'Look with thine ears':

A Century of Shakespeare's Plays on BBC Radio

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<u>Abstract</u>

Shakespeare and the BBC are two cultural titans of the UK. In the century since the broadcaster was formed, its radio stations have aired more than four hundred different productions of his plays. Yet there has been no substantial research into these broadcasts, leaving a large gap in the history of British Shakespearean performance. This thesis addresses that gap.

It challenges assumptions about the nature of the BBC's radio broadcasts of Shakespeare's plays, reassessing them as dramatic productions rather than poetry readings, and as entertainment rather than education. This thesis shows they are a unique genre: in terms of Shakespearean performance they are alone in presenting the plays without visuals, while as radio drama they function under different constraints to works written specifically for the medium.

Radio listeners engage with these plays in a different way to theatre or film audiences: they are not passively watching but actively participating in creating the production through their imagination. To do this, they are led by the texts, meaning more emphasis is placed on Shakespeare's words than in any other medium. However, this thesis does not just examine the words spoken in these plays but their whole sound, uncovering a wide range of approaches to performing Shakespeare in audio only. These productions provide an entirely different way of engaging with Shakespeare's works, providing new insights into how production can affect our perceptions of the plays.

In addition, this thesis charts the impact of technological, institutional and wider cultural changes on radio productions of Shakespeare's plays. In doing so, it is of value not just to those working in Shakespeare studies but also to media historians. Together with the comprehensive appendix listing all Shakespeare's plays broadcast on BBC radio, it presents a detailed investigation in its own right as well as providing the building blocks for further academic exploration.

Access Condition and Agreement

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Acknowledgements

<u>Introduction</u>

Shakespeare is inextricably linked to the birth of broadcasting in the UK. The first time his words were spoken on air probably pre-dates the BBC. Former head of BBC radio drama, Val Gielgud, has claimed that scenes from several plays were presented as early as 2 September 1922, although in fact only a solo performance by Robert Atkins was given on this date.[1] But within weeks of the BBC's first official broadcast on 14 November that year, extracts of Shakespeare's plays were being performed over the airwaves. The BBC does not have a comprehensive written archive of its first few weeks, but newspaper listings start from the beginning of January 1923 and often give detailed schedules of each evening's listening. The first Shakespeare broadcast noted by the press was on 16 February 1923, when scenes from *Julius Caesar* and *Othello* were performed.[2] Asa Briggs regards this as the 'first transmission of drama by the BBC'.[3] It is possible that extracts were recited as part of talks, or even children's broadcasts, before then, but there is no way of verifying this. What is beyond dispute is that the first broadcast of a full play, *Twelfth Night*, was on 28 May 1923.[4]

Since that date, the BBC has broadcast more than four hundred full radio productions of Shakespeare's plays and continues to produce new ones. Extant scholarship is limited and looks predominantly at what was broadcast, not how it sounded, taking an historical overview of Shakespeare on radio internationally, with lists of productions and dates. This thesis takes a different approach by examining radio plays as 'texts' in their own right, much as scholars have examined film and television productions. It adopts a methodology that examines not just the editorial changes to Shakespeare's words but also the sound of these productions, from voice,

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[1] Val Gielgud makes the claim in his book *British Radio Drama 1922-1956* (London: George G. Harrap, 1957), p. 17. However, newspaper articles suggest he is conflating an appearance by Robert Atkins in September 1922, the first 'Scenes from Shakespeare' on the BBC in February 1923, and the British Empire Shakespeare Society's celebrations for Shakespeare's birthday in April 1923. See 'To-night's Radio', *Daily News*, 2 September 1922, p. 5; '369 Metres', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 February 1923, p. 8; 'Broadcasting – A Shakespeare Night', *The Times*, 23 April 1923, p. 10.

[2] '369 Metres', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 February 1923, p. 8.

[3] Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume I – The Birth of Broadcasting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 256.

[4] 'Broadcasting – Performance of "Twelfth Night"', *The Times*, 28 May 1923, p. 10. See also Chapter 2.

music and sound effects to the mixing and manipulation of those sounds, as well as the effect this has on the texts. It also sets these productions in their historical and critical context.

This thesis uses the term 'production' to describe the BBC's radio versions of Shakespeare's plays, rather than 'adaptation'. This is in part because of the lack of stability in the term. Margaret Jane Kidnie states that 'the issue of what should "count" as adaptation is often taken for granted'.[5] However, there is far from a consensus on this from academics. Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier state that adaptation 'can involve both radical rewritings, and a range of directorial and theatrical practices'.[6] Kidnie disputes this, suggesting that by this reasoning '*any* modern or historical production of Shakespeare, whether theatrical, critical, or editorial, is an adaptation'.[7] In the epilogue of the second edition of Linda Hutcheon's book, *A Theory of Adaptation*, Siobhan O'Flynn comments that adaptation can be understood as 'a transcoding process that encompasses recreations, remakes, remediations, revisions, parodies, reinventions, reinterpretations, expansions, and extensions'.[8] While Ruby Cohn notes that:

> Rewriting of Shakespeare is known by an array of names—abridgments, adaptations, additions, alterations, ameliorations, amplifications, augmentations, conversions, distortions, emendations, interpolations, metamorphoses, modifications, mutilations, revisions, transformations, versions.[9]

Perhaps the most appropriate term for the production of Shakespeare's plays on radio is 'transmedialization', described by Jan Baetens and Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martínez as 'the mechanism or process that adapts a work that exists in a given medium to another medium'.[10] This makes clear that there is a change of medium, but that the play as an entity remains largely the same, as Shakespeare's plays on

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[5] Margaret Jane Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p. 2.

[6] Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, 'General Introduction', in *Adaptations of Shakespeare*, ed. by Fischlin and Fortier (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1-22 (p.17).

[7] Kidnie, p. 5.

[8] Siobhan O'Flynn, 'Epilogue', in *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd edn, by Linda Hutcheon with Siobhan O'Flynn (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), pp. 179-206 (p. 181).

[9] Ruby Cohn, Modern Shakespeare Offshoots (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) p. 3.

[10] Jan Baetens and Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martínez, 'Literature in the expanded field: intermediality at the crossroads of literary theory and comparative literature ', *Interfaces*, 36 (2015) 289-304 (p. 292).

BBC radio generally have few changes or additions to the text. As John Drakakis states after reading correspondence held in the BBC archives regarding a 1932 production of *The Merchant of Venice* for which the producer requested an 'adaptation fee', this was declined because it was 'merely producer's cuts' and not an 'adaptation in the special sense'.[11]

In many ways, presenting Shakespeare on radio is much closer to presenting his work on stage than in other media. Antoni Cimolino describes a Shakespeare play text as a 'manual' for production.[12] Kenneth Graham and Alysia Kolentsis expand on this, stating that 'playing Shakespeare entails a process of playing with Shakespeare's script, a process of invention and discovery'.[13] They go on to add that 'the accumulated performance choices of live theatre create new meanings for the play in its historical moment: this is not some universal idea of *Hamlet* that we are witnessing, but a particular *production* of the play' (added emphasis).[14] This description applies equally to radio as it does to the stage. This is reflected in a comment from current BBC radio Shakespeare producer, Emma Harding:

> You do want to invent and discover things with the actors. […] It's not quite the sort of excavation or exploration you would get with a six-week rehearsal period in the theatre. But then the joy, I think, is in the spontaneity of it.[15]

Just like the theatre, radio productions of Shakespeare's plays may make changes to a script, but very little rewriting occurs. As Chapter 1 explains, sometimes there are additions to the text to convey visual moments, but in other respects, such as the use of sound and music, these are more akin to stage production than other adaptation, such as film, where the 'tendency [is] to substitute images for words'.[16] As such, it seems most appropriate to use the word associated with theatre performances,

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[11] John Drakakis, 'The essence that's not seen: radio adaptations of stage plays', in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis (London and New York: Longman, 1981), pp. 111-133 (p. 115).
[12] Antoni Cimolino, 'The Play's Not The Only Thing', in *Shakespeare On Stage and Off*, ed. by Kenneth Graham and Alysia Kolentsis (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), pp. 15-24 (p. 15).
[13] Graham and Kolentsis, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare On Stage and Off*, pp. 3-12 (p. 4).
[14] Graham and Kolentsis, pp. 4-5.
[15] Emma Harding in Ronan Hatfull, 'Adapting the Merchant of Venice for Radio: An Interview with Emma Harding, Adapter and Director for BBC Radio Drama', *Shakespeare*, (2021), 1-15 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450918.2021.1960416> [Accessed 6 October 2021] p. 12.
[16] Graham and Kolentsis, p. 12.

'production', rather than 'adaptation' to describe the BBC's radio output of Shakespeare's plays.

This also concurs with the views of those working for the BBC, who have always felt radio was the natural medium for Shakespeare's work. The BBC's first director-general, John Reith, wrote in 1924:

> The plays of Shakespeare fulfil to a great extent the requirements of wireless, for he had little in the way of setting and scenery, and relied chiefly on the vigour of his plot and the conviction of the speakers to convey his ideas.[17]

One of the BBC's first producers, Cecil Lewis, wrote in the same year that 'no better plays for broadcasting could have been written'.[18] And radio playwright L. du Garde Peach believed firmly that 'Shakespeare wrote the best broadcast plays' as 'Shakespeare is his own scenic artist, because the things the characters say and their reactions to the environment in which Shakespeare's fancy has placed them, *suggest* the scene to you in a way which makes painted canvas an offence'.[19] Radio therefore offers an advantage over theatre, in that listeners are not distracted by a theatrical *mise-en-scène* in the way Peach suggests. This is an opinion held by many producers. In 1949 Felix Felton wrote that 'we want to take the listener, not to the "Garrick", the "Lyric" or the "New", but to fair Verona, [or] the shores of Illyria'.[20] Ten years later his colleague Donald McWhinnie pointed out:

> The plays of Shakespeare certainly did not get—did they need?—detailed scenic backgrounds in order to create the dramatic illusion. The most simplified convention was immediately comprehensible; the audience itself supplied the details on the basis of powerful descriptive or evocative signposts in the dialogue.[21]

These opinions continue to be held to this day. Harding states:

> When you've only got the text to listen to, your mind is doing all this visual work. I fundamentally believe in it as an encounter with the text as being one

[17] J. C. W. Reith, *Broadcast over Britain* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924), p. 168.
[18] C. A. Lewis, *Broadcasting from Within* (London: George Newnes, 1924), pp. 61-62.
[19] L. du Garde Peach, 'Shakespeare Wrote the Best Broadcast Plays', *Radio Times*, 24 June 1927, p. 549.
[20] Felix Felton, *The Radio-Play: Its Technique and Possibilities* (London: Sylvan Press, 1949), p. 14.
[21] Donald McWhinnie, *The Art of Radio* (London: Faber, 1959), p. 31.

that is valuable and revealing. I think we also respond to spoken language in a very different way from reading it on a page.[22]

As such, radio productions of these plays also offer fresh ways of engaging with the words of these texts, making a virtue out of the lack of visuals.

These productions also have two other virtues. Firstly, the large number that are available to listen to, dating back many decades. This provides an opportunity to understand how Shakespeare was performed and received over the last century, and perhaps how this continues to affect our relationship with the plays now. Secondly, unlike recordings of stage productions which cannot capture the same experience as being in a theatre, we are able to listen to these plays in the same medium as they were originally broadcast.

This thesis deals exclusively with full length, BBC UK radio productions, not those broadcast on the World Service. Nor does it look in detail at schools' productions or those produced in languages other than English (such as Welsh language productions). It also excludes international English language productions, such as those broadcast in North America and the British Empire/UK Commonwealth. This is for a number of reasons. Firstly, even by limiting this project as outlined above, there is a vast archive to examine. Secondly, World Service, schools and non-English language productions are aimed at different, and specific, audiences and it would not be appropriate to assess these in the same way as the BBC's main productions. The same applies to international productions. There is also a lack of a comprehensive archive elsewhere. American audio is held in a variety of places, some of which are only accessible in the USA (such as the Library of Congress' Recorded Sound Research Center in Washington, DC). In Ireland, RTÉ has only around a dozen recordings in its archive. The Canadian archive is also small, as is the Australian, and enquiries about the New Zealand archive suggest that only productions previously broadcast on the BBC still exist. No productions are known to be extant in India or South Africa. Excluding these productions from this thesis does not indicate they are unworthy of research, but that it would not be appropriate to assess them alongside the BBC's archive.

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[22] Harding quoted in Hatfull, p. 4.

Literature review

The production of Shakespeare's plays on radio has never been fully explored, despite an acknowledgement by three academics that it is a potentially fruitful area for research. Graham Holderness noted in 1988 that the production of Shakespeare's plays on radio is 'a tradition the history of which remains to be written'.[23] Nearly twenty years later, Douglas Lanier stated that 'the importance of radio to the history of Shakespeare and mass media has long been underestimated […] It was radio that pioneered the idea of broadcast Shakespeare performances tailored to mass audiences'.[24] And on three separate occasions, Susanne Greenhalgh has commented on the fact that research has so far been 'infrequent and remains under-developed' and that it offers 'that rare phenomenon in Shakespeare studies, a history still in the process of being outlined and documented'.[25] And yet there remains no monograph or essay collection on the subject.

There have, however, been a number of journal articles and book chapters. Greenhalgh has written four such essays. Her chapters in *The Edinburgh Companion to Shakespeare and the Arts* (2011) and *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture* (2007) are largely overviews of the subject. As such, she draws broad conclusions, such as that *The Tempest* and *Macbeth* are the 'works that have received the most productions'.[26] From the research carried out for this thesis, this would seem broadly correct, depending on the exact definition of a 'work' (e.g. whether length of production is a factor and whether schools' productions are included). However, in the *Edinburgh Companion* she also asserts that *Romeo and*

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[23] Graham Holderness, 'Boxing the Bard: Shakespeare and Television', in *The Shakespeare Myth*, ed. by Holderness (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 173–89 (p. 178).

[24] Douglas Lanier, 'Radio', in *Shakespeares after Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Burt (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), pp. 506-584 (p.506).

[25] Susanne Greenhalgh, 'Listening to Shakespeare', in *Shakespeare on Film, Television and Radio: The Researcher's Guide*, ed. by Olwen Terris, Eve-Marie Oesterlen and Luke McKernan (London: British Universities Film & Video Council, 2009), pp. 74-93 (p. 74); Greenhalgh, 'Shakespeare and Radio', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Shakespeare and the Arts*, ed. by Mark Thornton Burnett and Adrian Streete (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 541–57 (p. 544). See also Greenhalgh, 'Shakespeare Overheard: Performances, Adaptations, and Citations on Radio', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture*, ed. by Robert Shaughnessy, 1st edn (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 175–98 (p. 175).

[26] Greenhalgh, 'Shakespeare Overheard', p. 186. See also Greenhalgh, 'Shakespeare and Radio', p. 548.

Juliet is one of the 'most frequent'.[27] This is less justifiable as there have been more productions of both *Hamlet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[28] She also states that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Comedy of Errors* have been performed less because they 'depend extensively on visual comedy', while *Titus Andronicus* has rarely been produced because it has been 'viewed as potentially offensive'.[29] While this thesis has found evidence to suggest that there were concerns about the visual elements in *The Comedy of Errors*, there is nothing to support the idea that this was the reason for few productions of *Merry Wives*, or that there were fears that *Titus* would be seen as offensive. All three of these productions are performed less often in the theatre than many other plays, and it would therefore be reasonable to suggest that their scarcity of productions on radio could as much be down to the fact that they are generally less popular as any other possible reason. Greenhalgh does not offer any supporting evidence for her claims.

Writing about the BBC's early Shakespeare productions, Greenhalgh asserts that 'these first performances probably resembled drawing-room readings, or the amateur recitals held by Shakespeare Societies'.[30] Again, research for this thesis suggests this was not the case. The first production, *Twelfth Night* (1923), was 'arranged' for broadcasting by a professional actress, Cathleen Nesbitt, who also starred in the production as part of a cast of nine actors, all except two of whom were also established professionals.[31] Writing a year later, the BBC's Director of Programmes, Arthur Burrows, describes the use of music and sound effects for Shakespeare's plays.[32] This would not suggest simple 'readings' or amateur productions, but an attempt from the start to present Shakespeare professionally and specifically for a radio audience. Two years after stating this, Greenhalgh claims that 'most radio productions of Shakespeare have been radically cut or rearranged'.[33] This is also not entirely correct. While some, particularly twenty-first century productions, do make many cuts and changes, there have also been dozens with few,

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[27] Greenhalgh, 'Shakespeare and Radio', p. 548.
[28] There have been sixteen productions of *Romeo and Juliet*, but twenty of *Hamlet* and thirty of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. See appendix for details.
[29] Greenhalgh, 'Shakespeare and Radio', p. 548.
[30] Greenhalgh, 'Listening to Shakespeare', p. 77.
[31] 'Broadcasting', *The Stage*, 24 May 1923, p. 8. See also Chapter 2.
[32] A. R. Burrows, *The Story of Broadcasting* (London: Cassell, 1924), p. 100. For more details, see Chapter 1.
[33] Greenhalgh, '"A Stage of the Mind": *Hamlet* on Post-War British Radio', in *Shakespeare Survey*, 64 (2011), 133–44 (p. 134).

if any, cuts and in which little or none of the text is moved. Greenhalgh demonstrates some knowledge of specific productions, such as *Hamlet* (1948) in her paper 'A Stage of the Mind' (2011), but is unclear about others, such as noting 'a putative broadcast of a script in the BBC archives' of *Hamlet* in 1966, which was indeed broadcast with Kenneth Griffith in the leading role.[34] Greenhalgh's assertions stem from a lack of in-depth research and her work draws a number of conclusions that either cannot be substantiated or are incorrect.

Michael P. Jensen's interest in radio Shakespeare is largely connected to American broadcasts, although he has also examined productions on the BBC World Service ('The Noble Romans' (2016)), both of which are outside the scope of this thesis. His 2008 paper 'Lend Me Your Ears: Sampling BBC Radio Shakespeare' does look at plays covered here but, as its title suggests, it gives only a brief overview of the subject because, as Jensen puts it, 'the Corporation's output has been too vast, the numbers of people involved too large, and the variety of shows too varied for this article to give more than a sampling'.[35] He looks briefly at the work of three producers, Mary Hope Allen, John Burrell and Martin Jenkins, and as well as Shakespeare plays he incorporates work featuring shorter Shakespeare extracts and other early modern plays. His accounts of productions are essentially just cast lists, with no description of what they sound like, except for two late twentieth century productions mentioned at the end of the paper.

Like Jensen's article, Anthony Davies', 'Shakespeare and the Media of Film, Radio and Television: A Retrospect' (1987) gives an overview of his subject, although in this case covering three different media in eleven pages, only one-and-a-half of which are dedicated to radio. Davies observes that 'there is no doubt that the power of radio as an adaptive medium lies in its capacity to become theatre of the mind'.[36] However, the conclusion of the piece only mentions film and television, not radio.

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[34] Greenhalgh, 'Listening to Shakespeare', p. 83; 'An effective Hamlet', *The Listener*, 22 September 1966, p. 437.
[35] Michael P. Jensen, 'Lend Me Your Ears: Sampling BBC Radio Shakespeare', in *Shakespeare Survey*, 61 (2008), 170–80 (p. 170).
[36] Anthony Davies, 'Shakespeare and the Media of Film, Radio and Television: A Retrospect', in *Shakespeare Survey*, 39 (1987), 1–11 (p.8).

Eve-Marie Oesterlen has also summarised BBC radio Shakespeare. Her chapter '"Full of noises, sounds and sweet airs": Shakespeare and the Birth of Radio Drama in Britain' in *Shakespeare on Film, Television and Radio: The Researcher's Guide* (2009) mainly looks at the early years of broadcasting, covering broadly the same era as Chapter 2 of this thesis. Oesterlen quotes many of those involved in the production of early radio Shakespeare, both from their own books and from the *Radio Times*, and because she largely concentrates on pre-war broadcasts there is little or no audio available to listen to. However, her discussions of individual productions are not carried out in depth and she seems unaware that extracts from 'Put Out The Light' (a 1939 shortened version of *Othello*, discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis) and 'Love At Arms' (a 1940 production of scenes from *As You Like It* and *Much Ado About Nothing*) exist in the archives, along with the full 1944 *As You Like It*. She, like many others, also covers a wide range of Shakespeare programmes, including the 1926 series *Shakespeare's Heroines*, which consisted of fifteen-minute extracts, as well as productions of plays by writers other than Shakespeare. Like Jensen, Oesterlen has also written about the BBC World Service, in this case the 2006 production of *King Lear*, again outside the scope of this thesis.[37] Oesterlen nevertheless makes astute comments on radio Shakespeare in general, stating that Shakespeare's plays are 'largely an unquestioned presence on BBC's domestic radio stations 3 and 4, where regular full-length broadcasts of Britain's "Man of the Millennium", continue to be regarded as an important asset to British cultural and intellectual life'.[38]

Most recently, in 2021, Ronan Hatfull published an interview with Harding about her work on *The Merchant of Venice* (2018). This six-thousand-word article begins with a brief examination of radio Shakespeare, including the statement that 'attention might be paid to how radio has served, and continues to serve, the business of theatrical adaptation and preservation'.[39] However, this thesis views radio from a different perspective: rather than a method of preservation, it examines radio Shakespeare as a form of performance in its own right, with its own traditions and

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[37] Eve-Marie Oesterlen, 'Lend Me Your 84 Million Ears: Exploring a Special Radio Event Shakespeare's *King Lear* on BBC World Service Radio', *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 6.1 (2009), 33–44.
[38] Oesterlen, 'Lend Me Your 84 Million Ears', p. 34.
[39] Hatfull, p. 2.

techniques. Hatfull's interview with Harding goes on to illustrate this alternative view. Harding states: 'I think radio drama always feels like it's seen as a poor relation to theatre. And obviously, I think that's unfair because there have been many inventive and beautifully performed productions'.[40] There are also a number of papers and book chapters on American radio Shakespeare lying outside the scope of this thesis: as well as Jensen and Lanier, Robert Sawyer and Neil Verma have also written on the subject.[41]

Two publications have listed productions. Janet Clare's 'Theatre of the Air: A Checklist of Radio Productions of Renaissance Drama 1922-86' covers not just Shakespeare but, as the name suggests, other early modern drama. It includes a brief introduction, although this incorrectly states that *Twelfth Night* was broadcast in 1922.[42] Clare's list is also more than thirty years old, therefore pre-dating around eighty productions broadcast in the intervening years. A more recent list was compiled in 2007 by Jensen as a bibliography to Lanier's 'Introduction, "Shakespeare on Radio"' in *Shakespeares after Shakespeare* (2007). Again, Lanier's introduction is brief and does not discuss individual productions. Jensen's bibliography of more than seventy pages covers both UK and North American productions. It also includes passing references to and extracts from Shakespeare in other programmes, such as a scene from *Hamlet* acted as part of *The Rudy Vallee Show*, and *Prince Lear*, a 'comic look at a young King Lear'.[43] The listings are also not always accurate, such as the date of the 1923 *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which is cited as being in March but was actually in July.[44] It is also incomplete, missing productions such as the 1928 *Macbeth* starring Robert Donat and the 1930 *Henry V*.

The British Universities Film and Video Council hosts 'An International Database of Shakespeare on Film, Television and Radio', which boasts that 'this authoritative online database of Shakespeare-related content in film, television, radio and video recordings is international in scope, is regularly updated and currently

[40] Harding quoted in Hatfull, p. 14.
[41] See bibliography.
[42] Janet Clare, 'Theatre of the Air: A Checklist of Radio Productions of Renaissance Drama 1922-86', *Renaissance Drama Newsletter*, Supplement Six, Summer 1986, p. 3.
[43] Jensen, *Shakespeares after Shakespeare*, p. 517, p. 537.
[44] Jensen, *Shakespeares after Shakespeare*, p. 547.

holds over 9,200 records dating from the 1890s to the present day'.[45] This does not include any supporting essays, although there are sometimes brief notes on productions. Like Jensen's listings, it includes excerpts as well as full plays, but occasionally misses regional broadcasts, such as the three-hour production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* relayed from the Sheffield Hippodrome in 1924. The BBC also has a database, which was originally hosted on its own website but in 2021 was moved to the Educational Recording Agency.[46] Unlike the BUFVC site, selected recordings are available to listen to on this site, with a university login, although there is very little written supporting material.

As well as the lack of depth in the specific area of radio Shakespeare, Drakakis points out that 'no comprehensive critical history of radio drama exists'.[47] However, there are two essay collections on the subject, *British Radio Drama* and *Radio Drama*, both published in 1981, and within these are a number of references to productions of Shakespeare. Drakakis' introduction to the collection he edited, *British Radio Drama*, makes brief references to Shakespeare but discusses radio drama more generally, as do the rest of the essays in the book. He also contributed a chapter to Peter Lewis' *Radio Drama*, in which he does discuss Shakespeare on radio and some specific productions. Drakakis has evidently listened to these, describing Donald Wolfit in *King Lear* (1949) as having 'a declamatory style of delivery', while in *Othello* (1972) 'the listener's attention is so carefully directed that the spatial complications arising in large ensemble scenes are virtually non-existent'.[48] Although Drakakis describes his chapter as a 'limited survey', his research in the BBC's written archives, combined with his familiarity with the broadcast plays and use of additional sources such as books by BBC staff, makes this essay the most comprehensive published attempt to tackle the subject, albeit in just twenty-two pages.

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[45] 'An International Database of Shakespeare on Film, Television and Radio', *British Universities Film and Video Council* <http://www.bufvc.ac.uk/shakespeare/> [Accessed 7 October 2021]. An article about this database by Olwen Terris appeared in *Shakespeare Survey*, 64 (2011).

[46] 'BBC opens up extensive Shakespeare archive in new partnership with the Educational Recording Agency', *BBC Media Centre* <https://www.bbc.com/mediacentre/2021/shakespeare/> [Accessed 7 October 2021].

[47] Drakakis, 'Introduction', in *British Radio Drama*, ed. by Drakakis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) pp. 1-36 (p. 4).

[48] Drakakis, 'The essence that's not seen', p. 120, p. 122.

There are also a number of books on radio drama, often from a practical perspective. Most reference the production of *Twelfth Night* in 1923, but few comment much further on Shakespeare on radio. In *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice* (1999) Tim Crook observes that 'Shakespeare is an author who seems to have an all-pervasive influence […] It is not surprising that presentation of his plays embraced the new technology of sound recording'.[49] He also asserts that 'the reliance on imaginative sympathy and the closer link with the oral tradition – reflected in the use of the iambic pentameter and poetic expression in rhyme, metre and metaphor – makes Shakespeare a natural forum for communication through sound alone'.[50] Crook not only discusses radio broadcasts in his book but also other recordings of Shakespeare's works, often as extracts and many pre-dating the BBC, such as Edwin Booth recorded in 1890.[51] However, there is no close examination of Shakespeare plays broadcast on radio.

Leslie Grace McMurtry's recent book *Revolution in the Echo Chamber* (2019) does touch on Shakespeare, but she incorrectly states that the 1923 *Twelfth Night* was produced 'from Marconi House', when in fact it came from the BBC's premises in Savoy Hill.[52] She is also wrong in claiming that the 2012 productions of *Twelfth Night, Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest* 'were recorded in front of a live audience'.[53] These were standard studio productions. While writing about the early years of British broadcasting, she asserts that Martin Shingler 'notes, "classic literary and theatrical adaptations proved much more popular" than experimental or original content'.[54] However, Shingler's quote is taken out of context: he is specifically writing about 'German radio broadcasting during the 1920s' and not the BBC.[55]

Radio critic and playwright Ian Rodger's book *Radio Drama* (1982) is described as looking 'at the development of radio drama from the 1920s to the early 1960s' and as well as the BBC, 'attention is also paid to German and American

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[49] Tim Crook, *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 32.
[50] Crook, p. 33.
[51] Crook, p. 32.
[52] Leslie Grace McMurtry, *Revolution in the Echo Chamber: Audio Drama's Past, Present and Future* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2019), p. 77.
[53] McMurtry, pp. 161-62.
[54] McMurtry, p. 77.
[55] Martin Shingler, 'Some Recurring Features of European Avant-Garde Radio', *Journal of Radio Studies*, 7:1 (2000), 196-212 (p. 202).

radio'.[56] As such, Shakespeare only gets a brief mention in a theoretical discussion about *Henry V* in which Rodger asserts that the 'long speeches providing a potted history of Anglo-French affairs' are 'not suited to radio'.[57] Andrew Crisell's *Understanding Radio* (1986) includes a chapter on radio drama, and uses *Macbeth* as an example, but again from a theoretical perspective, rather than a specific production.[58] Richard J. Hand and Mary Traynor's *Radio Drama Handbook* (2011) mentions the first Shakespeare broadcast but does not cover the playwright in detail. However, all these books provide valuable supporting material on the production of radio drama.

A number of BBC radio producers have also shared their thoughts on Shakespeare on radio over the decades, including Cecil Lewis, Val Gielgud, Felix Felton and Donald McWhinnie. These books do not offer academic analyses of productions but are a useful source of anecdotal accounts which have been used in this thesis to support the research in the following chapters. There have also been many books published on the history of the BBC, and radio drama is mentioned occasionally in these. Briggs' comprehensive five-volume *A History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom* briefly discusses radio drama at times, with the occasional reference to Shakespeare's works, but it is not a main feature of the series, which stops in 1974. Humphrey Carpenter's book on BBC Radio 3, *The Envy of the World* (1996), and David Hendy's similar volume on Radio 4, *Life on Air* (2007), discuss the output of their respective channels. Carpenter makes several references to Shakespeare, whereas Hendy's book takes a more general overview of radio drama.[59] Hendy's most recent book, *The BBC: A People's History* (2022), likewise makes little reference to the subject.

There are two unpublished works specifically focusing on radio Shakespeare. Margaret Horsfield's Masters dissertation, 'Shakespeare on Radio' (1978), has been a useful source for this thesis, especially her interviews with producers who have since died and descriptions of the sound of productions where the audio no longer exists. However, it does not go into any of its case studies in great depth. It is also

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[56] Ian Rodger, *Radio Drama* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1982), Back cover.
[57] Rodger, p. 149.
[58] Andrew Crisell, *Understanding Radio* (London: Methuen and Co, 1986), pp. 151-52.
[59] Humphrey Carpenter, *The Envy of the World* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), p. 134, p. 208, p. 258, p. 296, p. 329, p. 353.

more than forty years old, and therefore does not cover the majority of extant productions. Mairé Jean Steadman's doctoral thesis, 'The Presentation of Shakespeare's Plays on BBC Radio', dates from 1997. In the synopsis for it she states that she will 'examine and communicate the aesthetic, artistic and some technical concerns a director encounters in preparing and adapting a Shakespeare play for each stage of the radio "translation process"'.[60] To do this she carried out interviews with producers, as well as making occasional references to the *Radio Times* and listening to some productions. She also appears to have consulted the BBC written archives, although it is not always clear whether she has done this herself or found references to them in other works, such as Drakakis' 'Introduction' to *British Radio Drama*. Although she mentions several productions, she only examines two in detail, comparing versions of *King John* from 1967 and 1990 'to illustrate how directorial tastes change over a period of time'.[61]

Her research is at times inaccurate. She writes: '*Anthony* [sic] *and Cleopatra*, with Paul Scofield and Peggy Ashcroft, critically acclaimed as it was when broadcast in 1977, the only Shakespeare play broadcast that year'.[62] However, the 1977 production starred Robert Stephens and Sian Phillips and two other plays were also broadcast, although they were repeats.[63] She writes briefly about 'John Gielgud's *Hamlet* (1953)', although there was no production or repeat of the play in that year.[64] She also states that 'for 1924 there are no records of a Shakespeare production'.[65] The BBC's early records are sketchy, but the implication is that there were no productions, when in fact there were twenty, mainly from Cardiff but with at least one from London. Like Greenhalgh, Steadman's errors seem to stem from a lack of knowledge of the whole canon of Shakespeare's plays on BBC radio. Her thesis gives some insight into how BBC producers of radio Shakespeare work, but there is little analysis of this and no final conclusion.

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[60] Mairé Jean Steadman, 'The Presentation of Shakespeare's Plays on BBC Radio' (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, Shakespeare Institute (University of Birmingham), 1997), Synopsis.
[61] Steadman, Synopsis.
[62] Steadman, p. 112.
[63] Scofield and Ashcroft never appeared together in *Antony and Cleopatra* on BBC radio, although they did in *Macbeth* (1966). The repeats were *The Tempest* (1974) on 2 May 1977 and *The Merchant of Venice* (1976) on 7 August 1977.
[64] Steadman, p. 112. It is likely she is referring to the 1948 production, repeated in 1951 and 1959.
[65] Steadman, p. 15.

Four other unpublished works also touch on radio Shakespeare, although it is not their main interest. David Arthur Hill's 'A Distrust of Tradition: The Study, Performance and Reception of Shakespeare in England in a Context of Social, Political and Technological Change, 1919-1939' (2011) includes a section on radio. This concludes with the assertion that Shakespeare on radio was a 'failure' in 'three main areas':[66]

> The first is the failure over twenty years to produce the complete canon. […] The second failure was the compromising of the texts which were aired, and the truncating of plays. […] The third and the most salient of the reasons for failure was an apparent lack of strategy.[67]

On this final point, Hill is correct in stating that there was a lack of strategy, and even in the twenty-first century there does not seem to be a systematic method of commissioning Shakespeare plays for radio. However, whether any of the three points Hill lists are truly failures is a matter for debate.

Like Hill's, Christina S. L. Pepler's research examines a much narrower time frame than this thesis. In 'Discovering the Art of Wireless: A Critical History of Radio Drama at the BBC, 1922-1928' (1988), Pepler touches on Shakespeare a number of times although, like many other writers, his texts are not central to her work. However she notes that 'those who first tried to broadcast drama did not immediately embark on the discovery of a new form of drama for wireless, but turned for a time to what was already to hand: Shakespeare'.[68] She adds later that 'however well Shakespeare's plays worked on radio, their predominance in the early output must have owed a great deal to the fact that radio drama had at the time simply not been invented'.[69] She does examine some plays in detail, but none of them were written by Shakespeare.

'Radio Drama at the Crossroads: The history and contemporary context of radio drama at the BBC' (2008) by Roger Wood largely ignores Shakespeare's

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[66] David Arthur Hill, 'A Distrust of Tradition: The Study, Performance and Reception of Shakespeare in England in a Context of Social, Political and Technological Change, 1919-1939' (unpublished Master of Letters, Shakespeare Institute (University of Birmingham), 2011), p. 166.
[67] Hill, pp. 166-67.
[68] Christina S. L. Pepler, 'Discovering the Art of Wireless: A Critical History of Radio Drama at the BBC, 1922-1928' (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, University of Bristol, 1988), p. 55.
[69] Pepler, p. 72.

plays, other than landmarks such as the first production in 1923. While he does acknowledge stage plays broadcast on radio, his thesis concentrates on productions written specially for the medium. Wood claims that '[Nigel] Playfair was behind the 1923 Shakespeares and acted in many of them himself'.[70] This may originate from Pepler's thesis, in which she quotes Cecil Lewis from his 1974 autobiography, *Never Look Back*, stating that the 'first series of Shakespeare' was produced by Playfair.[71] However, Lewis' recollection more than half a century after the event was incorrect. The section in *Never Look Back* relates to Lewis' attempts to persuade George Bernard Shaw to introduce the first BBC Shakespeare productions, something Bernard Shaw was firmly against.[72] Lewis wrote about the incident for the *Radio Times* in 1924 and in this it is clear that Nesbitt, not Playfair, was the producer.[73] She is credited as adaptor and producer of all the London productions in 1923 and Playfair appears in only two of them: he was never credited as a producer for any of Shakespeare's plays on BBC radio.[74]

Finally, works on Shakespeare adaptation fail to mention radio at all. Kidnie's *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (2009) makes no reference to the medium, instead choosing examples such as 'theatrical productions by the Royal Shakespeare Company, the BBC's *ShakespeaRe-Told*, the Reduced Shakespeare Company and recent print editions of the complete works'.[75] Likewise Kelli Marshall and Gabrielle Malcolm's *Locating Shakespeare in the Twenty-First Century* (2012) covers theatrical adaptation, live theatre broadcasts in cinema, graphic novels, *ShakespeaRe-Told* and film, but not radio. The recent Arden Shakespeare publication, *Studying Shakespeare Adaptation: From Restoration Theatre to YouTube* (2021) by Pamela Bickley and Jenny Stevens, acknowledges that 'adapters have turned with ever-increasing frequency to other media to recreate Shakespeare for their own time'.[76] It also features thirty-six case studies, three for each play discussed, but again, none is of a radio production. And in 2022, *The*

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[70] Roger Wood, 'Radio Drama at the Crossroads: The history and contemporary context of radio drama at the BBC' (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, De Montfort University, 2008), p. 40.
[71] Pepler, p. 71.
[72] Cecil Lewis, *Never Look Back* (London: Hutchinson, 1974), p. 81.
[73] C. A. Lewis, 'G. B. S. Lectures the B.B.C.', *Radio Times*, 14 November 1924, p. 357.
[74] See appendix.
[75] Kidnie, back cover.
[76] Pamela Bickley and Jenny Stevens, *Studying Shakespeare Adaptation: From Restoration Theatre to YouTube* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2021), p. 5.

Arden Research Handbook of Shakespeare and Adaptation was published which also fails to mention radio, other than in the annotated bibliography.[77] However, radio adaptation studies do acknowledge Shakespeare. Hand's chapter 'Radio Drama' in *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies* (2017) points out that 'radio drama began wholly as an adaptive medium' and that 'adaptation was a staple genre of radio drama' for some time, meaning that 'multiple versions of canonical literary works crop up throughout the history of radio drama', including those of Shakespeare.[78]

Assessing the literature already available on the subject of BBC radio Shakespeare demonstrates that it is far from comprehensive. Firstly, few writers have listened to any plays at all: none have listened to the entire extant archive. While some do appear to have consulted scripts that are still held by the BBC, many of the earliest scripts are housed at the Library of Birmingham: there is nothing to suggest anyone has consulted this resource. The reception history of these plays has been largely ignored: a few writers comment on internal BBC reports but there is little consultation of contemporaneous reviews and letters. While producers have published their own thoughts, until 2021 no-one in a published work had interviewed any of the BBC's radio producers about Shakespeare's plays. And many of the papers and book chapters that mention radio Shakespeare discuss it in its broadest form, including short extracts and even comic spin-offs. This thesis will document the history that Holderness and Greenhalgh had hoped would be written. It will also establish the importance of radio Shakespeare which Lanier felt had so far been underestimated. And it will do so in the context of literary critical opinion and performance history.

Research questions

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[77] Kavita Mudan Finn (@KVMFinn) 'There are a few pieces on radio adaptations mentioned in the Annotated Bib but they are likely things you're already familiar with.' (tweet) <https://twitter.com/KVMFinn/status/1517130311594913793> [Accessed 21 April 2022].

[78] Richard J. Hand, 'Radio Adaptation', in *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*, ed. by Thomas Leitch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) pp. 340-355 (pp. 342-345).

The above assessment of the literature identifies that there is much yet to be explored in terms of researching BBC radio productions of Shakespeare's plays. This thesis therefore asks two primary research questions:

- How do radio productions of Shakespeare translate a text originally designed for visual and verbal performance into an experience that combines words, non-verbal sound systems and effects?

- How are the radio productions broadcast by the BBC between 1922 and the present conditioned by their historical context, and how do they relate to the changing critical currents of Shakespeare scholarship?

These questions are important in uncovering a huge area of Shakespeare performance that has so far been neglected. Radio productions of Shakespeare plays are primarily created for entertainment but, like any performance of Shakespeare, they can provide both an insight into the text and a reflection of their moment of production. The fact that these performances have so far been left unexamined means that there is a large gap in the history of Shakespearean performance in the UK. Without examining a medium that has, at times, had millions of listeners, and continues to be enjoyed by hundreds of thousands, work in this area is skewed towards theatre, and to some extent film. This thesis aims to correct this imbalance. In the process it will show that BBC radio productions of Shakespeare's plays are not second-class adaptations in a 'blind' medium, but productions as clear and individual as those presented on film and in the theatre (and sometimes as flawed as productions in those other media can be too).

To answer the research questions, I have not only listened to every extant production of Shakespeare on BBC radio, but carried out extensive research through secondary sources, such as archive documents, press material, academic literature and non-academic books.

<u>Methodology</u>

There are two key areas of methodology: how plays have been chosen for examination, particularly as case studies, and how this examination has been carried out. Beginning with the choice of plays, a number of factors have affected this:

availability, significance in the history of radio drama, relationship to other performances of the era, and the duration of productions.

In terms of availability, the BBC does not have a complete archive of its productions of Shakespeare on radio. Of the approximately four hundred plays it has presented, only around one hundred and fifty are extant. The biggest gap is from the earliest period, where plays were not routinely recorded (indeed it was not possible to record them for some time). Even when recording was possible, this did not necessarily mean they were archived. The selection of plays, particularly in Chapters 2 and 3, has been limited by what is available. In the case of Chapter 2, only one full production is extant. Other plays have been chosen because audio extracts are available, and/or because there is much other supporting material (newspaper previews/reviews/interviews and scripts) to help build up a sense of what the production sounded like and how it was received. For Chapter 3, only about a fifth of the productions are extant, and there is a lack of variety in what was kept (e.g. three versions each of *King Lear* and *Antony and Cleopatra* but none of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or *The Tempest*). The last missing production from the BBC archive is the 1971 *Macbeth*, meaning that from Chapter 5 onwards there has been a complete collection to choose from.[79]

Some productions have been selected on the basis of the attention they received either at the time of their broadcast or subsequently, such as John Gielgud's *Hamlet* (1948). This is the most celebrated Shakespeare production on radio, having received more literary critical attention than any other, as well as much media attention and more repeat broadcasts than any other play.

Radio frequently appears to act completely independently of film and theatre, but on a few occasions there have been radio productions that coincide with those elsewhere. For example, that same production of *Hamlet* was broadcast shortly after the release of Laurence Olivier's Academy Award-winning film. And a radio production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1970) was aired a few months before Peter Brook's famous 'white box', Stratford-upon-Avon staging. These productions

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[79] The British Library holds a domestic recording of *Macbeth* (1971) which includes all but the opening scene. However, the BBC does not have a copy.

have been included as case studies, not for direct comparison between radio and film/theatre, but to reflect their respective moments of cultural context.

In terms of the duration of productions, this thesis has chosen to concentrate on 'full-length' plays. This does not necessarily mean full text, but plays that present the majority of the text, plot and characters (although, as in other media, some may be conflated) rather than extracts or short scenes. In 1949 Felton wrote that for 'the recently broadcast sequence of the Shakespeare Histories [1947], for example, it was decided to keep each play within the limit of the "two-hours' traffic"'.[80] This was deemed a 'listenable length'.[81] And most producers, before and since, have regarded a duration of around two hours to be appropriate. This is the length of the majority of case studies in this thesis, although some are considerably longer. The only significant exception is *Othello* (1939), as radio plays were only permitted to be thirty minutes long during the first months of the Second World War.

Finally, the choice of plays has attempted to reflect Shakespeare's full canon, ranging from examples of the most famous texts to those least commonly performed. Each chapter features a production of *Macbeth* in order to offer direct comparison throughout the thesis. *Macbeth* was chosen not only because it is one of the most performed plays, but it has also been given a number of different treatments over the century, often typifying the style of production at the time of broadcast. However, the repetition of other texts has been kept to a minimum, only returning to a play if a new production is significant in some way, such as the 2020 *Othello* which features BBC radio's first Othello of Arab heritage.

Once the case studies had been selected, it was then important to decide how they would be examined. This thesis looks at all aspects of producing a play for radio: as well as the script and any additions or edits made to Shakespeare's texts, several other factors are considered. The sound of a radio play can be broken down into a number of elements, as identified by Elke Huwiler in her 2005 article 'Storytelling by Sound: A Theoretical Frame for Radio Drama Analysis'. In the abstract she states that 'music, noises and voices and also technical features like electro-acoustical manipulation or mixing, can be, and often are, used as tools to

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[80] Felton, p. 26.
[81] Felton, p. 26.

signify story elements and therefore should be analysed accordingly'.[82] All these aspects are considered in the assessment of these productions.

In order to do this, a technique of 'close listening' has been devised, based on Huwiler's article. Unlike other works on radio Shakespeare, this moves beyond a simple comparison of Shakespeare's texts and radio scripts and examines the following:

- Voice: What is the register of the voices used? Are they distinct from each other? Do they adopt an accent, and if so, is it convincing?
- Microphone position: Is the speaker close to the microphone, giving an illusion of intimacy (perhaps for a soliloquy), or far away, suggesting distance?
- Electro-acoustical manipulation: Have the voices (or other sounds) been manipulated during or post recording?
- Effects and 'actuality' (original sound): What effects are used? Are they pre-recorded, performed live or electronically generated? What organic/original sounds are used, particularly in location recording?
- Music: What music is used? Is it early modern? Is it contemporary with the recording? Another era? How much of it is used, where and when? Is it integral to the play or supplementary?
- Silence: Is it used? How is it used?
- Fading and mixing: How are transitions managed? Is the sound multi-layered or voice alone?
- Stereo, quadraphonic, binaural sound (see Chapter 1 for more information).

In the case of each of these elements, the question is asked: What is the impact or effect of this choice? As well as the audio archive, which forms the primary source for these case studies, written sources have also been used, such as those consulted to assess plays where no or little audio is available.

For the early case studies, where recording was not possible or not carried out, it is undeniably more difficult to understand how a play sounded. However, it is not impossible to establish many of the same elements described above through

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[82] Elke Huwiler, 'Storytelling by Sound: A Theoretical Frame for Radio Drama Analysis', *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 3.1 (2005), 45–59 (p. 45).

written sources. In a number of cases, scripts still exist: the Library of Birmingham's Shakespeare Collection holds most, although not all, of those from BBC radio productions from the 1930s to the 1950s. These not only identify cuts and changes to the text, but frequently include information about music, sound effects and even how the director would like the actor to play the part. Research for this thesis into the technology used to broadcast radio drama has also helped provide an insight into how productions would have sounded. In addition, newspapers and magazines are a very useful resource for previews, reviews and letters from listeners. Paul Rixon states that 'broadcast critics are an important part of the mediated public discourse' about radio.[83] Rixon goes on to assert that 'initial coverage tended to mostly be in the form of general news', although early newspaper cuttings uncovered through research for this thesis suggest there was in fact a more complex and detailed understanding of radio drama from its very first days than has been previously thought.[84] While reviews do often talk about the technology, they also talk about the acting and sound of productions.[85] Rixon also states that radio 'was not an elitist art form that only the critic and a minority of the public would experience'.[86] This may generally be correct although, in the case of Shakespeare's works, there are undoubtedly elitist attitudes at play; these are examined and challenged in the following chapters. In addition, Rixon points out that twenty-first century reviews are 'still recognizably the same as the coverage that developed in the 1920s and 1930s', although there are far fewer now than in the pre-war era.[87]

Other written sources are also used. The *BBC Handbooks* and *Yearbooks* frequently give details about productions that have taken place. In addition, many key members of BBC staff wrote memoirs or instruction books about radio, some dating back as far as 1924. In the early years of radio, there were also a number of publications by those outside the BBC, such as the critic Basil Maine, whose book *The BBC and its Audience* (1939) contains a detailed description of *Macbeth* (1935). In the first two decades of the BBC, radio was a new and exciting medium,

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[83] Paul Rixon, 'Radio and popular journalism in Britain: Early radio critics and radio criticism', *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 13.1-2 (2015), 23-36 (p. 24).
[84] Rixon, 'Radio and popular journalism in Britain', p. 33.
[85] See Chapter 2.
[86] Rixon, 'Radio and popular journalism in Britain', p. 33.
[87] Rixon, 'Radio and popular journalism in Britain', p. 24.

unrivalled yet by television. As such, a great deal of written material exists about broadcasts and broadcasting at this time.

This thesis therefore pulls together a variety of analytical techniques to examine these productions. It carries out 'close listening', identifying the different sounds that make up each play, how they are used and what effect this has. It does this within the knowledge of what was technically possible at the time of broadcast. It also examines contemporaneous and subsequent writing about the productions, ranging from those of academics to radio critics, producers and the general public. In doing so it is not seeking to reach value judgements about the productions, but to understand how they were made, how they used the technology available, and how they presented Shakespeare to their audience.

Thesis chapters

This thesis is divided into six chapters followed by a conclusion. The first chapter gives an overview of the ever-changing technology behind these plays, both in terms of production and broadcasting. It also discusses the general techniques used to adapt Shakespeare's plays and sets out some of the basic principles, as well as the way these have been developed over the century. The chapter works in conjunction with the glossary at the back of this thesis to introduce the reader to the relevant terminology they will encounter elsewhere. Chapter 1 provides the essential framework for understanding the case studies provided in the following chapters.

From Chapter 2 onwards, this thesis moves to a chronological, case study-driven format. Chapter 2 itself looks at the BBC's first radio Shakespeare productions, from its inception through to the end of the Second World War in 1945. Because there is only a limited amount of audio available from productions broadcast during this era, the earliest case studies use documentary evidence to build up a concept of what they sounded like. The chapter then moves on to those for which extracts of audio exist, finishing with the first play for which a full recording is available, *As You Like It* (1944). It also looks at how these productions engage with some of the approaches taken to the plays by literary critics of the day. This chapter argues that, despite the comments of some modern scholars, radio productions of Shakespeare were always presented as radio drama, however

primitive at the outset. From the very first production, producers and actors aimed to present audio plays, not mere poetry readings. These early pioneers might not always have been successful in presenting Shakespeare this way, but the evidence suggests this was always their aim.

From Chapter 3 onwards, this thesis will only examine productions for which the full audio exists. This chapter looks at the post-war period, from 1946-66. Only around twenty-five productions from this era are still extant, although around one hundred and twenty plays were performed. This chapter shows that the now well-established BBC was showing confidence in its production of Shakespeare, especially with the introduction of a new station, the Third Programme, which broadcast many of these plays. Producers also appear to have been trying to fulfil a prediction by Reith that radio would popularise Shakespeare. More productions on more networks, essentially available for free, increased access to the plays in a way never seen before.

The start of the period covered by Chapter 4, 1967-87, was one of change in the BBC. Radio was reorganised, with the addition of a new channel, Radio 1, and the renaming of the existing three. As part of this process, Shakespeare's plays could no longer be found across all networks, and while the new Radio 4 still broadcast some, Radio 3 became their real home. This may have fostered an age notable for the rise of the radio Shakespeare 'auteur': producers who imprinted their own personal style on their work. From 1972 onwards, the BBC holds a complete archive of its radio Shakespeare plays, providing a wide selection to choose from as well as the ability to listen to a variety of plays by each producer, enabling the identification of their own, unique take on them, much as one would expect from a leading theatre or film director.

Chapter 5 begins as the twentieth century draws to a close and examines the years 1988-2001. During this period, the BBC, like other arts organisations, seemed keen to take advantage of the cultural capital offered by Shakespeare, firstly by releasing cassettes of their archive plays, then by commissioning productions starring perhaps the leading Shakespearean actor of the generation, Kenneth Branagh, and finally by the creation of the 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' series

on Radio 3. Coincidentally (or not), Shakespeare was voted 'Personality of the Millennium' by listeners to the *Today* programme on Radio 4.

The final chapter of this thesis moves to the present day, looking at the way Shakespeare has been presented on BBC radio during the twenty-first century. Covering the years 2002-22, it coincides with the rise in availability of digital radio, the first productions available on demand, and the creation of BBC Sounds, enabling listeners to download the plays and listen to them anytime, anywhere. This has been a period of new creativity among radio producers, who have also been able to take advantage of the possibilities offered by digital recording and editing. It has seen a greater diversity of casting than ever before, and producers presenting Shakespeare's plays in a wider variety of styles, including contemporary and futuristic settings. This reframing of Shakespeare on BBC radio perhaps also indicates the direction in which productions will head as the corporation enters its second century.

The thesis conclusion pulls together the issues and arguments raised throughout, highlighting the fact that the production of Shakespeare's plays on BBC radio is an ever-evolving practice, influenced not only by technology but also by audience and critical reaction, and the thinking of those involved in bringing these works to the airwaves. Radio has a unique connection to its audience: far from being a 'blind' medium, it can produce visually engaging productions – albeit with the pictures entirely generated in the listeners' imaginations. And it puts emphasis on Shakespeare's words – both their sound and meaning – in a way no other medium does. The conclusion will show that Radio Shakespeare is a specific genre within radio drama, as well as a form of Shakespearean production in its own right.

At the rear of this thesis, readers will find a glossary of terms to assist those unfamiliar with some of the terminology used, as well as an appendix containing a list of every Shakespeare play broadcast on BBC radio. Alongside the date of initial broadcast and of any repeats, this list includes any information available about cast, producer, adaptor as well as the location of extant scripts, audio and listings detailing the broadcasts. It is hoped that this will provide future researchers with an invaluable resource upon which to base their own projects. Together with the analysis in the main body of the thesis, this provides the most comprehensive work to date on the production of Shakespeare's plays on radio anywhere in the world.

Chapter 1:

Radio Shakespeare: techniques, technology & terminology

Before examining the BBC's radio productions of Shakespeare's plays in detail, it is first necessary to explain how radio drama works, both in terms of the technical adaptation of stage plays and the technology that supports their broadcast. This chapter will outline the basic techniques that have been used to transfer these plays, written for a visual medium, into radio broadcasts, ranging from changes and cuts to the text to audio additions. It will also look at the evolving technology that producers have used over the last century to create and broadcast these plays, and how that has affected the way this has been done. The purpose of this chapter is to create a 'primer' to those unfamiliar with the field of radio drama, providing sufficient information to fully understand the case studies and other examples given in the following chapters. It should also demonstrate to those already conversant with the medium how some of these techniques specifically apply to Shakespeare production, rather than more generally to radio drama, as the nature of Shakespeare's cultural cachet and audience familiarity add additional layers of expectation to productions. Technical words and terms used in this chapter that can be found in the glossary are marked in **bold**, although some explanation, as necessary, will also be contained here.

Techniques for adapting Shakespeare for radio

Firstly, like the majority of Shakespeare performances, cuts are made to the text. While a few BBC radio productions claim to be full text, such as the 1972 *Othello* with Paul Schofield or Kenneth Branagh's *Hamlet* from 1992, it is rare to find a production completely unedited.[88] However, the amount of cutting can vary hugely. John Gielgud's 1948 *Hamlet*, which has a running time of three hours and twenty minutes, plus two intervals, still had around forty lines removed. However, the 1968

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[88] Robert Ottaway, '"I have undertaken Othello now because I feel I am ready to do it justice"', *Radio Times*, 9 November 1972, p. 3; 'Radio 3 celebrates with new Hamlet production', *The Stage*, 23 April 1992, p. 17.

Comedy of Errors lasted for just eighty minutes, with scores of lines edited out. Across the last century, textual cuts have been controversial. In the *Radio Times* in 1935, under the headline 'Must Shakespeare be butchered by the BBC?', the critic and playwright Herbert Farjeon bemoaned what he saw as unjustifiable editing of texts, in particular a version of *Henry V* that he claimed was only 75 minutes long: 'the BBC calmly announced it as *Henry V. Henry the Two-Fifths* would have been more accurate'.[89] Producer Howard Rose later told the *Radio Times* 'the actual transmission time was an hour and fifty-five minutes'.[90] BBC Drama Director, Val Gielgud, also told the magazine:

> [If] Mr Farjeon listens to broadcasts of Shakespeare in the uninspiring company of a pencil and a text, counting words feverishly in order to be able to tell me just how many have been excised in the interests of practical entertainment value, I should be more than glad to know how any individual listening in such conditions expects to get anything from a broadcast play except a feeling of acute exasperation, probably coupled quite literally with a pain in the neck![91]

Gielgud added that he believed the average listener was 'not prepared to listen for hours at a time to Shakespeare [...] because any listening to the spoken word is a business demanding acute attention and concentration'.[92] However, Farjeon was not alone in expressing dissatisfaction with the cutting of Shakespeare's works and this remains a contentious issue in the twenty-first century, with critics still expressing a desire for longer productions and producers believing that most people would prefer a shorter play.

Textual edits are not just made to condense Shakespeare's works, although this is often a major reason for them. Producers also remove elements because they deem lines to be archaic and therefore not understandable, or because they allude to something highly visual that cannot easily be replicated on the radio. In terms of cuts for length, the 1934 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a good example. There is no audio of this production, but the script does exist and shows that adaptor

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[89] Herbert Farjeon, 'Must Shakespeare be butchered by the BBC? An attack by Herbert Farjeon', *Radio Times*, 30 August 1935, p. 13.
[90] Howard Rose in Gielgud, 'What the other listener thinks – "Must Shakespeare be butchered...?" Val Gielgud replies', *Radio Times*, 6 September 1935, p. 9.
[91] Gielgud, *Radio Times*, 6 September 1935.
[92] Gielgud, *Radio Times*, 6 September 1935.

Marianne Helweg removed around four hundred lines to bring it down to an hour-and-three-quarters in duration.[93] Archaic language ranges from Greek and Roman references to the use of Latin, such as Gower's opening speech in *Pericles* (2017) where lines 1.0.5-10 are edited out, including: '*Et bonum quo antiquius eo melius*'. Perhaps the most obvious instance of a visual element not translating well to audio is the dumbshow in *Hamlet*. Most producers choose to ignore it and simply present the play-within-the-play, as John Tydeman does in his 1971 production.[94] Many other examples of all three forms of cutting will be found in the case studies in the following chapters. However, in the main, the textual cuts made are not dissimilar to those in the theatre. Textual additions, though, are frequently specific to radio.

Cecil Lewis states in 1924 that 'having selected the play, the next question is to arrange it'.[95] Although he does not specify how, reviews of the production of *Twelfth Night* in 1923 indicate this was partly through the addition of narration.[96] Commonly used for decades, narration was not without controversy. In 1950 producer Frank Hauser wrote that 'there is precious little good in critics wailing against the use of the narrator in principle, unless they *can* suggest an alternative'.[97] Unlike the adaptation of other plays or novels, there seems to have been particular pressure on producers to find a 'Shakespearean' way of creating narration. Hauser justified his use of it by stating that the text was 'taken from North's Plutarch, which is where Shakespeare got his material from in the first place'. Other producers would do little more than have a narrator read aloud the stage directions, such as the combined productions of the three parts of *Henry VI* in 1971. But narration was also recognised as having a negative impact. Edward Sackville-West wrote that 'the introduction of the Narrator's voice [...] always makes for a drop in temperature of the programme'.[98] A similar sentiment was expressed by Felton: 'Narration, inopportunely used, can equally petrify the action of the play'.[99] And Elkan and

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[93] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Marianne Helweg (unpublished, Library of Birmingham S338.1934Q).
[94] Kenneth Branagh's 1992 production keeps the dumbshow, but it is very difficult to comprehend.
[95] C. A. Lewis, *Broadcasting from Within*, p. 62.
[96] For more details, see Chapter 2.
[97] Frank Hauser, 'Can Shakespeare be Broadcast', *Radio Times*, 29 September 1950, p. 6.
[98] Edward Sackville-West, *The Rescue* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1945), p. 9.
[99] Felton, p. 91.

Dorotheen Allan suggested 'the narrator of radio-drama is an intruder […] preventing the listener from thoroughly immersing himself'.[100]

However, without narration, the challenge for the producer can often be how to convert a purely visual scene into an audio one, such as the sword fight at the end of *Hamlet*. Hamlet and Laertes swap swords, but the characters' lines do not directly indicate this. In 1948 this was resolved with narration. Alongside the clashing of foils, the sounds of exertion and the murmuring of the court, producer John Richmond inserts the following:

NARRATOR   Laertes takes Hamlet off his guard. He disarms and wounds him.

FX – brief clash of foils

Hamlet leaps in and wrests Laertes' sword from his hand and Laertes picks up Hamlet's. They've exchanged swords.

3:11:58[101]

But in Tydeman's 1971 version of the play, just five words of dialogue are added to explain the same situation:

FX – clatter of foils on the floor

LAERTES   My sword!

HAMLET   *My* sword now!

2:57:04

Textual additions to aid the lack of visuals also frequently involve the addition of characters' names or relationships, or servants announcing their appearance or departure. *Antony and Cleopatra* (1942) has many examples of this. There is no recording but the script shows frequent insertions of this nature, such as names at the ends of lines (additions in italics):

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[100] Elkan and Dorotheen Allan, *Good Listening: A Survey of Broadcasting* (London: Hutchinson, 1951), p. 100.
[101] Throughout this thesis, timecodes will be given following a quotation from a production. For details of the archive source of each production, please see the Audiography.

| CAESAR | Welcome to Rome, *Mark Antony*. |
| ANTONY | Thank you, *Octavius Caesar*.[102] |

And a scene later, the Soothsayer, who has no lines in the original text on his entrance, says 'Sir' to indicate his presence. Antony's line beginning 'Now, sirrah' (2.3.10) is also changed to 'Now, Soothsayer'. In a similar way, actors often make non-verbal sounds such as murmurs of agreement, groans of displeasure or even whimpers of pain to indicate their presence in a scene if they do not have any lines or have not spoken for some time.

Conveying the visual in sound does not necessarily require additional words, though. Sound effects have been deployed extensively. These can take several forms: live **spot effects**, created by a studio manager; recorded effects, played in on record, CD or now from a digital database; and **Radiophonic effects**, non-realistic sounds created by sound engineers. Producer Martin Jenkins was a pioneer of using spot effects to graphically capture the sound of murder and mutilation, such as using 'a cabbage, a knife and a cup of water, for the spurting blood' to create the sound of decapitations.[103] Techniques like this help clarify situations where the text only suggests what is happening and is not explicit. In *Titus Andronicus*, when Aaron cuts off Titus' hand, Titus merely says: 'Lend me thy hand and I will give thee mine' (3.1.186). However, in Jenkins' 1973 production there is no doubt what has happened, as there is the sound of chopping, 'bones' crunching and liquid running (1:16:24). Moments which are not clear from the text alone, once supported with sound effects, require no further words to explain the action.

Recorded effects are usually used as background, rather than detail. Writing about radio drama in general, John Drakakis states: 'A crude example might be the sound of the ubiquitous BBC seagull, first introduced in the early days of radio and used conventionally to suggest a particular location and atmosphere'.[104] In

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[102] Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd edn, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt and others (London: W. W. Norton, 2016), 2.2.30-31. All subsequent references to Shakespeare's plays will be given within the text and will refer to this edition of the Complete Works unless otherwise stated.

[103] 'Vivat Rex', *Radio 4 and 4 Extra Blog* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/radio4/2012/04/radio_4extra_vivat_rex.html> [Accessed 3 January 2021].

[104] Drakakis, 'Introduction', in *British Radio Drama*, p. 30.

Shakespeare's plays, a more common sound is that of crows, particularly in productions of *Macbeth*, effectively doing the same job as the seagull but creating a more sinister environment.[105] In plays featuring battle scenes, appropriate recorded sounds are also frequently used, although, as in the 2020 *Henry IV, Part 1*, these are often augmented with shouts and sounds of exertion from the cast (1:43:50).

While spot and recorded effects are usually attempting to replicate real sounds, the BBC's former Head of Radio Training, Elwyn Evans points out that 'not all effects are meant to be realistic'. [106] This is particularly the case with Radiophonic effects. Louis Niebur suggests that 'beginning in the early 1950s, radio audiences began to tire of the relentless barrage of "realistic" sound effects in radio drama'.[107] In 1958, the BBC Radiophonic Workshop was founded, providing an antidote to these traditional effects, providing 'theme tunes, incidental music and effects for BBC programmes'.[108] The staff of the Workshop created their sounds and music by 'manipulating tape and test oscillators', as well as using 'found sounds, synthesisers and eventually samplers'.[109] The results were often 'menacing and other-worldly' and were praised by Evans as being 'particularly useful for the heightening of tension'.[110] They are put to good use in Tydeman's 1971 *Hamlet* during the 'closet scene' (act three, scene four) when Hamlet can see the ghost of his father but Gertrude cannot. The ghost's appearance is signalled by Radiophonic effects (1:48:55) and they are used throughout the scene to indicate the ghost's presence, as well as heightening Ronald Pickup's performance as the prince.

Like effects, music is used to create and maintain atmosphere in radio Shakespeare productions. Gielgud states that 'music can intensify the dramatic atmosphere of a scene—it can even conjure up the physical picture of that scene—as nothing else can'.[111] However, the style of music varies greatly, from the melodic,

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[105] The sound of crows has been added to productions ranging from *Henry V* (1976) to *Cymbeline* (2006) and can be found in every audio production of *Macbeth* covered as a case study in this thesis.
[106] Elwyn Evans, *Radio: A Guide to Broadcasting Techniques* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977), p. 131.
[107] Louis Niebur, *Special Sound* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 14.
[108] 'BBC Radiophonic Workshop founded', *History of the BBC* <https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/anniversaries/april/bbc-radiophonic-workshop> [Accessed 13 September 2021].
[109] 'BBC Radiophonic Workshop founded', *History of the BBC*.
[110] 'BBC Radiophonic Workshop founded', *History of the BBC*; Evans, p. 131.
[111] Gielgud, *Radio Theatre: Plays Specifically Written for Broadcasting* (London: Macdonald and Co, 1946), pp. xiii-xiv.

pseudo-Elizabethan to more abstract, modernist pieces. Much of what has been used in the production of Shakespeare's plays has been specially written for the productions. The importance of choosing and using this correctly is brought home by Felton, who writes that 'in an ideal world every radio-producer would be a trained musician'.[112] Evans would probably have applauded the sentiment, complaining that 'early producers plastered music all over their plays'.[113] He particularly bemoans the use of the **music link**, something popular in early productions and used as 'inter-scene punctuation'.[114] In a medium without the facility to fade to black or bring down a curtain, music has often been used to create an equivalent end to a scene although, as Evans indicates, not always successfully. The 1964 *Troilus and Cressida* particularly relies on this device, sometimes even within scenes. Act one, scene one not only begins with a music link, to separate it from the prologue (0:02:55), but also has links before and after Troilus' soliloquy (1.1.85-99; 0:06:40, 0:07:42). Similarly Kenneth Branagh relies heavily on music links to separate the scenes in his three 1990s productions: *Hamlet* (1992), *Romeo and Juliet* (1993) and *King Lear* (1994).

Vocal performance is another key technique in transferring Shakespeare's plays to radio. This was recognised from the very earliest days. Lewis wrote that:

> It does not follow that a well-known actor on the stage will be successful on the microphone. Extreme sensitivity of vocal colour is essential, for this, after all, is the whole thing. Clear enunciation and a certain mellowness of speech are assets, although an acutely unpleasant voice may be the making of some thankless or humorous part where the voice is not used to give pleasure, but to provoke or amuse.[115]

More recently, Alan Beck comments that 'the microphone has a magnifying effect […] You often need to underplay and be more subtle, and you rarely use the projection needed for stage'.[116] Radio producers including Felton and McWhinnie make similar assertions.[117] In addition, voices must be distinguishable from each other. McWhinnie writes:

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[112] Felton, p. 127.
[113] Evans, p. 150.
[114] Evans, p. 149.
[115] C. A. Lewis, *Broadcasting from Within*, p. 62.
[116] Alan Beck, *Radio Acting* (London: A & C Black, 1997) p. 64.
[117] Felton, p. 133; McWhinnie, p. 124.

> In casting, the producer must not only find the right interpreter for each part, he must have an ear to the final orchestration of the cast as a whole. Since there are no costumes, each actor must be readily identifiable by voice alone.[118]

Sometimes this basic fact still eludes producers. When Tydeman chose Paul Scofield and Nicol Williamson for his production of *Othello* (1972), he was delighted with his 'magnificent cast'.[119] But once the two actors were in a room together, Tydeman realised he had a problem: 'When we had the read-through, I thought "Oh, god". They sounded very alike. Same timbre'.[120] Listening to the opening scene of the play between Iago and Roderigo it would be easy to think it was Scofield playing Iago, rather than Williamson. The solution for Tydeman was to ask Scofield to adjust his vocal tone as Othello: 'Paul said "I can drop my voice and Moor it up a bit"'.[121] This might be considered the audio equivalent of blacking-up. Just like that visual practice, the vocal version is now unacceptable, but this example serves to demonstrate how previous generations approached the issues of presenting character through voice.

Shakespeare's plays also have a distinctive requirement in vocal performance that is rare in other radio drama: cross-gender disguise. While on stage, costume can indicate that a female character has taken on the appearance of a boy, on radio this has to be conveyed in other ways, such as voice. To indicate Rosalind's transformation into Ganymede in *As You Like It*, both Sarah Badel and Imogen Stubbs in the 1978 and 1997 productions respectively shift their voices into a deeper register, making it easier for the audience to understand that the character they are playing is pretending to be male.[122] The use of children on radio is also rare in radio Shakespeare productions until the twenty-first century. Usually child characters, such as Arthur in *King John* (1967) and the Page in *Henry IV, Part 2* (1995), are

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[118] McWhinnie, p. 126.

[119] John Tydeman, private phone conversation, 18 February 2020.

[120] Tydeman, private phone conversation, 18 February 2020.

[121] Tydeman, private phone conversation, 18 February 2020.

[122] *As You Like It*, BBC Radio 3, 1 January 1978 <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3C9A0E?bcast=119429460 > [accessed 10 March 2020]; *As You Like It*, BBC Radio 4, 1 September 1997 <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT46B966?bcast=120340622> [accessed 10 March 2020].

played by women, reversing the Elizabethan and Jacobean tradition which saw women played by boys.[123]

While radio actors generally work around a single microphone, it does not mean their performances are static. McWhinnie explains that the producer 'will map out in his mind how to dispose his actors in relation to the microphone, remembering that variation and ingenuity in their placing will convey, unconsciously, the impression of depth and dimension'.[124] This is particularly important with stereo and **surround sound** productions. Alison Hindell, who started producing for the BBC in the late 1980s, explains how her predecessors dealt with this:

> In the 70s, when they were first introducing stereo, they had very complicated grid patterns marked on the floor of the studio like a chess board, and then producers would very laboriously block the play so that somebody would move from D4 to E3 in order to say this line that much closer or further away or in a particular space in the producer's head.[125]

The proximity of the actor to the microphone is a particularly useful tool for soliloquies and asides, with **close mic** performance creating a more intimate sound. Additionally producers can also add effects to an actor's voice, such as **distort**, which is commonly used to simulate phone calls, intercoms and news broadcasts.

While this is not an exhaustive list of techniques, it summarises many of the ways producers have adapted Shakespeare for radio over the decades and sets the scene for the productions examined in the following chapters. Alongside these techniques there have been significant changes in the technical methods of production and broadcasting which have also contributed greatly to the creation and reception of Shakespeare's plays on radio.

Technology affecting the broadcasting of Shakespeare for radio

The BBC began broadcasting on 14 November 1922.[126] It was initially based at Marconi House in the Strand in a 'small room' that 'was originally a cinematograph

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[123] For more on women playing boys, see Chapter 3.
[124] McWhinnie, p. 127
[125] Alison Hindell, private Zoom conversation, 17 June 2021.
[126] 'BBC begins daily transmissions from 2LO Station', *History of the BBC* <https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/anniversaries/november/2lo/> [Accessed 16 September 2021].

theatre'.[127] It was from here that the scenes from *Julius Caesar* and *Othello* were broadcast in February 1923.[128] However, by the time of the first full play, *Twelfth Night*, three months later, the organisation had moved to premises at Savoy Hill. Briggs states that the new studio was

> 38 feet by 18 feet, and it was very heavily draped. On the walls and ceilings were wooden fences holding six layers of fabric spaced about an inch apart to damp reverberation. For the same reason there was a thick, heavy carpet on the floor.[129]

However, while this may have helped the acoustics, 'perfect reproduction' was not possible.[130] Peter Eckersley, the BBC's first chief engineer, wrote that 'nearly all the crude microphones and loudspeakers of the early days responded to middle and cut off bass and top [low and high sounds]. This kind of distortion gives the characteristic snarl which is the typical and unpleasant feature of most reproduced sound'.[131] In addition, most people listened at home on headphones. A. C. Shaw, the engineer in charge of the BBC's London station in 1924 pointed out that these would 'respond to certain frequencies more than to others'.[132] As such, the 'niceties of the voice' were 'practically all lost'.[133] Therefore, no matter what techniques actors and producers employed, listeners to early broadcasts could not get the full effect of the performance.

The use of sound effects and music was also very limited, although Reith advocated using 'aids to the imagination, such as music, incidental sounds contingent to the situation, pauses and various dramatic devices […] wherever possible' to help listeners 'perceive the scenes as vividly as in a theatre'.[134] However Burrows described the difficulties of providing such additions:

> The variation in intensity of accompanying sounds is obtained by opening and shutting the doors between the studio and the property-room. Some of

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[127] C. A. Lewis, *Broadcasting from Within*, p. 29.
[128] Briggs, *Volume I*, p. 256.
[129] Briggs, *Volume I*, p. 193.
[130] C. A. Lewis, *Broadcasting from Within*, p. 47.
[131] P. P. Eckersley, *The Power Behind the Microphone* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1941), p. 107.
[132] A. C. Shaw, 'The "Real Thing" v. Broadcast. The Art of Reproduction', *Popular Wireless Weekly*, 18 October 1924, pp. 363-64 (p. 364).
[133] Shaw, *Popular Wireless Weekly*, 18 October 1924.
[134] Reith, p. 166.

the instrumental music in Shakespeare's plays is performed in a room outside with the door open two or three inches only.[135]

While these effects would have been primitive, it is clear from the outset that drama producers aimed to do more than a simple reading of a play.

Initially, broadcasts were also made at relatively low power, meaning that listeners could only tune in within a limited distance from the transmitter, unless they had a particularly sensitive receiver. The BBC therefore established a series of separate stations in major cities across the country, each producing its own output and broadcasting from studios similar to Savoy Hill. More than fifty Shakespeare plays were produced by these regional stations, with Cardiff the most prolific, airing more than twenty. However, it was not long before fully national broadcasting was launched.

From fairly early in the BBC's existence, some simultaneous broadcasts had been taking place, with stations connected by phone lines.[136] However, in the late 1920s, Eckersley began work 'to achieve total coverage of the United Kingdom, and to provide listeners with a choice of […] a regional programme and a national programme'.[137] From 1930, productions broadcast on the National Programme were available to listeners across the UK.[138] From this point on, regional stations did still occasionally do their own Shakespeare plays, but the majority were broadcast from London.

The next big change was the opening of the purpose-built Broadcasting House in Portland Place. The new studios allowed for much grander productions and enabled producers to control the level and mix of various sounds from different studios. Actors would mainly perform in the largest studio, 6A, described as occupying the height of two floors.[139] There were also four smaller studios: '6B and 7B were the "live" studios. 6C and 7C were the "dead" studios'.[140] Gielgud explains

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[135] Burrows, p. 100.
[136] Eckersley, p. 71.
[137] Norman Shacklady and Martin Ellen, *On Air: A History of BBC Transmission* (Orpington: Wavechange Books, 2003), p. 5.
[138] Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume II – The Golden Age of Wireless* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 28.
[139] 'The Studios', in *BBC Year-book 1932* (London: BBC, 1931), pp. 69-76 (p. 74).
[140] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 55.

that the 'live' studios had a normal acoustic while the 'dead' had specially treated walls 'giving the impression of a confined space', such as a prison cell or for 'aural "close-ups"'.[141] In addition, there were four effects studios. Studio 6D 'was said to be "as exciting as a magician's cave"' and offered a wide variety of equipment to generate **spot effects**.[142] Adjoining it was 6E, the 'Gramophone Studio' with 'six turntables to be used for "mixing" a variety of noises'.[143] There were also 'Secondary Effects and Gramophone Studios, 7D and 7E'.[144] And there were two 'Echo rooms', where 'artificial echo' could be added to the output of any studio.[145] Music would come from the Military Band studio on the eighth floor.

This set-up may sound complicated, but it enabled a producer to fully control the sounds they wanted to hear. To do this, they used what was known as the **Dramatic Control Panel**, 'elaborate mechanisms […] with their rows of vulcanite knobs controlling the strength of individual studio output, and switches controlling the **studio cue-lights**'.[146] Gielgud explains that a producer 'listened to the output from his studios through a loudspeaker facing him, and communicated with his actors through a microphone at his elbow […] The advantages were obvious. Performances could, indeed, were compelled to be, judged entirely aurally'.[147]

Staff began moving to the new premises in spring 1932, with the first official programme broadcast from 'BH' on 15 May.[148] The first Shakespeare play was three weeks later: *Hamlet*, starring John Gielgud and directed by his brother, Val.[149] In was an auspicious choice, as John had already made a name for himself in the part on stage and would go on to play Hamlet twice more for BBC radio. As there are no Shakespeare recordings from Savoy Hill or the early days of Broadcasting House, it is difficult to tell how much difference the new studios made to the production. However, *The Stage* reported that it was 'a superb achievement' and 'a great advance on the BBC's former Shakespeare effort, "Othello"', although there is no indication

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[141] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 55.
[142] Mark Hines, *The Story of Broadcasting House: Home of the BBC* (London: Merrell, 2008), p. 64.
[143] *BBC Year-book 1932*, p. 74.
[144] *BBC Year-book 1932*, p. 74.
[145] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 55.
[146] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 57.
[147] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 56.
[148] Hines, p. 20.
[149] 'Hamlet', *Radio Times*, 3 June 1932, p. 604.

if this had anything to do with the more sophisticated facilities.[150] In fact, although much more complex productions were now possible, it seems that it may have taken a while for producers to take full advantage of this. The *BBC Year-book 1933* states:

> It is too early yet to describe any development in drama which may follow the move from Savoy Hill to Broadcasting House. The acoustic differences between the old and new studios are about one hundred per cent., and their potentialities are not likely to be fully explored for some time to come.[151]

However, within two years producers did get to grips with the possibilities available to them.

Scripts from this period list detailed sound effects and music cues. In the case of the 1935 *Macbeth*, producer Peter Creswell even noted exactly where each performer and sound would be coming from:

ANNOUNCEMENT IN 6C

ANNOUNCER	A shortened version for Broadcasting of Shakespeare's Tragedy "MACBETH" with Victor Hely-Hutchinson's music, conducted by ………… etc., etc.
	(Overture from 8A)
	(Fade into storm 6D and 6E)
	(6D and 6E down to background.
	FLICK 6A for Macbeth)
MACBETH (on flick in 6A)	(distant) So foul and fair a day I have not seen.
BANQUO	How far is't call'd to Forres?[152]

The use of 'flick' here is to indicate the use of the **studio cue-light**. The script goes on to show that scene two came from studio 6B and scene three, in which Lady Macbeth reads the letter from her husband, from 6C; the 'dead' studio, used for intimate scenes. This level of script detail is unusual compared to Creswell's contemporaries, but it gives an idea of the complex choreography required to make

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[150] 'Cues and Comments', *The Stage*, 9 June 1932, p. 11.
[151] 'Development in Drama', in *BBC Year-book 1933* (London: BBC, 1932), pp. 171-76 (p. 173).
[152] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Peter Creswell (unpublished, Library of Birmingham S334.1935Q), p. 1.

the best use of the new studios. As Eric Maschwitz, head of the BBC's Variety Department, later put it: 'Radio Drama, hitherto earthbound, was finding wings; like the cinema before it, it was on its way to escaping from the limitations of the theatre'.[153]

No audio exists of Creswell's *Macbeth* and routine recording of dramatic productions was not yet taking place. The BBC did have the facility to record audio at this time as Broadcasting House's 'state-of-the-art equipment included the Blattnerphones (early tape recorders)'.[154] However, they were 'used exclusively for "bottling" examples of significant broadcast material'.[155] It would be some years before plays were regularly recorded for broadcast, and many more before they were systematically archived.

The next major change to BBC radio Shakespeare production was forced upon it by international events: the Second World War. Radio Drama was moved out of London, briefly setting up in Evesham, before moving again to Manchester.[156] Gielgud describes the impact on the department:

> The technique of production was compelled to be radically simplified. […] producers found themselves deprived of much of the machinery to which they were used, and of many of the facilities which formerly had appeared to them so important, if not actually essential. Plays had to be produced in single studios […] working under conditions only to be comprehensively categorised as 'lash-up'.[157]

However, not everyone thought the change in production methods was a bad thing. H. Bishop from the Institution of Electrical Engineers believed that:

> There was a tendency in peacetime for broadcasts to become technically over-elaborate. […] With the introduction of local control and the use of larger studios, this multi-studio tendency has largely disappeared and the engineering problems associated with big productions have correspondingly lessened.[158]

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[153] Eric Maschwitz, *No Chip On My Shoulder* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1957), p. 54.
[154] Hines, p. 64.
[155] Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff, *A Social History of British Broadcasting: Volume One 1922-1939 – Serving the Nation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991), p. 146.
[156] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 95, p. 99.
[157] Gielgud, *Radio Theatre*, p. viii.
[158] H. Bishop quoted in F. C. Brooker, *Engineering Division Training Manual* (London: BBC, 1942), pp. 217-18.

There was another reason why this method of production became essential. Even when production could move back to London, the studios at Broadcasting House were no longer available, as the building had been badly bombed.

It was hit a number of times, but the worst was on 15 October 1940. A bomb 'crashed through the walls of the fifth floor, and […] caused so much damage that staff did not realize at once that it had not exploded: an order to clear the Tower was not given soon enough to save lives'.[159] Seven people died. The damage extended 'from the third to the eighth floors'.[160] The drama suite was destroyed. This meant that even when it was deemed safe for the department to return to London, they were without their usual studios. However, rather than rebuild in exactly the same design as before, the studio layout changed, partly due to the success of the simplified techniques adopted during the war, and partly following a visit Gielgud made to 'the Scandinavian broadcasting organizations'.[161] He explains:

> The floor-space formerly absorbed by the four small studios and the corridor running between them and the original 6A was all given up to a reconstructed 6A more than twice the size, but capable of subdivision to taste by means of curtains and special screening and different types of flooring and wall-treatment. There was also a small 'dead' studio on the sixth floor, adjoining the new 6A and immediately below the producer's control-room, where he sat with his Programme Assistants looking down into 6A through a glass window.[162]

This meant they had a much more flexible studio space and that the producer could be in visual contact with his actors, although there was also a blind that could be pulled down if the producer wanted 'visual isolation'.[163] The new studio also had 'a number of permanent "spot" Effects—a staircase, doors with bolts and locks, a small water-tank, a gravel surface, and so on' built in.[164] Gielgud adds that 'the Mixing Unit itself was a modernized version of the old Dramatic-control Panel; smaller, but no less complex, and linked to a number of microphone-points instead of a number

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[159] Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume III – The War of Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 268.
[160] Hines, p. 103.
[161] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 119.
[162] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 119.
[163] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 119.
[164] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 119.

of studios. The all-over effect was both to centralize and to economize working effort.'[165] This revised studio set-up is largely the way studio-based radio drama is still recorded in the twenty-first century, at least up until the pandemic.

During Covid there has been the first major change to studio technique in at least seventy years. As it was no longer safe for actors to all be gathered round a single microphone, other methods had to be found. Some drama recorded early in the pandemic was done remotely, with the actors at home, connected to each other and the producer via the internet with makeshift soundproofing constructed from mattresses and duvets.[166] However, the first Shakespeare play to be recorded under Covid conditions was not until 2021, with Gaynor Macfarlane's *The Tempest*. This was done at an independent voice-over studio. Each actor had their own cubicle, linked to each other via video camera and a screen.[167] This enabled a high quality sound recording to be made and some limited, 'live' interaction between actors, but also restricted the number of people in a scene. *The Tempest* was deemed a suitable play for this set-up: planned productions of *2 Henry IV* and *Henry V* have been put on hold as their large casts cannot be so easily accommodated in this way. At the time of writing it is not clear when, or if, studio recording will resume in the way it did before the pandemic.

After the war, plays continued to be broadcast live in the main, although recording did start to become more common. In 1950, the BBC was using 'three different recording systems, namely the direct-recorded disk system, magnetic recording and non-photographic film recording'.[168] However, none of these enabled audio editing and all were much better suited to recording short pieces of audio rather than plays of two hours or more. Therefore, even recorded plays sounded as if they were being broadcast live, including the occasional fluffed line or rustle of paper. If plays were recorded, it was mainly for the purpose of repeating productions, rather than archiving. For example, the 1962 *Love's Labour's Lost* was aired six times but no longer exists in the archives, presumably because nobody thought they

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[165] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 119.
[166] Eloise Whitmore, private phone conversation, 3 February 2022.
[167] Whitmore, private phone conversation, 3 February 2022.
[168] *BBC Recording Training Manual* (London: BBC, 1950), p. 22.

would want to broadcast it again. Several other productions also suffered the same fate.[169]

Briggs states that 'in 1960 about half the sound programmes broadcast for the British audience were broadcast live […] By the mid-1970s there were very few programmes that were not recorded'.[170] However, not everyone felt this was an improvement. David Wade wrote in 1981 that recording 'spelt the end of live transmissions and with that, so many people say, the loss of a certain edge which is given to a performance when actors know the microphone has people at the other end of it'.[171] But there were advantages too. Briggs points out that 'mixing now became far easier […] and editing itself became an art'.[172] As recording on **¼-inch tape** became standard, producers were able to make a 'quick slice with a razor blade and blemishes are removed, and the various takes of scenes are joined to each other'.[173] After editing, music or effects could also be added to the audio by playing the recording back through a mixing desk and **dubbing** it onto a fresh tape, while playing in the additional sounds simultaneously. Wade conceded that 'it has given the director a far greater measure of control over the performance he eventually obtains: provided time allows, sequences can be done and done again, mistakes eliminated, balance perfected'.[174] However, tape was bulky; a standard 10½-inch reel would only hold half an hour of audio, so most plays required at least four reels. Playing them out on air also required skill from the studio manager to ensure there was no gap or overlap between one tape ending and the next starting.

