

A MOTHER'S IMAGE:
PORTRAITS OF ELLEN TERRY BY EDWARD GORDON CRAIG

INTRODUCTION: A PRODUCTIVE STRIKE

Edward Gordon Craig (1872-1966) had a flair for self-deprecation. In *Woodcuts and Some Words* (1924), Craig refers to the period from 1898 to 1900 as his “strike for lower wages.”ⁱ After leaving a profitable acting position but before embarking on a career in design and theory, Craig found himself at a loss. Yet this droll reference fails to capture the great productivity Craig achieved during this time period. In 1899 alone Craig designed and engraved 87 woodcuts, released four issues of his journal *The Page*, and published the book *Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, etc.*ⁱⁱ Not only was he very prolific during this time, but Craig’s experiments in woodblock printing and journal editing also paved the way for his later design innovations and directorial theories.ⁱⁱⁱ

Motivated by both artistic and financial need, Craig often used his mother’s image to secure an audience for his work. The actress Ellen Terry (1847-1928) had gained renown acting opposite Henry Irving at the Lyceum Theatre, causing her name and image to be in high demand. Fans flocked to see her perform, authors wrote books about her, and advertisers sought her endorsement. Whereas photographs and advertisements depict Terry as an object of sexual desire, albeit in her declining years, Craig’s portraits’ reveal another story. Growing up amidst an oft-touring theatre company with a revolving door of father figures, Terry was one of few constants in Craig’s young life. Her connections secured his early acting career, she financed his first foray into directing and designing, and her paychecks often went towards Craig’s own children when he was unwilling or unable to support them. The popular portraits depicting Terry as a sexual object, subservient flirt, and/or aging actress, undermined the strength Craig had come to rely on over the years, or so his portraits suggest. From 1898 to 1900, Craig repeatedly portrayed

his mother as a determined, strong woman. His woodblock portraits desexualize his mother's image, instead emphasizing her vitality and agency.

Though scholars like Peter Holland have stressed the import of Craig's later engravings, these early woodblock prints remain largely overlooked.^{iv} Closer analysis reveals not only the financial straits and artistic exploration that led to Craig's later innovations, but also Craig's complex relationship with his mother's image. Craig appropriates Terry's image for his own financial gain while at the same time attempting to reconstitute her agency. This article provides a historical counterpoint to current discussions of the female image as well as insight into the personal relationship between a groundbreaking theatre artist...and his mother.

WOODBLOCK PRINTING: A LOW COST REHEARSAL

The year 1898 found Craig at a crossroads both personally and professionally. Though he had begun acting alongside his mother in Henry Irving's Lyceum company in 1889, an imprudent marriage to May Gibson in 1893 permanently disrupted his career. Craig almost immediately regretted this union, recalling, "[Henry Irving] offered me *parts and glory and money*...but I needed a woman. In consequence I married, which was the wrong thing to do."^v As Craig hinted, the marriage prevented him from traveling abroad with Irving and the rest of the Lyceum company in the summer of 1893. Instead, Craig accepted larger roles with lesser-acclaimed touring companies, which allowed him to stay in England. When Craig asked to rejoin the Lyceum company in 1896, both Terry and Irving declined, believing that Craig would benefit from more time away from the

Lyceum where he was “spoiled.”^{vi} Terry later relented and Craig continued to act in occasional Lyceum productions, but his apprenticeship with Irving had effectively ceased.

Craig’s ill-advised marriage merely hastened the end of his acting career. Despite early promise, Craig soon realized that he had neither the talent nor the inclination to continue as an actor. He later described his decision to leave acting as follows:

But when I watched [Henry Irving] in the last act of “The Lyons Mail” and in “The Bells,” I felt that beyond that there was no going, and I told myself that I could either be content for the rest of my life to follow Irving and become a feeble imitation of him, or discover who I was and be that. So I made my choice, and I turned my back on Irving for many a year...^{vii}

Refusing to continue in Irving’s shadow, Craig sought out other possibilities. He had already begun to develop new ideas as to the true nature of theatre – ideas that were very much at odds with the style of the Lyceum company. An avid reader, Craig consulted Goethe, Nietzsche, Ruskin and Tolstoy. According to biographer Denis Bablet, Craig combined and reinterpreted their theories to develop his own set of ideas regarding the futility of conventional realistic design and the value of suggestion over reproduction.^{viii}

