chart: Mercutio

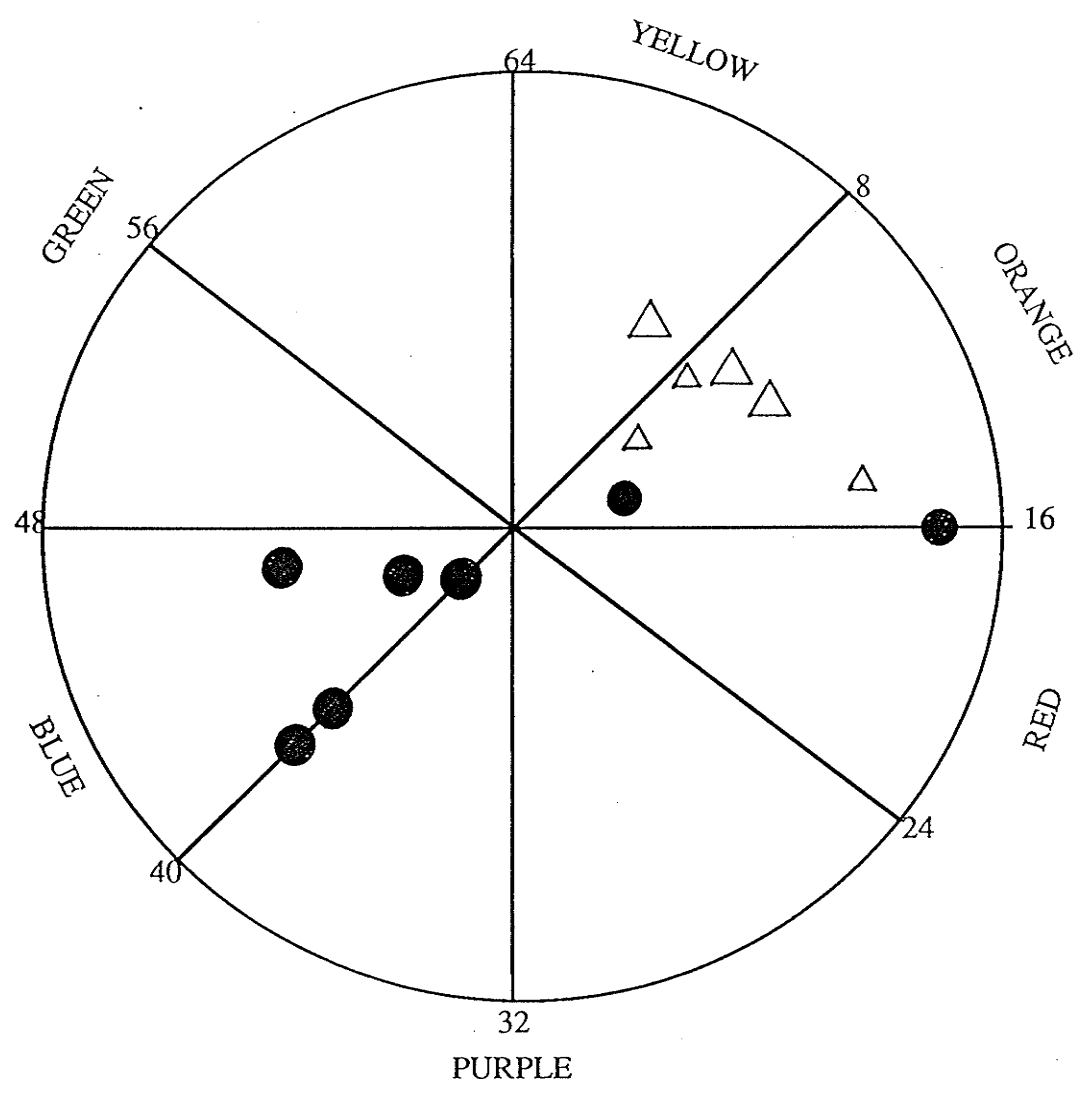


PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL
HELENA

HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

- △ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- = Other Designers
- ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
(size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

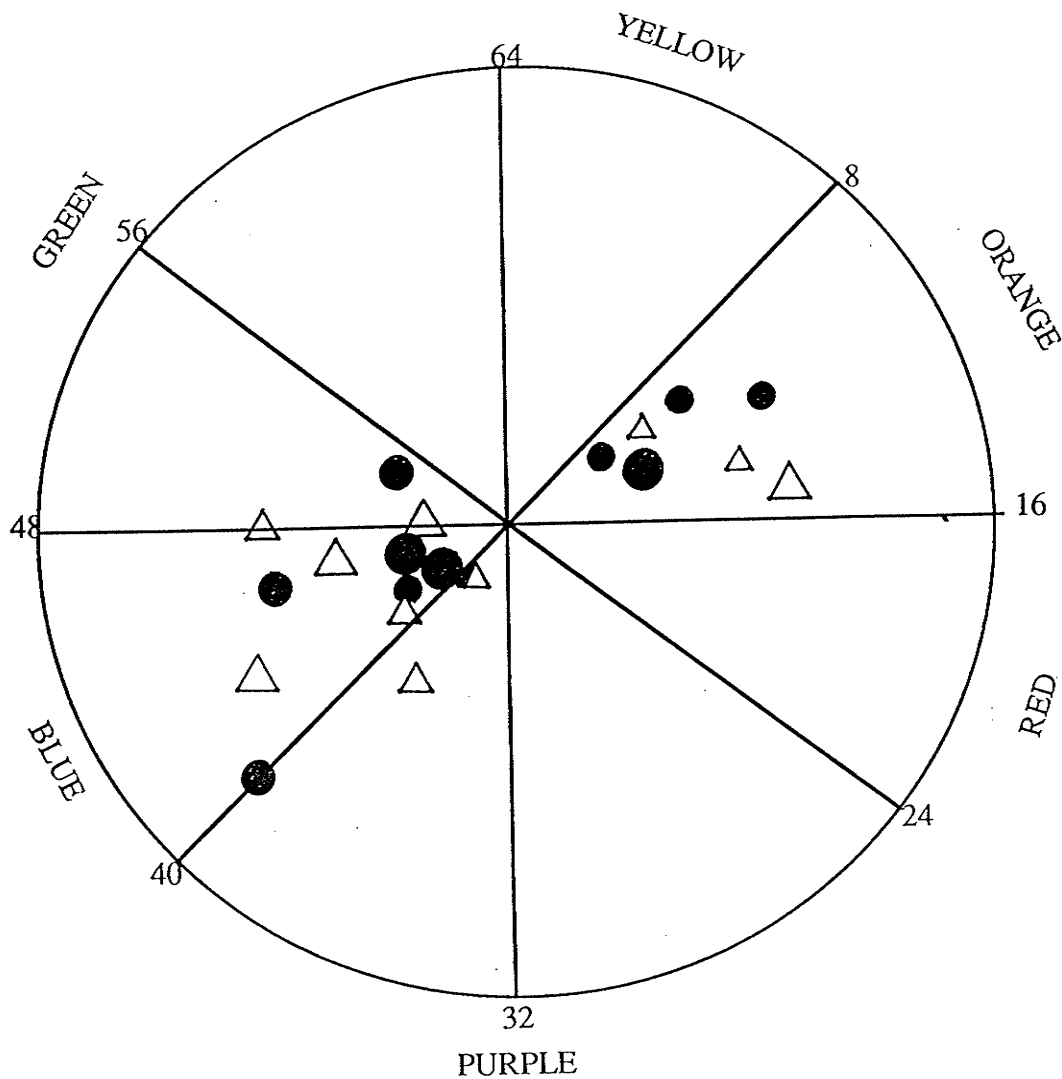
Figure 82. Costume hue and saturation chart: Helena



PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL
BERTRAM
 HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

△ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
 ● = Other Designers
 ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
 (size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

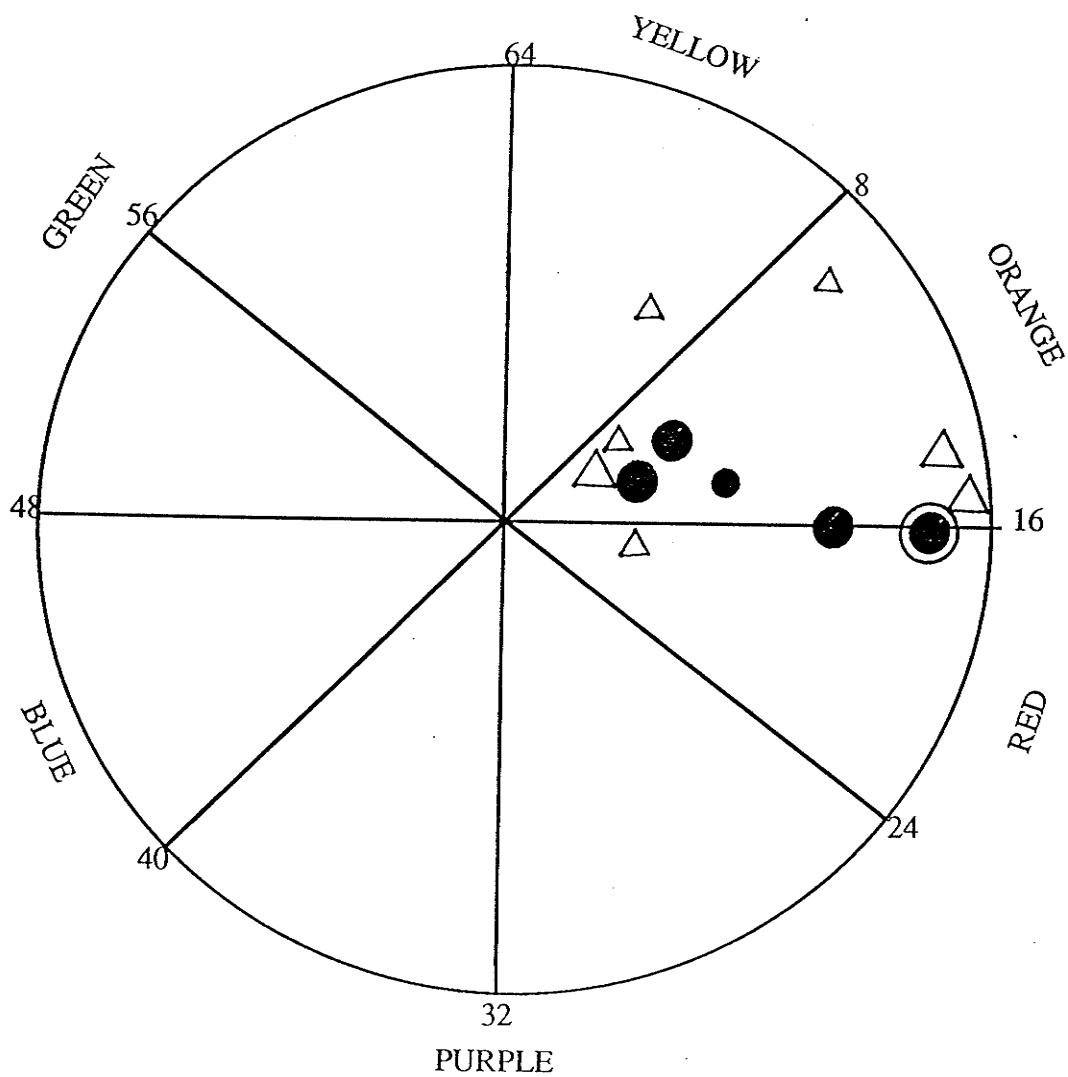
Figure 83. Costume hue and saturation chart: Bertram



PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL
KING OF FRANCE
 HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

- △ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- = Other Designers
- ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
 (size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

Figure 84. Costume hue and saturation chart: King of France



PANTONE COLOUR WHEEL
PAROLLES
 HUE and SATURATION allocation - All Designers

- △ = Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- = Other Designers
- ⊙ = multiple choice / more than one designer
 (size of symbols // ratio of costume colour)

Figure 85. Costume hue and saturation chart: Parolles

Apart from other considerations regarding appropriate colour brilliance (chroma, saturation), the designers' concern not to "kick the lights" is likely a practical explanation for the predominance of low to medium saturation choices. This phenomenon causes a colour to appear to be glowing and almost fluorescent. For this reason, pure white is avoided. Instead, designers will often choose a slightly off-white colour in order to avoid this effect.

In Romeo and Juliet, the costume colour choices fall within the orange family of hues for almost all of the productions. Tanya Moiseiwitsch uses an orange hue base for Mercutio's and Romeo's costume colours, but her choices for Juliet's costume colours contrast somewhat with the others. Compared with other designers' decisions, Moiseiwitsch's colour choices have a greater range of hue variation, which includes blue-green, blue, red, and yellow, in addition to the orange. Tanya Moiseiwitsch differs entirely from the other designers for Capulet's colour choices, dressing him in yellow- and blue-based hues rather than an orange hue variation.

Most designers, apart from Motley and to some extent Carolyn Parker, chose colours that were more muted (low saturation) for Juliet's costume colours. Moiseiwitsch's highest saturation is in the medium range. The reasons for Motley's use of higher saturation are likely twofold. The first of these is Motley's stated design philosophy, suggesting that: "The principal characters in any production must stand out: reds, whites and blacks are colours that will make them do so...as a general rule, the costumes of the principals should be either the darkest or the lightest or the most brilliant ..." (Motley, 1992). The second reason follows from the first and is contextual. The saturate red colour used by the Motley for Peggy Ashcroft's costume in 1935 was chosen at a time when the theatre was resoundingly a vehicle for "star" performances, as described in

Chapter IV. Together, the two explanations clarify the seeming discrepancy in otherwise consistent saturation choices.