While production techniques and the quality of audio being produced was improving, so was broadcasting technology. The idea of **FM** broadcasting dates back to 1902; twenty years before the BBC was founded.[175] But Briggs states that there was 'no public demand for **VHF**', despite 'the serious interference after dark with

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[169] The 1947 productions of both parts of *Henry IV* were broadcast four times each, as was the 1953 *As You Like It*, the 1957 *Cymbeline* and the 1959 *Tempest*, but they were not kept for posterity.
[170] Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume V – Competition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 833.
[171] David Wade, 'British radio drama since 1960', in *British Radio Drama*, ed. by Drakakis, pp. 218-44 (pp. 240-41).
[172] Briggs, *Volume V*, p. 834.
[173] Tydeman, 'The producer and radio drama: a personal view', in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis (London and New York: Longman, 1981), pp. 12-27 (p. 26).
[174] Wade, 'British radio drama since 1960', p. 241.
[175] Briggs, *Volume V*, p. 840.

reception on medium-wave'.[176] However, by the 1950s, attitudes were changing and the BBC opened its first VHF station in May 1955.[177] The *BBC Handbook 1956* told readers the new service would enable them

> to enjoy the heightened pleasure of hearing the programmes as they really should be heard. As one radio critic has said: 'The difference (listening on VHF) was like looking at an object through spectacles before and after they had been polished.'[178]

And Wade describes the appeal to those within the BBC: 'A play received on VHF can then be heard as its performers and director intended – every nuance of speech, every sound effect, even uneasy silences'.[179]

In addition to radio reception improving, there was also a slow move towards stereo broadcasting. As early as 1924 it was being contemplated.[180] But it was another forty years before BBC radio drama began to embrace the technique, thanks to the work of producer Raymond Raikes. Horsfield notes that 'Raikes was a pioneer of stereo production at the BBC. It was not until after he won the Italia Prize for stereo production in 1965 [for Peter Gurney's *The Foundling*] that the BBC began to look favourably upon stereo'.[181] However, not everyone approved. McWhinnie writes that 'one of the disadvantages of stereophony, to my mind, is that it brings the precise sense of left and right to the radio illusion; in other words, places us in front of an invisible stage'.[182] For Raikes, that was what he particularly liked about it, making use of this specifically in his 1968 production of *The Comedy of Errors* by using sound effects to create a virtual stage with the port of Ephesus on one side and the abbey on the other, as well as using left and right to distinguish between the two pairs of twins.[183] Wade also sees the benefits of stereo: 'it spreads the sound so that it appears to emanate from an area rather than a point. In play-production this gives far

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[176] Briggs, *Volume V*, p. 840.
[177] Briggs, *Volume V*, p. 841.
[178] *BBC Handbook 1956* (London: BBC, 1956), pp. 114-15.
[179] Wade, 'British radio drama since 1960', p. 241.
[180] C. A. Lewis, *Broadcasting from Within*, pp. 137-139.
[181] Margaret Horsfield, 'Shakespeare on Radio' (unpublished Master of Arts, Shakespeare Institute (University of Birmingham), 1978), p. 32.
[182] McWhinnie, p. 127.
[183] For more on Raikes' use of stereo in *The Comedy of Errors*, see Chapter 4.

greater clarity and definition to "large" scenes involving many voices and dense sound effect'.[184]

Following the introduction of stereo, there have been a number of attempts to take the idea of space and sound even further. Six years after Raikes' *Comedy of Errors*, the first Shakespeare play in **quad** was broadcast: *The Tempest* (1974), produced by Ian Cotterell.[185] Hendy explains that quadraphony 'doubled the number of speakers to four. The aesthetic appeal of this lay in being able to place listeners in the centre of a 360-degree performing area: they would be sitting, quite literally, in the thick of the action'.[186] In 1977 the BBC was broadcasting 'about one "quad" programme a week' but 'without a system of encoders and decoders […] there was no such thing as a domestic radio set able to receive four bands of information simultaneously' and 'the technology foundered'.[187] However, while **surround sound** was abandoned in the short term, the idea of creating an immersive experience did not disappear altogether, although it was several decades before a producer would look at using it again for Shakespeare.

Almost simultaneously with the interest in quad, the BBC was experimenting with **binaural** sound. Binaural recording uses a special pair of microphones fixed into a life-sized model of a head at the location of the ears, in an attempt to mimic the way the human ear hears sound. When using headphones, a listener to binaural audio gets a sense of being in the middle of the action in a similar way to quad but, because it only requires two channels, it can be broadcast on conventional stereo systems. Agnieszka Roginska and Paul Geluso describe binaural as '"you are there", first-person perspective, in contrast to the loudspeaker "they are here"'.[188] The first plays to use binaural were broadcast in the 1970s, but it was not until the twenty-first century that it was used for Shakespeare. Hindell's 2017 *Richard II* is the only production to date to use the technology and she says her studio manager felt that 'it's technically very complicated for not necessarily a big reward or a big

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[184] Wade, 'British radio drama since 1960', p. 242.
[185] For more on Cotterell's use of quad in *The Tempest*, see Chapter 4.
[186] David Hendy, *Life on Air: A history of Radio Four* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 197.
[187] Hendy, p. 197.
[188] Agnieszka Roginska and Paul Geluso, eds., *Immersive Sound: The Art and Science of Binaural and Multi-Channel Audio* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 3.

difference'.[189] As stereo editing and mixing has become more sophisticated in the digital age, the ability to create a sense of surround sound without complicated transmitting and receiving equipment or specialist microphones means that a similar effect can be produced more simply and cheaply.

Digital technology has transformed radio in a number of ways. Firstly, in the recording and editing of audio. By the 1990s, digital software was available to producers: Clive Brill was one of the first to embrace it with his 1991 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[190] Brill recalls using a 24-track system, allowing him to mix many different audio sources at one time; far more than would be practical to do through a conventional mixing desk. In the twenty-first century, producers and their studio managers can have an almost inexhaustible number of tracks. ProTools, the industry standard editing software, offers more than 2,000.[191] However, most producers are unlikely to use anything like that. Independent producer Dirk Maggs, who is known for his extensive layering of sound and sound effects in his audio productions, used eighty tracks for the sixth series of *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* (2018).[192] Digital technology has also made it easier to edit out unwanted sounds that have been unintentionally picked up on a recording, especially those made on location. Sound designer David Thomas says the software Izotope RX is 'basically like Photoshop for sound', enabling him to perfect background sound in the edit if it is not quite right on the recording day.[193]

Digital technology has also made location recording much easier. As recording equipment has got progressively smaller and digital storage (such as hard drives and SD cards) has increased in capacity and decreased in price, taking actors out of the studio has become much more practical. No longer is a BBC outside broadcast van needed: portable equipment can be taken to almost any location.[194] However, just because a production is recorded outside the studio, it does not necessarily mean that it does not need extra sounds added in the edit. Thomas says:

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[189] Hindell, private Zoom conversation, 17 June 2021.
[190] For more on Clive Brill's editing of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1991), see Chapter 5.
[191] Dave Tyler, 'Exploring Increased Voices, Tracks, and I/O in Pro Tools 2021.6', *Avid* <https://www.avidcustomerassociation.com/resource-center/exploring-increased-voices-tracks-and-io-in-pro-tools-2021-6> [Accessed 22 September 2021].
[192] Kevin Hilton, 'Dirk Maggs', *Resolution*, March 2018, pp. 32-36 (p. 35).
[193] David Thomas, private Zoom conversation, 22 April 2021.
[194] For more on location recording, see Chapter 6.

> If you're in a castle, you might have a reverb but not quite the right reverb so you might have to fiddle that a bit. […] You end up layering. For *A Midsummer Night's Dream* [2011] you do want to colour it slightly and put in a few more birdies. You take the listener with you on a journey rather than it being a pure record of the recording.[195]

The use of location recording for Shakespeare's plays has increased in the twenty-first century, but the majority of producers still choose to record in a studio.

While digital technology has helped producers record and edit their plays, it was some time before the radio networks were convinced about the reliability of digital playback technology, such as CDs. As such, programmes were **dubbed** from digital systems onto ¼-inch tape for broadcast for several years. In the twenty-first century, all aspects of recording, editing and **playout** use digital technology. Broadcasting continues to be available in analogue form on FM and, in the case of Radio 4, Long Wave and Medium Wave. However, listeners can also now choose to listen to digital radio or **DAB**. When it was first launched, it was often said to offer 'CD-quality sound'.[196] BBC engineers did not like the imprecision of the term, but it was widely used for a time as CDs were considered to be the audience's 'only direct experience of digital audio'.[197] DAB also 'offers improved reception' and does not suffer from interference, as analogue radio does.[198] In 2011, Angeliki Gazi, Guy Starkey, and Stanislaw Jedrzejewski asserted that 'DAB is gaining some momentum', adding that 'some users of digital radio benefit from an intense radio experience, given the presence of record and rewind, electronic programme guide and image functionality on some receivers'.[199]

Alongside this, the BBC has increasingly made plays available online and to download. As Gazi, Starkey and Jedrzejewski put it: 'Radio "receivers" are no longer only dedicated hi-fi tuners or portable radios with whip aerials in the traditional sense, but they are now also assuming the shape of various multimedia-

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[195] Thomas, private Zoom conversation, 22 April 2021.

[196] Stephen Lax, 'Different Standards: Engineers' Expectations and Listener Adoption of Digital and FM Radio Broadcasting', *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 24:1 (2017), 28-44 (p. 31).

[197] Lax, p. 31.

[198] 'BBC national digital radio coverage improves in five areas', *BBC Media Centre* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2014/bbc-dab> [22 September 2021].

[199] Angeliki Gazi, Guy Starkey, and Stanislaw Jedrzejewski, 'Introduction', in *Radio Content in the Digital Age*, ed. by Gazi, Starkey and Jedrzejewski (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2011), pp. 9-21 (p. 14).

enabled computer devices'.[200] During the twenty-first century, BBC radio Shakespeare productions have become available to listen to online, then to download for short periods via the BBC Sounds app, and finally as permanent downloads from the BBC Shakespeare Sessions website.[201]

Technological similarities and differences: 1922-2022

Over the last century, many of the key techniques for producing Shakespeare's plays on BBC radio have remained essentially the same: most undergo a substantial textual edit, use sound effects and music, and are acted in a studio around a single microphone. However, production styles and techniques have changed and developed, as the following chapters will show. This is partly to do with the changing technology available to producers. To take just one example, before digital editing it was extremely difficult to mix large numbers of sound sources together, meaning most producers generally kept things simple. Now, producers can make complex soundscapes with relative ease, the only restrictions being the technical expertise of their editor and their own imagination. Changing technology has also increased accessibility to radio Shakespeare. When the BBC first launched, anyone who wanted to buy a ready-made wireless would have to pay the equivalent of around £130 today.[202] Now, a cheap FM radio can be bought for less than ten pounds, a DAB one for only slightly more, while anyone with access to the internet can listen online for free and mobile phone users can download the BBC Sounds app and also listen at no cost. The following chapters will show how the techniques and technology outlined here have affected the production of Shakespeare on BBC radio. They will also show that there are a number of other factors that have influenced these productions, such as the personalities of those involved in making them and the reaction of the critics. This is true right from the beginning, with the BBC's very first full-length radio play, *Twelfth Night*.

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[200] Gazi, Starkey and Jedrzejewski, p. 10.
[201] For more on this, see Chapter 6.
[202] Using the price of the cheapest radio advertised in *Popular Wireless* in 1922 (£2 5s 0d) and the Bank of England Inflation Calculator: 'Amplion "Wireless" Loud-Sounding Receivers', *Popular Wireless*, 18 November 1922, p. 549; 'Inflation Calculator', Bank of England <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator> [Accessed 25 September 2021].

Chapter 2:

First productions: 1922-45

The first six months of the BBC were a frenzy of innovation. Every new type of programme had to be developed almost entirely from scratch. While there had been limited broadcasting prior to the creation of the company, as it was at the time, nothing had been attempted on this scale. No longer was wireless something just for hobbyists to 'listen-in' to: it quickly became a new form of entertainment. In the opening weeks listeners were introduced to children's programmes, with stories from broadcasting 'aunties' and 'uncles'; concert music from small ensembles crammed into the BBC's first studio; and even an opera relayed from Covent Garden. Programming quickly became more sophisticated, with the small team continually experimenting with new ideas, pushing the limits of what was possible within the medium. It was not long before they turned their attention to drama. Even before the launch of the BBC, those involved in the very earliest broadcasts in Britain understood that radio drama needed to be more than merely reading aloud. By the time the BBC attempted its first full radio play, it was clear this would be an entirely new genre of entertainment. This chapter will show that from their inception, the performance of Shakespeare's plays on BBC radio were always conceived as full productions in audio. While there were undoubted difficulties in translating works intended for the stage to the radio, and some techniques were better than others, no producer ever viewed it as just people standing around a microphone. They might not always have been successful in presenting Shakespeare as a radio play (as opposed to a simple 'reading') but the evidence suggests this was always their aim. Later generations would develop these principles as technology improved, leading to increasingly sophisticated productions over the century.

A month before the BBC officially launched, staff at an experimental wireless station in Writtle near Chelmsford decided to present their listeners with 'the balcony scene from Cyrano de Bergerac'.[203] Their studio was no more than a hut

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[203] Tim Wander, *2MT Writtle – The Birth of British Broadcasting* (Stowmarket: Capella Publications, 1988), p. 75.

in a field and this scene was deemed the most suitable thing to broadcast as it 'is played on stage in semi darkness with virtually stationary players'.[204] Tim Wander states that:

> The players all sat around a kitchen table in the middle of the hut, speaking their words into the lip of a single microphone passed from hand to hand as the lines demanded. The actor's 'scripts' lay beside them neatly typed by Miss Beeson, complete with instructions in brackets imploring the speaker to read with 'voice raised', 'voice discrete' or 'voice passionate'.[205]

In addition, 'a young actress, Miss Agnes "Uggy" Travers and her brother came to help the engineers with their lines'.[206] This first attempt at drama may have involved amateur players, but there was already an understanding that the subject matter needed to work for the medium and that the players needed to do more than just read aloud; they needed to act with their voice. These principles would be developed the following year at the new BBC.

Prior to the first full production, the BBC broadcast a number of short scenes from Shakespeare plays. In February 1923, listeners heard professional actors Shayle Gardner and Hubert Carter in 'The Quarrel Scene' and 'Mark Antony's Oration' from *Julius Caesar*, as well as 'Othello's Defence'.[207] And on Shakespeare's birthday in April, there was a special night of extracts presented by the British Empire Shakespeare Society, including excerpts from *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry VIII*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *As You Like It*.[208] The actors had already presented the scenes earlier in the day on the stage of the Haymarket Theatre.

At the time of this broadcast, the BBC was still based at Marconi House in the Strand, where 'working conditions and competition for studio time must have made experiments with studio productions of plays practically impossible'.[209] The studio had been a small cinema and the acoustics were poor, described as sounding as if they were broadcasting from 'an empty room or a long corridor with polished

[204] Wander, p. 75.
[205] Wander, p. 75.
[206] Wander, p. 75.
[207] '369 Metres', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 February 1923, p. 8.
[208] 'Broadcasting – A Shakespeare Night', *The Times*, 23 April 1923, p. 10.
[209] Pepler, p. 28.

walls'.[210] Technically, presenting a full play in the BBC's opening months was very tricky. In addition, the month before *Twelfth Night*, the West End theatres 'changed their attitude to broadcasting', no longer allowing excerpts of their plays to be broadcast.[211] Up until now, the BBC had been able to import short sections of stage productions, rather than produce their own plays. Now the Entertainments Industry Joint Broadcasting Committee had agreed a resolution: 'That the broadcasting of plays, music, songs, or other entertainments is prejudicial to the interests of all connected with places of public entertainment, and that such steps shall be taken as might be necessary to protect such interests.'[212] If the BBC wanted to continue to offer drama it would have to find a new source of plays and a new location to present them.

The latter was already in the pipeline. On 1 May 1923, the BBC began broadcasting from new studios in Savoy Hill, much better suited to drama, with more space and better acoustics. And while the theatres may have been opposed to allowing excerpts of their own productions on the radio, actors did not seem to be so unwilling to perform. Among those taking part in the British Empire Shakespeare Society broadcast in April were Cathleen Nesbitt, Nigel Playfair, Gerald Lawrence and Henry Caine. These four would go on to be members of the cast of the first full-length play, adapted by Nesbitt. By presenting its own productions, the BBC also opened up the opportunity to broadcast plays specifically tailored to the medium: no longer were they restricted by what the theatres were offering and willing to share.

This chapter charts the 'long chain of development' of radio Shakespeare during the first two decades of the BBC.[213] It establishes that from the very first play, producers used a combination of music, effects and acting technique in an attempt to engage listeners in the drama. This later became controversial, with many critics feeling that the BBC's productions prioritised this and failed to 'concentrate on the fine speaking of his poetry': an issue that continues to be debated by critics to this day.[214] While the ways early producers attempted to convey Shakespeare's plays

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[210] Briggs, *Volume I*, p. 73.
[211] Briggs, *Volume I*, p. 256.
[212] 'Broadcasting and the Theatres - Entertainment Industry's Opposition', *The Times*, 28 April 1923, p. 8.
[213] *BBC Year-Book 1930* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1930), p. 164.
[214] Grace Wyndham Goldie, 'Profit and loss on the air', *The Listener*, 16 October 1935, p. 658.

may have been primitive at times, there was a clear emphasis on radio drama as a new genre and the following case studies demonstrate how successive producers attempted to achieve this.

The opening case study is the first ever play on the BBC, *Twelfth Night* (1923). Although this was broadcast long before recording was taking place, journalists were invited to watch its broadcast and detailed written accounts indicate how it sounded and was received. This is followed by *Macbeth* (1935), and while, again, there is no audio, documents detailing Creswell's meticulous preparation as well as contemporary and subsequent comments from critics and listeners provide a clear sense of how the production sounded. Leslie Howard's performance as Hamlet in 1938 follows: the first production for which audio is known to exist. Howard had much stage experience in the role, as well as appearing in an American radio Shakespeare play the previous year, and brings both these skills to his performance. The following year, after the outbreak of war, radio broadcasts were truncated, but Shakespeare's plays continued to be broadcast, albeit in a very much shortened form, as illustrated by *Othello* (1939), of which most of the audio is still held by the BBC. The final case study is *As You Like It* (1944), the first complete recording in the archives and an illustration of the tensions at play within radio Shakespeare, in terms of both script and performance. At the end of the chapter there follow details of some of the many other productions of the era and how they reflect the concerns and style of their day, as well as an examination of where the BBC had arrived at after the first twenty years of radio Shakespeare.

It is not clear who first came up with the idea of doing a full-length play, or when, although Briggs states that Cecil Lewis, deputy director of programmes at the time, was extremely interested in drama and 'obtained the services of Miss Cathleen Nesbitt' to adapt and produce several of Shakespeare's plays for radio.[215] She was to be responsible for the first five plays broadcast from London and as such can be seen as the originator of radio drama in the UK.

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[215] Briggs, *Volume I*, p. 256.

Twelfth Night (1923)

The BBC was only six months old when *Twelfth Night* was broadcast and its small staff 'were mostly executants as well as administrators'.[216] Therefore, 'plays were handled for the most part by outside producers'.[217] In this case, Nesbitt. While *Twelfth Night* was not full text, it did last two hours, so her first job would have been to prepare a suitable script for the broadcast. This does not survive, but it appears to have involved cutting the text and adding narration. According to the actors' trade paper, *The Stage*: 'The play has been specifically arranged in order to adapt it to the medium. The matter that links up the scenes has been either specially written for this purpose or adapted from Lamb [*Tales from Shakespeare*]'.[218] This filled Farjeon with dread, gloomily telling readers of the *Sunday Pictorial*: 'The play is to be cut, and the scenes are to be linked together by non-Shakespearean explanations, which sounds ominous'.[219] Farjeon was later to become one of the BBC's fiercest critics when it came to radio Shakespeare, and it seems that even before the first broadcast, he had reservations. He was not alone in his concerns. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* warned: 'Shakespeare by wireless must be a poor substitute for the play on the stage. And poor substitutes are not popular with the public and never will be'.[220]

Reports on the contents of the script differ. Non-contemporaneous information held in the BBC's Written Archives Centre suggests it was done 'chiefly by cutting, without much adaptation'.[221] But a reporter from the *Daily Telegraph*, who was at Savoy Hill for the broadcast, wrote: 'It was not deemed advisable to present the piece in its entirety, but merely in a series of scenes, the necessary links for the full understanding of the story being provided by an interlocutor'.[222] Meanwhile, a correspondent for the *Belfast Telegraph* reported that the 'only loss was the duel scene, which was not broadcasted'.[223] Lewis was billed as 'Chorus' for

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[216] *BBC Year-Book 1930*, pp. 155.
[217] *BBC Year-Book 1930*, pp. 164.
[218] 'Broadcasting', *The Stage*, 24 May 1923, p. 8.
[219] Farjeon, 'In the Limelight – Broadcasting Shakespeare', *Sunday Pictorial*, 20 May 1923, p. 18.
[220] 'The Wireless War', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 22 May 1923, p. 6.
[221] BBC Written Archives Centre RI9/276. Entertainment: Drama Dept. 1924-1948. 'From Miss Edwin's Black Books of Pre-war Archives', p. 1.
[222] 'Broadcasting Shakespeare – "Twelfth Night" by Wireless', *Daily Telegraph*, 29 May 1923, p. 12.
[223] 'Shakespeare by Wireless', *Belfast Telegraph*, 29 May 1923, p. 5.

the production, delivering the linking material and in the process becoming radio drama's first narrator.

The actors were professionals, with the exception of the BBC's own Arthur Burrows, who took the role of the Sea Captain, and possibly Mabel Tait who played Maria. She does not seem to have had any theatrical credits before this performance, but she had won a British Empire Shakespeare Society elocution competition the year before and later went on to appear in a number of other plays for the BBC.[224] The cast appears to have adapted to radio acting remarkably well, especially Playfair, who took the role of Andrew Aguecheek. 'R. C. W.' from the *Daily Herald*, who was also at Broadcasting House on the night, described the end of act one, scene three, where Sir Toby urges Andrew Aguecheek to caper 'higher' (1.3.126), stating that 'they rose to the occasion nobly. […] So well did they play this, that if my eyes had been shut, I should have sworn that Sir Andrew was not standing motionless, as he really was, but capering to the ceiling'.[225] Quite how Playfair conveyed this is not explained. The esteemed actress Dame May Whitty was listening and was also impressed with his performance: 'One visualised the foolish, timorous knight though one could not see him, and that was because the speaker used the upward inflection almost continually'.[226] She also had praise for many of the rest of the cast, stating that:

> I should like particularly to commend the Malvolio [Herbert Waring]. One realised the pomposity and fatuousness of the character, and one saw that painful smile and the yellow stockings cross gartered. The Olivia [Enid Rose] was satisfying, too. One felt the melancholy, the feeling of weariness and distaste, the gradual quickening of interest in the saucy boy who comes as Orsino's messenger, and the graciousness and simple dignity of the great lady.[227]

Nesbitt, who played both Viola and Sebastian, was also praised by R. C. W., who admired her 'velvety tones' as well as the 'resonant voice of Orsino (Gerald

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[224] 'Speaking Shakespeare – Mr Ainley's Awards for Elocution', *The Times*, 29 July 1922, p. 12.
[225] R. C. W., 'Shakespeare in Modern Dress – How "Twelfth Night" was played for wireless', *Daily Herald*, 29 May 1923, p. 7.
[226] Dame May Whitty, 'The BBC Plays', *Popular Wireless*, 23 June 1923, p. 688.
[227] Whitty, *Popular Wireless*, 23 June 1923.

Lawrence), and the capable singing of Norman Notley'.[228] After the broadcast, a reporter from the paper spoke to Lawrence about the experience:

> There is a sort of fascination in playing before an invisible audience. One feels that at the back of it (the big receiver) there are thousands of people listening. […] It is always a joy to speak Shakespeare's lines, because they are such wonderful music. But of course you miss your audience.[229]

It seems for those involved, and those listening, the broadcast was largely successful. At least from the perspective of performance. Audio reception was another thing.

Despite the move to the new studio, technology remained very basic. The production did include music by Henry Purcell performed on a harpsichord.[230] But effects appear to have been tricky, with a retrospective article on the BBC's history suggesting that 'sound effects in this first year of broadcasting were still in a rudimentary stage'.[231] The actors also had to be positioned with care, as *Popular Wireless* magazine noted that: 'the artistes must have been placed very carefully in the studio so that no drowning effects were caused by a strong voice being placed nearer to the microphone than one not so powerful'.[232] The reception for those listening over the airwaves appears to have been patchy. St. John Ervine, another of the journalists invited to watch the performance, noted that when he was in the room with the actors, Nesbitt's voice was 'beautiful', but when he was given a chance to listen over the wireless, he heard 'tinny and sometimes unintelligible noises' from the speaker and that Nesbitt sounded 'at one moment [to have] a pebble in her mouth, and, at another moment, that she had unaccountably contracted a lisp'.[233] Whitty was also aware that not everyone heard the same performance:

> I gather that there is enormous variety in the instruments used; that while one person using a head telephone gets the voice very clearly, others listening to a horn—I am ignorant of the correct names—the sound is metallic and like a bad gramophone record.[234]

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[228] R. C. W., *Daily Herald*, 29 May 1923.

[229] 'What it feels like – Actor's impression of play to invisible audience', *Daily Herald*, 29 May 1923, p. 7.

[230] 'Broadcasting', *The Times*, 28 May 1923, p. 10; R. C. W., *Daily Herald*, 29 May 1923.

[231] *BBC Year-Book 1930*, pp. 164.

[232] 'Topical notes and news – Voices Well-balanced', *Popular Wireless*, 9 June 1923, p 609.

[233] St. John Ervine, 'At the Play – Listening-in to Shakespeare', *The Observer*, 3 June 1923, p. 11.

[234] Whitty, *Popular Wireless*, 23 June 1923.

Reception quality would be an issue for many years to come, although on the whole this does not seem to have deterred listeners: perhaps the novelty of the new medium overrode its drawbacks.

This first production certainly seems to have been a success. The *Belfast Telegraph* reported:

> At the Broadcasting station Shakespeare was applauded by telegram for the first time. The first messenger arriving at the end of Act 2 announced from King's Lynn that the performance was an 'enthralling, wonderful, triumphant success.' Actors and actresses read the applause while they said their lines.[235]

Broadcasting News told readers that the play 'has been received with a perfect chorus of praise from the Press and from listeners-in. About five hundred letters were received by the BBC couched in the most laudatory vein, all asking for more'.[236] The correspondent acknowledged that 'about five communications' were negative but added 'five hundred for and five against is a pretty decisive indication of popular favour'.[237]

Without a full script or any audio it is difficult to know how the production might have reflected critical thought about the play at the time. George Brandes' comment that '*Twelfth Night* is perhaps the most graceful and harmonious comedy Shakespeare ever wrote' might indicate why it was chosen.[238] The reviews and comments on the broadcast certainly suggest that it was entertaining. However, as its adaptor was a theatre actress, rather than an academic, it seems likely that Nesbitt drew inspiration from the stage and not contemporary critical thinking. When the BBC started recruiting university educated producers a short while later, the influence of Shakespeare academics became more evident.

Twelfth Night may have taken advantage of the better facilities available at Savoy Hill, compared to Marconi House, but it was still far from ideal for performing Shakespeare. However, within a few years plans were being drawn up for a new, purpose-built home for the BBC in London: Broadcasting House. And by

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[235] 'Shakespeare by Wireless', *Belfast Telegraph*, 29 May 1923.
[236] 'Broadcasting News', *Wireless Weekly*, 13 June 1923, p. 114.
[237] 'Broadcasting News', *Wireless Weekly*, 13 June 1923.
[238] George Brandes, *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study* (London: William Heinemann, 1905), p. 233.

the time Creswell came to present his production of *Macbeth* in 1935, he and his colleagues were using this new studio complex to its full extent.

Macbeth (1935)

Macbeth was Creswell's twelfth Shakespeare production for the BBC and he put much preparation into his work. The script has the most detailed annotation of any during this period and includes a seventeen-page essay to the cast.[239] Although no audio exists, these documents, along with reviews and letters of the time, indicate how this production sounded.

The *Manchester Guardian* told readers that Creswell would 'attempt to convey over the microphone the manner in which Shakespeare's first producers created the characters, and to accomplish this he has made considerable research.'[240] In his guidance to the cast, Creswell states:

> These notes are actually the result of very intensive study, first of the actual 1623 Folio (the only authoritative version from which all others have been drawn), of a number of modern editions including the Arden and the Furness Variorum and a legion of commentators from Doctor Johnson to [A. C.] Bradley, [R. H.] Case, and [Harley] Granville Barker.[241]

Granville-Barker's 'Preface to *Macbeth*' in *The Players' Shakespeare* seems to have been particularly influential, with Creswell frequently paraphrasing the critical essay, including the descriptions of both Macbeths.[242] He also echoes Granville-Barker's dislike of the 'tradition' of playing the Porter as 'a candidate for an inebriates' home' and the fact that 'Shakespeare never once calls them [the weird sisters] witches'.[243]

Creswell not only used his academic research to determine how he wanted the characters to be played, but also to help him decide on how to cut the play for

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[239] Creswell, 'From the producer to the members of the cast. A few preliminary notes and suggestions about Macbeth', in William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Creswell (unpublished, Library of Birmingham S334.1935Q).
[240] 'Wireless Notes – Godfrey Tearle as Macbeth', *Manchester Guardian*, 12 October 1935, p. 14.
[241] Creswell, 'A few preliminary notes', pp. 1-2.
[242] For Macbeth, see Creswell, 'A few preliminary notes', p. 3, p. 9 and Harley Granville-Barker, *More Prefaces to Shakespeare* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 60, p. 73. For Lady Macbeth, see Creswell, 'A few preliminary notes', p. 8 and Granville-Barker, p. 73.
[243] See Creswell, 'A few preliminary notes', p. 13, p. 16 and Granville-Barker, p. 84, p. 61n.

broadcast. In an article in the *Radio Times* he comments on the 'passages that most commentators suspect as being interpolations by Middleton or Rowley or Wilkins or all three', adding that 'I have cut only such passages as I myself, in the light of this evidence, have come to regard as doubtfully Shakespearean'.[244] This might suggest Creswell viewed his script preparation as an academic exercise, but there may have been another reason for his decisions. Radio critics, in particular Farjeon, had taken exception to the fact the BBC was editing Shakespeare's plays for broadcast, with running times rarely more than two hours. Creswell's assertion that what he was presenting was the 'real' Shakespeare might have been intended to justify his cuts and fend off potential criticism.

Creswell's edits included removing the first two scenes of the play, opening with Macbeth's first line (1.3.36). This may again be inspired by Granville-Barker, who suggested it would make 'an interesting and very possible, and indeed a most dramatic, beginning'.[245] However, Creswell cuts about thirty lines from the Porter's scene, text that both Bradley and Granville-Barker believed was written by Shakespeare.[246] Creswell's notes offer no explanation, but it seems likely it may have been for reasons of taste and decency, rather than textual validity, as they include the reference to the 'farmer who hanged himself' (2.3.4), and the porter's observations on the three things drink provokes (2.3.21-34).

Creswell's apparent reliance on academic writing does not mean that he was not also thinking in terms of the needs of radio. In the *Radio Times* article he gives a highly visual description of the play he is presenting: 'through this ensanguined mist, lit by the glare of their cauldron fire or fitfully illuminated in storm and tempest, are dimly seen those shapes of horror, the Weird Sisters'.[247] To convey this, Creswell uses music, sound effects and different acoustics to create a sophisticated mix, with the script detailing how each of these elements was to be combined. The murder of Banquo in act three, scene three is an example of this. The scene opens with: 'Music in 8A. Sinister motif. Fade up night effects in 6D and 6E. Fade to background'.[248]

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[244] Creswell, 'Shakespeare's Stark Tragedy', *Radio Times*, 4 October 1935.
[245] Granville-Barker, p. 61.
[246] A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1952), p. 397; Granville-Barker, p. 63.
[247] Creswell, *Radio Times*, 4 October 1935.
[248] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Creswell, p. 24.

Creswell sets up the atmosphere with both music and a mix of recorded and live effects, before fading them down to enable his audience to hear the speeches clearly. Just before the Third Murderer's line 'Hark, I hear horses' (3.3.8), there is the instruction to 'Fade in walking horses', a recorded effect.[249] This is faded down as the First Murderer says 'His horses go about' (3.3.11), and at the Second Murderer's cry of 'A light, a light!' (3.3.15), Creswell instructs 'Pause – hold "night" effects'.[250] Finally, after the First Murderer's line 'Let it come down!' (3.3.18), there are more spot effects.[251] Although the details of these are not specified, it seems safe to assume they would have simulated the attack on Banquo. Creswell uses what amounts to an effects 'score', just as a composer would score a piece of music, to support and enhance the dialogue and create a vivid picture in the listener's imagination.

This seems to have had mixed success. The reviewer in *The Times* felt Creswell overused effects and music, stating that the production was 'a virile, if somewhat rather too noisy, affair'.[252] Critic Basil Maine accused Creswell of being 'preoccupied' with effects and 'irrelevant fanfares'.[253] However the review in the *Daily Telegraph* was headlined 'Impressive Broadcast of Macbeth' and praised the 'imaginative background' supplied to each scene, in the form of 'incidental music and appropriate noises', particularly in the 'second scene with the witches [which] was full of atmosphere'.[254] The writer was less impressed with Godfrey Tearle as Macbeth, though, finding themselves 'hampered occasionally by the very thing that was the production's greatest beauty—the range of Godfrey Tearle's magnificent voice'.[255] In particular it was 'sometimes not immediately certain, when he was using his upper register, that he was still speaking'.[256] This may have been due to the limits of either the broadcasting equipment, or the reviewer's wireless set, or both. However, this was not the only criticism of Tearle. *The Times* had reservations: 'In the early scenes, his Macbeth is too much inclined to declaim, and it is not until

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[249] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Creswell, p. 24.
[250] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Creswell, pp. 24-25.
[251] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Creswell, p. 25.
[252] 'Broadcast Drama: Macbeth', *The Times*, 14 October 1935, p. 21.
[253] Basil Maine, *The BBC and its Audience* (London: Thomas Nelson and Son, 1939), p.103.
[254] W. A. D., 'Godfrey Tearle and Flora Robson: Impressive broadcast of Macbeth', *Daily Telegraph*, 14 October 1935, p. 10.
[255] W. A. D., *Daily Telegraph*, 14 October 1935.
[256] W. A. D., *Daily Telegraph*, 14 October 1935.

Duncan has been killed that a portrait of the man begins to emerge'.[257] And Maine also had harsh words for Tearle:

> I could not believe in his Macbeth for a single moment. […] His every pause was a weighty footnote. His intonation of "Not yet" in answer to "Is the king stirring?" and "Is't far you ride?" carried the unmistakable undertone of a villainous "Ha! Ha!"[258]

Tearle was a well-known stage actor and reviews of his theatrical performances echo this comment, suggesting he deployed the same style of acting on radio, where it is less suited. However, this was not his first Shakespeare play for the BBC, having previously played three leading roles for Creswell. And comments made by Tearle the year before *Macbeth* suggest the pair had a good working relationship:

> Both he and I felt that we were there to interpret Shakespeare and to find a producer who wants to be an interpreter of Shakespeare, rather than an adaptor of Shakespeare to his own extravagant ideas, is a relief in these days.[259]

Despite Creswell's radio-specific use of sound, he seems to have been less aware that the performance of his actors also needed to be suited to the medium.

There were also a number of general comments from reviewers about the cast's delivery of the text. Maine felt that the production 'failed because neither word-sense nor word-music was glorified, but impoverished rather'.[260] And Grace Wyndham Goldie felt the production did not fulfil the need for 'fine speaking':

> Nobody seemed to be bothering very much about the verse. In the minor parts there were all kinds of accents which varied from the best Oxford to something perilously near Cockney: the only unity seemed to be in a failure to reveal the rhythms of the lines that were being spoken.[261]

However, her criticism seems to be as much about class as the ability of the actors, with some voices deemed unacceptable for the job.

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[257] 'Broadcast Drama: Macbeth', *The Times*, 14 October 1935.
[258] Maine, p. 103.
[259] Edith Evans and Godfrey Tearle, 'They will play the two leading parts', *Radio Times*, 9 February 1934, p371.
[260] Maine, p.103.
[261] Wyndham Goldie, *The Listener*, 16 October 1935.

Creswell's *Macbeth* made the most of the technology, combining sound effects and music in an attempt to create a production that would entertain his audience and be faithful to what he believed was the genuine text of Shakespeare's play. However, this was no pompous, academic production. Creswell's intentions are perhaps best summed up in a letter he wrote to the *Radio Times* the month before this production, as part of the ongoing argument about the cutting of Shakespeare's plays. Creswell told readers that he 'strongly suspect[ed]' that, like him, Shakespeare's '"intention" was no more than to entertain his public'.[262] And it seems he was not alone in wanting to entertain on the radio. Leslie Howard had already had experience of the American way of doing Shakespeare on radio when he came to the BBC and brought with him a less reverential attitude to the text.

Hamlet (1938)

Howard was an established film star when he made his only appearance on the BBC in a Shakespeare play. He was also very familiar with the text of *Hamlet*, having played the part on Broadway and toured the production around the USA.[263] While in America he had also appeared in a radio production of *Much Ado About Nothing* for CBS. This was part of a series of Shakespeare plays, all just an hour long, featuring 'a galaxy of stars' from Hollywood.[264] These productions were firmly populist, with introductions proclaiming that they would be bringing 'the great dramatist's work to a larger audience than we have ever reached before'.[265] It seems likely his experiences in America had an impact on his attitude to performing the play in England.

Howard gave an interview to the *Radio Times* in which he described Hamlet as 'a normal man, intelligent, subtle, but certainly not neurotic'.[266] He saw the character as a man of action, with hesitation a sign of reasonable caution, rather than

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[262] Creswell, 'What the Other Listener Thinks – "Must Shakespeare Be Butchered?"', *Radio Times*, 27 September 1935, p. 9.

[263] 'Both Sides of the Microphone – Hamlet and Cantor', *Radio Times*, 31 December 1937, p. 4; 'Leslie Howard in "Hamlet"', *Radio Times*, 31 December 1937, p. 7.

[264] Michael P. Jensen, *The Battle of the Bard: Shakespeare on U.S. radio in 1937* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018), p. 43.

[265] *Much Ado About Nothing*, Columbia [CBS], 19 July 1937 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBxg8pBPlrs> [accessed 17 January 2021].

[266] 'Leslie Howard in "Hamlet"', *Radio Times*, 31 December 1937.

cowardice, citing the play-within-a-play as critical: 'From this point the gloves are off, and he has to meet violence with violence'.[267] A review of the production in *The Times* suggests this came across in the broadcast, with 'the drama within Hamlet's mind […] of rather less importance than usual' and the play 'active, bustling, an affair of moves and countermoves'.[268] The reviewer also concluded:

> This may well be better, for the purpose of a broadcast performance, than too subtle an inspection of motives or too individual a solution of the play's psychological mysteries. Mr Howard's Hamlet is an exciting character to listen to, with a crisis always upon him, and urgent in all his business.[269]

Rejecting the character's psychological aspects in favour of a more active protagonist was not without critical support. Bradley suggests: 'This melancholy is something very different from insanity, in anything like the usual meaning of that word. […] It's a totally different thing from the madness which he feigns'.[270] It is also possible that psychoanalysis played a part in the development of Howard's version of the character. The summary of Hamlet in Sigmund Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* bears some similarities with Howard's, stating that 'Hamlet is far from being represented as a person incapable of taking any action'.[271]

Howard is not credited as adaptor; that was producer, Barbara Burnham.[272] But it seems likely that after Howard's extensive experience with the play he would have influenced the editing of the text. Some of the cuts are common to many productions of *Hamlet*, such as the scene between Polonius and his spy Reynaldo. However, other edits are more surprising. Hamlet's advice to the players (3.2.1-44) and Polonius' 'pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral' speech (2.2.324-28) are removed; two of the better-known sections of the text. The loss of this last speech prompted a listener to write to the *Radio Times*, accusing Burnham of 'faulty cutting', to which she replied:

> Whatever one cuts in *Hamlet* there is a good reason against it, so one can only cut what seems to be best from an aural point of view. Too much of

[267] 'Leslie Howard in "Hamlet"', *Radio Times*, 31 December 1937.
[268] 'Broadcast Drama – "Hamlet" by William Shakespeare', *The Times*, 3 January 1938, p.10.
[269] 'Broadcast Drama', *The Times*, 3 January 1938.
[270] Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 121.
[271] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, ed. and trans. by James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2010), p. 282.
[272] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. by Barbara Burnham (unpublished, Library of Birmingham S317.1938Q).

Polonius (when you don't see him) makes him tedious, and that is why we preferred to cut the tragical-historical speech.[273]

This and other cuts to Polonius also help speed up the play, creating the sense of urgency commented on by *The Times*.

The BBC must have considered Howard's performance important as it is the first excerpt from a full play to exist in the archives.[274] The extract begins at the start of act three and incorporates Hamlet's 'To be or not to be' soliloquy. Listening to it gives some indication of the way Howard presented Hamlet. Rather than being a contemplative reflection on his situation, Howard's delivery suggests a man preparing to take action. He leaves a slight pause after 'And by opposing' but then says 'end them' with force and speed (3.1.59). He runs 'Devoutly to be wish'd' straight onto 'To die' (3.1.63), putting emphasis on the idea that Hamlet would like to escape everything through death. He begins 'To sleep: perchance to dream' harshly and says 'ay, there's the rub' (3.1.64) with a tone of voice that suggests that he has no need to speculate on an afterlife; he knows it will be bad. When he says 'conscience does make cowards of us all' (3.1.82), his emphasis on 'conscience' suggests that what he actually means is fear of death. Throughout the soliloquy his delivery is firm and assured. He is a man talking himself into what he must do next, not a man dithering over his course of action.

The audio extract continues with his encounter with Ophelia. At her entrance, Howard whispers 'The fair Ophelia' (3.1.88). His voice is soft and loving but, when he addresses her, his tone becomes harsh, as if he is determined to make Ophelia fall out of love with him. Ophelia herself, played by Hermione Hannen, has a soft, light voice, although there is a slight edge when she says 'you know right well you did' about the gifts he gave her, and on 'Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind' (3.1.96, 100). Howard pauses before he softly says 'I did love you once', again suggesting genuine love. He hesitates after 'believed me' and stutters over 'I loved you not' in a piece of acted emotion suggesting the reverse of what he says (3.1.115-17). He finishes the speech with what seems like a genuine warning about men, with the insertion of 'all' after 'We are arrant knaves' and continuing with 'believe none

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[273] 'What the Other Listener Thinks – Faulty Cutting?', *Radio Times*, 21 January 1938, p.9.
[274] Act 3, scene 1 of *Hamlet*, (unpublished, BBC Sound Archive, 0F025573).

of us. Go thy ways to a nunnery' (3.1.126-27). There is then a long pause before he adds, angrily 'Where's your father?' (3.1.127). Ophelia audibly winces, before attempting an offhand 'At home, my lord' (3.1.128). But her tone makes it clear she is lying, and the mood of the scene changes, with Hamlet now railing at her. After his exit, Hannen cries through Ophelia's monologue, again suggesting a love match between the pair.

Writing in 1930 about the latter part of the play, William Empson states: 'It is easy to forget Ophelia's situation, and feel that she was a sweet pathetic creature, and it was somehow natural that she should be crazy'.[275] This suggestion that Ophelia is *not* 'sweet pathetic' sits well with this production. Aside from the evidence from this short audio extract, the reviewer in *The Times* said: 'Miss Hannen's Ophelia was emotional but often impressive' while Joyce Grenfell wrote in the *Observer*: 'her madness was lightly suggested, a madness to wring the heart'.[276] This Ophelia may ultimately become a victim but has at least some agency and personality in the earlier parts of the play.

The audio extract also includes a little of Basil Radford's portrayal of King Claudius. In his film roles the actor has been described as 'amiable, avuncular' and as having 'perfected the slightly flummoxed, unfailingly courteous, public-school, civil-servant type'.[277] However, in *Hamlet* he is closer to Howard's description of Claudius as 'a strong man; clever, able, hard-headed'.[278] This is not unlike G. Wilson Knight's description of Claudius as having 'clear and exact thought and an efficient and confident control of affairs'.[279] The review in *The Times* said Radford's Claudius 'appears as a powerful and dominating figure, a Renaissance statesman'.[280] This is particularly clear in the audio extract. After he has eavesdropped on Hamlet and Ophelia, he is contemptuous of the idea that Hamlet is in love and sounds concerned but not afraid that his nephew poses 'some danger' (3.1.159-64).

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[275] William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1949) p. 212.
[276] 'Broadcast Drama', *The Times*, 3 January 1938; Joyce Grenfell, 'Broadcasting – Leslie Howard as Hamlet', *The Observer*, 9 January 1938, p. 9.
[277] David Quinlan, *The Illustrated Directory of Film Stars* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1981) p. 389; Brian McFarlane, *The Encyclopedia of British Film* (London: Methuen, 2003) p. 544.
[278] 'Leslie Howard in "Hamlet"', *Radio Times*, 31 December 1937 p. 7.
[279] G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, (London: Routledge 2001), p. 36.
[280] 'Broadcast Drama', *The Times*, 3 January 1938.

Radio critics enjoyed the production but did raise issues that were already becoming regular concerns about the broadcasting of Shakespeare on radio, including the delivery of poetry and how to convey who was speaking and where the scene was set. *The Times* reviewer said that it was not 'possible to put the poetry first': [281]

> There was no violence done to it, but equally it never became the prime mover of the play. And it might be argued that this was to neglect the special contribution which broadcast drama might make to the appreciation of Shakespeare.[282]

And Grenfell, who advocated following the text while listening, stated that without doing so 'it must have been nimble work catching on to the characters. A brief announcement of the setting "A room of State" or "In Polonius' House" would have made things easier'.[283] However, *The Times* reviewer contradicted her, stating that 'it was remarkable how little in the way of auditory background, of scenery for the ear, was necessary to make it entirely comprehensible'.[284] This also indicates a limited use of sound effects.

Howard's interpretation may well have been influenced by his stage experience but, having previously acted on radio, his performance seems well suited to the medium, making use of the intimacy of the microphone. However, other actors were yet to grasp the difference between radio and the stage, notably Henry Ainley, who would take the leading role in *Othello* the following year.

Othello (1939)

During the late 1930s, the BBC's productions of Shakespeare's plays on radio were generally around two hours long. But after the declaration of war in 1939, there was a significant change. The last pre-war play, *King Lear*, in May of that year ran to 125 minutes. The first play during the conflict, a combination of *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV*, was just thirty. This was largely because the BBC deemed drama 'superfluous' at

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[281] 'Broadcast Drama', *The Times*, 3 January 1938.
[282] 'Broadcast Drama', *The Times*, 3 January 1938.
[283] Grenfell, *The Observer*, 9 January 1938.
[284] 'Broadcast Drama – "Hamlet" by William Shakespeare', *The Times*.

a time of national crisis and drama production was limited to 'not more than half an hour'.[285] In addition, the department was moved out of London, first to Evesham, then to Manchester. Gielgud recalls that 'by mid-October, however, things had begun to straighten themselves out […] I borrowed St George's Hall, and so was enabled—with the distinguished help of Henry Ainley and Leslie Banks—to put the first wartime Shakespeare on the air'.[286] Despite the upheaval, the script of the thirty-minute *Othello* has survived, along with a twenty-four-minute chunk of audio from the production.[287]

Unlike previous scripts, there are no instructions for engineers or actors, such as sound effects, music or studio locations, while the stage directions have been left in. Although clearly act four, scene three and act five, scene two of *Othello*, the production was billed as 'Put Out The Light'. Producer Val Gielgud may have thought it was topical, as it was broadcast three months after the start of the blackout, but it seems to have left reviewers puzzled, including Wyndham Goldie who commented: 'heaven knows why [it was given], the belittling, revue-sketch title'.[288] The choice was appropriate, though, as the two scenes cover Desdemona's conversation with Emilia as she prepares for bed, including the Willow Song, and then Othello's murder of his wife – with the line 'Put out the light' (5.2.7). Choosing to perform just the end of the play not only made sense when presenting such a truncated production, but also meant that the audience would hear what some regarded as the highlights. Bradley wrote that the scene where 'Desdemona and Emilia converse, and the willow-song is sung' was 'where pathos […] reaches its height'.[289] He also believed that the second half of the play 'is immeasurably more exciting than the first'.[290] It also meant that the play focused on the relationship between Othello and Desdemona, concurring with Wilson Knight's view that '*Othello* is eminently a domestic tragedy'.[291]

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[285] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 97.
[286] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 98.
[287] Shakespeare, *Othello,* ed. by Anon. (unpublished, Library of Birmingham S341.1939Q); Act 5, scene 2 of *Othello*, a.k.a. 'Put Out The Light' (unpublished, BBC Sound Archive).
[288] Wyndham Goldie, 'Critic on the hearth - Broadcast Drama: Here's Great Acting', *The Listener*, 7 December 1939, p. 1141. See also Guy Fletcher, 'This week's radio miscellany', *Radio Times*, 24 November 1939, p. 7.
[289] Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 61.
[290] Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 55.
[291] Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, p. 123.

Desdemona dominates the first half of this production until her death, and there is very little of Iago, just ten lines. However, the largest part is that of Othello, played by Ainley, who was a highly respected theatre actor. This might explain why the audio extract does not begin until the second scene, opening with Othello's line: 'It is the cause' (5.2.1). Ainley had played Othello on radio seven years earlier and had left an indelible impression on Gielgud:

> The importance of reasonable proximity to the microphone was so lost upon Henry Ainley that it was necessary to station a couple of Effects boys, one at each elbow, to lead him back into position whenever he moved to address an imaginary auditorium.[292]

Listening to his performance in 1939, it is easy to picture this scene. His delivery is melodramatic, with much vibrato in his voice, and it has the feel of a stage performance. His delivery of 'Oh! Oh! Oh!' (5.2.193) is almost like listening to someone sing a musical scale from high to low, three times in a row.

The *Radio Times* wrote that attracting Ainley to the part was 'a remarkable achievement for wartime broadcasting'.[293] And his status is also reflected in the review of the play in the *Manchester Guardian*: 'Mr Ainley gives the feeling which is not the case with most actors that it would be perfectly satisfactory to hear him alone simply reciting passages from the play.'[294] The reviewer added that his voice had 'an extraordinary range of tone and is one of the most musical they [the listeners] are ever likely to hear'.[295] Wyndham Goldie was less sure, asking: 'was this Othello? Othello was a murderer. And there is in Mr Ainley's splendid voice, even when it rages, a mellow richness which speaks an inner satisfaction and which continually denies the dark violence of Othello's impulse to destroy'.[296] She was still very impressed, though, saying Ainley had 'magnificence'.[297] Ainley's delivery was certainly very dramatic, if perhaps not very believable, and his declamatory style

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[292] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 123.
[293] 'Both Sides of the Microphone – Great Names', *Radio Times*, 17 November 1939, p. 5.
[294] 'Review of Broadcasting: Mr Henry Ainley as Othello—A Scrapbook Revival', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 December 1939, p. 8.
[295] 'Review of Broadcasting', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 December 1939.
[296] Wyndham Goldie, *The Listener*, 7 December 1939.
[297] Wyndham Goldie, *The Listener*, 7 December 1939.

may have pleased those who had not always felt radio productions delivered Shakespeare's poetry to full effect.

Wyndham Goldie was less convinced by those she referred to as 'secondary actors', such as Hermione Hannen as Desdemona, who she described as going 'to her death-bed with the prattling gaiety of a Mayfair miss undressing after a party'.[298] Unfortunately the audio of the Willow Song scene does not survive, but in the extract of Desdemona's murder, this does not seem to be a fair description of her performance. Hannen's Desdemona shows some common traits with her Ophelia the year before. Once again, she has a slight edge to her voice at times. She is also forceful in her defence of her life. Initially she sounds afraid when Othello says 'I would not kill thy soul' and she responds 'Talk you of killing?' (5.2.32-33). But when the handkerchief is mentioned she is firm in denying she gave it to Cassio, almost shouting the word 'no' (5.2.49). She remains strong when she says 'Ay, but not yet to die' (5.2.52), but as the scene progresses she sounds more frightened, desperately begging 'Kill me tomorrow; let me live tonight' (5.2.80). Strangely, her murder is silent. Neither Ainley nor Hannen make any noise, and there are no sound effects or music to give any indication that he has smothered her. It is an anti-climax in a scene that had been building between the two actors and must also have been confusing for any listener who did not know the play.

Wyndham Goldie had mixed views about Martita Hunt's performance as Emilia: 'though excellent in her outburst at the end was, at the beginning, merely Kensington to Desdemona's Mayfair'.[299] Hunt was an actor described as 'playing all kinds of commanding roles (if they weren't commanding when she got them, they certainly were when she'd done with them)'.[300] She gives this same impression in the audio extract. She virtually screams at Othello 'Thou dost belie her' (5.2.130) and spits out 'ignorant as *dirt*' (5.2.159). She shouts 'odious *damned* lie', and the repetition of 'lie' is particularly strong. However, Hunt's performance, possibly influenced by playing opposite Ainley, also veers towards the melodramatic. Her speech beginning 'Villainy! Villainy!' (5.2.185-88) borders on the hysterical. Unlike

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[298] Wyndham Goldie, *The Listener*, 7 December 1939.
[299] Wyndham Goldie, *The Listener*, 7 December 1939.
[300] McFarlane, p.327.

Desdemona, Emilia does make a noise when she is killed, a strange wail-cum-whimper-cum-scream.

Othello was the last half-hour production of the war. Less than a fortnight later *The Listener* reported that 'the state of affairs was only temporary'.[301] Briggs writes that the nation had been 'robbed of its theatre' due to the closure of the West End, and the expectation was that the BBC should be filling the gap.[302] The next play, *Macbeth* with Godfrey Tearle once again in the lead, was an hour long, and for the following two years or so, most productions hovered around that length or a bit longer. However, by 1944 productions were back up to two hours or more, including a virtually full-text production of *As You Like It*.

As You Like It (1944)

The year 1944 saw the release of Laurence Olivier's film of *Henry V*, later described by Daniel Rosenthal as 'Shakespeare as propaganda'.[303] However, the BBC had already presented its own propaganda versions of the play in 1942 and 1943, starring Olivier and Esmond Knight respectively. Both featured on the front cover of the *Radio Times* in the weeks they were broadcast. In the case of Olivier, the magazine declared: 'No better prelude to St George's Day this year could be found than the burning words of King Harry on the eve of Agincourt— "Be copy now to men of grosser blood, and teach them how to war."'[304] While Knight's appearance was previewed with: 'In 1415 the men wore armour, and in 1943 the armour is borne by the vehicles, but the same spirit informs the steel'.[305] The *Radio Times* also highlighted the fact that Knight was 'playing his first big radio part since he lost his sight when serving on the *Prince of Wales* during the *Bismarck* action'.[306] However, by 1944, the corporation had a very different idea about the best way to support the war effort on the home front: 'War may be a good subject to write about, but it was not the subject which listeners chose for their radio drama'.[307] Instead, the BBC went

[301] 'Broadcast Drama in Wartime', *The Listener*, 14 December 1939, p. 1162.
[302] Briggs, *Volume III*, p.89.
[303] Daniel Rosenthal, *Shakespeare On Screen* (London: Hamlyn, 2000), p. 42.
[304] 'This Week – Laurence Olivier', *Radio Times*, 17 April 1942, p. 1.
[305] 'Special Programmes – Echo of Agincourt', *Radio Times*, 26 February 1943, p. 1.
[306] C. Gordon Glover, 'Introducing – At Agincourt', *Radio Times*, 26 February 1943, p. 5.
[307] *BBC Handbook 1941* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1941), p. 22.

for entertainment, with productions of the great tragedies and comedies in 1944, including *As You Like It*, the earliest full-length Shakespeare play held in the BBC archives.

The production starred Edith Evans and Michael Redgrave, who had played Rosalind and Orlando on stage together at the Old Vic in London eight years earlier. However, the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer was unimpressed:

> Edith Evans, though a brilliant actress, has not the right voice for a broadcast of Rosalind. Everything depends upon the voice, and her voice, for all its vitality, has marked mannerisms which stand out strongly in radio and are not the mannerisms which would suggest the character of Rosalind.[308]

By contrast, Redgrave's performance seems perfectly suited to radio. Whenever he is 'on mic', regardless of whether he has any actual lines, he makes his presence felt, often through non-verbal noises. In the wrestling scene, Orlando and Charles do not speak during the bout but they are continually panting, grunting and slapping (0:16:20-40). Redgrave does something similar when Orlando and Adam are in the forest, grunting as if with the exertion of lifting Adam (0:45:51).

In addition to Redgrave's non-verbal noises, his line delivery is markedly different to that of Evans. The contrast is particularly striking when Rosalind, as Ganymede, and Orlando meet in the forest (3.2.274; 1:11:05). Redgrave gives a naturalistic performance, gently laughing at Rosalind's comments (e.g. 1:11:59; 1:12:20; 1:12:31) and speaking in a soft tone. His questions seem to have just come to him. Evans, on the other hand, declaims Rosalind's witticisms with relish. Although not writing about this specific production, Caroline Spurgeon describes the scene as 'a kind of "set piece" to amuse the audience', and this is how Evans treats it.[309] Unlike Redgrave, Evans also does nothing to help the audience understand the visual aspects of the play, such as the fact that in this scene Rosalind is disguised as a boy. Although Evans demonstrated a lower vocal tone when playing the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* earlier the same year, she uses a high, feminine register for both Rosalind and Ganymede.[310] The effect of the clash of styles between Evans and

[308] 'Broadcasting Review', *Manchester Guardian*, 13 September 1944, p. 6.
[309] Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery And What It Tells Us* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 76.
[310] *Romeo and Juliet*, BBC Home Service, 30 June 1944 (BBC Sound Archive – extract).

Redgrave may principally be down to their different approaches to radio acting, but it also implies there is something inherent in the text itself. J. B. Priestley suggests Rosalind exhibits 'playfulness, girlish high spirits', while Orlando is 'bewildered'.[311] While not written about this production, these are good descriptions of the performances here.

The play was produced by Mary Hope Allen. She had been part of the Research Section at the BBC, which had been 'experimenting with new ways of making radio features and drama'.[312] However, this production was anything but experimental, probably due to the fact that it had been 'arranged for broadcasting' by Farjeon.[313] Nine years earlier he wrote: 'isn't it a fact that the more you cut Shakespeare, the harder he becomes to follow'.[314] In this production Farjeon omits just seven lines from the whole text (1.2.43-49). He also does little in the way of 'arranging'. There is the insertion of the phrase 'reading of a paper' at the end of Corin's line 'Here comes my young Master Ganymede, my new mistress's brother' (3.2.75-76; 1:02:58). This makes clear Rosalind has found one of Orlando's poems to her. And in the final scene, Rosalind's lines to her father and Orlando are alternated, to make it clearer who she is addressing:

ROSALIND	To you I give myself, for I am yours.
DUKE SENIOR	If there be truth in sigh, you are my daughter.
ROSALIND	To you I give myself, for I am yours.
ORLANDO	If there be truth in sigh, you are my Rosalind.

<div align="right">5.4.107-10; 2:11:40</div>

However, there appears to be no attempt to adapt the text for radio, other than the addition of narration, but this is essentially stage directions at the start of each scene, for example:

| NARRATOR | An orchard. Orlando and Adam. (1.1) |
| NARRATOR | The Forest of Arden. The banished Duke, Amiens and outlaws (2.1) |

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[311] J. B. Priestley, *The English Comic Characters*, (London: Bodley Head, 1928), p. 30.
[312] Kate Murphy, *Behind The Wireless: A History of Early Women at the BBC* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 133.
[313] Farjeon, 'As You Like It', *Radio Times*, 1 September 1944, p. 16.
[314] Farjeon, 'Must Shakespeare be butchered'.

NARRATOR   The Forest. Touchstone and Audrey. Jaques at a distance. (3.3)

Felton condemned this sort of intervention, writing that 'in adaptations of Shakespeare, phrases like "The Prince Speaks" produce an undesirable effect of duplication'.[315] Its use here is not only largely redundant, but also interrupts the flow of the play. It could have been replaced with imaginative use of sound, such as birdsong for the forest or an echoey acoustic for the palace, but effects throughout are limited. This includes entrances and exits, which are not marked with footsteps or door sounds; two standard methods by this period. This means it is not always clear who is present, such as when Rosalind and Celia plan to run away. As there is no indication that Duke Frederick has left after banishing Rosalind (1.3.85; 0:24:37), it appears they are discussing their plans in front of him. The only exception to audio entrance cues is Touchstone, whose fool's bells are heard on his first entrance (1.2.38; 0:10:32) and again elsewhere, but infrequently and inconsistently (2:02:42; 2:07:16).

Songs are a key part of *As You Like It*, with Enid Welsford stating that 'music is only less important than pictorial effect'.[316] In radio versions of the play, without visuals, music is often prominent, such as the 2015 production which has specially composed folk music by Johnny Flynn. The 1944 production retains all the songs and uses traditional settings of Shakespeare's words, ranging from 'It was a lover and his lass', set by Shakespeare's contemporary, Thomas Morley, to 'Under The Greenwood Tree' and 'Blow, blow, thou winter wind', both set by eighteenth-century composer Thomas Arne, best known for 'Rule Britannia'. The music evokes a past age and a sense of patriotism, perhaps important at this point in the War. It also suggests a nod to populism, in keeping with the fact that radio drama had 'begun to challenge variety programmes, always excepting the inimitable "Itma" [*It's That Man Again* (1939-49)], for sheer quantitive popularity'.[317]

This production of *As You Like It* sits stylistically at a crossroads in radio Shakespeare. Although it had long been recognised that the medium required a

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[315] Felton, p. 88.

[316] Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 282.

[317] Gielgud, 'No mood to bother with the radio play?', in *BBC Year Book 1945* (London: BBC, 1945), pp. 53-55 (p.55).

different style of acting to the stage, throughout much of the first twenty years there continued to be theatrical performances from the likes of Ainley, Tearle, and in this case Evans. However, this was changing, with post-war radio performances delivered much more intimately. Redgrave, who would go on to take leading roles in five more Shakespeare plays for BBC radio, is much closer to Felton's desire that actors should give 'honest and truly-felt' performances.[318] However, it was not just acting styles that were changing. Although there is no suggestion of tension between Farjeon and Hope Allen, and they did continue to work together, they also represented opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of radio drama production. Farjeon preferred to leave the text unaltered, while Allen's style 'was lyrical and avant-garde'.[319] While it would be many decades before this latter term could be applied to the BBC's treatment of Shakespeare on radio, the post-war era certainly saw greater use of music and sound effects, and a developing maturity as to how to present these plays in an engaging and understandable fashion.

Interpreters of Shakespeare

When Cathleen Nesbitt started work on preparing *Twelfth Night* for broadcast in 1923, she had no model to follow. However, it seems that right from that first broadcast, she and her colleagues realised two things. Firstly, that to present a play on the radio, the cast had to do more than just read the script out loud. They needed to perform it, using their voices to convey anything from simple emotion to lively capering. Secondly, that radio required different skills to the theatre. It was not just that the listeners could not see the actors, but that the whole medium interacted differently with its audience. In addition, one other element is clear: these plays were always intended as entertainment.

Comments from both listeners and producers highlight this fact. Less than six months after *Twelfth Night*, a reader of the *Radio Times* wrote to congratulate the BBC on the 'excellent performance' of *The Merchant of Venice*, adding: 'I would like to make a plea for more Shakespeare plays to be broadcast […] I have never enjoyed listening so much, and the "noises off" were very realistic. (This is not

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[318] Felton, p. 133.
[319] Murphy, p. 134.

sarcasm, but really meant.)'.[320] The magazine's editor responded that 'many letters of congratulation have been received on our various Shakespeare Recitals'.[321] And in 1924, the *Western Mail* received at least twenty letters about the broadcasting of a series of Shakespeare plays on the BBC's Cardiff station. The correspondence began with a letter from someone calling himself 'Paterfamilias' who wrote: 'We are not interested in wandering through "thirty-seven Shakespearean plays in strict chronological order"'.[322] This was followed the next day by a letter from 'Six Sufferers' saying: 'we do not want Shakespeare at all'.[323] But others were in favour of the broadcasts. 'Indignant' wrote: 'I am exceedingly interested in the Shakespearean plays which we have been privileged to listen to'.[324] J. Dugenot added: 'Might I be allowed to express my thanks to the Cardiff Station Repertory Company for the excellent performance of "The Merry Wives of Windsor"'.[325] Others 'have marvelled, and still marvel, at the wonderful talent', or wrote that Shakespeare plays 'interest me much more than continual music'.[326]

Some of the responses started to get quite personal. 'Indignant' wrote again, saying that 'Six Sufferers' were making themselves look ridiculous and 'libelling their respective mental capacities'.[327] 'Paterfamilias' re-entered the fray, saying: 'I am *not* against the broadcasting of Shakespeare […] but I am indignant at the way it is being done,' although he does not specify what was wrong.[328] The row went on for several weeks, culminating in the station director, Major Arthur Corbett-Smith, giving an address to Cardiff Rotarians, saying:

> We have tried to share beautiful music and poetry with you, not as Welshmen or as Englishmen, but as members of one human family. I don't think we are 'highbrows.' […] You must not think because we give you symphonies and Shakespeare's plays it is because we are 'highbrows.'[329]

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[320] G. M. Pope, 'A Plea for Shakespeare', *Radio Times*, 9 November 1923, p. 238.

[321] Pope, *Radio Times*, 9 November 1923.

[322] 'Cardiff Broadcasting Programme', *Western Mail*, 14 February 1924, p. 10. There is no record of this plan, although the station did begin by performing some of the earlier plays and did not broadcast the late plays.

[323] 'Cardiff Broadcasting Programme', *Western Mail*, 15 February 1924, p. 9.

[324] 'Programmes Approved and Appreciated', *Western Mail*, 16 February 1924, p. 5.

[325] 'Broadcasting – Worship, Handel and Opera', *Western Mail*, 22 February 1924, p. 5.

[326] Admirer, 'Programmes approved and appreciated', *Western Mail*, 16 February 1924, p. 5; G. H. W., 'Cardiff Broadcasting', *Western Mail*, 18 February 1924, p. 9.

[327] 'Cardiff Broadcasting Programmes', *Western Mail*, 19 February 1924, p. 7.

[328] 'Cardiff Broadcasting', *Western Mail*, 27 February 1924, p. 9.

[329] 'Wireless programmes critics – Cardiff director speaks to Rotarians', *Western Mail*, 11 March 1924, p. 7.

Corbett-Smith's declaration was echoed just over a decade later by Creswell, when a similar row erupted in the *Radio Times*, prompted by Farjeon's complaints about the BBC's handling of Shakespeare:

> The best reply to Mr Farjeon […] is in a letter which came to me after I had produced *Antony and Cleopatra*. It is signed 'An Unemployed Miner in the Rhondda Valley' and contains this sentence: 'I had no idea before that Shakespeare was so exciting.' One need not labour the point, but I had rather have had that letter than volumes of praise from all the professing 'Shakespeare lovers' in this world.[330]

For producers such as Corbett-Smith and Creswell, the aim was clearly to entertain.

Cutting the text was not the only way producers went about making their productions entertaining. From the outset, the use of music and sound effects were part of their toolkit. Playfair appeared in two of the BBC's first Shakespeare plays and went on to produce radio drama. Within months of *Twelfth Night* he recognised that a 'new craft will be developed, and new methods evolved' to transfer plays from stage to the airwaves.[331] By the 1930s, and particularly after the move to Broadcasting House with its much improved facilities, producers became increasingly adept at doing this. A review in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* of the 1933 production of *Julius Caesar* praised the portrayal of the murder and crowd scenes, adding that 'he must have been a most unimaginative listener whose mind did not conjure up a vivid picture of the scene as the conspirators gathered around Caesar'.[332] The reviewer added that 'a word of thanks should be said for the music—just enough and of the right quality'.[333] This was aided by the new band studio in Broadcasting House, which not only allowed for more musicians, but also for greater control over the mixing of music with speech and effects. Robert Chignell, who composed music for *Julius Caesar* (1931) and *Coriolanus* (1933), was acutely aware that his music could 'take the place of the eyes of the listener in order that he may unconsciously imagine (it can only be that) through his mind's eye what a character

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[330] Creswell, *Radio Times*, 27 September 1935.
[331] Nigel Playfair, 'How Plays Will be Broadcast', *Radio Times*, 14 December 1923, p. 429.
[332] G. C. H., 'Commentary on Broadcasting', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 December 1933, p. 4.
[333] G. C. H., *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 December 1933.

or a scene or object might, perhaps, look like'.[334] Visualising character could also be aided through voice, although this was a more contentious issue.

In the 1930s, Shakespeare's plays were regularly broadcast on Sundays, reportedly so that 'fine casts can be engaged'.[335] This generally meant using actors from the London stage. It undoubtedly secured coverage for the radio productions in newspapers and magazines, and would have attracted listeners, but not everyone felt this was the right course of action. Farjeon wrote: 'it seems to me a bull-headed mistake to recruit speakers so heavily from the stage, where so much depends on physical appearance'.[336] However, there was a bigger problem. As discussed, many actors from the stage were unable to understand the different technique required for radio. Barbara Couper, who performed in nine Shakespeare plays for the BBC from the 1920s to the 1940s, was well aware of this: 'You cannot bluff the microphone as you might an audience—the former is the more subtle of the two'.[337] She was also frustrated by the idea that 'there are some who think anyone can act for the microphone—"My dear, they just stand and read!"'.[338] This was echoed by her husband, BBC Shakespeare actor and producer, Howard Rose: 'The broadcasting of radio plays by no means consists of merely reading them. They have to be given with all the completeness and finish of a theatre play so far as the speaking, and, indeed, the acting is concerned'.[339] Newcastle producer, Gordon Lea, agreed, stating that 'voice is the all-important factor' and needs to be 'flexible enough to interpret any shade of emotion'.[340] It also needed to be distinctive, something producers recognised as important, but sometimes struggled to achieve.

In the case of the 1934 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, producer Val Gielgud undertook what is probably the BBC's first piece of cross gender casting. Margaret Rawlings was chosen to play Oberon, with pre-publicity suggesting she had 'the sort of deep, strong contralto voice that will contrast

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[334] Robert Chignell, 'Music for Radio Plays', in 'Sidelights on Radio Drama', *Radio Times*, 30 August 1935, pp. 6-9 (p. 7).
[335] Collie Knox, 'Listen to the Jaltarang – and Other Things in India's Broadcast', *Daily Mail*, 5 December 1933, p. 20. See also 'Shakespeare on the wireless: Mr Godfrey Tearle as Macbeth', *The Times*, 20 September 1935, p. 10.
[336] Farjeon, 'Must Shakespeare be butchered'.
[337] Barbara Couper, 'The Radio Actor's Job', *Radio Times*, 30 August 1935, pp. 8-9.
[338] Couper, 'The Radio Actor's Job', *Radio Times*, 30 August 1935.
[339] Rose, 'Producing a Radio Play', *Radio Times*, 30 August 1935, p. 8.
[340] Gordon Lea, *Radio Drama and How To Write It* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1926), p. 38.

admirably' with the young male characters and that of Titania, played by Fay Compton.[341] The *Radio Times* explained that the choice of casting by Gielgud was due to 'consideration for the exigencies of voice-differentiation over the microphone'.[342] Unfortunately Rawlings did not play the role on the day. Instead, a last minute change meant Compton played the part, with one critic commenting that 'it might have been better in this case to have had it played by a man, for Miss Compton's voice was entirely feminine, and in the scenes with Titania there was by no means sufficient differentiation of voices.'[343] The production was also notable for having a cast where women outnumbered men by three to two: no other Shakespeare production to date has had a cast with more women than men. The dominance of male voices in these productions was commented upon by Grenfell in her review of *Antony and Cleopatra* (1942): 'Because of the necessary overweight of men's voices it would have made a change to have used a woman for the concise introductory remarks between scenes'.[344] However, her comment went unheeded and when narrators were used they were always male.

One way of differentiating between voices is to use accents. However, the RP voice was very much the sound of both theatre and radio in the first half of the twentieth century. Occasionally an all-purpose yokel or cockney voice could be heard, but they were not always consistently used. In *As You Like It* (1944), Phebe the shepherdess speaks with Received Pronunciation, but the shepherd Silvius uses an inconsistent, generic yokel voice. Audrey, the country wench, and Corin the old shepherd both adopt undefined rural accents. But Adam the servant is RP. Accent here seems to be at the discretion of the individual actor. It also makes Orlando's line to Rosalind 'Your accent is something finer than you could purchase in so removed a dwelling' (3.2.314-15; 1:12:44) seem a nonsense, as so many of the voices are as fine as hers. This may, at least partly, be due to attitudes towards accent in the acting profession at the time. T. H. Pear stated in 1956 that 'in twenty-five years of radio and many more of theatre-plays, speech prototypes and stereotypes have been built up'.[345] He argued that 'a generation has grown up which not only accepts but copies

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[341] 'Both Sides of the Microphone – Female Oberon', *Radio Times,* 8 June 1934, p. 741.
[342] 'Both Sides of the Microphone', *Radio Times,* 8 June 1934.
[343] 'Wireless Notes', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 June 1934, p. 10.
[344] Grenfell, 'Radio', *The Observer*, 8 March 1942, p. 7.
[345] T. H. Pear, *English Social Differences* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956) p. 97.

prototypes and stereotypes suggested by the BBC and the colleges of dramatic art'.[346] It may have been the case that, at a time when listeners were used to hearing certain social groups represented by certain accents, and when many 'real' accents were rarely reflected on radio, the non-specific, rural voices here would not have seemed as out of place.

Listeners would have heard at least some genuine regional accents in Shakespeare productions during the BBC's first decade when they were being produced by stations outside London. There were even Welsh language versions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1938), *Macbeth* (1938), and *The Merchant of Venice* (1939), with two more productions in the 1940s and 1950s. The Cardiff station was undoubtedly the most prolific in those early years, but the other regional stations also aired their own Shakespeare plays. Glasgow and Manchester both broadcast *A Midsummer Night's Dream* using scripts prepared by Nesbitt.[347] Birmingham marked Shakespeare's birthday with *Othello* in two parts, lasting more than two-and-a-half hours.[348] And Sheffield broadcast a three-hour production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* from the city's Hippodrome.[349] However, once Val Gielgud became head of drama, the broadcasting of Shakespeare's plays was centralised in London. Briggs states that Gielgud 'had feared that Regional drama would not reach "a high standard"' and Gielgud himself wrote that 'occasionally Regional Drama fell short by allowing reach to exceed grasp'.[350] He was not any more complimentary about the BBC's national stations either, stating that drama in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland was 'limited both in quality and importance' when compared to 'metropolitan standards'.[351] Those standards included producing plenty of Shakespeare: Gielgud wrote that when he took over the drama department, he was given a directive 'that at least eight of Shakespeare's plays should appear in our programmes each year'.[352] Although there were sometimes only between four and

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[346] Pear, p. 88.

[347] 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Radio Times*, 9 November 1923, p. 233; 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Radio Times*, 23 November 1923, p. 301.

[348] 'Shakespeare Birthday Performance of "Othello," the Moor of Venice', *Radio Times*, 18 April 1924, p. 140.

[349] 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Radio Times*, 14 November 1924, p. 371.

[350] Briggs, *Volume I*, p. 151; Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 131.

[351] Gielgud, *British Radio Drama*, p. 128.

[352] Gielgud, *Years in a Mirror* (London: Bodley Head, 1965), p. 180.

six such plays annually, the department did hit their target more than once in the 1930s, and in 1934 outdid themselves with a total of ten.

Gielgud said that he and his producers discovered which plays worked best as audio by 'trial and error', discovering that 'in general terms the plays of fantasy and imagination—in particular *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*—might almost have been written for the "insubstantial pageant" of "thin air"'.[353] This was supported by listeners, including the *Yorkshire Evening Post* reviewer who commented on *The Tempest*'s suitability for radio 'by virtue of its fancifulness, and its play with airy sounds, of the stuff that good broadcasts are made on'.[354] Producers also recognised that radio had a different relationship with its audience than that of the stage. Lea, writing in 1926, suggests that radio offers 'a means of truer interpretation, a medium of finer artistry and a clearer path to truth'.[355] He goes on to point out that while 'hundreds of thousands of people' were listening, they were 'not gathered together in one place, but individualized in their own homes'.[356] This may be why Shakespeare's plays have increasingly been presented in intimate settings, as domestic dramas or focusing on the inner turmoil within the minds of the characters.[357] In 1942, Barbara Burnham's editing of *Antony and Cleopatra* does this by focusing the story on the lead characters, cutting several scenes involving soldiers or battle, including the drinking scene on Pompey's galley, as well as those featuring Antony with Octavia.[358] The cuts also remove some of the passages highlighted by Spurgeon as important. She states: 'The group of images in Antony and Cleopatra which, on analysis, immediately attracts attention as peculiar to this play, consists of images of the world, the firmament, the ocean and vastness generally'.[359] She goes on to add that 'this vastness of scale is kept constantly before us by the use of the word "world", which occurs forty-two times, nearly double, or more than double, as often as in most other plays'.[360] Burnham cuts more than a quarter of these references. This may not have been a deliberate attempt to diminish

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[353] Gielgud, *Years in a Mirror*, p. 180.
[354] G. C. H., *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 December 1933.
[355] Lea, p. 38.
[356] Lea, p. 38.
[357] For examples, see *King Lear* (1974) in Chapter 4 and *Macbeth* (2015) in Chapter 6.
[358] The following scenes are cut entirely: 2.4, 2.7, 3.1, 4.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.9, 4.7, 4.11. There are also other, shorter cuts.
[359] Spurgeon, p. 350.
[360] Spurgeon, p. 352.

the vastness of scale, however this again suggests a desire to present a more intimate tragedy, rather than concentrate on the international impact of the couple's relationship.

The BBC's early output of Shakespearean drama was prolific, with more than 150 productions between the start of broadcasting and the end of the Second World War. During this time, producers, actors and technicians were learning how to translate Shakespeare into the new medium, as well as how to use radio more generally. Audiences were learning how to use their new equipment and were adjusting to a new way of consuming drama. However, while some of the BBC's early attempts at presenting these plays may have been primitive, it is evident that from *Twelfth Night* in 1923 onwards, there was a clear aim to offer listeners a genuinely dramatic experience, rather than what one reviewer described as 'a Shakespeare reading on a luxurious scale'.[361] Many of the issues they encountered continued into the next period of BBC radio Shakespeare, a golden age for such plays, with another 120 productions broadcast across three networks in the space of twenty years, plus scores of repeats. The whole canon was produced, with the exception of *The Comedy of Errors* which was long held to be impossible on radio and did not get its first airing until 1968. There were also several works of 'Shakespeare Apocrypha' and John Gielgud gave his final performance in the title role of *Hamlet*, possibly the most significant and influential production of a Shakespeare play ever recorded. The next chapter will look at this production, along with a number of others from the period, including one featuring a man Val Gielgud described as 'the finest actor in broadcasting with whom I have ever worked'.[362] And he was not describing his brother.

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[361] W. A. D., *Daily Telegraph*, 14 October 1935.
[362] Gielgud, *Years in a Mirror*, p. 181.

Chapter 3:

Post-war: 1946-1966

In 1924, Reith wrote that 'wireless will render a highly important service in popularising Shakespeare'.[363] The twenty-year period following the Second World War was when the BBC came closest to fulfilling his prediction. The large number and wide variety of productions during this period gave audiences the opportunity to hear plays that would rarely be performed in theatres, particularly outside London and Stratford-upon-Avon. Most of these productions were broadcast on the network perceived as the most highbrow, but it still meant that access to performances of Shakespeare's plays was freely available to the majority of the public. During this period producers also began to place more emphasis on performance and story, rather than poetry and textual fidelity. The case studies in this chapter will demonstrate how productions changed, from full-text with narration and little use of sound effects and music, to those making greater use of music, effects and additional dialogue to translate the plays to audio. The impact of this was to create productions that were more likely to engage a wider range of listeners, both through their more interesting use of the medium and their clarity of storytelling, ensuring listeners understood what was happening. This chapter will show that this combination of the BBC's prolific, widely available output and its producers' work to create productions that were creatively engaging and comprehensible, offered listeners greater accessibility to Shakespeare's plays in performance, having a democratising effect on his canon.

The year 1946 saw the launch of a new BBC radio station. The Third Programme was not intended as a network for the elite, but for 'intelligent, receptive people in all classes' and aimed to build on the 'growth of public interest in the arts in wartime […] and the virtually insatiable demand for serious literature and drama'.[364] The BBC's director-general, Sir William Haley, said he hoped the audience would include 'persons who value artistic experience all the more because

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[363] Reith, p. 168.
[364] Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume IV – Sound and Vision* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 63, p. 60.

of the limited opportunities they have of enjoying it'.[365] The week it launched, he wrote in the *Radio Times* that the network 'will devote occasional series of evenings to some related masterpieces, a Shakespeare historical cycle, all the Beethoven quartets, or a series of Mozart operas'.[366] That history cycle, featuring both tetralogies, was broadcast the following year. The first Shakespeare play on the Third, *Romeo and Juliet* with Edith Evans as the Nurse, was actually a repeat of a production broadcast on the Home Service during the war. But three weeks after that, the first production made for the Third, *Troilus and Cressida*, was aired, immediately signalling that it would not just be home to the most commonly performed Shakespeare plays, but also to his lesser-known works. In an article to mark the Third's thirtieth anniversary, theatre critic Robert Cushman wrote that 'the Home might knock off an *Othello* or a *Romeo and Juliet*' but for 'the less familiar plays […] you tuned into the Third'.[367]

Every play in the Shakespeare canon, except *The Comedy of Errors*, was broadcast at least once during the two decades examined in this chapter. This is with the proviso that a combined, two-and-a-half-hour production of all three *Henry VI* plays constitutes a production of *1 Henry VI*: the other two plays in the trilogy received additional productions. Several works of 'Shakespeare Apocrypha' were also produced, including two versions of *Sir Thomas More* and two of *Edward III*, plus *Arden of Faversham*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. Many of the canon received multiple productions, including seven different versions of *The Tempest*, and six of *Macbeth*. Never had so many of Shakespeare's plays been available, effectively for free (aside from the Licence Fee), to people of all social classes across the whole of the United Kingdom.

Over these two decades, technology changed little. Plays were now regularly recorded, although editing was not initially an option, and the BBC drama studio was largely unaltered for many years after its post-war rebuild. During this time producers used a variety of different methods for conveying the texts. Many of these were controversial: the use of narration, sound effects and music were all criticised in some quarters, while being strongly supported in others, often by those who felt

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[365] Briggs, *Volume IV*, pp. 63-64.
[366] Sir William Haley, 'The Third Programme – An Introduction by the Director-General of the BBC', *Radio Times*, 27 September 1946, p. 1.
[367] Robert Cushman, 'Dramatic entrances', *Radio Times*, 30 September 1976, pp. 9-10.

such techniques aided the comprehension of the listening audience. Acting styles also changed. While producers had long been aware that radio required a different style of performance to the theatre, this had not always been recognised by actors. Felton explained the difference: 'The stage-actor has always to use the technique of the megaphone; in radio he can use the technique of the microphone'.[368] Despite the fact that a theatrical performance is not suitable for radio, the influence of the stage was still felt in casting, with many of the best-known theatre stars appearing in BBC radio productions. In addition, the BBC transferred nine productions from the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon to radio between 1950 and 1958. Leading actors including John Gielgud, Peggy Ashcroft and Michael Redgrave all reprised their stage roles for the microphone. These famous names may have helped attract listeners to their broadcasts, which could be considered as aiding the democratisation of Shakespeare by making their performances available to audiences who would not have been able to travel to Stratford. However, their success on radio varied and was dependent on their ability to adjust their style, not only in tone but also in conveying what cannot be seen.

Fidelity to the text also began to be relaxed during this period. Productions from the late 1940s and early 1950s were often lengthy, with little in the way of additions other than narration largely based on stage directions. However, by the late 1950s, the idea of cutting, rewriting or adding to Shakespeare's texts became a more common practice. These later productions are more effective at fulfilling what McWhinnie believed was the best sort of radio, something that 'evokes rather than depicts'.[369] As such, these productions could be said to engage listeners on a more emotional level, perhaps also making the plays more appealing to the audience.

The case studies in this chapter begin with John Gielgud's highly lauded third appearance in *Hamlet* (1948). This is followed by *Macbeth* (1949), starring Stephen Murray. Although little-remembered in the twenty-first century, other than perhaps by fans of the radio comedy series, *The Navy Lark* (1959-77), Murray was described by Val Gielgud as 'the finest actor in broadcasting with whom I have ever worked' adding that Murray frequently 'carried almost the whole weight of the play

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[368] Felton, p. 12.
[369] McWhinnie, p. 41.

on his shoulders […] with skill, subtlety, certainty, and insight'.[370] The third case study is one of the productions transferred from Stratford, *Antony and Cleopatra* (1954), which demonstrates some of the pitfalls in moving a play from one medium to another if insufficient effort is made in the transition. Paul Scofield's performance as Pericles (1958) is then examined, in a production that uses music and effects, along with cutting, reordering and rewriting of the text to fashion a play that is designed for radio. Finally, both parts of *Henry IV* (1964) are discussed; a pair of productions where the producer makes full use of the medium. Following the case studies, there is analysis of the various techniques used to adapt Shakespeare's plays for radio and how they both engaged and alienated critics and listeners, creating, by turns, productions of 'purity' for 'dedicated initiates' or those that tell a story 'in radio-dramatic terms' capable of attracting millions of listeners.[371]

More than a hundred different productions were broadcast in this twenty-year period. Many were repeated, some on multiple occasions. Only about a fifth survive, but those that do help demonstrate the shift in dramatic production over this period. The most celebrated, and one of the earliest, is *Hamlet* (1948). In contrast to Leslie Howard's 'active, bustling' performance in 1938, Gielgud places emphasis on the delivery of the verse as poetry.[372] This may be one of the reasons it remained popular with critics for decades after its first broadcast.