Alone with these nascent theories, Craig recalls feeling lost, “I was in a state when I doubted everything – marriage, theatre – friends – career – money matters – all seemed to have cheated me.”^{ix} Craig’s healthy penchant for the dramatic overlooks the contributions of two men in particular. In 1893, Craig had befriended brothers-in-law James Pryde and William Nicholson. Artists themselves and ardent theatre fans, the two frequently invited Craig to their home in Buckinghamshire for long conversations on art and theatre. During one such visit, Nicholson even showed Craig the basics of woodblock printing, training Craig would later rely on when creating his groundbreaking theatrical designs.^x

In the aforementioned *Woodblocks and Some Words*, Craig expounds on both the financial and artistic appeal of woodblock printing. He explains:

I have produced more wood-engravings than etchings, and more etchings than plays. To wood-engage and print one's cuts costs so little, say one shilling and nine pence to cut and print one design. To etch and print the plate costs more, say nine shillings or fifteen shillings per design. To produce a play costs a great deal.^{xi}

After ending his acting career, the only self-earned income source he'd ever known, the low cost of woodblock printing appeared all the more attractive. Indeed, Craig went from designing one woodcut in 1897 to designing 72 in 1898.^{xii} Coupled with these financial benefits, woodblock printing provided Craig with the artistic freedom he so desired. In his autobiography *Index to the Story of My Days* (1957), Craig recalls, "Sketching, wood-engraving, reading and love-making, I was drifting, searching, and puzzled – but free. Free! No more tied to any one Theatre; I had my Liberty."^{xiii} For years, directors and producers had checked Craig's artistic impulses resulting in uninspired work. Babelt describes one of Craig's early unrealized designs as "show[ing] the direct influence of the Lyceum style in choice and arrangement of scenic elements."^{xiv} With woodblock printing, Craig finally had the artistic space and medium in which to experiment.

Free from the conventional realism of popular theatrical design, Craig by no means experimented in a void. Artistic developments, like the art nouveau poster, greatly inspired the burgeoning artist. Over the past few decades, the manufacturing boom had increased the demand for creative advertisements. First in France and then elsewhere, artists focused their efforts on creating eye-catching posters for products, services, and even theatrical performances. Given the limitations of printmaking, artists moved away from realistic detail opting instead for minimalist strokes and bold swathes of color –

many drawing inspiration from Japanese prints.^{xv} Although slower to adopt the art nouveau poster, by the mid-1890s England welcomed the new art form as evidenced by the 1894 International Artistic Pictorial Poster Exhibition in London. The exhibition showcased the posters of French and English artists including Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Jules Chéret, and even Nicholson – with whom Craig attended the event.^{xvi}

Analysis of Craig's early work reveals many similarities to the great poster artists of his time. Consider for example Toulouse-Lautrec's "Mademoiselle Eglantine's Troupe."^{xvii} By 1896, Toulouse-Lautrec – considered by many the "greatest poster designer" of the late 19th century – had already mastered the techniques now associated with art nouveau posters. His colored lithograph, "Mademoiselle Eglantine's Troupe," depicts a chorus line of women, seductively raising their skirts to reveal black stockinged legs. Toulouse-Lautrec's delicate contoured lines deftly suggest the movement of the skirts. While short dashes and curves pattern the closest woman's dress, the figures in the distance become progressively less detailed in a shift towards abstraction.

Despite the disparate mediums and subject matter, Craig's woodblock print "Miss Ellen Terry as Mamillius in "A Winter's Tale"" appears heavily influenced by these techniques.^{xviii} The print depicts Terry in her first role at age eight. Thicker than those of Toulouse-Lautrec, contour lines capture the young girl's boyish figure and haircut. Squiggles decorate her coat, suggesting detail similar to that of the closest woman's dress. Similarly, Terry's left side reflects the same movement towards abstraction. However Craig furthers this abstraction, by creating breaks in the outline. Though the thicker lines could be due to the differing mediums – with lithographs allowing for greater intricacy – the breaks in the outline reveal a conscious move towards suggestion over

reproduction. Craig's skilled rendering of Terry's face and collar indicate that he was fully capable of completing the outline but opted not to for stylistic reasons. Even in this simple woodcut Craig experiments with the techniques of his famous contemporaries to develop a style all his own.