It is not as simple to explain Carolyn Parker's use of more saturate colours, except to offer another contextual explanation. The production she designed occurred at a time when both men's and women's clothing were composed of vibrant colours. Writers on fashion in the mid-60s through the 70s sometimes refer to that time as the "peacock generation" because of the prevailing saturate colours worn by both genders. It is possible that in addition to extrapolating the essence of the production's period colours (1820s), Parker's brighter-coloured costumes were influenced by the chromatic clothing celebration of her time.

So entrenched is the cultural idea of Juliet, that one colour, *Cream Pearl*, (12-1006), was chosen by different designers in each of the three countries reviewed over a time period spanning three decades. Its associative meanings (*soft, sweet, warm, rich and classic*) reveal an entrenched and shared perception of Juliet's character. Other colour choices are in proximity to *Cream Pearl* on the colour wheel, sharing similar attributes and thus reinforcing this conclusion. Tanya Moiseiwitsch is not amongst the group of designers incorporating *Cream Pearl*, but she did choose a closely related one, *Apricot Ice*, (13-1020).

In addition to this collective agreement with respect to Juliet's costume colouring, most of the costumes share a similar Renaissance style interpretation. In particular, the costumes' style and colours bear striking similarities to the dress of the Horae in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (Figure 86). The ethereal dress of Hora, the Greek goddess of the seasons portrayed in Botticelli's painting, reappears in almost exact form and colour in several of the Juliet costumes by various designers: John Ferguson, 1977 (Figure 37); Tanya Moiseiwitsch, 1960 (Figure 33); Warren Travis (the silhouette resembles it) (Figure 39); Rolf Gerard, 1947 (Figure 30); and David Walker, 1984 (Figure 40). Most

representations of women's dress from the Italian Renaissance period indicate heavier fabrication, such as brocades and silk damasks in darker and more saturate colours. Given designers' acknowledgments to referencing prominent works of art, the Botticelli source seems to be a reasonable supposition.

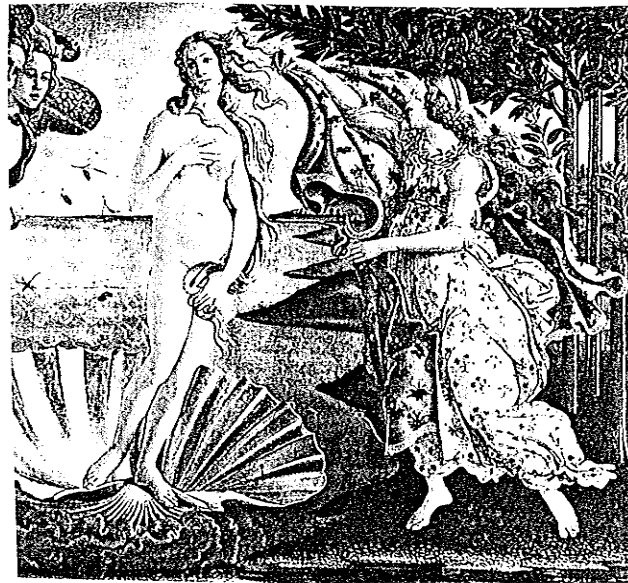


Figure 86. Botticelli, Birth of Venus c.1482

In addition to her orange hue choices, Moiseiwitsch also selected light blue for the main body of two costumes. Ginny Humphries added blue costume accents, but no other designs reviewed for Juliet come from the blue family of hues. From observations of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's work for other productions, it is interesting to note how frequently she dressed the heroine in blues or pale blue-greens. For example, beginning with Portia's blue-green gown in the 1955 Merchant of Venice, and continuing with Hermione's light

blue dress in the 1958 Winter's Tale, Juliet's light blue robe in the 1960 Romeo and Juliet, the Princess of France's blue gown in the 1961 Love's Labours Lost, and Imogen's blue-violet dress for the 1970 Cymbeline, a connecting link between blue and Shakespeare's heroines is prominent in Tanya Moiseiwitsch's work.

The heroine's costumes in All's Well also support this observation. Moiseiwitsch uses blue as a major part of Helena's costume twice: first, a medium-light blue colour for Helena's doctor robes in 1953 and second, with her dark blue cloak in the 1977 production. From the same play, Diana (also a virtuous lady), wears a blue dress in the 1959 RSC production and again for the 1977 Festival production. As we have seen, blue is a colour with connotations of authority, credibility, calmness, softness, coolness, peacefulness, constancy, faithfulness, truth, happiness, and strength (depending on its value and saturation). The above list of heroines all have characters for whom the blue attributes are particularly suitable, thus offering a range of possible explanations for Moiseiwitsch's colour choices. The darker blues' connotations of *authority, credibility and strength* reinforce the confidence Helena requires to approach the King of France (1977 All's Well), while the *peaceful, calm, soft and faithful* attributes associated with the paler blues emphasize those traits in characters such as Hermoine (1958 Winter's Tale), or Juliet (1960 Romeo and Juliet).

The fact that Juliet is robed in much paler blues than Helena suggests a perception of her character as being less forceful than Helena's. The director for the 1960 production of Romeo and Juliet refers to Juliet's character in terms that support this observation. Michael Langham states that "... the part calls for extreme innocence... coupled with an enormous depth of passion" (Carter, 1960). Helena's character by contrast, is more dedicated than passionate, and her early banter with Parolles as well as her knowledge of medical conditions suggests a greater degree of worldliness. Moiseiwitsch's choices of darker value and deeper saturation reflect this variance in character, while the base hue solidly

supports both characters' innate goodness (since, as Desmond Heeley observes, in Christian cultures blue is the colour of the Madonna, of the Virgin Mother).

Although a limited number of costume colours for Capulet were studied, the charts indicate that he is dressed by all designers in very similar colour choices (within the orange family of hues or in black) except by Moiseiwitsch. She uses blue-purple and a green tone, offering a slightly different perspective on Capulet's character. The blue-purple harkens to his more spiritual side, while the inclusion of green connects him more closely to the cycles of nature -- life and death. These Capulet costume colours suggest a more introverted and complex character than the other designers' interpretations while still essentially presenting him as the authority figure that dominates all of the Capulet characterizations. This interpretation is emblematic of Moiseiwitsch's belief that the audience should not always be handed obvious character readings. She believes designers shouldn't necessarily use the obvious colour for characterization, observing that " You can look just as tragic in white as you can in black" (Carter, 1960). This design approach is frequently demonstrable in her costume colour choices and is a significant feature of her costume colour application.

On the saturation and hue charts, Romeo's costume colour choices form a column between orange and blue with sporadic stragglers in the blue-green, blue-purple, yellow, and red sectors of the colour wheel. On a subtle level, the dispersion of colour choices predominantly polarized between the blue and orange suggests greater interpretive possibilities for his characterization; it also illustrates the confusion within his character itself. Whereas the consistency of hue and saturation choices for Juliet's costume across time and place implies shared perceptions, Romeo is not as unanimously colour-coded. One explanation may be the difference in character presented by Shakespeare's text. Juliet never wavers from her chosen love. Shakespeare implies that Romeo is her first and her only love. When the nurse tries to transfer Juliet's allegiance from Romeo to Paris, Juliet doesn't hesitate to turn from her, rejecting her lifelong support and nurturing. By contrast,

Romeo rapidly swings from pining for Rosalind to being enraptured by Juliet and he is torn between his marital obligations to Juliet, and the obligations of chivalrous honour that decree he kill Tybalt in revenge for Mercutio's death.

Of the two lovers, Romeo's broader dimensions of human ambiguity are reflected in the more varied costume colour choices supporting his characterization. Tanya Moiseiwitsch is in chromatic accord with the warmth of the orange hue base, but is the only designer to create a blue-purple costume for Romeo. By doing so, she emphasizes both his family heritage (purple=royalty=nobility) and his sad demise (deep purple = mourning, melancholy). The use of a less overt hue to guide the audience's understanding of his fate not only underline the sad conclusion, but also reinforce Romeo's lack of agency in the light of that fate. He is conditioned by a noble code decreeing he avenge his friend's death, even if it means killing a member of his wife's family. The choice of blue-purple once again illustrates Moiseiwitsch's attitude towards a more subtle approach to sending characterization signals through costume colours. Two other designers shift Romeo's costume hue from warm tones to cool within their productions: Carolyn Parker in 1968, and David Walker in 1984. The shift from warm to cool colours accentuates the parallel shift in mood from laughter to grief that characterizes the play as a whole.

Mercutio's character also seems to be quite clearly described: predominantly orange tones, with a few additions of blue, one green, and some yellow- and red-based hues. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's colour choices closely correspond with those of other designers but differ somewhat in saturation. She chose low saturation for the main body of Mercutio's costume, while the majority of other designers chose a higher saturation, saving the lower saturation range for costume colour accents. By choosing a predominantly low saturation, Moiseiwitsch offers an added degree of sombre dignity to his character, in addition to suggesting more directly his grim fate. This observation is borne out by a comparison of

Mercutio's costume colour with that of the more outrageous character Parolles from All's Well.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch chose a highly saturate warm red colour for one of Parolles's costumes in both the 1953 and 1977 productions at Stratford Festival. In part, the hue choice was dictated by Shakespeare's textual reference to the "red tail'd bee" (which most designers seem to acknowledge), but her choice is underlined by a distinctive attitude to that hue. The designer saw red as a potentially provocative colour. One of the comments she recorded on a working sketch for the 1955 production of The Merchant of Venice notes that "red is a licentious colour." In conversation with her in 1990, she described the power of red as a colour demanding attention because it is a "hot colour" and therefore "advances" perceptually. By giving full reign to the saturate level of Parolles's reddish-orange costumes in the two productions, she is making a definite statement about that character's potentially hazardous qualities. By comparison, Mercutio's more subdued costume colouration suggests a less pointed commentary. Overall, Parolles's costume colours from all designs reviewed suggest that designers have followed Shakespeare's metaphorical reference regarding Parolles's costume and corresponding character.

Costumes from the seven productions of All's Well studied indicate that the King of France is viewed in a manner that is quite opposite to Parolles. The concentration of costume colour choice made by all designers is in the blue family of hues, extending into blue-green and blue-purple. Within the warm range of hues, Tanya Moiseiwitsch is the only designer to include a predominantly orange hue-based costume, although some designers use it as an accent colour. In combination with Moiseiwitsch's choices for other characters' costume colours, this application of a brownish-orange base colour supports a design palette preference featuring variations of that hue.

The limited use of purple for the King's costume suggests that the ancient allocation of purple to distinguish royalty only has undergone shifts in cultural consciousness. The

concentrated use of blues for the King suggests an accord with respect to colours of nobility and distinction across time and place in the last three decades of this study. The *strength* and *authority*, along with other noble attributes (such as *constancy*, *true*, *classic*, *dependable*) associated with various degrees of blue, have made it a predominant replacement colour for the old royal associations of purple that likely prevailed in the years before World War II. Historical "royal purple" associations remain within the range of colour relevance, but its diminished application may suggest that newer attitudes reflecting more current climates of republicanism have influenced blue's prominence as a herald of noble traits. The Pantone Colour System reflects the more current colour associations in addition to referencing some traditional colour meanings. The altered perceptions of purple and blue in the productions reviewed illustrate the changing dynamics of colour meaning. The related theatrical application of those colours points out the role that venues such as the theatre play in establishing those shifting attitudes.

From the hue and saturation allocation of Bertram's costume colours, Tanya Moiseiwitsch seems to have had a different perception of his character than the other designers. Only two other costumes out of a total of 13, are in the yellow-orange-red hue categories. The balance are situated in the blue sector of the colour wheel. Moiseiwitsch's choices are all closely clustered in the yellow-orange sector, once again supporting the earlier statement regarding her design palette preferences. The overwhelming blue colour choice made by the other designers is likely associated with blue's noble connotations referred to in the discussion on the King. Bertram's noble heritage was emphasized in most of the productions reviewed.

In contrast to Romeo and Juliet, the costume hue and saturation charts for the individual characters in All's Well reveal a preference for the blue family of hues to support characterization. Overall, the tone of All's Well is less passionate and intense than Romeo

and Juliet. This attitude is reflected in the greater application of cooler colours in All's Well.

Costume colour: complementary colours

One of the most striking observations that can be made from all the costume colour choices is the dominant polarization between orange and blue hue-based costumes. The two colours are known in colour theory as "complementary colours" because they are found opposite to each other on the colour wheel, and because they complete each other in the composition of the primary triad. Orange is made up of yellow and red, two of the primary triad of colours. Blue is required to form the complete triad, hence it is the complementary colour of orange. In the same manner, yellow complements violet, and red complements green. This phenomenon, translated into costume colours, suggests a strong innate need to provide a harmonious whole within a production's overall costume colour scheme. Established design principles recognize the need for the balance this complementary colour phenomenon provides (Bevlin, 1980). Additionally, orange is regarded as being in the *warm* group of colours. These colours are perceived as having a warming, brightening effect. Blue is regarded as a *cool* colour, having both positive and negative associations within the western world (Hope and Walch, 1990). And, as colour researchers have observed:

"Of all the complementary combinations in nature and art, those of blue and orange, or yellow-orange, appear to be the most common.... The greatest contrast in the qualities known as warmth and coolness of colors is found in this pair of complements for the reason that blue impresses most people as the coldest of hues and orange as the warmest" (Sargent, 1964, p.125).

Costume colours from several productions of the two Shakespeare plays reviewed in this study indicate a continuance of this phenomenon. Along with the innate desire to provide the balanced visual staging suggested earlier, it may be that the polar opposites of colour "temperatures", orange and blue elicit correspondingly strong emotional responses in the viewer. As a bridge between the imaginary action on the stage and the audience

involvement with it, these emotionally charged hues add to the likelihood that the communication will be effective. Consciously or unconsciously, designers for the two plays in this study seem to have subscribed to that premise. Another reason for the strong concentration of orange and blue-based costume colours may exist in the fact that the productions researched in this study were comprised of casts who were white-skinned. Blue and orange hues are most complementary to white skin tones.