Hamlet (1948)

Laurence Olivier and John Gielgud dominated Shakespeare performance in the mid-twentieth century, and both played Hamlet in 1948. There has been an extensive critical response to Olivier's film: José Ramón Díaz-Fernández cites around a hundred publications that discuss it.[373] Far less has been written about the contemporaneous radio production starring Gielgud. It is estimated that the film reached an audience of 'millions'.[374] However, although no audience figures appear to have been recorded for the radio production, it is quite possible it was heard by a

[370] Gielgud, *Years in a Mirror*, p. 181.
[371] Chris Dunkley, 'Review', *Radio Times*, 27 March 1975, p. 74; Gielgud, *Radio Theatre*, p. ix.
[372] 'Broadcast Drama – "Hamlet"', *The Times*, 3 January 1938.
[373] José Ramón Díaz-Fernández, 'Shakespeare on screen: A bibliography of critical studies', *Post Script – Essays in Film and the Humanities*, 17.1 (1997), 91-146.
[374] 'Hamlet to the General', *Time Magazine*, 16 October 1950, p. 96.

similar number of people, with popular plays reaching 'an average audience of over 12 million in 1948'.[375]

Greenhalgh states that the 1948 radio *Hamlet* could be 'viewed as a deliberate answer to the artistic and institutional "butchery"' represented by Olivier's film, which uses only about half the text.[376] The radio adaptation, produced by John Richmond, is virtually uncut and runs for four hours and twenty minutes, including two intervals. The play was split at the points suggested by Granville-Barker in his *Prefaces to Shakespeare*; the end of act one and the end of act four, scene one.[377] However, the intervals were something that radio critic Philip Hope-Wallace deemed unnecessary, saying that 'pace and continuity should be the trump cards of radio Shakespeare'.[378] Overall, though, he was delighted: 'What a relief, in the avuncular avalanche of BBC Christmas bonhomie […] "Hamlet" was like hearing Bertrand Russell after a week of Christmas card mottoes'.[379] The *Manchester Guardian*'s reviewer added that it was 'a highly intelligent, moving, and on the whole impressive production'.[380] Both suggest an intellectual quality to the production which may, at least in part, be due to Gielgud's performance in the leading role.

When Gielgud came to play Hamlet in 1948, he was no stranger to the part on stage or radio. He had played it twice before for the BBC, first in 1932, and again in 1940, and his stage performances are well documented.[381] Hope-Wallace described Gielgud's delivery of the text as giving 'a superb understanding of what makes the sound of Shakespeare unmatchable'. [382] He added:

> This was, in a way, the epitome of his whole performance and of the way it has grown these years; here was 'the thing in itself', the line, once quicksilver, now chiselled silver, the emotion sans emotionalism, the heart's voice itself—classical.[383]

[375] Briggs, *Volume IV*, p. 631.
[376] Greenhalgh, 'A Stage of the Mind', p. 137; Rosenthal, p. 22.
[377] Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare, Volume 1* (London: Batsford, 1961), p. 46.
[378] Philip Hope-Wallace, 'Critic on the hearth – Broadcast Drama: Uncle, Uncle!', *The Listener*, 30 December 1948, p. 1024.
[379] Hope-Wallace, *Radio Times*, 30 December 1948.
[380] 'Broadcasting Review', *Manchester Guardian*, 29 December 1948, p. 3.
[381] Mary Zenet Maher, *Modern Hamlets & Soliloquies: An Expanded Edition* (Iowa City: University Of Iowa Press, 1992), p. 3.
[382] Hope-Wallace, *Radio Times*, 30 December 1948.
[383] Hope-Wallace, *Radio Times*, 30 December 1948.

These comments were echoed in reviews of later repeats. Peter Forster wrote: 'Here *in excelsis* are all Sir John's supreme qualities—the pathos, the Terry voice, the poetry'.[384] And actor Paul Daneman described Gielgud as an actor whose 'phrasing is incomparable' with a 'wonderfully supple voice'.[385] These insistent references to the Gielgud voice demonstrate the strong sense, particularly at the start of this period, that the poetry of the text was more important than plot or story. This is perhaps surprising when literary critics seemed less concerned with this: John Dover Wilson pointed out that 'Shakespeare wrote not for readers but for auditors, who would have no time to consider his linked metaphors too curiously', while Granville-Barker stated that 'with Shakespeare dramatic *writing* was for convenience of record merely; his verse was not only conceived as speech, it was to be so born and only so meant to exist'.[386] Both suggest lingering, poetic delivery would be unhelpful to an audience.

Despite praising Gielgud, Hope-Wallace questioned whether this production was 'vulgar enough' to be 'comprehensible to the lowest listening intelligence', stating that if radio drama producers assume the audience has 'complete unfamiliarity with text and even story' it is necessary 'to intervene' by rewriting 'the text as a cinema organist rewrites Mozart or a missionary rewrites the Psalms of David in "business" English'.[387] He added that 'to object to this process is said to be undemocratic!'[388] Additions to the text were made, in the form of narration, but Hope-Wallace did not feel it was comprehensive enough, questioning Richmond's decision not to use it when Hamlet chooses to sit with Ophelia ('here's mettle more attractive' 3.2.100) and when Claudius drops the poisoned pearl into Hamlet's goblet ('this pearl is thine' 5.2.258). The narration generally does little more than give the stage directions, although at times it does provide what John Drakakis describes as 'an almost photographic visualisation of the scene for the listener'.[389] In particular he suggests that an unusually lengthy passage of ninety words at the start of act one, scene two describing the entry of Claudius and courtiers in some detail (0:10:31)

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[384] Peter Forster, 'The Best Hamlet of Our Time', *Radio Times*, 17 April 1959, p. 7.
[385] Paul Daneman, 'The genius of Sir John', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 April 1989, p. 15.
[386] John Dover Wilson, 'Introduction', in Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) pp. vii-lxvii (p. xxxviii); Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare 1*, p. 178.
[387] Hope-Wallace, *Radio Times*, 30 December 1948.
[388] Hope-Wallace, *Radio Times*, 30 December 1948.
[389] Drakakis, 'The essence that's not seen', p. 124.

may have been a direct reference to Olivier's film.[390] However, there is nothing in the narration that can be exactly matched to the film, and it differs in several ways, including the narrator stating that Claudius enters, when in the film he is seated. This suggests a desire to draw a comparison or even link the film and radio productions, rather than an actual intertextual relationship between the two.

When the play was repeated in 1975, the narration again came under the spotlight, this time because it had been edited out. Reviewer Chris Dunkley wrote: 'no doubt this restored some lost purity to the play. I think the removal was a mistake, nevertheless, tending to reduce the comprehending audience to dedicated initiates'.[391] Comments from both Dunkley and Hope-Wallace highlight a supposed tension between 'purity' and comprehension, and the fine line producers had to walk in balancing these competing requirements.

Gielgud's fellow actors in this production all have distinctive voices, making it easy to differentiate between who is speaking. In particular, creativity was used in the casting of the Player King and Queen. The Queen is played by Denise Bryer, a frequent radio actor who specialised in playing boys.[392] Her casting in *Hamlet* uses her vocal skills to create the illusion of a boy playing the Player Queen (1:40:30 onwards). Combined with the use of Hugh Griffith as First Player, who accentuates the musicality of his natural Welsh accent, there is a heightened sense of theatricality during the 'Murder of Gonzago' scene, making it easy to separate the play-within-a-play from the main action. There is also a sense of fun at times. When Esmé Percy, playing Osric, ad-libs 'He's enchanting!' (3:04:58) 'off mic' as he leaves after 5.2.157, Gielgud can be heard stifling a laugh in response. Hope-Wallace praised the 'very fine cast' but again his comments returned to the delivery of the verse: 'The reading was conventional in a modern way; but to try anything else (*i.e.*, an Elizabethan viewpoint and so on) is probably unwise in a one-sense medium like radio'.[393] In some ways his comments lack consistency, as he seems to both want and praise good verse-speaking, but also recognises the problems faced by a radio

[390] Drakakis, 'The essence that's not seen', p. 124.
[391] Dunkley, *Radio Times*, 27 March 1975.
[392] Steadman, p. 120.
[393] Hope-Wallace, *Radio Times*, 30 December 1948.

producer endeavouring to successfully convey character and plot, particularly to those unfamiliar with the play.

Like Michael Redgrave in the 1944 *As You Like It*, the actors regularly make non-verbal noises, such as 'hmm' or gasps, which help give a sense of the characters engaging with each other, as well as the public nature of the court scenes. Together with sound effects, they also make Laertes' entrance after the death of his father sound particularly impressive. First there is a crowd shouting from a distance (2:24:35). This builds to louder shouting, followed by banging and finally wood splintering (2:25:16) and continues under the dialogue of the King, Queen and Messenger (4.2.95.1-110), who have to shout towards the end to make themselves heard. This demonstrates how skilled radio production can convey what is happening without the need for narration, creating a textually faithful scene while also making it fully comprehensible to those not familiar with the text.

This production has become one of the most enduring Shakespeare plays ever broadcast on radio, repeated at least eight times over a forty-year period. Greenhalgh states that 'all the Hamlet-related programmes on the Third in the next few years would in some sense be in dialogue with this "entirety" production'.[394] When it was repeated in both 1949 and 1951, other programming was built around it, and for the 1959 repeat Forster wrote an article for the *Radio Times* entitled 'The Best Hamlet of Our Time', declaring it was a production 'many consider as near the definitive as we are likely ever to get'.[395] However, Hope-Wallace did have some reservations about Gielgud, stating that a 'radio Hamlet' should be different to one on stage, adding 'a finer *radio* actor could still have suggested, at the moment of the first re-meeting with Horatio, that extraordinarily moving effect of the heart lifting which Mr Gielgud always achieves on the stage'.[396] A few months after *Hamlet*, an actor who was highly experienced in radio took the lead in another of Shakespeare's most famous plays.

[394] Greenhalgh, 'A Stage of the Mind', p. 137.
[395] Forster, *Radio Times*, 17 April 1959.
[396] Hope-Wallace, *Radio Times*, 30 December 1948.

Macbeth (1949)

In 1949 Stephen Murray accomplished something no-one else has done before or since; he played the same lead Shakespearean role on radio and television in different productions within a month. His radio performance was recorded before his television appearance in mid-February, but aired two weeks after.[397] Murray wrote an article for the *Radio Times* comparing both media, highlighting the 'lack of visual aids' in radio, in particular when Banquo's ghost appears, but also the freedom to move in and out of the microphone, allowing an actor to 'switch in a moment from a low mutter to a full-throated shout' – something impossible with television microphones at the time.[398] Murray's comments highlight radio's need to make the action in the text clear to listeners, but also the benefits of radio in terms of performance.

Murray went on: 'Shakespeare's dialogue is anything but naturalistic: the task of making it appear natural and sincere [on television] is a formidable one and does not occur in a broadcast [radio] version, where the convention of heightened, poetic language is much more easily accepted'.[399] However, unlike actors such as Gielgud and Paul Scofield (see *Pericles* below), Murray does not deliver the text in a heightened, poetic way. The previous year, W. E. Williams wrote that Murray spoke Shakespeare better than any other male actor, adding that he had 'a voice of exceptional expressiveness and […] understands that the voice is a more potent means of impersonation than wigs or costume or makeup'.[400] However, Hope-Wallace felt he was 'dull and limited' and preferred Murray's performance later in the production, when he 'was able to "get a curve" on the poetry'.[401]

Murray's Lady Macbeth was Flora Robson, playing the part for the third time on radio and as commanding as previous reviews of her would suggest. Their relationship in scenes five and seven of act one has overtones of the literary criticism still popular in this period, such as Bradley's comment that Lady Macbeth 'exerts the ultimate deciding influence on the action' in the first half of the play and Granville-

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[397] 'Television – Talk of the Week', *Radio Times*, 18 February 1949, p.24.
[398] Stephen Murray, 'Acting Macbeth – from Television to Radio', *Radio Times*, 4 March 1949, p. 7.
[399] Murray, *Radio Times*, 4 March 1949.
[400] W. E. Williams, 'The Six Best Broadcasters of 1947', in *BBC Year Book 1948* (London: BBC, 1948), p. 9.
[401] Hope-Wallace, 'Critic on the Hearth – Broadcast Drama – Murder Most Decent', *The Listener*, 10 March 1949, p. 419.

Barker's description of Macbeth as a 'hanger-back' while his wife is 'the speeder on'.[402] Murray's Macbeth is generally quiet and thoughtful, delivering both 'If it were done when 'tis done' (1.7.1-28; 0:24:35) and 'Is this a dagger which I see before me' (2.1.33-64; 0:31:28) as thoughts spoken aloud, virtually in a whisper, although by the end of the second soliloquy he has the conviction to kill Duncan, in line with Wilson Knight's suggestion that the character 'undertakes the murder, as a grim and hideous duty'.[403] Murray also uses his quiet, naturalistic style to build audience empathy. When he tells Seyton 'She should have died hereafter' (5.5.17; 1:55:56) his voice is not 'devoid of tone', as recent critical thought suggested.[404] Murray sounds sad and weary, and it is only after this that he finally raises his voice, almost screaming 'Liar and Slave' (5.5.35; 1:57:06) at the messenger telling him that Birnam Wood 'began to move'. Murray's Macbeth is deeply human, motivated by a desire to please his wife and, when she is dead, he loses all will to fight. He is not inherently evil, as suggested by literary critics such as Caroline Spurgeon.[405] Murray's interpretation is rooted in creating a character audiences can relate to.

Murray's voice is RP, but the rest of the cast are more varied, avoiding the problem of identification for the listener. Leon Quartermaine, as Banquo, sounds considerably older, with an avuncular tone. Macduff, played by Deryck Guyler, is gruff and loud. Reviewer W. E. Williams described him as 'magnificent and poignant'.[406] Anthony Jacobs as Malcolm has a light voice, almost effete. The Porter is played as an old drunk by Jack Shaw, a radio stalwart who went on to be a regular in early radio soap opera *Mrs Dale's Diary*. Williams described the 'well-chosen company' as being of 'all-round excellence', also praising '"Boy, Son to Macduff," who spoke up in the valiant accent of a real boy and not in the hermaphrodite squeak of a pantomime elf'.[407] On radio, children were played by adult women at this time; in the case of Macduff's son, by Patricia Hayes. Some were more convincing than others, but Williams' observation shows the importance of an authentic-sounding voice in aiding, rather than disrupting, the storytelling. However, Hope-Wallace did

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[402] Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 366; Granville-Barker, *More Prefaces to Shakespeare* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 73.
[403] Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, p. 175.
[404] Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare* (New York: Henry Holt, 1939) p. 264.
[405] Spurgeon, p. 328.
[406] W. E. Williams, 'Shakespeare and Radio', *Observer*, 13 March 1949, p. 2.
[407] Williams, *Observer*, 13 March 1949.

not share Williams' view of the performances. As with his criticism of Murray, he regarded any attempt at naturalistic delivery as an affront to Shakespeare's poetry: 'the speakers, taking their time, chopped their lines up in a way which suggested shortness of wind'.[408] While producers and actors were attempting to present realistic characters for their audiences, influential critics like Hope-Wallace continued to complain this was in conflict with the text.

The only characters who do sound alike are the witches, but this may have been an artistic decision, as they are played in a much more heightened way than the rest of the production. Williams describes them as 'articulate as well as gruesome'.[409] Unlike the 1935 production of *Macbeth*, the witches' scenes remain intact, with the exception of Hecate. The production opens with forty-five seconds of sound effects of wind and storm with clattering thunder before the witches speak. When they do, echo is used on their voices, which are exaggerated, almost pantomimic. Portraying the witches very differently from the other characters serves to highlight the supernatural nature of their scenes, compared to the more realistic setting of the rest of the play. Elsewhere, the use of sound effects is limited, with the exception of storm noises which are heard throughout to denote evil. The discussion between Macbeth and his wife immediately after Duncan's murder is punctuated with thunder (0:36:09; 0:37:40; 0:38:28) and after Macbeth says 'Wake Duncan with thy knocking! I would thou couldst!' (2.2.77) there is a final, violent thunderclap (0:39:11). This technique would later be criticised by McWhinnie as 'dismal' – but it is effective.[410] However, in the case of the murder of Lady Macduff and her son (act four, scene two), there are no external noises. Instead, the listener hears the disturbing sounds of a struggle and the screams of mother and son (1:29:13). This concurs with Granville-Barker's assertion that the moment is 'abhorrent' and 'should be done very deliberately'.[411] The scene is augmented by the use of Norman Demuth's music as it ends; at first ominous, then a pause, before more music, this time pastoral in tone but still with an air of foreboding. This is unlike any other sequence in the play, which uses music sparingly. Felton states that music can have 'an inseparable emotional charge which could be used, like stage lighting, to create

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[408] Hope-Wallace, *The Listener*, 10 March 1949.
[409] Williams, *Observer*, 13 March 1949.
[410] McWhinnie, p. 91.
[411] Granville-Barker, *More Prefaces to Shakespeare*, p. 84.

the appropriate mood'.[412] Here it heightens the murders, enhancing the storytelling and helping to engage listeners in the plot and characters.

Narration by adaptor M. R. Ridley is used liberally throughout the play; almost fifty times in total. It first appears at the end of the opening scene with the witches. The 'low-pitched marginal voice' of Duncan Carse has the stereotypical tone of a BBC announcer of the period, a form of RP without emotional engagement.[413] His flat narration is in contrast to the mood that has been created, with Hope-Wallace feeling that 'the constant incursions of the narrator [were] necessarily many but somewhat deadening'.[414] Williams did not feel narration was required at all: 'Shakespeare wrote for a bare stage; and he therefore incorporated in the text every single clue his audience needed to possess'.[415] He also assumed that as the broadcast was on the 'sophisticated Third' the audience did not need them. Again, producers faced difficult choices between offering an audience who might not know a text enough information to follow it, and concerns about how doing that might intrude on the play.

However, producer Wilfrid Grantham does not always feel the need to add narration. Like Richmond with *Hamlet* (1948), he also makes use of his large cast. After Macduff discovers the murdered Duncan, there is an increasing noise of people and confusion (after 2.3.71; 0:43:15 onwards), as well as the constant sound of a bell. And throughout the banquet scene with Banquo's ghost (act three, scene four) people can be heard in the background, initially cheerful (1:03:42), but as Lennox says 'What is't that moves your highness' (3.4.49; 1:06:29), the room falls silent, helping to indicate Macbeth's reaction even before he speaks. In both cases this reduces the need for narration.

Although Stephen Murray had performed with the Old Vic, he was not predominantly a theatre actor and became a familiar voice on radio, performing in more than 300 plays over several decades.[416] However, despite the acceptance that actors needed to give a 'radio' rather than 'stage' performance in front of the

[412] Felton, p. 112.
[413] Williams, *Observer*, 13 March 1949.
[414] Hope-Wallace, *The Listener*, 10 March 1949.
[415] Williams, *Observer*, 13 March 1949.
[416] 'Television', *Radio Times*, 18 February 1949; McFarlane, p. 471.

microphone, producers continued to look to the theatre for leading men and women; particularly Stratford-upon-Avon.

Antony and Cleopatra **(1954)**

Before it became the home of the Royal Shakespeare Company, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre was already widely respected, described by Gordon Crosse as 'a centre of the first importance […] for those who believe that Shakespeare is truly honoured by the intelligent production and capable acting of his plays'.[417] In 1954, the theatre's production of *Antony and Cleopatra* from the previous year was transferred to BBC radio. It starred Michael Redgrave and Peggy Ashcroft and may have been deemed suitable for broadcasting as it had a setting 'of the simplest'.[418] However, a simple stage setting is still very different to an audio-only medium, and the transition between theatre and radio did not make many allowances for that. By broadcasting a production that originated from one of the most prestigious theatres in the country, the BBC gave millions of people the opportunity to hear highly acclaimed performances that might otherwise have been unavailable to them due to their location or financial situation. However, without the necessary adjustments to make it comprehensible, many listeners are likely to have found this production beyond them.

Critics of the stage production stated that theatre director Glen Byam Shaw had 'dispens[ed] with gloss and glamour, allow[ing] his actors to concentrate on the poetry'.[419] This is echoed in the only review of the radio production, from J. C. Trewin in *The Listener*. His brief summary concluded: 'The verse shone across the wide crest of the ranged empire'.[420] Literary critics of the time believed the play's strength lay in its words, with Mark Van Doren stating 'it is perhaps the richest poetry Shakespeare wrote'.[421] As seen previously, radio critics valued the speaking of such poetry above making the plays fit for radio. In this case, the production was

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[417] Gordon Crosse, *Shakespearean Playgoing 1890-1952* (London: Mowbray, 1953), p. 88.

[418] 'At Stratford-Upon-Avon "Antony and Cleopatra"', *The Stage*, 30 April 1953, p. 10.

[419] 'Cleopatra's Glory – Memorial Theatre Triumph Reconsidered', *The Stage*, 17 September 1953, p. 8.

[420] J. C. Trewin, 'Sound Broadcasting – Drama: Here, There, Everywhere', in *The Listener*, 6 May 1954, pp. 797, 799 (p. 799).

[421] Van Doren, *Shakespeare*, p. 273.

virtually transferred wholesale from stage to studio, 'without elaboration', as Trewin put it.[422]

The stage production had been 'overwhelmingly successful', not only playing in Stratford and London, but then touring to Holland, Belgium and France.[423] Ivor Brown describes it as having had an 'intense and passionate realism', and also states that the French in particular found the production 'so unacademic, so untraditional'.[424] However, on radio the passion is not apparent and the production seems highly traditional, populated as it is with RP voices and concentrating on poetic delivery of the verse. The term 'unacademic' could be applied to some aspects of the production, though, and in particular to Ashcroft's performance. Wilson Knight describes Cleopatra as 'by turns proud and humble, a raging tigress and a demure girl'.[425] However, Ashcroft never shows any vulnerability, always portraying the 'proud' and 'raging' side of the character. Speeches such as 'I dreamt there was an emperor Antony' (5.2.75-91; 2:02:38) are spoken in a commanding style and although there is vibrato in her voice, the precision of her speech and RP delivery does not convey emotional truthfulness. One reviewer of her stage performance wrote that 'one cannot pretend that Miss Ashcroft is ideally suited to the part of Cleopatra', suggesting this was because she was not 'a great tragic actress'.[426] This summary seems apt for her radio performance too. There is nothing about it that makes the character sympathetic or tragic.

Wilson Knight describes *Antony and Cleopatra* as 'a play of sexual love'.[427] But despite Brown's assertion about passion, there is no evidence of it in this production. In the same year as this broadcast, a lecture by Redgrave was published in which he comments on this aspect of the play. He complains that reviews for stage performances blame the actress playing Cleopatra 'for not being sufficiently amorous'.[428] He also claims that there is 'no scene of love-making' in the play because of the 'limitations of boy-actors' when it was originally written.[429] While

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[422] Trewin, *The Listener*, 6 May 1954.

[423] Ivor Brown, *Shakespeare Memorial Theatre 1954-56* (London: Reinhardt, 1956), p. 2.

[424] Brown, p. 2.

[425] Wilson Knight, *The Imperial Theme* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p. 290.

[426] 'Cleopatra's Glory', *The Stage*, 17 September 1953.

[427] Van Doren, p. 269; Wilson Knight, *The Imperial Theme*, p. 219.

[428] Michael Redgrave, 'Shakespeare and the Actors', in *Talking of Shakespeare*, ed. by John Garrett (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954), pp. 127-148 (p. 138).

[429] Redgrave, p. 137.

not directly referencing either his stage or radio performances, this suggests he felt the need to justify the playing of the couple's relationship. Antony's death also contradicts contemporary literary criticism. Dover Wilson wrote it should excite 'pity in the highest degree'.[430] However, on radio, listeners may not have even realised he has died. There is just a quiet, short sigh under Ashcroft's belligerent speech (4.15.64; 1:53:20). It is only when she says 'We'll bury him' (4.15.90) that it is clear he is dead. While Redgrave and Ashcroft's playing of these scenes may have worked on stage, the characters' emotions are not convincingly conveyed on radio and would have benefited from additional lines, effects or music.

The production did use music and, like the cast, it was transferred from the stage production. However, on radio it has little impact, largely because it is played at low level and is often very brief. Wilson Knight states that music is 'an important element in the play' and, in particular, during the drunken scene on Pompey's galley (act two, scene seven).[431] However, while this is broadly played in this production, with lots of raucous male laughter, the only music is the song identified in the text as being sung by 'Boy' (2.7.114-119), here sung by a group of men (0:51:12). While musically it has the sound of a tavern catch and is sung riotously with over-modulation on the initial 'come', there is no embellishment of the six-line text and the whole performance lasts less than twenty seconds. While having the potential to create atmosphere and draw the listener into the world of the play, it is so brief it barely has chance to do so.

The changes to Shakespeare's text were made by Byam Shaw for the stage, rather than by radio producer Peter Watts. However, many of these are the same as the cuts in the 1942 radio production, which suggests that both radio and stage saw the play in broadly similar textual terms. One difference between the two media is apparent, though, in the actors' voices. On stage, costume and physical appearance can help distinguish who is who. But on radio it is essential that characters sound different to each other. This production suffers significantly from uniformity of voice, possibly due to the preferred RP delivery of Shakespeare at this time. As such, it is often difficult to be sure who is talking. Even Redgrave is, at times, difficult to

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[430] Dover Wilson, 'Introduction', in William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp. vii-xxxvi (p. xxv).
[431] Wilson Knight, *The Imperial Theme*, p. 221.

distinguish from the rest of the cast. One concession to radio is the addition of a narrator. Basil Hoskins was billed in the *Radio Times* as 'Plutarch the historian' and his script was based on Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. Drakakis suggests the narration was added 'to smooth the rapid transitions from one location to another' adding that it had the effect of 'diluting the dramatic conflict'.[432] It seems that in almost every aspect of the production, the transfer to radio had a negative impact on the play, perhaps because it was little more than a stage production aired on radio, rather than a true audio production.

Antony and Cleopatra was one of the most popular plays with radio producers during this period, with five different versions between 1948 and 1965, despite one reviewer stating that 'it may not be Shakespeare's most radiogenic play'.[433] Frank Hauser, who produced the 1950 radio version, wrote an article in the *Radio Times* headlined 'Can Shakespeare be broadcast?', discussing the difficulties in putting Shakespeare in general, and *Antony and Cleopatra* specifically, on radio. He concluded: 'the great Elizabethan verse-dramas were written for one kind of delivery, and that delivery happens to be the least suitable to our broadcasting set-up'.[434] However, not everyone found verse a problem. In the case of *Pericles*, verse may have been an advantage in conveying the 'fantasy' nature of the play.[435]

Pericles (1958)

Although *Pericles* is less well known than many of Shakespeare's plays, two productions of it were broadcast on the Third Programme during the 1950s, with a further version in 1965. The fact that it is not as celebrated as some plays may have been part of its appeal: reviewers tend to make fewer criticisms of textual cuts to works they are less familiar with. At a time when narration was starting to lose favour, *Pericles* also provided a legitimate chorus in Gower. In addition, the 'saga of ships and storms, with sea-changes and almost miraculous risings from watery

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[432] Drakakis, 'The essence that's not seen', p. 121.
[433] Hope-Wallace, 'Broadcast Drama – Thanks for the Mummery', *The Listener*, 21 September 1950, p. 395.
[434] Hauser, *Radio Times*, 29 September 1950.
[435] Ian Rodger, 'Drama – Farce and Fantasises', *The Listener*, 14 August 1958, pp. 248-49 (p. 249).

graves' gave producers an opportunity to conjure up some 'magic' on the airwaves.[436] The 1958 production in particular uses sound to create an engaging, comprehensible version of the play.

Paul Scofield played the title role, having previously done so twice on stage. Literary critics of the day suggested 'Pericles has no very sharply defined character' and 'is a passive figure'.[437] Scofield's performance could be said to concur with this. His delivery of Shakespeare's verse, like that of Gielgud, focuses on the poetry rather than a naturalistic or dynamic performance. Even at times of high emotion, such as the reunion with Marina (act five, scene one), he is nothing less than steady. Writing about this scene, Wilson Knight suggests that 'Pericles, half-awake, stammeringly repeats her strange phrases'.[438] However, Scofield does not stammer (5.1.88; 1:55:45). He barely slows his speech. He seems much more intent on sticking to the verse than attempting to convey emotion. While this might seem a barrier to listener engagement, the production uses another technique that until this point had largely been under-employed in the translation of text to radio to help create an emotionally engaging play: music.

Earlier productions of Shakespeare's plays use very little music. *Pericles*, in contrast, uses a lot. Composer and conductor, Marcus Dods, had a background in film and theatre, and put those skills to good use, evoking a wide range of locations in music.[439] John Arthos states that *Pericles* 'explores a whole wonderful world, Antioch, Tarsus, Pentapolis, Tyre, so many of the great cities of the past'.[440] In his review of this production, Rodger acknowledged the benefits of presenting the play on radio: 'When the ear is doing all the imagining the stage improbabilities of this play […] are swept aside'.[441] To convey these different locations, around sixty music cues are used, encompassing a wide range of styles. The play opens with a drum roll, fanfare and dramatic music, before moving on to something more Elizabethan in

[436] Roy Walker, 'Drama - Up She Rises', *The Listener*, 20 March 1958, pp. 514-15 (p. 515); Rodger, *The Listener*, 14 August 1958.
[437] J. C. Maxwell, 'Introduction', in *Pericles: The Cambridge Dover Wilson Shakespeare*, ed. by Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. ix-xxix (p. xxvi); Wilson Knight, *Crown Of Life* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p. 73.
[438] Wilson Knight, *Crown Of Life*, p. 63.
[439] Bruce Eder, 'Marcus Dods', in *AllMusic* <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/marcus-dods-mn0001571065> [accessed 23 June 2020].
[440] John Arthos, 'Pericles, Prince of Tyre: A Study in the Dramatic Use of Romantic Narrative', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4.3 (1953), pp. 257-270 (p. 258).
[441] Rodger, *The Listener*, 14 August 1958.

style. This might suggest a sixteenth-century setting, but the music changes from location to location. In the opening scene the listener hears something almost military (0:02:34), then a romantic, orchestral piece for the entrance of Antiochus' daughter (1.1.13; 0:03:41) and when the riddle is read, a single, pulsating and reverberating chord is used to create an other-worldly effect (1.1.65; 0:07:17). During the rest of the play the music ranges from the pseudo-Middle Eastern, using what sounds like a traditional flute and drum, for the Mytilene brothel (1:25:05), to a halliard shanty sung in unaccompanied two-part harmony, signalling that act five begins on a ship (1:50:30). Music therefore creates a direct connection to place without the need for a precise location, meaning listeners do not need prior knowledge of the text or the geography of the eastern Mediterranean.

Wilson Knight identifies two points in the play where music becomes 'an active force' and is 'explicitly mystical'.[442] In this production, these scenes also seem to be linked musically. In the reviving of the 'dead' Thaisa (3.2.87-95), there is more than a minute of slow, melancholic, romantic strings (1:08:39): a long period without speech for radio drama. When Pericles later hears the 'music of the spheres' as he recovers (5.1.217; 2:03:43), lush strings reappear, and while the music is not identical to that which revives his wife, it is very similar, perhaps trying to deliberately evoke a connection before their reunion in the final scene. McWhinnie states that 'music is inevitably the most potent artistic adjunct to speech, emotionally at least, because of its own emotional power'.[443] This production takes full advantage of this, engaging the listener not just through words and acting, but also through music.

It might be thought helpful for a producer to have a ready-made narrator in the form of Gower. Arthos suggests his speeches lend a 'formal elegance' to the play.[444] Lockwood West's delivery, like most radio narrators at the time, is very much in this style. However, in Shakespeare's text, Gower's speeches are often long and accompanied by dumb shows, neither of which work well dramatically on radio. Adaptor and producer R. D. Smith not only removes the dumb shows but also substantially cuts Gower's lines and frequently rewrites them, compressing the

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[442] Wilson Knight, *Crown Of Life*, p. 73.
[443] McWhinnie, p. 64.
[444] Arthos, p. 262.

script. In the chorus at the opening of act two, twelve lines (2.0.5-16) are reduced to the un-Shakespearean 'Prince Pericles at Tarsus stays / But letters come him to amaze' (0:27:38). And a more elaborate version of this practice can be found in the chorus in act four, scene four, where more than twenty lines are cut, seven are substantially rewritten, and eight, from Marina's epitaph, are taken from Gower and given to Pericles. This practice of reallocating lines happens throughout the play. Pericles should read Antiochus' riddle at the start of the play, but instead he says: 'let me *hear* the riddle', and a female voice recites it (1.1.65-72; 0:07:23). And when he arrives at the jousting tournament, he is not announced by Thaisa: the lines are subtly altered and he announces himself. This is the most heavily edited of the plays discussed in this chapter. As well as reducing the length, the editing speeds up the pace by increasing the interaction between characters, making it more conversational. It also makes it more engaging as audio drama, as McWhinnie asserts: 'radio must of its nature use words in the most compressed, condensed way' in order to be most effective.[445]

Pericles presents a dilemma to the producer in terms of content: it is 'Shakespeare's most sexually explicit play'.[446] A generation before this broadcast, Creswell cut some of the bawdier lines from the Porter in *Macbeth*. However, the sexual content in *Pericles* is far stronger and is maintained in this production. The incestuous relationship between Antiochus and his daughter is made clear both through the text itself and Scofield's delivery of it, with his emphasis on words like 'bad', 'foul and 'incest' (1.1.125-130; 0:11:09 and 1.2.76; 0:17:28). The brothel scenes in Mytilene are also unambiguous. They were much commented on by contemporary literary critics, with J. C. Maxwell writing that 'the best parts of them are genuinely funny' and Wilson Knight recognising their 'harsh, yet often richly amusing, satire'.[447] This radio production attempts to bring out the humour but also signal the danger facing Marina. Patricia Hayes, as the Bawd, adopts an exaggerated cockney accent while Boult, played by Malcolm Hayes, whistles as he enters and chuckles his way through his lines. Even when he threatens to rape Marina, his tone is jovial: 'Faith, I must ravish her' (4.6.10; 1:40:50), 'I must have your maidenhead

[445] McWhinnie, p. 56.
[446] Maurice Charney, 'The Saintly Marina in *Pericles*', *Shakespeare's Style* (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2014), pp. 145-147 (p. 145).
[447] Maxwell, p. xxix; Wilson Knight, *Crown Of Life*, p. 61.

taken off' (4.6.116; 1:45:54), 'To take from you the jewel you hold so dear' (4.6.140; 1:47:10). However, Jill Raymond's reaction as Marina indicates the horror of the situation. Her initial kidnap is punctuated with desperate screaming (1:24:06) and once delivered to the brothel she adopts a defiant tone against those holding her, fierce and disgusted (4.2.70-71; 1:28:58 and 4.2.75; 1:29:17). In addition, several interjections are added to the text, enabling Marina to stand up for herself. Raymond's performance as Marina makes the sexual violence genuinely threatening. However, played against the comedy characters of Bawd and Boult it is incongruous. These scenes highlight the conflict, inherent in the text itself, between violence and humour. This production attempts to present both, with the effect that neither work well, possibly undermining to some extent the audience engagement achieved through music and textual editing.

This production seems to mark the start of a change in the presentation of Shakespeare on radio. Its extensive and effective use of music helps tell the story and Smith does not seem to have felt constrained by textual fidelity; editing and rewriting the script to remove long passages of text in favour of more dramatic interactions. Another pair of productions where the producer used more textual editing and additions than his predecessors were the *Henry IV* plays broadcast to mark Shakespeare's quatercentenary.

1 Henry IV and *2 Henry IV* (1964)

The BBC celebrated the 400th anniversary of the birth of William Shakespeare with six productions of his plays on radio across the year; two on the Home Service and four on the Third Programme, including the two parts of *Henry IV*. The plays were a popular choice that year with both Peter Hall and Joan Littlewood staging versions; Hall, with John Barton and Clifford Williams at Stratford-upon-Avon, Littlewood at the Edinburgh Festival. Their general popularity and 'festive' comic nature seem well suited to a celebratory year.[448] Radio producer Charles Lefeaux described them as having 'an epic quality' and presenting 'an astonishing picture of life'.[449]

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[448] C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 4.
[449] Charles Lefeaux, 'Henry IV', *Radio Times*, 30 January 1964, p. 44.

However, his productions play more to the comic nature of Falstaff and his friends, perhaps making them more listener-friendly.

The two parts of *Henry IV* were broadcast on consecutive Friday nights in February. The idea that the plays were two halves of the same story was common in critical thinking.[450] Lefeaux wrote two articles for the *Radio Times* suggesting he also saw them as effectively one play, with the theme of the 'education of Hal'.[451] This loosely concurs with Harold C. Goddard, who states that 'Falstaff had been both Henry's tempter and his tutor' but is in conflict with S. C. Sen Gupta, whose book *Shakespeare's Historical Plays* came out the same year. He states that the 'theme is not so much the education of Henry V […] as the Fortunes of Falstaff'.[452] Falstaff in this production was Joss Ackland, aged thirty-five at the time. However, being radio, his age was immaterial, as his voice suited the part well. Ackland believably sounds considerably older, full of sack and rotund, although he was relatively slim. Goddard feared a stage Falstaff would be 'physically repulsive' due to his 'sheer material bulk'.[453] This might seem difficult to convey in sound, but P. N. Furbank stated that Ackland 'hit off the combination of physical grossness and intellectual nimbleness'.[454] However, he felt Ackland 'missed some richness' in Falstaff, adding that he 'has a perfect natural "fat" laugh, but he was never a very dominating figure; he was never an extravagant buffoon'.[455] Furbank's assessment matches the recording and while he may have meant it as a criticism (he praises Ralph Richardson's earlier stage performance for its 'music-hall technique'), Ackland's performance seems to simply be a different interpretation of the part, perhaps fitting it to radio where a physical buffoon would be difficult to convey.[456]

Prince Hal was played by Robert Hardy, who at thirty-eight was three years older than Ackland. But Hardy also had a voice that matched his character, lighter

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[450] S. C. Sen Gupta, *Shakespeare's Historical Plays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 127. See also Dover Wilson, 'Introduction', in *The First Part of the History of Henry IV: The Cambridge Dover Wilson Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. vii-xxviii (p. xi); Harold C. Goddard, *The Meaning of Shakespeare, Volume 1* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 161. During the history of the BBC, *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV* have usually been performed together, although *1 Henry IV* has twice been produced alone in 1954 and 2020.
[451] Lefeaux, *Radio Times*, 30 January 1964.
[452] Sen Gupta, p. 127.
[453] Goddard, p. 179.
[454] P. N. Furbank, 'Radio Drama "Henry IV Part I"', *The Listener*, 13 February 1964, pp. 287-88 (p. 287).
[455] Furbank, *The Listener*, 13 February 1964, p. 288.
[456] Furbank, *The Listener*, 13 February 1964, p. 288.

and comfortably passing for ten or fifteen years younger than his actual age. Furbank was happier with his performance, stating: 'Hal made a very unpleasantly self-righteous effect, I imagine quite deliberately too'.[457] But he did not like Sheila Grant as Mistress Quickly, complaining of her 'throaty stage-Cockney voice'.[458] The issue of the poetry of Shakespeare also remained in critics' minds. Furbank stated that the 'verse-speaking reached an excellent general level'.[459] But that was contradicted the following month by Anne Duchene, reviewing the second play's repeat, saying it was 'admirable, less in the speaking than in its being so beautifully pitched at a point between the grandiloquent, the raucous, and the treacherously modern, and independent of them all'.[460] Listening to the plays, the performances largely match Duchene's description of 'raucous', creating a buoyant, fun atmosphere and making the plot easy to follow.

Among the most 'raucous' moments are those in Eastcheap, in particular the scene where Hal plays his father and Falstaff pretends to be Hal (*1 Henry IV*, 2.4). Although this scene has much laughter in it, the use of silence underlines the tensions between Hal and Falstaff that are inherent in the text. When Hal berates Falstaff for lying about his exploits during the robbery, the rest of the group are initially quiet (2.4.209; 0:55:49), but as Hal starts throwing insults they begin to laugh, and by the time Falstaff is cursing Hal (2.4.224; 0:56:44) all are chuckling. When the Prince reveals he and Poins have tricked Falstaff, there is an uneasy silence. Falstaff breaks it by laughing, releasing the tension for all. When Hal acts out his father (2.4.400; 1:08:16), there is uproarious laughter, until the Prince begins insulting Falstaff again, when the laughing stops (2.4.414; 1:09:25). After Falstaff says 'Banish plump Jack, and banish all the world' (2.4.437; 1:11:00), Hal's response is serious. Hardy gives a long pause between 'I do; I will' (2.4.438; 1:11:06) and says the second two words with such conviction it is clear he means it. There is a brief moment of total silence before Bardolph enters and the mood is broken. Furbank describes this scene as 'an excellent piece of production'.[461] It makes clear the uneasy relationship between Hal and Falstaff at times, and

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[457] Furbank, *The Listener*, 13 February 1964, p. 288.
[458] Furbank, *The Listener*, 13 February 1964, p. 288.
[459] Furbank, *The Listener*, 13 February 1964, p. 288.
[460] Anne Duchene, 'Radio', *Guardian*, 7 March 1964, p. 7.
[461] Furbank, *The Listener*, 13 February 1964, p. 288.

foreshadows the end of the second play, again helping an audience understand what is happening and preparing them for what is ahead.

Although in many ways this scene conveys the atmosphere well for radio, there is no indication of how Falstaff feels about Hal's claim he will banish him. The problem arises again when Hal, now King Henry, rejects Falstaff at the end of the second play. Hardy delivers his speech scathingly (5.2.45-69; 2:39:06), but Falstaff has no lines or asides to react to this. Apart from a brief murmur from Ackland near the start of the speech, there is no audible reaction from him and, without this, there is no prompt for the audience to feel sympathy for Falstaff or outrage at his rejection by the new king; both reactions which literary critics expected an audience to feel.[462] This could have been an opportunity to add text or music to assist the audience, but neither is used.

However, another scene from *2 Henry IV* that necessitates some sort of clarification does have two lines of dialogue inserted. At the end of act two, scene two, Poins suggests to Hal that they should 'put on two leathern jerkins and aprons, and wait upon him [Falstaff] at his table as drawers' (2.2.148-49; 0:40:09), so that they might be able to secretly observe him. But it is more than fifteen minutes before this is played out for the radio audience. When Hal and Poins enter, disguised, (after 2.4.206), there is no verbal indication of their presence in Shakespeare's text for another twenty lines. Therefore, two short speeches are added after 2.4.208 to enable the audience to understand that Hal and Poins are watching:

> *Music rises then falls.*
>
> POINS (*quietly*) Now art thou the very prince of drawers, Hal.
>
> PRINCE (*quietly*) Straighten thy apron, Ned. Shh, Shh. Listen.
>
> <div align="right">0:57:30</div>

This serves to both indicate their presence and remind listeners that they are not dressed as themselves. It is particularly important that the audience knows they are there but not seen, because Falstaff speaks disparagingly of both in the conversation that follows with Doll (2.4.209-26). It also helps establish that the asides that follow between Hal and Poins (2.4.227-33, 2.4.235-39) are unheard by Doll and Falstaff.

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[462] Sen Gupta, p. 134; Goddard, p. 203.

The adaptation here makes the text accessible to listeners without requiring them to have prior knowledge of it or to remember an incidental moment from earlier.

These productions of *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV* bring together a number of elements found in previous plays discussed in this chapter: the use of an ensemble to create atmosphere, the need to add to Shakespeare's text in order to make it comprehensible to listeners, and the importance to radio critics of good 'verse speaking'. As such, Lefeaux seems to have been aiming to combine poetry and fidelity to the text with performance and storytelling, attempting to democratise Shakespeare while keeping those already familiar with his works happy at the same time.

Democratising Shakespeare

During the twenty years from 1946 to 1966, the BBC did its best to make Shakespeare 'accessible to everyone'.[463] It did this in two ways: through the availability of his plays and the way they were presented. On the first point, there was plenty of choice, with at least two new productions every year: in Queen Elizabeth's coronation year, 1953, there were eleven. And more than six productions a year were not unusual. In addition, plays were frequently repeated.

Plays were also effectively free – if listeners already had a radio licence. At the start of this period, in 1946, the cost was one pound: the equivalent of about forty-five pounds now.[464] In 1947 a 'record figure of 10,740,350' people held one.[465] By 1966, more than sixteen million licences were issued, either for radio only or combined with television.[466] Radio was easily accessible. Throughout this period there was also a desire that the arts were available to all. The *BBC Handbook 1959* states that 'the Drama Department tries to bring listeners a representative repertory of the world's great theatrical classics […] that all but the most affluent and

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[463] 'Democratize', *OED Online* < https://www-oed-com.uea.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/49765?redirectedFrom=democratise&> [accessed 17 November 2020].
[464] Briggs, *Volume IV*, p. 45; CPI Inflation Calculator <https://www.officialdata.org/UK-inflation> [accessed 08 March 2022].
[465] *BBC Year Book 1947* (London: BBC, 1947), p. 7.
[466] *BBC Handbook 1967* (London: BBC, 1967), p. 196.

metropolitan would otherwise have little chance of judging in performance'.[467] This was apparently successful, with Humphrey Carpenter, 'biographer' of the Third and Radio 3, writing that the station 'spectacularly' attracted an audience of 'the young and the not well educated […] in the early years of the Third'.[468]

Democratising Shakespeare was not just about availability. It was also about creating productions that were engaging and comprehensible. In the 1947 *BBC Year Book*, Haley wrote that 'the BBC's pioneer work in spreading a love of music and drama, as well as of literature and the arts, has always had as its base a belief that the only sound and enduring enjoyment must come through understanding'.[469] He went on to admit that there had been complaints that 'the BBC tends to be governessy' and that the corporation 'could, at times, be a little less openly didactic' but added that enabling people 'to understand and therefore to have a well-based appreciation' was a purpose 'the BBC has no intention of abandoning'.[470]

Producers, critics and academics, then and now, have had their own ideas about how to create enjoyable productions while retaining Shakespeare's texts. Wade was concerned about what he described as 'accessibility', stating that: 'By this I mean a play that will not put up any very great barriers of language or production technique […] Listeners will understand what is being said to them – in a quite literal sense – and will know where the action is taking place'.[471] Other writers have had ideas on how to do this. Crook states that 'success is wholly dependent on the quality of casting, direction, performance and production values'.[472] And Huwiler points to the importance of 'non-verbal sign systems' in contributing 'in a unique way to the generation of narrative meaning'.[473] However, Robert McLeish and Jeff Link warn that 'if the "signposts" are too few or of the wrong kind, the listener becomes disorientated and cannot follow what is happening. If there are too many,

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[467] 'Programmes – Policy and Practice: Drama – Sound Radio', *BBC Handbook 1959*, (London: BBC, 1959) pp. 89-91 (p. 90).
[468] Carpenter, p. xiii.
[469] Haley, 'The Next Five Years in Broadcasting', *BBC Year Book 1947* (London: BBC, 1947), pp. 7-11 (p. 11).
[470] Haley, 'The Next Five Years', p. 11.
[471] Wade, 'Popular radio drama', in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis (London and New York: Longman, 1981) pp. 91-110 (p. 92).
[472] Crook, *Radio Drama*, p. 75.
[473] Huwiler, 'Storytelling by Sound', p. 57.

the result is likely to be obvious – "cheesy" and "corny"'.[474] Producers of this period used all these methods, some with greater success than others, to try to make their plays accessible.

One of the most common choices in the early years of this period was to use narration. There are many scenes that make no sense without some sort of interpolation, but it could be controversial.[475] However, narration did serve the purpose of helping to convey to an audience what was going on when the text was not explicit, and some listeners welcomed it. K. Simmons wrote to the *Radio Times* asking for more narration: 'I think it would only be necessary to preface each scene with a phrase such as "A room in Angelo's house" or "The prison," to localise the scene and make the action more readily understood'.[476] The disputed benefits of narration may explain the brief popularity of *Pericles*, a play with a built-in narrator, enabling producers to legitimise the practice through Shakespeare's own words. Narration was not phased out until producers found other ways to signal place, character and visual 'business'. The insertion of the odd word or name had already become regular practice to indicate the presence of characters who would otherwise be silent or not easily identifiable, although this was later derided by Cushman: 'I always expected to hear a Shakespearean tragic hero announce "O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I, Hamlet."'[477] However, the additions and changes became more sophisticated as the 1950s and 1960s progressed, with producers increasingly using dialogue and sound, instead of narration, to convey visual elements.

The use of sound effects and, to a certain extent, music was quite limited in the 1940s and 1950s, despite both having the power to be highly evocative and assist with storytelling. Effects in particular seem to have been avoided. There is the occasional sound of a door or footsteps, and the clashing of swords when required, but little else. *Macbeth* (1949) uses the sound of crows before and after the murder of Banquo (act three, scene three; 1:02:00; 1:03:16) to suggest menace, an effect that

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[474] Robert McLeish and Jeff Link, 'Chapter 21 Drama – principles' in *Radio Production*, 6th edn. (New York: Focal Press, 2016) <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat07845a&AN=uea.921888061&site=eds-live&scope=site> [accessed 17 November 2020] para. 4.
[475] See Chapter 1.
[476] 'Listeners write to the Radio Times', *Radio Times*, 17 June 1951, p. 35.
[477] Cushman, *Radio Times*, 30 September 1976, p. 9.

had already become a convention in Shakespeare's plays, particularly *Macbeth*.[478] Despite its use here, some producers had recognised that this was not the best use of effects, with McWhinnie describing 'stock sounds' as 'stereotyped'.[479] There also seems to have been resistance from listeners. S. Towl wrote to the *Radio Times* complaining: 'I wish to state that broadcast plays, talks, etc. are spoilt for me, and my friends, by the introduction of hideous noises […] supposedly regarded as effects'.[480] Felton wrote that 'the first rule in the use of sound effects is to use them with economy'.[481] He believed a 'fussy succession' of sounds would be 'an irritation to the listener', adding that 'the less they are used, the more effective they are'.[482] Felton was firmly against the sort of soundscaping that would shortly be adopted for radio Shakespeare, complaining that collecting 'different noises' and 'lumping them' together would result in 'confusion', adding: 'the ear, unlike the eye, cannot assimilate a complex combination of impressions'.[483] The sound of other productions in the archive from this period suggests his comments reflect a wider belief held among his fellow producers, although later generations would reject this premise, with recent research showing that sound effects are 'effective in stimulating images and in enhancing listener attention'.[484] Wider use at this time might have helped speed up the move away from narration and made the productions easier to understand.

Music was an even more controversial issue. Val Gielgud wrote: 'there is nothing that can aid radio drama quite so powerfully as music'.[485] However Felton stated: 'The use of music is the element in radio-dramatic production most frequently criticised by listeners'.[486] He was also concerned about music being 'thickly scored', adding that 'a special sort of "underwriting" is required' to prevent it from distracting the listener.[487] Holding the music back in the mix (i.e. playing it quietly) was also something he believed was ineffective. It appears this technique was

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[478] Drakakis, 'Introduction', in *British Radio Drama*, ed. by Drakakis, p. 30.
[479] McWhinnie, p. 91.
[480] 'Listeners write… – Unwanted Effects', *Radio Times*, 14 January 1955, p. 33.
[481] Felton, p. 42.
[482] Felton, p. 44.
[483] Felton, p. 42.
[484] Emma Rodero, 'See it on a Radio Story: Sound Effects and Shots to Evoked Imagery and Attention on Audio Fiction', in *Communication Research*, 39.4 (2012), 458-79 (p. 472).
[485] Gielgud, *Radio Theatre*, p. xiii.
[486] Felton, p. 110.
[487] Felton, p. 123.

attempted in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1954), presumably because the music was transferred from the stage, rather than specifically scored for radio. The composer, Antony Hopkins, had experience of writing for radio and was aware that 'opinions vary' on 'whether it is a good thing or a bad to use incidental music in a radio play'.[488] Overall, though, he agreed with Gielgud that adding it can 'help to enhance the atmosphere and kindle the imagination'.[489] There was also academic support for the idea that music could provide a direct route to the listeners' emotions. Carroll C. Pratt wrote that music created 'mood and feeling, not external fact and logical discourse', adding that 'nothing can express the height and depth and extent of emotion with anything like the artlessness of music'.[490] This was something that producers did come to realise.

Music could also be used to create very different productions of the same play. At the start of November 1951, the Third broadcast *The Tempest*. Less than four months later, in late February 1952, the Home Service also aired a version of the play. The producer in both cases was Raymond Raikes, but he used a different cast and different composer for each. While the productions themselves do not survive, recordings of the music do. The Third Programme version, composed by Anthony Bernard, opens with dramatic, discordant music, perhaps not out of place in its own right on the network. The Home Service production, with music by John Hotchkis, begins in much jollier mood with a more pastoral, old-fashioned style. While it is impossible to judge by this alone how these two plays sounded, the contrasting styles of music would suggest different treatments of the play, with music perhaps playing a key part in this. While Raikes' contemporaries were generally cautious about using music and effects, he went on to develop his own distinctive style of production which endeavoured to create entertaining, populist plays. Raikes' later work is discussed in Chapter 4.

Cast sizes at this time were large. The listings for *Macbeth* (1949) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (1954) both name more than thirty actors. Across the two *Henry IV* plays (1964) there is a cast of thirty-nine. These large ensembles are often put to good use, with anything from murmuring to full-blooded shouting helping to convey

[488] Antony Hopkins, 'How I Write Music for Radio', *Radio Times*, 23 January 1948, p. 4.
[489] Hopkins, *Radio Times*, 23 January 1948.
[490] Carroll C. Pratt, 'The Design of Music', in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 12.3 (1954) 289-300 (p. 289, p. 299).

the atmosphere of court, crowd or battle. This was noted by listener Stanley Blake Reece, who wrote to the *Radio Times* saying: 'The visual presentation of Shakespeare on the stage, screen or television can never be as impressive as the excellent radio presentations that you have offered us'.[491] In his introduction to the 1959 production of *Coriolanus*, Ivor Brown makes a similar point, telling listeners: 'The mob may, on the stage, seem only to be a group, but [on radio] with a varying volume of sound, we can imagine ourselves to be right in the hurly-burly'.[492] The use of ensembles not only gave size and scale to productions, but their reactions, whether through non-verbal noises, exclamations or even silence, could 'paint a picture and work on the listener's mind'.[493] This was another way in which producers were going beyond just a reading of the text to create an audio world to engage their audience.

During this period there was a strong connection between stage and radio, with the cast lists of extant productions in particular dominated by some of the most famous actors of their generation. Gielgud, Scofield, Ashcroft and Evans (who twice more played the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* in this period) had a vocal quality that critics appreciated, seemingly reflecting an unspecified notion of the 'poetic' often mentioned in theatrical and radio reviews. Judging by the critical reaction, and the fact their plays are the ones that have been archived, it might be assumed that these actors were considered to give the best performances. This generally meant putting greater emphasis on the beauty of the words than the action of the drama. The effect of this is to reduce the dramatic power of the text in favour of the 'bloom and the pungency' of Shakespeare's words.[494] This was an issue contemporary producers were aware of, with McWhinnie complaining of 'the misguided school of Shakespearian study' that perpetuated 'the myth that what is really important in Shakespeare is the poetry'.[495] During this period, producers began to recognise that putting performance and story first was key to producing good audio drama: plays that are more entertaining, engaging and accessible to a wide range of listeners.

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[491] 'Listeners write to the Radio Times – Radio Shakespeare', *Radio Times*, 12 January 1951, p. 13.
[492] Brown, 'Introduction' to *Coriolanus*, BBC Home Service, 27 April 1959 (unpublished, BBC Sound Archive).
[493] Lawrence Raw, quoted in Richard J. Hand and Mary Traynor, *The Radio Drama Handbook: Audio Drama in Context and Practice*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), p. 114.
[494] Hope-Wallace, *The Listener*, 21 September 1950.
[495] McWhinnie, p. 46.

The desire by critics for Shakespeare to be spoken a particular way could explain why some voices were deemed unacceptable, such as Sheila Grant as Mistress Quickly. It might also have been connected to prejudice about accents. In 1955, psychologist T. H. Pear commented on the problem of 'unconscious bias' against people with 'working-class' and 'many provincial accents'.[496] In addition, Felton states that 'the concentrated focus of the microphone demands a high standard of accuracy in the matter of dialect'.[497] Both these factors may have contributed to a dislike of voices that were not RP. One effect of uniformity of accent is a flattening of the hierarchical structures in the plays, perhaps explaining why Mistress Quickly is played cockney, albeit unconvincingly, to make a distinction between her, the knight Falstaff and Prince Hal. The lack of accents also fails to reflect the wide range of voices across Britain, especially as regional productions of Shakespeare had largely ended by this period. However, there is nothing to suggest listeners were put off by the fact that many were unlikely to hear voices similar to their own on air, perhaps because RP voices were the norm across all radio, theatre and television for much of this time.

Accent is also a way of distinguishing different characters on radio, something McWhinnie recognised as important, stating that 'the beautiful voice' is not the most suitable for radio, instead 'the best voice is the most idiosyncratic'.[498] While accent was not generally used to differentiate characters, producers do seem to have understood the importance of having a variety of voices. There was even a case of gender-blind casting, with Betty Linton playing 'Philomena' in *Pericles* (1958) (Philemon in the original text). Producers were beginning to grasp the fact that radio enabled a greater variety of actors to play Shakespeare's characters than might have been deemed acceptable on stage or film at the time, with the benefit of having a wider range of distinct voices to help the audience differentiate the characters, assisting audiences in following the story.

While no producer in the post-war period paraded their academic knowledge to the public as Creswell had done with *Macbeth* in 1935, there are often indications that they were influenced at times by contemporary literary criticism. Plays

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[496] Pear, p. 113.
[497] Felton, p. 129.
[498] McWhinnie, p. 126.

frequently seem to reflect some contemporary, or broadly recent scholarship, though rarely conform entirely. Redgrave wrote that it was important for 'the actor or producer or both' to have 'at least some nodding acquaintance with present-day Shakespearean scholarship', adding that he himself always had 'the Furness Variorum edition of the play […] by me during the preparation of a part and during rehearsals'.[499] However, he is also somewhat dismissive of academics, stating that 'very few scholars […] can envisage their theories being put into practice', adding that he was selective in what to use and what to disregard.[500] Although he was writing about the stage, it seems quite plausible that radio producers felt the same way. In particular, the later productions show fewer signs of academic influence, suggesting an intention to prioritise engaging listeners over textual fidelity and a desire to accommodate literary theory.

The period 1946 to 1966 was a time of expansion and change at the BBC. The introduction of the Third Programme meant that a wider variety of radio programming was possible. It is therefore no surprise that it was during the time of this expanded service that more Shakespeare plays than ever before or since were produced. This in itself had a democratising effect on his work, making it more widely available than ever before. But during this period production techniques developed, creating increasingly engaging and accessible productions of his plays, democratising them by generating enjoyment through understanding, as Haley had suggested. However, while drama productions appeared on all three services, it was the Third that became home to Shakespeare, a network that had been 'dismissed in the popular Press as "precious" and "obscure", "an intellectual freak"—the word "elitist" had not yet been invented'.[501] So while many productions were available, some listeners may have been put off by the network where most were to be found. And more change was coming. By the end of this period, the television service had already expanded to two channels and in 1967 the BBC would launch a fourth network radio station. Felton wrote: 'One of these days, radio is going to find that its glasses have been mended by television. When that happens, will it survive?'.[502] It did, and so did productions of Shakespeare's plays. They were increasingly

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[499] Redgrave, p. 134-35.
[500] Redgrave, p. 134-35.
[501] Briggs, *Volume V*, p. 44
[502] Felton, p. 146.

marginalised on the new Radio 3. But being almost hidden from much of the BBC's audience did nothing to deter the creativity of producers. In fact, it seems to have led to a more independent breed of producer who, free from the close scrutiny experienced by their predecessors, would be able to take the plays in their own, individual directions.

Chapter 4:

Radio reorganised: 1967-87

The period from 1967 to 1987 saw radio Shakespeare dominated by male producers with their own, distinct ideas about how to tackle the texts. Steadily declining critical attention outside the BBC, and possibly within, seems to have enabled these producers to deliver their own, personal takes on the plays without the pressures of expectation or restrictions of enforced uniformity. This chapter will argue that these two decades were the era of the 'radio auteur'. The plays of this period are more a product of individuals than of a collective or institutional BBC, with no clear pattern of production.

The circumstances were conducive to the creation of the 'auteurist' radio Shakespeare producer. Firstly, there does not appear to have been any overarching guidance on which plays should be produced – or how this should be done – giving producers a relatively free rein. Secondly, BBC Radio went through a major reorganisation. At the beginning of this period, in 1967, the BBC added a fourth network: BBC Radio 1. The introduction of the 'all-pop' station led to the rebranding of the existing channels.[503] The Light Programme became Radio 2, the Third, Radio 3, and the Home Service, Radio 4. As a result of the new line-up, the BBC published *Broadcasting in the Seventies*, described as its 'plan for network radio and non-metropolitan broadcasting'.[504] The thirteen-page document set out proposals 'to reshape BBC radio into a pattern which we believe would be more logical, more attractive, and solvent'.[505] It quickly led to Radio 3 losing much of its speech content, but maintaining 'the more specialised drama, poetry, and other cultural programmes'.[506] This included Shakespeare. Radio 4, on the other hand, while still airing drama, produced very few Shakespeare plays. During the period 1967 to 1987, Radio 3 broadcast nearly forty, while only half a dozen productions of Shakespeare had their first broadcast on Radio 4, although the network did air the

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[503] *Broadcasting in the Seventies* (London: BBC, 1969), p. 3.
[504] *Broadcasting in the Seventies*, cover.
[505] *Broadcasting in the Seventies*, p. 13.
[506] *Broadcasting in the Seventies*, p. 4.

lauded twenty-six-part series *Vivat Rex* (1977), 'a dramatic chronicle of the English Crown through 200 years of its history by the Elizabethan playwrights Shakespeare, Marlowe, and their contemporaries', produced by Martin Jenkins.[507]

Briggs states that in 1969 only two in every hundred BBC listeners were tuned to Radio 3.[508] Radio Shakespeare therefore had a much smaller potential audience than it had had for many decades, and it got much less recognition. Briggs' fifth instalment of his history of British broadcasting, which covers the years 1955 to 1974, barely mentions radio drama, let alone Shakespeare. Similarly, a sixteen-page supplement in *The Times* to mark the BBC's fiftieth birthday in 1972 dedicates half a page to television drama, but nothing to radio drama. In 1976 Sheridan Morley wrote that even 'distinguished radio drama' went 'largely unnoticed by the press':

> Yet upwards of a hundred thousand people listened to the Alec Guinness *Lear* or the Paul Scofield/Nicol Williamson *Othello* on radio, vastly more than will ever get to a production at the Open Space or any of the other smaller theatres regularly reviewed by the national press.[509]

As Morley identifies, the production of Shakespeare's plays on radio was largely ignored by critics outside the BBC, and perhaps even within the corporation, where eyes were firmly fixed on the small screen.

The middle years of this period were the era of the BBC Television Shakespeare project. From 1979 to 1985 the corporation aired productions of the complete canon. The project received 'one of the most elaborate publicity campaigns ever launched for a series of cultural programs'.[510] But it also came in for criticism. Jack Jorgens, writing at the time stated: 'The verdict is decidedly mixed.'[511] Olwen Terris later summed up many critics' opinions, writing that 'the productions were generally bland and unimaginative'.[512] Such a high profile, albeit frequently

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[507] 'Vivat Rex', *Radio Times*, 10 February 1977, p. 27.
[508] Briggs, *Volume V*, p. 771.
[509] Sheridan Morley, 'Preview', *Radio Times*, 15 April 1975, p. 13.
[510] Jack Jorgens, 'The BBC-TV Shakespeare Series', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 30.3 (1979), 411- 415 (p. 411).
[511] Jorgens, p. 411.
[512] Terris, 'Shakespeare and British Televisions Broadcasting 1936-2005', in *Shakespeare on Film, Television and Radio: The Researcher's Guide*, ed. by Terris and others (London: British Universities Film & Video Council, 2009) pp. 20-39 (p. 31).

criticised, project may well have distracted from the work on the same texts being done on radio.

The following case studies will begin with the work of Raymond Raikes, who favoured Shakespeare's comedies and who used all the technology at his disposal to create productions he felt would be intelligible to his audience. The case studies continue with John Tydeman, who made the tragedies his main focus, employing star actors and relying on their abilities to translate the plays to radio. Attention then turns to Jenkins, whose preference was for full-text productions of the histories, with realistic and sometimes disturbing use of sound effects to portray the violence of battle. The chapter will also look at the work of Ian Cotterell, whose work shares similarities with that of his mentor, Raikes. The case studies conclude with Jenkins' *Macbeth* (1984), a production which owes much to his engagement with the history plays. The end of this chapter will look at the wider implications of the work of these men, their dominance and influence, as well as touching on the lack of female producers working on Shakespeare during this period.

The lack of attention given to radio and the apparent freedom of its producers created the ideal conditions for the 'radio auteur'. In an interview with Morley, Tydeman showed particular admiration for the likes of Ingmar Bergman and Ken Loach.[513] It seems that he, as well as other members of the department, saw themselves in the same mould as these cinematic auteurs. Morley reports that Tydeman told him that there was 'a greater freedom to explore and to experiment' than there had been previously.[514] Freedom for Tydeman meant working with the most highly-lauded actors. As he told Morley: 'Where else [other than BBC radio] would I have been able to do major productions of the four great Shakespearian tragedies with comparable casts?'[515] However, not everyone was focused on attracting famous names. Raikes was far more interested in the power of radio, and what could be done with it. His distinctive characteristics included his seeming irreverence for the text, his extensive use of sound effects, and his use of stereo to place actors in the audio space in a similar way to a stage director in the theatre. All these are evident in his production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

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[513] Morley, 'John Tydeman: Lear for the ear', *The Times*, 14 December 1974, p. 9.
[514] Morley, *The Times*, 14 December 1974.
[515] Morley, *The Times*, 14 December 1974.

A Midsummer Night's Dream (1970)

Theatre critic John Barber described 1970 as 'simply the year of Brook's "Dream"'.[516] The Stratford-upon-Avon production by Peter Brook has become legendary, a landmark in Shakespearean theatre, famous for its white box setting. Robert Speaight wrote that instead of the traditional 'muslin and Mendelssohn', Brook 'persuaded you to forget a century of theatrical tradition, with its conventions and its clichés; and commanded you into a frame of mind where the very notion of magic, of supernatural agency, had to be created afresh'.[517] However, before he had seen the play, he did have reservations about Brook's 'admiration' for Jan Kott and how that might affect the production.[518] He was not the only one: Raikes must also have feared Kott's influence. The *Radio Times* reported that he was 'glad to be presenting *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* before (as he puts it) Peter Brook and Jan Kott get at it'.[519] Kott had written: 'I imagine Titania's court as consisting of old men and women, toothless and shaking, their mouths wet with saliva, who sniggering procure a monster for their mistress'.[520] According to the *Radio Times*, 'this is not Raymond Raikes's idea at all'.[521] Raikes himself wrote that his production 'may be one of the last chances to hear Shakespeare's fairy-comedy before it is *reinterpreted* by Kott and Brook' (added emphasis).[522] The pre-publicity would suggest that what Raikes really meant was 'ruined'. This is all the more surprising, given that Raikes' immediate boss, head of drama Martin Esslin, was a friend of Kott, having written the introduction to the latter's influential book *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, first published six years earlier. Raikes was evidently not restricted by this and was able to create his own interpretation of the play and even publicise it in direct competition to Brook and Kott.

The message from Raikes was clear: conservative lovers of Shakespeare would prefer his production to Brook's. And on the face of it, a conservative

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[516] John Barber, 'A Dream, a Queen & a Shylock', in *Daily Telegraph*, 28 December 1970, p. 8.
[517] Robert Speaight, 'Shakespeare in Britain', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 21.4 (1970), 439-449 (p. 448).
[518] Speaight, p. 448.
[519] D.A.N. Jones, 'The storyteller in the market-place', *Radio Times*, 18 June 1970, p. 14.
[520] Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, trans. by Boleslaw Taborski (New York: Norton, 1974), p. 227.
[521] Jones, *Radio Times*, 18 June 1970.
[522] 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream', *Radio Times*, 18 June 1970, p. 26.

production was what Raikes was giving them. The play opens with a pastoral tune evoking a bygone era and an announcement that it was written by Anthony Bernard 'for productions of the play at Stratford-upon-Avon in the 1930s', with the *Radio Times* listing adding that there would also be an Elizabethan melody, 'Heartsease' and 'an old English folk tune'.[523] Bernard's style sits in the genre of British Light Music, which 'grew from the indulgent and sentimental music of the nineteenth century' and featured 'harmonically unchallenging, smooth and entertaining melodic lines'.[524] Bernard was also a regular collaborator of Raikes', the pair having met at the Stratford Memorial Theatre more than thirty years earlier. Raikes' choice sets the radio production up in contrast with what was expected from the new Stratford production, where Richard Peaslee's music would include 'the coil spring from a car suspension unit, and a new instrument from America […] a "Free-ka"'.[525] However, while Raikes' production was superficially much more conservative than Brook's, he was not averse to experimentation.

Raikes had long championed the use of stereo to help listeners. D. A. N. Jones reported that Raikes believed it gave 'extra depth', allowing 'the listener to know the position and movement of the characters'.[526] In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* he particularly employs it in act three, scene two, when the confusion between the Athenian lovers is at its height. Helena is placed to the left, while Hermia is on the right; Demetrius is on the left, and Lysander on the right (1:17:20 onwards). However, it is quite subtly used; no character is purely on one side or the other. When using headphones, one can discern who is standing where, but only with attentive listening. A far clearer use of stereo comes earlier in this scene, between Puck and Oberon. Puck is solely on the right, Oberon on the left (1:13:50). Here, it does not seem to be used to distinguish who is who, but to indicate Puck's arrival (3.2.110). In this case it is the audio equivalent of having two actors enter from opposite sides of the stage. Using stereo in such a way is peculiar to Raikes at this time. While other producers were making stereo productions, only Raikes actively uses sound to mimic the placing of actors on a stage.

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[523] 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream', *Radio Times*, 18 June 1970.
[524] 'British Light Music', in *Naxos* <https://www.naxos.com/series/british_light_music.htm> [Accessed 17 September 2020].
[525] T. S. Ferguson, 'What's happening - Swinging music', *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 August 1970, p. 11.
[526] Jones, *Radio Times*, 18 June 1970.

Raikes also employed the BBC's Radiophonic Workshop, which provided music, sound effects and vocal distortion for this production. Oberon and Titania's voices are treated with a strange echoey, whispery sound (2.1.60; 0:23:51), which is used throughout on the fairy king and queen. Puck's voice is also distorted immediately after Bottom is 'translated' (3.1.94; 0:53:19), and when the fairies are waiting on Bottom (3.1.145; 0:56:46). But the solo fairy standing 'sentinel' to watch over Titania is not (2.2.25-26; 0:38:01). Raikes uses the technique only when it is essential to identify a character as being from the fairy realm, or invisible to the humans. Radiophonic music is used sparingly, such as when Oberon sends Puck to look for Helena (3.2.100; 1:13:09). It is very simple and is combined with an effect on Puck's voice, which repeats 'Swifter than arrow from the Tartar's bow' (3.2.101), each time getting higher and more distorted. While this might seem exactly the sort of non-traditional treatment a conservative audience would dislike, listeners' comments printed alongside the repeat listing in September 1970 suggest otherwise: 'The stereo effects and unfamiliar music made the fairy-haunted woodland very real indeed, and the fairies quite other-worldly'.[527] Despite Raikes' outward conservatism, his use of stereo and radiophonics demonstrate his desire to embrace all the techniques available to him and a more radical style of production than his contemporaries.

Textually, little is cut from the script: generally just the odd line or couplet. However, there are many insertions, especially in the scenes with the mechanicals. All are male with similar voices so, to aid recognition for listeners, they repeatedly address each other by name. In addition Raikes also frequently inserts their jobs after their names. While Peter Quince does initially do this in Shakespeare's text (e.g. 'Nick Bottom, the weaver', 'Francis Flute, the bellows-mender', 1.2.14 and 34), their jobs are not continually referenced. It is likely Raikes was again trying to make the characters distinct for his listeners. He also adds lines that emphasise the connection between the characters' jobs and what they say. After Quince has cast the play-within-a-play, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, he says 'and I hope, *speaking as a carpenter*, here is a play fitted' (1.2.54; 0:17:43), suggesting the importance of well-fitted timber in carpentry and the irony of the ill-suited players. A few lines later in Bottom's speech about which beard he will wear as Pyramus (1.2.77-79), Raikes

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[527] 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream', *Radio Times*, 24 September 1970, p. 25.

inserts at the beginning: 'Then, using my weaver's dyes' (0:18:54). Whether he wanted to explain why Bottom would have so many coloured beards, or perhaps felt the original, sexual joke in the exchange with Quince (whose response, 'Some of your French crowns have no hair at all' is a reference to venereal disease) would be lost on the audience is unclear. Raikes' relationship with the text is highly personal, with additions not heard in productions by his colleagues before or since.

Raikes also exaggerates the mechanicals' ineptitude by inserting additional lines and repetitions. In perhaps the most Raikesian scene, the performance of *Pyramus and Thisbe* in act five, he creates in sound a sense of the visual 'business' of a stage production. When 'Pyramus' is on stage, there is a clanking noise, as if he is wearing an ill-fitting sword (1:58:21). 'Wall' stomps across the 'stage' in heavy boots (2:00:35). Shakespeare's text has Bottom repeat his mistake from the rehearsal in referring to 'Ninny's tomb' (5.1.200), but Raikes adds Quince hissing from the side 'Ninus, Ninus', and Bottom correcting himself (2:00:24). Quince's frustration as director is also illustrated when part of one of Bottom's lines is given to him: rather than Bottom correcting himself 'Which is—no, no was—the fairest dame' (5.1.282), Quince corrects him (2:04:25). In all his plays, Raikes seems to be trying to capture the atmosphere and storytelling of theatre but in sound, as well as finding ways to make the comedy work for a radio audience.

While the productions of the play both Raikes and Brook produced in 1970 may have been superficially very different, both were influenced by the glamour of the commercial theatre. Tydeman described Raikes as 'a scion of show business who always referred to a production as "the show"'.[528] Brook has stated that his production of *The Dream* was greatly influenced by Broadway.[529] This perhaps suggests they had more in common than might be expected, not least their respective desires to produce something individual and distinctive, as well as entertaining. Tydeman himself was more influenced by 'serious' theatre, making it his mission to bring his interpretations of Shakespeare's tragedies to the radio, often with the cream of Shakespearean theatre in leading roles. However, while this undoubtedly brought his productions publicity, the reasoning behind it seems to have had more to do with

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[528] Tydeman, 'Obituary: Raymond Raikes', *Independent*, 8 October 1998 <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-raymond-raikes-1176797.html> [Accessed 16 November 2020].
[529] Peter Brook, *Playing By Ear* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2019), pp. 81-82.

his hands-off approach to directing and his preference for actors who already understood the texts they were working with.

King Lear (1974)

When Tydeman came to *King Lear* he had a decade of radio Shakespeare plays behind him, including productions starring Paul Scofield, Peggy Ashcroft, Ian McKellen and Nicol Williamson. Miriam Margolyes, who worked with Tydeman at the BBC from the mid-1960s onwards, described him as 'impossibly grand and magisterial even then'.[530] It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that, as a producer unafraid to work with famous names, he should approach a film star for his production of *King Lear*.

Alec Guinness had performed Shakespeare on radio several times between 1939 and 1947. But after a gap of nearly thirty years, he wanted to know there was 'a measure of agreement' between Tydeman and himself before agreeing to take on Lear.[531] Tydeman's attitude was very straightforward: 'I don't believe in this clarification of Shakespeare. You just say to the actor: "You just bloody say it!"'[532] This chimes with Guinness' comment in an interview that 'I just do it'.[533] It is indicative of Tydeman's style of production and one of the key elements of his particular auteurist qualities. He relied on his casting skills more than detailed direction in order to get the performances he required and, to this end, chose star names to populate his plays. This attitude of non-interference seems also to have extended to Tydeman's scripts. He sometimes cuts but makes fewer changes or additions than either Raikes or Jenkins. A Tydeman production guaranteed star names, a 'straight' rendering of Shakespeare's text and little in the way of sound effects and music.

Tydeman's attitude to Shakespeare production won plaudits but did not always produce the results he himself desired. This was particularly the case with

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[530] Ned Chaillet, 'John Tydeman obituary', *Guardian*, 4 May 2020 <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2020/may/04/john-tydeman-obituary> [Accessed 4 January 2021].

[531] Peter Martin, 'Sir Alec Guinness talking... but so discreetly he's hardly there', *Radio Times*, 12 December 1974, p. 17, p. 19.

[532] Tydeman, private phone conversation, 18 February 2020.

[533] Martin, *Radio Times*, 12 December 1974.

King Lear. While Tydeman and Guinness may have seemed in agreement, Guinness' attitude to radio acting was not quite as straightforward as he made it sound. Two anecdotes about the recording give an indication of this. The *Radio Times* reported that Tydeman had asked his cast to imagine what their costumes might be like for their roles: 'When Guinness came to do the mad scene, he remarked, "I must remember I'm wearing my nightshirt and the pretty hat with wild flowers on it!"'[534] Tydeman recalled another incident in the studio: 'Alec brought an immaculate pair of slippers to wear. Cyril [Cusack, who played Gloucester] noticed this and the next day he brought out his rotten old carpet slippers!'[535] Both suggest Guinness was precise and careful in his performance, something that disappointed Tydeman. More than four decades after the recording, Tydeman described Guinness as 'too polite. I couldn't get the animal out of him. Although he had the capability of doing it, he was afraid'.[536] Tydeman's feelings may have been evident to the actor, who wrote in his diary that he felt he had 'failed hopelessly in the storm sequence' although may have been 'rather good in the last scenes'.[537] Tydeman's hands-off approach appears to have backfired, at least in his own mind.

However, radio critics felt that Guinness and the 'stellar cast' did bring something out of the text.[538] Val Arnold-Forster wrote that it was:

> A production that made one very conscious of the fact that the play is about family relationships […] What we got was Lear the father even more than Lear the King. But, since Alec Guinness is a very great actor, the tragedy was in no way diminished'.[539]

Tydeman saw the 'spine' of the play as 'a political one', but Arnold-Forster's suggestion that this version is more family focused seems apt.[540] Guinness' voice is not unlike that which he uses for Obi-Wan Kenobi in the *Stars Wars* franchise two years later. He is a dignified and controlled Lear at the start, becoming bewildered, endearing and gently comic during the mad scenes. His lack of the 'animal' means

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[534] 'This week', Radio Times, 12 December 1974, p. 3.
[535] Tydeman, private phone conversation.
[536] Tydeman, private phone conversation.
[537] Guinness quoted in Piers Paul Read, *Alec Guinness: The Authorised Biography* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2003), p. 488.
[538] Martin, *Radio Times*, 12 December 1974.
[539] Val Arnold-Forster, 'Radio', *Guardian*, 21 December 1974, p. 8.
[540] Morley, *The Times*, 14 December 1974.

he is never overly wrathful with his daughters, and therefore it is easier to empathise with him as the play goes on. In the storm scene (3.2.1 onwards; 1:23:50), Guinness' delivery is less dramatic than his predecessors. For example, John Gielgud in his 1951 performance bellows the speech as if he is playing to a huge auditorium. Guinness' performance is more intimate. His voice is angry, but he does not shout. He is not competing with the storm but challenging it. In the play's final scene, Guinness' Lear is sad, almost wistful, and has an air of childishness about him, particularly when he thinks Cordelia may still be alive. As he delivers the five 'nevers', his voice is very soft, sad and with a sing-song tone that accentuates the childlike quality (5.3.284; 2:55:24). Sigurd Burckhardt states that Lear's final words are 'the cry of the man who cares for nothing more except the hope that truth has breath and voice and that from it issues visible realities'.[541] But Guinness' interpretation suggests that his Lear cares little about truth. Instead, as observed by Arnold-Forster, the combination of his delivery and the text emphasises the importance of family as he dies. His voice almost fades away as he looks at Cordelia (5.3.286-87; 2:55:41), leaving the audience in no doubt that his daughter, rather than the crown or succession, was the most important thing to Lear at the end.

Likewise, Goneril, Regan and Cordelia are played with subtlety. Arnold-Forster praised the performances of Jill Bennett, Eileen Atkins and Sarah Badel respectively as the sisters for 'exceptional acting', adding 'none of your stereotyped two baddies and a goodie here'.[542] Guinness also praised Atkins and Badel in his diary, describing them as 'excellent'.[543] Badel in particular creates a nuanced Cordelia that contrasts with the way the character was more often portrayed on radio and in contemporary literary scholarship. Harold C. Goddard describes Cordelia as 'a spirit', while Maynard Mack suggests she is a symbol of 'human virtue' and L. C. Knights describes her 'serenity'.[544] In the opening scene, the reaction of Badel's Cordelia to Lear's demands is much more human. She finds her sisters' comments ridiculous; there is almost a chuckle in her voice during her asides after they give

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[541] Sigurd Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 258.
[542] Arnold-Forster, *Guardian*, 21 December 1974.
[543] Guinness quoted in Read, p. 488.
[544] Goddard, *The Meaning of Shakespeare, Volume 2* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) p. 156; Maynard Mack, '"We came crying hither": An essay on some characteristics of King Lear', in *Essays on Shakespeare*, ed. by Gerald Wester Chapman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 138-76 (p. 162); Knights, p. 130.

their declarations of love (1.1.60; 0:04:40 and 1.1.74-76; 0:05:35). When she answers her father, her responses suggest she finds the whole situation rather silly. She speaks plainly and honestly when she declares 'I love your majesty / according to my bond' (1.1.90-91; 0:06:28), unaware this will be insufficient for her father. And her delivery of 'Why have my sisters husbands if they say / they love you all?' (1.1.97-98; 0:06:45) gives the impression of a woman anticipating a loving, rather than dutiful, relationship with her future husband. Badel's Cordelia is not unable to 'heave her heart unto her mouth' (1.1.89-90) but sees no point in it: her mistake is to assume her father is as mature as her. There is nothing in any of Tydeman's comments on the play to suggest this interpretation comes from him, perhaps indicating that his reluctance to explain Shakespeare enabled Badel to determine her own reading of the character.

Ronald Pickup as the Fool also gives a different interpretation to many of his radio predecessors. Recordings from the 1940s to the 1960s feature Fools with light, almost childlike voices who sing many of their lines and seem timid around their respective Lears. Pickup plays the Fool with a tone that suggests he is superior to all the other characters, including Lear. When he addresses Lear as 'my boy' he is not reverential or affectionate but patronising (1.4.125; 0:34:23). When Kent says: 'This is not altogether fool, my lord' (1.4.127.12), Pickup's confident and knowing delivery of the response suggests he views himself as less of a fool than those around him (1.4.127.13-16; 0:34:58). This has echoes of Feste's initial exchange in *Twelfth Night*, where he uses logic to prove Olivia is the fool, rather than him (1.5.50-64). Pickup pointedly delivers the lines with the assuredness of someone who knows what is going on and what the future holds. Tydeman had previously cast Pickup as 'the best Hamlet' he had ever heard, adding that Pickup 'sounded as if he had a mind'.[545] This may explain Pickup's interpretation of the Fool, thoughtful and observant rather than subservient. Tydeman's familiarity with Pickup's acting style would suggest he was expecting Pickup to portray the Fool in this way without necessarily specifically giving him that direction.

In Tydeman's productions, the interpretations of the actors are to the fore, rather than his own directorial hand. His expectation that his cast would just

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[545] Tydeman, private phone conversation.

instinctively deliver the lines allowed them to give their own, individual responses to the roles they played, based on the text rather than theatrical or literary convention. Tydeman's auteurism is rooted in his commitment to enabling his actors to use their skills to develop roles, rather than in strong, prescriptive direction.

Like Tydeman, Jenkins makes few cuts to the texts and often casts well-known actors, though rarely as famous as those used by Tydeman. However, Jenkins' use of sound effects is more prominent than his colleague and is used to a specific end: to convey the brutalities of war. While Tydeman focused on the tragedies, Jenkins favoured the history plays, beginning with *Henry IV Part One* and *Two* in 1973, and returning to the second tetralogy three years later with *Henry V*, which shows a keen interest in evoking the sounds of battle, as well as emphasising the Christian context of the plays.

Henry V (1976)

By 1976, there had already been more than a dozen productions of *Henry V* on BBC radio. However, contemporary reviewers did not compare Jenkins' to any of these, but to a contemporary stage version and a film. Morley suggested 'Jenkins is intent on displaying *Henry V* as a war poem, an interpretation which should afford an enthralling contrast with the "reluctant hero" King recently offered by Alan Howard for the RSC at Stratford'.[546] Derek Parker, on the other hand, made a connection between Jenkins' production and perhaps the most famous twentieth-century version, stating it was 'substantially cast in the same mould' as Laurence Olivier's 1944 film.[547] However, Jenkins suggests that neither were direct influences, stating that: 'I think I am most influenced by the demands of the text'.[548]

Parker's observation does have some merit, however, as there are elements of the production that seem to echo its cinematic predecessor. Like the film, it opens in a theatre, although more in the style of a West End venue than the outdoor Globe. Jenkins begins with the sound of an audience muttering, then a 'theatre manager' (rather than a standard BBC announcer) proclaims: 'Ladies and gentlemen. Henry

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[546] Morley, *Radio Times*, 15 April 1975.
[547] Derek Parker, 'Radio: The words rule – OK?', *The Listener*, 29 April 1976, p. 543.
[548] Martin Jenkins, private email correspondence, 1 October 2020.

the Fifth by William Shakespeare' (0:00:05). He goes on to list sixteen cast members, which was an unusually high number for the opening credits. A hush descends over the 'audience' as he reads, and by the time he comes to the last name there is a moment's pause before he speaks in a quiet, slightly reverential voice: 'With John Gielgud as Chorus' (0:00:49). There is then a brief silence before Gielgud launches into 'Oh, for a muse of fire' in highly dramatic tones. Jenkins' setting is theatrical and echoes Olivier's film, yet does so in a way that takes a text written for the stage and transforms it into something comprehensible on radio.

Gielgud's casting seems to have been a deliberate attempt to emphasise the theatrical nature of the Chorus, rather than create a radio narrator. Although the 'theatre audience' never returns, Gielgud's delivery of the Chorus' speeches always sounds as if he is projecting to an auditorium, with a slight echo added to his voice accentuating this (e.g. 0:00:55; 0:25:21; 2:34:22). This fits with the literary criticism of Goddard, who saw the Chorus as a combination of 'History filling in the gaps of the story' and 'stage manager apologizing for […] the general inadequacy of the stage'.[549] Parker stated that the right note was struck 'at the beginning by John Gielgud's noble Chorus' who 'again gift[ed] us all his intelligence and vocal command'.[550] Unlike Tydeman, it seems likely that Jenkins took an active role in directing his performers. Gielgud provided more intimate, radio-friendly performances in other productions around this time, so the decision to present the Chorus in a theatrical manner is likely to have come from Jenkins, especially as other aspects of the production also reflect this style.