Craig's work also riffs on Pryde and Nicholson's woodblock prints. For example, Craig's use of contour lines and small strokes of color in "Miss Terry" closely resembles Pryde's portrait "William Nicholson" published two years prior.^{xix} However, Craig once again furthers the abstraction through partial outlines. Comparing Nicholson's 1895 bookplate for Phil May to Craig's 1899 portrait of "Miss Terry as "Imogen"" reveals a similar influence.^{xx} Craig follows Nicholson in using bold, dark hatching, but depicts more of Terry's body and includes scenic elements like a landscape backdrop and curtain masking.

These details anticipate Craig's later assertion that woodblock printing prepared him to design for the stage. "By 1900 I felt I had served a sufficiently long woodcutting apprenticeship to produce a play. You do not see the connection between chopping wood and theatricals, and yet there is one."^{xxi} Craig proceeds to explain this rather abstruse claim by detailing the many ways woodblock prints can aid with theatrical design and publicity. Cutting designs onto wood allowed Craig to print multiple copies of a single design. He could then use those copies to experiment with color and lighting. Woodblock printing proved similarly useful in creating theatrical posters and programs. Craig himself designed the programs for his first three stage productions. In response to the question "Why so much fuss about programs?" Craig retorted, "No other reason than the ordinary wish to have everything in our theatre of the best."^{xxii}

While woodblock printing served Craig well in his later endeavors, it played an even more vital role in the years from 1898 to 1900. Having left the theatre, woodblock printing became a main source of income for Craig. As he explained, “When I left off acting, and threw up eight pounds a week for nothing a month, except what friends would help one to, things looked black...”^{xxiii} By the spring of 1898 Craig had left Gibson and moved in with his mistress, Jess Dorynne. Although the two survived off of Dorynne’s small allowance, Craig was always in search of supplemental income.

Fortunately, the popularity of arts journals had risen over the past two decades and the demand for submissions along with it. Epitomic of the arts and crafts movement, art journals showcased simple art forms – including woodblock printing – and were frequently crafted by individuals or small printing shops.^{xxiv} One such journal warranted an entry in Craig’s autobiography:

Rich inside, ‘but the outside to behold’ was an astounding sight, and to see it on the little Uxbridge station bookstall of all places was comic. One turned, like a animal rather suspicious of something unexpected – went up to it, and even when one got there, wondered ‘What on earth is this *Yellow Book*’...But it was a magazine, although a book, a solid quarterly volume.^{xxv}

The Yellow Book was an illustrated quarterly compiled by John Lane that ran from 1894 to 1897. While *The Yellow Book* may have been the first art journal Craig encountered, it certainly wasn’t the last.

Craig began selling his prints piecemeal to various arts journals in 1898 – often capitalizing on his mother’s image. In June of that year, Craig had his first success when *The Artist* bought a print of his mother playing Ophelia.^{xxvi} Later that year, another print of his mother appeared as a supplemental insert in *The Dome*.^{xxvii} The success of the two Terry prints was no coincidence. As Craig colloquially stated, editors demanded “the

guy' nor or nothing."^{xxviii} Much like the tabloids of today, arts journals published prints of famous figures hoping to draw a following from preexisting fan bases, and Terry had a strong fan base. As the leading lady of the much loved Lyceum Theatre, her many fans desired to know her better - a desire that businesses were quick to capitalize on. From 1897 to 1902, publishers released no fewer than four Terry biographies.^{xxix} Meanwhile businesses secured Terry's endorsements on everything from corsets to soup.^{xxx} Though the amount Craig received for the two Terry prints remains unclear, he later boasted of making 10 shillings for two drawings of Irving.^{xxxi} Given Irving's immense popularity, Craig likely earned a slightly lesser amount for the two Terry prints. In other words, piecemeal sales failed to significantly impact Craig's income.

That same year Craig also released the first twelve issues of *The Page*, an artistic journal that he both edited and published. In advertisements, Craig described the journal as, "A monthly magazine containing original prose, poetry, woodcuts, music, bookplates, menus,"^{xxxii} although instances of the first two were few and far between. Unlike Craig's later journal *The Mask*, *The Page* consisted predominantly of images. Much of the literature that Craig did include was reprinted from other sources. As Craig justifies in an early issue, "Although the literature in this number has most of it been printed over and over again, still we think we cannot do better than print it once more. The illustrations are however original and are designed and cut in our offices."^{xxxiii}

Craig's experience editing and printing *The Page* proved invaluable later in his career. According to Olga Taxidou in her analysis of *The Mask*, *The Page* served as a dress rehearsal of sorts in which Craig developed his business sense and artistic style.^{xxxiv} For example, after a year of monthly issues, Craig shifted *The Page* to a quarterly release.