Costume colour: value for value

At first glance the charts describing hue and saturation (Figures 78-85) appear to offer the complete costume colour profile. If they are matched with the initial production costume colour and character charts in Appendix A, the resulting composite image does not mesh perfectly. The explanation lies in the variation of the value of the hues. And, in many respects, it is the value that most clearly articulates the costume colour description of the character who wears them. This is so because value is one of the chief determinants that fragments hues into several apparently "new" colours, although they are in truth, simply darker or lighter versions of specific hues. In colour theory, a hue with added white to lighten it is referred to as a tint of that hue, and a hue with added black to darken it is regarded as its shade. Culturally in the Western world, the degree of lightness and darkness of a colour has distinct emotional associations, with the darker values being more negatively and more powerfully perceived (Frank & Gilovich 1988). For the productions reviewed in this study, the values of the main portion of the costume colours (Figure 87) provide some interesting and conclusive information regarding cultural colour perception with relation to character attribution.

The Pantone Value Scale begins with the numerical designation of 10, which is equal to white, and progresses downwards to 19, which is equal to black. This system of recording hue lightness and darkness allows for some variation at the top and bottom of the scale. Because 10 = 90-100% reflectance, this means that an off white can also be

positioned here, while the lower end of the scale, 19 = 0-10% reflectance, includes not only black but other very dark colours as well.

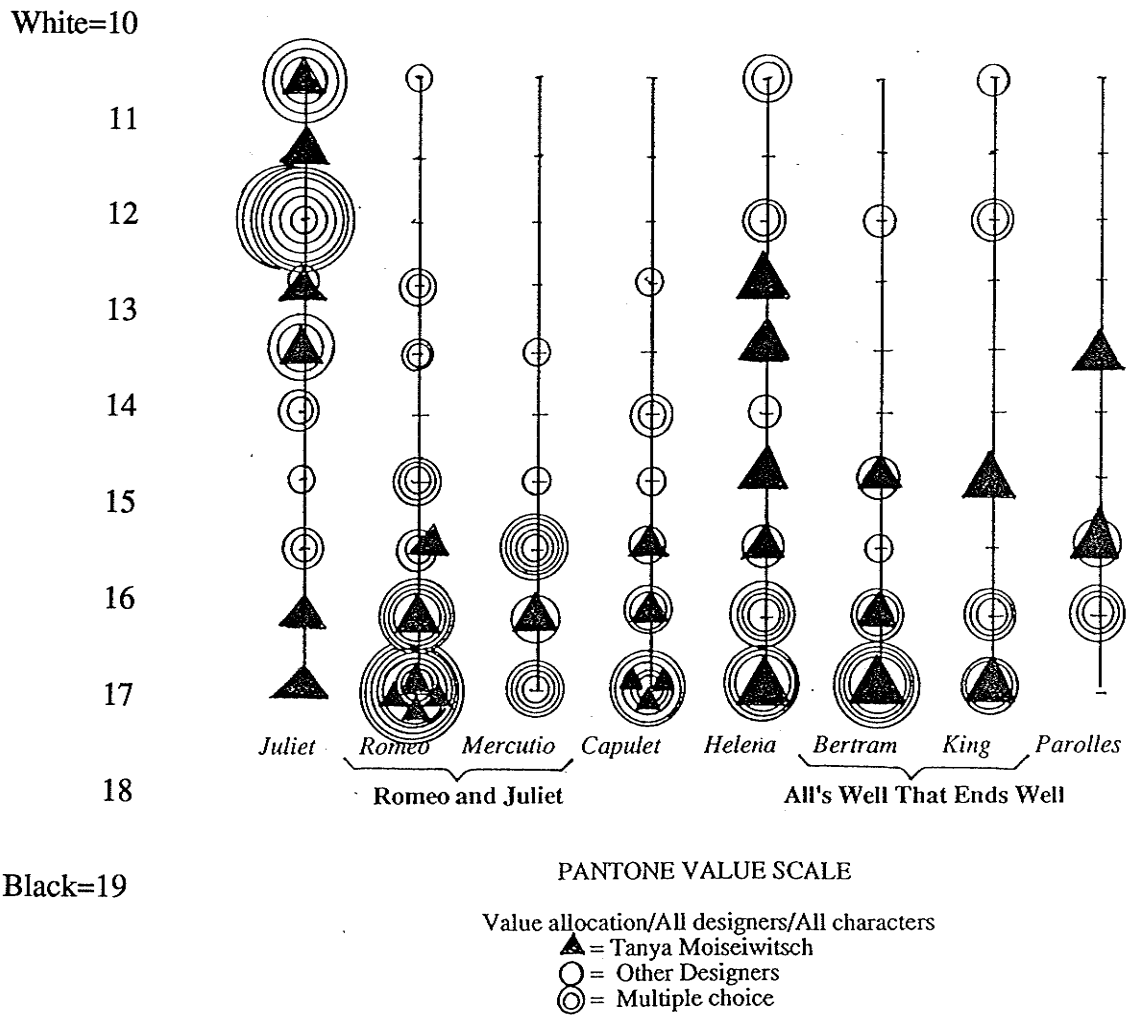


Figure 87. Pantone Value Scale indicating designer choices

The scale offers a picture of the dispersion of costume colour values by the various designers. The decision to focus on the larger proportion of colours in the costumes was an expedient illustrative measure; it does not rule out the potency of discreet accents of costume colours which can prevail when placed next to strongly contrasting or less saturate ones.

One of the outstanding aspects of the value chart for both Romeo and Juliet is the dramatic polarization between the two lover's costume colour values. For Juliet's costumes, almost all of the designers overwhelmingly chose colours in the four lightest ranges on the Pantone scale of value. The uppermost value (90-100% reflectance), white, is repeated several times for Juliet's costumes. The greatest number of costume colours are situated in the third lightest value range, at 70-80% reflectance, with decreasing and sporadic choices made the lower, and darker, the scale descended.

By contrast, Romeo's costume colours are grounded in the darker values. There are at least two reasonable explanations for this. The first suggests that lighter values are chosen for young women, with a correlation between the lightest values and innocence. A second, more textually dependent explanation also exists. Romeo and Juliet is filled with references to light and dark, and the young lovers identify each other with these attributes. Clemen (1977) states that light is the most important symbol for Juliet, and Spurgeon (1935) points out that the two lovers always appear to each other as light against a dark background. The text supports both positions. One of the most famous lines in the play refers to Juliet as a symbol of light when Romeo asks: "But, soft! What light through yonder window breaks?/ It is the east, and Juliet is the sun" (II.ii.,2-3). The parallel connecting Juliet to light is made early in the text and is woven into and through the scenes up to the play's climax, at which time some of Romeo's last words entrench the connection: "For here lies Juliet, and her beauty makes/ This vault a feasting presence full of light" (V.iii. 85-6). Equally, as Spurgeon notes, Romeo also serves as a source of light for Juliet: "Come night; come, Romeo; come, thou day in night; / For thou wilt lie upon the wings of night / Whiter than new snow on a raven's back" (III.i. 17-9). Designers' have chosen to interpret this by highlighting the value differences between Romeo's and Juliet's costume colours (placing Romeo in darker values and Juliet in lighter ones), or by emphasizing value differences between the two lovers and the rest of the cast (having Romeo and Juliet all in white next to a colourfully-attired cast).

The overall consensus with respect to Juliet's and Romeo's costume values suggests that extensive agreement exists regarding suitable colour descriptions of the two characters. It is also possible that this is the result of familiarity with the play's production history and a corresponding bow to tradition within it. Given the concentration of darker values for Mercutio's and Capulet's costumes, the same conclusion is applicable. Designers, including Tanya Moiseiwitsch, appear to concur regarding the appropriate costume colour value needed to assist those characterizations. Therefore, this study supports the expected outcome regarding the costume colour meaning for these characters, but the inclusion of a lesser known play offers a countercheck to examine the consistency of colour readings.

All's Well provides that balance. Because of its limited production history, directors have explored a broader range of interpretation. The costume value choices made by designers reviewed in this study thus allow for some provocative insights into colour and characterization relationships within it. This is particularly so with respect to Helena's and Bertram's costume values. Gilovich's (1988) article demonstrates the degree to which the perception exists regarding the potent force of the darkest colour, black. By extension, lighter and darker values of the various hues are capable of subtly signifying related meanings. The corresponding degree of *visual weight* the darker values convey easily translates into related character attributes (darker values=heavier weight=stronger character figuratively or literally). The relationship of colour value and visual weight is an established phenomenon within colour theory (Hope and Walch, 1990).

Because black depicts the social convention of a public state of mourning that marks the beginning of All's Well, it has not really been included in these observations. Almost without exception, all designers for All's Well incorporate black costume colour to describe the mourning status of the Rousillon household in the first act of the play.

The variation existing in Helena's costumes' scale of values, especially when compared to Juliet's more consistent costume colours, confirms a less congruent reading of Helena's

character and greater variation in its interpretation. A review of the play's production history substantiates this statement. The three productions Tanya Moiseiwitsch designed present different character emphases in Helena's role. In 1953 at the Stratford Festival, she was depicted as a sweet, open, generous and optimistic young woman. Her corresponding costume colours had medium-light values, in contrast to the medium-dark values in the other two productions. In 1959 at the RST Helena was a more confident, ardent young woman, while in 1977 at the Stratford Festival, Helena appeared as a quieter, more restrained individual. The wide range in her corresponding costume colour values reflects these varying interpretations. A similar application of widely ranging values is evident in other productions of All's Well. Timothy O'Brien's (1967 RSC) chosen value range (12-17) helps to describe a youthfully innocent and determined Helena; Christina Poddubiuk's (1977 Stratford Festival) value range (18-19) reflects Helena's virtue; Lindy Hemming's (1981 RSC) chosen value range (10-18) supports a characterization that emphasizes a quiet intense passion ; and Chris Dyer's (1989 RSC) range of values (10-15-19) assists a characterization that includes hints of "white witchery" and basic earthiness .

By contrast, Bertram's costume values are more consistently concentrated in the darker ranges, suggesting a greater shared perception of his character by all designers. But in fact, this is not completely accurate. Although the characterizations can generally be perceived as having negative attributes, variations exist. In the 1977 production at the Stratford Festival, Bertram was portrayed as a more mature individual than in any of the other productions reviewed. Critics mostly describe him as being somewhat of a "sourpuss." This contrasts with a characterization in the 1981 RSC production that emphasized Bertram's self-centred sensual nature, and the 1988 Stratford Festival production wherein he was portrayed as a womanizing "beau soldat." In the remaining four of the seven productions, Bertram was essentially a privileged, sometimes spoiled, young man. The most ready explanation for the concentrated value choices is the cultural association of darker values with male clothing. And, because darker values carry more

visual weight (often associated with power), the cultural perceptions of appropriate gender depictions are accordingly referenced; lighter values are more frequently related to females, and darker ones (culturally perceived as being more potent) to males. In this respect, it is interesting to note that beginning with Tanya Moiseiwitsch's dark blue cloak for Helena in 1977, the use of darker values for the female costumes by all designers increases the more recent the production. The shift in value and gender relationship parallels Western society's revisions in attitudes towards gender roles. Less rigid definitions of what constitutes appropriate male and female roles are reflected within the clothing of the "real" world, not only in androgynous dressing, but also in the increased use of darker colours in women's fashions. It is something that has been addressed by numerous clothing historians (Hollander, 1978; Kidwell & Steele, 1989; Laver 1969; Wilson & Taylor, 1989). The phenomenon of shifting value and gender relationship is evident in Bertram's costume as well. In contrast to Helena's costume values, his lightest value costumes occur in productions after 1981.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch uses a fairly consistent value range for three of the four characters reviewed from All's Well. This seems to be a prevalent design approach on her part. Ask anyone familiar with her work what they regard as characteristic of her costume designs, and the response will almost certainly include reference to a subdued colour palette. Moiseiwitsch is sometimes accused of dipping her brush in dirty water (Sangster, 1957) and known to apply a "tea-wash" (Behl, 1981) over dye in her costumes, thus lowering their saturation and darkening their value. Her considered restraint in the use of light and bright colours reflects, in part, the legacy of her collaborative theatre experience with Tyrone Guthrie. He is renowned for his mastery of crowd orchestration on stage, integrating movement with visual elements in the same manner as his favorite artist Rembrandt employed light and colour to highlight figures within a crowd. By balancing the distribution of light- and dark-valued costumes, or by varying the visual weight, Moiseiwitsch worked with Guthrie's artistic vision to shift the moods within a production.

The same approach could be used to isolate and thus highlight a specific character in some manner. Parolles's costume value and saturation are an example of this. Because its intensity differs from the other three characters, it is certain to focus attention on him, as the photograph with Helena from the 1977 Stratford Festival production of All's Well demonstrates (Figure 77). A more obvious example of this design approach can be seen in the photograph from the 1961 Stratford Festival production of Coriolanus on which both Moiseiwitsch and Guthrie worked (figure 88). On a stage filled with figures costumed in subdued colour, the intensity of the golden yellow costume acts like a spotlight similar to Rembrandt's cast light on selected figures in his otherwise sombre-toned paintings.

These examples illustrate Tanya Moiseiwitsch's distinctive blending of costume colours as well. One of the chief ways she achieves this harmonious mix and situational highlighting is through the use of related values, something that the value scales identify. The majority of her chosen values fall within the bottom four readings on the scale. In taking this approach Tanya Moiseiwitsch exercised (consciously or unconsciously) her belief that clues to characterization not be too obvious. By maintaining comparable values, several different hues could be harmoniously presented at one time without jarring the audience's perception of the play's action or distracting them before it was necessary. As the examples above illustrate, Moiseiwitsch's neutralizing tea-wash or use of close value ranges help to maintain a balanced focus on the characters until such time as a more directed one is necessary.

