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**Article:**

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266464X1000062X

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Tom Cornford

Reconstructing Theatre: the Globe under Dominic Dromgoole

In this article Tom Cornford examines the policy of extending and adapting the permanent stage of Shakespeare's Globe for each new production, as pursued by Dominic Dromgoole since the beginning of his tenure as Artistic Director in 2006. The article responds initially to John Russell Brown's equation in NTQ 102 of a particular kind of 'intimate' acting with 'small theatres'. Cornford resists this conflation of acting and building, seeing in it a tendency to obscure both the role of reconstructed theatres to challenge contemporary notions of the 'rightness' of theatre spaces and the role of directors and actors to convert their apparent problems into opportunities. He explores the transformation of the Globe since 2006, using interviews given by Dromgoole and the directors working with the Globe's research team to critique the theory underpinning the 'permanently temporary' alterations to the theatre, and takes the evidence of performances to examine their use of the space in practice. Cornford offers a selection of staging solutions to the apparent 'problems' identified by Dromgoole and his team, and proposes an alternative model of reconstruction: not the rebuilding of the theatre, but the constant reviewing of theatre practice, including training. Tom Cornford is a freelance director and teacher of acting for the Guthrie Theater/University of Minnesota BFA Program, the Actors' Centre in London, and Globe Education at Shakespeare's Globe. He was, until recently, Artist in Residence at the CAPITAL Centre in the University of Warwick, where he is undertaking PhD research.

JOHN RUSSELL BROWN recently questioned in these pages whether or not we should think of the Globe as Shakespeare's and Shakespeare as the Globe's. He was equally unconvinced by the Royal Shakespeare Company's auditorium under construction and its 'prototype', the Courtyard Theatre, judging both to be 'no more suited to Shakespeare's plays than the theatres they replace'. The replacement of theatres for Shakespeare has been widespread in recent years and has involved reconstruction in a double sense: not simply the building of new theatres for Shakespeare, but the rebuilding of Shakespeare's theatres.

Since the RSC opened its Swan auditorium in 1986, a 'unique, modern theatre space based on the design of the playhouses of Elizabethan England', we have seen, as Paul Menzer has recently written, 'the greatest building boom of Elizabethan playhouses since the building boom of Elizabethan playhouses'. That boom has been driven, commercially, by the opportunity of a 'unique' selling point, giving theatre companies the promise of a competitive edge in what we have learned to call the current economic climate. But it has an artistic logic too. In 1995 Shakespeare's Globe ran what it called a 'Workshop Season', based on the principle, articulated by the then-Chair of the theatre's Artistic Directorate, Michael Birkett, that 'the theatre will tell us': its form would shape the human content of actors, plays, and audience. That principle extends beyond the Globe to other historically accurate reconstructions such as the American Shakespeare Center's Blackfriars Playhouse and indeed to contemporary versions of early modern designs like the RSC's Courtyard or the Rose at Kingston. The inherent suitability of these theatres for Shakespeare is their credo: they claim to bring his plays home.

That is a strangely deterministic notion, and yet it seems to contain some truth. Different sizes and shapes of theatre do indeed offer different spatial problems and opportunities, which are invariably only
competing descriptions of the same features. Proscenium arch stages, for instance, provide the opportunity for the entire audience to see an actor’s face simultaneously – and the problem of nobody seeing a face which is turned upstage. Theatre-in-the-round offers a large variety of perspectives, but requires directors to take into account many simultaneous stage pictures.

The conversion of problems into opportunities is the role of the director, who must also, in Birkett’s metaphor, interpret for theatres which cannot of course ‘tell us’ anything but need to be listened to nonetheless. Theatres delineate the possibilities for action for which the director carries ultimate responsibility, and I want here to explore the crucial role of the director as both an interpreter of theatre space and a choreographer of action which animates and re-describes that space.

Reconstructed theatres provide a useful context for such an enquiry because their claim to be instructive (to ‘tell us’ things) is also a challenge for practitioners to pay attention to the unfamiliar and the seemingly illogical. If these buildings accords with our notions of spatial ‘rightness’, their reconstruction would only serve a decorative purpose. For it to have genuine artistic force it must offer opportune problems and problematic opportunities.

**Intimacy and Proximity**

John Russell Brown’s critique of the RSC’s Courtyard Theatre is based on clear and widely accepted principles by which theatre spaces may be judged, and therefore offers an opportunity to test the friction that I think reconstructed theatres should generate. For instance, Brown evidently considers it desirable that the actors be as widely visible as possible, beginning his critique of the RSC’s Courtyard with the observation that a theatre where ‘almost half’ of the spectators face ‘the longer side of the stage on all three levels’, and those seated in the galleries watch ‘as if . . . from the first or second floor of a house’ will offer ‘a very poor view’ for the majority and ‘do very few favours for more than twenty per cent of a full audience’. This choice of words is significant: to ‘do favours’ for an audience suggests a particular physical relationship. To favour is to ‘regard with favour’, ‘approve’, ‘countenance’, ‘encourage’, ‘indulge’, ‘point in the direction of’: to favour is to face. Brown wants not only to see faces but to see them in detail. Throughout his article, his imagined audience seeks out ‘small visual and involuntary signs’, believing that ‘eyes would give most away’. He prioritizes the visual and focuses particularly on small things, seen in close-up, which he associates with truth and with revelation.