When he released the first issue of *The Mask* almost a decade later, Craig kept the more manageable quarterly format. Likewise, many of Craig's later illustrations show traces of his early experiments with art nouveau.^{xxxv} By preparing Craig for the main event, *The Page* provided the platform he would eventually use to develop and disseminate his theatrical ideas. As Taxidou elucidates, "It is in the pages of *The Mask*, possibly more than in any other arena, where Craig's 'Artist of the Theatre' – the director – can take shape and exercise his power unequivocally."^{xxxvi}

Yet again, Craig appropriated his mother's name and image in order to secure the finances needed to maintain this experiment. In February 1898, not only did Craig include a bookplate of his mother's name, he also drew attention to it in his opening remarks. Craig emphasized that the bookplate was "used by MISS ELLEN TERRY" going on to explain that bookplate collectors could purchase copies by applying to the sub-editor.^{xxxvii} In June 1898, Craig transformed the aforementioned Ophelia print into a double page supplement. Craig again called the readers' attention to the print in his opening remarks describing it as "a woodcut of Miss Ellen Terry, newly imprinted in its original form, and coloured by hand."^{xxxviii} None of the other editions include Terry prints but acknowledgements and advertisements show a continued desire to capitalize on his mother's fan base.^{xxxix}

Though it provided Craig ample space to experiment artistically, *The Page* was only moderately successful as a financial venture.^{xl} *The Page* folded in 1901. As Craig lamented, "[*The Page*] cost next to nothing – only my life."^{xli} The effort of maintaining *The Page*, with little help aside from Dorynne, far exceeded the profits.

In 1899, Craig appropriated his mother's image yet again, publishing *Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, Etc.* Much like *The Page* this booklet eschewed writing in favor of prints and sketches depicting Terry and Irving. Of the 19 plates included in the booklet, eight related to Terry. In addition to the previously published Terry portraits, Craig also included portraits of her as Imogen, Nance Oldfield, Grace Harkaway, and even as an eight year old Mamillius. The collection also included the aforementioned sketch of Terry and a print depicting Terry's dressing room at the Lyceum. Herbert Stone of Lakeside Press in Chicago published two editions of the booklet: a standard edition and deluxe edition. Stone printed 400 copies of the standard edition, which sold for \$1.50, and only 100 copies of the deluxe edition, which sold for \$3.50.^{xliii} To what extent Craig profited from this enterprise remains unclear.

PORTRAITS: A SON'S CAMPAIGN

Financial necessity drove Craig to exploit his mother's image, yet close analysis of the prints themselves reveals additional motives. Deemphasizing Terry's sexuality, while simultaneously emphasizing her youthful spirit and stubborn strength, Craig attempted to redefine his mother's image. The collection of prints represents the early stages of a campaign for his mother's agency – a campaign Craig would take back up after his mother's death in his biography *Ellen Terry and her Secret Self* (1931).

In 1897, Ellen Terry turned fifty, a dangerous thing for an actress to do. While she remained popular, she became frustrated with the parts she was receiving at the Lyceum. Craig suggested in his biography that at some point in Terry's career people began to question her ability to memorize lines as well as her physical wellbeing. However, Craig

adamantly denied that Terry ever “doddered.” Instead, Craig reversed the aging process by insisting that Terry refused to memorize unworthy scripts and faked illness to avoid unpleasant tasks.^{xliii}

Craig first attempted this reverse-aging technique with his 1901 portrait “Miss Terry as “Nance Oldfield.””^{xliv} In comparison to photographs of the same production, Craig’s print emphasizes Terry’s young and playful spirit. The photographs reveal a middle-aged woman, still stunning but with the rounded jaw and heftier build that often accompany aging.^{xlv} Similarly, the photographs portray Terry with wary, submissive expressions - her gaze directed upwards under questioning brows. Craig on the other hand depicts Terry with a much sharper jaw, atop a long, youthful neck. While her gaze is hidden in the shadows, pinpricks of light suggest a peevish rather than submissive attitude. As for her wardrobe, the large expanse of her cloak, artfully suggested with a few contour lines, makes Terry appear smaller. Meanwhile the single color detail, Terry’s red bow, adds a playful air. Insignificant individually, these changes collectively reverse the aging process making Terry appear twenty years younger and fully capable of any role she might deign to portray.