This is not to imply that Tanya Moiseiwitsch is the only designer using this type of design approach, but rather, to demonstrate her specific colour application within the two plays chosen for this study. And it is an approach to costume colour that is partially a response to the dictates of the stage she helped reintroduce to Shakespeare audiences in the this century. She prefers to call it "theatre in 3/4 round" rather than by the more widely used terms by which it is known: as a thrust stage (Hayes & Barlow, 1991).

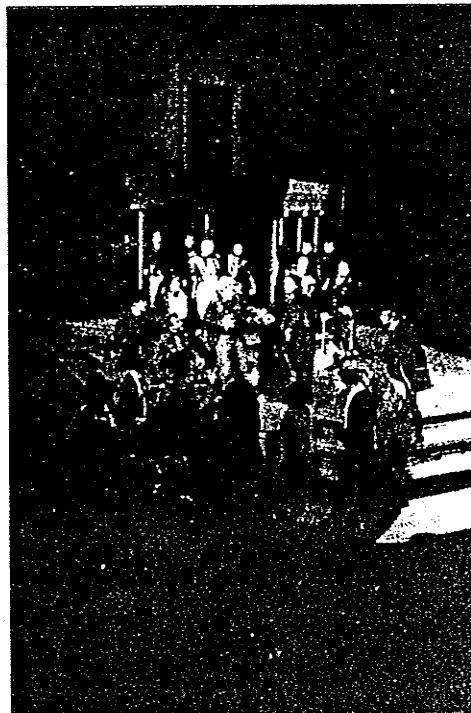


Figure 88. *Coriolanus* 1961, Stratford Festival
Designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch
Photo courtesy of Stratford Festival Archives

Designers have greater freedom in making colour decisions for costumes because the background is a neutral colour, according to Moiseiwitsch (Stratford Beacon-Herald, June 17, 1961). There are no background colours that must be harmonized into the whole. Colours are thus heightened by contrast with the bare stage (Sangster, 1957; Stuart, 1974). The costume colours have greater impact in their capacity as the main production "props" on a thrust stage, so they can be toned down in order to prevent a fatiguing visual experience. Consistently intense colouration would be apt to create visual overload in the same manner as constant screaming attacks the auditory senses. And, because actors on a thrust stage are in closer proximity to the audience, there is further diminution of the need for more visible costume colours. On a stage that is only a few feet from most of the audience, the most minute shifts in tones are closely observable. These practical

considerations offer a balanced perspective to any analysis of designers' application of colour value in costumes on that type of stage.

A comparison between the costume colours worn on the proscenium and the thrust stages indicates that higher contrast palettes are employed more frequently on the proscenium stage. As an example of this, Motley's intense orange-red hue for Juliet's costume in the 1935 production, followed by their 1958 production, illustrate their recommendations (Motley, 1992) to dress prominent characters in brighter colours than the rest of the cast. Warren Travis's designs for the 1979 ACT production of Romeo and Juliet also feature a high contrast between all the costume colours. These productions were on a proscenium stage. By contrast, most of the productions in this study that were featured on a thrust stage tend have a closer value relationship amongst all the costumes, supporting the perspectives of costume on the thrust stage given by Moiseiwitsch in 1961, Sangster in 1957, and Stuart in 1974.

Fashionable colours and theatre costume

Like other designers, Tanya Moiseiwitsch recognizes that even in the historically-oriented costumes so prevalent in Shakespeare productions, contemporary influences are inevitable. She states that it was never a conscious effect: "It would be terrible if it were. But you have the feeling of your own period. It can't be avoided" (Carter, 1960). Hollander (1978) and others (Laver, 1964; Maeder, 1984) outline the insidious influence of the designer/actor/audience symbiotic cultural relationship on theatrical and film costume. Actors are the impetus that make sense of the costumes' relevance to the play and accordingly, to the audience through their kinetic energy. Hollander points out that actors' shared understanding of cultural codes connects them emphatically to their contemporary audience in a way that can never be fully eliminated through costume disguise.

Debra Hansen, (personal communication, 1990) Head of Design at the Stratford Festival, distinguishes three bases for her own costume colour decisions in the order of influence: personal palette, period colours, emotional association. She recognizes that fashionable colours within her preferred colour range may appear more readily in her designs, both because of their popularity and because of their availability. It seems to be a forthright and logical rationale, one that likely underlies most designers' creative process.

Although contemporary fashionable colour influence forms an area of investigation in this study, it was not overtly observable in the choice of costume colours. Hope and Walch's text (1990) contains a comprehensive survey of fashionable colours for the six decades from which examples of costume colours in this study were observed. The text indicates that fashionable colours in the 1930s include pinks, browns and greens. By contrast, Motley chose a vibrant red for Juliet. It was not a fashionable colour at the time, but it did suit the star-centred theatre of the 1930s: a theatre that offered a glamorous alternative to the grim realities of daily life.

In the 1940s, during and immediately after World War II, navy blue, khaki, earth-browns, and red were popular fashion colours, with hot pink, chartreuse (yellow-green), turquoise and purple appearing at the outgoing turn of the decade. Although there are really too few examples to make a substantive comparison, the three costumes (Mosieiwitsch/1943; Gerard/1947) examined for this time were black and white. These do not really parallel the contemporary fashionable colours of the 40s. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's colours were chosen in part because of the availability of materials during the war; white and black lace curtains could be successfully transformed into Spanish dress. Gerard's costumes were created immediately following the war at a time when resources continued to be meagre. With respect to fashion, black and white are considered to be classic colours in almost any era.

By the 1950s, the buoyancy of a world in the process of recuperation is reflected in cheerful fashion colours such as pastels, turquoise, sky blue, baby pink, cherry red and navy blue. Apart from Motley's light blue dress for Juliet in the 1954 RSC production, no other costumes matched these. Tanya Moiseiwitsch's use of khaki-coloured uniforms for both productions of All's Well in 1953 at the Stratford Festival, and in 1959 at the RST, could be said to reflect the taste for that colour immediately following the war, but it was specifically chosen for its military appropriateness.

During the 1960s, such colours as acid yellow and funky purple existed alongside saturate primary colours and the newly popular denim blue. Carolyn Parker comes closest to reflecting the primary colours in the 1968 Stratford Festival Romeo and Juliet, but it is only a vague reference. Her use of bright yellows approaches, but does not meet, the vividness of the psychedelic colours that exemplified the Carnaby Street colours so prominent in 60s' fashion.

For most of the 70s, south-western earth-tones consisting of browns, beiges and golds were fashionable in clothing and interior decor. By the end of that decade, the beginnings of the punk movement is reflected in trendy orange, lime green, and black fashions. It is possible to attribute some contemporary fashion colour influence on the colour choices made by three designers in the productions reviewed. John Ferguson's 1977 designs for the Stratford Festival Romeo and Juliet incorporate beige tones for Juliet's costume, and the prevailing brown and orange colour combination for Capulet's costume. Like Ferguson, Warren Travis incorporated browns and oranges in the 1979 Romeo and Juliet costumes he designed for the American Conservatory Theatre in San Francisco. Tanya Moiseiwitsch used browns in the 1977 All's Well at the Stratford Festival. She is noted for her love of brown tones, so that their popularity would have been a secondary consideration.

By the 1980s, the strongest impression of fashionable colour is of black. It is a decade that saw the adventurous use of black for bridal and children's wear. Within that decade, there was also a return to bright colours such as fuschia, magenta and purple in addition to the reintroduction of neon colours. In *haute couture*, red was very prominent. It is difficult to see any overt influence of these fashionable colours on the costumes from the productions reviewed in this study. Even when the play was staged in a contemporary period, such as the 1986 RSC Romeo and Juliet, the colours chosen for the hero and heroine were more symbolically representative (white) than reflective of contemporary fashion colours.

From the limited observations of fashion and theatre costume colour parallels in this study, there is little evidence that a direct link exists. Perhaps the natures of these particular Shakespeare plays frustrate any direct relationship between fashion and theatre. It may be easier to remain relatively true to period colours when the play's setting is further removed from the present time, allowing designers to feel freer (however consciously) to choose more symbolically expressive colours or to follow tradition in a period play. While the fashionable colours of a period may not have prevailed, the discussion on values and gender suggests that compliance with the cultural "zeitgeist" of the time exists with respect to the application of gender-suitable degrees of lightness or darkness.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Nexus

Across two continents, within three different countries in the Western world, and spanning a period of 51 years, designers have frequently shared costume colour visions for the eight characters examined in this study. The preceding analysis of their accord is important because it reinforces the recognition that colour is a sustaining and powerful signifier within the theatre and within the broader concourse of daily life. This is a well accepted belief within our culture, a phenomenon that has been examined by numerous disciplines including theatre, where an awareness and appreciation for colour's communicative potential exists although colour signification has not received extensive research focus. An understanding of colour meaning (on either a conscious or subconscious level) helps an audience to make sense of the character roles within a play, assisting the play's momentum. Substantiating colour meaning is especially important in the theatre since it is a public forum wherein cultural signifiers are disseminated and their meanings perpetuated or challenged.

The composite analyses of costume colours from several productions having the same script, has helped to determine certain characteristic colour choices made by Tanya Moiseiwitsch and her colleagues: colour choices observed, evaluated, and compared across time and place. Costume colour profiles for Romeo and Juliet and All's Well supply future researchers and interested theatre patrons with a sound, accurate record from which to observe other productions and designers, to assess originality, to consider tradition, and to wonder at chance in the symbiotic world of theatre production and design.

Using the model described in Chapter III, a broad base of material was examined to establish essential costume colour and characterization as it was applied by Tanya Moiseiwitsch and 14 other designers in 21 productions. The first step necessitated the

identification of characterization revealed in Shakespeare's text and a review of critical thought with respect to the relevant characters. Because it directly investigated the source and content of the plays it was labelled *Shakespeare's Text*.

The second step involved the examination of the *Performance Text* (also labelled *Interpretive Text*), to establish how the play was perceived by those who produced it. At this point, written direction or explanation by a director, designer, or actor regarding characterization or the production as a whole, was integrated into developing a composite picture of the *Interpretive Text*. This process recognizes the context in which the production occurred, specifically the cultural time and place. It was at this stage that the costume colours themselves were examined and their hue, value, and saturation recorded using the Pantone Professional Colour System Selector.

Finally, a third step was necessary: the analysis of the costume colour meanings and characterization, and subsequent verification of what was understood by the audience. This step was labelled the *Audience Text* or *Interpreted Text*. First, from a retrospective perspective, I have analyzed the costume colours using Pantone's list of colour meanings. Once this was done, reviews of the productions were utilized to correlate the retrospective perceptions of characterization with that of an actual member of the audience (the theatre critic). In addition to reviews, any writing by the actors themselves, as well as firsthand or recorded interviews with the designers, were also instructional for verifying the costume colour/characterization readings.

With one or two exceptions, the interpretations based on this research model support commonly held colour associations within Western society over the past 50 years. Most importantly, the model offered a consistent comparative tool and less impressionistic method for assessing Tanya Moiseiwtsch's application of colour in Shakespearean costume. These features validate its use. At the same time, as it was applied in this study, the model could not address all the variables involved in theatrical design and production.

The retrospective nature of much of the material being examined presented challenges which could not always be resolved. It was not possible to gain a complete picture of costume colours viewed in different lighting situations from those in which they had initially been presented, or to gain a consistent knowledge of which point in the play a particular colour appeared. Additionally, it was not always possible to determine if the audience was presented with an intentional character choice of costume colour within the action of the play. In the second half of the play, for instance, is Romeo represented as making a deliberate costume colour choice differing from his family colours, to signify his break with the family feud? What of Parolles's recognizable acknowledgement of his character and his changed position at the play's end through his donning subdued, even drab colours as he did in Barry Kyle's 1989 RST production? Wherever possible, I have included this information, but the volume of productions, the detail involved, and the inconsistent available data made it impossible to address many of these interpretive nuances. The model needs to be tested using a smaller data base. Perhaps an application of the model on two productions with complete records, and subsequent verification of the analysis with the designers would provide a solid test for the system. Nevertheless, certain patterns did emerge through the application of the model which provided a format for the examination of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's approach to colour in costume design, as the discussion of the results in the previous chapter has shown.

The majority of productions reviewed for this study have characteristics of design associated with the morphological classification; for the most part, the costumes serve as functional aids to characterization. Increasingly, costume and set design reflects the materialistic style. Michael Bogdanov's 1986 production of Romeo and Juliet, with its blend of contemporary attire and props arranged, according to one critic, as "...a series of unconnected set pieces, choreographed with an eye to the promotion-video public" (Financial Times, April 9, 1986) reveals aspects of the materialistic classification that his current 1993 production at the Lyric, Hammersmith seems to unabashedly celebrate. Like

the 1986 production, Bogdanov's 1993 Romeo and Juliet increases the level of stage business, emphasizing humour, even when Mercutio and Tybalt battle:

The Tybalt-Mercutio duel is played mostly for laughs; it goes on for ages; the two men even stop for drinks; and a grotesque old man prances around and between them, beating time on a pair of bongo drums. Mercutio mimes masturbation on a champagne bottle held against his groin and sprinkles the grateful citizens with exploding foam. Capulet dictates his comments on the lovers' death to a comic-looking reporter, and there is a long dumbshow in which the main characters get photographed against the lovers' golden statues (Peter, 1993, 9.22).