Henry was played by John Rowe, who Parker suggested was 'of the same stuff' as Henry Ainley, renowned for his loud and theatrical radio performances.[551] Rowe does give a performance that seems rooted in the theatre, which is perhaps surprising as he was a member of the BBC Drama Rep and would therefore have been an experienced radio actor.[552] This would again suggest a deliberate decision on the part of Jenkins to accentuate the consciously theatrical nature of the play. However, his presentation of the battles is in contrast to this. While aspects of the

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[549] Goddard, *The Meaning of Shakespeare, Volume 1* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) p. 217.
[550] Parker, *The Listener*, 29 April 1976.
[551] Parker, *The Listener*, 29 April 1976. See also Chapter 2.
[552] Morley, *Radio Times*, 15 April 1975.

production do seem to be non-naturalistic, his use of sound effects to create the sounds of combat and death are realistic. In the text, the battles never happen on stage. By choosing to present them on radio, Jenkins ensures his audience cannot forget the consequences of war, a key aspect of his presentation of the history plays.

Jenkins developed his techniques for the audio representation of war throughout his career at the BBC, but even by 1976 he was creating some of the most violent soundscapes heard on radio. In this production, between scenes two and three of act four, there is a comprehensive sound mix of many voices shouting from a distance, the faint sound of neighing horses and the noise of arrows being fired. This builds with trumpets, the sound of hooves on earth, getting nearer, louder shouting and the occasional cries of pain (2:09:04). The killing of the boys by the French is symbolised by the murder of 'Boy', who is heard crying out in pain at the end of 4.4.69 (2:13:19), and then gurgling as if blood is in his throat. The killing of the French prisoners is also portrayed, with French voices calling in fear, while the English repeatedly shout 'Kill the prisoners' (2:16:48). When Montjoy describes the scene after the battle, of princes 'drowned and soaked in mercenary blood' and horses 'fetlock-deep in gore' (4.7.68, 71), Jenkins has ensured the listener already has these images in their mind. However, this makes the Chorus' prior apology for having 'four or five most vile and ragged foils' (4.0.50) seem not only unnecessary but contradictory. Contemporary literary critic Robert Ornstein believed the use of the Chorus in the play to keep 'the battle offstage' was Shakespeare deliberately sparing the audience 'the horror of war'.[553] In any theatre production, a director wanting to bring that violence onto the stage would find it difficult to do so realistically. Jenkins uses radio to create the impression of hundreds of men involved in battle, and places it at the heart of his production, sparing his audience nothing. While not as realistic as later radio plays of the canon which feature battle scenes, including Jenkins' own versions, this production of *Henry V* does give a sense of the violence of war, something Jenkins was keen to emphasise.

Jenkins' portrayal of war was also successful in the play's less dramatic moments. These received the greatest praise from Parker who stated that 'Jenkins's major contribution was, perhaps, in the quieter scenes, realising the tensions in both

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[553] Robert Ornstein, *A Kingdom for a Stage: The Achievement of Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 192.

camps before the battles. The Englishmen might have been waiting to go over the top on the Somme on 1 July 1916'.[554] Jenkins also uses religious observance to accentuate the impact of war. At the end of act four, Henry says: 'Do we all holy rites. / Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*' (4.8.116-17; 2:32:54). There is no suggestion in the text that this would be staged, however Jenkins chooses to add this at the end of the scene, initially with a single, unaccompanied English voice singing *Non nobis*, before the rest of the English soldiers join in. This is then cross-faded with the sound of church bells (2:33:12-2:34-22). By doing this, Jenkins creates a greater sense of mourning for the dead, taking the audience from the violence of the battlefield through to the impact on those left behind.

By contrast to Jenkins' powerful handling of the battles and their aftermath, Parker was unimpressed with the comedy in the play, stating 'there were aural over-gesticulations on the part of the clowns' which he believed were due to 'desperation' in having no visuals to fall back on.[555] This, he concluded, 'raises the whole question of totally uncut productions of Shakespeare, and whether they are really justified'.[556] The comic characters in the play, such as Bardolph, Pistol and Nym, are played very broadly, with Michael Aldridge as Pistol particularly unsympathetic. During the description of Falstaff's death, Elizabeth Spriggs as Mistress Quickly sounds genuinely emotional (2.3.9; 0:48:00). However, Aldridge's Pistol remains unsympathetically comic throughout, finally demanding 'give me thy lips' and making an exaggerated kissing sound (2.3.39; 0:50:36). Likewise, the group of soldiers from across the British Isles are played broadly for comedy. The actors playing Fluellen, Gower, Macmorris and Jamy, a Welshman, Englishman, Irishman and Scot respectively, all use exaggerated and unconvincing national accents. Ornstein viewed the characters as a distraction from the horrors of war, and it appears Jenkins felt that exaggerating them for comic effect would emphasise that contrast and increase the potency of the scenes of violence.

Jenkins' trademarks of visceral, sometimes disturbing violence, and the use of religion as a counterpoint to that, were not copied by other producers for many years. Likewise there is no obvious successor to Tydeman. However, Raikes'

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[554] Parker, *The Listener*, 29 April 1976.
[555] Parker, *The Listener*, 29 April 1976.
[556] Parker, *The Listener*, 29 April 1976.

treatment of the comedies was influential on another producer. By this point in the mid-1970s, Raikes had retired from the BBC, and with Tydeman and Jenkins concentrating on the tragedies and histories respectively, the lighter plays in Shakespeare's canon needed a new champion on radio. Cotterell, a protégé of Raikes, had joined the radio drama department and was clearly influenced by his mentor's work, bringing Shakespeare's comedies to the airwaves with a Raikesian use of effects, comedy and audio technology.

The Merchant of Venice (1976)

Cotterell's first experience of producing radio drama was as part of the Studio Managers Amateur Dramatic Group, 'under the guidance of the doyen director Raymond Raikes'.[557] Unlike most radio drama producers, then and now, Cotterell did not have a university education and prior to joining the radio drama department had been a BBC filing clerk and then a production assistant. Raikes had guided him when he was still an amateur and his influence is evident in Cotterell's productions, which combine a greater use of sound effects, music and sound manipulation than most of those by Tydeman or Jenkins. Like Raikes, Cotterell also worked primarily on the comedies and in 1976 turned to *The Merchant of Venice*, the play which had been Raikes' first foray into producing Shakespeare on radio in 1949.

With the growth of television, radio was attracting less and less attention in the press. In previewing this production Arnold-Forster wrote: 'Good things turn up on radio which only constant readers of the smallest print can expect to hear about in advance. Tomorrow evening, for example, Radio 3 is presenting an interestingly cast Merchant of Venice.'[558] Her comment highlights the hidden nature of many productions of Shakespeare's plays on radio at this time. Previews and reviews were becoming less frequent and listings were getting smaller. In 1956, the *Radio Times* dedicated four pages per day to radio; in 1976 it was two. Newspaper listings were also increasingly cramped, making more space for television.

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[557] Tydeman, 'Obituary: Ian Cotterell', *The Independent*, 2 January 1996 <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-ian-cotterell-1322070.html> [Accessed 1 December 2020] para. 4.
[558] Arnold-Forster, '30 Years Snore', *Guardian*, 2 October 1976, p. 8.

The casting was also commented on by *The Listener*, which reported that the play would feature 'father and daughter playing father and daughter': Alan and Sarah Badel playing Shylock and Jessica.[559] In doing so, Cotterell drew attention to the Jewish characters, in particular Jessica, a relatively small part in the play. This might have been an opportunity to look at the treatment of these characters. Seven years earlier, Herbert Bronstein wrote that the 'anti-Jewish stereotype' of Shylock 'makes many uncomfortable with *The Merchant of Venice*, not only Jews, but directors, actors, and critics, as well'.[560] Instead, Arnold-Forster's review makes clear that this production gave a stereotypical portrayal of Jewishness, with an unsympathetic Shylock whose 'lisping Jewish accent […] sounded from time to time like a comic send-up of an East End tailor so that the essential dignity of the character was lost'.[561] His daughter also adopts this style of speech but more subtly, creating a more sympathetic and integrated persona, perhaps because this is the trajectory of the character. But it is impossible to ignore the fact that both father and daughter could be said to be continuing Bronstein's 'anti-Jewish stereotype'. From Bronstein's comments, it seems likely that Cotterell would have been aware of the possible concerns around the portrayal of Shylock, suggesting the choice was deliberate. However, it was not without precedent. Both Michael Redgrave a generation earlier in 1953 and David Suchet more than a decade later in 1987 adopt a similar vocal style for the character. Cotterell, perhaps influenced by Raikes' desire for clearly defined characters, appears to have perpetuated an existing stereotype without considering the implications.

Badel's Shylock may be a caricature, ranting in an exaggerated fashion at the end of the trial scene and making a somewhat comic sound when Antonio says 'He presently become a Christian' (4.1.385; 2:03:39). However, the audio image of Shylock is not just down to Badel's performance, as Cotterell uses sound effects to heighten the caricature. Throughout Shylock's first meeting with Antonio (act one, scene three) there is the noise of coins clattering on a table, presumably being counted (from 0:17:13 onwards). And in the trial scene, the sound of a knife being sharpened can be heard prominently (1:49:36-53), as well as emphatic tapping when

[559] 'Drama – Radio 3', *The Listener*, 2 September 1976, p. iv.
[560] Herbert Bronstein, 'Shakespeare, the Jews, and The Merchant of Venice', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 20.1 (1969), 3-10 (p. 3).
[561] Arnold-Forster, 'European Merchandise', *Guardian*, 9 October 1976, p. 8.

Shylock says 'Nearest his heart' (4.1.252; 1:56:43). Similarly, Jessica's Jewishness is augmented with sound, even after she has converted to Christianity. At the start of act five (2:09:19) when Jessica and Lorenzo are alone, a solo violin plays a Klezma-style melody and there is also the twanging of a Jew's harp. Cotterell's use of music and sound effects, especially to reflect lines in the text (such as the knife sharpening) are in keeping with Raikes' style of production, which always aims at textual clarity through sound.

The heightened 'Jewishness' of Shylock and Jessica is in contrast to the Christian characters. If any excuse for the accents can be justified, it is in differentiating this divide. The greatest contrast is with Antonio. Bertrand Evans writes that the 'centre of Antonio's character is his goodness'.[562] In this production he is played with an avuncular English warmth by Patrick Barr. When Antonio and Shylock first meet, Alexander Leggatt suggests their 'apparently casual conversation crackles with suppressed animosity'.[563] However, in this production it seems one-sided. Badel adopts an exaggeratedly friendly tone, which together with the long aside immediately beforehand, indicates his falseness to the audience (1.3.53; 0:20:06). Barr's Antonio is initially cool, but not unkind, to Shylock. Although he briefly comes close to losing his temper after Shylock's long speech complaining of his mistreatment (1.3.100-22), Barr quickly calms down. Once they have agreed to their 'merry bond' (1.3.166), he gives a friendly chuckle and sounds sincere as he says 'Hie thee, gentle Jew. / The Hebrew will turn Christian: he grows kind.' (1.3.170-71; 0:26:41). Antonio is portrayed as Bronstein's 'hero', while Shylock is the 'villain'.[564] This is not dissimilar to Raikes' interpretations of characters, which are often drawn as 'goodies' and 'baddies'. Cotterell's portrayal of Antonio and Shylock as hero and villain respectively mirrors this and, like Raikes, it appears to be used as an aid to storytelling.

This idea of good and bad is also evident in the contrast between Shylock and Portia. Anna Massey's precise and clear-cut RP voice fits well with Leggatt's description of Portia as one with a 'cool ironic wit' who is no 'romantic heiress'.[565] Arnold-Forster felt Massey was 'an excellent choice', adding that 'we were in no

[562] Bertrand Evans, *Shakespeare's Comedies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 56.
[563] Alexander Leggatt, *Shakespeare's Comedy of Love* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p. 120.
[564] Bronstein, p. 4.
[565] Leggatt, p. 129.

doubt about the good sense of the lady'.[566] In the courtroom scene (act four, scene one) Arnold-Forster states 'she treated the quality of mercy speech as an explanatory exercise; it became a lecture on sentencing policy rather than the evocation of a God-given virtue'.[567] Leggatt states that 'Portia and Shylock speak with utterly opposing voices'.[568] Massey's contained, courtroom drama-style delivery is in contrast to Badel's melodramatic Shylock: restrained RP versus exaggerated emotion and accent. Although this fits with Leggatt's literary criticism, it is more likely Cotterell's choices come from a desire to clearly define the two characters and to steer the audience's view of them.

Cotterell left the text of the play uncut, meaning characters that often appear peripheral, like the 'clown' Launcelot, seem more prominent. Leggatt suggests that the scene where Launcelot is 'joking with Old Gobbo' (act two, scene two) 'does not allow the detachment of farce'.[569] However, Steve Hodson, as Launcelot, and Richard Goolden as his father play the scene in a knockabout way. When Old Gobbo enters, there is the sound of the pair colliding, both grumbling and then the tapping of a stick, indicating the old man's blindness (0:32:16). Goolden uses an exaggerated old man voice, indistinct as if he had missing teeth. Throughout the scene he coughs, wails, 'ooh's and 'ah's, and the tapping continues. Just as Raikes had done with the mechanicals in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1970), Cotterell is creating a theatrical representation of the scene in audio.

Cotterell also uses a lavish sound mix. Arnold-Forster stated that 'the various scene-setting was done firmly and rather noisily—plenty of trumpets, splashy gondolas, and vociferous bird-song'.[570] Cotterell's production style owes much to his mentor in the way it uses sound and presentation of character to help the audience understand what is happening; in the extensive use of sound effects and music; in its concentration on comedy; and in its placement of actors within the sound space in a similar way to their positioning on a stage. While it would be wrong to say Cotterell is copying Raikes, the older producer's influence can be felt and Cotterell does not seem to be doing anything distinctively different from his mentor. In his obituary for

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[566] Arnold-Forster, *Guardian*, 9 October 1976.
[567] Arnold-Forster, *Guardian*, 9 October 1976.
[568] Leggatt, pp. 137-38.
[569] Leggatt, p. 128.
[570] Arnold-Forster, *Guardian*, 9 October 1976.

Cotterell, Tydeman was a little reserved in his praise for his former colleague, writing that he 'was not an interventionist director but one who provided the right ingredients and created the right atmosphere for it all to happen'.[571] This is not unlike Arnold-Forster's assessment of this production: 'Ian Cotterell's *Merchant of Venice* was a firm, clear reading of the play […] All in all, a rational, intelligent production'.[572] In both cases, while there is praise, it is not effusive.

Raikes had started his career working on serials and moved into long form drama. Cotterell went the other way, leaving Shakespeare behind in 1979 to produce popular adaptations of the Sherlock Holmes stories and the critically acclaimed series *Barnes' People* (1981-87). In the same year, Tydeman became assistant head of radio drama, having already stopped producing Shakespeare. However, Jenkins continued to work on the canon into the 1990s. In 1984 he tackled the tragedy *Macbeth* but brought to bear all his experience with the history plays, developing further his depiction of war, and again bringing a religious overtone to his production.

Macbeth (1984)

Jenkins had produced six Shakespeare plays for BBC radio by the mid-1980s, largely the histories or Roman plays, as well as *Vivat Rex*. His developing work on portraying scenes of violence is evident in his adaptation of *Macbeth*. In his 1973 production of *Titus Andronicus*, the actors playing Chiron and Demetrius make sounds almost as if they are gargling as their throats are 'cut', something he developed further in *Vivat Rex*.[573] By the time he produced *Macbeth*, he was skilled at depicting scenes of violence and creating disturbing audio images, some of which he later admitted 'still retain their gruesome impact', even in the twenty-first century.[574]

[571] Tydeman, *The Independent*, 2 January 1996, para. 6.
[572] Arnold-Forster, *Guardian*, 9 October 1976.
[573] *Titus Andronicus*, BBC Radio 3, 28 October 1973, 2:26:23.
[574] 'Vivat Rex', in *Radio 4 and 4 Extra Blog* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/radio4/2012/04/radio_4extra_vivat_rex.html> [Accessed 3 January 2021] para. 7.

The killing of Banquo is a case in point. It is preceded by the sounds of dull stabbing and much exertion from the actors. Just before his final words, Nigel Terry as Banquo makes a gurgling sound, as if his lungs are full of blood (3.3.21; 1:00:48). His murder is portrayed as brutal and difficult. Macbeth's death, something that does not take place on stage in Shakespeare's text, is even more visceral. A prolonged fight is interspersed with the dialogue that precedes the killing (5.7.38-64; 2:02:35). Movement is slow and laboured, there is no quick clash of swords as other producers used in earlier productions, but heavy clangs and sounds of extreme exertion from John Rowe and Denis Quilley as Macduff and Macbeth respectively. The sound of the final two stabs suggests great force and is accompanied by painful, guttural noises from Quilley (2:05:05). The violence of the deaths was a deliberate decision by Jenkins:

> Horror and brutality are two of the key themes of the play. As Macbeth sinks ever deeper into the bloodbath of his own making it seems to me essential that the audience should experience the sheer horror of his actions. […] Radio is a great medium for bringing the brutality of murder directly to the listener. We devised ways to make this as shocking as possible.[575]

The depictions of these deaths are in keeping with Kott's comment that 'blood in Macbeth is not just a metaphor; it is real blood flowing out of murdered bodies'.[576] Jenkins, as with his *Henry V*, uses his skill with sound to convey this palpably to the listener.

The killings in the play are not only heightened by the performances of the actors and the sound effects, but also by the use of music. The closing credits state it 'was improvised and played by Ilona Sekacz'. Her background was in *musique concrète*, a 'type of quasi-musical organization of sound'.[577] Prior to this production she had worked at the RSC as well as on a number of Jenkins' other radio productions. He describes her as having 'a great ear for mood and atmosphere'.[578] Her score for *Macbeth* is sparse, featuring instruments that are not readily identifiable and often using abstract, percussive sounds. Reviewer Peter Davalle

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[575] Jenkins, private email, 1 October 2020.
[576] Kott, p. 87.
[577] Arthur Jacobs, 'Concrete Music', in *A New Dictionary of Music* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 83.
[578] Jenkins, private email, 1 October 2020.

described it as 'unearthly' and 'creepy', exerting 'maximum impact in terms of atmosphere'.[579] Jenkins uses Sekacz's music to create a soundscape for his production in a non-literal way. For example, the opening scene with the witches has just an occasional metallic tone and a single string plucked once. At other points smooth tones are replaced with spiky ones (0:15:46), a very low xylophone sound underscores Lady Macbeth (1.5.38; 0:18:30), a dull throb plays under 'Is this a dagger which I see before me' (2.1.33; 0:29:34). Towards the end of the play, the music becomes more like a throbbing heartbeat, as Macbeth's situation becomes more desperate (5.4 onwards; 1:53:58). All the music is seamlessly blended and, although it is sometimes very quiet, it is rarely absent, enabling Jenkins to create atmosphere in an almost subliminal way.

However, Jenkins does still use some of the same sound effects as his predecessors. Thunder punctuates the production throughout, including just before Macbeth's death (2:04:50), and there is even a brief cry of crows prior to Banquo's murder (0:59:35). This suggests that in certain scenes he felt additional sounds were needed to have greater impact.

Arnold-Forster described the cast as 'formidable' but there were conflicting opinions on Quilley and his Lady Macbeth, Hannah Gordon.[580] Davalle described Quilley's performance as 'masterly' adding that 'with a voice like his, he was born to play Macbeth'.[581] Davalle also praised Gordon, writing that 'she tackles a symphony-size character with chamber music technique and the result is unforgettably chilling'.[582] However, not everyone agreed. John Wain complained that 'realism is all very well, but it is carrying realism too far to make Lady Macbeth utter her first great soliloquy […] in a whisper because she happens to be alone'.[583] Wain continued that 'if we can believe that the woman is speaking immortal verse, it is surely not too much to go on and believe that she is doing so out loud'.[584] This seems to not only be negating the nature of and possibilities offered by radio

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[579] Peter Davalle, 'Today's television and radio programmes – Choice', *The Times*, 28 November 1984, p. 27; Davalle, 'Today's television and radio programmes – Choice', *The Times*, 23 April 1984, p. 19.

[580] Arnold-Forster, 'Pick of the week's television and radio', *Guardian*, 24 November 1984, p. 10.

[581] Davalle, *The Times*, 28 November 1984.

[582] Davalle, *The Times*, 28 November 1984.

[583] John Wain, 'Radio – Birthday bard', *The Listener*, 3 May 1984, p. 28.

[584] Wain, *The Listener*, 3 May 1984.

performance, but perhaps also suggesting something about his attitude to female performers, an attitude some literary critics felt was inherent in the text of *Macbeth*. Peter Stallybrass suggested the play 'mobilizes the patriarchal fear of unsubordinated woman'.[585] Gordon's often naturalistic interpretation of the character creates a Lady Macbeth who is not just strong but real, and ultimately vulnerable. By contrast, Quilley's performance is noticeably more theatrical than Gordon's, although Wain makes no comment on his delivery. Quilley himself acknowledged: 'I had to be forever reminded to tone the voice down'.[586] This suggests Jenkins took an active role as director, although perhaps not quite containing Quilley. Gordon, on the other hand, must have given Jenkins what he was looking for, as he used her in other productions before and after *Macbeth*.

Wain's long review repeatedly harks back to the sort of comments being made half a century earlier about voice and poetry. In the 1930s, Henry Ainley's performance as Othello was praised for being 'most musical', while a production of *Antony and Cleopatra* was criticised for a lack of 'word-music'.[587] In 1984, Gordon's initial speech was described by Wain as 'unmusical'. He also felt that 'there were many passages where the actors seemed to be speaking the verse in too much of a hurry, conveying nothing of its haunting music'.[588] Once again there is a critical desire for Shakespeare to only be spoken in a certain way. However, Jenkins believed the most important thing was to cast actors he felt would 'give strong, truthful performances' adding that 'these have to be real people the listener can believe in'.[589] Like his presentation of violence and bloodshed, Jenkins wanted his production to be as realistic as possible.

Jenkins leaves the text of the play virtually untouched. He does not make any edits, even keeping the traditionally cut Hecate passage, and adds just the occasional name or 'My lord' to indicate an entrance. However, he does add one line at the start of act three, scene six, which again suggests a desire to reflect a Christian context for Shakespeare's plays. The play text gives no indication of location, but Jenkins opens

[585] Peter Stallybrass, 'Macbeth and Witchcraft', in *Focus on Macbeth*, ed. by John Russell Brown (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 189-209 (p. 205).
[586] 'A real king – that's Quilley's Macbeth', *Radio Times*, 19 April 1984, p. 18.
[587] 'Review of Broadcasting: Mr Henry Ainley as Othello', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 December 1939; Maine, p.103.
[588] Wain, 3 May 1984.
[589] Jenkins, private email, 1 October 2020.

the scene with simple organ music evoking a chapel. The character of the Lord then says: '*In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen*' (1:12:03). Jenkins says that he believes the scene to be 'very important' and points to the mention towards the end of a 'holy angel' (3.6.46) as a reference to its religious overtones. The scene also ends with the Lord saying: 'I'll send my prayers with him' (3.6.50). Jenkins adds: 'I have always felt that within the play there is a clash between the pagan/witchcraft and inherent Christianity'.[590] This chimes with several earlier literary critics, including Jane H. Jack who wrote that the play had an 'explicitly Christian quality'.[591] Jenkins himself says he was not consciously reflecting literary criticism: 'I had been in the play at University and had read a great deal about it. However, I always try to come to every production unburdened by the past'.[592] Like his version of *Henry V* he takes a single line and develops it into a religious moment in the play. In both cases the scenes not only accentuate the Christian element, but also provide a counterpoint to the violence.

The four producers featured in these case studies were not the only ones working on radio productions of Shakespeare's plays at the time, but between them they were responsible for more than half of those broadcast.[593] Their colleagues usually only did one or two, concentrating on other radio drama, and did not demonstrate a unique style of their own. While their predecessors may also have had their own, distinct ideas about how to present Shakespeare, the circumstances in which Raikes, Tydeman, Jenkins and Cotterell were working gave them greater opportunity than ever before to present these plays in their own style, enabling them to develop into 'radio auteurs'.

'Radio auteurs'

The term 'auteur' does not have a universally accepted meaning, but its use in this chapter to describe BBC radio Shakespeare producers aims to reflect some of the working practices they have in common with cinematic auteurs. These 'radio

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[590] Jenkins, private email, 1 October 2020.
[591] Jane H. Jack, 'Macbeth, King James, and the Bible', *ELH*, 22.3 (1955), 173-193 (p. 180).
[592] Jenkins, private email, 1 October 2020.
[593] Of the forty-three main Shakespeare productions during this twenty-year period (ignoring those for schools and works of 'Shakespeare Apocrypha'), twenty-six were produced by these four producers: Cotterell and Tydeman produced five each, Raikes did seven and Jenkins, nine.

auteurs' are 'the major creative force' in their respective works.[594] They exert 'a high level of control across all aspects' of a play with a 'distinctive style', fulfilling roles including directing and editing.[595] They also convey 'individual perspectives through thematic motifs and stylistic markers'.[596] Producers from the late 1960s to the late 1980s were not constrained by the later 'corporate culture' of the BBC.[597] Tydeman wrote in 1981 that radio production 'has no need to surround itself with a machine of great executive complexity'.[598] And Jeremy Mortimer, who joined the department in the early 1980s, says that at that time it was 'essentially a kind of fiefdom'.[599] In addition, David Hendy suggests that 'something approaching an *auteur* tradition of "sound cinema"' was present during the 'early 1970s', partly due to 'inspiration' from 'domestic television' and directors such as 'Ken Loach, Stephen Frears, and Roland Joffe', and partly because of the long-established 'avant-gardist subculture' of the department.[600] Producers had autonomy over their own projects, and in the cases of Raikes, Tydeman, Jenkins and Cotterell this meant they could execute their own personal takes on Shakespeare's plays.

Lloyd Hamilton Peters states that auteur theory has been described as a 'strategy to increase directorial status', adding that one way of doing this is by 'announcing the director's credit above the title of the film' on posters.[601] Perhaps the equivalent for a radio producer is the listing in the *Radio Times*. Tydeman wrote that 'the addition of the line "Produced by Raymond Raikes" at the end of a *Radio Times* drama billing would create in listeners the anticipation of a spirited production of the highest quality'.[602] Tydeman also highlights Raikes' autonomy within the department: 'The enthusiasm of this one man was trusted and encouraged by successive controllers and two heads of Radio Drama – Val Gielgud (though not

[594] 'Auteur Theory', in Britannica <https://www.britannica.com/art/auteur-theory> [Accessed 24 December 2020].
[595] 'What is an Auteur?', in *MasterClass* <https://www.masterclass.com/articles/film-101-what-is-an-auteur> [Accessed 24 December 2020].
[596] Rosanna Maule, *Beyond Auteurism: New Directions in Authorial Film Practices in France, Italy and Spain Since the 1980s* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2008), p. 13.
[597] Lloyd Hamilton Peters, 'Media Practice and New Approaches to Mise-En-Scène and "Auteur" Theory in Broadcast Radio' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Salford, 2014), p. 37.
[598] Tydeman, 'The producer and radio drama', p. 13.
[599] Jeremy Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[600] Hendy, *Life on Air*, p. 196.
[601] Peters, p. 36.
[602] Tydeman, *Independent*, 8 October 1998.

without some struggle) and Martin Esslin'.[603] Raikes did things his way, regardless of whether others agreed or not.

Tydeman states that Raikes' background in soap opera and a daily thriller serial stayed with him and 'even with the most obscure works […] he never lost the popular touch'.[604] Tydeman went on:

> He rewrote parts of plays by absent playwrights for the sake of clarification […] A scholar would note that the hand of Raikes is evident in most of the Shakespeare texts he directed. For the average listener this blasphemy would only make things clearer.[605]

In a similar vein, Margaret Horsfield wrote: 'Raikes believes the texts of all Shakespeare's plays should be carefully reconsidered for radio, to the end that the listener is never at a loss'.[606] Raikes always put his listeners – and their entertainment – first.

 In contrast to Tydeman and Jenkins, who both favoured long productions, Raikes was unafraid of cutting a text. His production of *King John* (1967) runs for less than two hours and was described by reviewer David Wade as having 'a verve and an aptness'.[607] Raikes also produced a two-episode version of the three parts of *Henry VI* (1971), with a total running time of just over four hours. Shortest of all, and the shortest version of any Shakespeare play since the Second World War, was his *Comedy of Errors* (1968), which lasts just eighty minutes. Horsfield states that Raikes created 'a very carefully cut and reworked text of the play, with musical and sound effects incorporated into the script, and with detailed directions about the actors' positions in relation to the stereo microphone'.[608] The reason for this was Raikes' explicit use of stereo in this production. Horsfield explains:

> As the announcer speaks the tolling bell in the east is faded away and the sea wash faded in from the opposite direction. These two sounds mark the perimeters of Ephesus, and between them arise the sounds of the other

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[603] Tydeman, *Independent*, 8 October 1998.
[604] Tydeman, *Independent*, 8 October 1998.
[605] Tydeman, *Independent*, 8 October 1998.
[606] Horsfield, p. 33.
[607] Wade, 'Military memoirs', *The Listener*, 9 March 1967, p. 338.
[608] Horsfield, p. 32.

locations of the play, such as the Porpentine, the Phoenix and the Centaur Inn. Each of these various locations is given a place in the stereo scene.[609]

In the final act when the two sets of twins meet, Raikes uses stereo to help the listener understand which twin is speaking, by putting one Antipholus and Dromio on the left, and the other pair on the right. There were no reviews of this production, so it is difficult to know whether contemporary audiences were aided by Raikes' use of stereo although, listening to it, the effect is more subtle than the descriptions suggest, and perhaps not as clear as Raikes would have hoped.

Raikes' use of stereo was pioneering. It was something he 'pursued […] with enthusiasm, often in the face of managerial opposition'.[610] His use of sound effects was also extensive compared to his contemporaries. Felton, whose producing career overlapped with the start of Raikes', wrote that drama producers must not 'lump together' lots of different sounds to convey a setting.[611] And yet this is exactly what Raikes did, particularly in *The Comedy of Errors*. He appears to have ignored advice, and even the wishes of his head of department, to produce plays exactly the way he wanted them. And judging from Tydeman's comments in his obituary, he was successful. A Raikesian production was one that used radio as a stage, carefully positioning actors within the stereo space. It had a tight script, lots of sound effects and music, and was all about entertaining the audience.

Tydeman's style of production was different in almost every way. Wade wrote about his 1971 *Hamlet*: 'As no other medium, radio drives us back onto the text and producers have been known to attempt to compensate for lack of eyes by laying on the music and effects. Mr Tydeman avoids this'.[612] Instead, he put the emphasis on the actors. Tydeman himself wrote: 'The speed at which things happen in a radio studio demands extreme accuracy in casting. In fact the ability to cast well should be one of a radio producer's prime qualities'.[613] Michael Quinn states that Tydeman worked with most of the leading actors of the time.[614] Morley listed many of them alongside their appearances in what Tydeman saw as the 'four great

[609] Horsfield, p. 33.
[610] Tydeman, *Independent*, 8 October 1998.
[611] Felton, p. 42.
[612] Wade, 'Hamlet's Mirror', *The Times*, 30 October 1971, p. 8.
[613] Tydeman, 'The producer and radio drama', p. 15.
[614] Michael Quinn, 'Obituaries: John Tydeman', *The Stage*, 4 June 2020, p. 32.

tragedies': *King Lear* (1974), *Hamlet* (1971); *Othello* (1972), and *Macbeth* (Scofield and Peggy Ashcroft, 1966).[615] Tydeman also produced *Romeo and Juliet* in 1970 with Ian McKellen and Anna Calder-Marshall; and *Antony and Cleopatra* with Robert Stephens and Sian Phillips in 1977, Tydeman's last Shakespeare play for BBC Radio. Some actors, like Pickup, appear again and again in Tydeman's productions.[616] Tydeman explained that 'because of the brief time allotted for the rehearsal of a radio play, it is of inestimable help to have experience of the qualities and quickness of a particular artist'.[617] It was integral to Tydeman's way of working that his actors did not need to be told what to do or spend a long time rehearsing, and were able to deliver a performance without much prompting.

Tydeman saw himself as the man in charge, describing his role as 'both captain and High Admiral, director and producer both […] he is to a large extent his own script editor'.[618] This desire for control may well have been why he went on to eventually become head of radio drama in 1986. However, his sense that producers should be able to work in their own way was soon challenged. Quinn states that 'two years from retirement, he resigned in 1994 disenchanted with the [director-general] John Birt-led managerial changes that introduced a competitive internal market throughout the BBC'.[619] But Tydeman did not stop producing audio versions of Shakespeare's plays. Instead, to regain his autonomy, he turned to the commercial sector and recorded several unabridged productions for Naxos. Tydeman's distinctive production style included an actor-led approach to performance, casting famous names in leading roles, and using few effects and little music.

Jenkins shares some of Tydeman's attitudes towards Shakespeare's plays and the presentation of them. Horsfield states that 'Jenkins has directed his cast to stick to the text and play what is there before them, without cloying or overly refining issues which may be unfamiliar to twentieth century sensibilities.'[620] This is reminiscent of Tydeman's 'just bloody say it'. And like Tydeman, he makes few, if any, cuts to his texts. However, Jenkins had a more interventionist attitude to

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[615] Morley, *The Times*, 14 December 1974.
[616] Pickup is in *Romeo and Juliet* (1970), *Hamlet* (1971), *King Lear* (1974) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (1977).
[617] Tydeman, 'The producer and radio drama', p. 20.
[618] Tydeman, 'The producer and radio drama', p. 13.
[619] Quinn, *The Stage*, 4 June 2020.
[620] Horsfield, p. 44.

direction than his colleague, accentuating the theatrical in *Henry V* and attempting to rein in Quilley as Macbeth. Jenkins also creates a more distinctive soundscape for his productions. Writing about *Henry V*, Horsfield states that he 'sometimes blurs his background noises intentionally, to avoid the intrusion of overly specific sounds'.[621] This is also a feature of his *Macbeth*, with music being suggestive rather than illustrative. Jenkins began working with Sekacz in the early 1980s and, like Raikes before him who frequently worked with Bernard, the collaboration with a regular composer became an important element of Jenkins' individual style. This is also a common feature of cinema auteurs, as Ruth Doughty and Christine Etherington-Wright point out:

> Many directors work repeatedly with the same composers: Steven Spielberg with John Williams, Sergio Leone with Ennio Morricone, Tim Burton with Danny Elfman. Therefore much of the distinctive style associated with these directors is reliant on this collaborative process. The score and soundtrack are once again integral to audience interpretation. [622]

By working consistently with one composer, a radio auteur like Jenkins or Raikes can develop a distinctive sound that goes beyond the actors' delivery of the text or use of sound effects.

Jenkins' other key distinctive qualities are his depictions of violence and religion. His productions frequently feature visceral scenes of bloodshed, 'bringing the brutality of murder directly to the listener'.[623] No other producer goes as far in their use of audio to do this. Alongside the violence, Jenkins also picks up on the religious references in the plays in a highly personal way, adding Latin texts to develop single lines into full scenes.

Ian Cotterell's production style was influenced by his mentor Raikes, showing many of the same characteristics in his work: lots of sound effects and music, a desire to produce populist entertainment and the use of the audio space in a theatrical way. Because he does not exhibit a unique, personal take on the plays, he is not an auteur in the same way as Raikes, Tydeman and Jenkins. But he was still a

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[621] Horsfield, p. 43.

[622] Ruth Doughty and Christine Etherington-Wright, *Understanding Film Theory* (London: Palgrave, 2018), p. 8.

[623] Jenkins, private email, 1 October 2020.

significant producer during this period, responsible for five Shakespeare plays. In particular he developed Raikes' interest in the use of stereophony by embracing the 1970s technology of quadraphony. Tydeman suggests that this was as a direct result of support given to Cotterell in his amateur days, where 'he experimented with stereophony in its early phases and with quadraphony and surround-sound, experiments which were to continue long after he had "turned professional"'.[624] Horsfield wrote in 1978 that 'three Shakespeare plays have been done in "quad" so far, with mixed success. These include *The Tempest* [1974], *The Merchant of Venice* [1976] and *As You Like It* [1978], all produced by Ian Cotterell'.[625] This 'mixed success' may at least in part have been because the majority of listeners were unable to benefit from hearing the plays in 'quad'. Reviewer Gillian Reynolds wrote of *The Tempest*:

> This was the first BBC play ever to be produced in quadrophonic [sic] sound. As quadrophony [sic] is not yet a part of radio's established service it was transmitted in stereo although it was played back privately for an invited audience to its fullest effect.
>
> Having then duly reported on what is a new technical milestone in radio, I must, as usual, humbly admit that I heard it in mono.[626]

Likewise, Derek Parker, reviewing *As You Like It*, admitted he too had only been able to listen in mono.[627] Horsfield's suggestion of 'mixed success' could also refer to this production. Parker wrote: 'making Martin Jarvis give a counterfeit presentment of the three brothers was mischievous, for he was virtually forced to make brother Jaques a caricature merely to distinguish him from the others [Orlando and Oliver]'.[628] Parker also criticised the 'often irritating rustic accents' of some characters and thought the cutting of the text 'was occasionally curious'.[629] However, he concludes: 'how ungrateful I seem […] if I now say that the production was an enchantment and a delight'.[630]

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[624] Tydeman, *The Independent*, 2 January 1996, para. 4.
[625] Horsfield, p. 20.
[626] Gillian Reynolds, 'Tempest over the air', *Guardian*, 30 March 1974, p. 12.
[627] Parker, 'Radio – Forest murmurs', *The Listener*, 12 January 1978, p. 55.
[628] Parker, *The Listener*, 12 January 1978.
[629] Parker, *The Listener*, 12 January 1978.
[630] Parker, *The Listener*, 12 January 1978.

Cotterell's *The Tempest* was only the second Shakespeare play he produced. Horsfield explains: 'It was chosen by Cotterell for "quad" because of its elusive magic which he felt could be effectively evoked if the listener were surrounded by the strange noises of the island on the four speakers of a quadraphonic sound system.'[631] Horsfield herself was able to listen to this production in 'quad' and made the following observation:

> A particularly notable quadraphonic achievement in this production is the creation of the voice of Ariel, which is technically manoeuvred to appear to come from nowhere. The voice hovers in mid air, and is all the more mystifying because Ronnie Stevens, as Ariel, whispers very quietly into the microphone throughout the play, with a faint echoing reverberation added to his voice. [...] The producer and actor and sound engineer have, in the character of Ariel, combined their efforts to make a very special being who, in the words of Ian Cotterell, 'seems to speak from within Prospero's head'.[632]

Horsfield's description of Ariel bears similarity with Raikes' use of the Radiophonic Workshop for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* four years earlier, again suggesting the influence he had on Cotterell. Unfortunately, the BBC only has a stereo version of this production in its archives, and so it is impossible to hear in the original 'quad' now.

Cotterell's contribution to radio Shakespeare is not insignificant and his work did receive positive reviews. Reynolds wrote that his version of *The Tempest* was 'great radio'.[633] While Jeremy Rundall in the *Sunday Times* described it as a 'towering production' in which Paul Scofield gave 'an enormous, even terrifying rendering. Not to be missed'.[634] Cotterell's legacy also continues into the twenty-first century. The most recent production of *The Tempest* (2021) uses stereo to do something very similar with Ariel as Cotterell had done in quad. Ariel appears to fly from speaker to speaker (or headphone to headphone) in Eloise Whitmore's sound mix, zipping from left to right and back again during her speeches. In addition,

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[631] Horsfield, p. 39.
[632] Horsfield, p. 40.
[633] Reynolds, *Guardian*, 30 March 1974.
[634] Jeremy Rundall, quoted in 'Radio 3 Drama: The Tempest', *The Listener Supplement*, 26 September 1974, p. iv.

'Ariel's songs [are] realised in binaural sound', a successor to quad.[635] While Cotterell did not have perhaps the individual distinctiveness exhibited by Raikes, Tydeman and Jenkins, his similarity in style to Raikes' demonstrates how influential a 'radio auteur' could be on the next generation of producers, with his own innovations continuing to be felt today.

The production of Shakespeare's plays on BBC radio seems to have been almost exclusively the preserve of men at this time: of the approximately fifty productions during this twenty-year period, only two were produced by a woman: Jane Morgan. However, this was about to change. From the 1990s onwards an increasing number of female producers were responsible for Shakespeare on radio, with the majority of twenty-first century plays produced by women. Other—less welcome—changes were coming too. In 1978, Horsfield wrote: 'deciding on the production techniques to be used in putting Shakespeare's plays on radio is now much more of an aesthetic choice than it was in the early days of radio'.[636] And that choice was down to the producer. However, as the 1980s drew to a close, the conditions that enabled producers to act with autonomy were about to end. Crook explains:

> The pressures which liquidated the new dramatist's television studio play in favour of filmed series and serials have been visited on Radio Drama. Economic ideology imported by the current Director-General, John Birt, and multi-million pound surveys produced by outside management consultants have marginalised talented and experienced editors and producers.[637]

In the 1990s, producers would find their work much more restricted, something that was enough to make Tydeman leave the BBC. But before he did, he led the department as another auteur, this time from the cinema, made his contribution to radio Shakespeare: Kenneth Branagh. His productions of *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* for Radio 3 put Shakespeare back on the front cover of the *Radio Times*, and were followed a few years later by the Millennium Shakespeare series on the network, 'a magnificent new project' originally intended to broadcast seventeen of

[635] '*The Tempest*', in *Drama on 3* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0011cm5> [Accessed 26 February 2022].
[636] Horsfield, p. 50.
[637] Crook, 'International Radio Drama – Social, Economic and Literary Contexts', in *Independent Radio Drama Productions* <http://www.irdp.co.uk/radiodrama.htm> [Accessed 4 January 2021] para. 27.

the plays with introductions by Richard Eyre, who had just left the National Theatre.[638] One of the selling points of this series was that it would be available to buy on cassette or compact disc immediately after broadcast. It was the logical progression of a decision taken in 1988 to make Jenkins' *Macbeth* the first Shakespeare play to be released as part of the BBC Radio Collection, and made BBC productions available to the public to listen to anytime, anywhere, for the first time.

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[638] Sue Gaisford, 'Man of the Millennium', *Radio Times*, 9 September 1999, pp. 32-33 (p. 32).

Chapter 5:

The late twentieth century: 1988-2001

By 1988, the BBC had been producing versions of Shakespeare's plays for sixty-five years. Yet in many ways the majority had moved on little from Reith's concept in the 1920s of performances that rely chiefly on 'the conviction of the speakers'.[639] While there was no prescribed house style, basic conventions had been established that might be described as 'traditional' radio Shakespeare production. Only limited changes were made to the text; some cuts and simple additions, such as names, were acceptable, but little else. Sound effects and music were usually kept to a minimum; soundscaping and detailed musical underscoring were rare. Actors usually had RP voices and were frequently recruited from Shakespearean performances in the theatre. While not all producers adhered to this formula, most did, especially during the period between the late 1980s and the turn of the millennium. Despite the innovations of producers like Raikes and Jenkins (see Chapter 4), techniques at this time almost seem to have gone backwards, with productions more akin in style to those from the 1950s than those of the preceding decade. The idea expounded in 1924 by Cecil Lewis that Shakespeare's 'amazing beauty lies almost entirely in the spoken word as a means of presenting character and situation', without adornment, seems to have typified production at this time.[640] Coinciding with this was a period of change, both inside and outside the BBC, as well as an era which saw the growth of the concept of 'heritage' or 'cultural tourism' relating to Shakespeare, including the opening of Shakespeare's Globe on London's South Bank in 1997. This chapter argues that the majority of the plays produced during this period both fit within what had been established as 'traditional' BBC radio Shakespeare production and were part of a growing move towards 'manufacturing heritage' in 'cultural institutions'.[641]

Productions of Shakespeare on BBC radio at this time were described by newspaper reviewers in terms and phrases such as 'straightforward', 'plays it along

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[639] Reith, p. 168.

[640] C. A. Lewis, *Broadcasting from Within*, pp. 61-62.

[641] Robert Hewison, '*The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*' [extract], in *Art and its Histories: A Reader*, ed. by Steve Edwards (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999) pp. 319-325 (p. 320).

straight, classical lines', 'springs no surprises' and even 'all too "official" a version' of Shakespeare's text.[642] At least one producer describes their own work from this period as 'traditional'.[643] Few productions take risks: many seem to be looking to build on the heritage status of both the BBC and of Shakespeare. Perhaps those most explicitly falling into this category were the three co-directed and starring Kenneth Branagh: *Hamlet* (1992), *Romeo and Juliet* (1993) and *King Lear* (1994). His film work of this period has subsequently been described as 'heritage Shakespeare' and his radio productions could also be described in this way.[644] In previewing *Romeo and Juliet*, Sheridan Morley describes Branagh as being 'in the direct tradition of the Shakespearean romantics'.[645] Morley states that Branagh's full text productions are 'light on any single thesis about the play' with 'an uncomplicated readiness to celebrate rather than analyse the text'.[646] These descriptions could also be applied to many other productions from this era.

Academic writing at this time was examining the 'Shakespeare myth' and how it 'functions in contemporary culture as an ideological framework for containing consensus and for sustaining myths of unity, integration and harmony in the cultural superstructures of a divided and fractured society'.[647] In a similar way, the BBC was described as a national institution that 'consistently promotes the illusion of a unified and integrated political region with a system of common values and beliefs. It is [sic] very existence perpetuates this myth'.[648] The concept of 'traditional' radio Shakespeare production seems to fit with this conservative view of both Shakespeare and the BBC: these productions do not challenge or upset the perceived way of presenting Shakespeare's plays but conform to established norms.

The political world outside the BBC was also beginning to encroach on the corporation at this time, perhaps making it a more cautious institution. During the

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[642] Linda O'Callaghan, 'Sunday Radio – Pick of the Day', *Daily Telegraph*, 16 February 1992, p. xxviii; Morley, 'Renaissance Romeo', *Radio Times*, 22 April 1993, p. 29; Arnold-Forster, 'Prince Charming', *Guardian*, 1 May 1992, p. 32; Tom Lubbock, 'Audio nasty? The eyes have it', *Observer*, 17 April 1994, p. 25.
[643] Jeremy Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[644] Pascale Aebischer, *Screening Early Modern Drama: Beyond Shakespeare* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 221.
[645] Morley, *Radio Times*, 22 April 1993.
[646] Morley, *Radio Times*, 22 April 1993.
[647] Holderness, 'Preface: "All this"', *The Shakespeare Myth*, pp. xi-xvi (p. xiii).
[648] William Maley, 'Centralisation and censorship', in *The BBC and Public Service Broadcasting*, ed. by Colin MacCabe and Olivia Stewart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 32-45 (p. 37).

late 1980s, John Birt joined the BBC, going on to become Director-General in 1992. Peter Lewis states that 'Birt's mission was to save the BBC from privatization by the Thatcher government'.[649] This led to the creation of 'Producer Choice', changing the way budgets were managed, ostensibly putting the money in the producers' hands. However, there were also cuts to the radio drama output. Tydeman, then head of department, stated: 'We have lost up to 50 slots, opportunities for new plays'.[650] However, Shakespeare was left untouched, with an average output of two or three productions a year every year between 1988 and 2001. This suggests that while 'radio drama is expensive' and 'sucks up resources and employs an army of staff', Shakespeare was among the writers still deemed important enough to be broadcast.[651]

During the late 1980s and 1990s there was a 'Shakespeare boom', described by Dennis Kennedy as the 'Bardification of culture'.[652] But it was not only the arts that were exploiting Shakespeare's 'star-quality'.[653] In 1993, Conservative Prime Minister John Major gave his 'Back to basics' speech to his party conference. In it he put Shakespeare at the heart of a cultural battle:

> I saw a letter recently from over 500 university teachers of English. And they say in their letter that it's disastrous and harmful to teach standard English, great literature and Shakespeare in our schools. Apparently, teaching Shakespeare threatens to reduce a living language to a dead one. […] What claptrap.[654]

During the speech he also claimed: 'We live in a world that sometimes seems to be changing too fast for comfort. Old certainties crumbling. Traditional values falling away'.[655] Budget cuts meant old certainties were definitely crumbling in radio drama, but rather than traditional values also disappearing, the impact of change seems to have created a department more traditional, rather than less.

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[649] Peter Lewis, 'Opening and Closing Doors: Radio Drama in the BBC', *Radio Journal*, 1.3 (2003), 161–76 (p. 164).
[650] Tydeman quoted in Russell Twisk, 'Making a crisis out of drama', *Observer*, 19 April 1992, p. 65.
[651] Twisk, *Observer*, 19 April 1992.
[652] Dennis Kennedy, 'Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism', *Theatre Journal*, 50.2 (1998), 175-188 (p. 187).
[653] Kennedy, p. 181.
[654] John Major, 'Leader's speech, Blackpool 1993', *British Political Speech* <http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=139> [accessed 4 March 2021].
[655] Major, 'Leader's speech, Blackpool 1993'.

There was also change on the technical side. Quarter-inch tape began to be phased out and digital recording came in, making it much easier and more cost effective to record multiple takes. Similarly, the first digital editing systems were available, enabling producers to create more complex sound mixes. In addition, the way the audience listened began to change: from 1988 recordings of plays were available for the public to buy for the first time. Producers were no longer making productions that would only be broadcast once or twice: often they were crafting versions that would be listened to over and over again by fans of Shakespeare's plays or students studying them.

The BBC in general, and radio drama in particular, therefore faced much change: it was no longer the 'fiefdom' of previous years.[656] There is no evidence of a deliberate decision to create 'traditional' or 'heritage' plays that would satisfy the BBC's more conservative critics, but Shakespeare does seem to have been prioritised over new plays. Unlike the 1960s, when playwrights like Joe Orton, Harold Pinter and Tom Stoppard were making their debuts on radio, no comparable writer was 'discovered' by producers at the end of the twentieth century. The Shakespeare productions made during this time were also largely the better-known works and were often designed to have a high profile: in addition to Branagh's productions, the approach of the year 2000 prompted the creation of the 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' series, which head of drama, Kate Rowland, hoped would 'burst through the schedule'.[657] Over three years, fifteen plays were produced under the brand, all preceded by introductions from Sir Richard Eyre, who had recently stepped down from running the National Theatre. They were also all released for listeners to buy 'on CD and cassette, with helpful notes and introductions, from the BBC Radio Collection'.[658] These notes included an introduction from Eyre and a synopsis of the play. It appears 'traditional' Shakespeare was a reaction to change and a way of creating stability in an organisation and a department where there was much uncertainty.

The following case studies all fit the idea of 'traditional' BBC radio Shakespeare outlined above. In each case the plays make limited changes to the text,

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[656] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[657] Kate Rowland, private Zoom conversation, 12 April 2021.
[658] Gaisford, *Radio Times*, 9 September 1999, p. 32.

use unsophisticated sound effects and music, the majority of the actors use RP voices and many had already established themselves as theatrical Shakespeareans: in some cases they were appearing in Shakespeare plays on stage concurrently with the broadcasts. Jeremy Mortimer's 1988 *The Taming of the Shrew* does make some changes to the text, but mainly to accommodate material from another early modern version of the play, thereby accentuating the 'heritage' nature of the production. In 1992 Nigel Bryant produced *Macbeth*, attempting to add period authenticity by bringing battle re-enactors into the studio alongside the cast. The following year, Kenneth Branagh appeared as Romeo opposite his stage Juliet with a cast of some of the most famous names in theatrical Shakespeare. Mortimer's 2000 *Richard II* was part of 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' as well as being created for academic use, indicating it was intended as a production with a long afterlife. Finally Sally Avens' *Much Ado About Nothing* (2001) reflects contemporary literary criticism in its portrayal of the play's four lovers. The chapter will conclude with an examination of the circumstances that may have led to the desire for 'heritage' or 'traditional' productions, as well as a look at the work of the one producer who went against that style and pointed the way for the future of Shakespeare production on BBC radio.

The Taming of the Shrew **(1988)**

Although Mortimer had joined the BBC Radio Drama department several years earlier, *The Taming of the Shrew* was his first Shakespeare play. He says: 'I definitely felt I was on probation doing that'.[659] However, within the corporation it was received well: 'the then Director-General came up and said: "yes, I heard your *Taming of the Shrew*, very good, very good"'.[660] Radio critics were generally pleased: Reynolds also used the words 'very good' to describe it, adding it was 'thoughtful and animated', while David Gillard told his readers: 'You may expect the sparks to fly – even on radio'.[661]

  Reviews, like much contemporary literary criticism, focused on the relationship between Petruchio and Katherina. Publicity material also concentrated

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[659] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[660] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[661] Reynolds, 'When drama is a duty', *Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 1988, p. 16; David Gillard, 'Hear This! – Shrew Story', *Radio Times*, 12 May 1988, p. 24.

on this. A photograph in the *Radio Times* shows the lead actors, Bob Peck and Cheryl Campbell, dressed in their normal clothes with Peck standing behind Campbell, holding her wrists as she claws towards the camera.[662] The accompanying copy states that Peck has been 'grappling' with 'Miss Campbell's talents'.[663] This suggests a lack of subtlety, but both actors spoke about the thought that went into the production. Peck told the magazine that 'we came to the conclusion that Shakespeare had not intended it as an anti-feminine play. It's about the recognition of wills after a lot of testing'.[664] Campbell added: 'It's an old fashioned play but I don't believe it's about the subjugation of women'.[665] Mortimer himself says that he 'definitely wanted my Katherina to be feisty and spirited and not entirely broken by the events of the play', adding that by the end of her final speech 'she is now in charge'.[666] Nigel Andrew stated that Campbell's delivery of the speech was 'detached, weary and, one could almost believe, undefeated. Almost'.[667] Davalle described Campbell as 'the quintessential Katharina'.[668] The concept that there could be such a thing, and that the BBC had found it, identifies the production as one in keeping with Shakespearean heritage.

However, among contemporary literary critics there was no consensus as to what the 'quintessential Katharina' might be. John C. Bean suggests there were 'two camps, the revisionists and the anti-revisionists'.[669] The revisionists, he claims, 'have argued that Kate's notorious last speech is delivered ironically' while the anti-revisionists insist 'on historical accuracy' and have argued that Katherina's taming is through 'old-fashioned farce'.[670] Bean himself rejects both, suggesting instead 'that Kate is tamed not in the automatic manner of behavioral psychology but in the spontaneous manner of the later romantic comedies where characters lose themselves in chaos and emerge, as if from a dream, liberated into the bonds of love'.[671] This is

[662] Gillard, *Radio Times*, 12 May 1988.
[663] Gillard, *Radio Times*, 12 May 1988.
[664] Bob Peck quoted in Gillard, *Radio Times*, 12 May 1988.
[665] Cheryl Campbell quoted in Gillard, *Radio Times*, 12 May 1988.
[666] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 7 April 2021.
[667] Nigel Andrew, 'Nasty, brutish, and not very long', *The Listener*, 26 May 1988, p. 47.
[668] Davalle, 'Radio Choice', *The Times*, 20 May 1988, p. 23.
[669] John C. Bean, 'Comic Structure and the Humanizing of Kate in *The Taming of the Shrew*', in *The Woman's* Part, ed. by Carolyn Ruth Swift Lenz, Gayle Greene and Carol Thomas Neely (London: University of Illinois Press, 1980) pp. 65-78 (p. 65).
[670] Bean, p. 65.
[671] Bean, p. 66.

closest to Mortimer's take on the play. He wanted to make it 'more of a fable' and felt that by keeping the Induction, 'the contextualisation of the Christopher Sly story helped' to do that.[672] Again, by retaining the Induction, an element often cut on stage and radio, Mortimer was creating a production that reflected the whole play, and its heritage, rather than a simplified edit for modern audiences.

Literary critics also felt Sly was a key element to 'frame and fictionalise the story' and 'create some detachment', thereby mitigating Petruchio's behaviour.[673] In Shakespeare's text, Sly only appears in the Induction and the end of act one, scene one. However, Mortimer brings the character back throughout the play. In some cases, this is to help convey visual episodes, such as 'Lucentio in disguise' (0:27:20) and 'Say where he has the lute about his ears' (0:40:27). However, elsewhere the insertions are close to those in the earlier, anonymous play *The Taming of a Shrew*: Mortimer says he was probably aware of it from his university days.[674] This section, added by Mortimer to act three of Shakespeare's play, bears a strong resemblance to a section in act one, scene one of *A Shrew*:

SLY	Oh, madam. When will the fool Petruchio come again?
PAGE	He'll come again, my lord, anon.
SLY	Not if he's gone to church with a shrew. That'll keep his coming more. Give us some more drink here! Oh, zounds, where's the tapster? Here, madam. I drink to thee.
PAGE	My lord. Here come the players again. Tranio and Lucentio.
SLY	Oh, brave. Here's two fine gentlemen who've kept out of church.

<div align="right">1:04:50</div>

The comparable section in *A Shrew* is:

SLY	Sim, when will the fool come again?
LORD	He'll come again, my Lord, anon.
SLY	Gi's some more drink here; souns, where's the Tapster? […] Here, Sim, I drink to thee.

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[672] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 7 April 2021.
[673] Carol Rutter, *Clamorous Voices: Shakespeare's Women Today* (London: Women's Press, 1988), p. 2; Leggatt, p. 56.
[674] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 7 April 2021.

| LORD | My lord, here comes the players again. |
| SLY | O brave, here's two fine gentlemen.[675] |

Similarly, at the end of Shakespeare's text, Mortimer adds the final Sly episode from *A Shrew* with a few minor changes.[676] By including excerpts from another early modern play, Mortimer is accentuating the canonicity of the text and its historical status.

Radio critics approved of Mortimer's choice, with Andrew suggesting that it 'kept the ugly core of the play at a distance by emphasising the tranced artificiality of the play-within-a-play'.[677] The decision to repeatedly return to Sly also echoed modern theatrical productions, where 'it is usual for Sly to remain on stage, constantly reminding us that the Shrew play is a theatrical illusion and keeping us at some distance from it'.[678] The idea of adding Sly's final scene from *The Taming of a Shrew* to the end of Shakespeare's play had also been done before, both at the RSC and Stratford, Ontario.[679] However, the use of the induction was relatively unusual on radio. It was cut from both the 1973 and 2000 productions, although it was included in 1954.

While the majority of the cast speak in RP or close to it, the actors playing Lucentio and Tranio, Stephen Tompkinson and Robert Glenister respectively, use northern English accents, differentiating them from the rest and indicating they are from elsewhere. In addition, when Glenister as Tranio is pretending to be Lucentio, he drops the northern accent and assumes an RP voice. He uses this to particular effect in Tranio's asides, delivering them in a northern accent and switching back to RP when talking to other characters (e.g. 2.1.361; 0:50:48 and 4.4.67-68; 1:37:02). Mortimer also makes changes to the text to assist the listening audience, moving chunks of it around. In act one, he delays the entrance of Lucentio and Tranio, who enter first in Shakespeare's play and observe the commotion between Baptista, his daughters and Bianca's suitors. Instead, they appear part-way through the scene

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[675] Anon., *The Taming of a Shrew*, ed. by F. S. Boas (London: Chatto and Windus, 1908), 1.1.324-331.

[676] For a comparison, see 2:01:18 of this production and 4.2.45-53 of *The Taming of a Shrew*.

[677] Andrew, *The Listener*, 26 May 1988.

[678] Leggatt, p. 44.

[679] Leggatt, p. 44n.

(1.1.1-47 to after 1.1.67; 0:12:02). This enables the audience to establish the main action and characters first, before being introduced to the new arrivals. Mortimer does this again shortly afterwards (1.1.68-73 to after 1.1.79; 0:13:36). In this case it serves to remind listeners that Lucentio and Tranio are still watching. In both cases the interjections from Lucentio and Tranio play out over a hubbub of people, suggesting that the action is continuing. Similarly, Mortimer moves two lines near the beginning of act two, scene three (3.2.12-13 to after 3.1.20; 1:00:22). This creates the illusion that Katherina is talking to herself, or the radio audience, rather than the many people listed in the stage directions for this scene. By moving 'I told you, I, he was a frantic fool, / Hiding his bitter jests in blunt behavior', Katherina only addresses the rest of the gathering at the end of the speech, drawing them in for what follows.

While Mortimer does make subtle textual changes to *The Taming of the Shrew*, his only major change is the addition of Sly throughout. In doing so, he situates the play as a fable, diminishing the sting of the treatment of Katherina at a time when criticism, both literary and theatrical, was starting to question this. The additions from *A Shrew* can also be seen as both a heritage addition and an echo of previous stage performances. This sense of heritage is conjured up in a different way by Bryant with his production of *Macbeth*: instead of seeking early modern textual additions, Bryant increases his heritage content through the use of historical enthusiasts.

Macbeth (1992)

The preview for this production in the *Radio Times* noted that it 'sets the play firmly in its period – a time when witchcraft was taken very seriously, not least by King James himself'.[680] While the *Daily Mail* reported that the production would include 'military hardware supplied by the Sealed Knot'.[681] Both these statements suggest a desire for the play to be presented in a 'traditional' fashion, but they also highlight the problem of trying to set it in the 'correct' period. The real Macbeth lived in the

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[680] 'R3', *Radio Times*, 13 February 1992, p. 83.
[681] Geoffrey Hobbs, 'Pick of the Radio Week – Wild piper recalls his tunes', *Daily Mail*, 15 February 1992, p. 35.

eleventh century, but Shakespeare was writing in the early seventeenth century, when James VI of Scotland became king of England. The Sealed Knot re-enact the mid-seventeenth century English Civil War, which took place long after Shakespeare and King James had died. Both the *Radio Times* previewer and Geoffrey Hobbs in the *Daily Mail* seem to conflate all three. In fact, Bryant consciously set the play during the Civil War with 'witch-hunts and witch-hangings, and armies singing psalms to psych themselves up for battle'.[682] However, like most other radio productions made at the end of the twentieth century, while the sound of this production is atmospheric, it would be difficult for the average listener to pinpoint its exact setting, although it does create a sense of something traditional.

Bryant went to considerable trouble to create the sound and atmosphere he wanted. His use of the Sealed Knot went far beyond what the preview implied:

> I brought [them] into the studio, to be in the background with their noisy period gear, and so that the actors could borrow some of their armour. Wearing appropriate costume and equipment in radio drama can sometimes be surprisingly important, not only because (especially in the case of armour) you can hear it, and not only because it helps actors get into the mood of a period, but because it affects movement, which is subtly relayed in the voice. The Sealed Knot also brought period military drums to use and taught us authentic period battle cries.[683]

Bryant also used unaccompanied singing by the soldiers to add to this, although reviewer David Sexton was unimpressed with what he heard, complaining that the play 'opened with several minutes of a football crowd — or so it sounded: shouts of "Move it!", thuds, grunts, screams, distant explosions and tuneless team chants.'[684] In fact the men are singing Psalm 68:

> Let God arise, and then his foes
>
> Will turn themselves to flight,
>
> His enemies for fear shall run,
>
> And scatter out of sight.

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[682] Nigel Bryant, private email correspondence, 25 February 2021.
[683] Bryant, private email, 25 February 2021.
[684] David Sexton, 'Sound effects and fury', *Sunday Telegraph*, 23 February 1992, p. xvi.

The choice was not made by Bryant himself, but the play's composer, Vic Gammon, who has a background researching popular religious music. Gammon says that Bryant 'wanted something martial that he could use in the battle scenes' and Gammon suggested Psalm 68 because there is 'a whole mythology' which suggests that 'Cromwell's troops went into battle singing that'.[685] He admits 'it's totally wrong for the period' but says 'it's music for effect; in no way is it attempting any historical accuracy'.[686]

The use of the psalm is much more than a 'team chant', as it is setting up the conflict between good and evil associated with the play. Bryant returns to this motif several times: just before Macbeth meets the Witches for the first time (unidentifiable song heard very quietly underneath 1.3.30 onwards; 0:08:18), and again later, towards the end of the play, when the two sides are preparing for battle ('The Almost Christian' sung at the start of 5.2; 1:49:03). Bryant finally returns to Psalm 68 at the very end of the play, finishing with the men singing the second verse:

> And as wax melts before the fire,
> And wind blows smoke away,
> So in the presence of the Lord
> The wicked shall decay.

These are not the only uses of religious texts in the play, which Bryant describes as one where 'religion hangs heavy'.[687] At the start of act one, scene two, he inserts a priest reciting part of the Eucharistic Prayer I in Latin (0:02:47), apparently blessing Duncan and Malcolm. Like the use of song, this has the effect of signalling the good and the bad characters within the play along religious lines: something that could be seen as conservative if not strictly traditional.

Bryant also increases the use of the Witches and Hecate, extending the supernatural overtones present in the text to scenes where there would not normally be any. The messenger who visits Lady Macduff, advising her to 'be not found here'

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[685] Vic Gammon, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[686] Gammon, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[687] Bryant, private email, 25 February 2021.

(4.2.65; 1:30:30) sounds very like the voice used for Hecate three scenes earlier (3.5.2; 1:14:42). Both are gruff and distorted, suggesting a supernatural presence. The Witches also make additional appearances, including after Macbeth's final speech while he is fighting Macduff, repeating lines from earlier in the play:

> FIRST WITCH Macbeth, Macbeth, Macbeth. Beware Macduff.
> Beware the Thane of Fife.
>
> SECOND WITCH None of woman born shall harm Macbeth.
>
> *Macbeth cries out tormentedly, continues under.*
>
> ALL WITCHES All hail Macbeth…
>
> THIRD WITCH … that shalt be king hereafter.
>
> ALL WITCHES Hail! Hail! Hail! Hail! Hail! *(continues and fades)*
>
> MACBETH *(long cry)*
>
> *FX – violent stabbing sound. Silence.*
>
> 2:05:39

These lines originate in 4.1.70-72, 4.1.79-80, and 1.3.51. Using them here ties in with comments made by literary critic Alan Sinfield, who suggests 'the fall of Macbeth seems to result more from (super)natural than human agency'.[688]

At the very end of the play, after Malcolm's final speech, Macduff shouts 'God save the King', with the rest of the men repeating this. As singing resumes, the Witches reappear, speaking the opening lines in unison: 'When shall we three meet again / In thunder, lightning, or in rain?' (1.1.1-2; 2:09:08). The psalm is then faded up and ends. As well as exaggerating the supernatural presence already within the play, this also suggests that the cycle of violence might begin again. Sinfield wrote:

> Macduff at the end stands in the same relation to Malcolm as Macbeth did to Duncan in the beginning. He is now the kingmaker on whom the legitimate monarch depends, and the recurrence of the whole sequence may be anticipated (in production this might be suggested by a final meeting of Macduff and the Witches).[689]

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[688] Alan Sinfield, 'Macbeth: history, ideology and intellectuals', *Critical Quarterly*, 28.1-2 (1986) 63-77 (p. 67).
[689] Sinfield, p. 70.

Whether Bryant was directly influenced by Sinfield or not, it is an ending that reflects modern literary critical thought in a production that handles the play overall in a more traditional manner.

Unlike previous productions, where the witches sound very similar, or the 1995 radio production *Berkoff's Macbeth*, where Cleo Laine plays all three, the actors in this production (Mary Wimbush, Tamsin Greig and Steven Granville) sound distinctly different from each other. Marilyn French states that 'the Witches themselves incarnate ambiguity of gender'.[690] Bryant's casting enables this, but also makes clear that they are a trio, rather than a single entity. He makes particular use of their different voices in act four, scene one, when the witches are chanting their incantation. Instead of each witch having their own verse, Bryant divides up the lines, alternating just a few words at a time (1:19:34). The three distinct vocal tones create a sense of movement in a scene that might otherwise seem static on radio.

In addition to enlarging the role of the witches, Bryant makes several subtle textual changes. However, Sexton was unhappy about this:

> 'They were suborned' became the rather flat job description, 'they were hired'. When Macbeth did the deed, his miserable comment, 'This is a sorry sight. *(Looking on his hands)*' was converted into 'Look at these hands, they're a sorry sight'.[691]

Bryant makes many substitutions in Shakespeare's text including: 'kerns and gallowglasses' (1.2.13) which becomes 'mercenary kerns', 'as a promise' is substituted for 'for an earnest' (1.3.105), 'suspicions' for 'jealousies' (4.3.29). Also in act four, scene three, the following is changed: 'Scotland hath foisons to fill up your will. / Of your mere own: all these are portable' (4.3.88-89) becomes 'Scotland hath *treasures* to fill up your will. / Of your mere own: all *this is bearable*' [added emphasis]. All these changes turn words and phrases that might be unfamiliar or even incomprehensible to a modern ear into something more immediately understandable. While this is a departure from more traditional ways of presenting Shakespeare's texts on radio, and Sexton was clearly unconvinced by them, Reynolds does not mention them at all, suggesting that even if she had noticed them,

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[690] Marilyn French, *Shakespeare's Division of Experience* (New York: Summit Books, 1981), p. 242.
[691] Sexton, *Sunday Telegraph*, 23 February 1992.

they did not offend her, thereby retaining the production's status as one that does not largely diverge from the expected.

Bryant's leading actors were Tim McInnerny, at the time 'the RSC's current Mercutio and Sir Andrew Aguecheek', and Harriet Walter, who had been appearing in leading roles for the RSC since 1981.[692] But while McInnerny and Walter were established in their field, Kenneth Branagh sought much more famous actors for his productions. His first, *Hamlet*, was in the same year as *Macbeth*. The following year he returned with another major tragedy: *Romeo and Juliet*.

Romeo and Juliet (1993)

Branagh worked with producer Glyn Dearman on all three of the Shakespeare plays he appeared in for the BBC in the 1990s. Branagh's reputation for Shakespearean stage and film work was already well established, including a production of *Romeo and Juliet* seven years earlier at the Lyric Studio, Hammersmith. His Juliet then was Samantha Bond and she reprised her role for this radio production. The rest of the cast was described as one 'the RSC and National would die for' and included Judi Dench, John Gielgud, Derek Jacobi and Simon Callow.[693] Anne Karpf, in her review for the *Guardian*, felt the production reflected many preoccupations about both Shakespeare and the BBC.

> There are those who believe that if William Shakespeare made contact with earth today, he would do it through the medium of Radio 3. These people regard Radio 3 as a gloriously uncorroded conduit for the words of the Bard, one which gives us the *echt* Shakespeare, free of directorial whim. […] And the BBC, which sees itself as a purveyor of cultural continuity, has done little to discourage it. Their press release points out that Sir John Gielgud was a radio Romeo in March 1925 and now returns to star as Friar Laurence — as if there were an unbroken line from Shakespeare via Gielgud to Kenneth Branagh.[694]

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[692] Reynolds, 'Macbeth shrink-wrapped', *Daily Telegraph*, 18 February 1992, p. 14.
[693] Anne Karpf, 'Radio: New voice for an old love', *Guardian*, 1 May 1993, p. 30.
[694] Karpf, *Guardian*, 1 May 1993. Note: Gielgud's early appearance as a radio Romeo was not in a full production, but as part of 'Popular Excerpts from Shakespeare', *Radio Times*, 27 February 1925, p. 441.

In addition to the production being alert to the cultural heritage of the BBC and of Shakespeare, it was a distinctly conservative take on the play. Sheridan Morley praised the production for not being 'vulnerable to fashionable or directorial whims of taste'.[695] Russell Twisk described it as 'a straight, carefully crafted version' of the play.[696] Both the publicity around the production and its reception from those who had heard it, suggest Karpf was correct in pointing to a conscious link between two cultural institutions.

However, radio reviewers were not impressed with everyone's performance. Twisk writes that 'each actor milks lines for all they're worth; a little directional discipline might have helped'.[697] Reynolds describes Callow's Benvolio and Jacobi's Mercutio as 'waving so much from their speeches it was quite easy to feel the scenes drowning'.[698] Karpf writes: 'As for Gielgud, to my mind the fabled sonority of his verse-speaking here often obscures rather than enhances its actual meaning'.[699] Morley, however, disagreed, stating that Gielgud gave 'a master-class in Shakespearian verse-speaking'.[700] But it was the leading actors that came in for most criticism. Karpf states:

> Branagh hasn't the voice of a romantic hero — it's not his fault if he's forever doomed to sound bloke-ish. […] Samantha Bond, a talented and versatile actress, starts off with a wooden reading of Juliet which doesn't soar. […] they feel too studied for the most part to be counted among the great Romeo and Juliets.[701]

Derwent May bemoans that 'the love story is the weakest part of the production', stating that Bond 'plays the part in a voice that at first makes you think of a modern girl in a fruity sit-com, then turns thin and shrewish'.[702] He adds: 'Branagh, as Romeo, plays with his voice, dropping suddenly from soprano to bass; he fills the lines with meaningless pauses, or else stresses too many words in a line for it to have any clear meaning.'[703] Reynolds also criticizes Branagh's delivery, writing that it

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[695] Morley, *Radio Times*, 22 April 1993.
[696] Twisk, 'A renaissance for Shakespeare', *Observer*, 25 April 1993, p. 69.
[697] Twisk, *Observer*, 25 April 1993.
[698] Reynolds, 'Romeo's irritating habit', *Daily Telegraph*, 27 April 1993, p. 16.
[699] Karpf, *Guardian*, 1 May 1993.
[700] Morley, *Radio Times*, 22 April 1993.
[701] Karpf, *Guardian*, 1 May 1993.
[702] Derwent May, 'Radio Review – Hits and misses in vocal range', *The Times*, 28 April 1993, p. 31.
[703] May, *The Times*, 28 April 1993.

was like 'politicians and sports commentators' who 'signal the sense of what they are about to say by changing the tune in their voice', adding that 'there were times when "Goal!" would not have sounded out of place' at the ends of his lines.[704] Branagh also appears to be trying to sound younger than he is, particularly during the balcony scene (2.1.91; 0:50:45) and when Romeo visits Friar Laurence after he is banished (3.3.42; 1:50:43). Writing about the text, Coppélia Kahn describes that scene as leaving Romeo 'unmanned' as he hurls himself to the floor in tears and petulantly refuses to rise'.[705] This description fits Branagh's portrayal perfectly. His histrionics may sound over the top but fitted with what was felt to be the way the character is presented in the text.

In preparing for the production, Branagh consulted academic Russell Jackson. He states that they worked out a 'quasi-visual conception of the play'.[706] This is evident in the following sound directions from the script:

> Crossfade music to square in Verona. In background sounds of busy life, most particularly from a tavern. After a moment the door flies open and Samson and Gregory burst out somewhat the worse for drink. They wear swords and bucklers. During the course of the following they walk. Sounds of tavern recede.[707]

The idea of creating a visual identity to scenes is carried through the use of sound effects in the play. Whenever the scene is Juliet's balcony or bedroom, there is a constant sound of running water (e.g. 2.1.43; 0:47:24 and 3.5.1; 2:13:00). Similarly, street scenes are accompanied by a continual hum of people, horses' hooves and wooden carts (e.g. 2.3.1; 1:09:23; 3.1.1; 1:26:12). Thirty years earlier, McWhinnie wrote that a sound effect that 'serves no dramatic purpose' can 'drive the listener to distraction'.[708] This seems a particularly apt description of the water effects, which are not rooted in the text and appear only to be used to indicate location. While this production uses more effects than many of this era, it does not always use them to

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[704] Reynolds, *Daily Telegraph*, 27 April 1993

[705] Coppélia Kahn, 'Coming of Age in Verona', *Modern Language Studies*, 8.1 (1977-1978) 5-22 (p. 11).

[706] Russell Jackson, 'Two Radio Shakespeares: staging and text', *Actes des congrès de la Société française Shakespeare*, (1994) 195-204 (p. 198).

[707] Quoted in Jackson, p. 195.

[708] McWhinnie, p. 82.

best advantage and they are repetitious rather than true soundscaping, adding little to the essential spoken word simplicity of traditional production.

As Morley points out, the production is also 'heavy on music'.[709] It was composed by Branagh's regular collaborator, Patrick Doyle, and is at times reminiscent of Doyle's score for Branagh's film version of *Much Ado About Nothing*, which was released the same year. However, the BBC's budget did not stretch as far as that of the cinema and, while the music is often grand, it is created using synthesized instruments rather than an orchestra. Almost every scene break features a short piece of music (e.g. 0:15:28, 0:21:04 and 0:27:03). This is something that was much more common in the immediate post-war era, although McWhinnie described it as 'a fairly primitive function' for music.[710] Doyle's music is also used in two long sections during the production, dividing the play roughly into thirds (after act two, scene one; 0:58:37 and after act three, scene five; 2:14:27). In each case the music runs for about five minutes, although it is not one single piece but three separate pieces joined together, as if this was a decision made in the edit rather than planned for in advance. This is similar to Raikes' *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1970) which also uses music from the play during the interval, although in the case of *Romeo and Juliet* these musical breaks are not signalled in advance to the audience, making them less effective as mini intervals.

Twisk suggests that Branagh and Dearman had 'plans to do Shakespeare's complete works'.[711] However this did not happen. Why not is unclear, but there appears to have been some tension over the commercial potential of these productions. Karpf wrote:

> The question which John Birt should be asking the BBC is why it hasn't issued the cassette of the production itself, especially since the first Renaissance/Radio 3 co-production — last year's *Hamlet* —has sold over 10,000 copies and went straight into the bestseller lists for the spoken word. The answer is because BBC Enterprises turned down the *Hamlet* cassette, and never got a second chance.[712]

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[709] Morley, *Radio Times*, 22 April 1993.
[710] McWhinnie, p. 69.
[711] Twisk, *Observer*, 25 April 1993.
[712] Karpf, *Guardian*, 1 May 1993.

The idea of presenting a series of plays was revived again a few years later with the 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' series. Like Branagh's plays, it began with a production of *Hamlet* (1999), produced by Mortimer, and in the year 2000 he went on to produce *Richard II*, which was not only part of the millennium series, but also linked to another cultural institution: the Open University.

Richard II (2000)

Mortimer has described his production of *Richard II* as being 'traditional' in 'many ways'.[713] Like productions going back generations, Mortimer employs many well-known actors in his cast and uses music and sound effects discreetly. Like all the plays in the 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' project, it features an audio introduction by Sir Richard Eyre. In this, Eyre talks about the deposition scene (act four, scene one) and the fact that it was 'censored out of the early printed editions of the play'. He also mentions the special performance commissioned by the Earl of Essex on the eve of his attempted coup against Elizabeth I. In addition, the play was used by the Open University as part of its 'Shakespeare text and performance' module. This combination of 'traditional' production, an introduction by an esteemed theatre director talking about the play's history, and its creation, in part, for educational purposes, gives the sense that this is a production primarily celebrating Shakespeare's heritage and academic importance.

The idea of a heritage production is carried through with the casting of the older actors. Stephen Regan, who gives a fourteen-minute introduction to the Open University recording of the play, highlights the decision by Mortimer to 'rearrange the opening two scenes', pointing out that this 'gives prominence to the seasoned voices of two highly experienced actors, Janet Suzman as the Duchess of Gloucester and Joss Ackland as John of Gaunt'.[714] Suzman's credits with the RSC go back to the 1960s, while Ackland first worked at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1947, and had played Falstaff (see Chapter 3), Macbeth and Sir Toby Belch on BBC radio. This production also features Ronald Pickup as York, another actor with a long pedigree

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[713] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[714] *AA306 Shakespeare: text and performance – CD3 Richard II* [with introduction by Stephen Regan], dir. Jeremy Mortimer (Open University, CDA5029, 2007), 02:43, 03:35.

in radio Shakespeare (see Chapter 4), as well as Timothy Bateson as the Gardener, who had appeared in ten Shakespeare productions for BBC radio from 1950 onwards, mainly in comic parts.

However, the main characters, Richard and Bolingbroke, were played by less well-known actors. Samuel West, as Richard, had regularly appeared on radio and television, but had yet to work for the RSC when this production was recorded, although by the time it aired he was playing Richard II at Stratford.[715] Bolingbroke was played by Damian Lewis, who had just a few radio and television appearances to his credit. Mortimer says he was particularly keen to use actors who were 'the right age' for the parts, as there had been 'a resistance' against this in the drama department, especially for Shakespeare's plays.[716] Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin suggest that both characters are theatrical, with Richard presenting 'a powerful expression of personal subjectivity' while Bolingbroke offers 'an effective political strategy'.[717] This description fits with West's and Lewis' portrayals. Regan praised the casting of West in particular:

> [His] voice has the range and flexibility to do justice to both the shallow, calculating temperament and the strange, elusive depths suggested by the text. He gives us a Richard who is by turns impetuous and reflexive, callous and tender, flippant and earnest, cruel and gentle.[718]

Howard and Rackin state that 'Richard is characterized as "effeminate," but this does not mean that he is "homosexual"'.[719] This concurs with West's interpretation. It is particularly evident in the scenes between West and Sophie Okonedo as the Queen, where there is genuine affection; a relationship which Mortimer felt 'worked really well'.[720] Reviewer Moira Petty also liked West's performance, describing him as 'liv[ing] up to the demands of a role upon which the whole production stands or falls [...] he used his technique to give us the king in all his guises, each manifestation

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[715] *Richard II* opened at The Other Place at the start of April 2000. The radio production was broadcast on 30 April.
[716] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[717] Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 153.
[718] *AA306 Shakespeare* [CD], 07:56.
[719] Howard and Rackin, p. 143.
[720] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.

being credible'.[721] She also praised Lewis for 'a persuasive sweetness' as Bolingbroke.[722]

Like *Macbeth* (1992), issues around the exact time setting of the play were elided in this production. Petty comments: 'the music by Sylvia Hallett played a huge role not just in setting the atmosphere of the scenes but in anchoring the play in two time frames: the medieval era and all times'.[723] This is reflected in Mortimer's instructions to Hallett, which stated:

> I don't want anything that sounds as if it's trying to be medieval. On the other hand, there might be some useful hints in the harmonies of medieval church music and ballads. I'm not looking to create an authentic late fourteenth-century setting. […] We do need something that can create a sense of occasion and which can be used to punctuate the action where necessary.[724]

Hallett used a wide range of unusual instruments to create the music, including 'the khen, a tied bamboo mouthorgan used for the fanfares; the zarb, which is an Iranian goblet drum; the waterphone, a modern instrument from California, used to create shrieking and wailing sounds; and also the musical saw'.[725] The effect is to create music that often feels slightly spooky or unsettling and, as Mortimer had requested, sounds neither medieval nor entirely modern. In turn this follows traditional radio production techniques, where music is rarely contemporary and usually conjures up a vague idea of the past rather than specifically recreates it.

Mortimer says he believes 'Shakespeare really demands movement and that's very difficult on the radio because it's a lot of people standing at a microphone'.[726] To help achieve the effect of movement, he frequently uses the sound of footsteps and shuffling of feet on a stone floor (e.g. 0:03:41; 0:13:49, 0:56:58). Mortimer recorded a lot of 'wild tracks' to play behind the speeches in order to do this.[727] Regan also picks up on the way Mortimer uses sound effects, stating that they are 'neatly cued-in to verbal patterns in the text'.[728] In particular he notes that John of

[721] Moira Petty, 'Radio Review', *The Stage*, 11 May 2000, p. 21.
[722] Petty, *The Stage*, 11 May 2000.
[723] Petty, *The Stage*, 11 May 2000.
[724] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[725] *AA306 Shakespeare* [CD], 12:09.
[726] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[727] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 23 February 2021.
[728] *AA306 Shakespeare* [CD], 06:46.

Gaunt is breathless after York says 'tis breath thou lackst and that breath wilt thou lose' (2.1.30; 0:40:12). He subsequently comments on Mortimer's use of the line 'small showers last long but sudden showers are short' (2.1.35) as a cue for more effects:

> Rain and thunder accompany his [Gaunt's] great speech in praise of England [2.1.40-68; 0:40:55]. This, and Gaunt's breathlessness, give that speech a much more pensive and circumspect mood than we might expect. Rather than offering us an indulgently patriotic eulogy, Joss Ackland gives us a troubled, low-key performance, and the speech is all the more effective for that.[729]

Petty adds that Ackland 'quivered with wisdom and his "this sceptred isle" speech had added beauty due to the unsilken grittiness of his voice'.[730] Unlike earlier Shakespearean actors, Ackland's performance is praised for *not* being beautiful.

By the year 2000, Mortimer was well-established in the BBC Radio Drama department, which was no longer dominated by male producers. The department's head was a woman and an increasing number of female producers were taking the reins of Shakespeare plays. Among them was Avens, who had produced a number of comic dramas for BBC Radio 4. She put these skills to good use in her first Shakespeare play.

Much Ado About Nothing (2001)

Much Ado About Nothing was the tenth in the 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' series. Although it does not appear to have been reviewed at the time, Andrew Dickson later selected it as 'the best and most interesting adaptation' of the play available in audio format.[731] Dickson states that 'on tape as much as on stage, it's the casting of Beatrice and Benedick that decides whether *Much Ado* sinks or swims. This version emphatically does the latter'.[732] Avens herself talks about her choices in the booklet that accompanied the cassette release of the play:

> I found my perfect casting in Samantha Spiro and David Tennant — David had just finished playing Romeo for the RSC and Samantha had won an

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[729] *AA306 Shakespeare* [CD], 07:04.
[730] Petty, *The Stage*, 11 May 2000.
[731] Andrew Dickson, *The Rough Guide to Shakespeare* (London: Rough Guides, 2005), p. ix, p. 257.
[732] Dickson, p. 257.

Olivier Award for her work in Sondheim's *Merrily We Roll Along*. What they both had in common was brilliant comic timing, essential for the quickfire dialogue that they had to interpret, and an understanding of the necessity that Beatrice should never appear shrewish and Benedick never turn into a misogynist.[733]

Writing about the characters, Penny Gay describes the 'profoundly-held fantasy' of 'late twentieth-century audiences' of a Benedick who 'reveals his sensitivity as well as releasing his sexuality from the confines of male bonhomie' and a Beatrice who is 'witty and independent' and 'whose libido is high but whose emotions run deep'.[734] This description could apply to Tennant and Spiro, and Avens was conscious of ensuring there was chemistry between her actors as the characters go on a 'journey from sparring partners to wedded bliss'.[735]

Literary critics were divided as to whether the characters were genuinely in love from the start, with Howard suggesting that there was no 'pre-existent love' and that 'Don Pedro works hard to create it'.[736] However, both Harold Bloom and Stanley Wells believed the pair were 'reluctant lovers' on a 'journey of self-discovery'.[737] This latter concept is the one presented by Avens. From the moment that Beatrice and Benedick first talk, there is great animosity between them, suggesting they know each other well (1.1.92; 0:06:56). Avens also sets them apart from the rest of the group by having the sound of conversation between the others continue under Beatrice and Benedick's exchange. Spiro delivers Beatrice's line 'I know you of old' (1.1.118-19; 0:08:10) quietly and sadly, hinting that she may still hold some feelings for Benedick. When Benedick is alone with Claudio and states that Beatrice exceeds Hero in beauty (1.1.156-58; 0:09:47), Tennant's voice suggests genuine sadness at Beatrice's 'fury' and admiration for her appearance. In doing so,

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[733] Sally Avens, 'This Production', in booklet included with *BBC Radio Collection: Much Ado About Nothing* (BBC Worldwide, ISBN 0563 535334, 2001 [Cassette]), pp. 12-13 (p.12).