In spite of her aging, Terry remained an object of sexual desire well into middle age. The aforementioned corset endorsement pictures Terry dressed in little more than her undergarments, revealing a large expanse of perfectly white skin. Her lustrous locks flow freely down her back. One hand frames her face while the other arm supports her head as if she is lying down in bed.

Those admirers lucky enough to secure an interview found Terry wonderfully flirtatious. Basing his conclusion on Terry’s correspondence with her many admirers,

biographer Michael Holroyd goes so far as to claim, “When she was happy it seemed as if Ellen loved everyone.”^{xlvi} In *The Secret Self*, Craig adamantly negates this claim insisting that Terry never ceased loving his father.^{xlvii} Indeed, Craig believed that the two could have reconciled if only Terry hadn’t proceeded to marry Charles Wardell Kelly. According to Craig, Terry’s romantic dalliances merely helped to pass time and she did not take suitors like George Bernard Shaw “too seriously.”^{xlviii} To a certain extent, this argument appears to reflect the insecurities of a man who never fully accepted his parents’ separation. However, the argument also demonstrates a desire to desexualize his mother’s image, transforming her into the subject rather than object of conversation.

Years earlier, in the aforementioned portrait of Terry as Imogen, Craig employed similar tactics. Many photographs of the production captured Imogen the princess. In one, Terry is dressed in extravagant fabrics, draped to emphasize her curves.^{xlix} Together with her elaborate jewelry and crowned head piece, the ensemble clearly eludes to the sensuous “other.” With her head tilted back in longing and her fingers drawn to her lips, Terry abandons modern propriety to embody the desirable Imogen.

However, Craig chooses to portray Imogen as a page.¹ After discovering her husband’s betrayal, Imogen dresses herself as a boy and sets out on her own. Dressed as a woman Imogen is the object of a man’s wrath, but dressed as man she – and by extension Terry – is able to pursue a more promising future. Furthermore, the men’s clothing draws the viewer’s attention away from her body towards her face. Terry’s dark jacket and wrap blend into the gray scenery, while the light on her face reveals a terribly troubled expression worthy of a great actress. Although the white cloud detracts somewhat from

this effect, one could imagine an inexperienced or rushed Craig, attempting to direct attention from the cloud to his mother's face.

Perhaps the surest example of Craig's campaign to establish his mother's agency lies not in his portraits of Terry on stage, but in his portrait of Terry in private. In his portrait entitled simply "Miss Terry, Private Portrait," Craig beautifully captures a moment of quiet strength. Terry appears lost in contemplation. Her angular profile, direct stare and downturned lips provide a welcome contrast to the weak, submissive Terry found in photographs. Consider Hollyer's 1886 photograph, for example, one of the only instances where Terry appears in full profile.^{li} Rather than staring straight ahead Terry's gaze lifts slightly upward. Together with her down turned brows, the gaze takes on the same submissive quality Terry assumed for many of her roles. Whereas Craig's portrait employs contour lines to suggest a strong jaw, the photograph reveals a softer, rounded jaw line. Likewise the many layers of lace in the photograph appear frivolous in comparison to the classic strand of pearls Terry wears in Craig's portrait.

Although small, these details make for two dramatically different portraits. In Hollyer's photograph, Terry appears weak, subject to the whims of husbands, directors, and producers. In Craig's print however, the audience catches a glimpse of the strong, willful mother Craig described in his later writings. In his biography, Craig asserted, "...I have often known persons who looked on my mother as a rather weak nature. She looked on herself as wretchedly weak – so that settles it for once that she was strong."^{lii} He later supported this claim with an anecdote, describing a rehearsal in which his mother asked for advice from a director only to completely ignore his notes.