Bogdanov deliberately challenges traditional reverential interpretations of Shakespeare's plays and presents productions that reflect changes in society. Concurring with newer critical thinking, he feels that the Bard's plays have been "...hijacked by a literary and cultural elite... in order to shore up its own position and to ensure the continuation of a conservative status quo" (Bogdanov, 1993, 2.7). As more new productions set out to demystify and de-mythologize Shakespeare, the potential for new expressions of costume colour meaning arise. Is colour used differently in such productions? If it is, how clear are the different costume colour clues, resulting from any correspondent changed cultural meaning for contemporary audiences? The answer to these questions will help to establish a more complete understanding of the history of costume colour in production and contribute further to an awareness of the role of colour meaning on stage. With some modification in its application, the Theatrical Costume Colour Analysis research model offers a foundation for future study in this area by providing a consistent methodology.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch : subtlety in colour and design

The results of this research support the literature describing Tanya Moiseiwitsch's favoured costume palette as warm with subdued colours. Asked what her preferred colour palette is, Moiseiwitsch replied in 1977, that: "One does tend to lean on black and magenta, gray and brown,...but there are certain degrees of in-between colors, that do act in my palette quite often because of the nature of the work that I'm asked to do" (Bundick, 1979, p.487). Moiseiwitsch reviewed this statement 12 years later, and firmly erased the magenta reference, asserting that it was never a favoured hue. Her colour palette is frequently associated with warm earth-tones, but any queries regarding her tendency towards earth colours receive the response that the script determines colour choices. Again and again, she reiterates her conviction that the script must be "listened to" with respect to every part of its realization in production. Her application of colour in costume for the two Shakespeare plays reviewed in this study indicate that while she may have had a similar understanding of the playwright's characterization as other designers, she frequently chose to express that characterization by using similarly coded but less direct colours. Dressing Romeo and Capulet (Stratford Festival 1960) in dark purple rather than mourning black is an example of this. The darker value denotes the sombre quality of their positions in a less overt manner than the stark black colour.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's subtle application of colour is a means, she believes, of engaging the audience. While the language and action of the actors remain the predominant mechanisms for understanding what is being communicated, the costumes exist as supportive elements. This is succinctly articulated in an interview with Bundick (1979, p.485) when Moiseiwitsch states:

I think, if you can help an audience to follow what's going on, that's quite important. But again, you don't want to dot the i's and cross the t's for them so that it leaves no work for them to do. ...you have to mystify them on occasion, and there are some times you don't want to be black and white and straight-forward, but you want more of a little gray, where you can be a little mysterious.

Her appreciation for the allure of mystery is a core element not only in her use of costume colour, but also in her total design approach. Beginning at an early age, she recognized that there could be magic in theatre: illusion could be used to heighten the audience's enjoyment of the play. Added to her natural reticence, this attitude is pivotal to her reluctance to methodically analyze how she worked. It is an attitude that has been said to characterize the British tradition from which she developed. Irving Wardle's introduction to Marowitz & Trussler's Theatre at work (1967) asserts that those in British theatre "...as a rule keep their mouths shut. They get on with their work and leave it to critics and other outsiders to make sense of what they have done" (p.9). This tradition grew out of the belief that theatre exists as a "fairy-tale ghetto" whose magic is apt to vanish if its mysteries are revealed. According to Wardle, that attitude was changed along with the larger theatrical shifts, in the 1960s.

In many ways, Tanya Moiseiwitsch herself personifies the mysterious aura of theatre, a situation created not only by her origins within the British theatre that promoted the tradition, but also through the romance that surrounded her personal life. We know some details about Moiseiwitsch as a talented young woman who, intimidated by the public demands of her parents' professional music careers, channeled her own artistic energy into theatre design. Appreciation for her devotion to her art has been further heightened by the knowledge of her young widowhood. Moiseiwitsch's reluctance to speak about her work and her personal life contribute to her enigmatic image, an image perpetuated by articles written about her bearing titles such as "Tanya: mystery by design" (Lee, 1967), and by associates' references to her as a "Russian Countess" (Desmond Heeley in Tanya Moiseiwitsch: Designs for Stratford, 1992). Altogether, these qualities depict a mysterious and romantic portrait: an image that has remained impenetrable by all but her closest associates. The softly muted overtones of the costume colours she favours function as a metaphor for her own person, never shouting to be the centre of attention, meshing with

others to create a harmonious environment, and never superficial but suggestive of multi-layered depths.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's design approach was shaped not only by the British theatre traditions that fostered her belief in the mysterious aura of theatre, but also by an education suited to her talents and by world events that affected her personally and professionally (the death of her new husband in World War II, and opportunities to test her craft in repertory theatre during that difficult time). Her design approach was influenced by her association with some of the best-known directors in 20th century classical theatre -- Tyrone Guthrie, Anthony Quayle, and Micheal Langham to name a few. Her willingness to take imaginative risks to realize their visions (designing pared down stages and architectonic costumes at a time when decorative design was still preferred, as she did for Guthrie's production of Britten's Peter Grimes in 1947), indicated she had the strength to succeed.

Moiseiwitsch's collaborative genius, particularly with Tyrone Guthrie, reflects not only her personal vision of what a designer's role should be, but is also representative of the expected gender roles during the time they worked together. Guthrie dominated the production and she accommodated his design requirements. Marowitz's recognition of the negotiated power amongst the members of the production team supports this idea. The role of designer grew alongside other developments in British theatre. Up to the time that Moiseiwitsch began her career, the design team had been led primarily by men. From the turn of the century, when the role of designer really took shape, the prominent designers were men. It was only during the 1930s that female designers such as Motley, Alix Stone and Tanya Moiseiwitsch established themselves in British theatre design, working in an atmosphere of co-operation aimed at serving the production. As part of a designer/director team, it was the director (almost without exception a man), who dominated the production team. Moiseiwitsch has said that Guthrie was a director who knew what he wanted. It is possible then, that some of Tanya Moiseiwitsch's quiet attitude towards her achievements

throughout her career are related to her role as a woman breaking new ground in what had primarily been a male arena.

Tanya Moiseiwitsch's position within design history is firmly established. In 1953, when Canadians welcomed the Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch team (figure 1), they greeted two representatives of the British theatrical tradition who were leaders within it. Thirty-nine years later, Stratford Festival once again embraced her by mounting an exhibit of her costumes and design sketches at the Gallery Stratford. The exhibit was one of the highlights in a series of special events to celebrate the 40th season of the theatre's existence. Tanya Moiseiwitsch quietly smiled at the kind words spoken by the current Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and celebrated the anniversary with many of the individuals who had worked to produce the first season. She wore her trademark headscarf, as she had for the commemorative photo she posed for, standing next to the model of the stage she and Tyrone Guthrie had designed (figure 89). The 40th season opened with a performance of The Tempest. The next evening, on the main stage, with the Moiseiwitsch centre balcony pillar restored, another production of Romeo and Juliet began.



Figure 89. Tanya Moiseiwitsch beside her model of the thrust stage 1991.
Photo courtesy of Stratford Festival Archives

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Nottingham Evening Post and News, June 2
Worcester Evening News, June 2
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The Guardian, November 18
Worcester Evening News, November 18
Financial Times, November 18
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Time Out, April 16

1935
Motley



1943
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1947
Rolf
Gerard



1954
Motley



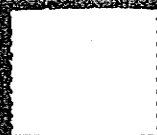
1958
Motley



1960
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1961
Desmond
Heeley



Costume colour by date and designer
JULIET

1968
 Carolyn
 Parker



1976
 Chris
 Dyer



1977
 John
 Ferguson



1979
 Dunya
 Ramicova



1979
 Warren
 Travis



1984
 David
 Walker



1986
 Ginny
 Humphries/
 Chris
 Dyer



Costume colour by date and designer
ROMEO

1943
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1952
Roger
Furse



1954
Motley



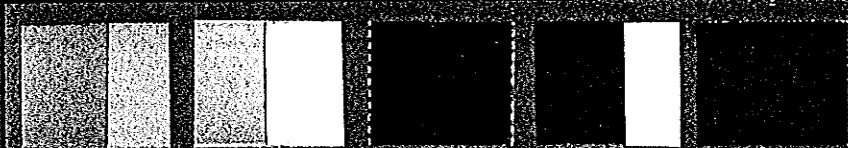
1958
Motley



1960
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1968
Carolyn
Parker



1976
Chris
Dyer



Costume colour by date and designer
ROMEO

1977
John
Ferguson



1979
Dunya
Ramicova



1979
Warren
Travis



1984
David
Walker



1986
Ginny
Humphries/
Chris
Dyer



Costume colour by date and designer
CAPULET

1954
Motley



1958
Motley



1960
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



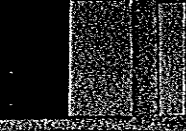
1961
Desmond
Heeley



1968
Carolyn
Parker



1977
John
Ferguson



1979
Warren
Travis



Costume colour by date and designer
MERCUTIO

1952
Roger
Furse

1954
Motley

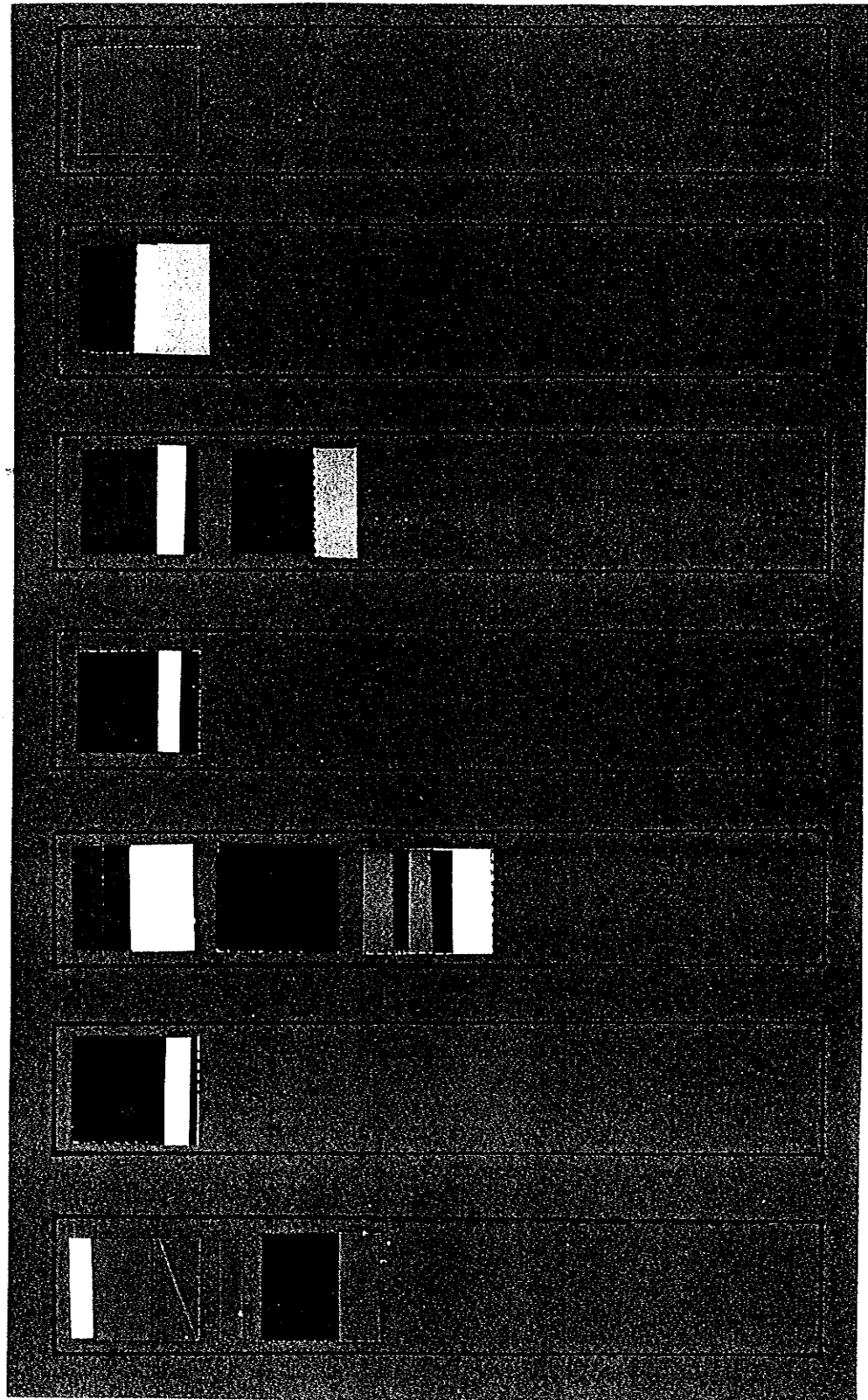
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Tanya
Moiseiwitsch