[734] Penny Gay, *As She Likes It: Shakespeare's Unruly Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 175-76.

[735] Avens, p.12.

[736] Howard, 'Renaissance Antitheatricality and the Politics of Gender and Rank in Much Ado about Nothing', in *Shakespeare Reproduced*, ed. by Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O'Connor (New York: Routledge, 1987), pp. 177-78).

[737] Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1998), p. 195; Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare: The Poet and his Plays* (London: Methuen, 1997), p. 166.

Avens' production sets up from the start that, despite outward appearances, Beatrice and Benedick are already in love, ensuring the romance is to the fore.

Tennant and Spiro play their respective gulling scenes both for laughs and for sentiment and are aided by Avens' production technique. In both scenes (act two, scene three and act three, scene one) the text indicates that the lovers do not think they can be seen by their friends while they are eavesdropping. However, this can be difficult to convey on radio. Avens uses two solutions. Firstly, in Benedick's scene, she takes advantage of a moment at the start. In Shakespeare's text, Benedick asks 'Boy' to get a book for him (2.3.1-7), but the boy never returns. Avens chooses to bring back the boy, just at the moment when Benedick is trying to hide. Amid the rustling of leaves and the indistinct sound of conversation between Don Pedro, Claudio and Leonato, the following is inserted:

BOY	(*off, distant*) Signor, your book.
BENEDICK	Shhh!
BOY	(*off, distant*) Your book, Signor.
BENEDICK	(*gritted teeth, whisper*) Go away!
BOY	(*off, distant*) Signor!
BENEDICK	(*gritted teeth, whisper*) Go away!

0:38:22

When the conversation between the trio becomes audible and moves on to the subject of Beatrice (2.3.82), there is another rustle of leaves, as if Benedick is falling out of a tree, and a mumbled 'Oh my go—' from Tennant (0:42:00). Both moments indicate that Benedick does not want to be seen, but they do not immediately convey the sense of distance between Benedick and his friends. Avens does this by manipulating the sound.

As Leonato, played by David Swift, says 'that she should so dote on Signor Benedick' (2.3.87-88 0:42:12), the voices of everyone but Benedick are faded down and continue quietly, as if at a distance, while Benedick's breathing, verbal and vocal reactions (such as whimpers and the occasional 'oh') are heard at the front of the sound mix, giving the audience his perspective on what is happening. This lasts for about thirty seconds before the listener is returned to the perspective of the whole

scene. Avens repeats this trick a short while later (2.3.157; 0:45:27). The effect of these changes in sound perspective is to keep the scene focused on Benedick and his reactions, with little additional dialogue. A similar procedure takes place when Hero and Ursula trick Beatrice. Sound effects, and puffs and panting from Spiro, give the impression that Beatrice has climbed into a tree. Again, the voice of Hero is faded down but not out (3.1.49; 0:53:30) and Beatrice's reactions are placed in the audio foreground. Beatrice also attempts to cover up her reactions by following her exclamations of 'oh' with poorly executed bird noises (0:53:54). Dickson states that 'the gulling scenes come across surprisingly well with some adept sound balance'.[738] In both, the manipulation of sound helps the audience focus on the effect the gulling is having on Beatrice and Benedick, as well as conveying the emotional changes in both. This is a more sophisticated use of sound than preceding productions of this era, signalling the way forward for other twenty-first century interpretations of Shakespeare's plays.

Avens was conscious not to focus on Benedick and Beatrice to the detriment of the play's other couple, Hero and Claudio, stating that it was 'as important' in her mind 'to ensure we were as moved' by them.[739] She explains that this was 'a difficult task as Hero is horribly underwritten, especially for radio'.[740] Like most radio producers, Avens adds character names into speeches, or alters a family relationship to a name (such as 'Beatrice' for 'niece' in 2.1.48). But she does this more than ever for Hero, who is frequently name-checked and is also given lines of acknowledgement to indicate her presence (e.g. 'My lord' after 1.1.91 and 'Yes, Father' after 2.1.57). Avens commented:

> There are two chances where we get to see Hero as more than just an obedient child; firstly in the enjoyment she takes in gulling Beatrice into believing that Benedick is in love with her (Emilia Fox, who plays Hero, was allowed to give full rein to the more playful side of Hero here) and secondly in the church scene where Claudio wrongly accuses her of being intimate with another man, where Hero's distress and Leonato's denial of his daughter move the play towards tragedy.[741]

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[738] Dickson, p. 257.
[739] Avens, p. 12.
[740] Avens, p. 12.
[741] Avens, p. 12.

Avens does not invent extra speeches for the character in these scenes but, like Tennant and Spiro in the gulling scenes, Fox uses non-verbal communication, in particular sobbing during act four, scene one, to indicate Hero's reaction to what is happening. This seems to be in line with A. R. Humphreys' observation that Hero is 'almost imperceptible in most traditional representations' but by the later twentieth century 'has been encouraged to make a more noticeable impact'.[742] Contemporary critical opinion on Claudio suggests the character is 'tiresome and empty', 'immature', and affected by 'the faults of his milieu'.[743] Avens seems to have been aware of this, writing that she cast Chiwetel Ejiofor in the part because he invested it with 'a romantic sensibility that ensured we never lost our sympathy for the character'.[744] Ejiofor had recently played the male lead in the National Theatre's *Romeo and Juliet*, for which he was nominated for several awards. His casting here was also a success, with Dickson commenting that Ejiofor 'brings a sombre sympathy to Claudio – a character who might not seem to deserve it'.[745] Again, Avens places the romantic elements of the play to the fore, sympathetically interpreting the text in a way that traditionalists would be happy with while subtly enhancing the smaller roles in the play.

The 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' series ran until the end of 2002, with fifteen productions in total: two less than originally intended. Rowland says that there was never any intention to do the full canon as 'it was occupying a lot of the drama money' and after 'three to four years you just think – enough'.[746] The year after it finished the department made no new Shakespeare productions for the first time in its history. Producing the full canon could have been the ultimate 'heritage' project for BBC Radio Drama. However, attitudes to Shakespeare and radio drama were changing once again.

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[742] A. R. Humphreys, 'Introduction', in William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, ed. by Humphreys (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 1-84 (p. 47).
[743] Bloom, p. 200; Gay, p. 144, Humphreys, p.48.
[744] Avens, p. 13.
[745] Dickson, p. 257.
[746] Rowland, private Zoom conversation, 12 April 2021.

'Heritage' radio Shakepeare

As the year 2000 approached, feelings about Shakespeare were mixed. Sue Gaisford reported that:

> Some people worry that we are moving too far from the currency of Shakespeare's vocabulary, that soon his work will seem impossibly obscure, too difficult to understand. […] The truth is that Shakespeare has never been so popular. He has been granted the supreme accolade of being voted man of the millennium by listeners to Radio 4's *Today* programme.[747]

It is in this atmosphere of both reverent popularity and the fear of being obscure that the BBC radio drama department had to chart its course. As such it seems to have sought reassurance in past success and attempted to build on both the BBC's and Shakespeare's heritage.

Shakespeare on BBC radio appeared to be looking both backwards and forwards as the millennium approached. In many ways, the productions between 1988 and 2001 were more like those of the 1950s and 1960s than those of the generation immediately before: lots of RP voices, often few sound effects and little music, 'clear, straight down-the-line' versions of the plays.[748] However, there was also an eye on preserving the output for the future. In 1959 McWhinnie wrote that radio is 'ephemeral; sound comes out of the air, vanishes; most radio works get no more than two or three broadcasts at most'.[749] But radio was no longer ephemeral. From 1988 onwards, cassettes of productions were available for listeners to buy, and there were two attempts to launch a radio version of the BBC Television Shakespeare, firstly by Kenneth Branagh and then on the run-up to the year 2000. Branagh's ended after just three plays; 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' ended after fifteen. This sense of reflecting the heritage of Shakespeare on radio and attempting to create a legacy seems to have come at a moment when changes at the BBC were creating uncertainty and Shakespeare seems to have provided an anchor for the department.

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[747] Gaisford, *Radio Times*, 9 September 1999, p. 32.
[748] Charles Spencer, 'A mind's-eye vision of Elsinor', *Daily Telegraph*, 27 April 1992, p. 15.
[749] McWhinnie, p. 99.

John Cain notes that 'the years from 1987 to 1992 witnessed the most radical changes ever seen in broadcasting in the United Kingdom'.[750] The BBC 'was seen as wasteful, arrogant and unaccountable'.[751] 'Producer Choice' was introduced in the early 1990s, ostensibly to ensure that departments provided 'the best value for money'.[752] However, there were also budget cuts. During this period it was announced that 'Radio 3's drama output is to be halved'.[753] Simultaneously the audiences for radio drama were declining. Nick Higham wrote: 'The controller of Radio 3, John Drummond, is worried that nobody listens to his plays. They cost him a lot of money, they are the product of much dedicated work, and yet the audience is negligible'.[754] Writing about the 1988 *The Taming of the Shrew*, Gillian Reynolds claimed: 'I bet there were fewer than 10,000 people listening'.[755] She went on to complain that 'Radio 4 has long since ceased to be a National Theatre of the Air' and question whether Radio 3 was the right place for Shakespeare, adding that his works are part of a 'culture, part of a heritage which BBC Radio has, in the past, made available to everyone'.[756] She also felt Radio 3 was facing an 'acute' dilemma about 'who it is serving and at what cost'.[757] Coinciding with this drop in listenership was the demise of the BBC's magazine about radio, *The Listener*, which had frequently championed BBC radio Shakespeare productions. It ceased publication at the end of 1991.

Whether the move towards productions focusing on the BBC's heritage was a reaction to change or not, the period from 'the mid-1980s' onwards was 'characterized by […] a weight of tradition'.[758] Peter Lewis states that 'only four people had held the post of Head of Radio Drama since broadcasting began' and that 'these conditions produced much outstanding and much run-of-the-mill work'.[759] This might also explain why during this period, more than any other, there was a lack of variety in the choice of plays. Several plays received two productions in little more than a decade: *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth* were produced three times each

[750] John Cain, *The BBC: 70 years of broadcasting* (London: BBC, 1992), p. 133.
[751] Peter Lewis, p. 164.
[752] Cain, p. 141.
[753] Twisk, *Observer*, 19 April 1992.
[754] Nick Higham, 'Listen out – forthcoming radio', *The Listener*, 19 May 1988, p. 37.
[755] Reynolds, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 1988.
[756] Reynolds, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 1988.
[757] Reynolds, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 1988.
[758] Peter Lewis, p. 174.
[759] Peter Lewis, p. 174.

between 1990 and 2000. Meanwhile, a dozen plays were not performed at all although, with the exception of *Henry V*, most would be considered Shakespeare's lesser-known texts. This suggests that, at a time when audiences were dwindling, there was a conscious favouring of the more popular plays in a bid to secure listeners.

There may also have been an eye on what might be commercially successful in the audiobook market. The first cassettes of a BBC radio Shakespeare play were released in 1988. James Green lists them as: '*King Lear* with Sir Alec Guinness, *Othello* with Paul Scofield, *Macbeth* with Denis Quilley and Hannah Gordon, and *Hamlet* with Ronald Pickup'.[760] With the exception of *Macbeth*, these were all produced by Tydeman. It seems the initial impetus for doing this came from the 'increasing number of people listen[ing] on cassette – not always legally taped, no doubt'.[761] David Hatch, the then managing director of BBC Network Radio and vice-chairman of BBC Enterprises, stated at the launch of the BBC Radio Collection: 'We are going into the market place aggressively. We know there has been lots of illegal taping but now we can provide listeners with good quality tapes'.[762] Andrew describes it as 'the big event of recent months in the world of spoken-word tapes'.[763] Green states that the BBC expected to 'gross £2 million during the coming year' from the sale not only of Shakespeare plays but comedy and other archive recordings released on double cassettes.[764] A year later, Cheryl Markosky stated the BBC 'will be declaring profits exceeding £10 million'.[765] This gave BBC Enterprises, and later its successor, BBC Worldwide, considerable power, including over the radio output. Mortimer explains:

> They kept on reissuing those cassettes or CDs and it was so irritating, because just when you thought someone might have forgotten them, they got reissued and then it was: 'Oh, you can't do another one because they're still selling these ones'. And they continued to sell those ones even after there were other ones that had been done. […] It was quite difficult. You felt you were in competition with BBC Worldwide sometimes.[766]

[760] James Green, 'Taping up nicely', *The Stage*, 22 September 1988, p. 18.
[761] Arnold-Forster, 'Bloody Sundays', *Guardian*, 3 September 1988, p. 17.
[762] Hatch quoted in Green, *The Stage*, 22 September 1988.
[763] Andrew, 'A Good Listen', *The Listener*, 20 October 1988, p. 36.
[764] Green, *The Stage*, 22 September 1988.
[765] Cheryl Markosky, 'Aunty joins the high-tech age', *Daily Telegraph*, 28 June 1989, p. 26.
[766] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 7 April 2021.

With such a successful money-spinner, it is perhaps not surprising there was a conservatism in production, and a desire to cash-in on the BBC's heritage.

The BBC Radio Collection released archive recordings, but at two points during this period there was an attempt to create a series of productions specifically aimed at being broadcast and then immediately available for purchase. The first came from Branagh and Dearman. Both Twisk and Karpf reported that the pair had 'plans to do Shakespeare's complete works'.[767] However, the BBC, perhaps because of the Radio Collection, did not support the idea. Karpf reported that 'BBC Enterprises turned down *Hamlet*', their first collaboration, adding that instead Branagh and Dearman would 'do the entire Shakespeare canon for Random House'.[768] However the project ended after the third production, *King Lear* (1994). Five years later, the idea of a co-ordinated Shakespeare project appeared again, this time from within the BBC. 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' was described by the controller of Radio 3, Roger Wright, as 'a shining example of the kind of editorially distinctive, collaborative project that only the BBC could mount. It gives Radio 3 listeners the chance to hear fresh and contemporary, yet authoritative performances of these great plays'.[769] It was initially intended to include 'new radio productions of 17 Shakespeare plays over four years'.[770] However, it quickly suffered a similar fate to the BBC Television Shakespeare series which ran from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. Ian Johns wrote: 'Radio 3 and the BBC Collection's on-going attempts to avoid the usual doublet-and-hose approach (ie radio ham) to the Bard have produced some mixed results so far'.[771] He singled out a 'tricksy and confusing' *Romeo and Juliet* (1999) for particular criticism, although he felt the 'all-Scots *Macbeth*' (2000) was one of the best. This was the first time a Scottish Macbeth had been heard on BBC radio, other than perhaps on the Scottish regional stations in the 1920s.

Rowland said that her producers were 'given a relatively free hand' and that it was not a 'BBC approach' but 'something more daring'.[772] The productions were

[767] Twisk, *Observer*, 25 April 1993.
[768] Karpf, *Guardian*, 1 May 1993.
[769] Dalya Alberge, 'Radio 3 plans four years of Shakespeare', *The Times*, 16 July 1999, p. 8.
[770] Alberge, *The Times*, 16 July 1999.
[771] Ian Johns, 'Bend your ear', *The Times*, 13 December 2000, p. 22.
[772] Rowland quoted in Gaisford, *Radio Times*, 9 September 1999, p. 32.

supposedly given 'a comparatively modern setting'. [773] However, in many cases it is difficult to tell. For example, an announcement at the start of *Julius Caesar* (1999) establishes the setting as being Mussolini's Rome, but after the initial sound effects there is very little to indicate this. *Hamlet* (1999) was set in the 'early years of the century' but only 'sharp-eared listeners' would hear 'Polonius dictating to a typist, Laertes departing from a naval dockyard, Fortinbras arriving with tanks'.[774] In fact, the dockyard sounds quite sixteenth century, with what appears to be the sound effect of a horse and wooden cart passing through (0:29:55). The plays' introductions from Richard Eyre may have increased the sense of heritage around them, but there is no indication that Eyre had heard the productions and his short talks do little to encourage listeners. As Mortimer, who directed three of the plays for the series, says, Eyre sounds 'so depressed. He just sounds miserable. I think it's very off-putting. He's quite eloquent, but that's not really the point, is it?'.[775] At least one listener described themselves as 'satisfied', although writing to the *Radio Times*, Anne Hull was both disappointed that only seventeen of Shakespeare's plays were due to be produced, and felt it would have been better if they had been made for television, as 'if you don't know a text well, following it on radio is tricky'.[776]

The casting of many of the plays of this period often seems to hark back to an earlier era, with actors returning who had had a long or distant association with BBC radio Shakespeare. *The Taming of the Shrew* (1988) features Laurence Payne as Baptista, who had appeared as Laertes in the corporation's 1946 production of *Hamlet*, as well as several other plays in the 1940s and 1950s. He had also 'been with Gielgud at Stratford in the 50s' and Mortimer states 'there was a wonderful tradition' in having him as part of the cast.[777] Other actors also returned. Maurice Denham, who had appeared in Shakespeare plays on radio as far back as 1959, returned for the first time in twenty years for *Macbeth* (1992), *Romeo and Juliet* (1993) and *King Lear* (1994). Robert Hardy, who had played Prince Hal in the 1964 *Henry IV* plays, returned in 1995 to play Falstaff in new productions of them. Judi Dench, Juliet in a schools' production of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1962, played the nurse

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[773] Gaisford, *Radio Times*, 9 September 1999, p. 32.
[774] Gaisford, *Radio Times*, 9 September 1999, p. 33.
[775] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 7 April 2021.
[776] Alison Hull, 'Letters – The play's the thing', *Radio Times*, 30 September 1999, p. 5.
[777] Mortimer, private Zoom conversation, 7 April 2021.

in the 1993 version. While John Gielgud was never far away from BBC radio Shakespeare, he had not appeared for ten years when he returned to play the Ghost to Branagh's Hamlet in 1992, more than four decades after he last played the lead for the BBC in his celebrated 1948 performance. The *Radio Times* not only gave over its front cover to a picture of Gielgud and Branagh, there was also a three-page article inside: something unheard of for radio drama at this time. Gielgud also played Lear on radio for his fourth and final time in 1994, at the age of 90. In addition, this period saw the sons of actors who had appeared in Shakespeare plays on radio coming to prominence. Toby Stephens played Orlando in *As You Like It* (1997), twenty years after his father, Robert, starred in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1977). Michael Redgrave's son, Corin, played Lear in 2001, almost half a century after his father had played the part. In the same production, David Troughton appeared as Kent: his father, Patrick, had played Edmund to Gielgud's Lear in 1951, as well as half a dozen other roles from the 1950s to the 1980s.

This harking back to actors from previous generations, as well as the sons of actors from the past, contributed to the very RP sound of many of those appearing in plays of this period. Much as in previous eras, it is sometimes difficult to tell characters apart. This can also be the case with productions which on the face of it are expanding their casting choices. The 1995 *Richard III* was a co-production with the Northern Broadsides theatre company, which is known for using actors with northern accents. However, this production suffers from the same problems that RP productions do: the voices are very similar, making it difficult to tell characters apart. As such, it seems to follow the tradition of BBC radio Shakespeare, requiring the audience to have prior knowledge of the play.

Casting also started to include non-white actors more frequently. As late as 1988, BBC Radio 3 was still repeating the 1972 production of *Othello* with Paul Scofield in the title role. Radio finally heard its first black Othello in 2001 (see Chapter 6). Other black actors were also being cast, including Okonedo in *Richard II* (2000) and Ejiofor in *Much Ado* (2001). Both are British born and their characters' ethnicity is never explicit. However, some actors were asked to provide more stereotypical performances. In Bryant's 1993 *Twelfth Night*, Adjoa Andoh as Maria and Jason Yates as the Sea Captain, also both British born, adopt Caribbean voices. Alongside Rudolf Walker as Feste, who is from Trinidad and Tobago, this gives the

production a colonial feel, although there is nothing else in it to suggest this was the intention of the producer.

There were signs of change, however. While the vast majority of productions in this period fit comfortably within the label of 'heritage' or 'traditional', Clive Brill's do not. He produced just two Shakespeare plays for the department at this time, but both are unlike any of his contemporaries. He described his *King John* (1990) as 'the first modern dress Shakespeare on radio. I got this idea in my head that the Bastard would arrive on a Harley Davidson and once I'd got that in my head, everything else followed'.[778] Brill uses an intercom and telephone in the opening scene (0:02:42). In the middle of act two, scene one, there is the sound effect of a siren (0:26:21). There are also the effects of a megaphone, rockets being set off and a radio being tuned in (0:27:44). The music is by Eninstiirzende Neubauten, who Brill describes as a 'mad German band. All their albums were simply industrial equipment – it's crazy stuff. I was definitely trying to push the boundaries'.[779] The production uses regional accents but not specifically to denote class. For example, both the Dauphin (Scott Cherry) and Hubert (Brian Glover) have regional accents. Brill says: 'I just knew that I wanted to introduce other voices but I was also experimenting with the idea of class.'[780] Brill's production clearly sets the play in the twentieth century in a way that the later 'Shakespeare for the Millennium' productions attempt with less success.

Brill's second production a year later, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, combines his skilled use of sound effects with a multi-racial cast. This production could be described as the first truly modern production of a Shakespeare play on radio, having much more in common with plays produced in the second decade of the twenty-first century than anything aired during the twentieth. Brill himself says:

> I knew I wanted to do something different. […] I knew I wanted a big musical content. […] And then I had this idea of musical mechanicals. […] I knew it was Tony Armatrading playing Bottom. I knew I wanted him to be basically Louis Armstrong. So that was amazing. […] And then on top of that, I knew that digital was advancing. Twenty-four track was the key. No-one was editing on digital at the time but I wanted to have a go. We recorded it conventionally but we edited it unconventionally. I remember doing two or

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[778] Clive Brill, private Zoom conversation, 2 March 2021.
[779] Brill, private Zoom conversation, 2 March 2021.
[780] Brill, private Zoom conversation, 2 March 2021.

three all-nighters because we couldn't edit it the way we wanted it on normal tape. So that again felt very exciting to me.[781]

Brill did not record any further Shakespeare productions for the BBC for thirty years, but did go on to create the Arkangel Shakespeare: thirty-eight plays (*Pericles* and *Two Noble Kinsmen* as well as the thirty-six in the *First Folio*) recorded as a single audio collection for the educational market.

Between 1988 and 2001 there were many changes both within the BBC and outside. Commercial pressures were being felt with the BBC's internal market and from BBC Enterprises and Worldwide. All productions were now being archived and many were made available for sale, meaning that a once ephemeral production would no longer be heard and forgotten. Instead it might be repeated multiple times and released and re-released for sale. Unlike Brill's Arkangel collection, these were aimed at the domestic market. A production might also get more scrutiny, because of its availability to be relistened to, and therefore face more criticism. In 1988 the 'fiefdom' of the BBC radio drama department was still in place, with Tydeman as its head. Tydeman's own preference for long yet simple productions with famous names in leading roles may have set the tone for productions made under his management. This was slow to change. Even by 2001, when the department was run by Rowland, its second female head, that conservatism largely remained, despite an expressed desire to create productions that were 'daring'. It is only in the new millennium that production really began to change, with a greater proportion of female producers, many more black and Asian actors and the introduction of digital editing enabling a manipulation and complexity of sound that had previously been impossible.

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[781] Brill, private Zoom conversation, 2 March 2021.

Chapter 6:

The digital age: 2002-22

The twenty-first century saw the biggest changes in radio production since the inception of broadcasting. New ways of listening to BBC programmes were introduced, both in the UK and across the world. Audiences could listen online, not just at the scheduled broadcast time, but also at any time convenient to them in the coming days. Soon listeners were able to download their Shakespeare and take it with them almost anywhere. The wider availability of digital audio recording and editing gave producers an opportunity for more flexibility in recording location as well as the ability to layer many more sound elements, creating more complex and expansive sound mixes. Playback was no longer on tape, or rather a series of tapes, making it easier to create a cohesive sound running throughout a production. Attitudes were also finally changing over which voices were suitable for Shakespeare on radio; regional and international voices became less rare and no longer confined to comic or servant roles. In addition, Shakespeare was no longer a heritage product, to be treated as sacrosanct. Instead, his works could be adapted to new locations and people, from productions including languages other than English, to those bringing the plays into the twenty-first century, using sound to relocate them from their original settings. This chapter will show that the combination of these developments has led to a reframing of Shakespeare on BBC radio, creating productions with more imaginative settings and more inclusive casts, as well as giving a wider range of people the opportunity to listen to them.

Until the new millennium, radio was mainly broadcast on FM, long and medium wave. The BBC had been experimenting with DAB since the 'late 1990s', but it was not until 2002 that it finally launched regular, digital services.[782] This development coincided with improvements in audio recording and editing afforded by digital technologies. Together these developments meant that listeners within range of a DAB transmitter could now hear higher quality sound productions via a

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[782] Alex Pryde, 'Happy Birthday, radio', *BBC Blogs* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/aboutthebbc/entries/786bf13c-cf7d-3577-8507-f3b404fc83a6> [Accessed 14 June 2021].

higher quality broadcast medium, without the hiss of analogue radio. Digital broadcasting not only provided a better platform for the BBC's existing network stations, but the corporation also introduced a number of new ones, including what was then called BBC 7, now BBC Radio 4 Extra: an all-speech station of archive material, largely from Radio 4. This has included the occasional Shakespeare play, although these have been rare.

Online radio streaming and 'on demand' also came to the BBC in 2002.[783] The ability to listen online created opportunities for listeners to decide for themselves when was most convenient for them to hear their chosen programme, as well as the possibility to listen wherever there was an internet connection, rather than just where there was a radio signal. Initially, 'on demand' was only available for seven days after broadcast.[784] However, this was later extended to twenty-eight days, or longer in some cases. In 2015 it also became possible to download programmes, including whole Shakespeare plays.[785] And from 2018 onwards some Shakespeare plays have been available to download permanently for free via the BBC's Shakespeare Sessions website, which bills itself as 'Your one-stop shop for all things Shakespeare. Catch A-List casts in brand new audio versions of Shakespeare's greatest plays'.[786] While not well publicised, the description of productions on this site as 'podcasts' suggests it is aiming at a new generation of potential listeners.

Alongside these technological changes, attitudes to production were also shifting. In their book *Locating Shakespeare in the Twenty-First Century*, Malcolm and Marshall write that prior to this era:

> Popularizing him [Shakespeare] was fine as long as it was true to the text
> […] In other words, integrity was encouraged and there was very little that

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[783] Steve Bowbrick, 'Radioplayer – all of UK radio in one place', *BBC Blogs* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/radio/entries/09f09e32-48b2-339d-b8b4-6ef4d78b81e0> [Accessed 14 June 2021].

[784] 'BBC re-launches internet radio – everything in one place', *BBC Press Office* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2005/01_january/24/player.shtml> [Accessed 14 June 2021].

[785] 'Mobile downloads launches on BBC iPlayer Radio for the start of the BBC Proms', *BBC Media Centre* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2015/mobile-downloads-radio> [Accessed 23 August 2021].

[786] *BBC Shakespeare Sessions* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0655br3> [Accessed 14 June 2021].

was considered liminal or cutting edge about most versions of nineteenth-
and (much) twentieth-century Shakespeare.[787]

While the book does not mention radio, this generalisation holds true for the
majority of productions covered so far in this thesis. Reviews such as Wyndham
Goldie's for *Othello* in 1939 or May's for the 1993 *Romeo and Juliet* made clear that
modernising Shakespeare was not acceptable.[788] These attitudes prevailed for
decades. However, from the turn of the millennium onwards, producers have
increasingly been creating versions of Shakespeare's plays that reflect modernity in a
variety of ways.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the first signs of this appear in the two plays
produced by Clive Brill in the early 1990s: *King John* (1990) and *A Midsummer
Night's Dream* (1991). In the former, Brill chose to set the play in a different era; in
the latter, he used a wider range of actors and voices than his predecessors and most
of his contemporaries. Other producers did not immediately follow suit but, during
the two decades covered by this chapter, changes were taking place. In terms of
relocating productions, some have specifically shifted the action, such as the 2018
Merchant of Venice which was billed as 'transposed to the City of London and the
2008 financial crisis'.[789] Or *The Two Gentlemen of Valasna* (2007), a retitled version
of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* which shifts the time and location of the play to
Victorian India. However, others have been less specific, instead using regional or
international accents to suggest new locations or at least differences in nationality. In
Coriolanus (2002), the Romans speak with English accents while the Volscians are
Irish. And in 2005's *Troilus and Cressida*, the Trojans are African while the Greeks
use a variety of UK accents, including Yorkshire and Welsh. Most of these accents
had rarely been heard previously and, if they had, they were likely to have been in
only minor roles. Accent was no longer a signifier of class but an aid to a producer in
distinguishing different characters and their political allegiances.

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[787] Kelli Marshall and Gabrielle Malcolm, *Locating Shakespeare in the Twenty-First Century*
(Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), pp. 1-2.
[788] For more, see Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 respectively.
[789] 'Merchant of Venice', *Drama on 3* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09zmvmp> [Accessed
14 June 2021].

During this period there has also been a black Antony to a white Cleopatra (David Harewood and Frances Barber in 2002) and an Irish Shylock (Andrew Scott in the 2018 *Merchant of Venice*). But perhaps most striking is the casting of Othello. Between 1972 and the millennium, the only production to be broadcast (and repeated three times) starred Paul Scofield as the title character. In 2001, Ray Fearon became the first black actor to play Othello on BBC radio. In the two decades covered by this chapter, two more black actors took the part: Chiwetel Ejiofor in 2008 and Lenny Henry in 2010. Then, after a ten-year gap, Khalid Abdalla became the first actor of Arab heritage to play Othello on the BBC in 2020. Attitudes towards casting the play have changed substantially, with the end of the practice of doing the vocal equivalent of blacking-up.[790] There has also been a shift away from casting theatre actors (all three black Othellos had already successfully played the part on stage) and even a conscious re-examination as to what the ethnicity of the character might be.

The choice of plays has also changed. While the popular texts are still performed, there has only been one each of *Hamlet* (2014), *Romeo and Juliet* (2012) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2011) in the last twenty years. However, there were two productions of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (2007 and 2019), two of *Measure for Measure* (2004 and 2018) and even two of the anonymous *Arden of Faversham* (2004 and 2019), although only the earlier one alludes to a possible Shakespeare connection.[791] This does not seem to have been a conscious decentring of the canon by producers and executives. Instead, producers repeatedly speak of feeling the need to take on plays that have not been done recently or prominently. There is also a sense that the lesser-known texts might allow producers to take a more creative approach to them without the risk of being accused of tampering, as critics would be less familiar with them and less likely to be aware of what has been changed or removed.

The case studies in this chapter reflect the technical developments and the presentation of Shakespeare on the BBC at this time, both of which contribute to a reframing of the playwright's work. The 2004 *Measure for Measure* has a majority black cast and uses accents and music to suggest a location far removed from the play's original setting of Vienna. *Cymbeline* (2006) showcases regional accents, in

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[790] See Chapter 1.
[791] 'Arden of Faversham', *Radio Times*, 3 June 2004, p. 118.

this case Welsh, as well as taking advantage of digital recording to go on location to an ancient underground chamber. *The Two Gentlemen of Valasna* (2007) takes location recording even further – quite literally. Not only did the producer transpose Shakespeare's play to India, it was recorded there with an Indian cast, on location: something that only modern recording equipment makes practical. *Macbeth* (2015) sees Neil Dudgeon take the lead; an actor best known for his northern accent and warm television persona as John Barnaby in *Midsomer Murders* (1997–), rather than as a famous Shakespearean. The production also uses digital sound technology to great effect, especially for the appearance of Banquo's ghost. And 2020's *Othello* brings together innovative casting with a setting of 'an imagined near future', created with a complex sound mix in a production that unites many of the key elements of this period.[792] The chapter will then conclude with a closer look at the diversity, and sometimes lack of it, in casting, as well as the locations and time periods used as settings for these plays. It will also note the changing demographic of producers and simultaneous change in the style of production.

These twenty-first century productions frequently reframe Shakespeare on radio in terms of location for the text, performers and performance, and use of the medium. Claire Grove's *Measure for Measure* not only does this, but also reflects contemporary literary criticism of the play and in particular its focus on sex.

Measure for Measure **(2004)**

Bloom states that *Measure for Measure* conjures up 'unsurpassable visions […] of sexual malaise'.[793] Whether or not Grove was familiar with this when she produced her version, the opening of this production seems rooted in the same sense of the play. It begins with rhythmic drumming on bongos, quickly joined by the throbbing pulse of an electric bass guitar and finally a violin playing a Middle Eastern-style melody. Simultaneously there is the sound of a couple kissing, then groans of pleasure, getting faster, as well as the occasional giggle and finally additional voices giggling and groaning. The music and sound effects then continue quietly under the first scene. Reviewer Sue Arnold wrote that Grove's production was 'gloriously

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[792] 'Othello', *Drama on 3* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000hgqz> [Accessed 14 June 2021].
[793] Bloom, p. 359.

atmospheric and shamelessly erotic'.[794] Jane Anderson stated that 'from the opening

grunts' onwards, 'this is one of the sexiest productions of Shakespeare I've ever

heard'.[795] Unlike earlier radio versions of the play, which shy away from its sexual

context, Grove chooses to open with a direct evocation of it. By having the first

scene's discussion about law and process carried out over the sound of behaviour the

Duke later condemns as 'evil deeds' (1.3.38), the audience is left in no doubt as to

what sort of deeds these might be.

Grove moves the setting out of Vienna; all references to it are changed to 'the

city' or cut altogether (e.g. 1.1.44; 0:02:47; 2.1.177; 0:24:48; 5.1.275; 1:54:59). No

specific new location is given, although the music, described by reviewers as

'enigmatic, sensual' and 'darkly brooding', suggests the eastern Mediterranean or

Middle East.[796] The characters' accents do little to suggest a definite location either,

although Arnold felt that Nadine Marshall, Jude Akuwudike and Adjoa Andoh had

been cast in a specific way:

> Good and evil, black and white, the accent said it all, with the goodies or
> innocent victims – Claudio, Isabella and Marianna [sic] – delivering their
> entreaties in seductively musical African-Caribbean while the bad guy,
> Angelo, was every inch the establishment smooth-talking Sir Humphrey.[797]

Arnold is largely correct in her assertions about the accents of Marshall and

Akuwudike, and the same could also be said for the nun in act one, scene four,

played by Claire Benedict: all three sound African. However, Andoh's Mariana does

not. She speaks in an English voice with no discernible accent. Benedict uses a

similar voice when playing Mistress Overdone. Chiwetel Ejiofor as the Duke also

speaks with an English accent, not far removed from Anton Lesser's as Angelo:

Arnold wrote that 'in wine-speak, his [Ejiofor's] voice was vintage posh with

overtones of deep, sexy Mediterranean fruit'.[798] Grove's casting and use of voice is

not as simplistic as Arnold suggests. Grove does not use accent to define character

by race, but to show allegiances or to distinguish characters. The fact that Claudio,

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[794] Sue Arnold, 'Review: Radio: He's got bats in the belfry – or at least in the study', *Observer*, 8 February 2004, p. 20.

[795] Jane Anderson, 'Measure for Measure', *Radio Times*, 29 January 2004, p. 118.

[796] Stephanie Billen, 'Radio: Sunday 1 February', *Observer*, 1 February 2004, p. 42; Arnold, *Observer*, 8 February 2004.

[797] Arnold, *Observer*, 8 February 2004.

[798] Arnold, *Observer*, 8 February 2004.

Isabella and the nun are all African suggests a common faith: other than the Friars Thomas and Peter (parts that are conflated in this production) they are the only characters who seem to genuinely hold such beliefs. The rulers – the Duke, Angelo and Escalus – all have middle-class English accents. The comic parts, Pompey, Lucio and Elbow are respectively played with Greek, Irish and Scottish accents, making them easy to differentiate. Grove wrote that 'skilful casting […] can make characters more distinctive so that listeners will then find it easier to tell the voices apart.'[799] This seems to be at the heart of her use of accent, rather than making any race-related statement about good and evil.

Reviewers had mixed opinions on how the combination of sex and repression in the plot was represented in the leading actors. Anderson describes Marshall's Isabella as having a 'lush voice […] laden with sexual promise'.[800] However, Moira Petty in *The Stage* felt Marshall 'withered in the glare of Lesser's bravura' as Angelo.[801] Anderson suggests that Lesser's Angelo is 'a rigidly repressed man, barely keeping the lid on the force of his emotions'.[802] While Petty describes his performance as a 'grim, sanctimonious, cruel portrait.'[803] Both Lesser and Marshall deliver low-key performances, but this is part of what makes radio drama different to other media. As McWhinnie writes:

> The fact that an actor does not project his voice, does not necessarily articulate clearly, does not overemphasize, does not strive after dramatic effects, all this does not mean that he is not acting; on the contrary. […] The technique of radio acting is the ability to express all shades of meaning with, apparently, the minimum of vocal effort.[804]

Angelo's propositioning of Isabella in act two, scene four, is an example of this. Neither actor shouts, even when their character is losing their temper or feels under threat. After Angelo says 'let me be bold' (2.4.130; 0:47:17), there is the sound of a thump and a gasp from Marshall, but she does not scream. Lesser then drops his voice, rather than raising it, increasing the sinister nature of what he is saying. When

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[799] Claire Grove and Stephen Wyatt, *So you want to write radio drama?* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2013) pp. 27-28.
[800] Anderson, *Radio Times*, 29 January 2004.
[801] Moira Petty, 'Radio 3 fails to get the measure of the Bard's "problem play"', *The Stage*, 19 February 2004, p. 29.
[802] Anderson, *Radio Times*, 29 January 2004.
[803] Petty, *The Stage*, 19 February 2004.
[804] McWhinnie, pp. 123-24.

he says 'Believe me, on mine honour, / My words express my purpose' (2.4.144-45; 0:47:52), his voice is very low and urgent, suggesting he will not wait. Marshall almost hisses 'Seeming, seeming' with contained anger (2.4.147; 0:48:00) and when Lesser says 'And now I give my sensual race [pause] *the rein*' (emphasis in performance, 2.4.157; 0:48:31) there is such aggression in his voice, along with the sound effect of stumbling feet and a gasp from Marshall, that Isabella's situation seems desperate.

Throughout the scene, Marshall and Lesser give controlled and quiet performances, creating a highly tense, intimate and intimidating atmosphere. As such, they also reflect contemporary literary criticism. Petty states that she could not understand why Angelo would be 'drawn to risk all by seducing an Isabella intent on overdoing the nun act'.[805] But Marshall's performance seems to perfectly echo Jacqueline Rose's suggestion that the character's 'excessive propriety' has led to accusations that the woman who 'refuses to meet' the desire she provokes is 'unsettling'.[806] And Lesser's performance is in keeping with Bloom's description of a character whose 'sadomasochistic desire for the novice nun' is 'more palpable' 'virtually each time she speaks'.[807] Radio, with its more contained style of performance, particularly in the twenty-first century, brings out the underlying tensions in these characters.

Leah Marcus states that in modern performances the Duke 'is often idealized as the wise exemplar of overarching authority', although 'almost as frequently […] the duke comes closer to Lucio's description of the "fantastical Duke of darke corners"'.[808] Ejiofor's Duke does not sit easily in either of these definitions, perhaps prompting Petty's comment that he is 'non-descript'.[809] Ejiofor's interpretation is aloof and the only character not to exhibit high passion, either in public or private. However, that does not mean there is not depth to his performance, described by Arnold as 'dispatched with panache'.[810] Ejiofor portrays the Duke as a man never

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[805] Petty, *The Stage*, 19 February 2004.
[806] Jacqueline Rose, 'Sexuality in the reading of Shakespeare: *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*', in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. by Drakakis, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 97-120 (p. 99, p. 106).
[807] Bloom, p. 365.
[808] Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1988), p. 181.
[809] Petty, *The Stage*, 19 February 2004.
[810] Arnold, *Observer*, 8 February 2004.

less than in total command of everything in the city. After eavesdropping on Claudio and Isabella discussing Angelo's proposition, Ejiofor's approach to Marshall is extremely formal (3.1.153; 0:57:51). And later, when the Duke tells Isabella that her brother is dead, Ejiofor's voice remains steady and impassive, despite Marshall's anger and tears (4.3.110; 1:36:20). Ejiofor's Duke is unemotional and controlling.

This adds a level of complexity to a moment at the play's conclusion that has been the subject of much debate in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century: Isabella's silence at the Duke's proposal of marriage. Academics such as Bloom and Peter Lake suggest Isabella is broadly happy with the match.[811] However, two high profile theatre productions of *Measure for Measure* in the same year as this radio production, both staged after this broadcast, were less convinced. Michael Billington's review of the National Theatre's production states that 'even his [the Duke's] final offer of marriage to Isabella becomes a demonstration of brutal authority'.[812] Shakespeare's Globe also staged the play: a production that was aired on the still relatively new television channel, BBC Four. In this, the audience laughs heartily while Sophie Thompson's Isabella looks shocked and stunned.[813] Marshall's radio performance is close to Thompson's, giving a slight whimper at the first reference to marriage (5.1.496; 2:06:17) and a sigh at the second (5.1.537-40; 2:08:27). There is also cheering and applause, this time from the rest of the characters rather than a theatre audience but having much the same effect. However, Ejiofor's Duke is far from the bumbling lover portrayed by Mark Rylance at the Globe. His continual coolness does not suggest love for Isabella but control. Grove also adds the sound of thunder during his second entreaty, suggesting she did not see this as a happy ending.

Grove's production presents a complex and intense set of characters in a way that is specifically tailored to the medium. She does not shy away from what many twenty-first century observers have seen as the difficult ending, nor does she definitively impose an opinion on what Isabella's reaction is or should be: listeners

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[811] Bloom, p. 380; Peter Lake, 'Ministers, Magistrates and the Production of "Order" in Measure for Measure', *Shakespeare Survey*, 54 (2001) 165-81 (p. 180).

[812] Michael Billington, 'Measure for Measure [review]', *Guardian*, 28 May 2004 <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2004/may/28/theatre1> [accessed 2 July 2021].

[813] Measure for Measure *Live from the Globe*, BBC Four, 4 September 2004 <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/004EDF0B?bcast=4201876> [Accessed 2 July 2021] 2:45:25.

can interpret Marshall's performance as happy, sad or merely accepting, depending on their own views of the play. The complexity of Shakespeare's plays, particularly the later ones, seems to have attracted rather than deterred producers during this period. And the lack of familiarity of the late romances especially appealed when tailoring a production to a regional setting in the 2006 version of *Cymbeline*.

Cymbeline (2006)

In the early years of the BBC, the Cardiff station had a proud history of producing many of Shakespeare's plays on radio. Later, they moved into Welsh language productions. But as the BBC became more unified, the role of Cardiff in producing Shakespeare became less prominent. However, in 2006, that tradition was revived with a production of *Cymbeline*. Producer Alison Hindell says she was drawn to the 'Celtic element' in the play, explaining:[814]

> Most of my production career was in Wales and it was a case of 'what hasn't been done' and 'what could I do from a Welsh perspective and make a virtue of it being made in Wales'. So obviously, although not many of the characters are Welsh, a lot of the action is set in Wales, so I decided to do a kind of Celtic version. With some legitimacy because he [Cymbeline] was a Celtic king.[815]

Hindell's decision is plausible, with historians regarding ancient Britons as Celts and Wales a modern Celtic nation.[816] However, it is in contrast to some contemporary literary criticism. Academics such as Jodi Mikalachki felt the play was more reflective of English nationalism in the early modern period.[817] Radio critics seemed oblivious to both, and while some did mention the fact the production was made in

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[814] Hindell, private Zoom conversation, 17 June 2021.
[815] Hindell, private Zoom conversation, 17 June 2021.
[816] Keith Branigan, 'Cunobelinus', in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <https://search-credoreference-com.uea.idm.oclc.org/content/entry/oupoxford/cunobelinus/0?institutionId=1278> [Accessed 13 August 2021].; John Mackenzie, 'Britons, Ancient', in *Cassell's Peoples, Nations and Cultures* (London: Cassell, 2005) <https://search-credoreference-com.uea.idm.oclc.org/content/entry/orionpnc/britons_ancient/0?institutionId=1278> [Accessed 13 August 2021].
[817] Jodi Mikalachki, 'The Masculine Romance of Roman Britain: Cymbeline and Early Modern English', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 46.3 (1995), 301-322 (p. 302).

Wales, none seemed to see this as significant. This may be in part due to a lack of foreknowledge of the play, enabling Hindell to reframe it without critical dissent.

Hindell chooses an almost entirely Welsh cast: the only major character not to be played by a Welsh actor is Cymbeline himself, Bill Wallis, who is English. His accent wavers a little, sometimes more Irish, sometimes just English. His Queen is played by the Welsh but RP Sian Phillips. However, from the moment the play begins with the discussion between two gentlemen, the audience is greeted by strong Welsh accents and this is the case for the majority of the characters. The use of Welsh voices alone does not directly evoke a sense of Britain in the first century CE, though, and in fact there is little to suggest any specific era. The chief sound effect is birdsong, which indicates an outdoor setting but not a time period. In fact Stephanie Billen suggests Hindell mainly used it 'to reflect Shakespeare's bird imagery'.[818] Hindell recorded some of the play on location 'with a Neolithic burial mound serving as Belarius's cave'.[819] This may have aided the actors in giving atmosphere for their performance, but it adds little to the sound of the play. There is also liberal use of music but, like the sound effects, it is not specifically ancient and hints more at the Jacobean. Written by Welsh composer John Hardy, it is sparse; often just a single string of a violin or a musical drone. Sometimes a hurdy gurdy is used, an instrument which would have been common in Shakespeare's time, but overall the music is generally atmospheric rather than period specific.

Hindell's approach to cutting the text is to nibble away at scenes, removing lines here and there rather than large speeches. She also regularly disregards rhythm when cutting. Many lines in *Cymbeline* are enjambed, meaning that simply cutting a whole line or group of lines would make no sense. But cutting from mid-line to mid-line rarely means the original rhythm is retained. For example, 'So fair, and fastened to an empery / Would make the great'st king double, to be partner'd' (1.6.119-20) is reduced to 'So fair, to be partner'd' (0:28:36). Often it is subclauses which are cut, such as 'wherein you're happy—*which will make him know / If that his head have ear in music*—for he's honourable' (3.4.174-176; 1:14:28, cut in italics). However, perhaps because there is so much enjambment in the play and Shakespeare's own

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[818] Billen, 'Drama On 3: Cymbeline', *Observer TV and Radio*, 17 December 2006, p. 5.
[819] Billen, *Observer TV and Radio*, 17 December 2006.

lines often deviate from strict iambic pentameter, in performance these slightly uneven rhythms are not that noticeable.

Hindell also cuts many of the asides, particularly those of the Second Lord which point up Cloten's stupidity (e.g. 2.1.33-34 and 44). Removing the Second Lord's solo speech beginning 'That such a crafty devil as is his mother / Should yield the world this ass!' (2.1.49-62) affects both the portrayal of Cloten and the Queen. The Queen's own first aside (1.1.103-06), which indicates she is plotting, is also removed. The song in act two, scene three, which is not ascribed to a particular character but is often performed by Cloten and used as another opportunity to make fun of him, is also removed from the main body of the play and instead inserted at the very beginning as opening music.[820] The combined effect of this is to make the Queen seem less evil and Cloten less of an idiot, increasing his threat to Imogen.

Two scenes that are frequently referred to by literary critics as important are also highly visual: Iachimo emerging from a trunk in Imogen's bedroom in act two, scene two and the appearance of Jupiter and the ghosts of the Leonati to Posthumus in prison in act five, scene four. In the case of the first, little is added in terms of sound to aid the listener and there is no additional text. Anyone unfamiliar with the play may not realise the slight sound of creaking before Iachimo's first line in this scene (0:35:53) represents the trunk being opened. Similarly, the lines 'Come off, come off— / As slippery as the Gordian knot was hard' (2.2.33-34; 0:37:23) are unlikely to alert listeners to the fact he is removing her bracelet, even with the addition of a slight metallic sound. However, although the visual plot points are difficult to interpret, the fact that the audience has only Iachimo's speech as a guide puts emphasis on his 'controlling male gaze', as everything is filtered through his description.[821]

The scene in act five has the potential to be highly visual in the theatre as it includes the stage direction 'Jupiter descends in thunder and lightning, sitting upon an eagle. He throws a thunderbolt' (after 5.4.62). Literary critics were not enamoured of this sequence, with Bloom stating that 'I have reread this scene continually, trying

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[820] For examples of Cloten singing 'Hark, hark, the lark' (2.3.17-23), see the RSC's 2003 production and Cheek By Jowl's from 2007.

[821] Lawrence Danson, '"The catastrophe is a nuptial": the space of masculine desire in *Othello*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 46 (1993) 69-79 (p. 76).

to persuade myself that it is not bad, but it is awful, and I think deliberately so'.[822] And Wells suggests that its 'artificial mode and incantatory verbal style' has led many critics to find it 'distasteful' and even 'spurious', although he points out that 'it has obvious affinities with similar episodes preceding the resolutions of earlier plays'.[823] Rather than attempt to convey this scene through sound effects and music, or additions to the text, Hindell simply cuts the entire episode (5.3.30-92). Posthumus' sleep is merely indicated with mysterious-sounding music, and the text then resumes with his speech indicating what he has been dreaming about. This would not matter if it were not for the fact that there is nothing to indicate the presence of the 'deus ex machina of the oracle Posthumus finds on his bosom after dreaming of his family and lineage'.[824] Mikalachki suggests that this is essential for the 'resolution of the play's many riddles of identity'.[825] But while the lines remain, their context, without visuals, is missing, making it quite hard to understand what Posthumus is reading, where it has come from and perhaps even that he is reading aloud at all. In both these scenes the visual is not well conveyed to the listening audience, especially one that is likely to be unfamiliar with the play. Like earlier productions, there seems to be a reluctance from Hindell to add to the text, something that producers later in this period are more willing to do.

Unlike some of her contemporaries, Hindell's use of sound in this production is not extensive, and she does not alter or add to the text, creating a production that in many ways is similar to those of her predecessors. However, regional accents remained unusual in Shakespeare productions at this time, particularly those from the UK nations, and so to cast a largely Welsh body of actors did do something almost radical. Three months before this production aired, theatre company Kneehigh opened their adaptation of the play at the RSC's Swan theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon. Despite being at a location renowned for Shakespeare, reviews suggest it was a radical version that was 'neither complicated nor much like Shakespeare'.[826] Reviews of Hindell's production, on the other hand, describe it as 'something of an

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[822] Bloom, p. 633.
[823] Wells, *Shakespeare: A life in Drama* (New York: Norton, 1995), pp. 357-58.
[824] Mikalachki, p. 320.
[825] Mikalachki, p. 320.
[826] Sam Marlowe, 'Reviews First Night – Theatre, Cymbeline, Swan, Stratford', *The Times times2*, 25 September 2006, p. 18.

event' with 'powerful performances'.[827] As such, perhaps Hindell's production reflects a continued conservatism from critics about the performance of Shakespeare's plays, and provided her audience with something designed to please rather than challenge. However, the following year, Shakespeare on BBC radio would take something of a departure from convention, and from Europe, with a production of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* that was retitled and relocated to India.

The Two Gentlemen of Valasna (2007)

The period prior to the twenty-first century saw a marked lack of Shakespeare's less well-known plays on radio, but in the early 2000s they were reappearing. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, described by Jeffrey Masten as 'often ignored', is one of a number to be revived.[828] In the hands of independent director and producer, Willi Richards and Roger Elsgood, the 2007 production of the play was transposed in time and place, from sixteenth century Italy to nineteenth century India, and renamed *The Two Gentlemen of Valasna*. It was also recorded on location in western India.

The pair had previously recorded *The Mrichhakatikaa* in Khandala for BBC Radio 3 and they returned to the hill station for *Valasna*. Richards explains:

> We recorded in ancient palatial houses, played croquet on a beautiful, manicured lawn, travelled to high remote reservoirs, raced semi-feral horses in dark forests, struggled to get on an ancient railway train, stood seemingly forever in crowded bazaars waiting for a distant auto-rickshaw to go away.[829]

Their cast was drawn from the Indian film and television industries, as well as the English-speaking theatre tradition in the country.[830] Richards says it seemed 'essential' to him to record this way, 'in live environments, in the manner of making a movie – the process of filmic radio rather than theatrical radio'.[831] Only in the era of digital recording could such a project be really feasible, thanks to lighter-weight

[827] Paul Donovan, 'Drama On 3: Cymbeline', *Sunday Times Culture*, 17 December 2006, p. 59; Billen, *Observer TV and Radio*, 17 December 2006.
[828] Jeffrey Masten, 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona', *Companion to Shakespeare's Works 3: The Comedies*, ed. by Richard Dutton, and Jean E. Howard (Chichester: Blackwell, 2005) pp. 266-88 (p. 268).
[829] Willi Richards, 'Introduction', in *The Two Gentlemen of Valasna*, BBC Radio 3, 29 July 2007.
[830] Richards, BBC Radio 3, 29 July 2007.
[831] Richards, BBC Radio 3, 29 July 2007.

equipment and the ability to record hours of material, rather than just the fifteen minutes possible on one reel of a portable tape machine.

The concept behind the production was inspired by the year it was broadcast: 2007, the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the Indian Mutiny. Elsgood says he was struck by the way Italy in the sixteenth century resembled India in the nineteenth: 'It's the same kind of politico, sociological, geographical, set-up'.[832] While it might seem a challenge to relocate an Italian play to India, William Carroll points out that although most of the action takes place in Milan, it 'is presented as a powerful but uncharacterized place in the play'.[833] The change of location led to many superficial alterations to the text, the most obvious of which are the characters' names. Valentine, Proteus, Julia and Silvia become Vishvadev, Parminder, Jumaana and Syoni – all retaining their first initial and their rhythm. Similar changes are made for the rest, with the only exception being the Duke, who is retitled the Maharaja. Place names also change: Verona becomes the 'imaginary Indian princely state' of Valasna.[834] Milan is Malpur. In addition, alongside Shakespeare's text, listeners can hear conversations in Hindi and Marathi, often in the background or at the start of scenes and sometimes indicating the tensions in India at that time. Pronoti Datta reported:

> As a cheeky inside joke, these allusions are made in Hindi so that Radio 3's predominantly English-speaking audience is left in the dark. 'We think that's a nice, little conceit,' Elsgood said. 'Because that was what was happening in India. [The British] didn't know what was going on behind their backs.'[835]

Richards hoped this would 'lend a fresh perspective to Shakespeare's story'.[836] This is not the first time a radio Shakespeare production has consciously been transposed from its original setting, but it is the first time one has been moved to a specific time and location, making a political point in the process.

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[832] Roger Elsgood, private phone conversation, 19 May 2021.
[833] William Carroll, 'Introduction', in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, William Shakespeare (London: Methuen Drama, 2004) pp. xix-130 (p. 78).
[834] Pronoti Datta, 'Air Play', *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997 [exact date unknown, copy from journalist's own archive].
[835] Datta, *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997.
[836] Richards, BBC Radio 3, 29 July 2007.

As well as the additions, the play is heavily cut. Despite it already being one of Shakespeare's shortest, around a third of the lines are removed, giving a running time of only just over ninety minutes. Elsgood was particularly aware of creating a pacy production: 'All Shakespeares are way too long anyway. For radio, you have to cut them down'.[837] However, the cuts also reduce the focus on male friendship in the play, not just between the main protagonists but also the more minor parts: the lengthy comic exchange between Lance and Speed at the end of act three, scene one (3.1.256-363) is one of the many edits. However, there is less cutting of the female characters. Avantika Akerkar, who played Jumaana/Julia, told Datta that the play 'has a lot of issues we were trying to grapple with' and that the cast, director and producer 'would discuss it and try to present it in a manner that's modern'.[838] This may explain why Syoni/Silvia has a number of additional lines in the final scene, largely derived from other parts of the play (1:21:35; 1:28:11). Carroll notes the character's silence in Shakespeare's text after the 'attempted rape'.[839] And Masten suggests the character 'seemingly becom[es] a voiceless piece of particularly mobile property'.[840] By changing this dynamic, Richards and Elsgood alter what Datta suggests is the character's 'anachronistically subservient behaviour', no longer leaving Syoni/Silvia voiceless.[841]

Other cuts and changes are also made to help maintain the Indian setting. 'Villains' (4.1.5) are 'dacoits' (0:54:33) and 'breeches' (2.7.49) become 'churidar' (0:38:14). Elsgood and Richards also remove all the classical references and the Christian references are changed: 'a beggar at Hallowmas' (2.1.23) becomes 'a beggar at Holi' (0:17:18); the 'abbey wall' (5.1.9) is the 'temple wall' (1:16:47) and 'Friar Laurence' (5.2.36) becomes 'a mendicant priest' (1:18:13). The original play's frequent uses of the words 'Sir' and 'Madam' are also changed: 'Sir' sometimes becomes 'Sri' or sometimes the suffix 'ji' is added to the end of names, such as 'Parminderji'. Both enable the maintenance of Shakespeare's rhythm in the verse sections. And Madam is frequently replaced with 'Sahiba'. All these changes firmly cement the reworked text in their new location and fit them to their Indian cast.

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[837] Elsgood, private phone conversation, 19 May 2021.
[838] Datta, *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997.
[839] Carroll, p. 66.
[840] Masten, p. 275.
[841] Datta, *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997.

Richards told Datta that he was 'excited by the "very different accents and rhythm" he had to deal with. "Sometimes Shakespeare's convolution of thought for me was much better in my ear coming from these actors"'.[842] Although Richards does not give examples of specific scenes, there are a number of occasions when the lines seem suited to the Indian voice and delivery. Kunaal Roy Kapoor as Sparsh/Speed makes 'No believing you, indeed, sir' (2.1.140; 0:20:20) sound completely natural. And Joy Sengupta gets all the humour out of his role as Lehk/Lance, in particular when he is talking about the bad behaviour of his dog (4.4.1-35; 1:05:39). This is a tricky scene for radio, as the audience is unable to see the relationship between the two and Sengupta has to make up for what Carroll describes as the 'comic richness' that stems from 'Crab's lack of interaction of any kind, beyond the occasional gaze at the audience'.[843] Sengupta does this through his tone of voice, ably demonstrating Lehk's frustration and love, as well as his dog's lack of regard.

Richards' and Elsgood's commitment to 'filmic radio' did not stop at simple location recording; on occasion their actors were asked to perform scenes for real. They set act two, scene seven of the play, when Jumaana and Lavanya are discussing love, while Jumaana takes a bath, genuinely soaking Akerkar in the process (0:35:51). She recalled: 'I was trying not to scream because it was freezing cold water'.[844] Listening to the recording, there are at least a couple of genuine squeals during this scene, as she is drenched, apparently by the bucketful. Similarly, the final confrontation between Vishvadev and Parminder was recorded in a reservoir. As Datta explains: '[Nadir] Khan and [Arghya] Lahiri were required to kick and splash […] As a result, Lahiri said, the two grazed themselves against rocks and had a lot of "mud up our noses"'.[845] Elsgood states that he and Richards 'work in live environments' adding that:

> If you do something in the real world it's great on a sound level but it's even better on an actor level. What the real world does for actors is incredible. If you put an actor into that situation, you'll get a performance from them that

[842] Datta, *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997.
[843] Carroll, p. 71.
[844] Datta, *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997.
[845] Datta, *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997.

you'll never, ever get from an actor in a dark, dead studio in the basement in Broadcasting House.[846]

This was commented on by a British blogger, although Stuart Ian Burns was not totally convinced by the production, stating that while 'the sounds of the landscape' had the effect of 'gifting much colonial atmosphere', he felt that 'something of the story was lost in the abbreviated text'.[847] Even in the twenty-first century, productions of Shakespeare's plays on radio continue to be judged on their Shakespeare content, rather than whether or not they work as radio.

Indian reviewers were happier, with H. P. Raimes in the *Times of India* stating that the play was 'beautifully spoken by beautiful voices […] exuding such joy in the doing as to raise the spirits'.[848] Datta commented: 'Even though the practice of listening to radio plays vanished in India by the early 1990s, it takes little effort to sit through an hour and a half of Shakespeare'.[849] This suggests that the lack of familiarity with the conventions of presenting Shakespeare on radio enabled Indian listeners to enjoy the play for what it is, rather than comparing it to what they thought it should be.

By recording *The Two Gentleman of Valasna* on location, and almost entirely outdoors, Elsgood and Richards broke with decades of traditional BBC radio production. In doing so they created a unique play that has yet to be emulated or surpassed for complexity of location setting and sound. However, other producers chose to achieve complex soundscapes purely from within Broadcasting House. This is especially true with Marc Beeby's production of *Macbeth*.

Macbeth (2015)

Thirty years before this production, Michael Goldman wrote: 'The experience of the play puts us inside Macbeth's head as he finds himself wholly committed to deeds

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[846] Elsgood, private phone conversation, 19 May 2021.
[847] Stuart Ian Burns, '*Macbeth* (Classic Radio Theatre)', The Hamlet Weblog, 16 May, 2011 <http://thehamletweblog.blogspot.com/2011/05/macbeth-classic-radio-theatre.html> [Accessed 25 May 2021].
[848] Raimes, quoted in '*The Two Gentlemen of Valasna*', Art and Adventure <http://artandadventure.org/portfolio/the-two-gentlemen-of-valasna/> [Accessed 25 May 2021].
[849] Datta, *Time Out Mumbai*, 1997.

whose moral abhorrence he registers with the intensest sensitivity'.[850] With this production, radio does just that: putting the audience inside Macbeth's head. Producer Marc Beeby uses music and effects, as well as a variety of microphone techniques and sound mixing, coupled with the acting of Dudgeon as Macbeth, to create a version of the play that foregrounds the character's psychological state rather than telling a tale of good and evil.

This was not Dudgeon's first experience of Shakespeare on radio: ten years previously he had played Achilles for Beeby in *Troilus and Cressida* (2005). However, in the intervening period he had become a household name in the television drama *Midsomer Murders*. This did not escape the attention of reviewers, who felt compelled to mention it. Reynolds described him as 'taking a break' from the programme 'to play the villain'.[851] However, Andrew Male took a less simplistic view: 'Those listeners who appreciate the troubled northern English aspect that Neil Dudgeon brings to *Midsomer Murders* will delight in his nuanced turn as *Macbeth* in this deeply menacing new adaptation'.[852] Petty also comments on his performance, stating that he presents:

> A Macbeth of discernible reason, puzzled rather than fired up by predictions of his elevation. He makes the tricky transition to a man emotionally charged by the lure of power, voice breaking, thoughts speeding, while the soundscape adds visceral punch and dark metaphor.'[853]

Dudgeon's low-key portrayal of Macbeth makes the most of what Sandra Clark and Pamela Mason describe as 'a character whose commitment to evil causes him enormous suffering'.[854] Even when Dudgeon's Macbeth is in battle, there is an underlying hesitation which suggests a conflict in the mind.

During Macbeth's confrontation with Macduff, Dudgeon creates a character who is cautious with a sense of guilt, rather than fearful. When he says 'Of all men else I have avoided thee' (5.7.34; 1:53:09), there is remorse in his voice. As Macduff

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[850] Michael Goldman, *Acting and Action in Shakespearean Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 110.
[851] Reynolds, 'Radio: Pick of the Week', *Daily Telegraph*, 16 May 2015, pp. 50-51.
[852] Andrew Male, 'Pick of the day: Sunday 17 May', *Sunday Times*, 17 May 2015, pp. 46-47.
[853] Moira Petty, 'Macbeth'. *The Stage*, 13 May 2015.
[854] Sandra Clark and Pamela Mason, 'Introduction', in *Macbeth*, by William Shakespeare (London: Bloomsbury Arden, 2015) pp. 1-124 (p. 2).

reveals that he was 'from his mother's womb / Untimely ripped' (5.7.45-46; 1:53:58), Beeby adds a booming single drumbeat. From this point on Dudgeon's Macbeth sounds weary and unwilling. This is enhanced by Beeby's use of sound. He layers the noise of fighting going on around them, including the distant shouting of men and the clatter of metal, along with close focus sounds of the clanking of two swords and exertion from Dudgeon and Paul Hilton as Macduff. After Macbeth's last line 'Hold, enough' (5.7.64; 1:55:06) there is a final cry and a loud clank, with a long-held echo as the surrounding sounds quickly fade out. There is then one more echoey clank, which is also sustained, this time with no background sounds. After a brief pause, the sound of distant crows is faded in slowly before the final section of the scene takes place. Crook states that: 'The general rule in sound production is that the more busy and over-populated soundtracks tend to generate a greater intensity of dramatic effect through silence'.[855] That is exactly what Beeby does here: by using silence rather than sound to represent Macbeth's death, it is more striking and more poignant. At all points in this production when a character might be expected to raise their voice, or sound effects and music might be expected to heighten emotion and atmosphere, Beeby chooses the alternative: low-key performances and low-level sounds.

The most extreme example of this is the opening of the play, which has no music or effects. This is a unique way to start *Macbeth* on BBC radio: all other productions open with one or both and frequently use the standard BBC sound effect of thunder. Instead, Beeby begins simply with the unadulterated voices of the witches, close to the microphone, with no other additions. Crisell suggests that silence 'can be a potent stimulus to the listener, providing a gap in the noise for his imagination to work'.[856] Beeby's use of silence, or at least removing all sound other than the actors' voices, may be doing just that. Just as silence at the death of Macbeth draws attention to one killing among so many, Beeby's choice to drop the familiar, perhaps over-familiar, sounds associated with the opening of the play in favour of silence allows the audience to create its own image of the witches. It might also suggest to listeners that the witches are not part of the world of the rest of the characters, which is richly populated with the sound of rain, horses' hooves and men

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[855] Crook, *The Sound Handbook* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p. vii.
[856] Crisell, p. 53.

talking at a distance (0:00:32). Beeby frequently returns to silence, or near silence, during the production. Immediately after Macbeth's 'Is this a dagger which I see before me' speech (2.1.33-64; 0:31:06), Beeby fades the sound down to almost nothing, with just the faintest rustle of wind. Similarly, when Lady Macbeth, played by Emma Fielding, speaks the first line of the next scene, 'That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold' (2.2.1), there is almost no background noise. Rather than exaggerating these two speeches with music and effects, Beeby again chooses to underplay them with intimate delivery and no additional audio prompts.

Beeby does use music at times, though, and Timothy X. Atack's compositions are not dissimilar to those of Ilona Sekacz for the 1984 production. In both cases the music is sparse and uses unusual instruments. Atack says that Beeby asked him to come up with something where listeners might not be sure 'whether what they're hearing is score or sound effect', creating 'long, slowly shifting tonal atmospheres'.[857] He produced these 'from a combination of synths and treated field recordings' including the sounds of a 'series of gongs' created by artist Jaume Plensa: 'a noise that was equally beautiful, ghostly and ominous'.[858]

The music, and its lack of distinction from sound effects, is particularly effective in act three, scene four when Banquo's ghost appears. As Lennox says 'Here my good lord' (3.4.49; 1:02:10), there is the sound of a heavy breath, treated with echo, as well as a heavy drumbeat. Dudgeon whimpers slightly, and from here on the dialogue has two different sound qualities. The lords and Lady Macbeth sound distant and echoey, almost as if the listener's head is submerged in water. Macbeth's voice, however, remains clear. Added to this, Dudgeon stutters and pants his way through the next section of the scene, while the music/effects mainly consist of strange metallic noises and clicks. There are several additional heavy breaths before the exit of the ghost (3.4.74; 1:03:35), with the final one almost sounding like the word 'how' and clearly from the voice of Shaun Dooley, who plays Banquo. The effects and echo are then faded out to near-silence, with just Dudgeon's heavy breathing, before the rest of the dialogue returns to normal. Beeby repeats this audio technique when the ghost reappears, later than in the text but when it is next referenced by Macbeth (3.4.95; 1:05:03). The sound effects and Dooley's laboured

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[857] Timothy X Atack, private email correspondence, 20 July 2021.
[858] Atack, private email, 20 July 2021.

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breathing make the ghost's presence very clearly felt while it remains apparent that the other characters are unaware of it. Furthermore, the treatment of the voices around Macbeth emphasises the internal conflict the character is suffering, placing the action inside his head. Petty writes that 'distinctive sound design and clear lead performances take the listener into the heart of the human conscience'.[859] This scene in particular demonstrates that.

Beeby cuts little of the text and leaves all of Lady Macbeth's lines intact. However, by emphasising the play's focus on Macbeth and his perception of what is happening, Beeby risks reducing her to a minor character. Instead, Fielding brings a quiet strength and dignity to the role, creating what Petty describes as an 'in-step power double act' with Dudgeon.[860] This is clear from their first scene together. At Macbeth's arrival, the couple's voices are slightly muffled, as if they are hugging (0:18:45) and they even pant a little. Later, when she declares 'That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold' (2.2.1; 0:31;13), Fielding is very quietly spoken with a slight wobble in her voice suggesting she is not quite as bold as she claims. She is startled at the sound of an owl, and when Macbeth reappears after murdering Duncan, she sounds as if she is almost in tears (2.2.9; 0:31:56). Throughout the scene, both seem equally nervous and afraid: Fielding is no bullying Lady Macbeth but her husband's equal and soulmate. Petty picks up on this in Dudgeon's performance in act five, scene five, stating that 'his "tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow" speech is deeply sorrowful' (5.5.19; 1:48:03).[861]

This production aired in May 2015, ahead of a film of the play which came out in the autumn. It starred Michael Fassbender, who said he believed that 'the murderous treachery of Macbeth would today be diagnosed as the result of post-traumatic stress disorder'.[862] Director Justin Kurzel also chose to open the film 'with Macbeth and Lady Macbeth […] laying one of their children to rest'.[863] Beeby and Kurzel both put the couple's psychological state at the heart of the play, but while Kurzel uses visual imagery to suggest specific reasons for their behaviour, Beeby

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[859] Petty, *The Stage*, 13 May 2015.
[860] Petty, *The Stage*, 13 May 2015.
[861] Petty, *The Stage*, 13 May 2015.
[862] Henry Barnes, 'Michael Fassbender: "Macbeth suffered from PTSD"', *Observer*, 4 June 2015 <https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/22ea7657-5cf7-452b-af66-a128f08889b3/?context=1519360&federationidp=VJX3C459626> [Accessed 23 July 2021].
[863] Barnes, *Observer*, 4 June 2015.

chooses to simply imply that they are damaged and distressed, rather than provide explanations for this.

Complex use of sound such as Beeby's has increasingly become the norm in more recent productions of Shakespeare's plays. However, gender and colour-blind casting is still unusual: the only actor of colour in this production of *Macbeth* is Ayesha Antoine as one of the weird sisters and there are no gender-flipped characters. However, in 2020, producer Emma Harding embraced not only the complex use of sound but also diversity of casting for her production of *Othello*.

Othello **(2020)**

This production brings together many of the main themes of this chapter. As well as Harding's decisions on sound and character, she set the play in a different era: again something that remains rare. In addition, this production reflects the changes in broadcast technology that had taken place. The audience could listen live online, on DAB or FM. But they could also choose to download it via the BBC Sounds app, enabling them to start, stop and replay it wherever and whenever they liked. In addition, it was one of the first productions made available as a free podcast via the BBC Shakespeare Sessions website, giving listeners an opportunity to keep a copy of the play indefinitely.

Harding makes a distinctive casting choice with her lead role, choosing an actor of Arab heritage, Khalid Abdalla. The choice is well within the parameters of the text. Ferial J. Ghazoul states that Othello 'is a Moor and therefore an "Arab"', while Walter Cohen points out that in the Renaissance the term could also refer to a Muslim.[864] These ideas were articulated immediately before the broadcast in a short introduction from Islam Issa: 'A Moor could have been any person with darker skin or who wasn't Christian, but it was a religiously loaded often derogatory term that usually referred to Mahometans'.[865] Issa goes on to suggest that Othello 'converted

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[864] Ferial J. Ghazoul, 'The Arabization of Othello', *Comparative Literature*, 50.1 (1998), 1-31 (p. 1); Walter Cohen, '*Othello* [introduction]', in *The Norton Shakespeare*, 3rd edn, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt and others (London: W. W. Norton, 2016) pp. 2073-79 (p. 2073).
[865] Islam Issa, 'Introduction', in *Othello*, BBC Radio 3, 19 April 2020 <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/15E01903?bcast=131740325> [Accessed 28 June 2021].

to Christianity' and 'adopts a militantly Christian tone to overcompensate for his otherness'.[866] Othello's possible Islamic background is suggested in this production during the drinking scene in act two, scene three. Lucy Popescu describes it as 'reminiscent of raucous male bonding down the pub; one knows it will end in trouble'.[867] Instead of the two songs sung by Iago in Shakespeare's text, a single, modern song, sung by a rowdy group of men is inserted:

> (*singing to the tune of 'My Old Man's a Dustman'*)
>
> Ali Khan's a Muslim
>
> He wears a Muslim's cap
>
> His father wears a burka (*singing continues, indistinct*)

<div align="right">0:37:59</div>

Reviewer Maryam Philpott states that 'Harding was keen to explore how the play's concept of "otherness" […] links to what may once have been a Muslim faith'.[868] By changing this scene, Harding suggests that not just Iago, but the majority of Othello's soldiers do not respect him, increasing the 'otherness' already present as well as situating it in a twenty-first century world many people will recognise.

Ian Smith suggests that 'notions of blackness saturate the play, turning a physiological fact into a racial idea expressing the collective cultural thinking'.[869] 'Black', or variants of it, appear eleven times in Shakespeare's text but Harding cuts it to only four. It might be suggested she is substituting Islam for 'blackness', something particularly pertinent in a radio production where the colour of Othello's skin cannot be seen. Writing in 2016, Ayanna Thompson suggests that 'recently, black actors have expressed a belief that Othello is not actually about race'.[870]

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[866] Issa, 'Introduction', in *Othello*, BBC Radio 3, 19 April 2020.

[867] Lucy Popescu, 'Radio: Bold Bard without stage distraction', *Camden New Journal*, 16 April, 2020 <http://camdennewjournal.com/article/radio-bold-bard-without-stage-distraction> [Accessed 21 May 2021].

[868] Maryam Philpott, 'Othello – Drama on 3', *Cultural Capital*, 27 April 2020 <https://maryamphilpottblog.wordpress.com/tag/khalid-abdalla/> [Accessed 21 May 2021].

[869] Ian Smith, 'Seeing Blackness: Reading Race in Othello', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Tragedy*, ed. by Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) pp. 405-420 (p. 417).

[870] Ayanna Thompson, 'Introduction', in *Othello* by William Shakespeare, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2016), pp. 1-116 (p. 90).

Harding's reinterpretation of the text along lines of religion rather than race fits with twenty-first century ideas of reframing the play in other ways.

Harding also casts a woman of colour, Cassie Layton, as Desdemona. There is no reason for the audience to be aware of this, but the choice is an unusual one: directors in visual media tend to cast pale-skinned, often blonde women in the role, probably influenced by Shakespeare's repeated references to her being 'fair' and, notoriously, a 'white ewe' being tupped by a 'black ram' (1.1.86-87). However, Harding is more interested in Desdemona's character than her race. Ideas about Desdemona had shifted in the second half of the twentieth century: Thompson suggests that by 1964 the 'death of the ninny Desdemona had fully occurred'.[871] That does not mean there are not intrinsic issues. Reviewer Fiona Hughes suggests that 'boiled down' the play is 'a domestic-abuse horror show'.[872] She adds that 'it's hard for Desdemona […] to come across as anything but a poor sap. Here, though, Cassie Layton gives her a strong voice'.[873] Popescu adds that 'Layton is delightfully feisty as Desdemona, outspoken, loyal and clear-headed to the end'.[874] Harding writes:

> I did consciously want to bring out the agency of the women in the play, especially in this 21st century setting. Desdemona is a woman who has chosen a husband counter to the prevailing prejudices of her society and rebelled against her father. It's also clear that Othello views her as his intellectual equal, and as a woman with a voice of her own.[875]

Desdemona's murder is brutal: she is clearly fighting hard for her life. Again, Harding and Layton discussed this and 'agreed that we wanted Desdemona to fight back'.[876] Lasting almost a full minute without words, there are sounds of her struggling, choking, gasping and slapping Othello (1:47:37). Abdalla also sounds exhausted and emotional at the end. Harding says that she 'wanted the murder to feel completely devastating' and to 'hear the full horror' of what was happening to

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[871] Thompson, p. 96.
[872] Fiona Hughes, 'Pick of the Week', *Radio Times*, 14 April 2020, p. 111.
[873] Hughes, *Radio Times*, 14 April 2020.
[874] Popescu, *Camden New Journal*, 16 April, 2020.
[875] Harding, private email correspondence, 26 August 2021.
[876] Harding, private email, 26 August 2021.

Desdemona.[877] She says that to do this, she had 'one of the most upsetting studios'
she had ever experienced:[878]

> We had Khalid and Cassie on the floor with pillows. I discussed how we
> were going to do it with the actors and they wanted to do it, kind of for real.
> We practised a way of doing it so that it wasn't really going to hurt her, he
> wasn't pressing very hard, and we recorded the sound through the pillow of
> that happening.[879]

Performance of this scene has come a long way since the 1939 production, where
Desdemona's death is silent. Harding's choices resonate with Jenkins' portrayal of
violence, leaving the audience in no doubt of the horror of what has happened.

The presentation of Desdemona is not just in Layton's performance. Harding
also makes textual cuts that affect the character; most significantly she does not
revive. Cohen states: 'Desdemona's last words may indicate a submissiveness
bordering on suicide'.[880] But without them, this is reversed. Harding explains: 'Once
he's smothered her so brutally, there's no coming back to speaking consciousness –
and certainly not to take responsibility for her own murder!'.[881] Othello's line: 'For
nought I did in hate, but all in honour' (5.2.288) is also removed, ensuring that
Othello has no excuse for what he has done. Key lines are also cut from the other
female characters. Emilia's line: 'Tis proper I obey him' (5.2.191) is excised,
negating the idea that a woman should only ever do what her husband dictates.
Philpott comments that 'Bettrys Jones's Emilia is a more powerful force in the play
than often seen, devoted to her mistress and proving her worth in the closing scene as
she forcibly berates Othello'.[882] In the case of Bianca, she is cut entirely from act
five, scene one, following the attack on Cassio by Roderigo. By doing this, Harding
also removes Iago's branding of Bianca as a 'notable strumpet' and his claim that the
incident is 'the fruits of whoring' (5.1.76, 114), as well as Emilia's similar
accusation (5.1.119). This has the double impact of removing some of the

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[877] Harding, private Zoom conversation, 27 May 2021.
[878] Harding, private Zoom conversation, 27 May 2021.
[879] Harding, private Zoom conversation, 27 May 2021.
[880] Cohen, p. 2076.
[881] Harding, private email, 26 August 2021.
[882] Philpott, *Cultural Capital*, 27 April 2020.

misogynistic treatment of Bianca as well as avoiding the placing of the two female characters in conflict.

Harding also uses sound very effectively. Hughes writes that she 'brings the action into the near future, against a soundscape of whirring choppers and news broadcasts that puts one in mind of *Homeland*'.[883] Philpott also acknowledges the skilful 'technical application of sound design', adding: 'there is considerable sophistication in the way audio effects are integrated into the production to prompt the audience's imagination'.[884] Harding says she felt the Cyprus location for the majority of the play was 'hugely important and rather overlooked. I was interested in using that a little bit more'.[885] She does this in a number of ways. The news broadcasts are not just in English. The music features artists not singing in English, and often has a Middle Eastern feel. And the additional elements that are in English remind listeners that twenty-first century Cyprus remains a disputed island. This is especially evident during the play's opening:

| NEWSREADER 1 | A spokesperson from the Ministry of Defence reported a recent escalation in the number of Turkish jets violating Greek airspace on a daily basis. |
| NEWSREADER 2 | (*overlapping*) At a press conference earlier today the Turkish foreign minister reiterated his country's intention to buy the S600 missile system from Russia. |

<div align="right">0:00:05</div>

This continues with more specially written script, including 'actuality' of a Turkish minister and an EU official. Harding also restructures act two, scene two as a news broadcast, splitting the Herald's speech into an opening, delivered by a news anchor, then a reporter and finally back to the news anchor for the end (0:33:18). By making greater use of Shakespeare's original setting, Harding brings the play into a world familiar to its audience.

Harding's highly effective use of sound extends into the soliloquies. While recording these 'close mic'd' is not unusual anymore, Matthew Needham as Iago is extremely close and almost whispers his lines, giving the impression of an internal

[883] Hughes, *Radio Times*, 14 April 2020.
[884] Philpott, *Cultural Capital*, 27 April 2020.
[885] Harding, private Zoom conversation, 27 May 2021.

monologue. This was picked up by Philpott who suggests it is 'as though Needham's hushed tones are poured directly into your ear in a bond of allegiance between you and him alone'.[886] This also suggests she was listening on headphones: something this production seems designed for, with its detailed soundscapes as well as the delivery of the soliloquies.

This production, more than any other, exemplifies the changes in radio production of Shakespeare's plays in the twenty-first century. While the other case studies in this chapter do make use of some of the same techniques, no other play to date combines quite the same level of diverse casting, complex sound mixing, nuanced radio performance and broadcast technology in the way this one does.

Reframing Shakespeare

At the start of 2002, the radio audience was largely limited to listening on FM, medium or long wave. By the start of 2020, two thirds of the population were now tuning in digitally.[887] This, along with parallel developments in digital recording and editing, changed not only how people listened but the quality of what they listened to and the scope of the sound mixes producers could achieve. In the 1940s Felton wrote that 'if you want to establish, let us say, a seaside background, it is no good collecting all the different noises—the waves, children, rock-sellers, pierrots and the rest—and lumping them all on together: the result is confusion'.[888] He was firmly opposed to what would now be described as 'soundscaping'. But in an era when the generation, control and mixing of sounds was limited, it is perhaps not surprising he urged caution. Now, as independent radio producer, Dirk Maggs, states: 'It's perfectly possible for the medium to build a world around you […] to create a very full and layered picture'.[889] The combination of editing software enabling many tracks to be mixed relatively simply with the increased quality of broadcast audio means producers can combine many sounds, almost without limit, as well as varying

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[886] Philpott, *Cultural Capital*, 27 April 2020.
[887] 'Data Release Infographic Q1 2020', *Rajar*
<https://www.rajar.co.uk/docs/news/RAJAR_DataRelease_InfographicQ12020.pdf> [Accessed 25 August 2021].
[888] Felton, p. 42.
[889] Dirk Maggs in Nicholas Barber, 'He flies through the airwaves', *Independent (Sunday Review)*, 5 February 1995, p. 27.

the levels from near silence to very loud, without loss of clarity. All the most recent productions take advantage of this: some, such as Harding's *Othello*, go further, using sound to create something akin to Maggs' audio 'movies', competing with films 'on their own ground soundwise'.[890] Others, like *Macbeth* (2015) manipulate audio to take the audience inside the head of their protagonists.

Producers have also had an opportunity to create 'filmic radio' in other ways.[891] Again, thanks to advances in technology, more location recording has been possible. As well as the relatively simple, such as the location work for *Cymbeline* (2006), and the highly complex, as with *The Two Gentlemen of Valasna* (2007), there have also been full productions recorded on location in the UK, including *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2011), which was recorded 'in 22 acres of Sussex woodland'.[892] David Thomas was the sound engineer on the production and explains that although they were not far from home, it still had its problems:

> We wanted to record it at midnight in midsummer in the woods. The idea was that we would have scripts and head torches, [but] all the insects wake up and come straight to your face! So it was definitely iPads after that.[893]

He also says they had to abandon recording altogether one night as a rave started up in a nearby field. However, like Elsgood, he believes that it can make a 'huge difference' to the performances given, compared to those in a studio.[894]

Changes in broadcasting platforms and audio listening have also taken place. The advent of BBC 7 led to a select few archive productions being aired. These included Paul Scofield's *Macbeth* (1966, repeated in 2007) and the 1988 *Taming of the Shrew* (repeated 2005), as well as two series of combined plays, *Noble Romans* (*Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*) and *Cry God for Harry* (*1 Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV* and *Henry V*) from the World Service. And new productions occasionally took on new formats. Beeby produced two plays as daily serials: *Hamlet* (2014) across five days, *Julius Caesar* (2016) across three. *Hamlet* seems particularly

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[890] Maggs in Barber, *Independent (Sunday Review)*, 5 February 1995.
[891] Richards, BBC Radio 3, 29 July 2007.
[892] 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Drama on 3* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b014fb7x> [Accessed 26 August 2021].
[893] Thomas, private Zoom conversation, 22 April 2021.
[894] Thomas, private Zoom conversation, 22 April 2021.

prescient, as it foreshadowed the current popularity of podcasts at a time before the BBC was enabling downloads of its productions.

Another form of recording also made a brief reappearance in 2017: surround sound. After Ian Cotterell's experiments with quad in the 1970s, radio producers had stuck to stereo. But when Hindell came to produce *Richard II*, she decided it was the right play to reinvestigate a technology with a similar effect for the listener: binaural sound. She explains:

> *Richard II* can be a very subjective piece. I wanted to make it Richard's experience and not a kind of pageant seen from the outside. So I wanted it to be a very personal experience for the listener of this character's fall from grace.[895]

It also helped get the play commissioned: 'Radio 3 was very interested in finding reasons for revisiting the classics, because the temptation is just to do it again because it's a good play or because you got some nice actor that wants to play it'.[896] This is a recurring theme from producers: not that a gimmick, as such, was required, but that there needed to be an impetus to do a particular play. Another common response is that a certain amount of time must have elapsed before a play can be produced again. Harding says: 'There's a general rule about not repeating productions within at least ten years'.[897] This probably explains why many of the better known works are not performed more than once during this period, as they were part of the Millennium Shakespeare series, and in the case of *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear* had also been produced as part of the short Kenneth Branagh series.