Only by establishing his close connection to his mother could Craig successfully redefine her image. In his biography, Craig dedicates a great deal of writing to establishing this connection. Indeed, he bases the book on the premise that Terry maintained two distinct personas: the flirtatious, playful actress whom she revealed to all who knew her, and the kind, loving mother whom she revealed only to her closest relatives. Craig explains:

In every being who lives, there is a second self – sometimes three selves – one of these being very little known to any one. You who read this have a real person hidden under your better-known personality, and hardly anyone knows it – it’s the best part of you, the most interesting, the most curious, the most heroic, and it explains that part of you which puzzles us. It is your secret self.^{liii}

Craig further warns, “So much lest you go astray when reading of her either in her letters to G.B.S., or the recent Biography of Reade, or in other books about her. Take it quite truly from me that I knew her heart better than anyone else.”^{liv}

With Craig’s depiction of his mother’s dressing room, he appears to claim a similar level of intimacy.^{lv} While the room itself is unimpressive – a small closet-like space with a chair and two mirrors – the details provide an intimate view into Terry’s life. Craig includes layers of notes pinned to the mirror, multiple coats, framed artwork, photographs, a lamp and even a small table clock. These specific details are unusual both given the challenges associated with woodblock printing and Craig’s minimalist style. With each detail, Craig appears to stake a claim, to say, “I know the details of mother’s room better than anyone, because I know mother better than anyone.”

CONCLUSION: A MOTHER’S IMAGE

After 1900, Craig only dedicated two additional prints to his mother: a costume design for Ibsen's *The Vikings at Helgeland* and a small bouquet framed by Terry's initials imprinted on the cover of *The Secret Self*. In 1901, Terry helped fund Craig's first production venture, Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* and *The Masque of Love*.^{lvi} Terry also appeared as a curtain raiser, once again allowing her son to profit from her name and image. Although Craig preferred to think of the production as a financial failure – too revolutionary to warrant popular approval – it actually proved quite profitable. As Holland underscores the production actually took in almost double the expenses. Craig also received critical acclaim for his designs, marking the beginning of his career as an innovative theatrical designer and theorist. Craig no longer needed to rely on his mother's image to sell woodcuts.

Nevertheless, the years from 1898 to 1900 marked an important period of experimentation in Craig's life. The relative inexpensiveness of woodblock printing allowed Craig to play with suggestion and abstraction – two qualities which would later come to define his innovative lighting and scenic designs. Editing *The Page* provided invaluable practical experience when he went on to publish his highly influential theories in *The Mask*. Much of this experimentation was funded by appropriating his mother's name and image. By capitalizing on his mother's fame, Craig both supplemented his meager income and championed the strong woman he had relied on all his life. His unique depictions counter images of his mother as sexual object or aging actress, instead highlighting her strength and vitality. Together with *Ellen Terry and Her Secret Self*, these depictions provide a stunning example of a son's campaign for his mother's image

– his desire to not only claim a close connection with his famous mother but also to emphasize her own agency in the process.

ⁱ Edward Gordon Craig, *Woodcuts and Some Words* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1924), 15.

ⁱⁱ Craig, 99.

ⁱⁱⁱ Edward Gordon Craig has been praised for his innovative designs and, somewhat controversially, furthering the scope of the director. He eliminated footlights, patented neutral, mobile scenic panels, and called for unified stage pictures. For more information see Dennis Bablet, “Edward Gordon Craig,” last modified on January 12, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Gordon-Craig>.

^{iv} Peter Holland, introduction to *Index to the Story of My Days*, by Edward Gordon Craig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), ix.

^v Edward Gordon Craig, *Index to the Story of My Days* (London: Hulton, 1957), 148.

^{vi} Michael Holroyd, *A Strange Eventful History: The Dramatic Lives of Ellen Terry, Henry Irving, and Their Remarkable Families* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), 242.

^{vii} Edward Gordon Craig, *Ellen Terry and Her Secret Self* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1931), 122.

^{viii} Denis Bablet, *Edward Gordon Craig*, trans. Daphne Woodward (New York: Theatre Arts, 1966), 31.

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- ix Craig, *Index*, 197.
- x Colin Campbell, *The Beggarstaff Posters: The Work of James Pryde and William Nicholson* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990), 14.
- xi Craig, *Woodcuts* xiii.
- xii Craig, *Woodcuts*, 99.
- xiii Craig, *Index*, 192.
- xiv Bablet, *Edward Gordon Craig*, 18.
- xv Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu, *Nineteenth-century European Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 471.
- xvi Campbell, *The Beggarstaff Posters*, 30.
- xvii Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, “Mademoiselle Eglantine’s Troupe, 1896” (New York: Museum of Modern Art).
- xviii Edward Gordon Craig, *Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, Etc.* (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone, 1899), n.p.
- xix Craig, *Henry Irving*, n.p.; Campbell, *The Beggarstaff Posters*, front cover.
- xx Craig, *Henry Irving*, n.p.; Campbell, *The Beggarstaff Posters*, 44.
- xxi Craig, *Woodcuts*, 2.
- xxii Craig, 4.
- xxiii Craig, 15-16.
- xxiv Olga Taxidou, *The Mask: A Periodical Performance by Edward Gordon Craig*. (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 3.
- xxv Craig, *Index*, 151.
- xxvi Craig, 200.