1961
Desmond
Heeley

1968
Carolyn
Parker

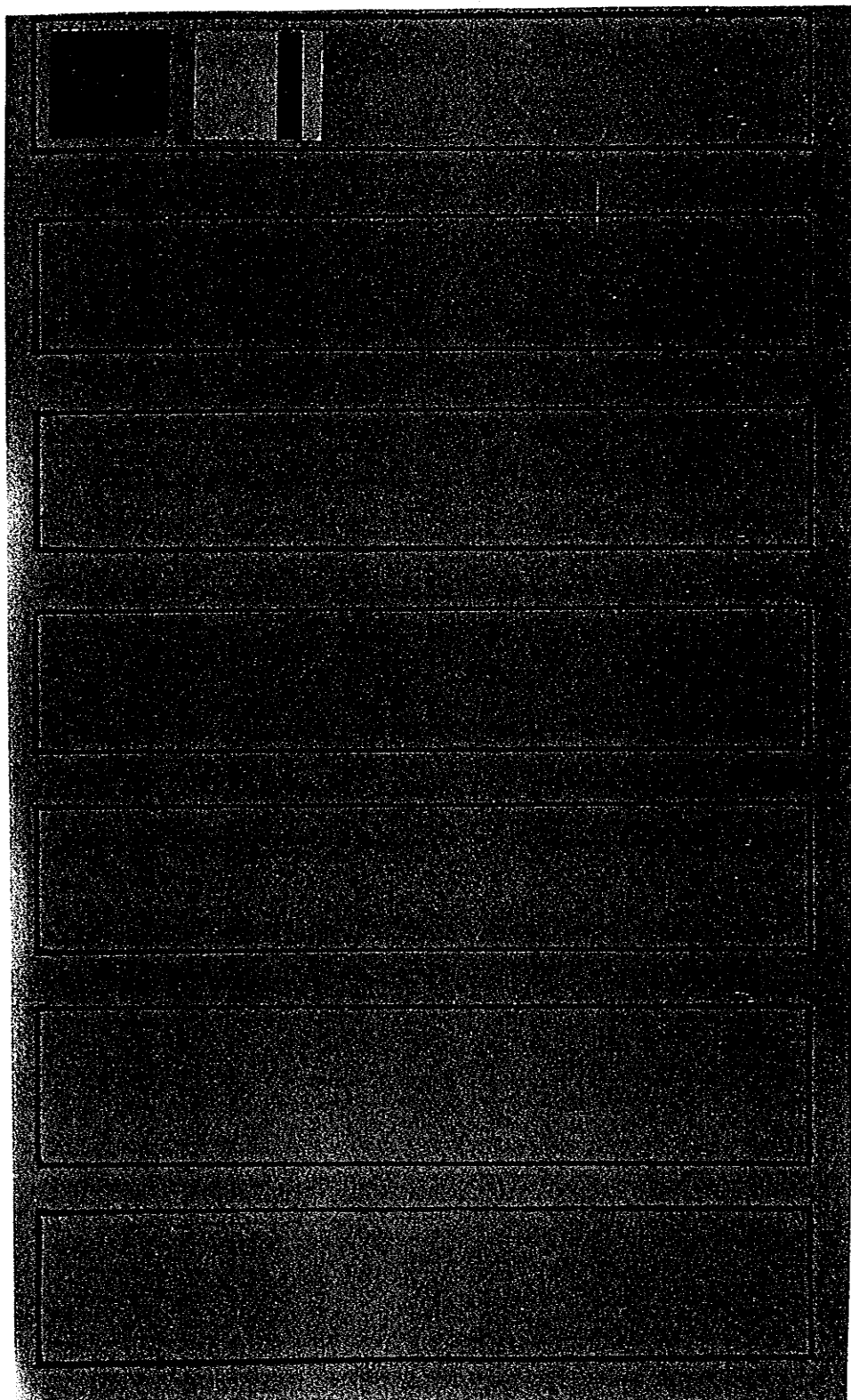
1979
Dunya
Ramicova

1979
Warren
Travis



Costume colour by date and designer
MERCUTIO

1984
David
Walker



Costume colour by date and designer
HELENA

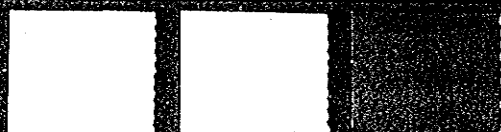
1953
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1959
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1967
Timothy
O'Brien



1977
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



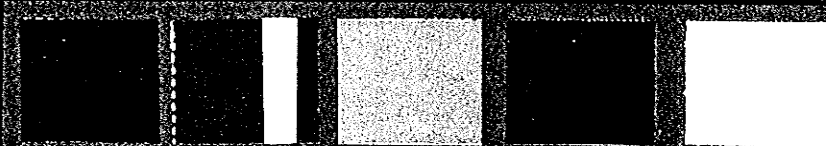
1981
Lindy
Hemming



1988
Christina
Poddubiuk



1989
Chris
Dyer

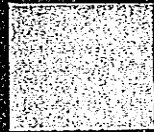


Costume colour by date and designer
BERTRAM

1953
 Tanya
 Moiseiwitsch



1959
 Tanya
 Moiseiwitsch



1967
 Timothy
 O'Brien



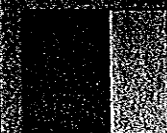
1977
 Tanya
 Moiseiwitsch



1981
 Lindy
 Hemming



1988
 Christina
 Poddubiuk



1989
 Chris
 Dyer



Costume colour by date and designer
KING of FRANCE

1959
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1967
Timothy
O'Brien



1977
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1988
Christina
Poddubiuk



1989
Chris
Dyer



1981
Lindy
Hemming



Costume colour by date and designer
PAROLLES

1953
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



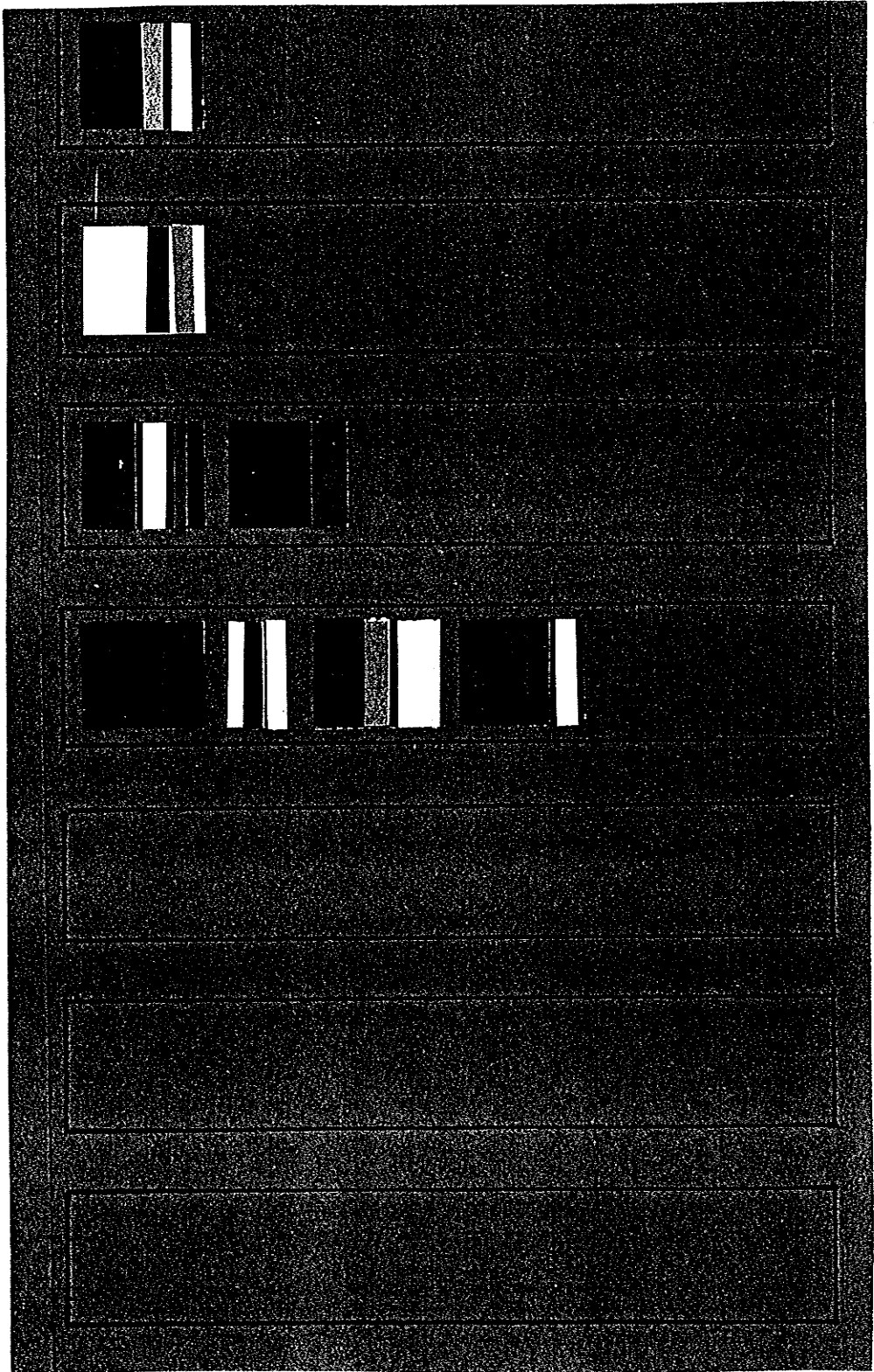
1959
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1977
Tanya
Moiseiwitsch



1989
Chris
Dyer



Appendix B

Romeo and Juliet

List of productions reviewed, location, related theatre personnel, and costume period.

1935 New Theatre (Old Vic) London, England

Director: John Gielgud

Designer: Motley

Period: Italian Renaissance

Romeo: John Gielgud/ Laurence Olivier

Juliet: Peggy Ashcroft

Mercutio: John Gielgud/ Laurence Olivier

Capulet: Not known

1941-44 (likely 1943) Oxford Playhouse Repertory, U.K.

Director: Not known

Designer: Tanya Moiseiwitsch

Period: c.1800

Source: Goya

Actors: Unknown

1947 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Peter Brooks

Designer: Rolf Gerard

Period: Italian Renaissance

Romeo: Laurence Payne

Juliet: Daphne Slater

Mercutio: Paul Scofield

Capulet: Walter Hudd

1952 Old Vic (Edinburgh, London, September)

Director: Hugh Hunt

Designer: Roger Furse

Period: Italian Renaissance

Romeo: Alan Badel

Juliet: Claire Bloom

Mercutio: Peter Finch

Capulet: John Phillips

1954 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Glen Byam Shaw

Designer: Mottley

Period: Italian Renaissance

Romeo: Laurence Harvey

Juliet: Zena Walker

Mercutio: Tony Britton

Capulet: William Devlin

Appendix B

1958 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Glen Byam Shaw
 Designer: Motley
 Period: Italian Renaissance
 Romeo: Richard Johnson
 Juliet: Dorothy Tutin
 Mercutio: Edward Woodward
 Capulet: Mark Dignam

1960 Stratford Festival Canada

Director: Michael Langham
 Designer: Tanya Moiseiwitsch
 Period: Italian Renaissance
 Romeo: Bruno Gerussi
 Juliet: Julie Harris
 Mercutio: Christopher Plummer
 Capulet: Jack Creley

1961 Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Peter Hall
 Designer: Desmond Heeley
 Period: French Burgundian
 Romeo: Brian Murray
 Juliet: Dorothy Tutin
 Mercutio: Ian Bannen
 Capulet: Unknown

1968 Stratford Festival Canada

Director: Douglas Campbell
 Designer: Carolyn Parker
 Period: c.1800s - Napoleonic
 Romeo: Christopher Walken
 Juliet: Louise Marleau
 Mercutio: Leo Ciceri
 Capulet: Kenneth Pogue

1976 Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Trevor Nunn/Barry Kyle
 Designer: Chris Dyer
 Period: Italian Renaissance
 Romeo: Ian McKellen
 Juliet: Francesca Annis
 Mercutio: Michael Pennington
 Capulet: John Woodvine

1977 Stratford Festival Canada

Director: David William
 Designer: John Ferguson
 Period: Italian Renaissance
 Romeo: Richard Monette
 Juliet: Marti Maraden
 Mercutio: Nicholas Pennell
 Capulet: Leslie Yeo

Appendix B

1979 Guthrie Theatre, Minneapolis

Director: Ron Daniels
Designer: Dunya Ramicova
Period: Contemporary (1970s)
Romeo: Christopher Rich
Juliet: Tara Loewenstern
Mercutio: Justin Deas
Capulet: Robert Pastene

1979 American Conservatory Theatre, San Francisco

Director: Allen Fletcher
Designer: Warren Travis
Period: Italian Renaissance
Romeo: Thomas M. Nahrwold
Juliet: Julia Fletcher
Mercutio: Daniel Davis
Capulet: Michael Winters

1984 Stratford Festival Canada

Director: Peter Dews
Designer: David Walker
Period: Italian Renaissance
Romeo: Colm Feore
Juliet: Seana McKenna
Mercutio: Richard Monette
Capulet: Kenneth Pogue

1986 Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Michael Bogdanov
Designer: Chris Dyer/Ginny Humphries
Period: Contemporary (1980s)
Romeo: Sean Bean
Juliet: Niamh Cusack
Mercutio: Michael Kitchen
Capulet: Richard Moore

Appendix B
All's Well That Ends Well

List of productions reviewed, location, related theatre personnel, and costume period.

1953 Stratford Festival Canada

Director: Tyrone Guthrie
 Designer: Tanya Moiseiwitsch
 Period: Modern/Edwardian
 Helena: Irene Worth
 Bertram: Donald Harron
 King of France: Alec Guinness
 Parolles: Douglas Campbell

1959 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Tyrone Guthrie
 Designer: Tanya Moiseiwitsch
 Period: Edwardian
 Helena: Zoe Caldwell
 Bertram: Edward de Souza
 King of France: Robert Hardy
 Parolles: Cyril Luckham

1967 Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: John Barton
 Designer: Timothy O'Brien
 Period: Cavalier
 Helena: Estelle Kohler
 Bertram: Ian Richardson
 King of France: Sebastian Shaw
 Parolles: Clive Swift

1977 Stratford Festival Canada

Director: David Jones
 Designer: Tanya Moiseiwitsch
 Period: Cavalier
 Helena: Martha Henry
 Bertram: Nicholas Pennell
 King of France: William Hutt
 Parolles: Richard Monette

1981 Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Trevor Nunn
 Designer: Lindy Hemming
 Period: Edwardian
 Helena: Harriet Walter
 Bertram: Mike Gwilym
 King of France: John Franklyn-Robbins
 Parolles: Stephen Moore

Appendix B

1988 Stratford Festival Canada

Director: Peter Moss

Designer: Christina Poddubiuk

Period: Crinoline (1850s)

Helena: Lucy Peacock

Bertram: Nigel Hamer

King of France: Joseph Shaw

Parolles: Bernard Hopkins

1989 Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon, U.K.