However, that is not to say that the well-known plays were off limits, although they did often feature famous actors. Celia de Wolff's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2011) has a cast-list that would delight most television producers, including Lesley Sharp, Toby Stephens, Roger Allam, Freddie Fox, Nicholas Farrell and Emma Fielding. Thomas says: 'Celia knows all the actors because of Rob [her husband, Robert Glenister], she moves in those circles, so people that you may not

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[895] Hindell, private Zoom conversation, 17 June 2021.
[896] Hindell, private Zoom conversation, 17 June 2021.
[897] Harding, private Zoom conversation, 27 May 2021.

normally get, Celia can get because she knows them'.[898] There was also a star cast for 2014's *Antony and Cleopatra*, with Kenneth Branagh and Alex Kingston. This was the first time Branagh had played Shakespeare on radio for twenty years and the idea to return was his. He had originally approached Hindell with the idea of doing *Macbeth* using Laurence Olivier's unfilmed screenplay. But then he was offered the opportunity to do the play at the Manchester International Festival. As neither Manchester nor Radio 3 wanted the play second-hand, the radio *Macbeth* was dropped and replaced with *Antony and Cleopatra*. Reviews were somewhat mixed, with Paul Donovan proclaiming that the pair 'do full justice to the title roles […] in an authoritative new production'.[899] By contrast, Martin Hoyle felt that the production was 'worthy, though the Nile remains un-aflame'.[900] The star-names also enabled the BBC to use the broadcast 'to mark the 450th anniversary of William Shakespeare's birth', broadcast as it was on 20 April.[901]

Another, perhaps less obvious, change that took place around the millennium was a shift in the gender balance of producers. Up until then, the radio drama department, and radio Shakespeare in particular, had been male dominated. Now, there are more women producing Shakespeare than men, and more plays produced by women than men. This has coincided with a shift in the sort of plays being produced and the way they are treated. As well as stories obviously led by women, such as comedies with strong female characters like *Twelfth Night* (2012) and *As You Like It* (2015), more complex stories about women were not only produced, but were told differently to previous generations. As discussed above, *Measure for Measure* (2004) leaves open to interpretation the outcome of the play, but certainly does not present an exuberantly happy ending for Isabella. The 2018 production goes further, with Isabella sobbing at the end. And Desdemona in 2020's *Othello* has more agency than her predecessors, with Othello's actions presented less sympathetically. In *King Lear* (2016), directed by Gaynor Macfarlane, when Goneril and Regan are discussing Lear's actions in banishing Kent and Cordelia, there is anxiety in the voices of Madeleine Worrall and Frances Grey who play the sisters (1.1.281-302;

[898] Thomas, private Zoom conversation, 22 April 2021.
[899] Donovan, 'Pick of the Day', *Sunday Times*, 20 April 2014 p. 47.
[900] Martin Hoyle, 'Radio Choice', *Financial Times Weekend Supplement*, 19 April 2014, p. 17.
[901] 'Dylan Thomas unaired screenplay to get Radio 3 premiere', *BBC News* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-25942059> [Accessed 27 August 2021].

0:14:42). Lear's comment that Goneril is 'too much of late i'th'frown'(1.4.159) is interpreted as her being very unhappy, rather than angry or condemnatory. And when she complains of the behaviour of Lear's knights, Worrall's voice is unsteady, almost tearful (1.4.169-217; 0:31:19).

The suffering of male characters is also sometimes brought to the fore. In Harding's *The Merchant of Venice* (2018), the play ends with Shylock reciting the Nicene Creed over the sound of a church organ (1:56:16), emphasising the impact of his forced change of faith. Writing about female theatre directors of Shakespeare, Elizabeth Shafer suggests that 'gender is an influential factor in how a play is read'.[902] And Kim Solga states that 'women directors have for decades sought to protect their careers by minimizing their feminist politics when they speak in the broader public sphere, especially when their productions of canonical texts constitute the material at issue'.[903] Shafer's comment might well apply to radio, although the current style of production suggests the reverse situation posited by Solga, perhaps indicating that radio is less in the public sphere (certainly it is less reviewed) than mainstream theatre, or that managers and commissioners are more supportive of feminist interpretations of the plays.

Diversity of casting has been noted throughout this chapter. It remains limited but productions do increasingly choose a wider range of actors than previous generations. Women are now being cast in male roles, such as Maureen Beattie as Escalus in the 2018 *Measure for Measure*, and Jessica Turner as the Duke of Venice in Harding's *Othello*. There have also been, on occasions, signs of consciously casting non-British characters with actors of the appropriate heritage: Queen Katherine in *Henry VIII* (2009) was played by the Spanish actor Yolanda Vazquez, and Peter Polycarpou, who is of Greek Cypriot heritage, was Montano, the Governor of Cyprus, in *Othello* (2020). However, this does not always apply. The 2015 *Macbeth* featured many northern English actors, but no Scots. Meanwhile *King Lear* (2016) had an almost entirely Scottish cast, even though Lear was an English king. Casting purely for voice, something advocated by producers from the very earliest days of radio, also seems to have finally come into its own. The use of Willard White

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[902] Elizabeth Schafer, *Ms-Directing Shakespeare* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000), p. 4.
[903] Kim Solga, 'Shakespeare's Property Ladder: Women Directors and the Politics of Ownership', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Performance*, ed. by James C. Bulman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) pp. 104-21 (p. 104).

as Gower in *Pericles* (2017) seems to have been entirely because his deep, resonant voice sits well with the mix of gongs, abstract strings and sound effects used alongside his speeches, each increasing the impact of the other.

Radio productions of Shakespeare's plays have developed greatly since the millennium. Producers are using all the tools at their disposal, from location recording to complex mixing of multiple sounds. Actors seem more in tune with the best way to perform for audio, with fewer theatrical performances and much more subtlety. Low-key, quiet delivery of lines, especially when close mic'd, creates a sense of being inside a character's head, all the more palpable when listening on headphones, and enables listeners to feel even closer to and more intimately connected with the characters. There is also more boldness: sexier productions, using non-verbal sounds and effects to accentuate the texts; modernisation of settings, despite the complaints of reviewers; stronger portrayal of female characters. Simultaneously, technology has enabled improved accessibility and audio quality. In 2018, Maggs told an interviewer that twenty-five years previously he had begun to 'lose heart' over audio drama but that 'the advent of smartphones and podcasting has turned all that around. The internet has brought a complete reversal of fortune […] I see a bright future for audio storytelling'.[904] The combination of technical skill and technology should ensure this is not only true for radio drama in general, but also specifically for Shakespeare.

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[904] Maggs, quoted in Hilton, 'Dirk Maggs', *Resolution*, March 2018, p. 36.

Conclusion

The production of Shakespeare's plays on BBC radio has been an evolving practice across the last hundred years and is likely to continue to evolve in the future. As the previous century has shown, a number of factors influence this, and as these are constantly changing, so will these productions. Developing technology, an ever-changing audience, opinions on Shakespearean performance and academic thinking: all of these will continue to influence how these plays are broadcast. However, one thing is likely to remain that has been a constant throughout the century: these productions are entertainment first and foremost. It is only the 'how' of doing so that has changed.

This thesis has shown that radio productions of Shakespeare's plays are their own, unique genre: something far more than a simple reading aloud of the text. This is true both within radio drama performance and Shakespeare studies. In terms of radio drama, Shakespeare's plays present a particular issue for the producer: the familiarity of the audience with many of the texts and the expectations that this brings. Shakespeare's works are scrutinised by critics for their fidelity to the playwright's words in a highly detailed way, with little acknowledgement that the transmedialization of the plays requires some additions and changes. This has led to producers using a number of techniques in an attempt to avoid such criticism, particularly in relation to the visual elements of the plays, ranging from narration based on stage directions or Shakespeare's source texts through to the use of sound effects, music and non-verbal sounds from the actors. As such, radio Shakespeare operates under more restrictive principles than drama written specifically for radio. However, producers have increasingly used this to their advantage, developing creative methods of successfully presenting these works in ways that are specific to their production.

In terms of Shakespearean performance, radio is also unique in that it is without visuals. The demands of the medium mean that not only do producers need to think carefully about how they convey moments of visual action crucial to the plot for which there is no text, but also how they direct the performance of those involved. While many actors, particularly in the BBC's early days, gave

performances more in keeping with large auditoria, producers quickly recognised that the nature of radio meant that more intimate performances were often more effective. Although Shakespeare's plays were originally intended for the stage, their production on radio necessitates a change in performance style. Over the last century, radio professionals have repeatedly spoken about the need to think of the audience as a single person, not the thousands, or even millions, who are actually listening. As such, the actor is communicating on a one-to-one basis: a very different atmosphere to that of being in an auditorium, big or small.

The fact that radio forces the listener to use their imagination means they are not passively watching but actively participating in creating the production. Combining this with the fact that it is usually one-to-one communication and that, both at the start of the BBC's history and again now, many people listen to radio on headphones, radio can put the listener in the heart of the action – something no other medium can do. Radio offers the opportunity for its audience to experience truly immersive productions of Shakespeare's plays. 'Immersive' has become a much-used word in the theatre, often indicating a promenade production where the audience is alongside the actors in a shared space. In radio, the audience is listening from a position inside the action, rather than watching from alongside or outside. In turn, this can lead to a greater connection to the characters. In radio performance, soliloquies and asides can take on a conspiratorial nature, with the listener becoming the character's confidant, rather than an observer. Actors are able to imbue their characters with a great level of psychological detail, such as Dudgeon's interpretation of Macbeth. This aspect of radio Shakespeare can also alter the way plays are perceived: Alec Guinness' performance as King Lear highlights the inherently domestic aspects of the text and the importance of the family relationships. Radio productions of Shakespeare's works increase the sense of intimacy already present in the texts, as well as highlighting the interiority of characters.

Not only are listeners generally alone or in very small groups, but actors too operate in a world with very few people around them. There is no audience for them to react to and interact with: even on a film or television set there will be many crew around during a take. However, with the possible exception of a spot effects SM, radio actors will be in the studio with only the other actors present in the scene – or

even completely alone for a soliloquy. This may encourage them to deliver their lines in a more intimate style. It may also help forge rapport between actors, who usually only have a few days on a play. This speed of production can also lead to spontaneity, such as John Gielgud's suppressed giggle at Oswald in his *Hamlet* (1948), or ad-libbed lines between Launcelot and Jessica in *The Merchant of Venice* (2018). While actors may be reading from scripts, radio can still create Shakespearean performances that feel fresh and immediate.

Far from being the 'blind' medium that critics, and even advocates, often refer to, radio is highly visual, albeit the pictures have to be created by the listener in their mind's eye. Producers including Creswell, Raikes and Branagh all had clear physical images in their heads of what the production looked like and, through the use of sound, endeavoured to convey this to their respective audiences. And from the reactions of those at Savoy Hill for *Twelfth Night* (1923), who were convinced that sound alone gave the impression that a character was capering when he was actually standing still in front of a microphone, it seems listeners have always created their own visuals for these plays.

Radio presentation of Shakespeare also brings benefits to an audience that are not available in other media. As the listener has to create the visual elements of the text in their own imagination, they are not having these imposed upon them in the same way that a visual medium would. While an audio background will suggest a setting, this is not as definitive as a visual one. The images one listener creates in their mind will not be identical to those of another listener, the producer or the actor. In the early twentieth century, academics complained that on stage the visual interpretation of the plays got in the way, obscuring Shakespeare's text, and that the plays were better read than performed. As these texts were always intended for performance, this seems a misconception. However, it is true that radio enables a listener to conjure their own image of a production, rather than having one provided for them.

The fact that producers are not presenting their audience with a definitive visual *mise-en-scène* does not mean that they are not directly influencing the way listeners picture the production. Sound effects, music and acting performance can strongly suggest action and location. Producers such as Jenkins used these

techniques to generate an almost visceral sensation in their audiences when creating scenes of violence, while Raikes used music as a major tool in creating two contrasting productions of *The Tempest*. Comparing different productions of the same play, for example the case studies of *Macbeth* in this thesis, demonstrates that just like other forms of performance, radio can create a variety of productions from the same text through sound alone, and this in turn can convey the play differently to the audience.

Radio is by nature a word-driven medium, which means that there is more emphasis on Shakespeare's texts than in visual media. This offers an audience the opportunity to engage more with the language. It also requires a high level of skill in performance to make that language comprehensible and accessible. However, when this is successfully achieved, it enables listeners to form a greater understanding of the text. Radio also provides its audience with an opportunity to pay more attention to the sound of Shakespeare's words, not just their content. While the issue of how the text should be delivered has been one of constant debate, the medium brings that delivery to the fore, with the sound of an actor's voice playing an even more crucial role than in other forms of performance.

This thesis has also shown that the evolving technology of radio has led to more creative performances. Early microphones allowed for little range in both volume and pitch of voice, necessarily restricting performance. Now, as microphones have become much more sensitive, actors can give more nuanced and varied performances without having to compensate for the inadequacies of the technology. Likewise, technology has enabled producers to be much more imaginative in their use of sound and sound effects, from the development of the Radiophonic Workshop through to digital editing and effects. The improvement in broadcast sound quality has also enabled producers to use sound more creatively: even if the recording equipment is better, there is little point in designing a complicated sound mix if the audience is unable to appreciate it. Now, through DAB and downloads, audiences can hear productions in virtually the same quality as the producer at the mixing desk.

Radio Shakespeare also operates under different financial conditions to other forms of performance. A theatre show or a film will need to generate a certain

income from ticket sales to justify its production. However, BBC radio's audience does not pay for its plays at the point of delivery (although they are not strictly provided for free, as listeners in the early days of radio had to have a licence and since its abolition in 1971 those with television licences have been indirectly funding radio). While producers are expected to create plays which will attract audiences, there is not the same financial imperative as other media. Over the last century, radio productions have also seen a decrease in scrutiny from newspaper critics. The combination of these two factors means radio producers have a freer hand with their productions.

The work on this thesis opens up the area of radio Shakespeare for further study, not only by establishing a detailed assessment of the field to date, but also through the resources provided in the appendix. Details for all Shakespeare productions broadcast by BBC radio are included, with broadcast dates as well as their casts, producers and listings in the *Radio Times*. Where known, the location of extant audio and/or extant scripts is also noted. It is intended that this will be made available online for future researchers after examination of this thesis. As a searchable document, this would then enable scholars to pursue their own areas of research. In addition, many of the plays are available to listen to on Learning on Screen's *Box of Broadcasts* website. As part of the work for this thesis, a playlist has been compiled on this site containing around one hundred productions and will be made public, again, after examination. This will enable researchers at any subscribing institution to locate the majority of productions quickly and easily without having to obtain access from the BBC. The bibliography of this thesis also provides an invaluable list of written sources that will assist future researchers, ranging from books by those working contemporaneously on radio Shakespeare and reviews by critics, to more general works on radio production and BBC history.

In addition, this thesis has acknowledged the many productions broadcast from the BBC's nations and regions. While there is little audio available for scholars, there is documentary evidence on this work, and this thesis provides a starting point for future research, including listings of these plays and their locations. In particular, the Welsh productions of the 1920s merit further investigation, as do the later Welsh language productions. There were also scores of other productions across the UK that have never been acknowledged by academics until now. All these productions

might yield interesting information about the reception and production of Shakespeare outside London.

The submission of this thesis does not mark the end of research into audio productions of Shakespeare's plays, but an entry point for further investigation. It is a field that has been largely overlooked despite its one-hundred-year history, and it is hoped others will now see the value in these productions for research. They provide a unique snapshot of both the BBC and Shakespeare production during the last century, as well as offering fresh insights into the texts. Any history of Shakespeare production in the UK is incomplete without the recognition that these plays were a significant part of it, reaching millions of listeners, many of whom will not have seen productions by companies such as the RSC, Shakespeare's Globe, the National Theatre or the Old Vic, all of which have garnered much greater academic attention to date. Not only does this thesis offer more opportunities for future examination of radio Shakespeare productions, but the BBC's corpus is ever-increasing, with five productions broadcast during the course of this research and up to three more expected before the end of 2022. It is hoped that this thesis will inspire others to listen more closely to these productions and increase their academic audibility.

APPENDIX

Below is a list of all plays broadcast by BBC Radio since its inception, up to the date of thesis submission.

Note: Occasional additional publications are mentioned when a production predates the start of the *Radio Times*. All links to audio refer to that held on Learning On Screen's *Box of Broadcasts* website, unless otherwise stated. Scripts are held by the Library of Birmingham, unless otherwise stated.

Date	Repeats	Play	Dur.	Actors (male)	Actors (female)	Prod./ Dir.	Adaptor	Station	Radio Times listings	Audio extant	Script extant
1923-05-28		Twelfth Night	135	Gerald Lawrence; Nigel Playfair; Henry Caine; Herbert Waring; George Hayes; Arthur R Burrows	Cathleen Nesbitt; Enid Rose; Mable Tait	Cathleen Nesbitt	Cathleen Nesbitt	London	The Times: 1923-05-28 p10 Radio Times: 1923-10-19 p118 1924-11-14 p357 1982-09-30 p80-7		
1923-06-15		Merchant of Venice	105	Gerald Lawrence; Ben Webster; George Relph; George Hayes; Stafford Hilliard; Lionel Harris; Laurence Hanray; George Howe; Rex F Palmer; Arthur R Burrows	Cathleen Nesbitt; Lesley Winter; Phyllis Thomas		Cathleen Nesbitt	London	The Times: 1923-06-15 p12 Radio Times: 1923-10-19 p118 1923-11-09 p238		
1923-07-05		Romeo & Juliet	120	Ernest Hilton; Arthur R Burrows; Rex Palmer; Basil Howes; Stafford Hilliard; Lawrence Hanray; George Howe; Robert Harris; Ben Webster; Cecil A Lewis	Cathleen Nesbitt; Dame May Whitty; Helen Rous	Cathleen Nesbitt	Cathleen Nesbitt	London	The Times: 1923-07-05 p12 Radio Times: 1923-10-19 p118		
1923-07-18		Twelfth Night	105	Frederick Carlton; Arthur Skinner; Tom Wilson; Frederick E. Doran; J.	Eva Foden; Amy Buxton Nowell; Marion Thwaite	Amy Buxton Nowell;	Cathleen Nesbitt; Cecil Lewis	M'chester	The Times: 1923-07-18 p10 Wireless Weekly: 1923-07-18 p148		

				Edwards Roberts; Victor Smythe; Kenneth A. Wright	Mathews; Minnie Carlton	Kenneth A. Wright			Daily Telegraph: 1923-07-18 p12		
1923-07-25		A Midsummer Night's Dream	120	Kenneth Kent; Stanley Warmington; Edmund Breen; Arthur R Burrows; Nigel Playfair; Ivan Berlyn; Rex F Palmer; Stafford Hillard; Ernest Milton; George Howe; Cecil A Lewis	Cathleen Nesbitt; Sonia Seton; Elizabeth Pollock; Lesley Winter	Cathleen Nesbitt	Cathleen Nesbitt	London	The Times: 1923-07-25 p10 Radio Times: 1923-10-19 p118		
1923-09-06		A Midsummer Night's Dream	130 (60+ 70)	2ZY Dramatic Company: Mr Ormerod; Mr Lee; Arthur Skinner; Edward James; Carl Sweeting; Victor Smythe; Sidney G. Honey	K. Walker (Kathleen Walker?); Miss Lee; Winifred Fisher; Marie Gould; L. Bennie	Victor Smythe	Cathleen Nesbitt	M'chester	The Times: 1923-09-06 p8 Yorkshire Post: 1923-09-06 p8		
1923-09-07		Merchant of Venice	90			R. E. Jeffrey	Cathleen Nesbit (Cathleen Nesbitt)	Glasgow	The Times: 1923-09-07 p8 Dundee Courier: 1923-09-07 p5		
1923-10-09		Love's Labour's Lost & Two Gentlemen of Verona	120					Cardiff	1923-10-05 p47		
1923-10-18		Macbeth	120	Norman V Norman; J H Barnes; C A Lewis	Beatrice Wilson		Cathleen Nesbitt	London	1923-10-12 p70 1923-10-12 p83 1923-11-30 p360		
1923-10-23		Comedy of Errors & Titus Andronicus	105	Cardiff Station Dramatic Company				Cardiff	1923-10-19 p111		

1923-11-06		Henry VI pts 1, 2 & 3	120	Frank Nicholls; Sidney Evans; Cyril Estcourt; Cyril Brett	Betty Morgan; Margaret Wensley			Cardiff	1923-11-02 p183		
1923-11-13		Twelfth Night (Malvolio)	45	F. G. Srawley; J. H. Blackiston; J. R. K. Russell; H. P. Austin; T. W. Bache; H. G. Casey	Doris Rollinson; May Wallace			Birm'ham	1923-11-09 p219		
1923-11-16		A Midsummer Night's Dream	120	C. R. M. Brookes; W. G. Stephen; J. A. Gibson; T. M. Eadie Palfrey; George Ross; D. M. Baxter; J. Livingston Dykes; G. L. Hardie; Herbert A. Caruthers	Jean Smith; Susie Maxwell; Janev Jeffrey (Janet Jeffrey?); Jessie Stevenson; Cissie Muir; Edith Brass	R E Jeffrey	Catherine Nesbitt (Cathleen Nesbitt)	Glasgow	1923-11-09 p233		
1923-11-20		A Midsummer Night's Dream	120	Frank Nicholls; Sidney Evans; Cyril Estcourt; Cyril Brett; Ivor Thomas	Betty Morgan; Margaret Wensley; Haidee Gunn			Cardiff	1923-11-16 p259		
1923-11-28		A Midsummer Night's Dream	105	Mr Ormerod; Mr Lee; Arthur Skinner; Edward James; Carl Sweeting; Victor Smythe; S G Honey (Sidney G. Honey)	Kathleen Walker; Florence Lee; Winifred Fisher; Marie Gould; Miss L Bennie		Cathleen Nesbitt	M'chester	1923-11-23 p301		
1923-12-04		Romeo & Juliet	120	Cyril Estcourt	Haidee Gunn			Cardiff	1923-11-30 p330		
1923-12-18		Richard II	120					Cardiff	1923-12-14 p419		
1924-01-01		Richard III	120	Frank Royde	Haidee Gunn			Cardiff	1923-12-28 p11		
1924-01-08		Merchant of Venice & Taming of the Shrew	120	Cyril Estcourt	Haidee Gunn			Cardiff	1924-01-04 p51		

Date		Play	Dur.	Notes	Cast	Cast			Location	Reference		
1924-01-15		King John (poss not broadcast)	105	NB: This was the night 'Danger' aired and may have replaced this, although there is no firm evidence for this.			A Corbett-Smith		Cardiff	1924-01-11 p91		
1924-02-05		King John	120	NB: Radio Times lists Merry Wives of Windsor instead			A Corbett-Smith		Cardiff	1924-02-01 p211 - programme listing (this is for Merry Wives - see Western Mail or Times for King John: Western Mail: 1924-02-05 p8 The Times: 1924-02-05 p19)		
1924-02-08		Merchant of Venice (& other extracts)	40 (MoV only)		Lawrence Wood; G R Harvey; R E Jeffrey; W D Simpson	Joyce Tremayne; Daisy Moncur			Aberdeen	1924-02-01 p227		
1924-02-15		Hamlet	105		Sydney Russell; Ben Webster; Robert Farquharson; Henry Vibart; E. Stuart Vinden; George Hamilton; Frank Pettingill; Tom Menague; Vincent Curran	Edith Clegg; Mary Brotherton (The Times gives Joan Corbett Wellings instead of Mary Brotherton)	Sydney Russell	Sydney Russell	London	1924-02-08 p257		
1924-02-19		Merry Wives of Windsor	120				A Corbett-Smith		Cardiff	1924-02-15 p291		
1924-02-26		Henry IV pts 1 & 2	120				A Corbett-Smith		Cardiff	1924-02-22 p331		

1924-03-04		Henry V	120	Cyril Estcourt	Haidee Gunn	A Corbett-Smith		Cardiff	1924-02-29 p371		
1924-03-11		As You Like It	120			A Corbett-Smith		Cardiff	1924-03-07 p411		
1924-03-18		Much Ado About Nothing	100	Cyril Estcourt	Haidee Gunn	A Corbett-Smith		Cardiff	1924-03-14 p455		
1924-03-25		Twelfth Night	120					Cardiff	1924-03-21 p493		
1924-04-11		Two Gentlemen of Verona	120	Mcintosh Mowatt; R E Jeffrey; G R Harvey; D S Rait; W D Simpson; E R R Linklater; R G McCallum	Flossie Tavaner; Daisy Moncur; Joyce Tremayne; Elma Reid	Joyce Tremayne; R E Jeffrey		Aberdeen	1924-04-04 p57		
1924-04-15		All's Well That Ends Well	120					Cardiff	1924-04-11 p94		
1924-04-23		Othello	155 (105+ 50)	Hubert Barker; Leonard Thackeray; William Macready; E Stuart Vinden; Norman Rosslyn	Lilian Marston; Edna Godfrey-Turner		William Macready	Birm'ham	1924-04-18 p140		
1924-05-06		Julius Caesar	120					Cardiff	1924-05-02 p226		
1924-05-16		Macbeth	105	R E Jeffrey; McIntosh Mowatt; A M Shinnie; G R Harvey; R G McCallum; Lawrence Wood; E R R Linklater; W Dundas	Joyce Tremayne; Christine Crowe	Joyce Tremayne; R E Jeffrey	Cathleen Nesbitt	Aberdeen	1924-05-09 p277		
1924-05-27		Henry V	120	Cyril Estcourt	Haidee Gunn	A Corbett-Smith		London	1924-05-23 p358		
1924-05-29		Hamlet	115					Cardiff	1924-05-23 p362		
1924-06-19		King Lear ('King Leah')	105					Cardiff	1924-06-13 p494 1924-08-15 p313		

1924-07-24		Merchant of Venice	150 (120+ 30)	Leonard Thackeray; Donald Powis; A E Rowe; E Stuart Vinden; H R Walker; Vincent Curran; William Macready; Percy Edgar; Herbert Bosworth; Frank V Fenn; Harold Thomas	Edna Godfrey-Turner; Ethel Malpas; Ethel Johnson		William Macready	Birm'ham	1924-07-18 p146		
1924-11-22		A Midsummer Night's Dream	180	(from the Hippodrome)				Sheffield	1924-11-14 p371		
1925-01-16		The Tempest	120			R E Jeffrey		London	1925-01-09 p114		
1925-03-30		Merchant of Venice	90	Tyrone Power; G Coffey May; Arthur Malcolm; William Macready; J R Mageean; H Richard Hayward	Edna Godfrey-Turner; Mary Healey	William Macready	William Macready	Belfast	1925-03-27 p23		
1925-04-22		Taming of the Shrew	145 (120+ 25)	E Stuart Vinden; Donald Edwardes; Frank V Fenn; Joseph Lewis; Vincent Curran; H R Walker; William Macready; Percy Edgar; George Roberts; Arthur Johnson; A E Rowe; Donald Powis	Edna Godfrey-Turner; Edna Lester; Hilda Powis; Lucy Murray	William Macready		Birm'ham	1925-04-17 p158		
1925-05-22		Macbeth	90	Kendrew Milson; J H Herdman; Alan Thompson; Harold Earnshaw; Norman Firmin; Lee Dixon	Olive Zalva; Norah Balls; Mary Pettie			Newcastle	1925-05-15 p355		

Date		Play	Min	Cast (male)	Cast (female)	Producer		Station	Reference		
1925-06-23		A Midsummer Night's Dream	110	Ernest Milton; Henry Oscar; Charles R Stone; Tarver Penna; Ivan Berlyn; Leonard Calvert; Eric Lugg; Drelincourt Odlum; Milton Rosmer; Hay Petrie	Elaine Inescourt; Margaret Halstan; Irene Rooke; Elisabeth Dundas	R E Jeffrey		All stations	1925-06-19 p581 1925-06-19 p589		
1925-08-14		Merchant of Venice	60	Richard Barron; Sidney Evans; Ivor Maddox; Horace Aye; Malcolm Watson; Morgan Richards; Donald Davies	Lillian Mills; Mabel Tait;	Donald Davies		Cardiff	1925-08-07 p291		
1925-10-26		Henry V (Agincourt)	60	Tyrone Power; Edmund Willard; Arthur Malcolm; Martin Bretherton; J R Mageean; George Buchanan	Charlotte Tedlie			Belfast	1926-10-23 p219		
1925-11-27		Richard II	60	Denstone College Dramatic Society				Stoke-on-Trent	1925-11-20 p399		
1926-06-24		A Midsummer Night's Dream	90	Gordon Lea; Eric Barber; Hugh McNeill	Stella East; Mary Pettie; Betty Humble	Eric Barber		Newcastle	1926-06-18 p485-6		
1926-06-23		A Midsummer Night's Dream	90	T H Howard; Thespian Dramatic Society	Marian Dodwell			Sheffield	1926-06-18 p492		
1926-11-30		The Tempest	90	Denstone College Dramatic Society		R M Grier (head master)		Stoke-on-Trent	1926-11-26 p517		
1927-01-24		Julius Caesar	60					London	1927-01-21 p158		
1927-04-14		Hamlet	75	Murray Carrington; T J Bailey; Donald Davies; Richard Barron; R Benjamin; Gordon McConnel	Marion Foreman; Marjorie Woodall	Donald Davies		Cardiff	1927-04-08 p72		

1927-04-22		Merchant of Venice	85	Ivor Barnard; W E Holloway; Austin Trevor; George Relph; Derek Williams; Douglas Burbidge; Philip Cunningham; Raymond Trafford; Hector Abbas; Ben Field; John MacLean; Laurence Gowdy; John Reeve; Arthur Vezin; Edmund Kennedy	Phyllis Neilson-Terry; Hilda Bruce Porter; Jane Bacon			London	1927-04-08 p51 1927-04-15 p122	
1927-06-21		A Midsummer Night's Dream	60	Robert Atkins; Eric Shakespeare; Ivor Barnard; Douglas Burbidge; Alfred Gray; E H Brooke; Wallace Evennett; Alec Johnstone; Horace Sequeira; Leonard Calvert; John MacLean; Keith Pyott; Andrew Leigh	Dorothy Freshwater; Lilian Harrison; Dorothy Holmes-Gore; Natalie Moya; Nona Benet; Lorna Hubbard	R E Jeffrey; Howard Rose		London	1927-06-17 p518 1927-06-17 p521	
1927-07-11		Macbeth	75	Glasgow Station Players				Glasgow	1927-07-08 p51	
1927-07-21		As You Like It	100	Fred E Weatherly; Daniel Roberts; Sidney Northcote; Sidney Evans; Ivor Maddox; Michael Hasker; Warren Fisher; Douglas Burbidge; T Hannam-Clark; Donald Davies; Richard Morgan	Margaret Stuart; Flora McDowell; Eileen Vaughan; Susie Stevens	Arthur Branch		Cardiff	1927-07-15 p102	
1927-10-04	1927-10-06	Taming of the Shrew	70	Carlton Hobbs; Vincent Sternroyd; Frank Macrae; Ian Fleming; Stanley Lathbury; Cyril Nash; Reginald Tate;	Doris Buckley; Barbara Couper; Lilian Harrison; Margaret Coleman	Howard Rose		Daventry	1927-09-30 p577 1927-09-30 p584	

				Adrian Byrne; Wallace Evennett; Frank Denton						
1927-10-14		Twelfth Night (schools)	55	Robert Speaight; Douglas Burbidge; Abraham Sofaer; J Adrian Byrne; Alfred Clark; Wilfred Fletcher; Howard Rose; Reginald Tate; Ewart Scott	Lilian Harrison; Dorothy Freshwater; Doris Buckley			London & Daventry	1927-10-07 p32	
1927-10-15		A Midsummer Night's Dream	150	Children of secondary and elementary schools (Hippodrome Theatre)				Sheffield	1927-09-30 p564 1927-10-07 p42	
1927-11-08		Henry V	80	Carleton Hobbs; Harcourt Williams; Ivan Berlyn; Matthew Forsyth; Henry le Grand; Ernest Haines; S Cheagh Henry; A Lubimoff; Herbert Lugg; William Macready; Eric Maxon; Herbert Ross; Abraham Sofaer	Alice de Grey; Winifred Evans; Nancy Price			London & Daventry	1927-10-28 p180 1927-11-04 p250	
1927-11-18		Tempest (schools)	60	Representative Radio Players				London & Daventry	1927-11-11 p332	
1927-12-16		Richard II (schools)	55	The Radio Players				London & Daventry	1927-12-09 p556	
1928-01-27		Macbeth (schools)	55	Wilfred Walter; Charles Mortimer; Brian Glennie; Douglas Jefferies; Edward O'Neill; George Skillan; Henry Le Grand; Herbert	Dorothy Dayus; Barbara Everest; Lesley Winter; Marjorie Manning; Susan Hodder; Winifred Evans			London & Daventry	1928-01-20 p134 Cast list here: https://charlesmortimer.weebly.com/macbeth-1928.html	

				Lugg; Oswalt Skilbeck; Reginald Dance							
1928-02-24		As You Like It (schools)	70					London & Daventry	1928-02-17 p350 1928-02-17 p353		
1928-03-23		Julius Caesar (schools)	55					London & Daventry	1928-03-16 p568		
1928-04-23		Henry V	115	Ivan Samson; Herbert Lugg; Eric Lugg; Gilbert Heron; Murri Moncrieff; Philip Wade; Patrick Waddington; Leslie Perrins; Sydney Russell; J Smith Wright; B A Pittar; S Creagh Henry; Ernest Haines; Ernest Digges	Winifred Evans; Alice de Grey; Gipsy Ellis; Colleen Clifford; Margaret Halstan	Howard Rose		London & Daventry	1928-04-20 p114		
1928-05-11		Merchant of Venice (schools)	60					London & Daventry	1928-05-04 p218		
1928-05-25		Macbeth	85	Robert Donat; Seath Innes; Andrew Stewart; R B Wharrie; Charles R M Brookes	Nan R Scott; Enid Hewit			Glasgow (SB London & Daventry)	1928-05-18 p318 1928-05-18 p323		
1928-06-29		A Midsummer Night's Dream (schools)	60	Douglas Burbidge	Dorothy Holmes-Gore; Lillian Harrison			London & Daventry	1928-06-22 p546 1928-06-22 p548		
1928-07-18		Hamlet	100	Gyles Isham; Leslie Perrins; Ian Fleming; Ivan Samson; Herbert Lugg; Victor Lewisohn; Marcus Barron	Irene Rooke; Muriel Hewitt; Dorothy Holmes-Gore			London & Daventry	1928-07-06 p4 1928-07-13 p72		

1928-09-11	1928-09-12	King Lear	120	Robert Speaight; Edmund Willard; Frederick Tomlin; Arthur Ewart; Colin Keith Johnston; O B Clarence; Bruce Belfrage; Leslie Perrins; Ernest Haines; John Reeve; Alexander Sarner	Dorothy Dayus; Barbara Couper; Lilian Harrison			Daventry (rpt London & Daventry)	1928-08-31 p371 1928-09-07 p439 1928-09-07 p442 1928-09-07 p443
1928-09-21		Julius Caesar (schools)	45					London & Daventry	1928-09-14 p510 1928-09-14 p511
1928-10-19		Henry IV pt 1 (schools)	45					London & Daventry	1928-10-12 p120
1928-10-19		A Midsummer Night's Dream (schools)	45					Glasgow	1928-10-12 p124
1928-11-02		Richard II (schools)	40					Glasgow	1928-10-26 p265
1928-11-16		Twelfth Night (schools)	40	Glasgow Station Players				Glasgow	1928-11-09 p406
1928-11-22		Hamlet	60	Robert Speaight; Arthur Clay; Frank Denton; Andrew Churchman; Charles Lefeaux; William Marsh; T C L Farrar	Barbara Couper; Lilian Harrison			Daventry	1928-10-26 p225 1928-11-16 p472 1928-12-28 p858 1928-12-28 p889
1928-11-23		As You Like It (schools)	45					London & Daventry	1928-11-16 p477
1928-11-30		Macbeth (schools)	40					Glasgow	1928-11-23 p555
1929-01-18		Taming of the Shrew (schools)	45					London & Daventry	1929-01-11 p101

1929-01-25		Henry IV pt 1 (schools)	45						Glasgow	1929-01-18 p169		
1929-02-15		Hamlet (schools)	45						London & Daventry	1929-02-08 p351		
1929-03-15		Henry IV pt 2 (schools)	45						London & Daventry	1929-03-08 p596		
1929-06-14		Macbeth (schools)	45						London & Daventry	1929-06-07 p530		
1929-06-24		A Midsummer Night's Dream	75					T G Bailey	M'chester	1929-06-21 p623		
1929-08-13	1929-08-14	Henry VIII	105	A Scott Gatty; George Relph; Alan Wade; S J Warmington; Ewart Scott; Harman Grisewood; Maurice Farquharson; Robert Loraine (scribbled out); Baliol Holloway (scribbled in); Alexander Sarner; Hedley Goodall; Ralph de Rohan; Halliwell Hobbs; Tarver Penna; Wilfrid Babbage; Cyril Nash; H R Hignett; Frank Denton; Arthur Clay; Dennis Sandford; Jack Vernon	Marie Ney; Lilian Harrison; Mary Rorke; Josephine Shand	Howard Rose	Dulcima Glasby	Daventry (rpt London & Daventry)	1929-08-02 p222 1929-08-09 p290 1929-08-09 p290 1929-08-09 p293 1929-08-30 p420		
1929-10-11		Merchant of Venice (schools)	45	John Gielgud; Brember Wills (Old Vic)	Martita Hunt	Harcourt Williams		London & Daventry	1929-10-04 p8 1929-10-04 p50		
1929-10-11		Macbeth (schools)	45					Glasgow	1929-10-04 p55		

1929-10-23		Twelfth Night	85				Howard Rose	Barbara Burnham	London & Daventry	1929-10-04 p8 1929-10-18 p190 1929-11-08 p397	
1929-10-25		Julius Caesar (schools)	45						London & Daventry	1929-10-18 p204	
1929-11-22		Richard II (schools)	45	(Old Vic company)					London & Daventry	1929-10-04 p8 1929-11-15 p505	
1930-01-31		Tempest (schools)	45						London & Daventry	1930-01-24 p251	
1930-03-28		Twelfth Night (schools)	45						National	1930-03-21 p737	
1930-04-23		Henry V	120	Harman Grisewood; Harold Reese; Andrew Churchman; Cyril Twyford; Arthur Goullet; Ernest Digges; Malcolm Young; Vincent Clive; Alex Sarner; Frank Denton; Lionel Millard; Clinton Baddeley; Dennis Arundell; Philip Wade; Gerald Jerome; John Laurie; Granville Ives	Barbara Couper; Lilian Harrison; Gladys Young	E A Harding		National	1930-04-11 p70 1930-04-18 p148 1930-04-18 p161 1930-05-09 p309	
1930-06-24	1930-06-26	A Midsummer Night's Dream	90	Frank Birch; Edgar B Skeet; Harman Grisewood; Sebastian Shaw; Clifton Gibbs; Rudolf de Cordova; Malcolm Young; Charles Groves; Hamilton Earle; Carleton Hobbs; Basil Simpson; Charles Hawtrey	Doreen Goodridge; Ruth Logan; Katherine Hynes; Joyce Moore; Lila Maravan; Nada Ford; Rosamund May; Joan Hare;	Peter Creswell	Dulcima Glasby	Regional (rpt National)	1930-06-13 p593 1930-06-20 p657 1930-06-20 p680 1930-06-20 p670-1 1930-06-20 p679 1930-07-11 p61	

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					Lesley Dudley; Patricia Hayes; Doris Arnold				1930-07-11 p64 1930-07-18 p120 1931-01-09 p56		
1930-07-16	1930-07-17	Antony & Cleopatra	90	Cecil Ramage; Douglas Burbidge; Leslie Perrins; Andrew Churchman; George Ide; Cyril Nash; Harman Grisewood; Philip Cunningham; Philip Wade; Marcus Barron; Herbert Lugg; Harald Colonna	Laura Cowie; Esther Coleman; Jessie Tandy	Cecil Lewis	Cecil Lewis	National (rpt Regional)	1930-07-04 p5 1930-07-04 p11 1930-07-04 p42 1930-07-11 p57 1930-07-11 p85 1930-07-11 p93 1930-08-08 p278		
1930-12-11	1930-12-12	Winter's Tale	90	Ernest Milton; Harold Reese; Clarence Blakiston; Frank Birch; Harman Grisewood; Stanley Vine; Gerald Ames; Derek Williams; H O Nicholson; Michael Hogan; Charles Herbert; James Carrall; Ernest Digges; Andrew Churchman	Barbara Couper; Joyce Moore; Gladys Young; Eileen Thorndike; Billy Sinclair; Katherine Hynes	Howard Rose	Barbara Burnham	Regional (rpt National)	1930-11-28 p582 1930-12-08 p657 1930-12-05 p692 1930-12-05 p697		
1931-02-22		The Tempest	75	John Gielgud; Ralph Richardson; Leslie French; Andrew Churchman; Alexander Sarner; Robert Speaight; Arthur Goullet; H O Nicholson; George Howe; V C Clinton-Baddeley; Philip Wade	Angela Baddeley; Katherine Hynes; Dora Barton; Barbara Dillon	Val Gielgud & E A Harding	Val Gielgud & E A Harding	National	1931-02-06 p286 1931-02-20 p412 1931-02-20 p418 1931-02-20 p425 1931-03-06 p546		

1931-06-08	1931-06-10	King John	80	Robert Farquharson; Roy Torley; Ronald Chuter; Cyril Nash; Drelincourt Odlum; Ernest Digges; Malcolm Graeme; Leslie Perrins; Denis Elliot-Watson; Baliol Holloway; Felix Aylmer; Harold Young; George Howe; Ronald Simpson; Arthur Goullet; Charles Staite	Ethel Lodge; Irene Vanbrugh; Alice Mason	Peter Creswell	Barbara Burnham	Regional (rpt National)	1931-06-05 p564 1931-06-05 p575 1931-06-26 p730		
1931-10-09		Merchant of Venice	110			S A Bullock		Belfast	1931-10-02 p67		
1931-12-11	1931-12-12	Julius Caesar	90	Franklyn Bellamy; Edmund Willard; Dennis Arundell; Brember Wills; Eric Anderson; Ernest Digges; Maurice Gilbert; George Cooke; Harold Young; Griffith Jones; Max Gayton; Harold Reese; Eric Berry; Noel Dryden; James Tovey; Clifton Gibbs; Basil Atherton; James Mason	Ethel Lodge; Mary Hinton; Joan Hare; Joyce Murchie; Jeanne Manners; Helen Dale; Cecily Clarence; Jill Howard	Peter Creswell	Barbara Burnham	National (rpt Regional)	1931-11-27 p670 1931-12-04 p761 1931-12-04 p804 1931-12-04 p815 1932-01-01 p10		
1932-01-29	1932-01-30	Taming of the Shrew	90	Wilfrid Grantham; Norman Shelley; Horace Sequira; Bartlett Garth; Charles Mortimer; Caleb Porter; Eric Spear; Francis James; Brember Wills; Dennis Arudell; Hugh Dempster; Charles Wade;	Barbara Couper; Buena Bent; Dora Barton; Gwendolen Evans; Margaret Coleman	Howard Rose	Dulcima Glasby	National (rpt Regional)	1932-01-15 p112 1932-01-22 p218 1932-01-22 p227		

				Leslie French; Charles Thomas; George Manship; Arthur Vezin; Frank Denton							
1932-03-13		Othello	90	Henry Ainley; John Gielgud; Arthur Goullet; Rudolph de Cordova; Franklyn Bellamy; Leslie French; Ronald Simpson; Alexander Sarner; Andrew Churchman; Roy Langford; Stanley Vine	Peggy Ashcroft; Gwendolen Evans	Val Gielgud	E A Harding	National	1932-02-19 p432 1932-02-19 p432 1932-02-26 p498 1932-03-11 p640 1932-03-11 p650 1932-03-11 p646 1932-04-01 p13 1932-04-01 p16		
1932-04-23		Henry V	90	Dennis Arundell; Eric Anderson; Harold Young; Leslie Perrins; Peter Hore; Cyril Nash; Philip Wade; Rudolf de Cordova; A E Filmer; Douglas Ross; George Cooke; Douglas Cox; Carleton Hobbs; Murri Moncrieff; Franklyn Bellamy; Arthur Goullet; Arthur Clay	Violet Marquesita; Gladys Young; Marie Ney; Kathleen Boutall; Ethel Lodge	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1932-04-08 p69 1932-04-15 p189 1932-04-15 p190 1932-05-13 p409		
1932-06-05		Hamlet	105	John Gielgud; Robert Donat; Jack Hawkins; Francis L Sullivan; A Bromley-Davenport; Leslie Perrins; Harman Grisewood; Eric Anderson; Alban Blakelock; George Devine; Franklyn Bellamy; W E Holloway; Frank Denton; Richard Riddle	Martita Hunt; Margaretta Scott; Gwendolen Evans	Val Gielgud	Barbara Burnham	National	1932-05-27 p529 1932-06-03 p595 1932-06-03 p614 1932-06-03 p604 1932-06-17 p731		

1932-08-15	1932-08-16	As You Like It	90	Felix Aylmer; Neil Curtis; Patrick Waddington; Douglas Ross; James Tovey; Ernest Sefton; Nigel Clarke; Ronald Simpson; Rudolf de Cordova; Jack Melford; Edgar B Skeet; Harman Grisewood; Roland Gillett; Alphonse Nolin; Clarence Gold; Griffith Jones; Malcolm Graeme	Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies; Lila Maravan; Evelyn Neilson; Ethel Lodge	Peter Creswell	Dulcima Glasby	Regional (rpt National)	1932-08-05 p296 1932-08-12 p348 1932-08-12 p369 1932-08-12 p372 1932-08-12 p373		
1932-11-13		Romeo & Juliet	120	Ralph Richardson; John Laurie; Harman Grisewood; Campbell Gullan; Dennis Arundell; Ivan Brandt; Victor Fairley; Frank Freeman; John Cheatle; Franklyn Bellamy; Robert Speaight; Andrew Churchman; Arthur Goullet; Harald Colonna; Arthur Jenkins; Abraham Sofaer	Martita Hunt; Margaretta Scott; Gladys Young; Barbara Dillon	Val Gielgud	Barbara Burnham	National	1932-11-11 p423 1932-11-11 p430 1932-11-11 p452 -3 1932-11-25 p595		S345.193 3Q
1933-03-12		Macbeth	120	Ralph Richardson; John Laurie; Ben Webster; Cecil Ramage; Jack Carlton; Charles Carson; Douglas Burbidge; Carleton Hobbs; J Harker; Richard Ainley; W E Holloway; Philip Wade; Richard Goolden; John Cheatle; Frank Snell; Andrew Churchman; Herbert Lugg	Martita Hunt; Dorothea Webb; Gladys Young; Hilary Eaves	Val Gielgud & E A Harding	Barbara Burnham	Regional	1933-03-10 p577 1933-03-10 p585 1933-03-10 p587 1933-03-10 p591 1933-03-10 p599 1933-03-24 p733-4 1933-03-31 p805 1933-04-14 p81		

1933-04-26 (pt 1); 1933-04-27 (pt 2);		Coriolanus	150 (90+ 60)	Leon Quartermaine; Cecil Trouncer; Felix Aylmer; Frank Cellier; Francis L Sullivan; H O Nicholson; Cyril Gardiner; Eric Berry; Charles Groves; George Cooke; Cyril Nash; Richard Hurndall; George Sanders; Alec Finter; Theodore Smythe; James Tovey; J Spencer-Phillips	Sybil Thorndike; Prudence Magor; Irene Rooke; Helen Dale; Joan Hare; Irene Ouston; Ethel Lodge	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell & Barbara Burnham	National	1933-04-14 p73 1933-04-21 p135 1933-04-21 p164 1933-04-21 p173 1933-05-05 p278 1933-05-12 p345-6		S315.1933Q
1933-05-14		Much Ado About Nothing	105	Henry Ainley; Ralph Truman; Arthur Evans; Geoffrey Wincott; J Fisher White; Henry Morrell; John Armstrong; Ernest Digges; William Daunt; Charles Lefeaux; Richard Goolden; Frederic Sargent; Cecil Trouncer	Marie Ney; Miriam Adams; Ethel Glendinning; Dorothy Darke	Howard Rose	Dulcima Glasby	Regional	1933-05-05 p265 1933-05-12 p338 1933-05-12 p349 1933-05-26 p485		
1933-10-08		Othello	120	Godfrey Tearle; Malcolm Keen; Charles Hickman; H O Nicholson; Cecil Lewis; Rudolph de Cordova; Drelincourt Odlum; Patrick Waddington; Douglas Ross; Richard Hurndall; Cyril Nash; Osmund Willson; Theodore Smythe; Alec Finter; James Tovey; Pascoe Thornton	Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies; Mary Clare	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1933-09-29 p734 1933-10-06 p1 1933-10-06 p9 1933-10-06 p18 1933-10-06 p68 1933-10-20 p173		S341.1933Q

1933-11-12		The Tempest	120	John Gielgud; Leslie French; Ralph Richardson; Guy Pelham Boulton; Andrew Churchman; Glen Byam Shaw; Norman Shelley; H O Nicholson; George Howe; George Devine; Edward Craven; Philip Wade	Angela Baddeley; Barbara Dillon; Ruth Anderson; Molly Rankin	Val Gielgud	Val Gielgud & E A Harding	National	1933-11-03 p320 1933-11-10 p389 1933-11-10 p399 1933-11-10 p408 1933-11-24 p566		S347.193 3Q
1933-12-10		Julius Caesar	105	Robert Donat; Ralph Richardson; Shayle Gardner; Stephen Haggard; Patrick Barr; Gordon Begg; Ronald Kerr; Ernest Digges; Leo Genn; John Boxer; J Whitmore Humphreys; Walter Schofield; Adrian Thomas; Edward Irwin; Rudolph de Cordova; Ernest Borrow; G F Campbell Browne; Harold Reese; Hilary Fisher-White jnr; Ernest Cove; Campbell Fletcher; George Manship; Thomas Meddings	Dora Barton; Fabia Drake	Howard Rose	Barbara Burnham	National	1933-12-01 p636 1933-12-08 p713 1933-12-08 p723 1933-12-08 p732 1933-12-29 p948		S329.193 3Q
1934-01-14		Two Gentlemen of Verona	90	Ion Swinley; Robert Craven; George Owen; Ivor Barnard; George Howe; Harcourt Williams; Deering Wells; Andrew Churchman	Lydia Sherwood; Mary Allan; Helen Horsey	Lance Sieveking	Barbara Burnham	National	1934-01-05 p4 1934-01-12 p75 1934-01-12 p78 1934-01-12 p85-6		S353.193 3Q

1934-02-11		Antony & Cleopatra	120	Godfrey Tearle; Robert Farquharson; Ronald Simpson; Norman Shelley; Eric Berry; Douglas Ross; Cyril Nash; Pascoe Thornton; James Tovey; Tony Hankey; Eric Dance; Matthew Boulton; Carleton Hobbs; Eric Anderson; Theodore Smythe; Arthur Evans; Edgar B Skeet; Barry Ferguson	Edith Evans; Janet Taylor; Rosalinde Fuller; Hermione Gingold	Peter Creswell		National	1934-02-02 p296 1934-02-09 p370 1934-02-09 p371 1934-02-09 p379-80 1934-03-02 p625		S312.1933Q
1934-03-11		As You Like It	120	Felix Aylmer; V C Clinton-Baddeley; Patrick Waddington; Robert Craven; James Tovey; Ernest Sefton; Nigel Clarke; William Fox; Walter Herbage; Pascoe Thornton; Philip Wade; Jack Melford; Edgar B Skeet; Eric Berry; Theodore Smythe; Peter Vokes; John Jacques	Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies; Marjorie Smith; Evelyn Neilson; Lila Maravan; Ethel Lodge	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1934-03-09 p708 1934-03-09 p717-8 1934-03-30 p981		
1934-04-08		Macbeth	105	Charles Laughton; Marius Goring; Roger Livesey; Frank Napier; Ernest Hare; Morland Graham; James Mason; Dennis Arundell (Old Vic Production)	Flora Robson; Athene Seyler; Phyllis Hatch; Elspeth Currie	Tyrone Guthrie		National	1934-03-30 p966 1934-04-06 p1 1934-04-06 p3 1934-04-06 p7 1934-04-06 p18 1934-04-20 p183 1934-04-27 p267 1934-05-11 p422 1934-06-01 p671		

1934-05-13		Merchant of Venice	90	Abraham Sofaer; Jerrold Robertshaw; Roy Emerton; Wilfred Fletcher; Patric Curwen; Stephen Haggard; Denys Blakelock; John Cheatle; Paul Farrell; Robert Harris; Hector Abbas; Leonard Henry; Richard Goolden; Theodore Smythe; Douglas Ross; Leo Genn	Celia Johnson; Pamela Stanley; Gwendolen Evans	Cyril Wood	Cyril Wood	National	1934-04-27 p257 1934-05-04 p336 1934-05-11 p413 1934-05-11 p432 1934-06-01 p671		S336.1934Q
1934-06-17		A Midsummer Night's Dream	105	Ralph Richardson; Scott Sunderland; H O Nicholson; William Fox; Leslie Perrins; Patric Curwen; D Hay Petrie; Philip Wade; Percy Rhodes; Wallace Evennett; Matthew Boulton	Fay Compton (Oberon); Barbara Dillon; Mary Gaskell; Thea Holme; Norah Baring; Adeline Hook; Elaine Smorthwaite; Miriam Adams; Elsie Otley; Hilda Robinson; Sybilla Marshall; Margaret Rees; Gwendolene Embley; Violet Prowse; Hebe Simpson; Gwendolene Catley; Marjorie Parker; Lola Ralph (Margaret Rawlings	Val Gielgud	Marianne Helwig	National	1934-06-08 p741 1934-06-15 p821 1934-06-15 p825-6		S338.1934Q

					was due to play Oberon, but did not)						
1934-07-08		Twelfth Night	105	Jack Hawkins; Clifford Evans; Dennis Hoey; A B Imeson; Ivor Harries; R Kerr Carey; Nigel Playfair; Valentine Rooke; John Drinkwater; Jack Carlton; Leslie French; Eric Lousada (Open Air Theatre prod)	Anna Neagle; Margaretta Scott; Iris Hoey	Robert Atkins (theatre) & Cyril Wood		National	1934-06-15 p813 1934-06-29 p965 1934-07-06 p6 1934-07-06 p8 1934-07-06 p17-8 1934-07-27 p221		S352.1934Q
1934-10-14		Measure for Measure	105	Henry Hallatt; Ion Swinley; H O Nicholson; Andre van Gyseghem; Leslie French; Henry Morrell; Frederic Sargent; Anthony Quayle	Peggy Ashcroft; Natalie Moya; Doris Blagrove; Billie Sinclair; Mary Hamlin	Howard Rose	Barbara Burnham	National	1934-10-12 p87 1934-10-12 p101-2		S335.1934Q
1934-11-18		Cymbeline	120	Norman Shelley; Carleton Hobbs; William Fox; H O Nicholson; Lindesay Baxter; Harold Reese; George Hayes; Cyril Nash; Charles Maunsell; Charles Sanders; Arthur Keane; Jack Allen; Frank Drew; Malcolm Graeme Young	Peggy Ashcroft; Mary Hinton; Patricia Godfrey; Diana Poulton	Peter Creswell		National	1934-11-16 p538 1934-11-16 p547 1934-11-16 p553		S316.1934Q
1934-12-16		Hamlet	120	Stephen Haggard; Malcolm Keen; Harcourt Williams; Robert Speaight; John Cheatle; Charles Mason; John Teed; Alban Blakelock; David King-Wood; Ralph Truman; Charles	Fay Compton; Martita Hunt; Barbara Dillon	Val Gielgud	Barbara Burnham	National	1934-12-14 p898 1934-12-14 p909-10 1935-01-04 p10		S317.1934Q

Date		Play		Cast	Cast			Network	References		Call no.
				Lefeaux; Norman Shelley; Philip Wade; Hilary Fisher-White; Henry Hallatt							
1935-01-13		Winter's Tale	105	Laurence Olivier; H R Hignett; Jack Clayton; Arthur Keane; Frederic Sargent; Eric Phillips; A J Denton; Guy Spaull; Hubert Gregg; H O Nicholson; C H P Hay; Allan Wade; Frederick Keen; Adrian Thomas; Anthony Quayle	Diana Wynyard; Janet Taylor; Gladys Young; Josephine Wilson; Billie Sinclair; Doris Blagrove	Howard Rose	Howard Rose	National	1935-01-04 p5 1935-01-11 p6 1935-01-11 p13 1935-01-11 p18 1935-01-25 p9		S354.1935Q
1935-02-10		Troilus & Cressida	90	J Fisher-White; Ion Swinley; Eric Berry; Kenneth Villiers; Barry Ferguson; John Cheatle; Alexander Sarner; Bruce Winston; Abraham Sofaer; Francis de Wolff; Jack Hawkins; Andrew Churchman; Robert Speaight; V C Clinton-Baddeley; Glen Byam Shaw; George Devine; Philip Wade; Anthony Quayle; Geoffrey Wincott	Angela Baddeley; Barbara Dillon; Margaret Rawlings	Barbara Burnham	Barbara Burnham	National	1935-02-01 p4 1935-02-08 p7 1935-02-08 p19-20 1935-02-22 p9		S351.1935Q
1935-03-10		Taming of the Shrew	90	Godfrey Tearle; Stuart Robertson; George Devine; Peter Vokes; Charles Lefeaux; Richard Goolden; Geoffrey Toone; Charles Hickman; Carleton Hobbs; Alexander Wynne; Malcolm Graeme;	Mary Hinton; Evelyn Neilson; Ethel Lodge; Sybil Grove	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1935-03-01 p11 1935-03-08 p3 1935-03-08 p6 1935-03-08 p17-8		S346.1935Q

				Lindesay Baxter; Peter Grisewood; Kenneth Villiers; Stuart Bull							
1935-05-05		Henry V	120	Leslie Banks; Robert Harris; Dennis Astell; Derrick de Marney; Tristan Rawson; Arthur Goullet; Julian D'Albie Frederic Sargent; A Scott-Gatty; David Stewart; Guy Spaull; Ernest Digges; D Hay Petrie; Henry Morrell; John Laurie; Andrew Leigh; Lawrence Baskcomb; J Moore; Basil Bartlett; Francis James; Hubert Gregg; J Leslie Frith; Warren Jenkins; Austin Trevor	Margot Sieveking; Celia Johnson; Barbara Dillon; Renee de Vaux	Howard Rose		National	1935-05-03 p17 1935-05-03 p23-4 1935-05-17 p9		S322.1935Q
1935-05-19		Richard II	105	Maurice Evans; Alan Napier; Abraham Sofaer; Marius Goring; Cecil Trouncer; Alan Webb; Geoffrey Wardwell; Raymond Johnson; Frank Napier; Leo Genn; Richard Warner; Stefan Schnabel; George Woodbridge; Morland Graham	Vivienne Bennett	Henry Cass		National	1935-05-17 p11 1935-05-17 p17-8 1935-05-31 p9		S343.1935Q

1935-06-09		Much Ado About Nothing	105	D A Clarke-Smith; Ralph Truman; Leslie Perrins; Geoffrey Wincott; Ben Webster; Frank Reynolds; David Brynley; Charles Maunsell; Douglas Matthews; Charles Lefeaux; Richard Goolden; Arthur Keane; Wallace Evennett; Harald Colonna; Eric Lugg	Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies; Iris Baker; Jillian Sandlands; Cathleen Cordell	Jan Bussell		National	1935-05-31 p4 1935-06-07 p21-2		S339.193 5Q
1935-10-13		Macbeth	120	Godfrey Tearle; Cyril Nash; Harvey Braban; Leslie Perrins; James Mason; John Y Smart; Carleton Hobbs; Jack Allen; Walter Horsbrugh; Harold Reese; Jack Clayton; Malcolm Graeme; H O Nicholson; Peter Grisewood; Charles Lefeaux	Flora Robson; Mary Hinton; Beatrice Varley; Marie Ault; Alice Bowes; Ethel Lodge	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1935-09-27 p4 1935-10-04 p5 1935-10-11 p1 1935-10-11 p6 1935-10-11 p19-20 1935-11-01 p13		S334.193 5Q
1935-11-17		Richard III	120	Malcolm Keen; Robert Harris; Carl Bernard; Michael Dyne; Stanley Howlett; S J Warmington; Laidman Browne; J Moore; Henry Hepworth; Rudolph de Cordova; Vincent Sternroyd; P Kynaston Reeves; George Cross; V C Clinton-Baddeley; Arthur Burne; Frith Banbury; Albert Chevalier; Frederic Sargent; J B Rowe; John	Cathleen Nesbitt; Dorothy Holmes-Gore; Fanny Wright; Stella Patrick Campbell	Howard Rose	Howard Rose	National	1935-11-08 p9 1935-11-15 p18 1935-11-15 p23-4		S344.193 5Q

				Boxer; Philip Thornley; Ernest Borrow; John Miller; Beverley Robinson; Anthony Quayle							
1935-12-08		Cymbeline	120	Leon Quartermaine; Norman Shelley; William Fox; H O Nicholson; Lindesay Baxter; Harold Reese; Cyril Nash; Carleton Hobbs; Charles Maunsell; Frank Drew; Arthur Keane; Jack Allen; Peter Grisewood; Malcolm Graeme; Arthur Clay	Fay Compton; Mary Hinton; Patricia Godfrey; Diana Poulton	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1935-11-29 p5 1935-12-06 p19-20		
1936-01-12		Twelfth Night	120	Robert Holmes; Ivan Samson; Charles Mortimer; David Erskine; Lindesay Baxter; Frederick W Lloyd; Charles Heslop; Cecil Humphreys; Jack Allen; Jan van der Gucht; Malcolm Graeme; Peter Grisewood	Mary Hinton (Viola & Sebastian); Antoinette Cellier; Irene Vanbrugh	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1936-01-03 p5 1936-01-10 p17-8		S352.1936Q
1936-02-09		Coriolanus	120	Geoffrey Toone; Harold Clayton; Robert Holmes; Cecil Humphreys; Alan Webb; Carleton Hobbs; Abraham Sofaer; Eric Berry; Jack Allen; Malcolm Graeme; Robert Mawdesley; J Adrian Byrne; Lindesday Baxter; Theodore Meade; Robert Ashbury; Peter Grisewood; Charles Barrett	Marda Vanne; Evelyn Neilson; Ethel Lodge; Jeanne Garman; Barbara Brandon; Mary Allan	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1936-02-07 p17-8		S315.1936Q

1936-03-08		Henry VIII	100	Frederick W Lloyd; Malcolm Keen; Julian D'Albie; Ronald Kerr; Alwyn Whatsley; Kynaston Reeves; John Richmond; Franklyn Bellamy; Arthur Burne; George Howe; Cecil Fowler; Arthur Keane; Ewart Scott; Alan Wheatley; George Skillan	Marie Ney; Sara Jackson; Clare Harris; Vivienne Chatterton	Howard Rose	Howard Rose	National	1936-02-28 p4 1936-03-06 p21-2		S328.193 6Q
1936-04-12		Richard II	120	David King-Wood; Joseph Adamson; Bryan Cave-Browne-Cave; John Featherstone Whitty; Peter Watling; Alan Lennox-Short; David Williams; Brian Harvey; John Argles; Michael Wheeler; John Gray; Peter Higgs; Maurice Williams; Alan Phillips; Henry Fowler; Vernon Marchant; Robin Whetherly; Michael Denison; Colin Stephenson; Desmond McKenna; Michael Weippert; Russell Bentley (OUDS)	Thea Holme; Helen Higher	Felix Felton (stage: John Gielgud & Glen Byam Shaw)	Felix Felton	National	1936-04-03 p2 1936-04-10 p1 1936-04-10 p3 1936-04-10 p19-20		
1936-06-14		The Tempest	120	Robert Speaight; Leslie French; Ralph Richardson; Deering Wells; Andrew Churchman; Hubert Gregg; Norman Shelley; H O Nicholson; George Howe;	Angela Baddeley; Barbara Dillon; Hermione Hannen	Val Gielgud	Val Gielgud & E A Harding	National	1936-06-05 p4 1936-06-12 p17-8		S347.193 6Q

				Miles Malleson; Francis de Wolff; Philip Wade; Hilary Eves							
1936-06-23		A Midsummer Night's Dream	70	Patrick Murray; Mat Malcaghey; David Acheson; Jervis W Williamson; Robert Williamson; Pat Bunting; Daniel Wherry; William Davidson; Joseph Murray; Edmund Moran; John Crossle	Mary Leith; Olive Simpson; Sybil Beattie; Hilda Irwin; Kathleen Noble; Mable McAllister; Edith Johnstone	S A Bulloch (performed in County Tyrone dialect)		Northern Ireland	1936-06-12 p76 1936-06-19 p41		
1936-07-12		Much Ado About Nothing	105	James Dale; Donald Wolfit; Norman Wooland; Peter Glenville; Gerald Kay Souper; Stanley Howlett; Donald Layne-Smith; Raymond Raikes; Alexander Gauge; Donald Eccles; Roy Byford; Geoffrey Wilkinson; Basil Langton; Kenneth Wicksteed; John Rudling; Dennis Roberts (Stratford Festival Company)	Barbara Couper; Valerie Tudor; Buena Bent; Rosalind Iden; Sara Jackson (presenter)	Howard Rose (stage: B Iden Payne)	Howard Rose	National	1936-07-03 p5 1936-07-10 p7 1936-07-10 p20		
1936-12-13		King Lear	120	Robert Speaight; Jack Allen; Michel Bazalgette; George Woodbridge; Robert Holmes; Baliol Holloway; Ralph Truman; Eric Berry; Terence de Marney; Malcolm Graeme; D Hay Petrie; John Abbott	Fay Compton; Mary Hinton; Marda Vanne	Peter Creswell	Hugh Stewart & Peter Creswell	National	1936-12-04 p7 1936-12-11 p7 1936-12-11 p20		S332.193 6Q

1937-01-03		Much Ado About Nothing	90	Godfrey Tearle; Leon Quartermaine; Robert Holmes; Alec Clunes; C M Hallard; William Trent; John McKenna; Jack Allen; Terence de Marney; John Abbott; Victor Fawkes; Hannam Clark; Malcolm Graeme; Osborne Leach; George Holloway	Fay Compton; Mary Hinton; Gwynne Whitby	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1937-01-01 p17-8 1937-01-22 p9			S339.1937Q
1937-01-31		Merchant of Venice	90	Ernest Milton; Ivan Samson; William Devlin; Hubert Gregg; Geoffrey Wincott; Charles Lefeaux; Kim Peacock; David King-Wood; Alexander Sarner; Charles Hawtrey; Eric Anderson	Freda Jackson; Idina Scott-Gatty; Leueen MacGrath	Barbara Burnham		National	1937-01-22 p4 1937-01-29 p1 1937-01-29 p9 1937-01-29 p19-20 1937-03-12 p9			S336.1937Q
1937-02-28		Antony & Cleopatra	115	Leon Quartermaine; Ion Swinley; Ronald Simpson; Eric Berry; Bertram Marsh-Dunn; Norman Shelley; David King-Wood; Frank Cochrane; Jack Allen; A B Imeson; Douglas Ross; Alexander Sarner; Philip Cunningham; Francis de Wolff; Douglas Matthews; Philip Wade	Margaret Rawlings; Patricia Hilliard; Lydia Sherwood; Patricia Burke	Val Gielgud	Peter Creswell	National	1937-02-19 p4 1937-02-26 p21-2			S312.1937Q
1937-03-28		Julius Caesar	120	Henry Caine; Malcolm Keen; Ion Swinley; Robert Holmes;	Vera Lennox; Mary Hinton	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1937-03-19 p13 1937-03-26 p18			

				Charles Mortimer; Terence de Marney						
1937-05-16		A Midsummer Night's Dream	115	Malcolm Keen; Alec Clunes; Terence de Marney; C M Hallard; Ernest Thesiger; Frank Cellier; Jay Laurier; Arthur Sinclair; Hedley Briggs; Carleton Hobbs; H O Nicholson; Leslie French; Skelton Knaggs	Fay Compton; Mary Hinton; Diana Churchill; Rosalinde Fuller; Joyce Redman; Patricia Hayes; Joyce Moore; Joan French; Jill Furse	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Regional	1937-05-07 p24 1937-05-14 p8 1937-05-14 p21	S338.193 7Q
1937-06-06		Henry IV parts 1 & 2 (The Fat Knight)	120	George Robey; Terence de Marney; Jack Hawkins; Robert Holmes; Anthony Shaw; Jay Laurier; John Ruddock; Robin Maule; Edgar Norfolk; Jack Allen; Richard Goolden; Carleton Hobbs; Malcolm Graeme; Osmund Leech; George Holloway; J Hannam Clark; Victor Fawkes	Mary Clare; Margaret Yarde	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1937-05-21 p6 1937-05-28 p7 1937-06-04 p17 1937-06-04 p24	S318.193 7Q
1937-07-04		As You Like It	90	Gerald Kay Souper; Paul Stephenson; Donald Layne-Smith; Baliol Holloway; Norman Wooland; Michael Goodliffe; Godfrey Kenton; C Rivers Gadsby; Donald Wolfit; Kenneth Wicksteed; Patrick Crean; Andrew Leigh; Stanley Howlett; Dennis	Joyce Bland; Valerie Tudor; Rosalind Iden; Clare Harris	(stage: B Iden Payne)	Owen Reed	Regional	1937-06-25 p7 1937-07-02 p7 1937-07-02 p20	

Date		Title	Dur	Cast				Region	References	Notes	Ref
				Roberts; Clement McCallin (Stratford Festival Company)							
1938-01-02		Hamlet	115	Leslie Howard; Geoffrey Wincott; Richard Watson; David King-Wood; William Devlin; Basil Radford; Alec Clunes; Bromley Davenport; John Abbott; Anthony Quayle; John Glyn-Jones; Ernest Jay; Francis de Wolff	Olga Lindo; Hermione Hannen; Freda Jackson	Barbara Burnham	Barbara Burnham	Regional & Scottish	1937-12-24 p27 1937-12-31 p4 1937-12-31 p7 1937-12-31 p23 1937-12-31 p26 1938-01-21 p9	Extract - BBC archive	S317.1938Q
1938-05-15		King Lear	120	Godfrey Tearle; Jack Allen; Michael Bazalgette; George Woodbridge; Robert Holmes; Baliol Holloway; Carleton Hobbs; Marius Goring; Leonard Thompson; Norman Wooland; Andrew Laurence	Marda Vanne; Mary Hinton; Barbara Palmer	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1938-05-06 p7 1938-05-13 p5 1938-05-13 p20 1938-06-10 p9		S332.1938Q
1938-06-23		A Midummer Night's Dream (Welsh)	60			Dafydd Gruffydd	Dafydd Gruffydd (adaptor); D Gwenallt Jones (translator)	Wales	1938-06-10 p14 1938-06-17 p63		
1938-08-07		As You Like It (Rosalind in Arden)	120	Torin Thatcher; Dodd Mehan; Dudley Jones; Richard Goolden; Michel Bazalgette; Franklyn Kelsey; Robert Holmes; Ellis Irving; A B Imeson; Hedley Briggs; M	Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies; Kathleen Boutall; Patricia Godfrey; Audrey Cameron	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	National	1938-07-28 p4 1938-08-05 p20		

				Landale; Norman Shelley; Eric Berry; Peter Humphreys; Clive Baxter; Robin Maule						
1938-10-19		Macbeth (Welsh)	70	Jack James	Dilys Davies	Dafydd Gruffydd	Dafydd Gruffydd (adaptor); T Gwynn Jones (translator)	Wales	1938-10-14 p57	
1938-11-06		Winter's Tale	105	Lewis Casson; Robin Maule; Alan Jeayes; Cecil Trouncer; Francis de Wolf; Alec Mango; Edgar Norfolk; Hubert Gregg; Nigel Stock; Miles Malleson	Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies; Rosamund Merivale; Sybil Thorndike; Lucille Lisle; Cherry Cottrell	Barbara Burnham	Barbara Burnham	National	1938-10-28 p5 1938-11-04 p10 1938-11-25 p9	S354.1938Q
1939-05-25		Merchant of Venice (Welsh)	60			Dafydd Gruffydd	J T Jones (translator)	Wales	1939-05-12 p8	
1939-05-14		King Lear	125	Abraham Sofaer; Jack Allen; Michael Bazalgette; George Woodbridge; Robert Holmes; Baliol Holloway; Carleton Hobbs; Marius Goring; Leonard Thompson; Leslie Bradley; William Hutchison	Marda Vanne; Joan Henley; Edana Romney	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Regional	1939-05-12 p19	S332.1939Q
1939-10-09		Henry IV parts 1 & 2 (Falstaff Goes To War)	30	D A Clarke-Smith; Ivan Samson; Philip Wade; Harold Scott; Carleton Hobbs; Henry Longhurst; Laidman Brown; Macdonald Parke; Bryan Powley; Norman Shelley	Barbara Couper	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell		1939-09-29 p3 1939-10-06 p5 1939-10-06 p16	S318.1939Q

1939-10-25		Romeo & Juliet	30	Alec Guinness	Nova Pilbeam	Barbara Burnham	Barbara Burnham		1939-10-13 p3 1939-10-20 p21-2 1939-11-10 p5		S345.193 9Q
1939-10-18		A Midsummer Night's Dream	45	Ralph Truman; Norman Shelley; D A Clarke-Smith; Philip Cunningham; Wallace Evennett; Ewart Scott; Philp Wade; Stafford Hilliard; Leslie Perrins; Charles Mason; Ivan Samson	Susan Taylor; Angela Kirk; Audrey Cameron	John Cheatle			1939-10-13 p24		S338.193 9Q
1939-11-05		Henry V (Henry at Agincourt)	50	Leslie Banks		Val Gielgud			1939-10-27 p4 1939-11-03 p7 1939-11-03 p13		S322.193 9Q
1939-10-29		Julius Caesar	45	Henry Ainley		Val Gielgud			1939-10-27 p14		S329.193 9Q
1939-12-02		Othello (Put Out The Light)	30	Henry Ainley; Henry Hallett; Charles Mortimer; Franklyn Bellamy; Alan Wheatley; Francis de Wolff	Hermione Hannen; Martita Hunt	Val Gielgud			1939-11-17 p5 1939-11-24 p7 1939-11-24 p8 1939-11-24 p37	Extract - BBC archive	S341.193 9Q
1939-12-22		Macbeth	60	Godfrey Tearle; Walter Fitzgerald; Franklyn Bellamy; Eliot Makeham; Louis Goodrich; Lloyd Pearson; Charles Mortimer; Ronald Kerr; William Fazan; Charles Lefeaux	Cathleen Nesbitt; Dorothy Tetley	Val Gielgud	C Denis Freeman		1939-12-08 p3 1939-12-15 p1 1939-12-15 p34		S334.193 9Q
1940-02-04		The Tempest (Prospero's Island)	45	Leon Quartermaine; Leslie French; Alec Guinness; Roy Emerton; Francis de Wolff; H	Jill Furse; Cherry Cotterell; Rosamund	Barbara Burnham			1940-02-02 p17		S347.194 Q

				O Nicholson; Ivan Brandt; John Deverell; Frederick Burtwell	Merivale; Lillian Harrison						
1940-04-29		King John	60	Malcolm Keen; Robert Holland; G R Sejelderup; David King-Wood; Franklyn Bellamy; Arthur Evans; Marius Goring; Charles Barrett	Beatrice Wilson; Martita Hunt; Lucille Lisle	Barbara Burnham		Home Service	1940-04-26 p16		S331.194 Q
1940-07-14		Twelfth Night (This is Illyria, Lady)	60	Godfrey Kenton; Andrew Cruikshank; Miles Malleson; Alec Guinness; Marius Goring; Arthur Young	Peggy Ashcroft; Hazel Terry; Olga Edwardes	Barbara Burnham		Home Service	1940-07-12 p1 1940-07-12 p6 1940-07-12 p8-9 1940-08-02 p8		S352.194 Q
1940-10-06		Hamlet	80	John Gielgud; Emlyn Williams	Celia Johnson; Martita Hunt	Barbara Burnham	Barbara Burnham	Home Service	1940-09-27 p2 1940-10-04 p1 1940-10-04 p3 1940-10-04 p5 1940-10-04 p7 1940-10-25 p8		S317.194 Q
1940-12-08		Cleopatra (The Serpent of Old Nile)	75	Harcourt Williams; Norman Claridge; Arthur Young; Cecil Trouncer	Fay Compton	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1940-12-06 p10-1		S312.194 Q
1941-01-26		Merchant of Venice (In Belmont is a Lady)	75	Malcolm Keen	Fay Compton	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1941-01-24 p7		S336.194 1Q
1941-02-16		Taming of the Shrew	75	Godfrey Tearle	Fay Compton	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1941-02-07 p2 1941-02-14 p1 1941-02-14 p4		S346.194 1Q

									1941-02-14 p8		
1941-04-06		Romeo & Juliet	60	Marius Goring	Fay Compton		Hugh Stewart	Home Service	1941-04-04 p9-10		S345.1941Q
1941-06-22		As You Like It (Rosalynde in Arden)	75	Cecil Trouncer; Edgar Norfolk; Leslie French; Eric Portman; Ronald Simpson; Arthur Young; Cyril Gardiner; Jack Livesey; Malcolm Graeme; Ivor Barnard; Bryan Powley; Harold Scott; Carl Bernard	Phyllis Neilson-Terry; Betty Hardy; Thea Holme; Grizelda Hervey	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1941-06-20 p7		
1941-07-13		A Midsummer Night's Dream (Love in Idleness)	45	Ralph Richardson; Peter Glenville; John Carol; Ernest Butcher; Clive Baxter; Franklyn Bellamy; Walter Piers; Michael Gainsborough; David Baxter	Rosamund Greenwood; Pauline de Chalux; Mary Therese; Maureen Glynn; (children as fairies)	Barbara Burnham & John Burrell		Home Service	1941-07-04 p2 1941-07-11 p7 1941-07-11 p9		S338.1941Q
1941-08-10		Henry IV pts 1 & 2 and Henry V (The Immortal Falstaff)	75	Frederick Lloyd; Harcourt Williams; Peter Glenville; John Laurie; Graham Muir; Ernest Jay; Roy Emerton	Muriel George; Nadine March	Barbara Burnham		Home Service	1941-08-08 p7		S318.1941Q
1941-08-24		King Lear	90	John Gielgud; Heron Carvic; James McKechnie; John Laurie; Alec Clunes; Frederick Lloyd; Carleton Hobbs; George Howe	Mary Hinton; Catherine Lacey; Thea Holme	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1941-08-22 p4 1941-08-22 p7		S332.1941Q
1941-12-21		Henry IV parts 1 & 2 (The Fat Knight)	60	Arthur Young		John Cheatle	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1941-12-19 p8		S319.1941Q

1942-03-02		Antony & Cleopatra	150 (60+ 90)	Godfrey Tearle; Malcolm Keen; James McKechnie; Laidman Browne; Heron Carvic; John Chandos; George Howe; Harry Hutchinson; Jack Livesey; W E Holloway; Allan Jeayes; Ivan Samson; Malcolm Graeme; Alexander Sarner; Arthur Clay; Franklyn Bellamy; Anthony Holles; Denys Blakelock	Constance Cummings; Muriel Pratt; Lydia Sherwood; Frances Clair	Val Gielgud	Barbara Burnham	Home Service	1942-02-20 p2 1942-02-27 p1 1942-02-27 p8 1942-03-20 p5		S312.1942Q
1942-04-05		Twelfth Night	85	Alec Guinness; Ralph Richardson; Heron Carvic; Roy Emerton; Miles Malleson; Allan Jeayes; Philip Cunningham; Marius Goring	Peggy Ashcroft; Catherine Lacey; Lucille Lisle	Barbara Burnham	Hugh Stewart	Home Service	1942-03-27 p3 1942-04-03 p6		S352.1947Q
1942-04-19		Henry V	75	Laurence Olivier; James Dale; Robert Marsden; Cecil Trouncer; John Bryning; Frank Henderson; Ralph Truman; Sydney Tafler; Edgar Norfolk; Abraham Sofaer; Cyril Gardiner; Robert Rendel; Ivor Barnard; James Woodburn; William Trent; Alexander Sarner	Sybil Arundale; Alice de Grey; Muriel Pratt; Helene Lara	Howard Rose	Howard Rose	Home Service	1942-04-17 p1 1942-04-17 p6		S322.1942pF
1942-09-28		Julius Caesar	150 (60+ 90)	Ernest Milton; Marius Goring; Valentine Dyall; Eric Portman	Francis Clare (poss Frances Clair); Belle Chrystall	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1942-09-18 p3 1942-09-25 p8		S329.1942Q

1943-02-28		Henry V	50	Esmond Knight; Arthur Young; Laidman Browne	Phyllis Neilson-Terry	Peter Creswell		Home Service	1943-02-26 p1 1943-02-26 p5 1943-02-26 p6-7		S322.1943Q
1943-11-21		Merry Wives of Windsor (Her Majesty Desires, Master Shakespeare...)	75	Frederick Burtwell; Anthony Shaw; Julien Mitchell; Charles Mortimer; Arthur Young; Sydney Tafler; Malcolm Graeme; Ivor Barnard; D English	Doris Waters; Elsie Waters; Gladys Young; Ethel Lodge; Belle Chrystall	Peter Creswell	Peter Creswell	Home Service	1943-11-19 p1 1943-11-19 p6 1943-12-10 p5		S996.21Q
1944-02-27		Macbeth (recording)	90	Leslie Banks; Preston Lockwood; Marcus Barron; David Peel; Basil Jones; Leon Quartermaine; Milton Rosmer; Lewis Stringer; Ralph Truman; Cyril Gardiner; Richard George; John Dodsworth; Edgar Norfolk; Alexander Sarner; Alan Blair; Heron Carvic	Phyllis Neilson-Terry; Jill Nyasa; Doris Lytton; Ann Codrington; Gladys Spencer; Gladys Young	Val Gielgud	Hugh Stewart	Home Service	1944-02-18 p13 1944-02-25 p6 1944-03-10 p5		S334.1944Q
1944-04-23		A Midsummer Night's Dream	150 (60+90)	Robert Helpmann; Max Adrian; Bryan Powley; Milton Rosmer; Alan Blair; Cyril Gardiner; Richard George; Eliot Makeham; Foster Carlin; Frank Cochrane; Preston Lockwood; John Dodsworth; Arthur Ridley	Rita Vale; Belle Chrystall; Anne Firth; Doris Lytton; Jill Nyasa; Shelagh Fraser; Margaret Harmeston; Freda Falconer	Val Gielgud	Cynthia Pughe	Home Service	1944-04-21 p1 1944-04-21 p4 1944-04-21 p6		S338.1944Q

1944-06-30	1946-11-03	Romeo & Juliet (recording)	150 (70+ 80)	David King-Wood; Robert Speaight; Charles Lamb; Norman Shelley; Arthur Young; Philip Cunningham; John Laurie; George Howe; Stanley Lathbury; Leslie Perrins; Lewis Stringer; Felix Irwin; Marius Goring; Morland Graham; David Peel; Alexander Sarner; Preston Lockwood; John Gilpin	Fay Compton; Edith Evans; Sybil Arundale; Mary Barton	Mary Hope Allen	Herbert Farjeon	Home Service (rpt Third Prog)	1944-06-16 p5 1944-06-23 p1 1944-06-23 p16 1944-07-14 p19 1946-11-01 p8	Extract - BBC archive	S345.194 4Q
1944-09-08		As You Like It	150 (60+ 90)	Michael Redgrave; Carleton Hobbs; Felix Irwin; Julian Somers; D A Clarke-Smith; Denys Blakelock; Alan Wheatley; Gerik Schjelderup; Leslie Perrins; Jan van der Gucht; Derek Blomfield; Franklyn Bellamy; Preston Lockwood; John Ruddock; Wilfred Fletcher; Anthony Wallis; Laurence Holmes; Grant Tyler; Roger Braban	Edith Evans; Catherine Lacey; Eileen Beldon; Betty Hardy; Vivienne Bennett	Mary Hope Allen	Herbert Farjeon	Home Service	1944-08-25 p5 1944-09-01 p1 1944-09-01 p16	BBC Archive	S313.43p
1944-12-29		King John (The Life and Death of King John) (recording)	(145) 75+70	Carleton Hobbs; Ralph Richardson; Neal Arden; Julian Somers; Preston Lockwood; Denys Blakelock; Phillip Leaver; Austen Trevor; John Ruddock; Wilfred Fletcher; Roger Snowdon;	Gladys Young; Mary Barton; Pat Hayes (Patricia Hayes); Peggy Bryan	Mary Hope Allen	Herbert Farjeon	Home Service	1944-12-22 p16		S331.194 4Q

				Harcourt Williams; Abraham Sofaer; Norman Shelley; Arthur Ridley; Roy Dean; Alexander Sarner							
1945-02-09		Julius Caesar (recording)	150 (90+ 60)	Godfrey Tearle; Robert Speaight; Alan Wheatley; Carleton Hobbs; Heron Carvic; Deryck Guyler; Julian Somers; James Page; Norman Shelley; John Garside; Wilfred Fletcher; Charles Maunsell; John Gilpin; Edward Byrne; Neal Arden; Roger Snowdon; Cecil Brock; Frank Cochrane; Preston Lockwood; Anthony Wallis; Richard Lyndhurst; Arthur Bush; Ivan Brandt; Stanley Drewitt; Gerik Schjelderup; John Rae; Denis Harkin	Joyce Redman; Lydia Sherwood	Mary Hope Allen	Herbert Farjeon	Home Service	1945-02-02 p4 1945-02-02 p16		S329.194 5Q
1945-05-25		The Tempest (recording)	130 (60+ 70)	Leon Quartermaine; Peter Cozens; Carleton Hobbs; Max Adrian; O B Clarence; Arthur Bush; Norman Shelley; Hubert Gregg; Grenville Eaves; Robin Anderson; Denys Blakelock; Frederick Lloyd	Joyce Redman; Cherry Cottrell; Cathleen Nesbitt; Lydia Sherwood; Jean Anderson	Mary Hope Allen	Herbert Farjeon (deceased)	Home Service	1945-05-18 p20		S347.194 5Q