^{xxvii} Edward Gordon Craig, “Ellen Terry, 1898.” *The Dome* 1 (1898): 248.

^{xxviii} Craig, *Woodcuts*, 16.

^{xxix} The list includes: Walter Calvert, *Sir Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry: a Record of Over Twenty Years at the Lyceum Theatre* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1897); Charles Hiatt, *Ellen Terry and her Impersonations: An Appreciation* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898); Scott Clement, *Ellen Terry* (New York: Fredrick A. Stokes, 1900); Thomas Edgar Pemberton, *Ellen Terry and her Sisters* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1902).

^{xxx} For a more complete list, see Katharine Cockin, *Ellen Terry: Spheres of Influence* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 133-48.

^{xxxi} Craig, *Woodcuts*, 16.

^{xxxii} Edward Gordon Craig, ed., *The Page* 1 (1898): n. p.

^{xxxiii} Craig, n.p.

^{xxxiv} Taxidou, *The Mask*, 7.

^{xxxv} Taxidou, 18.

^{xxxvi} Taxidou, 7.

^{xxxvii} Craig, *The Page* 1, n.p.

^{xxxviii} Craig, n.p.

^{xxxix} In 1900, Craig dedicated The Christmas Edition of The Page to the “DIVINE OPHELIA OF DRURY LANE,” also supplying the date of his mother’s performance to prevent any doubt as to the actress in question. When compiling issues of the page into volumes, Craig again relied on his mother’s name to sell copies. After a brief description of the 1898 Volume, Craig was quick to recall the Terry print – listing it first among the

volume's contents. Likewise, Terry's name appeared first in Craig's description of the 1899 Deluxe Edition. In addition to including cardboard mounted prints, this edition featured twelve original bookmarkers. One boasted the aforementioned Terry bookplate, while another brandished a print of Terry's initials surrounded by a wreath. See Edward Gordon Craig, ed., *The Page Christmas* (1900): n. p.

^{xl} As Craig explained, only a few copies were printed and "fewer sold." The first issue sold for one shilling and two pence or seven shillings for twelve months. In 1899, when Craig adopted a quarterly format the subscription price rose to ten shillings a year. As for the scope of the journal, Craig described the original print as "limited." When Craig compiled and reprinted the volumes in later years, he printed anywhere from 12 copies of the 1899 Deluxe Edition to 600 copies of the 1900 Christmas Edition. These were primarily sold in England, with Alfred Bartlett publishing additional copies in America. One advertisement in *The Cornhill Booklet* suggest that Bartlett printed up to 300 copies of the 1900 Volume as well as an unknown quantity of the Christmas Edition and 1901 Volume. For more see, Craig, *Index*, 191; Craig, *The Page* 1, n.p.; Craig, *The Page Christmas*, n.p.; "The Page," *The Cornhill Booklet* 1 (1900): 230.

^{xli} Craig, *Index*, 191.

^{xlii} "Herbert S. Stone & Company," *The Literary World* 30 (1899):307.

^{xliii} Craig, *Secret Self*, 149.

^{xliv} Craig, *Henry Irving*, n.p.

^{xlv} Window and Grove, "Ellen Terry as Nance Oldfield, 1891," (London: National Portrait Gallery); Window and Grove, "Ellen Terry as Nance Oldfield in "Nance Oldfield," 1891," (London: National Portrait Gallery).

^{xlvi} Holroyd, *A Strange and Eventful History*, 178.

^{xlvii} Craig, *Secret Self*, 21.

^{xlviii} Craig, 97.

^{xlix} Window and Grove, "Ellen Terry as Imogen in "Cymbeline," 1896," (London: National Portrait Gallery).

^l Craig, *Henry Irving*, n.p.

^{li} Frederick Hollyer, "Portrait Photograph of Ellen Terry, 1886," (South Kensington: Victoria and Albert Museum).

^{lii} Craig, *Secret Self*, 12.

^{liii} Craig, viii.

^{liv} Craig, 15.

^{lv} Craig, *Henry Irving*, n.p.

^{lvi} Holland, introduction, xii-iii.

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