Director: Barry Kyle

Designer: Chris Dyer

Period: Cavalier

Helena: Patricia Kerrigan

Bertram: Paul Venable

King of France: Hugh Ross

Parolles: Bruce Alexander

Appendix C

Abbreviated Designer Biographies

- John Bury:** British designer. B. 1925 Aberystwyth
1947-1962 at Joan Littlewood's Theatre
Workshop: *A Taste of Honey*, 1958.
1962-1985 at RSC/National Theatre:
designer for Peter Hall: *War of the Roses*, 1963
Elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, 1968.
- Chris Dyer:** British designer
Member of British Design representatives awarded
top honours at the 1975 International exhibition of
design and architecture in Prague.
Designed RSC *Romeo and Juliet*, 1976,
RSC *Romeo and Juliet* 1986, with G. Humphries
RSC *All's Well That Ends Well*, 1989
- John Ferguson:** B. Kitchener, Ontario
1977 *Romeo and Juliet*, Stratford Festival Canada
Trained at Ontario College of Art, and National
Theatre School
Taught set design at York University in 1981/82.
Association with /Stratford began in 1972
- Roger Furse:** B. September 1903, Ightham, Kent.
1952 *Romeo and Juliet*, Old Vic
Worked at the Old Vic and London's West End
Film costumes for *Ivanhoe*, *The road to Hong Kong*
- Rolf Gerard:** B. 1910, Berlin
1947 *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare Memorial Theatre
Primarily a set designer, but designs costumes as well
Attended school in Germany and Switzerland, moved
to England in 1936
designed for theatre, ballet, and opera throughout Europe
painter and sculptor
1960 *Irma La Deuce* on Broadway
- Desmond Heeley:** B. June 1, 1931, West Bromich, Staffordshire
1961 RSC *Romeo and Juliet*
Trained at Ryland School of Art
First designed for Birmingham Repertory Theatre
RSC in 1948
Freelance design at Stratford Festival
Winner of two Tony awards for Broadway *Rosencrantz
Guildestern are Dead*

- Lindy Hemming:** British costume designer, beginning in the 1970s
Part of British Designer team awarded honours in Prague, 1975
Designer of T.V. and films as well as for the Royal Shakespeare Company
Designed RSC *All's Well That Ends Well*, 1981
- Ginny Humphries:** British designer
Designed RSC 1986 *Romeo and Juliet* with C. Dyer
- Motley:** 1935 Old Vic *Romeo and Juliet*
1954, 1958, RSC *Romeo and Juliet*
Margaret Harris, B. 1904
Elizabeth Montgomery B. 1904
Sophia Harris Devine B. 1901, D. 1966
- Timothy O'Brien:** B. Shillong, Assam, India, March 8, 1929.
Studied at Wellington College, Cambridge University and Yale.
1955-66 - Head of Design for ABC TV.
Has been associate artist with Royal Shakespeare Company
Set and costume designer
1979 - *Evita* on Broadway (with Tazeena Firth)
Designed 1967 *All's Well That Ends Well*
- Carolyn Parker:** Designer for University of Minnesota, Guthrie Theatre, Walker Art Center Opera Company
1968 Stratford Festival Canada *Romeo and Juliet*
1963 - Design Coordinator at Guthrie Theatre
1966 - Co-designed *The Skin of Our Teeth* with Tanya Moiseiwitsch
- Christina Poddubiuk:** Canadian designer educated at McGill University and the National Theatre School in Montreal.
Designs for Shaw Festival, The Citadel Theatre, Canadian Opera Company - *The Marriage of Figaro* (set design for tour)
Hamlet for the Manitoba Theatre Centre
Several designs for Stratford Festival including
1983 Young Company *Much Ado About Nothing*
1982 - Stratford Festival *All's Well That ends Well*.
- Dunya Ramicova:** B. Oct. 11, 1950, Bratislava Czechoslovakia
1979 Guthrie Theatre *Romeo and Juliet*
Bachelor of Fine Arts- Goodman School of Drama
Studied at Lester Polakov's Studio and Forum of Stage Design with Jane Greenwood
Teacher at Yale School of Drama

- Alix Stone:** British Designer
 Trained at Central School of Arts and Crafts at same time as Tanya Moiseiwitsch.
 Designed RSC History cycle with Moiseiwitsch in 1950s
 Designed for Old Vic in 1960s
 Also designed for Opera and television in Britain.
- John Warren Travis:** B.Texas, studied at the University of Texas (B.F.A.)
 Stanford University (M.F.A.)
 Designer of Off Broadway productions - predominantly in California
 Theatre Arts Professor (Costume Design) at University of California, Berkeley
 1979 American Conservatory Theatre *Romeo and Juliet*
- Utz:** International designer - including RSC
The Maids/Deathwatch!
 designs for Stockholm include *As You Like It* at the Stadsteatern.
 Adrian Noble's Japanese production of *TwelfthNight* in Tokyo.
 1987 Stratford Festival *The Cherry Orchard*.
 1990 - Stratford Festival *Julius Caesar*
- David Walker:** B.July 18, 1934, Calcutta, India
 1984 Stratford festival Canada *Romeo and Juliet*
 Studied at Central School of Arts and Crafts and with Jeanette Cochrane
 Designed for Theatre Workshop in England (1960)
 Metropolitan Opera, New York, Television
 Illustrator

Appendix D

Designology

Year	Date	Abbey Theatre, Ireland Production	Director	Costumes/Set
1935	Sept. 16	A Deuce O' Jacks	Michael J. Dolan	CS
1935	Dec. 2	A Saint in a Hurry	Lennox Robinson	CS
1935	Dec. 9	Summer's Day	Hugh Hunt	CS
1936	Feb. 3	The Grand House in the City	Hugh Hunt	CS
1936	Feb. 24	Boyd's Shop	Hugh Hunt	S
1936	Mar. 16	Katie Roche	Hugh Hunt	CS
1936	April 13	The Passing Day	Hugh Hunt	CS
1936	Sept. 14	The Silver Jubilee	Hugh Hunt	S
1936	Nov. 9	The Wild Goose	Hugh Hunt	CS
1936	Nov. 30	Wind from the West	Hugh Hunt	S
1936	Dec. 26	Blind Man's Buff	Hugh Hunt	S
1937	Jan. 25	Shadow and Substance	Hugh Hunt	S
1937	Mar. 29	Quin's Secret	Hugh Hunt	S
1937	April 19	Killycregg's in Twilight	Hugh Hunt	S
1937	May 17	Who Will Remember...?	Hugh Hunt	CS
1937	May 31	In the Train	Hugh Hunt	S
1937	Aug. 5	The Patriot	Hugh Hunt	S
1937	Sept. 27	The Man in the Cloak	Hugh Hunt	S
1937	Oct. 18	The Invincibles	Hugh Hunt	S
1938	Jan. 17	Neal Maquade	Hugh Hunt	S
1938	Feb. 14	A Spot in the Sun	Hugh Hunt	S
1938	Feb. 28	Moses' Rock	Hugh Hunt	S
1938	April 4	The Dear Queen	Hugh Hunt	CS
1938	May 9	Cassadh An T-Sugain (The Twisting of the Rope)	Hugh Hunt	CS
1938	Sept. 12	Birds Nest	Hugh Hunt	S
1938	Sept. 19	The Great Adventure	Hugh Hunt	S
1938	Oct. 10	Pilgrims	Hugh Hunt	S
1938	Dec. 12	Baintig hearna An Ghorta	Hugh Hunt	CS
1938	Dec. 2	Time's Pocket	Hugh Hunt	CS

C= costumes/ S= sets designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. Shakespeare plays in bold.
Source: Robinson, L. (1951).

Appendix D

Dennis Behl (1986) also includes the following productions as designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch at the Abbey Theatre between 1935-39.

Candida	Parnell of Avondale
Cartney and Kevney	Playboy of the Western World
Church Street	Synge
Coriolanus	Plough and the Stars
Damer's Gold	Shadowy Waters
Deidre	Shewing Up of Bianco Posuet
Dervorgilla	She Had to do Something
End of the Beginning	Thomas Muskerry
Hassan	Village Wooing
Jailbird	Well of the Saints
The Lost Leader	Words on the Window Pane
Noah	

Designs at other theatres

Year	Production	Theatre/Location	Director
1934	The Faithful	Westminster Theatre	
1934	Alien Corn		
1940	Golden Cuckoo	Duchess Theatre, London	
1940	High Temperature	Duke of York Theatre, London	
1941/	Androcles and the Lion	Repertory/Oxford Playhouse/ Cambridge	CS
1944	The Doctor's Dilemma		CS
	The Gentle People		CS
	George and Margaret		CS
	Goodness How Sad		CS
	Merchant of Venice		CS
	Romeo and Juliet		(Likely 1943) at Oxford
	Rope		CS
1944/	The Alchemist	Old Vic Company at The Playhouse, Liverpool	Tyrone Guthrie
1945	Dr. Faustus		
	John Gabriel Point Valaine		
	Uncle Vanya	Old Vic Company at the New Theatre, London	John Burrell
	The Critic		
1945/	Beaux Stratagem	Old Vic Company at the Theatre Royal, Bristol New Theatre, London Lyric Hammersmith, London	Hugh Hunt
1946	Twelfth Night		Hugh Hunt
	Cyrano de Bergerac		Tyrone Guthrie
	Time of Your Life		
1947	Bless the Bride	Adelphi Theatre, London Royal Opera House, Covent Garden	C.B. Cochrane
	Peter Grimes		Tyrone Guthrie
			CS
			CS

1948	Beggar's Opera	Aldenburgh Festival Theatre Cambridge	Tyrone Guthrie	CS
	Lady of Rhodesia Cherry Orchard	Sadler's Wells Theatre, London Old Vic Company, New Theatre	Hugh Hunt	CS
1949	Henry VIII	Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Stratford-Upon-Avon	Tyrone Guthrie	CS
	Treasure Hunt A Month in the Country	Apollo Theatre, London Old Vic Company, New Theatre	Michel Saint-Denis	CS
1950	Captain Carvallo Don Giovanni (?) Holly and the Ivy Home at Seven	St. James Theatre, London Sadler's Wells, London Lyric Hammersmith, London (later at the Duchess Theatre) Wyndham's Theatre, London	Laurence Olivier	C
1951	Figure of Fun The Passing Day A Midsummer Night's Dream Richard II Henry IV 1 Henry IV 2 Henry V (assisted by Alix Stone)	Aldwych Theatre, London Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith Old Vic Theatre, London Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Stratford-Upon-Avon	Tyrone Guthrie Tyrone Guthrie Anthony Quayle Anthony Quayle Anthony Quayle Anthony Quayle	 CS
1952	The Deep Blue Sea Othello Timons of Athens	Duchess Theatre, London Shakespeare Memorial Theatre (toured Australia/New Zealand) Old Vic Theatre, London	Anthony Quayle Tyrone Guthrie	
1953	Henry VIII Julius Caesar Richard III All's Well That Ends Well	Old Vic, London Stratford Festival, Canada	Tyrone Guthrie Hugh Hunt Tyrone Guthrie Tyrone Guthrie	CS S CS CS
1954	The Matchmaker Measure For Measure Oedipus Rex (with Jacqueline Cundall)	Edinburgh Festival (later at Haymarket, London) Stratford Festival, Canada	Tyrone Guthrie Tyrone Guthrie Tyrone Guthrie	CS CS CS

1955	A Life in the Sun	Edinburgh Festival, Assembly Hall	Tyrone Guthrie	
	The Cherry Orchard	Piccolo Teatro, Milan	Michael Langham	
	Julius Caesar	Stratford Festival	Tyrone Guthrie	CS
	Merchant of Venice		Tyrone Guthrie	CS
	Oedipus Rex (revival)			
1956	Matchmaker	Royale Theatre, New York	Tyrone Guthrie	CS
	Oedipus Rex (revival)	Edinburgh Festival	Tyrone Guthrie	CS
	Measure For Measure	Shakespeare Memorial Theatre	Anthony Quayle	CS
	Henry V	Stratford Festival	Michael Langham	CS
	Merry Wives of Windsor			
1957	Twelfth Night	Stratford Festival	Tyrone Guthrie	CS
	Two Gentlemen of Verona	Old Vic Theatre, London	Michael Langham	CS
1958	The Bright One	Winter Garden, London	Douglas Seale	S
	Much Ado About Nothing	Shakespeare Memorial Theatre		
	A Winter's Tale	Stratford Festival	Douglas Campbell	CS
	Henry IV 1		Michael Langham/ George McCowan	
	(with Marie Day)			
	Two Gentlemen of Verona	Canadian Tour (Stratford Festival) also to Phoenix Theatre, New York	Don Harron	S
	The Broken Jug			
1959	Merchant of Venice	Habimah, Tel Aviv	Tyrone Guthrie	
	All's Well That Ends Well	Shakespeare Memorial	Tyrone Guthrie	CS
1960	Wrong Side of the Park	Cambridge Theatre (later St. Martin Theatre, London)		
	King John	Stratford Festival	Douglas Seale	CS
	Romeo and Juliet		Michael Langham	CS
1961	Ondine	Royal Shakespeare Company Aldwych Theatre, London	Jean Giraudoux	CS
	Coriolanus	Stratford Festival	Michael Langham	CS
	Love's Labour's Lost		Michael Langham	CS
1962	The Alchemist	Old Vic Theatre, London	Tyrone Guthrie	
	Cyrano de Bergerac	Stratford Festival	Michael Langham	
	(with Desmond Heeley)			
	Taming of the Shrew			