Date		Title	Duration	Cast	Cast	Producer		Service	References		Cat.
1945-05-31 1945-06-07 1945-06-14 1945-06-21 1945-06-28 1945-07-05 1945-07-12 1945-07-19		Henry IV parts 1 & 2 (eight parts)	360 (8x45)	Laurence Olivier; Ralph Richardson; Nicholas Hannen; Mark Dignam; Michael Warre; Sydney Tafler; Harcourt Williams; John Rae; James McKechnie; Weyman Mackay; Michael Raghan; David Kentish; Humphrey Heathcote; Charles Leno; Esmond Knight; Robin Lloyd; Michael Hitchman; George Rose;	Margaret Leighton; Sybil Thorndike; Diana Maddox; Joyce Redman	John Burrell	Robert Gittings	Home Service	1945-05-04 p1 1945-05-04 p5 1945-05-04 p14 1945-05-25 p14 1945-06-01 p14 1945-06-08 p14 1945-06-15 p14 1945-06-22 p14 1945-06-29 p14 1945-07-06 p14 1945-07-13 p14		S318.1945Q
1945-08-26		The Tempest (scenes from)	45	(Northern Children's Hour)		Nan Macdonald		North of England	1945-08-24 p20		S352.1945Q
1945-12-28		A Midsummer Night's Dream	135 (60+75)	Leslie Perrins; J Leslie Frith; Julian Dallas; Preston Lockwood; Donald Layne-Smith; George Woodbridge; Philip Morant; Arthur Ridley; Charles Leno; Basil Jones; Leslie French; David King-Wood; Lionel Millard	Peggy Ashcroft; Joan Carol; Dorothy Gordon; Cherry Cottrell; Beryl Calder; Ann Cullen	Howard Rose	Cynthia Pughe	Home Service	1945-12-14 p5 1945-12-21 p20		S338.1945Q
1946-04-08		Hamlet	160 (100+60)	Barry Morse; James Dale; John Ruddock; Roderick Lovell; Laurence Payne; John Chandos; Olaf Pooley; Richard West; Frank Drew; Andrew Faulds; Meadows White; Andrew Cruickshank; Philip Morant; Jay Laurier;	Sheila Burrell; Lydia Sherwood; Sara Jackson	Howard Rose		Home Service	1946-04-05 p3 1946-04-05 p4 1946-04-05 p5 1946-04-05 p8 1946-04-26 p4		S317.1946Q

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				George Skillan; Stephen Murray							
1946-11-26	1946-11-27 1946-12-22	Troilus & Cressida	150 (75+75)	Andrew Faulds; Laurence Payne; Max Adrian; Reyner Barton; Charles Marford; Abraham Sofaer; Bryan Powley; Stephen Murray; Peter Creswell; Francis de Wolff; Dennis Arundell; Howard Marion-Crawford; Cyril Gardiner; Ralph de Rohan; Valentine Dyall; Lionel Stevens; Leonard Sachs; Bryan Spielman; Andrew Churchman; Stanley van Beers; David Spenser; Stanley Groome; Frank Partington	Belle Chrystall; Beryl Calder; Grizelda Hervey; Elsa Palmer	Peter Watts		Third Prog	1946-11-22 p3 1946-11-22 p16 1946-11-22 p20 1946-12-06 p13 1946-12-20 p10		S351.1946Q
1946-12-16		Love's Labour's Lost	90	Robert Marsden; Paul Scofield; Donald Eccles; Glenville Eves; Julian Somers; Charles Leno; Ernest Milton; Bertram Heyhoe; Raf de la Torre; Eric Lugg; Peter Hoar; David Spenser	Thea Holme; Pauline Letts; Barbara McFadyean; Olive Gregg; Vera Draffin	Noel Hiff	Simona Pakenham	Home Service	1946-12-13 p10		S333.1946Q
1947-03-10	1947-03-18	Twelfth Night	130 (80+50)	Allan McClelland; John Warrington; Richard Hurndall; Hugh Moxey; Ernest Brightmore; Howard Marion-Crawford; Donald Layne-	Peggy Ashcroft; Thea Holme; Betty Hardy	Howard Rose		Home Service (rpt Third Prog)	1947-03-07 p1 1947-03-07 p10 1947-03-07 p13 1947-03-14 p16	BBC Archive	S352.1947Q

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				Smith; James Dale; Philip Dale; Leslie French; Michael Godfrey; Anthony Hulme							
1947-04-23	1947-04-25 1947-05-11	Richard II	150 (90+60)	Alec Guinness; Ralph Richardson; Harry Andrews; Peter Copley; George Relph; Nicholas Hannen; Cecil Winter; Michael Warre; Michael Raghan; George Rose; John Garley; David Kentish; Ewan Roberts; Jordan Lawrence; Aubrey Richards; John Arnold; John Biggerstaff; William Squire; Frank Duncan; James Lytton; Denis McCarthy; Peter Varley; Kenneth Edwards; Gilbert Robinson; Walter Outhwaite (Old Vic company)	Rosalind Atkinson; Margaret Leighton; Janet Joye; Norma Shebbeare; Barbara Trent; Charlotte Bidmead	John Burrell		Third Prog	1947-03-14 p9 1947-04-18 p7 1947-04-18 p15 1947-04-18 p19 1947-05-09 p4 1947-05-23 p16		
1947-09-03		King John	75	Carleton Hobbs; Howard Marion-Crawford; Harold Reese; Brian Parker; John Clifford; Bruce Belfrage; Norman Shelley; Alastair Bannerman; Peter Creswell; Roy Dean; Abraham Sofaer; John Bentley; Charles Lamb; Horace Sequeira; John Baker	Olivia Burleigh; Dorothy Green; Molly Rankin	Mary Hope Allen		Third Prog	1947-08-29 p4 1947-08-29 p16		S331.1947Q

1947-10-06	1947-10-14	Macbeth	135 (60+75)	Howard Marion-Crawford; Arthur Young; Andrew Faulds; Roy Dean; Leslie Perrins; Cyril Conway; Alwyne Whatsley; Norman Claridge; Preston Lockwood; Robert Marsden; George Hagan; John Farrow; Tarver Penna; David Stringer; Clifford Buckton; Arthur Ridley; Ernest Jay; Frank Foster; Stanley Lathbury; George Skillan	Pamela Brown; Jill Nyasa; Jessica Spencer; Pauline Wynn; Winifred Oughton; Buena Bent; Beatrice Kane	John Richmond		Home Service (rpt Third Prog)	1947-10-03 p1 1947-10-03 p10 1947-10-03 p16 1947-10-10 p12		S334.1947Q
1947-10-05	1947-10-27 1952-10-17	Richard II	150 (inc. interlude)	David King-Wood; Baliol Holloway; Lewis Casson; Leon Quartermaine; David Tree; Hugh Manning; Richard Scott; Richard Williams; Lionel Stevens; Charles Lefeaux; John Barron; Laidman Browne; Peter Mullins; Philip Knox; Felix Irwin; Peter Creswell; Arthur Keane; Roger Delgado; Leonard Sachs; Basil Jones; Harry Cooper; Duncan Carse	Rachel Gurney; Claire Bloom; Susan Richards	Val Gielgud	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1947-09-26 p7 1947-10-03 p1 1947-10-03 p4 1947-10-03 p8 1947-10-03 p16 1947-10-24 p8 1952-10-10 p3 1952-10-10 p39		S343.1947Q

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1947-10-06	1947-11-05 1949-06-25 1952-10-21	Henry IV part 1	155 (inc. inter-lude) (1949 listing 70+80)	Leon Quartermaine; Sebastian Shaw; John Alexander; Peter Creswell; Tom Clarkson; Stanley van Beers; Laidman Browne; Francis de Wolff; David Read; Duncan McIntyre; Lyn Harding; Godfrey Tudor; Frederick Lloyd; Hugh Falkus; Ivan Staff; Anthony Oliver; David Duncan; Duncan Carse; John Barnard; Williams Lloyd; William Hutchison; Harry Hearne; Martin Lewis; Ian Main; Eddy Reed; Alexander Sarner	Nicolette Bernard; Ceinwen Rowlands; Vivienne Chatterton	Peter Watts	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1947-09-26 p7 1947-10-03 p1 1947-10-03 p4 1947-10-03 p12 1947-10-03 p16 1947-10-31 p16 1949-06-17 p6 1949-06-17 p25 1952-10-10 p3 1952-10-17 p27		S319.194 7Q
1947-10-07	1947-11-07 1949-07-02 1952-10-24	Henry IV part 2	150 (inc. inter-lude)	Leon Quartermaine; Sebastian Shaw; Peter Mullins; John Alexander; John Wyndham; Raf de la Torre; Peter Creswell; Laidman Browne; Alexander Sarner; Henry Hallatt; Anthony Oliver; Godfrey Tudor; William Trent; Frederick Lloyd; G Blunt; David Duncan; Hugh Falkus; George Hayes; Andrew Leigh; Horace Sequeira; Alexander Archdale; Stephen Jack; James Tilling; Arnold Ridley; Wilfred	Grace Allardyce; Nicolette Bernard; Vivienne Chatterton	Peter Watts	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1947-09-26 p7 1947-10-03 p1 1947-10-03 p4 1947-10-03 p16 1947-10-31 p24 1949-06-24 p25 1952-10-10 p3 1952-10-17 p39		S321.194 7Q

				Fletcher; Bryan Powley; Eric Lugg; Ronald Sidney; Duncan Carse							
1947-10-08	1947-11-17 1952-10-28	Henry V	145 (inc. inter-lude)	Sebastian Shaw; John Wyndham; Howieson Culff; Donald Gray; Charles Mortimer; Eric Maxon; Felix Deebank; Roddy Hughes; Harry Hutchinson; Anthony Dawson; George Manship; Anthony Oliver; Stanley Groome; George Hayes; David Duncan; David Stringer; Charles Lefeaux; Nugent Marshall; W E Holloway; Raf de la Torre; Geoffrey Steele; Leonard Sachs; Roderick Lovell; Duncan Carse; George Owen; Andrew Faulds; Ronald Sidney	Vivienne Chatterton; Olive Gregg; Gladys Spencer	Howard Rose	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1947-09-26 p7 1947-10-03 p1 1947-10-03 p4 1947-10-03 p16 1947-10-03 p20 1947-10-17 p16 1947-10-31 p9 1947-11-14 p8 1952-10-10 p3 1952-10-24 p27		S322.1947Q
1947-10-09	1947-12-03	Henry VI parts 1, 2 & 3	150 (inc. inter-lude)	John Byron; Baliol Holloway; Arthur Young; Andre Morell; Charles Lefeaux; Richard Williams; Cyril Gardiner; Harold Scott; Kenneth McClellan; Anthony Jacobs; Frederick Bennett; Donald Gray; Howard Marion-Crawford; John Witty; Francis de Wolff; David King-Wood;	Gladys Young; Ella Milne; Marjorie Westbury; Elizabeth Kentish	Felix Felton	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1947-09-26 p7 1947-10-03 p1 1947-10-03 p4 1947-10-03 p16 1947-10-03 p24 1947-11-28 p16		S323.1947Q

				Stephen Murray; Desmond Deane; Martin Lewis; Duncan Carse							
1947-10-10	1947-12-23	Richard III	150 (inc. inter- lude)	Stephen Murray; Richard Williams; Francis de Wolff; David King-Wood; Cyril Gardiner; Hugh Manning; Lawrence Baskcomb; Roderick Lovell; Raf de la Torre; Donald Gray; David Tree; Arthur Keane; Philip Knox; Michael Ashwin; Charles Lefeaux; Maurice Nicholas; Brendan Clegg; John Byron; Duncan Carse; William Trent; Alexander Sarner; Basil Jones; Andrew Churchman	Gladys Young; Dorothy Primrose; Mabel Terry Lewis; Elizabeth Kentish; Claire Bloom; Marjorie Westbury	Val Gielgud	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1947-09-26 p7 1947-10-03 p1 1947-10-03 p4 1947-10-03 p16 1947-10-03 p28 1947-12-19 p16		S344.194 7Q
1948-01-12	1948-01-14	Measure for Measure	90	Leon Quartermaine; Dennis Arundell; Hubert Leslie; Godfrey Kenton; John Laurie; Ernest Sefton; Harold Scott; Basil Jones; Andrew Churchman; Richard Williams; Julian Summers; Raf de la Torre; Ronald Sidney; Cyril Gardiner	Rachel Gurney; Betty Baskcomb; Susan Richards; Sybil Arundale; Diana Poulton; Marjorie Avis	Wilfrid Grantham	M R Ridley	Home Service (rpt Third Prog)	1948-01-09 p1 1948-01-09 p6 1948-01-09 p10 1948-01-09 p15		S335.194 8Q

1948-02-24	1948-02-26	Sir Thomas More	60	Lewis Casson; Eric Lugg; Andrew Churchman; Ernest Sefton; Charles Mortimer; Frank Atkinson; Cyril Gardiner; Charles Lefeaux; Arthur Ridley; Richard Baldwyn; Antony Hooper; Theodore Bickel; Lempriere Hammond; Charles Mortimer; Brewster Mason; Nigel Green	Ella Milne	Felix Felton	John Bryson	Third Prog	1948-02-20 p4 1948-02-20 p13 1948-02-20 p17		S376.1948Q
1948-04-18	1948-04-20	Coriolanus	150 (90+ 60)	Bruce Belfrage; Stanley Groome; Nicholas Hannen; Baliol Holloway; John Ruddock; George Skillan; Clifford Evans; George Owen; Lewis Casson	Sybil Thorndike; Vivienne Bennett; Kathleen; Boutall; Denise Bryer	Sir Lewis Casson	Sir Lewis Casson	Third Prog	1948-04-16 p6 1948-04-16 p9 1948-04-16 p13		S315.1948Q
1948-07-19	1948-09-03	Antony & Cleopatra	150 (60+ 90)	Clifford Evans; Alan Wheatley; Brian Oulton; Francis de Wolff; Bernard Miles; Alistair Duncan; Howieson Culff; Hugh Manning; Deryck Guyler; Malcolm Graeme; Humphrey Morton; Frederick Bradshaw; W E Holloway; John Probert; Heron Carvic; Harry Hutchinson; Duncan Carse; Patrick Cargill; James Carney; Harry Towb; William	Fay Compton; Joan Hart; Rachel Gurney; Catherine Campbell	Val Gielgud	M R Ridley	Home Service (rpt Third Prog)	1948-07-09 p4 1948-07-16 p6 1948-07-16 p10 1948-08-27 p19		S312.1948Q

				Douglas; Maxwell Foster; Basil Dignam; Edward Forsyth							
1948-10-30		Othello	75	Godfrey Tearle, Anthony Quayle, Paul Scofield (Stratford Memorial Theatre Company)	Diana Wynyard; Ena Burrill			Midlands	1948-10-22 p23		S341.1948Q
1948-12-20		The Tempest	105	John Gielgud; Philip Guard; William Devlin; Malcolm Hayes; Martin Lewis; Allan McClelland; Leslie Perrins; William Trent; Charles Leno; Francis de Wolff	Renee Asherson; Joan Hart; Olive Gregg; Lydia Sherwood	E A Harding	E A Harding	Home Service	1948-12-17 p9 1948-12-17 p14		S347.1948Q
1948-12-26	1948-12-31 1949-06-28 1951-07-15 1951-07-18 1959-04-19 1975-03-23 1975-10-12 1989-04-14	Hamlet	205 (50+ 90+ 65)	John Gielgud; Richard Williams; Stanley Groome; Sebastian Shaw; Anthony Jacobs; Andrew Cruickshank; Hugh Manning; Hugh Burden; Baliol Holloway; Leon Quartermaine; Frank Atkinson; Bryan Coleman; John Chandos; Hugh Griffith; Andrew Faulds; Denis McCarthy; Charles Leno; Preston Lockwood; Arthur Ridley; Alastair Duncan; Victor Lucas; Duncan Carse	Celia Johnson; Marian Spencer; Denise Bryer; Esme Percy	John Richmond		Third Prog	1948-12-24 p6 1948-12-24 p14 1948-12-24 p27 1949-06-24 p1 1949-06-24 p6 1949-06-24 p7 1949-06-24 p11 1949-06-24 p15 1951-07-13 p1 1951-07-13 p3 1951-07-13 p8 1951-07-13 p13 1951-07-13 p17 1951-07-13 p21 1951-07-13 p25 1959-04-17 p7 1959-04-17 p29	BBC Archive (full audio); https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3B6A40?bcast=119314177 (narration missing)	S317.1948Q (3 vols)

									1975-03-20 p3 1975-03-20 p12 1975-03-20 p15 1975-03-20 p17 1975-03-27 p74 1989-04-06 p58		
1949-02-15	1949-02-18	Romeo & Juliet	175 (85+ 90)	Robert Eddison; Marius Goring; Laidman Browne; Geoffrey Keen; Charles Lefeaux; Frederick Lloyd; Richard Wordsworth; Anthony Jacobs; Kynaston Reeves; Frank Foster; Andrew Faulds; Ernest Sefton; Charles Leno; Eric Lugg; Bryan Powley; David Enders; Alan Reid; Martin; Lewis; Donald Gray; Basil Jones; Ronald Sidney; Duncan Carse; Wyndham Goldie	Celia Johnson; Edith Evans; Agnes Lauchlan; Joan Clement Scott	Hugh Stewart (Duels arranged by Charles Alexis)	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1949-02-11 p6 1949-02-11 p13 1949-02-11 p19		S345.194 9Q
1949-02-28	1949-03-28 1951-08-31	King Lear (Welsh - Y Brenin Llyr)	90					Wales	1949-02-25 p31 1949-03-25 p1 1949-03-25 p31 1951-08-31 p24	Extract - BBC archive	

1949-03-06	1949-03-08 1949-07-12	Macbeth	135 (55+ 80)	Stephen Murray; Duncan Carse; Anthony Jacobs; Peter Assinder; Stephen Jack; Allan Jeayes; Leon Quartermaine; Malcolm Hayes; Jack Shaw; Deryck Guyler; Frank Cochrane; Charles Lefeaux; Alastair Duncan; Duncan McIntyre; Basil Jones; David Enders; Hugh Manning; Neville Hartley; Ronald Sidney; David Stringer; Andrew Churchman; Andrew Faulds; Charles Mortimer; Stephen Joseph; Donald Gray	Flora Robson; Margaret Halstan; Gladys Spencer; Betty Hardy; Susan Richards; Patricia Hayes; Julia Lang; Denise Bryer	Wilfrid Grantham	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1949-02-18 p24 1949-02-18 p26 1949-02-18 p27 1949-03-04 p1 1949-03-04 p6 1949-03-04 p7 1949-03-04 p11 1949-03-04 p15 1949-03-18 p8 1949-07-08 p13	BBC Archive	S334.1949Q
1949-03-27	1949-04-01 1949-09-11	Othello	185 (105+ 80)	Jack Hawkins; John Clements; James Woodburn; Frederick Lloyd; John Probert; James Carney; Geoffrey Keen; Heron Carvic; Edward Forsyth; Charles Leno; Hugh Manning; Bryan Powley; Arthur Ridley; Duncan Carse; Basil Jones; Cyril Gardiner; Ronald Sidney	Margaret Leighton; Fay Compton; Jane Cotton	Val Gielgud	M R Ridley	Third Prog	1949-03-04 p4 1949-03-25 p1 1949-03-25 p9 1949-03-25 p15 1949-03-25 p25 1949-09-09 p15		S341.1949Q
1949-04-23	1949-04-25	Henry V	90	Richard Burton; Carleton Hobbs; David Enders; Andrew Faulds; Duncan Carse; Geoffrey Wincott; Dudley Jones; Stanley Groome; Hugh Manning; Ernest Thesiger;	Susan Richards; Catherine Campbell; Gladys Spencer	Frank Hauser	Frank Hauser	Home Service (rpt Light Prog)	1949-04-15 p5 1949-04-15 p24 1949-04-22 p13		S322.1949Q Also at V&A: https://archiveshub.

				Alan Wheatley; Abraham Sofaer; Raf de la Torre; Howieson Culff; William Devlin; Laidman Browne; Michael Flanders							jisc.ac.uk/ data/gb71 - thm/120/t hm/120/3 /12
1949-04-26	1949-04-29 1978-10-26	King Lear	200 (120+ 80)	Donald Wolfit; Robert Eddison; Harry Andrews; Ralph Truman; John Ruddock; Roderick Lovell; Philip Morant; Denis McCarthy; Arnold Diamond; Adrian Thomas; Douglas Jefferies; Richard West; John Boxer; Andrew Cruickshank; Ian Cooper; Lance George; Duncan Carse	Sonia Dresdel; Rosalind Iden; Barbara Couper	Howard Rose	M R Ridley	Third Prog (2nd rpt on Radio 3)	1949-04-22 p6 1949-04-22 p15 1949-04-22 p21 1949-05-13 p7 1978-10-19 p78	BBC Archive	S332.194 9Q
1949-06-27		Merchant of Venice	85	Laidman Browne; Frederick Allen; Ralph Truman; Andrew Faulds; James McKechnie; Michael Hordern; Bryan Powley; Raf de la Torre; Heron Carvic; David Kossoff	Lydia Sherwood; Beryl Calder; Elaine Montgomerie; Diana Maddox	Raymond Raikes		Home Service	1949-06-24 p1 1949-06-24 p6 1949-06-24 p12		S336.194 9Q
1949-07-20		Much Ado About Nothing	105 (60+ 45)					Midlands	1949-07-15 p26		S339.194 9Q

1949-12-19		Winter's Tale	105	Hugh Griffith; Andrew Cruickshank; John Cavanah; Ivan Brandt; Richard Hurndall; Hamilton Dyce; John Richmond; Alec Ross; Lawrence Baskcomb; Alastair Duncan; Martin Boddey; Ronald Sidney; Donald Gray; Arthur Lawrence	Phyllis Neilson-Terry; Margaret Rawlings; Vivien Dillon; Ella Milne; Marjorie Westbury; Daphne Oxenford	Hugh Stewart	Barbara Burnham	Home Service	1949-12-16 p13 1949-12-16 p22		S354.1949Q
1949-12-29	1949-12-31	The Tempest	120 (70+50)	James McKechnie; Franklyn Dyall; Lewis Stringer; Anthony Jacobs; Carleton Hobbs; Howieson Culff; Harry Hutchinson; John Slater; Allan McClelland; Tony Quinn; David Kossoff; Charles Scott-Paton	Gabrielle Blunt; Louise Hutton; Molly Rankin	E A Harding & Dennis Arundell	Dennis Arundell	Third Prog	1949-12-23 p15 1949-12-23 p35 1949-12-23 p43		S347.1949Q
1950-01-01		As You Like It	90	Malcolm Hayes; David Peel; Ralph de Rohan; David Duncan; Baliol Holloway; Hugh Falkus; Mayne Linton; Allan Jeayes; Patrick Waddington; Leon Quartermaine; Eric Lugg; Basil Jones; Geoffrey Lewis; David Enders; William Trent; Stanley Groome	Molly Rankin; Margaret Vines; Margaret Diamond; Audrey Cameron; Marjorie Westbury	Peter Watts	Mollie Greenhalgh	Home Service	1949-12-30 p6 1949-12-30 p8 1949-12-30 p12 1950-01-20 p14		S313.195Q
1950-04-23		Measure for Measure	105	John Gielgud; Leon Quartermaine; Harry Andrews; Robert Hardy;	Barbara Jefford; Rosalind Atkinson; Romany Evens;	Wilfrid Grantham (stage:	E A Harding	Home Service	1950-01-06 p7 1950-03-31 p12 1950-04-21 p1	BBC Archive	S335.195Q

				Harold Kasket; George Rose; Alan Badel; Michael Gwynn; Cyril Conway; Michael Bates; Geoffrey Bayldon; Peter Norris; Timothy Bateson; Nigel Green (Stratford Memorial co)	Hazel Penwarden; Mairhi Russell; Maxine Audley	Peter Brook)			1950-04-21 p8 1950-04-21 p14 1950-05-05 p51		
1950-06-04		Macbeth (childrens)	50			Frederick Bradnum	Frederick Bradnum	North	1950-06-02 p10		
1950-06-19		A Midsummer Night's Dream	120 (60+ 60)	Brewster Mason; William Trent; David Enders; Malcolm Hayes; Arthur Ridley; John Garside; Howard Marion-Crawford; Stephen Jack; Bryan Powley; Geoffrey Lewis; Frank Atkinson; Leslie French; Frederick Allen	Molly Rankin; Jeanette Tregarthen; Betty Baskcomb; Iris Roberts; Joan Hart; Diana Kimpton; Denise Bryer; Margaret Vines	Peter Watts		Home Service	1950-06-16 p1 1950-06-16 p4 1950-06-16 p14 1950-07-14 p13		S338.195 Q
1950-09-13	1950-09-16 1950-10-01	Antony & Cleopatra	150 (+10 min inter- val)	Godfrey Tearle; Howard Marion-Crawford; William Squire; Robert Rietty; Derek Birch; Hugh Manning; Frank Duncan; Franklyn Bellamy; Laidman Browne; Russell Napier; Allan Cuthbertson; James Condon; Richard Williams; James Kenney; Ewan Roberts; Dudley Jones; John Turnbull; Bruce Belfrage; Harold Young; Alastair Duncan; Oliver Burt	Pamela Brown; Peggy Bryan; Denise Bryer; Brenda Dunrich	Frank Hauser	Frank Hauser	Third Prog	The Times: 1950-09-13 p2 (no original Radio Times listing due to strike) Radio Times: 1950-09-15 p5 1950-09-29 p6 1950-09-29 p17	BBC Archive	S312.194 Q

1950-10-22	1950-10-25 1950-11-14	Coriolanus	145 (95+ 50)	Sebastian Shaw; John Laurie; Valentine Dyall; Baliol Holloway; Robert Farquharson; Harold Scott; Peter Jones; Eric Anderson; Ian Catford; Alastair Duncan; Frank Duncan; Michael Godfrey; Stanley Groome; Richard Hurndall; Harry Hutchinson; Anthony Jacobs; David Kossoff; Eric Lugg; Duncan McIntyre; Bryan Powley; Michael Ripper; Robert Urquhart	Mary O'Farrell; Nicolette Bernard; Grizelda Hervey; Denise Bryer; Joan Matheson; Gladys Spencer; Margaret Vines	Donald McWhinnie & Frank Hauser	Frank Hauser	Third Prog	The Times 1950-10-21 p9 1950-10-25 p7 (no original Radio Times listing due to strike) Radio Times: 1950-09-29 p13 1950-11-10 p23		S315.195 Q
1951-01-14	1951-01-17 1951-02-09	Henry VIII	125 (+10 min inter- val)	Bruce Belfrage; David Lloyd James; Derek Birch; Laidman Browne; Harold Pinter; Geoffrey Wincott; John Ruddock; Carleton Hobbs; Anthony Viccars; Richard Williams; Alastair Duncan; Michel Bazalgette; Denis McCarthy; Felix Felton; Richard Hurndall; Anthony Jacobs; Richard Ainley; Peter Bathurst; George Bishop; Oliver Burt; Malcolm Graeme; John Glyn Jones; John Sharp; Claude Bonser; John Schlesinger; Michael Godley; Joe Stern; Michael Flanders;	Catherine Lacey; Diana Maddox; Nan Marriott-Watson; Joyce Millward; Betty Linton; Mary Morrell	R D Smith	R D Smith	Third Prog	1951-01-12 p9 1951-01-12 p17 1951-01-12 p29 1951-02-02 p41		S328.195 1Q

				Basil Gray; John Richmond; David Duncan							
1951-04-23	1951-04-29	Richard II	135 (60+ 75)	Michael Redgrave; Harry Andrews; Hugh Griffith; William Fox; Jack Gwillim; Basil Hoskins; Leo Ciceri; Ronald Hines; Michael Meacham; Richard Wordsworth; Peter Jackson; Michael Gwynn; Alexander Gauge; Philip Morant; Michael Bates; Geoffrey Bayldon; Robert Hardy; Brendon Barry; Peter Norris; Duncan Lamont; Peter Williams; Godfrey Bond; Edward Atienza; William Squire; Peter Halliday; John Gay; Reginald Marsh (Shakespeare Memorial)	Heather Stannard; Marjorie Steel; Rachel Roberts; Hazel Penwarden; Joan Macarthur	Peter Watts (stage: Anthony Quayle)	Peter Watts	Home Service	1951-04-06 p6 1951-04-20 p3 1951-04-20 p 1951-04-20 p18 1951-04-27 p14		
1951-05-07	1951-05-27	Macbeth	90	Donald Wolfit; Anthony Jacobs; Richard Williams; Stephen Jack; Laidman Browne; David Peel; Martin Benson; Ian Sadler; Michael Hordern; Antony Kearey; Douglas Leach; Alex McCrindle; Eric Anderson; J Hubert Leslie; Archie Duncan; John Rae; Richard Hurndall	Catherine Lacey; Denise Bryer; Jean Cadell	Raymond Raikes		Home Service	1951-05-04 p5 1951-05-04 p16 1951-05-25 p10 1951-05-25 p35		

1951-06-20	1951-06-23 1952-03-28	Measure for Measure	120	Stephen Murray; Laidman Browne; John Turnbull; Anthony Jacobs; Dennis Arundell; Patrick Troughton; Lawrence Baskcomb; Frank Atkinson; Frank Duncan; Norman Shelley; Malcolm Hayes; Richard Williams	Claire Bloom; Joan Matheson; Sarah Leigh; Susan Richards; Nan Marriott-Watson	E A Harding	E A Harding	Third Prog	1951-06-15 p25 1951-06-15 p37 1951-07-06 p35 1951-12-28 p7 1952-03-21 p 1952-03-21 p3 1952-03-21 p35		S335.195 1Q
1951-07-27		Henry V	120 (60+ 60)	Alec Clunes; Roger Livesey (with the Old Vic Company)				North	1951-07-20 p32		
1951-09-30	1951-10-02 1951-12-23	Cymbeline	120 (+10 mins inter- val)	Robert Harris; Edmund Willard; Anthony Jacobs; Norman Shelley; Neville Hartley; Gabriel Woolf; Frank Duncan; Erik Chitty; Harry Hutchinson; Charles Leno; John Turnbull; Basil Dignam; John Moffatt; Roger Delgado; Noel Iliff; Bryan Powley; Philip Levene; David Garth; Hamilton Dyce	Fay Compton; Catherine Lacey; Elizabeth McKeowen; Gabrielle Blunt	Wilfrid Grantham	E A Harding	Third Prog	1951-09-28 p11 1951-09-28 p21 1951-09-28 p29 1951-09-28 p41 1951-12-21 p3 1951-12-21 p21		S316.195 1Q
1951-11-04	1951-11-07 1951-12-28	The Tempest	120	Norman Shelley; Laidman Browne; Malcolm Hayes; Richard Williams; John Glen; Carleton Hobbs; John Slater; Ivor Barnard; Wensley Pithey; Stanley Groome; Richard George; Noel Iliff; Martin Lewis; Eric Lugg; David Peel	Louise Hutton; Deller-Bryer; Sarah Leigh; Marjorie Westbury; Lesley Wood	Raymond Raikes		Third Prog	1951-11-02 p8 1951-11-02 p21 1951-11-02 p33 1951-12-21 p3 1951-12-21 p41		S347.195 1Q

1951-11-14	1951-12-26	King Lear	150 (75+ 75)	John Gielgud; Deryck Guyler; Ernest Thesiger; Patrick Troughton; Alan Judd; Godfrey Kenton; Robert Harris; John Moffatt; Stanley van Beers; John Carol; Brewster Mason; Paul Hardwick; Alan MacNaughtan; Frank Atkinson; William Hutchinson; Eric Lugg; Hugh Moxey; Ralph de Rohan	Catherine Lacey; Frances Rowe; Joan Hart	Peter Watts		Home Service	1951-10-05 p13 1951-11-09 p5-6 1951-11-09 p32 1951-12-21 p3 1951-12-21 p33	BBC Archive	S332.195 1Q
1951-11-25	1951-11-27	Winter's Tale	150 (+ 2x5 mins inter- vals)	Stephen Murray; Sebastian Shaw; Malcolm Hayes; Cecil Trouncer; David Peel; Antony Kearey; Gabriel Woolf; Frank Duncan; John Garside; Neville Hartley; Charles Leno; Stanley Groome; Bryan Powley; John Turnbull	Fay Compton; Elspeth March; Gabrielle Blunt; Susan Richards; Marjorie Westbury; Betty Baskcomb; Denise Bryer; Rosamund Greenwood; Joan Hart	E A Harding	E A Harding	Third Prog	1951-11-23 p1 1951-11-23 p21 1951-11-23 p29 1951-12-21 p3		S354.195 1Q
1952-01-27	1952-01-29 1952-03-23	Troilus & Cressida	150 (+10 mins inter- val)	Lawrence Baskcomb; Valentine Dyall; Marius Goring; Frank Duncan; Stanley Groome; Antony Kearey; Howieson Culff; Esme Percy; Harry Hutchinson; John Schlesinger; Baliol Holloway; Reginald	Belle Chrystall; Joan Hart; Margaret Ward; Grizelda Hervey; Gabrielle Blunt	E A Harding	E A Harding	Third Programm e	1951-12-28 p7 1952-01-25 p19 1952-01-25 p27 1952-02-15 p13 1952-03-21 p1 1952-03-21 p3 1952-03-21 p15		S351.195 2Q

				Hearne; John Wyse; Stephen Jack; Robert Harris; Laurence Hardy; Derek Hart; Willoughby Goddard; Geoffrey Wincott							
1952-02-27			The Tempest	120 (60+60)	Leon Quartermaine; Peter Ustinov; Arthur Young; Anthony Jacobs; James Dale; Richard Bebb; Cecil Trouncer; Leo McKern; George Rose; Duncan McIntyre; Allan Jeayes; Frank Foster; Nicholas Parsons; Harry Hutchinson; Derek Hart; Aubrey Richards	Marjorie Westbury; Virginia McKenna; Anne Cullen; Margaret Field-Hyde	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Home Service	1951-12-28 p7 1952-02-22 p1 1952-02-22 p3 1952-02-22 p30		S347.1952Q
1952-03-02	1952-03-04 1952-03-26		All's Well That Ends Well	150 (+15 mins interval)	Lewis Casson; David Peel; Laidman Browne; Max Adrian; Antony Kearey; Arthur Lawrence; Robert Eddison; Richard Ainley; John Horsley; Richard Hurndall; Hamilton Dyce; Stanley Groome	Barbara Jefford; Gladys Young; Beatrice Bevan; Yvonne Owen; Susan Richards	Barbara Burnham	Barbara Burnham	Third Prog	1951-12-28 p7 1952-02-29 p6 1952-02-29 p19 1952-02-29 p27 1952-03-21 p1 1952-03-21 p3 1952-03-21 p27		S311.1952Q
1952-07-23			Twelfth Night	150 (60+90)	Leo McKern; William Fox; Roger Delgado; Norman Shelley; Heron Carvic; John Glen; Norman Mitchell; David Enders; John Garside; Garard Green; Derek Hart; Arthur Lawrence; Kenneth Williams	Joan Hart; Marjorie Westbury; Denise Bryer; Rosamund Greenwood; Virginia Winter	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Home Service	1952-07-18 p4 1952-07-18 p22		S352.2952Q

1952-09-14	1952-09-16 1953-08-05 1957-02-03 1957-02-05 1962-01-29	Arden of Faversham	95	Hugh Burden; James Dale; Godfrey Kenton; John Cazabon; Derek Hart; Noel Iliff; John Glen; Garard Green; Howard Marion-Crawford; Norman Shelley; Hamilton Dyce; Frank Tickle; John Turnbull	Marjorie Mars; Audrey Mendes	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Third Prog (1962 rpt on Home)	1952-09-12 p6 1952-09-12 p15 1952-09-12 p23 1953-07-31 p27 1957-02-01 p4 1957-02-01 p11 1957-02-01 p25 1962-01-25 p24		
1952-11-02	1952-12-16	Henry VI part 2	120	Valentine Dyall; Richard Hurndall; Leonard Sachs; Gordon McLeod; Howieson Culff; John Garside; Dennis Arundell; Stephen Jack; Ernest Clark; Hugh Falkus; Antony Kearey; Horace Sequeira; Bill Fraser; Charles Leno; Andrew Leigh; Hugh Manning; Geoffrey Bayldon; Bryan Powley; Malcolm Hayes; Eric Lugg; John Glen; Donald Wolfit; Geofffrey Bond; Franklyn Bellamy; Garard Green; Derek Hart; Michael O'Halloran; Ronald Sidney; Frank Tickle	Sonia Dresdel; Ella Milne; Rosamund Greenwood; Nancy Nevinson; Elizabeth London; Mary Williams	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Third Prog	1952-09-26 p9 1952-10-10 p3 1952-10-24 p7 1952-10-24 p39 1952-12-12 p19 1952-10-31 p11 1952-10-31 p19 1952-12-12 p3 1952-12-12 p27		S323.195 2Q

| 1952-11-04 | 1952-12-19 | Henry VI part 3 | 120 | Valentine Dyall; Donald Wolfit; Richard Hurndall; Dennis Arundell; Stephen Jack; Paul Hardwick; Malcolm Hayes; Jack Livesey; John Glen; John Greenwood; Hugh Manning; Brian Hayes; John Forrest; Alexander Gauge; Michael Gwynne; Tom Clarkson; John Cazabon; Garard Green; Wyndham Milligan; Patrick Troughton | Sonia Dresdel; Joan Hart; Molly Rankin; M Westbury | Peter Watts | Peter Watts | Third Prog | 1952-09-26 p9 1952-10-10 p3 1952-10-24 p7 1952-10-31 p11 1952-10-31 p27 1952-12-12 p3 1952-12-12 p39 | | S325.1952Q |
| 1952-11-06 | 1952-12-20 | Richard III | 160 (+10 min inter-val) | Donald Wolfit; Richard Hurndall; Brian Hayes; Duncan Carse; Peter Coke; Raf de la Torre; William Patrick; David Enders; William Fox; Eric Anderson; Anthony Jacobs; Preston Lockwood; Michael Bates; John Glen; Graveley Edwards; Michael O'Halloran; Warren Hearnden; Howard Rose; Tony Halfpenny; Wyndham Milligan; Frank Tickle; Patrick Troughton; Richard Bebb; John Greenwood; Valentine Dyall; Franklyn Bellamy; John Cazabon; Antony Kearey; Arthur Lawrence | Rosalind Iden; Joan Hart; Sonia Dresdel; Elsa Palmer; G Blunt | Peter Watts | Peter Watts | Third Prog | 1952-10-10 p3 1952-10-24 p7 1952-10-31 p11 1952-10-31 p35 1952-11-21 p11 1952-12-12 p3 1952-12-12 p43 | | S344.1952Q |

1953-01-18	1953-01-20	Timon of Athens	110	Valentine Dyall; Patrick Troughton; Richard Hurndall; Gerrik Schjelderup; Cyril Shaps; Brian Hayes; John Turnbull; Alan Nunn; Brendon Barry; Hugh Falkus; Cecil Trouncer; William Fox; Robert Farquharson; John Wyse; Michael O'Halloran; Eric Anderson; Will Leighton; John Garside; John Carol; Hugh Manning; Arthur Lawrence; Garard Green; Franklyn Bellamy; Arthur Ridley; Wyndham Milligan; Ronald Sidney	Mary Wimbush; Nancy Nevinson; Gabrielle Blunt; Margaret Chisholm; Virginia Winter	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Third Prog	1952-12-26 p5 1953-01-16 p6 1953-01-16 p13 1953-01-16 p25	S348.195 3Q
1953-02-15	1953-02-20 1955-11-15	Pericles	110	Michael Hordern; Cyril Shaps; Ralph Truman; John Cazabon; George Skillan; Julian Somers; Noel Iliff; Eric Lugg; Garard Green; Jonathan Field; Arthur Wontner; Derek Hart; Rupert Davies; Allan Jeayes; Michael O'Halloran; Leon Quartermaine; Alan Reid; Frank Tickle; Wyndham Milligan; Anthony Jacobs	Catherine Salkeld; Mary Wimbush; Margaret Ward; Diana Maddox; Audrey Mendes	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Third Prog	1952-12-26 p5 1953-02-13 p9 1953-02-13 p13 1953-02-13 p43 1955-11-11 p25	S342.195 3Q

1953-03-15	1953-03-17	Titus Andronicus	120 (+10 min inter-val)	Baliol Holloway; George Hayes; Neville Hartley; Anthony Jacobs; Rolf Lefebvre; Wilfrid Walter; Hamilton Dyce; William Fox; John Moffat; Alan Tilvern; Anthony Marriott; Douglas Hayes; Richard Bebb; Dafydd Havard; Aubrey Richards; Brian Hayes; Noel Iliff; Michael O'Halloran; Norman Mitchell; Hugh Manning; John Cazabon	Sonia Dresdel; Jeanette Tregarthen; Christine Castor	Wilfrid Grantham	J C Trewin	Third Prog	1952-12-26 p5 1953-03-13 p9 1953-03-13 p13 1953-03-13 p25		S349.1953Q
1953-04-05	1953-04-11 1953-05-09 1953-09-21	As You Like It	120	Anthony Quayle; Leo McKern; Keith Michell; Kenneth Wynne; Terence Longdon; John Nettleton; John Turner; Derek Godfrey; Raymond Westwell; Jack Gwillim; Eric Lander; Peter Halliday; Geoffrey Curtis; Ian Mullins; Edward Atienza; Ian Bannen; James Grout; Peter Jackson; Thomas Moore; Derek Hodgson (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre)	Barbara Jefford; Charmian Eyre; Joan MacArthur; Zena Walker; Jane Holland	William Hughes (stage: Glen Byam Shaw)		Third Prog (last rpt on Home Service)	1953-04-03 p13 1953-04-03 p21 1953-04-03 p49 1953-05-01 p49 1953-09-11 p9 1953-09-18 p18 1953-09-18 p21		S313.1953Q
1953-05-07		Twelfth Night (Children's)	55					North	1953-05-01 p36		

1953-05-27	1953-10-19	Henry V	120	John Clements; Valentine Dyall; V C Clinton-Baddeley; Allan Jeayes; Alan Reid; Howieson Culff; Eric Anderson; Peter Assinder; Peter Goss; Brian Hayes; Cyril Shaps; T St John Barry; Michael Bates; Ivan Staff; John Laurie; John Carol; John Garside; John Wyse; Felix Felton; Frank Duncan; William Fox; Brendon Barry; Stephen Jack; John Westbrook	Gwen Nelson; Kay Hammond; Marjorie Westbury; Molly Rankin	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Light Prog (rpt on Home Service)	1953-05-15 p17 1953-05-15 p36 1953-05-22 p21 1953-05-22 p31 1953-09-11 p9 1953-09-18 p6 1953-10-16 p18 1953-10-16 p21		S322.1953Q
1953-06-01		The Tempest	116	John Gielgud; Jeremy Spenser; William Devlin; Leslie French; Leon Quartermaine; Cyril Shaps; Frank Tickle; Eric Porter; Hugh Manning; Godfrey Kenton; Derek Hart; Norman Claridge; George Rose; Arthur Lawrence; Edward Lexy	Peggy Bryan; Lydia Sherwood; Susan Richards; Grizelda Hervey	Mary Hope Allen	Herbert Farjeon	Home Service	1953-05-15 p17 1953-05-15 p36 1953-05-29 p18 1953-05-29 p41		S347.1953Q
1953-06-04	1953-12-21	A Midsummer Night's Dream	155 (+5 min inter-val)	Ralph Richardson; Deryck Guyler; Arthur Keane; Richard Bebb; Brendon Barry; Arthur Ridley; Eliot Makeham; Frank Atkinson; Norman Claridge; Norman Mitchell; John Rae; Laurence Payne; Frank Duncan	Margaret Wolfit; Pamela Alan; Denise Bryer; Monica Grey; Susan Kennaway; Margaret Bull; Felicity Barrington; Hilda Schroder	Val Gielgud	Lance Sieveking	Third Programme (rpt Home Service)	1953-05-15 p17 1953-05-15 p36 1953-05-29 p39 1953-05-29 p41 1953-09-11 p9 1953-09-18 p6 1953-12-18 p20		S338.1953Q

1953-08-10		King John	105	Robert Harris; Noel Iliff; Arthur Lawrence; Norman Claridge; John van Eyssen; Douglas Hayes; Richard Wordsworth; Richard Brooke (Richard O'Callaghan); Neville Hartley; Michael O'Halloran; David Peel; Allan Jeayes; Robert Farquharson; Deryck Guyler; Brian Hayes; Rupert Davies; Dafydd Havard	Nan Marriott-Watson; Jane Meredith; Maxine Audley; Jeanette Tregarthen	Wilfrid Grantham	Wilfrid Grantham	Home Service	1953-08-07 p4 1953-08-07 p16		S331.1953Q
1953-10-25	1953-10-27 1953-12-27	Merchant of Venice	140 (+10 min interval)	Michael Redgrave; Denys Graham; Harry Andrews; William Peacock; Michael Turner; Tony Britton; Basil Hoskins; Robert Shaw; Peter Duguid; John Bushelle; Donald Pleasence; Noel Howlett; George Hart; Powys Thomas; Richard Martin; Raymond Sherry; Mervyn Blake; Philip Morant (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre)	Peggy Ashcroft; Marigold Charlesworth; Yvonne Mitchell	William Hughes (stage: Denis Carey)		Third Prog	1953-10-23 p1 1953-10-23 p11 1953-10-23 p21 1953-10-23 p25 1953-12-25 p11 1953-12-25 p21	BBC Archive	S336.1953Q
1953-11-11	1953-11-18	Twelfth Night (Welsh - Nos Ystwyll)	90				J. T. Jones (translator)	Welsh (Wales)	1953-11-06 p30 1953-11-13 p30		

1953-11-30		Othello	150 (60+90)	Valentine Dyall; Frank Duncan; Roger Delgado; Basil Hoskins; Graveley Edwards; John Westbrook; Howard Rose; John Richmond; Stephen Jack; Eric Anderson; Garard Green; Ronald Sidney; Conrad Phillips; Peter Wigzell	Joan Hart; Marjorie Westbury; Virginia Winter	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Home Service	1953-09-11 p9 1953-09-18 p6 1953-11-27 p18 1953-11-27 p21		S341.1953Q
1953-12-29	1954-02-07 1954-03-25	King Lear	170 (+15 min inter-val)	Michael Redgrave; Harry Andrews; Noel Howlett; Robert Shaw; Michael Warre; Powys Thomas; David King; Michael Hayes; Basil Hoskins; William Peacock; Philip Morant; Leo McKern; Jerome Willis; Mervyn Blake James Wellman; Peter Duguid; Donald Eccles; Michael Turner; John Glendenning; Peter Johnson; Alan Townsend; George Hart; Charles Gray (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre)	Joan Sanderson; Yvonne Mitchell; Rachel Kempson	Wilfrid Grantham (stage: George Devine)		Third Prog	1953-12-25 p21 1953-12-25 p25 1954-02-05 p11 1954-03-19 p37	BBC Archive	S332.1953Q
1954-01-06	1954-10-11 1972-03-06	Romeo & Juliet	125 (65+60)	Tony Britton; Marius Goring; Cyril Shaps; Brian Hayes; Frank Tickle; Jerome Willis; Robert Shaw; Mervyn Blake; James Dale; Powys Thomas; Richard Martin; Peter Duguid;	Peggy Ashcroft; Janet Burnell; Joan Sanderson; Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies	Donald McWhinnie		Light Prog (rpt on Home Service; 2nd rpt on Radio 4)	1954-01-01 p17 1954-01-01 p27 1954-10-08 p9 1954-10-08 p18 1972-03-02 p37		S345.1953Q

				Donald Eccles; Derek Birch; James Wellman							
1954-04-18	1954-04-23	Henry IV part 1	160 (+10 min inter-val)	Donald Wolfit; Robert Harris; Laurence Payne; William Fox; Hugh Griffith; Noel Iliff; Michael Blythe; Bryan Coleman; John Gabriel; Ernest Hare; Baliol Holloway; Cyril Shaps; Tom Criddle; Ronald Harwood; Trevor Martin; Douglas Hayes; Jack Stewart; Derek Birch; Alan Reid; John Cazabon; Ernest Sefton; Brian Hayes; Stanley Groome	Rosalind Iden; Janet Burnell; Audrey Leybourne	Wilfrid Grantham		Third Prog	1954-04-16 p6-7 1954-04-16 p13 1951-04-16 p43		S319.1954Q
1954-04-26	1972-10-02	Antony & Cleopatra	145 (60+ 85)	Michael Redgrave; Harry Andrews; Alan Townsend; Philip Morant; Donald Pleasence; James Wellman; Mervyn Blake; Donald Eccles; John Bushelle; Powys Thomas; Tony Britton; David O'Brien; Robert Shaw; William Peacock; Basil Hoskins; Michael Turner; Michael Warre; John Roberts; Michael Hayes; David King; James Culliford; Jerome Willis; Peter Duguid; Gareth Jones; George Hart; Peter Norris; Bernard Kay; Dennis	Peggy Ashcroft; Jean Wilson; Mary Watson; Rachel Kempson	Peter Watts (stage: Glen Byam Shaw)		Home Service (rpt on Radio 4 and shortened)	1954-04-23 p7 1954-04-23 p18 1972-09-28 p33	BBC Archive	S312.1954Q

1954-05-04 1954-05-11 1954-05-18 1954-05-25		Julius Caesar (schools)	95 (3x25 + 1x20)				John Richmond	Home Service	1954-04-30 p22 1954-05-07 p22 1954-05-14 p22 1954-05-21 p22		S329.1954Q
				Clinton; Denys Graham; Nigel Davenport; Peter Johnson; Richard Martin (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre)							
1954-06-14		Henry VIII	95	Ralph Truman; Nicholas Hannen; Paul Scofield; John Gielgud; Ralph Richardson; Russell Thorndike; Harold Scott; Henry Oscar; Leon Quartermaine; Richard Bebb; Laidman Browne; George Hagan; Esme Percy; Godfrey Kenton; George Rose; Michael Turner; Lewis Casson; Alan Wheatley; Eliot Makeham; Alan Webb; Robert Donat; Laurence Olivier; Ernest Thesiger; T St John Barry; Derek Birch; Peter Claughton; Hugh David; Rupert Davies; John Gabriel; Brian Haines; Peter Howell; Geoffrey Matthews; Bryan Powley; Alan Reid; Richard Waring; Manning Wilson	Sybil Thorndike; Vivien Leigh; Athene Syler; Audrey Cameron; Janet Burnell; Annabel Maule; Catherine Salkeld; Mary Wimbush; Sulwen Morgan	Peter Watts and Audrey Cameron	Clemence Dane	Home Service	1954-06-11 p3 1954-06-11 p5 1954-06-11 p18		

1954-08-09		Taming of the Shrew	150 (60+ 90)	Joseph O'Conor; Norman Shelley; Howieson Culff; George Hagan; Michael Turner; Robert Shaw; Cyril Shaps; John Garside; William Fox; David Enders; Charles Leno; Ronald Sidney; Michael Finlayson; Richard Waring; Manning Wilson; T St John Barry; Jack Allen; William Avenell; Dennis Clinton; Bryan Powley; Errol Wilmot	Mary Wimbush; Denise Bryer; Gwen Nelson; Molly Rankin	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Home Service	1954-08-06 p6 1954-08-06 p16		S346.195 4Q
1954-09-05	1954-09-10 1954-10-26	All's Well That Ends Well	150	Felix Aylmer; Anthony Jacobs; Carleton Hobbs; Hugh David; Denis Goacher; Richard Waring; Hugh Manning; T St John Barry; Godfrey Kenton; Cyril Luckham; Edgar Norfolk; Bryan Powley; John Gabriel; Peter Howell	Irene Worth; Gladys Boot; Betty Hardy; Yvonne Hills; Gladys Spencer	Mary Hope Allen	Mary Hope Allen	Third Prog	1954-09-03 p13 1954-09-03 p43 1954-10-22 p25		S311.195 4Q
1955-03-26		Macbeth (childrens)	55					North	1955-03-18 p48		
1955-03-27	1955-04-01 1955-04-23	Measure for Measure	120 (+15 min inter- val)	Michael Hordern; Deryck Guyler; Carleton Hobbs; John Gabriel; Jeffrey Segal; Norman Shelley; Heron Carvic; Peter Howell; Richard Bebb; John Ruddock; Charles Leno; Lawrence Baskcomb;	Hermione Hannen; Mary O'Farrell; Dorothy Holmes- Gore; Beth Boyd; Catherine Salkeld	Raymond Raikes (interpret- ation: Nevill Coghill)	Raymond Raikes	Third Prog	1955-03-25 p11 1955-03-25 p43 1955-04-15 p49		S335.195 5Q

				Paul Whitsun-Jones; Edgar Norfolk							
1955-04-25		Julius Caesar	150 (60+90)	Sebastian Shaw; Geoffrey Keen; George Hayes; Godfrey Kenton; Frederick Treves; Olaf Pooley; Jeffrey Segal; Richard Williams; Hamilton Dyce; Arthur Keane; Cecil Bellamy; Edgar Norfolk; Dawson France; Robert Marsden; Richard Walter; Edward Jewesbury; Edward Ballard; Humphrey Morton; Bryan Powley; Owen Berry; Denys Graham; Julian Sherrier; Heron Carvic; Richard Gale; Noel Davis; Ian Lubbock; Peter Claughton; Brian Charteris; Bryan Kendrick; Gordon Davies	Annabel Maule; Grizelda Hervey; Beth Boyd; Cecile Chevreau; Belle Chrystall	Val Gielgud		Home Service	1955-04-22 p4 1955-04-22 p18		S329.1955Q
1955-05-29 1955-06-05	1955-06-11 1955-06-18	Richard II	120 (60+60)					Midland	1955-05-27 p12 1955-06-03 p12 1955-06-03 p46 1955-06-10 p24		S343.1955Q
1955-06-24	1955-06-25	A Midsummer Night's Dream	150 (+10 min inter-val)	Robert Harris; Valentine Dyall; Charles Leno; Derek Birch; Anthony Jacobs; Michael Ingham; John Gabriel; Allan McClelland; John Ruddock; Geoffrey	Cecile Chevreau; Nicolette Bernard; Gabrielle Blunt; Denise Bryer; Beth Boyd; Betty Linton; Olive Kirby; Jill	R D Smith		Third Prog	1955-06-17 p4 1955-06-17 p19 1955-06-17 p21 1955-07-08 p33		S338.1955Q

				Lumsden; Manning Wilson; Sean Barrett; John Dearth	Nyasa; Molly Lawson						
1955-10-02 1955-10-09	1955-10-08 1955-10-15	Henry IV part 1	160 (75+ 85)					Midland	1955-09-30 p12 1955-09-30 p46 1955-10-07 p12 1955-10-07 p46		S319.195 6Q
1956-01-09		Twelfth Night	150 (60+ 90)	Marius Goring; Peter Coke; Simon Lack; Olaf Pooley; Michael Turner; Denis Goacher; Rolf Lefebvre; Brewster Mason; Heron Carvic; Allan McClelland; Toke Townley; James Thomason	Pamela Alan; Gwen Cherrell; Marjorie Westbury; Diana Chadwick; Jessica Lang	John Gibson		Home Service	1955-12-30 p7 1955-12-30 p42 1956-01-06 p5 1956-01-06 p18		S352.195 6Q
1956-02-27		Othello	150 (60+ 90)	Alfred Drake; Stephen Murray; Dennis Ramsden; Donald Eccles; Milton Rosmer; John Westbrook; Richard Williams; Leslie Perrins; Howieson Culff; George Merritt; Michael Turner; John Glendenning; Allan McClelland; Leonard Trolley	Monica Grey; Coral Browne; Pamela Alan	Val Gielgud	Peter Watts	Home Service	1956-02-24 p 1 1956-02-24 p 2		S341.195 6Q

1956-04-01	1956-04-03 1956-09-02	Macbeth	120	Michael Hordern; Brian Haines; George Hagan; David Enders; Michael Turner; Paul Hardwick; Eric Anderson; Edward Jewesbury; Simon Lack; Duncan McIntyre; William Squire; Brian Smith; Arthur Lawrence; Peter Halliday; Michael O'Halloran; Richard Mayes; George Bond; Howieson Culff	Mary Wimbush; Molly Rankin; Ella Milne; Mairhi Russell; Joan Hart; Jean Hedley-Davis	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Third Prog	1956-03-30 p1 1956-03-30 p2 1956-08-31 p13		S334.1956Q
1956-04-15 1956-04-20		Henry IV part 2	125 (60+ 65)					Midland	1956-04-13 p 12 1956-04-13 p 42		S321.1956Q
1956-04-17 1956-04-24 1956-05-01 1956-05-08		Twelfth Night (schools)	80 (4x20)	Denys Blakelock; Deryck Guyler; Michael Martin-Harvey; Alan Reid; Peter Hoar; Stanley Mackenzie	Gwen Cherrell; Charlotte Mitchell		John Allen	Home Service	1956-04-13 p22 1956-04-20 p22 1956-04-27 p22 1956-05-04 p22		S352.1956Q
1956-04-22	1956-05-10 2014-08-12	Henry V (Henry at Agincourt)	50	Richard Burton; John Neville; Martin Lewis; Richard Bebb; John Gabriel; George Merritt; Dudley Jones; Manning Wilson; Geoffrey Matthews; Hamilton Dyce; Richard Williams; Olaf Pooley; Peter Howell		John Gibson		Home Service (2nd rpt on Radio 4 Extra)	1956-04-20 p1 1956-04-20 p4 1956-04-20 p12 1956-05-04 p34 Press release from 2014 rpt https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/proginfo/2014/32/henry-at-agincourt	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/077EAD9A?bcast=113931655	S322.1956Q

1956-04-29	1956-05-04	Edward III	120	Valentine Dyall; Rolf Lefebvre; John Garside; George Hagan; John Westbrook; Brewster Mason; Allan McClelland; Simon Lack; David Enders; Eric Anderson; Howieson Culff; Malcolm Hayes; Paul Hardwick; Michael Turner; Gordon Davies; Arthur Lawrence; Richard Mayes; Donald Pickering	Joan Hart; Molly Rankin; Elsa Palmer	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Third Prog	1956-04-27 p4 1956-04-27 p13 1956-04-27 p43		S361.1956Q
1956-08-12	1956-08-15	Two Noble Kinsmen	110	Tony Britton; Douglas Wilmer; John Phillips; Brewster Mason; Murray Hayne; George Hagan; Shaun O'Riordan; Tony Church; Norman Wynne; Eric Anderson; Simon Carter	Catherine Salkeld; Beatrice Kane; Peggy Thorpe-Bates; Jill Balcon; June Tobin; Marjorie Westbury; Margaret Dale	Michael Bakewell		Third Prog	1956-08-10 p5 - preview; 1956-08-10 p13 - programme listing; 1956-08-10 p31 - repeat listing		S377.1956Q
1956-10-28	1956-11-01	Sir Thomas More	105	Michael Hordern; William Eedle; Malcolm Hayes; Peter Neil; Trevor Martin; Denis McCarthy; Gerald Blake; Owen Berry; Eric Anderson; Jeffrey Segal; Charles Hodgson; William Squire; Brewster Mason; Denis Goacher; Roger Snowdon; James Thomason; Haydn Jones; Patrick Godfrey; Allan	Marjorie Westbury; Mary O'Farrell; Madeleine Christie; Dudy Nimmo; Janette Richer; Mary Morrell	Michael Bakewell	Ormerod Greenwood	Third Prog	1956-10-26 p5 1956-10-26 p11 1956-10-26 p37		S376.1956Q

				McClelland; Michael Woolley; Roderick Cook; Bunny May; Robert Sansom; Edward Jewesbury; Morris Sweden; John Graham							
1957-04-21	1957-04-23	A Yorkshire Tragedy	60	John Bryning; Norman Bird; Frank Atkinson; Michael Hordern; Frank Windsor; Howieson Culff; Leigh Crutchley	Joan Hart; Dorothy Holmes-Gore	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Third Prog	1957-04-19 p25 1957-04-19 p28 1957-04-19 p37		S381.1957Q
1957-08-25	1957-08-28	The Merry Devil of Edmonton	90	Howieson Culff; Valentine Dyall; John Ruddock; Baliol Holloway; Eric Anderson; David Enders; John Bryning; Brewster Mason; Basil Hoskins; Alexander Archdale; David Spenser; Will Leighton; Paul Hardwick; William Eedle; Malcolm Hayes; Hugh Manning; Ronald Sidney; Arthur Young; Frank Partington	Molly Rankin; Denise Bryer; Joan Hart	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Third Prog	1957-08-23 p31 1957-08-23 p43		S369.1957Q
1957-12-22	1957-12-27 1968-04-19 1971-11-29	Cymbeline	145 (+10 min interval)	Geoffrey Keen; Mark Dignam; Cyril Luckham; Richard Johnson; Clive Revill; Robert Harris; Patrick Wymark; Thane Bettany; Peter Cellier; Barry Warren; Donald Layne-Smith; Brian Bedford; James Wellman; Rex Robinson;	Peggy Ashcroft; Joan Miller; Molly Tapper; Mavis Edwards; Elizabeth Evans; Pamela Taylor; Eileen Atkins	Victor Menzies (stage: Peter Hall)	Victor Menzies	Third Prog (rpt on Radio3/ Third, 3rd rpt on Radio 4 & slightly shortened)	1957-12-20 p27 1957-12-20 p47 1968-04-11 p38 1968-04-11 p57 1971-11-25 p45		

				William Elmhirst; Donald Eccles; Robert Arnold; Derek Mayhew; Simon Carter; Toby Robertson; Julian Glover; Edward Caddick; John Davidson; Henry Davies; John Grayson; Norman Miller; Gordon Wright; Antony Brown; John Murray Scott; Kenneth Gilbert; John Salway; Gordon Souter; Roy Spencer (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre)						
1958-01-26	1958-01-31 1958-06-29	King John	135 (+10 min interval)	Robert Harris; Alec Clunes; Peter Cellier; Antony Brown; James Wellman; Barry Warren; Christopher Bond; Clive Revill; Cyril Luckham; Patrick Wymark; Thane Bettany; Peter Palmer; Donald Eccles; Mark Dignam; Ron Haddrick; Julian Glover; Robin Lloyd; Derek Mayhew; William Elmhirst; Donald Layne-Smith; Toby Robertson; John Murray Scott; Gordon Wright; Rex Robinson; Robert Arnold; Edward Caddick; Simon Carter; John Davidson; Kenneth Gilbert; John	Joan Miller; Molly Tapper; Stephanie Bidmead; Doreen Aris; Mavis Edwards; Elizabeth Evans; Pamela Taylor	Norman Wright (stage: Douglas Seale)	Norman Wright	Third Prog	1958-01-24 p23 1958-01-24 p43 1958-06-27 p23		S331.1958Q

				Grayson; Norman Miller; John Salway; Gordon Souter; Roy Spencer (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre)							
1958-03-09	1958-03-12 1958-08-10	Pericles	140 (+10 min inter- val)	Paul Scofield; Lockwood West; Malcolm Hayes; Haydn Jones; Brian Wilde; Douglas Storm; John Ruddock; David March; Patrick Wymark; Frank Windsor; Oliver Burt; Errol John; Anthony Viccars; Patrick Magee; Frank Partington	Nicolette Bernard; Jill Raymond; June Tobin; Selma Vaz Dias; Betty Linton; Patricia Hayes	R D Smith	R D Smith	Third Prog	1958-03-07 p4 1958-03-07 p29 1958-03-07 p41 1958-08-08 p23	BBC Archive	S342.1958Q
1958-04-01	1958-04-06 1958-11-26	Two Gentlemen of Verona	105 (+10 min inter- val)	Frankie Howerd; Laidman Browne; John Westbrook; Charles Hodgson; John Ruddock; Godfrey Kenton; James Thomason; Charles Leno; Percy Edwards; Ronald Baddiley; Arthur Young; Edward Jewesbury; Rolf Lefebvre	Perlita Neilson; Caroline Leigh; Betty Baskcomb	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Third Prog	1958-03-28 p4 1958-03-28 p35 1958-04-04 p22-3 1958-11-21 p39		S353.1958Q
1958-04-22 1958-04-29 1958-05-06 1958-05-13 1958-05-20		Hamlet (schools)	100 (5x20)					Home Service	1958-04-18 p32 1958-04-25 p32 1958-05-02 p32 1958-05-09 p32 1958-05-16 p32		S317.1958Q
1958-06-08		Twelfth Night (children's)	50					North	1958-06-06 p22		

1958-06-09		Merchant of Venice	140 (60+80)	Harry Andrews; Jack May; Richard Hurndall; Peter Henchie; Tony Britton; John Westbrook; Dudley Jones; John Graham; Tony Church; Clive Revill; James Thomason; William Eedle; David March; Frank Partington; Jeffrey Segal; Godfrey Kenton	Irene Worth; Janette Richer; Gwen Cherrell	Michael Bakewell		Home Service	1958-06-06 p24 1958-06-06 p26		S336.1958Q
1958-11-17		Romeo & Juliet	150 (60+90)	Gabriel Woolf; Marius Goring; Godfrey Kenton; Frank Partington; Will Leighton; Ronald Baddiley; Hugh Manning; Roger Delgado; Baliol Holloway; George Merritt; Denis Goacher; Jeffrey Segal; Noel Iliff; Richard George; David March	June Tobin; Dorothy Holmes-Gore; Catherine Salkeld; Una Venning	Val Gielgud	Cynthia Pughe	Home Service	1958-11-14 p1 1958-11-14 p3 1958-11-14 p30		S345.1958Q
1958-12-26	1959-01-14	Twelfth Night	135 (+ 2x5 min intervals)	Mark Dignam; Cyril Luckham; Patrick Wymark; Michael Meacham; Ron Haddrick; Paul Hardwick; Richard Johnson; Roy Spencer; Kenneth Gilbert; Antony Brown; Peter Palmer; Ian Holm; Gordon Souter; Roy Dotrice; John Grayson; Donald Layne-Smith; John	Dorothy Tutin; Geraldine McEwan; Miranda Connell; Mavis Edwards; Zoe Caldwell	Peter Dews (stage: Peter Hall)		Third Prog	1958-12-19 p10 1958-12-19 p46 1959-01-19 p35		S352.1958Q

				Davidson; William Elmhirst; Julian Glover; John Salway; Roger Bizley; Edward de Souza; Eric Holmes; Stephen Thorne; Paxton Whitehead; Richard Rudd (Stratford Memorial Theatre)							
1959-03-22	1959-05-13 1963-04-28	Troilus & Cressida	140 (+10 min interval)	John Scott; George Hagan; Carleton Hobbs; Godfrey Kenton; Richard Williams; Nicky Edmett; Jeffrey Segal; John Glen; John Cazabon; Stephen Jack; Malcolm Hayes; Francis de Wolff; Howard Marion-Crawford; David March; Eric Anderson; Valentine Dyall; Frederick Treves; John Westbrook; John Hollis; Wilfrid Grantham; Rolf Lefebvre	Denise Bryer; Beryl Calder; Jane Jordan Rogers; Molly Rankin	Peter Watts		Third Prog	1959-03-20 p7 1959-03-20 p29 1959-05-08 p39 1963-04-25 p19 1963-04-25 p21		S351.1959Q
1959-04-27	1967-08-14	Coriolanus	145 (55+ 90)	Patrick Wymark; Maurice Denham; Philip Cunningham; John Gabriel; William Fox; Ralph Truman; John Dearth; Peter Wilde; Gabriel Woolf; Denis Hawthorn; William Ingram; Frank Windsor; Leigh Crutchley; John Bennett; Harold Reese; John Cazabon;	Phyllis Neilson-Terry; Judy Bailey; Gabrielle Blunt; Betty Baskcomb; Ella Milne	John Gibson		Home Service (rpt on Third Prog)	1959-04-24 p6 1959-04-24 p32 1959-05-22 p37 1967-08-10 p22	BBC Archive	S315.1959Q

				Aubrey Woods; Robert Sansom							
1959-09-02	1959-09-20	Winter's Tale	150 (+10 min inter-val)	Harry Andrews; Wilfrid Grantham; Edgar Norfolk; George Hagan; Brewster Mason; George Bond; Jack Gwillim; Eric Anderson; Howieson Culff; Michael Turner; George Merritt; Frank Duncan; Charles Leno; Gabriel Woolf; John Scott	Joan Hart; Molly Rankin; Ella Milne; Marjorie Westbury; Petra Davies; Hilda Schroder	Peter Watts	Peter Watts	Third Prog	1959-08-28 p35 1959-09-18 p31		S354.1959Q
1959-09-30	1959-10-18 1960-02-28 1960-12-12	The Tempest	120 (+10 min inter-val)	Stephen Murray; Michael Turner; Trevor Martin; Brewster Mason; Clive Revill; Richard Hurndall; Howieson Culff; John Gabriel; Gabriel Woolf; Donald Bradley; Newton Blick	Jane Barrett; Hilda Schroder; June Tobin; Dorothy Holmes-Gore	Charles Lefeaux		Third Prog (3rd rpt on Home Service)	1959-09-25 p39 1959-10-16 p29 1960-02-26 p23 1960-08-19 p45 1960-12-08 p21 1960-12-08 p28 1961-01-05 p2		S47.1959Q
1960-03-30	1960-04-22	Antony & Cleopatra	150 (+10 min inter-val)	Anthony Nicholls; John Slater; David March; Douglas Storm; Malcolm Hayes; Paul Harwick; Norman Wynne; John Hollis; Ian Holm; James Thomason; Noel Johnson; Leigh Crutchley; Errol John; Philip Cunningham; George Hagan; Peter Howell; John Scott; Brian Wilde; Nicky Edmett; Denys Hawthorne; John Dearth; Anthony Sagar;	June Tobin; Catherine Dolan; Martina Mayne; Diana Olsson	R D Smith		Third Prog	1960-03-25 p7 1960-03-25 p43 1960-04-15 p47		

				George Merritt; John Rollason; Michael Turner; Keith Williams; Gabriel Woolf							
1960-06-22	1960-09-20	King Lear	165 (+15 min inter-val)	Stephen Murray; Clifford Evans; Alec McCowen; Brewster Mason; Clive Revill; Hugh Manning; Gabriel Woolf; John Rye; John Hollis; Michael Turner; John Bennett; Keith Williams	Mary Morris; Rosalie Crutchley; June Tobin	Charles Lefeaux		Third Prog	1960-06-17 p33 1960-06-17 p35 1960-07-08 p37 1960-08-19 p45 1960-09-16 p39		S332.196 Q
1960-07-18		Macbeth	120 (60+60)	Stephen Murray; Brewster Mason; John Rye; Hamilton Dyce; Gabriel Woolf; Michael Turner; Edgar Wreford; Hugh Dickson; Nicholas Edmett; Keith Williams; Gordon Davies; Eric Anderson; John Mitchell; Charles Simon; Derek Smith; David Bird	Mary Morris; Mary O'Farrell; Grace Allardyce; Nan Marriott-Watson; Barbara Lott	Charles Lefeaux		Home Service	1960-07-15 p4 1960-07-15 p25 1960-07-15 p26 1960-08-19 p45		S334.196 9
1960-10-23	1961-01-15 1961-04-23	Hamlet	225 (50+105+70)	Michael Redgrave; Basil Sydney; Barry Jones; Gabriel Woolf; David Spenser; Michael Aldridge; Keith Williams; Henry Davies; Rolf Lefebvre; John Humphry; William Devlin; Malcolm Hayes; Hugh Dickson; John Glen; Paul Vieyra; John Westbrook; Tom Watson; Norman Shelley; John	Coral Browne; Jane Wenham	Cedric Messina		Third Prog	1960-10-13 p62 1960-10-20 p14 1960-10-20 p21 1961-01-12 p21 1961-04-20 p19	BBC Archive	S317.196 Q

				Rollason; John Rye; Douglas Storm							
1961-02-21 1961-02-28 1961-03-07 1961-03-14 1961-03-21	1964-02-19 1964-02-26 1964-03-04 1964-03-11 1964-03-18	Macbeth (schools)	105 (1x25; 4x20)	Tom Fleming; John Glen; Russell Napier; Stanley Mckenzie; Peter Hoar; Carleton Hobbes; John Rye; Gary Watson; Ralph Hallett; Cameron Miller; Peter Ducrow; Charles E Stidwill; John Scott; Tom Watson; Keith Williams; Hugh Manning; Eric Lugg; Hugh Dickson	Pamela Brown; Kathleen Helme; June Tobin; Nan Marriott-Watson; Jean England; Gladys Spencer	Sam Langdon	Robert Gittings	Home Service	1961-02-16 p34 1961-02-23 p34 1961-03-02 p34 1961-03-09 p34 1961-03-16 p34 1964-02-13 p36 1964-02-20 p40 1964-02-27 p36 1964-03-05 p40 1964-03-12 p38		S334.1961Q
1961-03-29	1961-04-16 1961-10-10	Timon of Athens	120 (+10 min inter-val)	Stephen Murray; Peter Coke; David William; David March; John Gabriel; Frank Windsor; Philip Leaver; Richard Hurndall; Malcolm Hayes; Eric Anderson; Arthur Ridley; John Ruddock; Keith Williams; Malcolm Butterworth; Colin Douglas		Charles Lefeaux		Third Prog	1961-03-23 p39 1961-03-23 p45 1961-04-13 p21 1961-10-05 p37		S348.1961

1961-06-07	1961-06-25 1962-02-09 1964-01-17	Richard II	135 (+10 min inter- val)	John Gielgud; Ralph Richardson; Michael Goodliffe; Peter Coke; Denis Goacher; Gabriel Woolf; Alan Edwards; Alan Reid; Bryan Kendrick; George Howe; Mark Dignam; Roderick Lovell; John Whitty; Hugh Dickson; Keith Buckley; Gareth Morgan; Keith Williams; Raf de la Torre; John Glen; Wilfred Babbage; Nicholas Edmett; Hugh Manning; Richard Bebb	Rachel Gurney; Penelope Lee; Barbara Mitchell	John Richmond		Third Prog	1961-05-25 p62 1961-06-01 p37 1961-06-01 p43 1961-06-22 p17 1962-02-01 p57 1964-01-09 p3 1964-01-09 p15 1964-01-09 p52 1964-01-09 p57	BBC Archive	S343.196 1Q
1962-01-06	1964-01-06	Twelfth Night	120	Jimmy Edwards; John Pullen; John Humphry; Nigel Anthony; Anthony Hall; William Eedle; Heron Carvic; John Rollason; Alan Wheatley; Julian Somers; Hugh Dickson; Rolf Lefebvre; Michael Spice	Beryl Reid; June Tobin; Rachel Gurney	Cedric Messina & Val Gielgud		Home Service	1962-01-04 p5 1962-01-04 p10 1962-02-08 p47 1964-01-02 p21 1964-01-02 p24	BBC Archive	

1962-03-07 1962-03-14 1962-03-21 1962-03-28	1967-02-22 1967-03-01 1967-03-08 1967-03-15	Romeo & Juliet (schools)	100 (4 x 25)	David Spenser; John Rye; Cyril Luckham; Hugh Dickson; Cameron Miller; Stanley Mackenzie; Basil Hoskins; Philip Guard; Peter Ducrow; Peter Hoar	Judi Dench; Joan Matheson; Susan Richards	Sam Langdon	Robert Gittings	Home Service	1962-02-22 p34 1962-02-22 p38 1962-03-01 p38 1962-03-08 p38 1962-03-15 p38 1962-03-22 p38 1962-05-17 p59 1967-02-16 p46 1967-02-23 p42 1967-03-02 p38 1967-03-09 p40	Extract (Part 3 only) - BBC archive	
1962-04-23		Merry Wives of Windsor	120	Jimmy Edwards; Leslie Perrins; Timothy Bateson; John Bennett; Haydn Jones; Godfrey Kenton; Tom Watson; James Cossins; Nigel Davenport; Anthony Hall; Trevor Martin; Donald McKillop; Malcolm Hayes; John Pullen; John Humphry; Nigel Anthony	Beryl Reid; Moira Lister; June Tobin; Dorit Welles	Cedric Messina	Cedric Messina	Home Service	1962-04-19 p18 1962-04-19 p24		
1962-12-27	1963-01-15 1963-04-21 1964-08-24 1967-01-15 1971-12-12	Love's Labour's Lost	105 (+10 min inter- val)	Tony Britton; Godfrey Kenton; Michael Deacon; Geoffrey Matthews; George Hagan; Peter Pratt; Basil Langton; Anthony Hall; Austin Trevor; Antony Viccars; Norman Shelley; Hamlyn Benson; Kenneth Hyde; Michael Spice	Sylvia Syms; Geraldine McEwan; Sheila Grant; Shirley Cooklin; Elizabeth Morgan	Raymond Raikes		Third Prog (3rd rpt on Home; 4th rpt on Home & shortened; 5th rpt on Radio 4 & shortened)	1962-12-20 p43 1962-12-20 p47 1963-01-10 p35 1963-04-18 p17 1964-08-20 p23 1964-08-20 p26 1967-01-12 p16 1971-12-09 p5 1971-12-09 p27		

1963-03-06 1963-03-13 1963-03-20 1963-03-27		Julius Caesar (schools)	100 (4 x 25)				Robert Gittings	Home Service	1963-02-28 p36 1963-03-07 p38 1963-03-14 p36 1963-03-21 p36	
1963-11-28	1963-12-14 1964-12-17 1969-01-05	Edward III (Thought To Writ By Shakespeare)	100	Stephen Murray; Gabriel Woolf; Philip Morant; Norman Shelley; Gordon Faith; John Westbrook; John Ruddock; Carleton Hobbs; Fraser Kerr; John Boxer; Alan Haines; Stephen Thorne; Ralph Truman; John Baddeley; Peter Pratt; Timothy Harley; Bruce Condell	Googie Withers; Margaret Wolfit	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Third Prog (3rd rpt on Radio 4 & slightly shortened)	1963-11-21 p25 1963-11-21 p39 1963-11-21 p45 1963-12-12 p11 1964-12-10 p58 1969-01-02 p15	BBC Archive
1964-02-07	1964-02-23 1965-01-14	Henry IV pt 1	160 (+15 min interval)	Harry Andrews; Hugh Griffith; Robert Hardy; Haydn Jones; William Devlin; Joss Ackland; Peter Copley; Fraser Kerr; John Gabriel; David March; Peter Pratt; Frederick Treves; Michael Bates; John Baddeley; Andrew Sachs; Timothy Harley; Simon Lack; Gabriel Woolf; William Devlin; John Ruddock; John Rye	Sheila Grant; Heather Stannard; Sulwen Morgan	Charles Lefeaux		Third Prog	1964-01-23 p54 1964-01-30 p3 1964-01-30 p44 1964-01-30 p49 1964-02-20 p19 1965-01-07 p54	BBC Archive

1964-02-14	1964-03-01 1965-01-22	Henry IV pt 2	165 (+10 min inter-val)	Harry Andrews; Robert Hardy; William Devlin; Cyril Shaps; Joss Ackland; Timothy Harley; James Thomason; David March; Peter Pratt; Carlo Cura; John Ruddock; William Fox; Graham Crowden; Frederick Treves; Andrew Sachs; Hamlyn Benson; Fraser Kerr; Michael Bates; John Gabriel; John Baddeley; Godfrey Kenton; John Hollis; Walter Plinge; Frank Partington; Peter Copley; John Rye; Kenneth Shanley; Peter Bartlett	Miriam Karlin; Sheila Grant; Heather Stannard; Mary O'Farrell	Charles Lefeaux		Third Prog	1964-02-06 p48 1964-02-06 p53 1964-02-27 p19 1965-01-14 p58	BBC Archive	
1964-04-18		A Midsummer Night's Dream	100	Norman Shelley; Gabriel Woolf; Frank Duncan; Malcolm Keen; Earle Grey; Michael Deacon; Timothy West; Eric Anderson; Carleton Hobbs; George Merritt; Norman Claridge; Peter Pratt; Frank Partington	Virginia Maskell; Janet Burnell; Jennifer Wright; Gudrun Ure; Elizabeth Morgan; Jo Manning Wilson; Valerie Kirkbright; Petronella Barker	Val Gielgud		Home Service	1964-04-09 p58 1964-04-16 p8 1964-04-16 p12		
1964-09-07		The Tempest	120	Alec Clunes; Anthony Jacobs; Malcolm Keen; Frank Pettingell; Bernard Bresslaw; Gabriel Woolf; William Fox; Ralph Truman; John	Geraldine McEwan; Molly Rankin; Nicolette Bernard; Valerie Kirkbright	Archie Campbell		Home Service	1964-09-03 p24 1964-09-03 p28		

				Westbrook; Jack May; Peter Marinker; Nicholas Charles							
1964-09-25	1964-10-11 1965-09-09 1969-01-13	Troilus & Cressida	150 (+10 min inter-val)	Cyril Cusack; Kenneth Griffith; Maurice Denham; David Spenser; Michael Kilgarriff; Ralph Truman; Julian Glover; Andrew Sachs; Peter Bartlett; Gordon Gardner; Stephen Thorne; Eric Anderson; Philip Guard; Robert Eddison; Peter O'Shaugnessy; Peter Pratt; Richard Leech; Rolf Lefebvre; Fraser Kerr; Peter Marinker	Joanna Dunham; Margaret Wolfit; Nicolette Bernard; Isabel Rennie	John Tydeman		Third Prog (3rd rpt on Radio 4 & slightly shortened)	1964-09-17 p58 1964-09-17 p65 1964-10-08 p27 1965-09-02 p48 1969-01-09 p19 1969-01-09 p36	BBC Archive	
1964-11-13	1964-12-03 1965-07-02	Measure for Measure	135 (+10 min inter-val)	Anthony NIcholls; William Squire; David March; John Rye; John Ruddock; Andrew Sachs; Peter Pratt; Peter Claughton; Frederick Treves; Timothy Harley; Ralph Truman; James Thomason	Barbara Jefford; Gladys Young; Eva Stuart; Valerie Kirkbright; Nicolette Bernard	Charles Lefeaux		Third Prog	1964-11-05 p59 1964-11-05 p65 1964-11-26 p57 1965-06-24 p58	BBC Archive	
1965-01-20 1965-01-27 1965-02-03 1965-02-10 1965-02-17		Hamlet (for schools)	125 (5 x 25)	Michael Bryant; James Grout; John Glen; Godfrey Kenton; Alan Barry; Alan Haines; John Richmond; Andrew Faulds; Philip Guard; Alaric Cotter; John Westbrook	Susannah York; Jill Balcon	David Lyttle	Robert Gittings	Home Service	1965-01-14 p40 1965-01-21 p40 1965-01-28 p40 1965-02-04 p40 1965-02-11 p38		
1965-06-11	1965-06-16	Henry V (film soundtrack)	44	Laurence Olivier		Tony Luke	Gordon Gow	Light Prog	1965-06-03 p53 1965-06-10 p45		

1965-06-14		Romeo & Juliet	120	John Rye; Maurice Denham; William Fox; Gordon Faith; Frederick Treves; Timothy Harley; John Quentin; Bruce Beeby; Eric Anderson; Patrick Barr; Andrew Sachs; Haydn Jones; Cyril Shaps; LeRoy Lingwood; Wilfrid Carter	Mary Miller; Edith Evans; Olga Lindo; Mary Wimbush	Charles Lefeaux		Home Service	1965-06-10 p26 1965-06-10 p27	BBC Archive	
1965-07-12	1966-01-28 1967-04-20	Antony & Cleopatra	135	Peter Finch; Rupert Davies; Gordon Gardner; Ralph Truman; Denis McCarthy; Basil Jones; Bruce Beeby; Patrick Barr; Wilfrid Carter; Stephen Thorne; Andrew Sachs; John Hollis; Robert Sansom; Timothy Harley; Alan Haines; David Andrews; Peter Bartlett; Peter Marinker; Frederick Treves; Hamlyn Benson	Peggy Ashcroft; Gudrun Ure; Sylvia Coleridge; Margaret Gordon	R D Smith	R D Smith	Home Service	1965-07-08 p1 1965-07-08 p24 1965-07-08 p25 1966-01-20 p62 1967-04-13 p50	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT372244?bcast=118857858	
1965-10-25		Henry V	120	John Neville; David March; Peter Pratt; Norman Wynne; Preston Lockwood; Basil Jones; Stephen Thorne; Wilfred Babbage; Patrick Barr; Hamlyn Benson; Tim Seely; Gordon Gardner; Wilfrid Carter; John Dearth; Henry Webb; Brian Hewlett; Walter Fitzgerald; Harold	Joan Newell; Elizabeth Morgan; Evelyne Volney	R D Smith		Home Service	1965-10-21 p30 1965-10-21 p31		

				Lang; Bruce Beeby; Nigel Graham; Rio Fanning; Eric Anderson; Valentine Dyall; Peter Marinker							
1965-11-26	1965-12-12 1966-08-05	Pericles	110 (+ 10 min inter-val)	Tim Seely; Roderick Jones; Ralph Truman; Wilfrid Carter; Walter Fitzgerald; Gabriel Woolf; Alan Haines; John Dearth; Gordon Faith; Colin Campbell; Patrick Barr; Brian Hewlett; Peter Marinker; Hector Ross; Robert Eddison; Godfrey Kenton; Paul Whitsun-Jones; Michael Bates; Francis de Wolff	Mary Wimbush; Mary Law; Betty Huntley-Wright; Denise Bryer; Miriam Margolyes; Joan Matheson	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Third Prog	1965-11-18 p69 1965-11-18 p70 1965-12-09 p20 1966-07-28 p54	BBC Archive	
1966-02-09 1966-02-16 1966-02-23		Othello (schools)	75 (3x25)	Russell Napier; Patrick Troughton; Philip Guard; Alaric Cotter; Godfrey Kenton; Stephen Thorne; Edward Jewesbury	Meg Wyn Owen; Freda Dowie	David Lyttle	Robert Gittings	Home Service	1966-02-03 p40 1966-02-10 p40 1966-02-17 p40		S341.1966Q
1966-03-25	1966-04-10 1966-12-30	Winter's Tale	165 (+ 15 min inter-val)	Stephen Murray; Cyril Shaps; Jack May; Haydn Jones; Eric Anderson; Michael Kilgarriff; Brian Hewlett; Hector Ross; Michael McClain; Preston Lockwood; Russell Hunter; Ernest Myers; Harold Kasket; Anthony Hall	Edith Evans; Jill Bennett; Rachel Gurney; Jo Manning Wilson; Mary Wimbush; Elizabeth Proud; Miriam Margolyes	Charles Lefeaux		Third Prog	1966-03-17 p66 1966-04-07 p18 1966-12-22 p58	BBC Archive	