1963	Cyrano de Bergerac (revival) Hamlet The Miser The Three Sisters	Stratford Festival	Michael Langham Tyrone Guthrie CS Douglas Campbell CS Tyrone Guthrie CS
1964	Saint Joan Volpone	Guthrie Theatre, Minneapolis	Tyrone Guthrie CS Tyrone Guthrie CS
1965	The Way of the World The Cherry Orchard	Guthrie Theatre	John Hirsch
1966	As You Like It The Skin of Our Teeth (with Carolyn Parker)	Guthrie Theatre	Edward Call
1967	House of Atreus Antony and Cleopatra Peter Grimes	Guthrie theatre Stratford Festival Metropolitan Opera New York	Tyrone Guthrie CS Michael Langham CS Tyrone Guthrie CS
1968	House of Atreus (revival) Volpone	Guthrie Theatre (tours Los Angeles, New York) National Theatre Company, Old Vic, London	Tyrone Guthrie CS Tyrone Guthrie
1969	Macook's Corner Swift Uncle Vanya Caucasian Chalk Circle	The Opera House, Belfast (and Abbey Theatre, Dublin) Abbey Theatre, Dublin Guthrie Theatre Sheffield Playhouse, G.B.	Tyrone Guthrie Tyrone Guthrie Tyrone Guthrie
1970	Cymbeline	Stratford Festival	Jean Gascon
1971	Barber of Seville Shoemaker's Holiday	Phoenix Opera Company, Brighton Festival,	Tyrone Guthrie
1972	A Man for all Seasons The Persians	Crucible Theatre, Sheffield	
1973	The Government Inspector (with John Jenson) Stirrings in Sheffield on a Saturday Night The Misanthrope	Guthrie Theatre Crucible Theatre, Sheffield National Theatre Company Old Vic, London	John Dexter CS

1974	The Imaginary Invalid	Stratford Festival	Jean Gascon	CS
1975	The Misanthrope Phaedra Britannica	National Theatre production, St.James Theatre, New York National Theatre, Old Vic	John Dexter	
1976	The Voyage of Edgar Allan Poe Rigoletto	Minnesota Opera Company Metropolitan Opera, New York	John Dexter	
1977	All's Well That Ends Well The Voyage of Edgar Allan Poe	Stratford Festival Morris A. Mechanic Theatre Baltimore, Maryland	David Jones	CS
1978	Oedipus Rex Oedipus at Colonnus	South Australia Theatre Company	Colin George	
1979	Double Dealer	National Theatre of Great Britain Olivier Theatre		
1980	Red Roses for Me La Traviata	Abbey Theatre, Dublin Metropolitan Opera, New York		
1981	Kidnapped in London	Children's Theatre Company, Minneapolis		
1982	Mary Stuart	Stratford Festival	John Hirsch	C
1983	King Lear Tartuffe	Granada Television Stratford Festival	Michael Elliott John Hirsch	C CS
1984	Tartuffe (revival) The Clandestine Marriage	CBC (Stratford Festival) Abbey Theatre English Tour	John Hirsch	
1985	The Government Inspector (Co-designed with Polly Scranton Bodhanetzky)	Stratford Festival	Ronald Eyre	

Sources: Beauman (1982), Behl (1986, 1981), Ellis (1948), Leiter (1986), Mullin & Muriello, 1980), Somerset (1991), Steinberg (1985)

Appendix E.

Theatre InformationUnited Kingdom

- Abbey Theatre :** Dublin, Ireland. Opened December 1904. Served as home to Irish National Theatre Society with guidance from, among others, W.B. Yeats. The theatre featured the work of playwrights such as Lennox Robinson (from 1908), and Sean O'Casey (from 1923-28). Destroyed by fire in 1951 and rebuilt in 1966. (Salgado & Thomson, 1985).
- Crucible Theatre:** Sheffield, England. Tanya Moiseiwitsch principal designer of theatre and consultant for the thrust stage.
- Old Vic Theatre:** London, England. Opened in 1818 as the Coburg. Name changed to the Royal Victoria in 1833 from which the nickname 'Old Vic' evolved. The theatre closed in 1880 but was bought by Emma Cons who "...wedded it, as an amusement-hall, to the temperance movement" (Salgado & Thomson, 1985, p. 109). Cons' niece Lillian Baylis joined her in 1898 and promoted Shakespearean productions. Throughout the 30s, it was known for its high standards. It was bombed in 1941, but remained the site for Michel Saint-Denis' Old Vic School from 1947 to 1952. Fully restored in 1950, it continued as a centre of Shakespearean productions. From 1963 to 1976, it became the site of Laurence Olivier's National Theatre Company. In 1983 it was bought by a Canadian -- Ed Mirvish, better known as 'Honest Ed.' Mirvish restored the theatre and reopened it as a commercial venture.
- Oxford Playhouse Theatre:** Oxford, England. Repertory theatre.
- Shakespeare Memorial Theatre:** Stratford-Upon-Avon, England. Opened in 1879 as permanent site for Shakespearean productions. The original theatre was destroyed in a fire in 1926, and in 1932, the present theatre was built. Since that time, the stage has been extended. In 1960, under the direction of director Peter Hall, the theatre's name was changed to the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, and became the home of the Royal Shakespeare Company (Beauman, 1982).
- West End Theatres :** London, England. Haymarket, Lyceum, Westminster, Duchess, Duke of York, Adelphi, Apollo, Wyndham's, Aldwych, Winter Garden, Phoenix.

Canada

Festival Theatre: Stratford, Ontario. Begun in 1953, initially operating out of a tent on the site of the present theatre. In 1956 a permanent building to house the theatre designed by architect Robert Fairfield was built which incorporated Tanya Moiseiwitsch's thrust stage. It opened for the 1957 season. Now the main stage for the Stratford festival which also has the Avon theatre (bought in 1963) and the Tom Patterson theatre (formerly the Third Stage) opened in 1971 for new and experimental work.

United States

American Conservatory Theatre: San Francisco. Repertory theatre opened in 1967 to fill a vacuum created by the demise of the non-commercial Actor's Workshop. Set up to provide a centre for the development and training of theatre artists (as a link between formal schools and commercial theatres). The theatre operated out of the Geary Theatre until the 1991 earthquake.

Guthrie Theatre: Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Opened 1963. Named for Sir Tyrone Guthrie who was also its first director. Tanya Moiseiwitsch was the stage design consultant for the thrust stage and was its first principal resident designer.

Data Collection Sheet

Data Collection Sheet Date Aug 3/91
 Location Strat. UK.

Accompanying visuals -----
 Production R+I Date of Prod. 1958
 Designer MOTLEY Location -----
 Director Glen Byam Shaw. Stage Setting:
 Interpretation ----- - period Renaissance.
 ----- - colours -----
 ----- Romantic set in Verona.

Design inspiration source if known -----
 Material observed - garment - original ----- modified -----
 - photos -----
 - sketches (costume bible) -----
 - video/film -----
 - other -----

CHARACTER: ROMEO Richard Johnson.

Colour	Garment	component	fabric type
Black	doublet.	initial lining.	
17-1753	cloak (red)	white lining + red cap.	
	Juliet.	Dorothy Dutton.	
17-1753	Sleeves.		
white	dress	cream leaf design @ neck edge.	

CHARACTER: CAPULET

15-0759	trim on dressing gown.		
black	gown		
cream	sash.		
	PARIS		
15-0525	doublet	white Flemish tips are over design. + some coloured cloak.	

Dates

Appendix G.

Theatre/Museum/Archives Resource Individuals

Tanya Moiseiwitsch, (August 3,1990) Stratford, Ontario.
(July 17, 1991) London, England.

Britain:

Leela Meinartas, Registrar: Theatre Museum, London, England

Marion Pringle, Senior Librarian: Shakespeare Centre Library and Theatre Archives.

Sylvia Morris, Assistant Librarian: Shakespeare Centre Library and Theatre Archives.

Christopher Robinson: Keeper, University of Bristol, Theatre Collection .

Carol Rutter, Professor: Warwick University/ University of Birmingham, School of continuing Studies

Raymond Ingram, Head of Drama and Television: King Alfred's College, Winchester

Canada

Dama Bell: - one of the original founders of the Stratford Festival, Canada.

Polly Bohdanetzky, Designer: Stratford Festival

Lisa Brant, Archivist: Stratford Festival Archives.

Ronald Bryden, Department Head , Graduate Studies in Theatre, University of Toronto,

Carolyn Cato, Executive Assistant, and Joan Stevens, Communications Director:
Mantitoba Theatre Centre

Louise Champion, Head of Wardrobe, Stratford Festival, Stratford, Ontario.

Matt Downey,/Robin McGibbon: Stratford Festival Archives

Debra Hanson, Head of Design: Stratford Festival

Margaret Lamb, Costume Cutter - Mary Stuart: Stratford Festival

Robin McGibben, Wardrobe Custodian, Stratford Festival.

Anne Sutherland, Librarian: Special Collections, Metropolitan Toronto Library

United States

Dennis Behl, Press Director: Guthrie Theatre foundation, Minneapolis Minnesota

Karin Kopischke, Head of Costume: American Conservatory Theatre, San Francisco ³⁶³

Michael Mullin, Associate Professor of English, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Beth Nohner, Assistant to Costume Director: Guthrie Theatre

Warren Travis, Professor: Department of Dramatic Art, University of California (Berkeley).

Pantone Colour/Word Association
Eiseman, L. & Hervert, L. (1990). *The Pantone Book of Color*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers.

COLORS	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
<i>Bright Red</i> (Fiery Red)	Fire, blood, excitement, hot, passionate, intense, sexy, energetic, active, dramatic, stimulating, happy, dynamic, daring, provocative	Rage
<i>Burgundy</i> (Burgundy)	Classic, expensive, deep, warm, wine, elegant, tasty, velvet, rich, refined	
<i>Light Pink</i> (Candy Pink)	Babies, cute, icing, feminine, soft, sweet, tender, romantic	Too sweet
<i>Fuchsia</i> (Fuchsia Red)	Bright, exciting, fun, hot, trendy, wild, high energy	
<i>Brick Red</i> (Brick Red)	Classic, earthy, homey, strong, warm, country	
<i>Bright Pink</i> (Phlox Pink)	Exciting, happy, hot, trendy, attention-getting, energetic, youthful, spirited, fun	Loud
<i>Dusty Pink</i> (Dusty Pink)	Soft, soothing, cozy, sophisticated, classic, romantic, rosy, subtle	
<i>Lavender</i> (Lavender)	Flowers, scents, soft, sweet, delicate, nostalgic	Aging
<i>Bright Purple</i> (Royal Purple)	Royal, happy, exciting, sensual, flamboyant, creative	Loud
<i>Deep Purple</i> (Plum)	Expensive, regal, rich, mysterious, spiritual, artistic, powerful	Mourning, melancholy
<i>Bright Blue</i> (Spectrum Blue)	Electric, happy, energetic, vibrant, flags, bright, dramatic, stirring	
<i>Neutral Gray</i> (Neutral Gray)	Classic, cool, sober, corporate, practical, timeless, quality	Boring, mousy, ghastly
<i>Charcoal Gray</i> (Charcoal Gray)	Professional, classic, expensive, rich, sophisticated, solid, enduring, mature	
<i>Beige</i> (Beige)	Classic, earthy, sandy, neutral, soft, warm	Bland
<i>Taupe</i> (Taupe Gray)	Classic, expensive, neutral, sophisticated, practical	Bland
<i>Dark Brown</i> (Dark Brown)	Chocolate, earthy, rich, masculine, warm, woody, dependable, secure, durable, rugged, rooted	Somber, soiled
<i>White</i> (Snow White)	Bright, classic, clean, pure, airy, cool, pristine, glistening	Sterile
<i>Black</i> (Jet Black)	Basic, bold, classic, dramatic, elegant, strong, expensive, mysterious, magical, sophisticated, powerful, nighttime, sexy, sober, invulnerable, prestigious, aggressive	Death, depression, sinister, tough

COLORS	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
<i>Aqua</i> (Ocean Wave)	Cool, fresh, liquid, ocean, refreshing, soft, soothing, water	
<i>Peach</i> (Peach)	Fresh, fuzzy, fruity, soft, sweet, warm, delicious, luscious, inviting	
<i>Turquoise</i> (Turquoise)	Cool, happy, Indian, jewelry, ocean, tropical	
<i>Silver</i> (Silver)	Classic, cool, expensive, glitzy, money, rich, shiny, valuable	
<i>Gold</i> (Pale Gold)	Expensive, rich, warm, prestigious, opulent, valuable, radiant	
<i>Light Yellow</i> (Yellow Cream)	Cheerful, happy, lemony, mellow, soft, sunny, warm, sweet	
<i>Golden Yellow</i> (Amber Yellow)	Bright, autumn, flowers, harvest, rich, sun, warm, wheat	
<i>Bright Yellow</i> (Sundance)	Bright, cheerful, happy, hot, sunshine, eye-catching, luminous, energetic	Jaundice
<i>Navy</i> (Navy)	Credible, authoritative, basic, classic, conservative, strong, dependable, traditional, uniforms, service, confidence, nautical, professional, serene, quiet	
<i>Sky Blue</i> (Sky Blue)	Calm, clean, cool, wet, peaceful, restful, sky, constancy, fresh, happy, soft, heavenly, faithful, true	
<i>Teal Blue</i> (Teal Blue)	Classy, cool, expensive, sophisticated, pleasing, rich, unique	
<i>Mauve</i> (Mauve Mist)	Classic, relaxing, sophisticated, soothing, soft, subdued	
<i>Orchid</i> (Orchid)	Exotic, flowers, soft, sweet, tropical	
<i>Terra Cotta</i> (Terra Cotta)	Earthy, warm, bricks, rooftops, wholesome, country, welcoming	
<i>Dark Green</i> (Dark Green)	Classic, cool, earthy, forest, rich, quiet, woodsy, expensive, traditional	
<i>Olive Green</i> (Olive Green)	Military, olives, camouflage, safari, European, classic	Drab
<i>Bright Chartreuse</i> (Bright Chartreuse)		Tacky, gaudy, loud, ugly, sickening, trendy, slimy
<i>Bright Green</i> (Bright Green)	Fresh, grass, happy, Irish, lively, spring, foliage, outdoorsy	
<i>Cream</i> (Cream)	Smooth, rich, soothing, neutral, soft, classic, sweet, warm	Bland
<i>Orange</i> (Orange Peel)	Bright, happy, warm, hot, glowing, vital, harvest, pumpkins, fun, juice, playful, gregarious, friendly	Loud