1966-04-29	1966-05-22 1967-01-27 1967-10-02 1976-05-03 2007-10-06	Macbeth	130 (+ 10 min inter- val)	Paul Scofield; Alec McCowen; David Weston; John Westbrook; Walter Fitzgerald; John Dearth; John Humphry; John Justin; Fraser Kerr; Glyn Dearman; Timothy West; Brian Hewlett; Henry Stamper; John Hollis; Stephen Thorne; Allan McClelland; Nicholas Charles; Noel Howlett; Preston Lockwood	Peggy Ashcroft; Grizelda Hervey; Mary O'Farrell; Sylvia Coleridge; Jane Wenham; Cecile Chevreau	John Tydeman		Third Prog (3rd& 4th rpt on Radio 4 & slightly shortened; 5th rpt on BBC 7)	1966-04-21 p69 1966-04-21 p70 1966-05-19 p22 1967-01-19 p58 1967-09-28 p32 1976-04-29 p31 2007-10-04 p139	(Part 1) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 37800D?bcast =118891021 (Part 2) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 4f8029?bcast= 123946251	
1966-09-18		Hamlet	140 (50+ 90)	Kenneth Griffith; Deryck Guyler; Max Adrian; Humphrey Morton; Denys Hawthorne; Trader Faulkner; Ronald Herdman; Alan Haines; Garard Green; Michael Kilgarriff; Frederick Treves; Michael Deacon; Charles Leno; John Bluthal; Charles Hodgson; John Westbrook	Mary Wimbush; Kika Markham; Elizabeth Proud	John Gibson		Third Prog	1966-09-15 p20		
1966-09-26	1966-10-16	Merchant of Venice	90	Harold Kasket; Robert Eddison; Frank Duncan; Carleton Hobbs; Heron Carvic; Anthony Hall; Stephen	Olive Gregg; Barbara Mitchell; Patricia Leventon	Rayner Heppenstal l	Rayner Heppenstal l	Home Service	1966-09-22 p26 1966-09-22 p27 1966-10-13 p22		

				Jack; Henry Stamper; Anthony Jackson							
1966-12-02	1966-12-18 1967-06-23	Henry VIII	150 (+10 min interval)	Keith Michell; Alan Badel; Robert Lang; John Justin; William Squire; Peter Woodthorpe; Ian McKellen; Humphrey Morton; Glyn Dearman; Haydn Jones; Rolf Lefebvre; Anthony Jackson; Basil Jones; William Eedle; Nigel Anthony; Tim Seely; Harold Kasket; Anthony Hall; Noel Howlett; Preston Lockwood; John Dearth; James Thomason; John Baddeley	Irene Worth; Penelope Lee; Mary O'Farrell; Gladys Spencer	John Tydeman	R D Smith	Third Prog	1966-11-24 p61 1966-11-24 p62 1966-12-15 p18 1967-06-15 p58	(Part 1) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT37C4F7?bcast=118912567 (Part 2) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT37C4F7?bcast=123954994	
1967-03-02	1967-03-19 1969-09-15 1973-09-03	King John (The Life and Death of King John)	110 (+ 10 min inter-val)	Robert Eddison; Alec Clunes; Ernest Milton; Walter Fitzgerald; James Dale; Allan McClelland; Nigel Graham; Michael Kilgarriff; Daniel Rose; Trevor Martin; John Westbrook; Ronald Herdman; Noel Howlett; Anthony Hall	Maxine Audley; Olga Lindo; Denise Bryer	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Third Prog (2nd & 3rd rpts on Radio 4)	1967-02-23 p52 1967-03-16 p20 1969-09-11 p31 1973-08-30 p35	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT37E1D0?bcast=118922382	

1967-09-29	1968-01-11 1969-10-17	King Lear	190 (+ 5 & 15 min inter-vals)	John Gielgud; Timothy Bateson; Derek Godfrey; Michael Goodliffe; Howard Marion-Crawford; Mark Dignam; Philip Guard; Roger Delgado; Rolf Lefebvre; John Justin; John Bryning; Alexander John; Peter Ducrow; Geoffrey Wincott; Humphrey Morton; David Brierley; Haydn Jones; Alan Reid; Duncan McIntyre; Antony Viccars; Christopher Bidmead	Barbara Jefford; Barbara Bolton; Virginia McKenna	John Richmond		Third Prog (2nd rpt on Radio 3/Third)	1967-09-21 p62 1968-01-04 p55 1969-10-09 p57	(Part 1) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 55740d?bcast= 118942474 (Part 2) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 55740e?bcast= 123954995 (Part 3) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3822A4?bcast =123954996	
1967-11-23	1967-12-17	Richard III	200 (+ 10 min inter-val)	Paul Daneman; Anthony Jackson; Christopher Barrington; Derek Lamden; Martin Jarvis; Christopher Bidmead; Gary Watson; Ian McKellen; Peter Marinker; Denys Hawthorne; Ronald Herdman; Trader Faulkner; Harold Kasket; Nigel Anthony; Richard Briers;	Barbara Mitchell; Sylvia Coleridge; Beatrix Lehmann; Judi Dench	John Powell	John Powell	Radio 3/ Third	1967-11-16 p59 1967-11-16 p65 1967-12-14 p17	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 4f51ad?bcast= 118950876	

				Antony Viccars; Ian Thompson; James McManus; Richard Hurndall; Keith Grenville							
1968-08-22	1968-09-08 1971-02-01	Two Gentlemen of Verona	122 (+ 8 min inter-val)	Denys Hawthorne; Michael Harbour; Bill Owen; Ralph Truman; Tom Eytle; Percy Edwards; Bryan Pringle; Ian Thompson; Anthony Jacobs; Leigh Crutchley; Michael Deacon; Kenneth McClellan; Basil Jones	Judi Dench; Kate Coleridge; Gudrun Ure; Margaret Ford; Jan Edwards	R D Smith	R D Smith	Radio 3/ Third (2nd rpt on Radio 4)	1968-08-15 p32 1968-08-15 p45 1968-08-29 p54 1968-09-05 p15 1971-01-28 p29	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 388893?bcast= 118991154	
1968-12-20	1969-02-23	Comedy of Errors	80	Victor Lucas; Haydn Jones; Christo Luvac; Jonah Sendy; Lockwood West; Francis de Wolff; Wilfrid Carter; John Wyse; Peter Baldwin; Wilfrid Jones; Wolfe Morris	Maureen Beck; Rosalind Shanks; Lisa Harrow; Gretta Gouriet; Marjorie Westbury	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Radio 3/Third	1968-12-12 p40 1968-12-12 p61 1969-02-20 p13	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 38ABDF?bcast =119002061	
1969-09-19	1969-11-02 1974-01-14 1991-12-29	Much Ado About Nothing	150	Paul Daneman; Ralph Richardson; Cecil Parker; Ronald Allen; Martin Jarvis; Heron Carvic; Richard Goolden; Nigel Lambert; John Pullen; David Valla; Malcolm Hayes; John Bryning; Garard Green; Brian Haines; Charles Simon	Fenella Fielding; Perlita Neilson; Margaret Wolfit; Madi Hedd	John Powell	John Powell	Radio 3/ Third (2nd rpt on Radio 4 & shortened, 3rd rpt on Radio 3)	1969-09-11 p55 1969-10-09 p67 1969-10-30 p12 1969-10-30 p27 1974-01-10 p15 1991-12-19 p164	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 38FC1D?bcast =119036598	
1970-03-30	1971-05-28	Hamlet (rpt of 1948)	60 (rpt 70)	(from 'gramophone records')				Radio 3	1970-03-26 p31 1971-05-20 p51		

1970-04-03	1970-04-26	All's Well That Ends Well	135	Brian Haines; Marius Goring; Robert Harris; Saeed Jaffrey; Charles Lewsen; Nicholas Young; John Dearth; Kenneth McClellan; Alan Barry; Henry Stamper; John Hollis; Peter Tuddenham; David Hart; Ian Lubbock	Sian Phillips; Beatrix Lehmann; Betty Baskcomb; Diana Robson; Jo Manning Wilson	R D Smith	R D Smith	Radio 3/ Third	1970-03-26 p51 1970-04-23 p27		
1970-04-06	1970-11-22	Romeo & Juliet	Listed as 118 (actual 139)	Ian McKellen; Robert Eddison; Ronald Pickup; David Weston; Joseph O'Conor; John Bentley; Clive Merrison; John Gray; Gordon Gardner; Michael Harbour; Trevor Martin; Michael Spice; John Rye; Hugh Walters; Peter Tuddenham; James Thomason	Anna Calder-Marshall; Patricia Routledge; Margaret Tyzack; Joan Matheson	John Tydeman		Radio 4 (rpt on Radio 3, shorter & in stereo)	1970-04-02 p41 1970-11-19 p5 1970-11-19 p29	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 393D5B?bcast =119076382	
1970-06-21	1970-09-27	A Midsummer Night's Dream	127 (+ 8 min inter-val)	John Bentley; Peter Pratt; John Gabriel; David Spenser; John Rye; Charles Simon; Leonard Fenton; Godfrey Kenton; Austin Trevor; Wilfrid Carter; Hector Ross; Sean Arnold; Malcolm Hayes	Margaret Wolfit; Jo Manning Wilson; Elizabeth Proud; Hilda Kriseman; Madi Hedd; Jan Edwards; Kathleen Helme; Deborah Dallas	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Radio 3	1970-06-18 p14 1970-06-18 p26-7 1970-09-24 p24-5	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 395517?bcast= 119087070	

1971-03-07	1971-05-30	Henry VI (parts 1 & 2)	140 (+ 10 min inter-val)	Ian McKellen; John Gabriel; Norman Shelley; Clifford Norgate; Nigel Lambert; Trevor Martin; Edward Kelsey; Basil Langton; Kerry Francis; Patrick Tull; James Thomason; David Valla; Hector Ross; Francis de Wolff; Gerald Cross; Leslie Heritage; Brian Hewlett; Sean Barrett; Gabriel Woolf	Barbara Jefford; Elizabeth Morgan; Marjorie Westbury; Gladys Spencer; Denise Bryer	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Radio 3	1971-03-04 p5 1971-03-04 p24-5 1971-05-27 p25	(Part 1) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 39A2AC?bcast =119118228 (Part 2) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 671d37?bcast= 131985129	
1971-03-14	1971-06-06	Henry VI (parts 2& 3)	115 (+ 10 min inter-val)	Ian McKellen; Clifford Norgate; Nigel Lambert; Basil Langton; Trevor Martin; Douglas Blackwell; Brian Hewlett; Peter Tuddenham; John Forrest; Kerry Francis; Antony Higginson; Martin Friend; Richard Griffiths; Sean Arnold; Gabriel Woolf	Barbara Jefford; Denise Bryer	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Radio 3	1971-03-11 p24-5 1971-06-03 p25	(Part 1) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 671d38?bcast= 131985130 (Part 2) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 4f51b8?bcast= 119118895	

1971-07-25	1971-12-05	Macbeth	155 (inc inter- val & inter- lude)	Joss Ackland; Robert Hardy; Lewis Stringer; Henry Stamper; Richard Hurndall; John Rye; Sean Arnold; Kerry Francis; Clifford Norgate; Gerald Cross; Trevor Martin; Barnaby Williams; Nigel Anthony; John Ruddock; Edward Kelsey; Ronald Herdman; Toby Daniels; Douglas Blackwell	Googie Withers; Marjorie Westbury; Gladys Spencer; Betty Baskcomb; Eva Stuart	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Radio 3	1971-07-22 p24 1971-07-22 p25 1971-12-02 p28-9	Held in British Library: C1014/40 BD1 NSA (First scene missing)	
1971-10-31	1972-01-23	Hamlet	185 (+ 10 min inter- val)	Ronald Pickup; Robert Lang; William Squire; Martin Jarvis; Aubrey Woods; David Spenser; Patrick Tull; Nigel Graham; Michael Kilgarriff; Rolf Lefebvre; David Valla; Ronald Herdman; Michael Spice; Leslie Heritage; Gil Sutherland; Sean Barrett; John Rye	Maxine Audley; Angela Pleasence	John Tydeman		Radio 3	1971-10-28 p4 1971-10-28 p40 1971-10-28 p41 1972-01-20 p27	BBC Archive	
1972-05-07	1973-01-14	Twelfth Night	135 (+ 15 min inter- val)	Stephen Murray; Maurice Denham; William Squire; John Moffatt; Brian Hewlett; Michael Kilgarriff; William Eedle; Haydn Jones; Edward Kelsey; John Pullen; Ronald Herdman	Dorothy Tutin; Geraldine McEwan; Sheila Grant	Charles Lefeaux		Radio 3	1972-05-04 p4-5 1972-05-04 p24-5 1973-01-11 p26-7	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3A275C?bcast =119176225	

1972-07-30	1973-06-17 1974-12-02	Julius Caesar	140	Nigel Stock; Anthony Bate; Peter Jeffrey; Julian Glover; Martin Jarvis; Dudley Foster; John Rowe; Lewis Stringer; Manning Wilson; Henry Knowles; Michael Harbour; Rolf Lefebvre; David Howe; Geoffrey Beevers; Douglas Blackwell; William Fox; Ronald Herdman; Martin Friend; William Sleigh	Jane Wenham; Kate Binchy; Helen Worth	Martin Jenkins	Martin Jenkins	Radio 3 (rpt on Radio 4 & shortened)	1972-07-27 p4 1972-07-27 p22-3 1973-06-14 p27 1974-11-28 p47	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3A4104?bcast =119186587	
1972-11-12	1973-02-11 1979-05-27 1988-09-23	Othello	185 (+ 5 min inter- val)	Paul Scofield; Nicol Williamson; Martin Jarvis; Peter Egan; Francis de Wolff; Godfrey Kenton; John Ruddock; Brian Haines; Malcolm Terris; John Rye; Martin Friend; Nigel Graham; Michael Kilgarriff; Jonathan Scott; Peter Tuddenham	Rosalind Shanks; Hannah Gordon; Rosalind Adams	John Tydeman		Radio 3 (2nd rpt on Radio 4, 3rd rpt on Radio 3)	1972-11-09 p3 1972-11-09 p37 1973-02-08 p24-5 1979-05-24 p23 1979-05-24 p35 1988-09-15 p6 1988-09-15 p102	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3A618D?bcast =119210276	V&A https://arc hiveshub. jisc.ac.uk/ data/gb71 - thm/397/t hm/397/1 /1/47
1973-03-18	1973-07-08	Henry IV part 1	170 (inc inter- lude)	Leo McKern; Peter Jeffrey; John Rowe; David Buck; Peter Sallis; Sam Dastor; Terry Scully; Brian Haines; Lewis Stringer; Richard Hampton; David Kincaid; Haydn Jones; John Pullen; Hugh Dickson; David Gooderson; Nigel Lambert; Fraser Kerr; Geoffrey Matthews; Robin	Elizabeth Spriggs; Kate Binchy; Elizabeth Morgan	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1973-03-15 p28 1973-03-15 p29 1973-07-05 p24-5	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3A895C?bcast =119225720	

				Browne; Ronald Herdman; Andrew Rivers							
1973-03-25	1973-07-15	Henry IV part 2	180 (+ 5 min inter-val)	Leo McKern; Peter Jeffrey; John Rowe; Clifford Rose; Allan Cuthbertson; Hugh Dickson; John Rowe; Sam Dastor; Nigel Anthony; Crispin Gillbard; Lewis Stringer; Fraser Kerr; Clifford Norgate; Jeffrey Segal; Brian Haines; Terry Scully; John Corvin; Andrew Rivers; Nigel Lambert; Geoffrey Matthews; Haydn Jones; Geoffrey Bayldon; Ronald Herdman; Robin Browne	Katherine Parr; Kate Binchy; Elizabeth Spriggs; Patricia Routledge	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1973-03-22 p26-7 1973-07-12 p24-5	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3A8B47?bcast =119226312	
1973-06-11	1976-08-02	Taming of the Shrew	119 (inc inter-lude)	Paul Daneman; Terry Scully; David Spenser; Nigel Lambert; Carleton Hobbs; Richard Goolden; John Rowe; Timothy Bateson; Ronald Herdman; Nigel Anthony; William Sleigh; Robin Browne; John Ruddock; Sam Dastor; William Fox	Fenella Fielding; Miriam Margolyes; Sheila Grant	Ian Cotterell	Ian Cotterell	Radio 4	1973-06-07 p5 1973-06-07 p29 1976-07-29 p27	BBC Archive	

1973-10-28	1974-05-05	Titus Andronicus	165	Michael Aldridge; Alan Webb; Julian Glover; John Rowe; Sam Dastor; Sean Barrett; Nigel Graham; William Sleigh; Neville Jason; Crispin Gillbard; David Timson; Colin Baker; Brian Haines; Fraser Kerr; Timothy Bateson	Barbara Jefford; Frances Jeater; Betty Huntley-Wright	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1973-10-25 p38-9 1974-05-02 p24	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3ACE12?bcast=119250895	
1974-03-24	1974-11-17 1977-05-02 1981-12-03	The Tempest	120 (+ 5 min interval)	Paul Scofield; Ronnie Stevens; Patrick Stewart; John Justin; Charles Kay; Michael Spice; Richard Kay; Timothy Bateson; Anthony Daniels; Alan Rowe; Terry Scully; Roy Kinnear; William Sleigh	Jane Knowles	Ian Cotterell	Ian Cotterell	Radio 3	1974-03-21 p28-9 1974-11-14 p38-9 1977-04-28 p37 1981-11-26 p72-3	BBC Archive	V&A https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb71-thm/397/thm/397/1/1/62
1974-12-15	1975-07-20	King Lear	190 (+ 5 min interval)	Alec Guinness; Cyril Cusack; Ronald Pickup; Norman Rodway; Robert Powell; Trevor Martin; Julian Curry; Donald Douglas; Andrew Sachs; Michael Deacon; David Timson; Rolf Lefebvre; Peter Williams; David Ericsson; Paul Gaymon; Peter Pacey; Stephen Thorne	Jill Bennett; Eileen Atkins; Sarah Badel	John Tydeman		Radio 3	1974-12-12 p3 1974-12-12 p17 1974-12-12 p19 1974-12-12 p34-5 1975-07-17 p13 1975-07-17 p25	(Part 1) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3B4BD1?bcast=119299260 (Part 2) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/buf4f55b7?bcast=123962349	

1975-02-02		Timon of Athens	105	Stephen Murray; Denis Quilley; John Slater; Norman Wooland; Nigel Lambert; Trader Faulkner; Hector Ross; Paul Gaymon; Denis McCarthy; Malcolm Hayes; Peter Pacey; Peter Pratt; Kerry Francis; John Rye; Alan Rowe; John Gabriel; Peter Whitman	Carole Boyd; Kate Coleridge	Raymond Raikes	Raymond Raikes	Radio 3	1975-01-30 p28-9	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3B5B59?bcast=119306903	
1976-03-07	1976-12-26	Measure for Measure	145 (inc. inter-lude)	Michael Gough; Philip Bond; Norman Rodway; Christopher Bidmead; Geoffrey Bayldon; Michael Burlington; Trader Faulkner; Peter Woodthorpe; Stephen Thorne; Denis McCarthy; Michael Graham Cox; Roger Brierley; Alan Lawrance; Michael Shannon; Nicholas Wareham; Haydn Jones; David Sinclair	Marian Diamond; Cecile Chevreau; Celestine Randall; Sonia Fraser	Jane Morgan		Radio 3	1976-03-04 p24 1976-12-16 p68	BBC Archive	

1976-04-18	1979-04-23	Henry V	190 (+ 5 min inter-val)	John Rowe; John Gielgud; Michael Aldridge; Barry Foster; David Graham; Antony Hall; Martin Jarvis; Peter Jeffrey; Patrick Troughton; Timothy West; Peter Woodthorpe; Alec McCowen; Malcolm Hayes; Jeffrey Segal; Michael Deacon; Timothy Bateson; Crispin Gillbard; Peter Craze; Michael Shannon; Clifford Norgate; James Thomason; Haydn Jones; Peter Williams; John Rye	Angela Pleasence; Elizabeth Spriggs; Betty Huntley-Wright	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1976-04-15 p13 1976-04-15 p25 1979-04-19 p46 1979-04-19 p51	(Part 1) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3BDE91?bcast =119360665 (Part 2) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 4f55ba?bcast= 123962352	
1976-10-03	1977-08-07	Merchant of Venice	150	Alan Badel; Christopher Bidmead; Richard Goolden; Steve Hodson; Patrick Barr; David Neal; William Eedle; Peter Craze; Malcolm Reid; Brian Sanders; John Rye; Leslie Heritage; Jeffrey Segal; John Ruddock; Marcus Campbell; Martin Hill	Anna Massey; Sarah Badel; Jane Knowles	Ian Cotterell		Radio 3	1976-09-30 p31 1977-08-04 p25	BBC Archive	

1977-01-30	1978-04-23	Antony & Cleopatra	175 (+ 5 min inter-val)	Robert Stephens; Derek Godfrey; Ronald Pickup; Lockwood West; Peter Woodthorpe; Sam Dastor; Neville Jason; William Eedle; Fraser Kerr; Michael Goldie; Stephen Thorne; Bruce Lidington; Andrew Seear; Geoffrey Collins; Peter Craze; Anthony Daniels; Wilfrid Carter; Haydn Jones; Walter Hall; Steve Hodson; Paul Meier	Sian Phillips; Sheila Grant; Mary Healey; Jane Knowles	John Tydeman		Radio 3	1977-01-27 p3 1977-01-27 p26-7 1978-04-20 p31	(Part 1) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 55fd3f?bcast=1 26738707 (Part 2) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 4f55bc?bcast= 119393331
1978-01-01	1978-08-27	As You Like It	150 (inc. inter-lude)	Martin Jarvis; Philip Locke; Peter Howell; John Ruddock; Michael Harbour; Ronald Herdman; James Thomason; Neville Jason; Gavin Campbell; Marcus Campbell; Timothy Bateson; Christopher Guard; Richard Goolden; Kenneth Shanley	Sarah Badel; Anna Carteret; Frances Jeater; Rosalind Ayres	Ian Cotterell		Radio 3	1977-12-22 p73 1978-08-24 p26-7	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3C9A0E?bcast =119429460
1978-07-31	1978-08-06 1990-04-23	Merry Wives of Windsor	90	Brewster Mason; Charles Kay; Bill Fraser; Peter Jeffrey; Carleton Hobbes; Geoffrey Beevers; Richard Bebb; Kevin Flood; John Hollis; David Horovitch; Richard	Sheila Hancock; Maxine Audley; Patricia Hayes; Susan Sheridan	Dickon Reed	Dickon Reed	Radio 4	1978-07-27 p31 1978-08-03 p27 1990-04-19 p59	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3CDCC7?bcast =119458179

				Derrington; Edward Kelsey (World Service production)							
1979-02-22	1981-02-05	Love's Labour's Lost	135	John McEnery; Michael Kitchen; Robert Stephens; Clifford Rose; Paul Scofield; Jeremy Clyde; Andrew Branch; Christopher Biggins; John Baddeley; Clifford Abrahams; John Rye; Eric Allan	Anna Massey; Eileen Atkins; Denise Coffey; Elizabeth Proud; Frances Jeater	David Spenser		Radio 3	1979-02-15 p60-1 1981-01-29 p62	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3D2298?bcast=119490717	
1979-09-20	1982-04-29	Coriolanus	175 (+ 10 min interval)	Richard Pasco; Cyril Luckham; Derek Godfrey; Michael Spice; Tim Pigott-Smith; Jack May; Brian Haines; Brian Sanders; Philip Voss; Eric Allan; Fred Bryant; John Bull; Roger Hammond; Michael McStay; John Gabriel; Harold Kasket; Andrew Branch; Gordon Dulieu; Joe Dunlop; Adrian Egan; Leonard Fenton; Danny Schiller; Philip Sully	Fabia Drake; Rosalind Shanks; Petra Davies; Hilda Kriseman; Tammy Ustinov	Ian Cotterell		Radio 3	1979-09-13 p7 1979-09-13 p11 1979-09-13 p72 1982-04-22 p56-7	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3D6A2E?bcast=123962330	
1979-09-24 1979-09-25 1979-09-26 1979-09-27 1979-09-28		Julius Caesar (schools)	300 (5 x 60)					BBC Radio London	1979-09-20 p86		

1980-01-15 1980-01-16 1980-01-17		Merchant of Venice (schools)	150 (3 x 50)	Gordon Gardner; David Brierley; Edward Kelsey	Jo Manning Wilson; Anne Rosenfeld	David Self	Colin Smith	Radio London	1980-01-10 p80	
1980-03-06	1981-04-05	Troilus & Cressida	195 (95+ 100)	Michael Pennington; Norman Rodway; Nigel Stock; Alan Howard; Terrence Hardiman; Sebastian Shaw; Gabriel Woolf; David Buck; John Rye; Jeremy Clyde; John Bull; Philip Sully; Gordon Dulieu; John Westbrook; Peter Baldwin; Gordon Reid; Leonard Fenton; Graham Faulkner; Trevor Cooper; Lee Harrington; Brian Carroll	Maureen O'Brien; Petra Davies; Sheila Grant; Sonia Fraser	David Spenser		Radio 3	1980-02-28 p66-7 1981-04-02 p35	BBC Archive
1981-10-08	1982-10-03	Pericles	150	Tim Pigott-Smith; Michael Aldridge; David March; Robert Morris; Nicholas Courtney; Richard Hurndall; Manning Wilson; Stephen Thorne; Jonathan Scott; Christopher Scott; Peter Baldwin; John Livesey; Haydn Wood; John Webb; John McAndrew; Spencer Banks; Mark Eldridge	Angharad Rees; Carole Boyd; Sheila Grant; Eva Stuart; Jane Knowles; Holly March	David Spenser		Radio 3	1981-10-01 p4 1981-10-01 p63 1982-09-30 p37	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3E594A?bcast =119603983
1982-01-21	1983-02-20	Winter's Tale	180	Ronald Pickup; Gary Bond; Michael Gough; Michael Spice; Derek Smith; Cyril Luckham; David Timson;	Hannah Gordon; Barbara Jefford; Angela Pleasence; Patience	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1982-01-21 p62-3 1983-02-17 p32-3	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT

				Christopher Guard; John Gielgud; John Livesey; Michael Tudor Barnes; Spencer Banks; Alan Dudley; Stephen Thorne; George Parsons; Steve Hodson; Hugh Dickson	Tomlinson; Pauline Letts; Theresa Streatfeild; Jill Lidstone; Stella Forge						3E7B47?bcast =119615032
1982-10-02	1983-01-02	Twelfth Night	148	Alec McCowen; Steve Hodson; Crawford Logan; Peter Tuddenham; Norman Rodway; Andrew Sachs; Ronnie Stevens; Bernard Hepton; Ian Lavender; James Aubrey; Simon Hewitt; Stuart Organ; Alex Jennings; Hugh Dickson	Wendy Murray; Dilys Laye; Harriet Walter; Miranda Forbes	Glyn Dearman		Radio 4	1982-09-30 p29 1982-12-23 p75	BBC Archive	
1983-06-16	1984-01-26	Romeo & Juliet	140	Ian Saynor; Stephen Thorne; William Nighy (Bill Nighy); Alex Jennings; Hugh Dickson; Stuart Organ; David Gooderson; Timothy Bateson; Ronald Baddiley; David Peart; Steve Hodson; James Bryce; Danny Schiller; Jeremy Booker	Harriet Walter; Elizabeth Spriggs; Frances Jeater; Hilda Schroder	Richard Wortley		Radio 3	1983-06-09 p14 1983-06-09 p58 1984-01-19 p64	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 3F1CBC?bcast =119670113	

1983-11-07		A Midsummer Night's Dream	160	Nigel Hawthorne; Michael Maloney; Jonathan Kent; Christopher Benjamin; Bernard Bresslaw; Peter Straker; Adam Bareham; Timothy Bateson; Donald Gee; Michael Bilton; Stephen Thorne; James Kerry; Scott Cherry; Shayur Mater; Jason Styles; Robert MacLoughlin; Alistair Cameron	Maureen O'Brien; Diana Quick; Phoebe Nicholls; Liza Goddard; Pauline Siddle	David Spenser		Radio 4	1983-11-03 p20 1983-11-03 p41	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3F4BB9?bcast=119684707	
1983-12-25	1985-02-27	Sir Thomas More	120	Ian McKellen; Stuart Organ; Eric Allan; Michael Shannon; Brett Usher; Alex Jennings; Michael Bilton; John Hollis; Bernard Brown; Clive Panto; Haydn Jones; Cyril Luckham; David Gooderson; Geoffrey Collins; John Webb; James Bryce; Timothy Bateson; David Peart; Peter Tuddenham; Richard Huw; Godfrey Kenton; Michael Spice	Carole Boyd; Jean Trend; Madi Hedd; Fiona Walker	Martin Jenkins	Penny Gold	Radio 3	1983-12-15 p73 1985-02-21 p53	BBC Archive	
1984-04-23	1984-11-28	Macbeth	130	Denis Quilley; Clifford Rose; John Rowe; Nigel Terry; Stuart Organ; John Hollis; Geoffrey Collins; Sean Barrett; David Peart; John Webb; Richard Huw; Michael	Hannah Gordon; Carole Boyd; Susan Brown; Pauline Siddle; Elizabeth Lindsay; Jane	Martin Jenkins		Radio 4 (rpt on Radio 3)	1984-04-19 p18 1984-04-19 p41 1984-11-22 p72	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT3F7EF1?bcast=119706073	

				Bilton; Kerry Francis; James Bryce; Manning Wilson; James Kerry; Michael Jenner	Wenham; Jane Knowles					
1984-12-03 1984-12-04 1984-12-05 1984-12-06 1984-12-07		Julius Caesar (schools)	150 (5x30)	Edward de Souza; Denys Hawthorne; David Brierley; Nigel Anthony		Stuart Evans	Fleur Alcock	Radio 4	1984-11-29 p57 1984-11-29 p65 1984-11-29 p73 1984-11-29 p81 1984-11-29 p89	
1985-08-26	1986-04-20 2009-10-31	Richard III	150	Ian Holm; Tom Wilkinson; Philip Voss; Brett Usher; Michael Graham Cox; Brian Smith; Christopher Douglas; Simon Hewitt; David Learner; Stephen Thorne; Robin Summers; Shaun Prendergast; Bernard Brown; Matthew Carroll; William Buckhurst; David Garth; David Sinclair; John Church; Steve Hodson; Graham Blockey; Adrian Egan; James Macpherson; Trevor Nichols; Alan Thompson	Barbara Jefford; Sarah Badel; Melinda Walker; Pauline Letts	Jane Morgan		Radio 4 (rpt on Radio 3; 2nd rpt on BBC Radio 7)	1985-08-22 p39 1985-08-22 p77 1986-04-17 p41 2009-10-29 p131	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT401EBC?bcast=119767449
1985-09-16 1985-09-17 1985-09-18 1985-09-19 1985-09-20		Twelfth Night (schools)	150 (5x30)			Peter Fozzard		Radio 4	1985-09-12 p43 1985-09-12 p51 1985-09-12 p59 1985-09-12 p65 1985-09-12 p73	

1986-01-12	1987-05-19	Cymbeline	200 (95 + 105)	Alec McCowen; David Schofield; Tim Pigott-Smith; Patrick Troughton; John Duttine; Miles Anderson; Gary Cady; Philip Sully; Christopher Douglas; Trevor Nichols; David Sinclair; Arnold Diamond; Spenser Banks; Peter Acre; Steven Harrold	Anna Calder-Marshall; Hannah Gordon; Tessa Worsley; Maggie McCarthy	David Spenser		Radio 3	1986-01-09 p12 1986-01-09 p30-1 1987-05-14 p59	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 404AAA?bcast =119782338
1986-02-02	1986-12-19	Richard II	160	John Hurt; David Suchet; Harry Andrews; Roger Hammond; Hugh Dickson; Philip Voss; Garard Green; Christopher Douglas; David Garth; John Church; Peter Acre; Brian Smith; Colin Starkey; David Learner; Trevor Nichols; Alan Thompson; Bernard Brown; David Sinclair	Ann Bell; Mary Wimbush; Anne Jameson; Melinda Walker; Helena Breck	Richard Wortley		Radio 3	1986-01-30 p12 1986-01-30 p30-1 1986-12-11 p86	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 40518D?bcast =119784774
1986-09-15 1986-09-16 1986-09-17 1986-09-18	1990-10-15 1990-10-18 1990-10-22 1990-10-25	Macbeth (schools)	120 (4x30)	John Shrapnel; Michael Poole; John Talbot; Richard Reece; Sean Barrett; Brian Smith; Michael Goldie; Nick Brimble; Nigel Graham; Nick Mercer; John Hollis; Struan Rodger; Andrew Branch; Robert Lister; Mark Ashton;	Elizabeth Bell; Jennie Stoller; Lollie May; Sandra Freeman; Christine Mackie; Vicki Ireland; Noreen Leighton	Peter Fozzard		BBC Radio 4 (rpt on BBC Radio 5)	1986-09-11 p47 1986-09-11 p53 1986-09-11 p59 1986-09-11 p65 1990-10-11 p77 1990-10-11 p83 1990-10-18 p87 1990-10-18 p93	(Part 1) https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 42A7D1?bcast =119993150 (Part 2) https://learning

				Bob Docherty; Alexander John; Shaun Prendergast						onscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT42A900?bcast=119993580 (Part 3) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT42AAB2?bcast=119994103 (Part 4) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT42ABE6?bcast=119994661	
1986-10-24		All's Well That Ends Well	135	Greg Hicks; Bernard Hepton; Alfred Burke; Nickolas Grace; Michael Angelis; Sean Barrett; Richard Durden; Gordon Reid; Peter Howell; Crawford Logan; Ronald Herdman; David Learner; Eric Stovell	Maureen O'Brien; Barbara Jefford; Tessa Worsley; Natasha Pyne; Elaine Claxton	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1986-10-16 p25 1986-10-16 p88	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT40A727?bcast=119811653

1987-07-03		Merchant of Venice	135	David Suchet; Peter Jeffrey; John Rowe; Brian Hewlett; Nicky Henson; Anton Lesser; Geoffrey Collins; Joseph Marcell; Andrew Branch; Clifford Rose; Steven Harrold; Edward de Souza; James Goode; Cyril Shaps	Hannah Gordon; Helena Breck; Moir Leslie	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1987-06-25 p12 1987-06-25 p72-3	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 40FF38?bcast= 119843951](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT40FF38?bcast=119843951)	
1988-05-20	1989-03-24 1993-12-25 2005-11-26	Taming of the Shrew	125	Bob Peck; Laurence Payne; Douglas Hodge; Michael Deacon; Stephen Tompkinson; Robert Glenister; Christopher Fairbank; John Baddeley; Simon Cuff; Anthony Jackson; William Simons; Richard Pearce; Stephen Rashbrook	Cheryl Campbell; Moir Leslie; Linda Polan	Jeremy Mortimer	Jeremy Mortimer	Radio 3 (2nd rpt on Radio 4, 3rd rpt on BBC 7)	1988-05-12 p24 1988-05-12 p82 1989-03-16 p74 1989-03-16 p75 1993-12-16 p199 2005-11-24 p143	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 416E2D?bcast =119882285](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT416E2D?bcast=119882285)	
1989-05-26		Timon of Athens	135	Robert Stephens; Norman Rodway; John Rowe; John Church; David March; John Rye; Aubrey Woods; Christopher Good; Brian Miller; Michael Deacon; John Bull; John Warner; Philip Sully; John Moffatt; David King; Geoffrey Whitehead; Michael Kilgarriff; Vincent Brimble; Ken Cumberlidge; Paul Downing; Joe Dunlop; David Goudge; Ian Targett; David Ashford	Susan Sheridan; Alice Arnold; Marcia King; Joan Walker	John Theocharis	John Theocharis	Radio 3	1989-05-18 p68	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 41ED7C?bcast =119925948](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT41ED7C?bcast=119925948)	

1990-06-22		King John	140	Jack Shepherd; John Warnaby; Jonathan Hyde; Brian Glover; Michael N Harbour; Christopher Godwin; Mark Lambert; Michael Deacon; Christopher Good; Charles Simpson; John Gabriel; James Greene; Scott Cherry	Maggie McCarthy; Elizabeth Lindsay; Penny Downie; Margaret Robertson; Jane Slavin	Clive Brill	Clive Brill	Radio 3	1990-06-14 p72 1990-06-14 p73	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT427CED?bcast=119975915	
1990-09-30	1991-04-14	Julius Caesar	140	Michael Maloney; Clive Merrison; Gerard Murphy; Paul Daneman; Gary Waldhorn; John Gabriel; David Goudge; Godfrey Kenton; Paul Downing; Joe Dunlop; Peter Howell; Charles Simpson; Stephen Garlick; John Bull; Michael Graham Cox; Ben Onwukwe	Emily Richard; Jo Kendall	Richard Imison		Radio 3	1990-09-27 p68 1990-09-27 p69 1991-04-11 p98	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT42A1A8?bcast=119990615	
1991-06-23	1995-01-12	A Midsummer Night's Dream	150	James Macpherson; Stephen Tompkinson; Hakeem Kae-Kazim; Tony Armatrading; John Carlisle; Jeff Rawle; Roger Hammond; Richard Pearce; John Hollis; Charles Millham; Roger Griffiths	Susannah Harker; Julia Ford; Adjoa Andoh; Emma Fielding; Katy Behean; Melanie Nicholson; Thelma Lawson	Clive Brill		Radio 3	1991-06-20 p90 1991-06-20 p91 1992-01-09 p102	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT430950?bcast=120031234	

1992-02-16		Macbeth	130	Tim McInnerny; David Robb; Michael Lumsden; Maurice Denham; Kim Wall; Jonathan Wyatt; David Holt; Neal Foster; Andy Hockley; Martin Reeve; Edward Long; Geoffrey Banks; Graham Colclough; Richard Avery; Steven Granville	Harriet Walter; Nicola Redmond; Kathryn Hurlbutt; Mary Wimbush; Tamsin Greig	Nigel Bryant		Radio 3	1992-02-13 p4 1992-02-13 p82 1992-02-13 p83	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT436257?bcast=120062080	
1992-04-26	1992-12-27	Hamlet	235	Kenneth Branagh; Derek Jacobi; Richard Briers; Michael Williams; James Wilby; Michael Elphick; Michael Hordern; John Gielgud; Gerard Horan; Christopher Ravenscroft; Richard Clifford; James Simmons; Paul Gregory; Alex Lowe; Andrew Jarvis; Mark Hadfield; Shaun Prendergast (Renaissance Theatre)	Judi Dench; Sophie Thompson; Emma Thompson; Abigail Reynolds	Kenneth Branagh & Glyn Dearman		Radio 3	1992-04-23 p1 1992-04-23 p20-2 1992-04-23 p84 1992-04-23 p85 1992-12-17 p190	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT437D24?bcast=120071753	
1993-01-03		Twelfth Night	135	Joss Ackland; Iain Cuthbertson; Michael Maloney; Rudolf Walker; William Chubb; Roger Hume; Jonathan Wyatt; Jason Yates; Simon Fielder; Avi Nassa	Eve Matheson; Carolyn Backhouse; Adjoa Andoh	Nigel Bryant		Radio 3	1992-12-31 p112	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT43DDDB?bcast=120101172	

1993-04-25	1994-01-02	Romeo & Juliet	195	Kenneth Branagh; Ian Holm; Mark Hadfield; Andy Hockley; Richard Clifford; Simon Callow; Iain Glen; Richard Briers; Bernard Hepton; Norman Rodway; Nicholas Farrell; Jimmy Yuill; Derek Jacobi; Maurice Denham; Richard Pearce; John Gielgud; Richard Vernon; Sean Barrett; Alex Lowe; Shaun Prendergast (Renaissance Theatre)	Samantha Bond; Sheila Hancock; Dilys Laye; Judi Dench; Patti Holloway	Kenneth Branagh & Glyn Dearman		Radio 3	1993-04-22 - p1 1993-04-22 p28-9 1993-04-22 p90-1 1993-12-30 p120-1	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 44104D?bcast =120118097
1993-08-30		Much Ado About Nothing	120	Michael Maloney; Stephen Thorne; David Bradley; Michael Sheen; Ivor Roberts; Islwyn Morris; Gwyn Vaughan Jones; Gareth Owen; Brendan Charleson; Tony Leader; Gerald James; Ray Llewellyn; Rhodri Hugh; Simon Harris	Clare Holman; Nicola Goodchild; Ruth Jones; Lawmary Champion	Jane Dauncey		Radio 4	1993-08-26 p81	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 4446D2?bcast =120135701
1994-04-10	1994-11-20	King Lear	195	John Gielgud; Keith Michell; Richard Briers; Kenneth Branagh; John Shrapnel; Robert Stephens; Denis Quilley; Derek Jacobi; Iain Glen; Bob Hoskins; Simon Russell Beale; Michael Williams; Nickolas Grace;	Judi Dench; Emma Thompson; Eileen Atkins	Kenneth Branagh & Glyn Dearman		Radio 3	1994-04-07 p28-31 1994-04-07 p100-1 1994-11-17 p124-5	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 44A592?bcast =120168103

				Sam Dastor; Harry Towb; Maurice Denham; Bernard Cribbins; Matthew Morgan; Nicholas Boulton; Peter Hall (Renaissance Theatre)							
1994-06-19	1996-04-07	Measure for Measure	150	Ronald Pickup; John Shrapnel; Norman Rodway; James Frain; Simon Russell Beale; Bill Nighy; John Baddeley; Adrian Edmondson; Gavin Muir; Don McCorkindale; Ian Kelly; Peter Kenny	Saskia Reeves; Linda Marlowe; Alison Reid; Tina Gray; Frances Jeater	Peter Kavanagh	Peter Kavanagh	Radio 3	1994-06-16 p6 1994-06-16 p106-7 1996-04-04 p114	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT44C1C0?bcast=120178373	
1995-02-26		Julius Caesar	120	Hal Gould; Ayre Gross; Stacy Keach; John de Lancie; Richard Dreyfuss; Jack Coleman; David Birney; Rudi Hornish; John Vickery; Paul Mercier; Kelsey Grammer; John Randolph; Basil Langton; Andrew White; Arthur Hanket; Jim Morrison; George Murdock; Paul Winfield; Lee Arenberg (LA Theater Works)	Bonnie Bedelia; Jobeth Williams; Marnie Mosiman	Martin Jenkins		Radio 3	1995-02-23 p22-5 1995-02-23 p100-1	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT452A83?bcast=120214830	
1995-04-16	1996-10-06	Henry IV part 1	160	Robert Hardy; Robert Glenister; Barrie Rutter; Ian Meredith; Bill Fellows; James Tomlinson; Russell Dixon; Antony Byrne; Colin Prockter; Robert Whelan; John Lloyd-Fillingham; Andy Wear; Cliff	Geraldine Alexander; Jane Cox; Vanessa Woodfine	Michael Fox		Radio 3	1995-04-13 p108-9 1996-10-03 p114-5	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT453E48?bcast=120220687	

				Howells; Rob Pickavance; Malcolm Raeburn; Stefan Escreet; Simon Green						
1995-04-23	1996-10-13	Henry IV part 2	150	Robert Hardy; Robert Glenister; Barrie Rutter; James Tomlinson; Russell Dixon; Antony Byrne; Robert Whelan; Rob Pickavance; Stefan Escreet; John Lloyd-Fillingham; Peter Copley; Andy Wear; Cliff Howells; Keith Clifford; Malcolm Raeburn; Wyllie Longmore; Lyndam Gregory; Peter Whitman; Adam Sunderland	Geraldine Alexander; Jane Cox; Nina Wadia; Frances Jeater	Michael Fox		Radio 3	1995-04-20 p96 1996-10-10 p116	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT454137?bcast=120223131
1995-09-24		Richard III	140	Barrie Rutter; Dave Hill; Stephen Bent; Roy North; Russell Dixon; Conrad Nelson; Andy Livingston; Andy Wear; Laurence Evans; John Lloyd-Fillingham (Northern Broadsides)	Ishia Bennison; Polly Hemingway; Sally George; Elizabeth Estensen	Kate Rowland		Radio 3	1995-09-21 p128-9	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT4581F4?bcast=120246226
1995-12-17	1997-10-05	Merry Wives of Windsor	120	Freddie Jones; Clive Merrison; Geoffrey Whitehead; David Collings; Peter Gunn; Nigel Anthony; John Hartley; Roger May; Andrew Branch; Stephen Critchlow; Jonathan Keeble; David Timson; Ioan Meredith	Paula Wilcox; Miriam Margolyes; Elizabeth Spriggs; Tracy Wiles	David Blount		Radio 3	1995-12-14 p188-9 1997-10-02 p114-5	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT45A68F?bcast=120257916

1995-12-28		Macbeth (Berkoff's Macbeth)	120	Steven Berkoff; Lee Montague; Timothy Walker; Ian Hogg; Samuel West; Craig Charles; William Russell; Howard Goorney; Dyfed Thomas; Gary Raymond; Michael Grandage; Harry Peacock; Thomas Orange	Linda Marlowe; Cleo Laine; Suzan Sylvester	David Benedictus		Radio 4	1995-12-14 p211	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT45AB61?bcast=120259330
1996-02-11	1997-05-25	The Tempest	150	Ronald Pickup; Richard Derrington; Michael Siberry; Roger May; Norman Rodway; Philip Franks; Peter Jeffrey; Clifford Rose; Bill Wallis; Keith Drinkel; Andrew Branch; David Timson	Sarah Woodward	Sue Wilson		Radio 3	1996-02-08 p94-5 1997-05-22 p120	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT45BE42?bcast=120264976
1996-11-18	1997-09-28	Merchant of Venice	120	Warren Mitchell; Martin Jarvis; Samuel West; David Morrissey; Ron Cook; Colin McFarlane; John Turner; Denys Hawthorne; Stephen Critchlow; Paul Jenkins; David Collings; John Hartley; David Timson; Ross Livingstone; Andrew Branch	Juliet Aubrey; Georgia Mitchell; Tracy Wiles	Peter Kavanagh	Peter Kavanagh	Radio 4 (rpt on Radio 3)	1996-11-14 p10 1996-11-14 p125 1997-09-25 p114-5	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT4637D7?bcast=120301822

1996-12-22		Cymbeline	150	David Bradley; Robert Glenister; Timothy Walker; Danny Sapani; Clive Rowe; Patrick Robinson; Neal Swettenham; Burt Caesar; Will Tacey; Stephen Tomlin; Malcolm Hebden; Adam Sunderland	Juliet Stevenson; Marion Bailey; Kathryn Hunt	Michael Fox		Radio 3	1996-12-19 p188-9	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT4647E0?bcast=120306556
1997-09-01		As You Like It	120	Toby Stephens; Ronald Pickup; Derek Griffiths; Maurice Denham; Michael Cochrane; Christopher Wright; John Rowe; David Brooks; Iwan Thomas; David Bannerman; Sebastian Harcombe; Nicholas Boulton; Brian Parr; David Timson; Hugh Dickson	Imogen Stubbs; Siri O'Neal; Tracy Ann Oberman; Jane Whittenshaw	Ned Chaillet	Ned Chaillet	Radio 4	1997-08-28 p109	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT46B966?bcast=120340622
1997-12-07		Antony & Cleopatra	130	Barrie Rutter; Dave Hill; Andrew Cryer; Geoffrey Leesley; Conrad Nelson; Dickon Tyrrell; Andrew Whitehead; Gerard McDermott; Andy Wear; John Ecklington (Northern Broadsides)	Ishia Bennison; Julie Livesey; Sally Ann Matthews	Kate Rowland		Radio 3	1997-12-04 p124-5	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT46E673?bcast=120354616

1997-12-28	1998-11-22	Winter's Tale	160	Tom Courtenay; Tim Pigott-Smith; Rory Campbell; Nickolas Grace; Jonathan Cullen; Sean Baker; Chris Scott; Hugh Dickson; Stephen Thorne; Chris Pavlo; Ioan Meredith; Gerard McDermott; Alex Lowe	Harriet Walter; Jill Balcon; Tracy Ann Oberman; Carolyn Jones; Alison Pettit	Eoin O'Callaghan		Radio 3	1997-12-18 p208-9 1998-11-19 p116	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 46EFD3?bcast =120357230](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT46EFD3?bcast=120357230)	
1998-05-17	1999-01-10	Twelfth Night	120	Michael Maloney; John Rowe; Hugh Ross; Nicky Henson; Philip Jackson; Dermot Crowley; Christopher Wright; Iwan Thomas; Brian Bovell	Anne-Marie Duff; Josette Simon; Geraldine Fitzgerald	Eoin O'Callaghan	Eoin O'Callaghan	Radio 3	1998-05-14 p112-3 1999-01-07 p124-5	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 472F11?bcast= 120378480](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT472F11?bcast=120378480)	
1999-02-21		Comedy of Errors	120	Peter Jeffrey; Michael Maloney; Anton Lesser; Brian Parr; Clive Kneller; Richard Pasco; Clifford Rose; Malcolm McKee; Christopher Scott; Terry Malloy; Ian Brooker	Julia Watson; Amanda Root; Bridget Turner; Sunny Ormonde; Cathy Sara	Sue Wilson	Sue Wilson & Malcolm McKee	Radio 3	1998-12-31 p126-7 1999-02-18 p104	BBC Archive	
1999-09-12		Hamlet	205	Michael Sheen; Kenneth Cranham; Richard Johnson; David Bradley; Dominic Mafham; James Purefoy; Stephen Hogan; Richard Lynch; Colin McFarlane; Conrad Nelson; Giles Fagan; Nicholas Woodeson; William Key; Nicholas Tennant;	Juliet Stevenson; Ellie Beavan	Jenny Bardwell	Jeremy Mortimer	Radio 3	1999-09-09 p32-3 1999-09-09 p114-5 1999-09-23 p52	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 48135F?bcast= 120452036](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT48135F?bcast=120452036)	

				Richard Pearce; Robert Harper; David de Keyser; Timothy Spall (Millennium Shakespeare)						
1999-09-19	2004-06-20 2005-12-03	A Midsummer Night's Dream	135	David Threlfall; Samuel West; Nick Bagnall; Richard Griffiths; Donald McBride; Peter Sallis; Derek Walmsley; Andy Cryer; Malcolm Hebden; Thomas Pinnock; William Haigh (Millennium Shakespeare)	Sylvestra le Touzel; Amanda Root; Kathryn Hunt; Becky Simpson; Holly Grainger (Holliday Grainger)	Susan Roberts		Radio 3	1999-09-16 p120-1 1999-09-23 p52 2004-06-17 p118 2005-12-01 p145	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 4816C6?bcast= 120452993](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT4816C6?bcast=120452993)
1999-09-26			Julius Caesar	140	Nicholas Farrell; Gerard Murphy; Jonathan Firth; Colin McFarlane; Nickolas Grace; Hugh Ross; John Rowe; Ian Pepperl; John McAndrew; Sean Baker; Ian Jeffes (Millennium Shakespeare)	Samantha Bond; Stella Gonet	Eoin O'Callagha n		Radio 3	1999-09-23 p126	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 4819FB?bcast =120454060](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT4819FB?bcast=120454060)
1999-10-03			Romeo & Juliet	175	Douglas Henshall; Milo O'Shea; Freddie Jones; Andrew Scott; Iwan Thomas; Ben Crowe; Ioan Meredith; Richard Trahair; Harry Myers; David Brooks; Matthew Ghil (Millennium Shakespeare)	Sophie Dahl; Susannah York; Patti Love; Jenny Lee	Peter Kavanagh	Peter Kavanagh	Radio 3	1999-09-30 p5 1999-09-30 p119 1999-09-30 p124	[https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 481DF6?bcast =120456105](https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT481DF6?bcast=120456105)

2000-04-23		As You Like It	120	James Fleet; David Morrissey; Gerard Murphy; Stephen Boxer; Gavin Muir; John McEnery; Nicholas le Prevost; Mark Springer; Trevor Peacock; Paul Hilton; Tim Treloar (Millennium Shakespeare)	Helena Bonham Carter; Natasha Little; Katy Murphy; Janice Ackuah	Kate Rowland		Radio 3	2000-04-20 p127 2000-04-20 p132	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/buf 4f51b1?bcast= 123954999	
2000-04-30		Richard II	180	Samuel West; Joss Ackland; Damian Lewis; Ronald Pickup; Toby Jones; James Laurenson; Jamie Bamber; Philip Voss; Timothy Bateson; Stephen Critchlow; Ioan Meredith; Sean Baker; Bruce Alexander; Tim Treloar; Tom George; Christopher Kelham; Barry Farrimond (Millennium Shakespeare)	Janet Suzman; Sophie Okonedo; Margot Leicester; Beth Chalmers; Fiona Clarke	Jeremy Mortimer	Jeremy Mortimer	Radio 3	2000-04-27 p124	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 48829B?bcast= 120489457	
2000-09-10	2005-11-20	Macbeth	110	Ken Stott; Tom Mannion; Liam Brennan; Hugh Ross; Alan Cox; Paul Higgins; Alastair Galbraith; Kenny Ireland; Graham Crowden; Ken Drury; Iain Stuart Robinson; William McBain; Gavin Muir; Stuart Wilkinson; Alex Ferns; Ben Macleod (Millennium Shakespeare)	Phyllis Logan; Tracy Wiles; Kathleen McGoldrick	Richard Eyre		Radio 3	2000-09-07 p120 2005-11-17 p136	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/RT 48BAD7?bcast =120506970	

2000-09-17		Taming of the Shrew	105	Gerard McSorley; Dave Hill; Russell Dixon; Burn Gorman; James Quinn; Christopher Colquhoun; Seamus O'Neill; Deka Walmsley; Jeff Hordley (Millennium Shakespeare)	Ruth Mitchell; Julia Ford; Maggie Tagney	Melanie Harris		Radio 3	2000-09-14 p122	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/RT48BDBC?bcast=120507873
2001-09-16	2007-01-07	King Lear	150	Corin Redgrave; David Troughton; John Carlisle; William Houston; Robert Glenister; John Rowe; Clive Francis; Paul Copley; Struan Rodger; Sean Baker; Gavin Muir (Millennium Shakespeare)	Geraldine James; Kika Markham; Justine Waddell	Cherry Cookson		Radio 3	2001-09-13 p130 2007-01-04 p116	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0014470C?bcast=363577
2001-09-23	2005-11-13	Much Ado About Nothing	135	David Tennant; David Swift; Sean Baker; David Westhead; Chiwetel Ejiofor; Julian Rhind-Tutt; Stephen Critchlow; Jonathan Keeble; David Haig; Peter Gunn; Dermot Crowley; David Thorpe; Philip Joseph; Simon Greene; Jordan Calvert (Millennium Shakespeare)	Samantha Spiro; Emilia Fox; Maxine Peake; Helen Ayres	Sally Avens		Radio 3	2001-09-20 p132 2005-11-10 p130	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0014663A?bcast=387677

2001-09-30		Othello	190	Ray Fearon; James Frain; Cal Macaninch; Michael Legge; Karl Johnson; Gerard Murphy; Sean Baker; Jonathan Keeble; Philip Joseph; Joe O'Brien; Anatol Yusef (Millennium Shakespeare)	Anastasia Hille; Lindsey Coulson; Jasmine Hyde; Alice Arnold	Jeremy Mortimer	Jeremy Mortimer	Radio 3	2001-09-27 p140	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/00148EA5?bcast=411815	
2001-10-07	2005-07-06	The Tempest	125	Philip Madoc; Josh Richards; Rudolph Walker; James Laurenson; Christian Rodska; Ioan Meredith; Andrew Cryer; Ben Crowe; Harry Myers; Phillip Joseph; Sean Baker (Millennium Shakespeare)	Nina Wadia; Catrin Rhys; Janice Acquah; Jasmine Hyde; Clare Corbett	David Hunter		Radio 3	2001-10-04 p142 2005-06-30 p122	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0014B8D1?bcast=436029	
2002-10-13	2007-12-30	All's Well That Ends Well	135	Richard Griffiths; George Baker; Simon Russell Beale; David Timson; Carl Prekopp; Ian Masters; Ewan Bailey; Iwan Thomas; Gerard McDermott; Ben Onwukwe; Peter Darney (Millennium Shakespeare)	Emma Fielding; Sian Phillips; Miriam Margoyles; Helen Longworth; Emma Field-Rayner	Peter Kavanagh		Radio 3	2002-10-10 p136 2007-12-20 p250 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b008jyxx	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/00787239?bcast=28233076	
2002-10-20		Coriolanus	165	Samuel West; Adrian Dunbar; Kenneth Haigh; Malcolm Storry; Kenneth Cranham; Struan Rodger; Peter Marinker; Hugh Dickson; Nicholas Boulton; Stephen Hogan; John Rogan; Simon Wolfe; Ian Masters; Martin	Susannah York; Rebecca Egan; Jane Whittenshaw; Helen Longworth	Ned Chaillet	Ned Chaillet	Radio 3	2002-10-17 p138	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/001B26CF?bcast=1637833	

				Hyder; Carl Prekopp; Louis Constantine (Millennium Shakespeare)						
2002-10-27	2010-06-27	Antony & Cleopatra	180	David Harewood; Roger Allam; Colin Tierney; Ewan Hooper; Garry Cooper; Paul Hilton; Ben Onwukwe; Martin Hyder; Gerard McDermott; Sean Baker; Peter Marinker; Ben Crowe; Jonny Phillips; Ian Masters; Peter Darney; Carl Prekopp (Millennium Shakespeare)	Frances Barber; Amanda Root; Claire Rushbrook; Helen Longworth	Mary Peate		Radio 3	2002-10-24 p128 2002-10-24 p146 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b007fpgq	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/001B42D4?bcast=1657151
2004-02-01		Measure for Measure	130	Chiwetel Ejiofor; Clive Swift; Anton Lesser; Ewan Bailey; Lloyd Hutchinson; Jude Akuwudike; Colin McFarlane	Nadine Marshall; Claire Benedict; Adjoa Andoh	Claire Grove		Radio 3	2004-01-29 p118	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/004C4B57?bcast=3247746
2004-02-08		Winter's Tale	180	Michael Feast; Kenneth Cranham; David Fielder; Graeme Hawley; Matthew Beard; Russell Dixon; John Lloyd Fillingham; Toby Jones; Seamus O'Neill; James Nickerson; Jim Findley; Jonathan Keeble	Emma Fielding; Claire Benedict; Elianne Byrne; Deborah McAndrew	Nadia Molinari		Radio 3	2004-02-05 p114 - programme listing	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/004C658F?bcast=3273599

2004-02-15	2013-04-14	Richard III	170	Douglas Henshall; Ben Miles; Michael Maloney; Mark Bazeley; Geoffrey Streatfeild; John Rowe; Paul Bentall; Jonathan Keeble; Stephen Critchlow; Ewan Bailey; Stuart Bunce; Chris Moran; Damian Lynch; Rory Copus; Alex Green; Ioan Meredith; Gerard McDermott; Peter Marinker; Declan Wilson	Anastasia Hille; Geraldine James; Barbara Jefford; Jasmine Hyde; Rachel Atkins; Cherie Taylor-Battiste; Frances Jeater	Marc Beeby		Radio 3	2004-02-12 p120 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b007fws5	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/004C777D?bcast=95566992	
2004-06-06	2005-08-21	Arden of Faversham	105	Michael Pennington; David Burke; Giles Fagan; Michael Maloney; Anthony Jackson; Matthew Morgan; Mark Straker; Simon Treves; Steve Hodson; Sion Probert	Emily Hamilton; Victoria Woodward	Nicholas Soames	John Tydeman	Radio 3	2004-06-03 p118 2005-08-18 p114	BBC Archive	
2004-07-12 2004-07-13 2004-07-14	2005-02-05 2005-02-12 2005-02-20 2006-07-23 2006-07-30 2006-08-06	Julius Caesar (Noble Romans)	180 (3x60)	Paul Harwick; Roy Dotrice; Martin Jarvis; Phillip Fox; Alan Penn; Edward Hardwicke; Garard Green; Geoffrey Matthews; Hugh Dickson; Julian Fox; Michael McStay; Peter Pacey; Peter Whitman; Peter Wickham; Peter Woodthorpe; Walter Hall	Sheila Allen; Eva Sturar; Jean Rogers; Penelope Lee; Rosalind Ayres		Dickon Reed	BBC 7	2004-07-08 p124 2005-02-03 p130 2005-02-10 p138 2005-02-17 p140 2006-07-20 p127 2006-07-27 p127 2006-08-03 p135	BBC Archive	

2004-07-15 2004-07-16 2004-07-19	2005-02-27 2005-03-06 2005-03-13 2006-08-13 2006-08-20 2006-08-27	Antony & Cleopatra (Noble Romans)	180 (3x60)	Paul Harwick; Roy Dotrice; Martin Jarvis; Phillip Fox; Alan Penn; Edward Hardwicke; Garard Green; Geoffrey Matthews; Hugh Dickson; Julian Fox; Michael McStay; Peter Pacey; Peter Whitman; Peter Wickham; Peter Woodthorpe; Walter Hall	Sheila Allen; Eva Sturar; Jean Rogers; Penelope Lee; Rosalind Ayres		Dickon Reed	BBC 7	2004-07-08 p124 2004-07-15 p128 2005-02-24 p140 2005-03-03 p142 2005-03-10 p140 2006-08-10 p125 2006-08-17 p127 2006-08-24 p127	BBC Archive	
2004-07-20 2004-07-21	2005-03-20 2005-03-27	Henry IV pt 1 (Cry God For Harry)	120 (2x60)	Robert Lang; Alan Howard; Brewster Mason; Peter Egan; Donald Houston; David Buck; Maurice Denham; Michael Godfrey; John Hollis; John Bull; Bernard Gallagher; David Horovitch; Tony McEwen; Stephen Thorne; Joe Dunlop; Christopher Saul; David Strom; Hugh Dixon; Garrick Hagen; Nigel Lambert; Jack May; Clifford Norgate; Peter Jeffrey; Sean Barrett; Carleton Hobbs; Richard Derrington; Michael Redgrave; Gavin Campbell; John Westbrook; Kevin Flood; John Rye; David March; Sam Dastor; Christopher Bidmead; Haydn Jones; Anthony Hall; Michael Harbour	Susan Thomas; Patricia Hayes; Victoria Plucknit; Brenda Bruce; Carol Russo		Dickon Reed	BBC 7	2004-07-15 p128 2005-03-17 p144 2005-03-24 p144	BBC Archive	

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2004-07-22 2004-07-23	2005-04-03 2005-04-10	Henry IV pt 2 (Cry God For Harry)	120 (2x60)	Robert Lang; Alan Howard; Brewster Mason; Peter Egan; Donald Houston; David Buck; Maurice Denham; Michael Godfrey; John Hollis; John Bull; Bernard Gallagher; David Horovitch; Tony McEwen; Stephen Thorne; Joe Dunlop; Christopher Saul; David Strom; Hugh Dixon; Garrick Hagen; Nigel Lambert; Jack May; Clifford Norgate; Peter Jeffrey; Sean Barrett; Carleton Hobbs; Richard Derrington; Michael Redgrave; Gavin Campbell; John Westbrook; Kevin Flood; John Rye; David March; Sam Dastor; Christopher Bidmead; Haydn Jones; Anthony Hall; Michael Harbour	Susan Thomas; Patricia Hayes; Victoria Plucknit; Brenda Bruce; Carol Russo		Dickon Reed	BBC 7	2004-07-15 p128 2005-03-31 p152 2005-04-07 p134	BBC Archive

2004-07-26 2004-07-27	2005-04-17 2005-04-24	Henry V (Cry God For Harry)	120 (2x60)	Robert Lang; Alan Howard; Brewster Mason; Peter Egan; Donald Houston; David Buck; Maurice Denham; Michael Godfrey; John Hollis; John Bull; Bernard Gallagher; David Horovitch; Tony McEwen; Stephen Thorne; Joe Dunlop; Christopher Saul; David Strom; Hugh Dixon; Garrick Hagen; Nigel Lambert; Jack May; Clifford Norgate; Peter Jeffrey; Sean Barrett; Carleton Hobbs; Richard Derrington; Michael Redgrave; Gavin Campbell; John Westbrook; Kevin Flood; John Rye; David March; Sam Dastor; Christopher Bidmead; Haydn Jones; Anthony Hall; Michael Harbour	Susan Thomas; Patricia Hayes; Victoria Plucknit; Brenda Bruce; Carol Russo		Dickon Reed	BBC 7	2004-07-22 p132 2005-04-14 p144 2005-04-21 p136	BBC Archive	
2005-10-30		Troilus & Cressida	150	Paterson Joseph; Derek Griffiths; Jimmy Akingbola; Gerard McDermott; John Cummins; John Rowe; Harry Myers; Toby Jones; Neil Dudgeon; Jim Sturgess; Paul Rhys; Jonathan Keeble; Ray Fearon; Chu Omambala; Burt Caesar	Nikki Amuka-Bird; Colleen Prendergast; Gbemisola Ikumelo; Ndidi Ama	Marc Beeby		Radio 3	2005-10-27 p130	https://learning onscreen.ac.uk/ ondemand/inde x.php/prog/005 4FCE3?bcast= 12640901	

2005-11-27	2008-11-30	Pericles	100	Tom Mannion; Benjamin Zephaniah; Raad Rawi; Sean Scanlan; Dermot Crowley; Paul Dinnen; Lorcan Cranitch; Peter Gevisser; Nick Sayce; Ifan Meredith; Delroy Brown	Helen Longworth; Katherine Igoe; Adjoa Andoh; Sian Phillips; Ayesha Antoine	Gaynor Macfarlane		Radio 3	2005-11-24 p130 2008-11-27 p124 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00fr76n	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/00558A8E?bcast=13167543
2006-12-17		Cymbeline	150	Bill Wallis; William Houston; Andrew Wincott; Russell Gomer; Joseph Kloska; Gareth Armstrong; Christian Shaw; Mellyr Sion; John Labanowski; Richard Eifyn; Dorien Thomas	Nia Roberts; Sian Phillips; Manon Edwards	Alison Hindell		Radio 3	2006-12-14 p132	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/005E09FE?bcast=23323945
2007-07-29		Two Gentlemen of Verona (Two Gentlemen of Valasna)	95	Nadir Khan; Arghya Lahiri; Sohrab Ardishir; Zafar Karachiwala; Kunaal Roy Kapoor; Joy Sengupta; Farid Currim; Jayant Kripalani; ; Vikrant Chaturvedi	Anu Menon; Avantika Akerkar; Suchitra Pillai	Roger Elsgood	Willi Richards	Radio 3	2007-07-26 p124 https://www.bbc.co.uk/radio3/drama on3/pip/2fqru/	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/006E66A2?bcast=26950075
2008-05-04		Othello	165	Edward Bennett; Ewan McGregor; James Laurenson; Chiwetel Ejiofor; Tom Hiddleston; Alastair Sims; David Mara; Michael Hadley; Michael Jenn (Donmar Warehouse)	Kelly Reilly; Michelle Fairley; Martina Laird	Penny Leicester (stage: Nicholas Soames)		Radio 3	2008-05-01 p118 2008-05-01 p122 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00b52br	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/008F3991?bcast=29238524

2009-04-19	2016-08-28	Henry VIII	150	Matthew Marsh; Patrick Malahide; Joseph Mydell; Adam Godley; Stuart McQuarrie; Paul Rider; Chris Pavlo; Stephen Critchlow; Gunnar Cauthery; Jonathan Tafler; Dan Starkey; Sonny Crowe; Robert Lonsdale; Manjeet Mann; Inam Mirza; Malcolm Tierney	Yolanda Vazquez; Ann Beach; Donnla Hughes; Jill Cardo	Jeremy Mortimer	Jeremy Mortimer	Radio 3	2009-04-16 p122 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00js7zb	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/00EC7EC8?bcast=122385470
2010-02-27	2012-05-12	Othello	120	Lenny Henry; Conrad Nelson; Matt Connor; Geoff Leesley; Richard Standing; David Beckford; Simon Holland Roberts; Andy Cryer; Chris Pearse	Jessica Harris; Sara Poyzer;Victoria Gee	David Hunter (dir: Barrie Rutter)		Radio 4	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00qynvv	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/014380F6?bcast=84590077
2011-09-11	2012-05-13 2018-06-17	A Midsummer Night's Dream	120	Toby Stephens; Robert Pugh; Roger Allam; Freddie Fox; Nicholas Farrell; Joseph Timms; Ferdinand Kingsley; David Collings; Nicholas Boulton; Sam Alexander; Sam Dale; Stuart Walker	Lesley Sharp; Emma Fielding; Emerald O'Hanrahan; Anna Madeley; Sara Markland; Jessica Sian; Jay Carter; Tressa Brooks	Celia de Wolff		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b014fb7x	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/01F345EF?bcast=126919189

2012-04-22	2013-01-06	Twelfth Night	120	Trystan Gravelle; Gerard McDermott; Paul Ready; Harry Livingstone; Ron Cook; Adam James; James Lailey; David Tennant; Don Gilet; Peter Hamilton Dyer	Naomi Frederick; Rosie Cavaliero; Vanessa Kirby	Sally Avens		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01g4vgj	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/027C567D?bcast=93113030
2012-04-29	2014-04-27	Romeo & Juliet	120	Trystan Gravelle; Ron Cook; David Tennant; Paul Ready; Adam James; Carl Prekopp; Johnny Flynn; James Lailey; Peter Hamilton Dyer; Don Gilet; Harry Livingstone; Joe Sims	Vanessa Kirby; Rosie Cavaliero; Naomi Frederick; Christine Absalom	Jessica Dromgoole		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01g4vv1	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/027C57E8?bcast=109694442
2012-05-06	2013-04-21	The Tempest	110	David Warner; Carl Prekopp; James Garnon; Al Weaver; Paul Moriarty; James Lailey; Peter Hamilton Dyer; Don Warrington; Don Gilet; Gerard McDermott	Rose Leslie; Deeivya Meir	Jeremy Mortimer		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01g4vxn	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/027C5839?bcast=95786250
2014-03-24 2014-03-25 2014-03-26 2014-03-27 2014-03-28	2016-05-09 2016-05-10 2016-05-11 2016-05-12 2016-05-13	Hamlet	225 (5x45)	Jamie Parker ; David Seddon; Paul Hilton; James Laurenson; Tom Mison; Robert Blythe; Ben Crowe; Michael Shelford; Will Howard; Nicholas Murchie	Anastasia Hille; Lizzy Watts	Marc Beeby		Radio 4	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03xkpv3	(Part 1) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B030E4?bcast=128821207 (Part 2) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/

									ondemand/index.php/prog/06C0A4E7?bcast=128829543 (Part 3) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C0ADCF?bcast=128835608 (Part 4) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C16F89?bcast=128841209 (Part 5) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C19FE3?bcast=128847330

2014-04-20	2014-12-28	Antony & Cleopatra	145	Kenneth Branagh; Geoffrey Streatfeild; Robert Pugh; Nigel Anthony; Simon Armstrong; Matthew Gravelle; Alun Raglan; Richard Clifford; Richard Harrington; Don Gilet; Ewan Bailey; Will Howard; Peter Polycarpou	Alex Kingston; Priyanga Burford; Janice Acquah	Alison Hindell		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0414fq4	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06E37EE0?bcast=114780900	
2015-03-01	2016-12-25	As You Like It	150	Luke Norris; Patrick Baladi; Adrian Scarborough; Jonathan Coy; Sam Dale; William Houston; Paul Heath; David Acton; Jude Akuwudike; Ian Conningham; Shaun Mason; Monty d'Inverno; Johnny Flynn	Pippa Nixon; Ellie Kendrick; Bettrys Jones; Jane Slavin	Sally Avens		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b053zssp	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/08C081C8?bcast=123181987	
2015-05-17	2017-04-30	Macbeth	120	Neil Dudgeon; Shaun Dooley; Paul Hilton; Carl Prekopp; David Hounslow; Ian Conningham; Alex Waldmann; Carl Prekopp; Kasper Hilton-Hille; Stephen Critchlow; Mark Edel-Hunt; David Acton; Sam Dale; Sam Valentine	Emma Fielding; Jane Slavin; Ayesha Antoine; Anastasia Hille; Rose Hilton-Hille	Marc Beeby		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05vh239	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/09FD77AA?bcast=115660077	

2016-05-01	2018-05-06	Winter's Tale	150	Danny Sapani; Shaun Dooley; Karl Johnson; Paul Copley; Tim van Eyken; Will Howard; Charlie Brand; Sean Baker; Brian Protheroe; Sam Rix; Richard Pepple; Nick Underwood; James Lailey; Sargon Yelda; Ewan Bailey	Eve Best; Susan Jameson; Faye Castelow; Scarlett Brookes; Adie Allen; Nicola Ferguson	David Hunter		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b078wtnn	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0C6F4A24?bcast=126648238	
2016-05-03 2016-05-04 2016-05-05	2018-05-22 2018-05-23 2018-05-24	Julius Caesar	135 (3x45)	Tim Pigott-Smith; Robert Glenister; Sam Troughton; Jamie Parker; Philip Fox; Neet Mohan; Adam Thomas Wright; Stephen Critchlow; David Hounslow; David Acton; Chris Pavlo; Sam Dale; Mark Edel-Hunt; Wilf Scolding	Fenella Woolgar; Jessica Turner	Marc Beeby		Radio 4	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07bbty5	(Part 1) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0C6FE468?bcast=126750960 (Part 2) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0C706EA4?bcast=126760304 (Part 3) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0C7079E7?bcast=126765458	

2016-05-08	2018-06-10	King Lear	150	Ian McDiarmid; Michael Nardone; Bill Paterson; Finn den Hertog; Paul Higgins; Brian Vernel; Steven Robertson; Steven Cree; Owen Whitelaw; Sean Murray; Simon Harrison; Ewan Bailey	Madeleine Worrall; Frances Grey; Joanna Vanderham	Gaynor Macfarlane		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b079lydd	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0C795926?bcast=126872394
2017-04-02	2019-06-09	Pericles	119	Willard White; Paapa Essiedu; Colin Hurley; Barrie Rutter; Martin Turner; Mark Straker; Tim Chipping; Martin Bassindale; Oscar Batterham	Sarah Malin; Tamzin Griffin; Adjoa Andoh	Turan Ali	Neil Bartlett	Radio 3	2019-06-08 p120 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08kyb9b	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0EA3A9E7?bcast=129488388
2017-04-16	2019-02-10	Richard II (Binaural)	134	Joel MacCormack; Geoffrey Streatfeild; John Rowe; Philip Jackson; Steffan Rhodri; Will Howard; Christian Rodska; Edmund Wiseman; Tom Forrister; David Sturzaker; Simon Ludders; Joe Sims; Keiron Self; Sion Pritchard	Jaimi Barbakoff; Georgie Glen; Alexandria Riley	Alison Hindell		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08md9zj	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0EB81D73?bcast=123946157
2018-04-22	2020-10-25	Merchant of Venice	90	Ray Fearon; Colin Morgan; Andrew Scott; Ryan Whittle; Neerja Naik; Ryan Early; Chris Lew Kum Hoi; Luke Bailey; Stefan Adegbola; Javier Marzan; Neil McCaul; Clive Hayward; Rupert Holliday-Evans	Hayley Atwell; Lauren Cornelius; Kerry Gooderson	Emma Harding	Emma Harding	Radio 3	2020-10-20 p130 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09zmvmp	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/110B64D1?bcast=126559776

2018-04-29	2020-10-18	Measure for Measure	129	Paul Higgins; Robert Jack; Finn den Hertog; Michael Nardone; Owen Whitelaw; Sandy Grierson	Nicola Ferguson; Maureen Beattie; Maggie Serivce; Georgie Glen	Gaynor Macfarlane		Radio 3	2020-10-13 p120 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0b0wrpp	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/111D14FD?bcast=133037442
2019-01-20	2021-01-17	Arden of Faversham	104	Ewan Bailey; Samuel James; Tom Forrister; Simon Ludders; Philip Fox; Ben Crowe; Sion Pritchard; Ryan Whittle; John Telfer; John Norton (BBC Cymru Wales)	Amaka Okafor; Olivia Marcus	Alison Hindell		Radio 3	https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m00022p3	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/12A0B3E1?bcast=128323875
2019-04-21		Two Gentleman of Verona	109	Blake Ritson; Nikesh Patel; Ray Fearon; Hugh Ross; Daniel Ryan; Oliver Chris; Sam Dale; Carl Prekopp; Pip Donaghy	Lyndsey Marshal; Kate Phillips; Emma Fielding; Sara Markland	Celia de Wolff	Sara Davies	Radio 3	2019-04-20 p128 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0004dpt	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/13389FE7?bcast=128951943
2019-04-28		Two Noble Kinsmen	114	Blake Ritson; Nikesh Patel; Ray Fearon; Hugh Ross; Daniel Ryan; Oliver Chris; Sam Dale; Carl Prekopp; Pip Donaghy	Lyndsey Marshal; Kate Phillips; Emma Fielding; Susan Salmon; Sara Markland; Jane Whittenshaw	Celia de Wolff	Sara Davies	Radio 3	2019-04-27 p120 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0004n73	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/133A2F6F?bcast=129000189

2019-05-05	2021-05-30	Coriolanus	149	Trystan Gravelle; James Fleet; Paul Hilton; Tony Turner; Joel MacCormack; David Hounslow; Ray Fearon; Michael Bertenshaw; Kenny Blyth; Joseph Ayre; Christopher Harper	Diana Rigg; Clare Corbett; Susan Jameson; Franchi Webb	Marc Beeby		Radio 3	2021-05-25 p122 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0004s60	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/134F7496?bcast=129049180
2020-04-19	2022-01-30	Othello	124	Khalid Abdalla; Matthew Needham; Max Bennett; Neil McCaul; Clive Hayward; Peter Polycarpou; Ian Conningham; Sargon Yelda; Hasan Dixon	Cassie Layton; Jessica Turner; Bettrys Jones; Heather Craney	Emma Harding		Radio 3	2020-04-14 p111 2020-04-14 p116 2022-01-25 p122 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000hgqz	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/15E01903?bcast=131740325
2020-04-26		Henry IV pt 1	119	Iain Glen; Toby Jones; Luke Thompson; Tom Glynn-Carney; Mark Bonnar; Steffan Rhodri; Roger Ringrose; John Dougall; John Lightbody; Sargon Yelda; Chris Lew Kum Hoi; Hasan Dixon	Natalie Simpson; Bettrys Jones; Elizabeth Counsell	Sally Avens		Radio 3	2020-04-21 p118 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000hmqg	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/15E8E24C?bcast=131789644
2021-11-07		The Tempest	119	Ian McDiarmid; Joseph Arkley; Sandy Grierson; John MacKay; Forbes Masson; Noof Ousellam; Owen Whitelaw	Maggie Bain; Maureen Beattie; Helena Wilson; Madeleine Worrall; Julia Daramy-Williams	Gaynor Macfarlane		Radio 3	2021-11-02 p117 2021-11-02 p122 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0011cm5	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/3BE785A8?bcast=135645280

2022-04-23 2022-04-24		Macbeth	114	David Tennant; Stuart McQuarrie; Alec Newman; Owen Whitelaw; Stuart Bowman; John Hollingworth; Ron Donnachie; Forbes Masson; Fergal Mcelherron; Richard Wilson; Jos Vantyler; Ty Tennant; Alexander Ryan	Daniela Nardini; Naana Aggei Ampady; Genevieve Gaunt; Ayesha Antoine	Clive Brill		Radio 4	2022-04-19 p5 2022-04-19 p109 2022-04-19 p113 2022-04-19 p115 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0016pgy https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0016pm4	(Part 1) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/3BF3C273?bcast=136607946 (Part 2) https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/3BF3C296?bcast=136613478	
2022-04-24		Antony and Cleopatra (Make Death Love Me: Antony and Cleopatra Re-Imagined)	119	Tim McInnerny; Omar Ebrahim; Miltos Yerelemou; Guy Henry; Barnaby Taylor; Tiran Aakel; James Clyde; Nabil Elouahabi; Michael Monroe; Mark Holgate	Adjoa Andoh; Aarushi Ganju; Souad Faress; Elizabeth Dulau	Turan Ali	Neil Bartlett	Radio 3	2022-04-19 p114 https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0016kwk	https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/3BF39484?bcast=136614101	

<u>Glossary</u>

¼-inch tape   For many years this was the primary recording method. The tape itself was not unlike that found in a domestic audio cassette, but on larger, open reels. It could be edited by making a diagonal cut with a razor blade and, after the portion to be removed was taken out, the two ends were stuck back together with specialist tape.

acoustic   Characteristic sound of a space, e.g. large hall, outside, confined space etc.

actuality   Sounds that are genuinely produced, e.g. recording the sound of birdsong on location. Also used to describe clips in news bulletins from interviews or news conferences. 'Fake' actuality such as this is occasionally used in Shakespeare productions when recreating news bulletins.

binaural   A form of stereo recording that gives a spatial effect when listened to on headphones. In most cases, a dummy head with a microphone in each ear is used to record sound in a way that mimics how we hear. When reproduced, it should give the listener the sense of being in the same position as the original head. Also referred to by the German name *kunstkopf*, literally meaning 'artificial head'.

close mic   Speaking very close to the microphone, creating a more intimate effect.

DAB   Digital Audio Broadcasting, an interference-free system without hiss, crackle, fading or station overlap, unlike AM or FM radio, giving a clear, high-quality sound. DAB can also transmit text with the audio signal, which can be read on a small screen on the receiving radio.

director/producer	Usually one and the same person in radio, the terms are often interchangeable. Usually 'producer' is the preferred term. In the case of Shakespeare's plays, the director/producer is also frequently the textual editor. Occasionally, especially in more recent productions, there will be a separate director and producer, but this is rare.
distort	Deliberate distortion of a sound (usually a voice) for effect, e.g. to simulate a phone call.
Dramatic Control Panel	The first form of **mixing desk**. In each case it is a desk or console that enables a producer or studio manager to combine all the sources being used in the production from a variety of studios and/or microphones.
dubbing	Copying audio from one source to another.
editing/cutting	Generally used to refer to the cutting/mixing of audio, rather than the cutting of the text. For analogue editing, see **¼-inch tape**. For digital editing, see **multi-track**.
editor	Usually refers to an audio editor, rather than a production editor or an editor of the text. Similarly, the **edit** usually refers to the audio edit of the production, rather than the textual one.
fading	Either bringing audio up to full level from nothing, or vice versa (fading in or fading out). **Cross fading** is the mixing between fading one piece of audio out and fading another in.
FM	Frequency Modulation. Associated with **VHF**, a method of transmission enabling stereo broadcasts and suffering from less interference than **Medium Wave**.
FX	Abbreviation for 'sound effects'. See also **spot effects**.
grams	Short for 'Gramophone' to indicate pre-recorded music in a script. Continued to be used into the twenty-first century, even after all music was on CD or digital formats.

Medium Wave	Mono radio transmission which may suffer from the intrusion of other stations, especially at night.
mixing	Combining sounds (usually voice, effects, music). Originally via the use of the **Dramatic Control Panel**, which used a series of knobs for different sources. This progressed to a **mixing desk** with a series of faders, and in the twenty-first century mixing is also carried out through digital editing, see **multi-track**.
multi-track	Digital editing software enabling an audio editor to mix multiple audio feeds by displaying them as separate tracks and adjusting their levels as required.
music link	A short burst of music between scenes to signify the end of one and the start of another. Often used to signal a shift in mood, location or time.
noisy	Used to refer to old recordings where there is extraneous sound due to the recording method (e.g. tape hiss or crackles on a worn disc).
off mic	Speaking outside a microphone's most sensitive area of pick-up, but still audible. Often used to suggest distance or, by moving from off-mic to on-mic, to suggest movement towards the listener.
overmodulation/overmodded	Where the sound source is louder than that with which the recording device can cope, leading to a distinctive form of distortion.
playout	The action of playing audio (via a control desk or other system) to a transmitter.
quadraphonic/quad	Forerunner of surround sound, a method of audio recording and reproduction using four channels (four speakers receiving different sounds) covering front and rear, left and right, creating the effect of three-dimensional sound for the listener.

Radiophonic sounds Sound effects and music created by the BBC Radiophonic Workshop (1958-98) using pioneering methods including manipulating tape and using test oscillators. Most famously used to create the original theme tune to *Doctor Who* (1963-), the Workshop was also responsible for effects for *The Goons* (1951-60) and *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* (1978-80).

RAJAR Radio Joint Audience Research, the official body in charge of measuring radio audiences in the UK.

Received Pronunciation or RP A form of English speech without regional variation, generally linked to public school education.

reverb Abbreviation for reverberation, the continuation of a sound after its source has stopped. Used in a similar way to **distort**.

spot effects Sound effects generated live by a studio manager. Typical examples include doors opening/shutting, footsteps, water splashing, as well as less obvious sounds such as dried peas tipped from side to side in a box to mimic sea breaking on shingle and scrunching cellophane to sound like a blazing fire.

studio/cubicle A studio is a space for performance; a cubicle is the room (usually adjoining and connected by a glass window) where the technical team is based during recording or live broadcast. The term **studio** can also be shorthand for a studio day; the time spent recording.

studio cue-light Also called a **light cue** or a **flick**. A light switched on briefly by the producer or studio manager that indicates that the microphone is live and the actor should begin speaking.

studio manager A job title covering a number of technical roles, such as overseeing the recording of a production, controlling the microphones, playing in sound effects or music, or generating spot effects. Described by Elwyn Evans as 'the invaluable

human bridges between the artistic and the engineering sides of radio'.

surround sound   Used to describe sound reproduction that attempts to create a sense of the listener being surrounded by sound, putting them at the centre of the action. Often uses more than two speakers. Sometimes now referred to as spatial audio, 3D or immersive reproduction.

talk-back   A microphone in the technical cubicle connected to a speaker in the studio, enabling the producer to communicate with the cast.

VHF   Very High Frequency. Widely used in radio, VHF waves are not impaired by random electromagnetic noise ('static') and can be used by transmitters several hundred miles apart without interfering with one another.

wild track   Audio recorded without any speech. Often used in location recording, it means an editor has a background track of atmosphere (e.g. birdsong, wind, other natural noise) that can be used to patch together any inconsistencies in the edits.

■ The above information comes from the personal experience and knowledge of the author, as well as the following sources:

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