The logic underpinning Brown’s line of argument appears at first to be impregnable: if acting is to be intimate, theatres should be intimate. But I am not convinced. For one thing, the proposition seems to be reversible but it isn’t: ‘small theatres’ do not guarantee intimate performances. Intimacy cannot be measured empirically and audiences do not judge proximity in feet, volume in decibels or duration in seconds. These things are relative: taking two paces backwards might seem a ‘big’ reaction in a small theatre but in a large theatre it might well be read as a ‘small visual sign’ and perhaps even an ‘involuntary’ one. There is also a contradiction between the suggestion on the one hand that it is the acting and not the building that counts (‘Shakespeare’s plays . . . lie ready for anyone to stage almost anywhere’) and on the other that it is the buildings that hold the key to the acting (the Globe was ‘unlikely to be always the theatre of [Shakespeare’s] choice, nor will reproductions of it best provide for performance today’).

In other words, Brown’s argument selects particular qualities of performance and projects them on to buildings. The choice he represents is, in fact, a choice between kinds of acting, but he describes it as a choice of ‘stages’. Thus Brown’s imaginative reconstruction of theatres for Shakespeare may in fact threaten the principle it seeks to uphold, namely that, as Michael Chekhov put it, ‘the actor is the theatre’.

Predictably, the Globe’s current Artistic Director, Dominic Dromgoole, does not advocate small theatres. His preference is for the
grand scale, ‘big lungs, big action, big thought’, and big plays: ‘You have to tell big stories at the Globe.’ The size of those stories appears to be a function of the size of their cast. ‘Who else,’ he asks, ‘is putting on new plays with an average cast of twenty people, telling stories that are that big?’

Dromgoole at the Globe

John Russell Brown might be surprised to discover, however, that he has an ally in Dromgoole on the subject of restricted views. Dromgoole complained in a 2008 interview with the Globe’s research team that ‘there is no place on the stage, as it is presently configured, where you can be seen by one hundred per cent of the people, which is the definition of a bad theatre design’.

Like-wise, after his first season in 2006, he reflected on the same difficulties in involving the audience on either side of the stage that Brown foresees for the RSC’s new theatre.

We failed the lower galleries slightly this season in all our shows, in that we didn’t pay enough attention to (pointing) that bay and that bay, far right and far left. I realized that you have to keep addressing them and saying hello to them and stimulating them, because if you don’t and you play too much thrust forward and thrust out . . . you end up neglecting these people.

In the same interview, however, Dromgoole asserts that by turning upstage (a movement which would go a long way towards solving the ‘neglect of the ‘far right and far left’ bays) actors would be ‘turning [their] back on these people here, which is the majority of the audience’.

Paul Chahidi, an actor who has worked many times at the Globe, is not so concerned about this. ‘Everyone will get your back at some point and backs are good,’ he says. But I’m not convinced that Dromgoole’s statement is, in any case, true. The Globe’s stage is much wider than it is deep, so an actor facing upstage only needs to move stage left or stage right to reveal her profile to the downstage audience. It is also significant that if an actor stands at either downstage corner and turns upstage, her back is facing a stair-tower on the upper levels and one of the ingresses or ‘voms’ which give access to the yard at ground level. This means that in fact there are very few members of the audience with a direct view of her back because the stair-towers and ingresses create gaps in the seating. The ‘majority of the audience’ will be able to see her face either from the side or full-on, as the Globe’s seating plan (Fig. 1) shows.

Dromgoole’s overlooking of this potential solution to his problem reveals the assumption through which his view of it is filtered, an assumption which also leads to his assertion (in the same 2006 interview) that the Globe’s balcony is ‘too far away from the audience’. For that to be true, ‘the audience’ must be on the downstage side of the stage, since the audience at the sides in the Globe is, in fact, relatively close to the balcony and would not see the back of an actor facing upstage. Thus, while Dromgoole’s idea of the ‘majority of the audience’ being downstage is true in one sense (in Fig. 1, bays D–N are the majority), that truth is more flexible than he appears to realize.

The ‘majority’ can thus shift, comprising bays A–J one minute and G–Q the next. This would address Dromgoole’s concerns about audience members on either side of the stage, which are widespread at the Globe. Lucy Bailey, who directed Timon of Athens in 2008, called the side-bays ‘very difficult – I don’t like watching the show from there,’

while Jonathan Munby, who directed *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* during the same season, admitted that it was ‘hard to keep the people at the sides involved’.\(^{15}\)

None of these directors, though, makes reference to a readjustment of their practice in the light of this difficulty. Dromgoole is particularly dismissive of that possibility. Here is his answer to the question, ‘How did you direct the actors to cope with the physical challenges of the space?’

Didn’t address it to be honest. . . . I think for me it’s just a matter of making sure that there’s a collection of dynamic possibilities for them, physical possibilities, and then just unleashing them with the right sort of energy inside themselves and inside their heads. I didn’t want to impose an artificial sense of what their physicality should be because they’re in this theatre. I think that would be a little bit pretentious and artificial. I think that if you work hard enough on a play and grind a play into people through rehearsal they get a sense of what the expressive language of the play is, and that’s part mental, it’s part what comes through your mouth and it’s part how you move your body.

Apart from the disturbing image of ‘grinding a play into people’ during rehearsals, what is most striking about this response is its refusal, almost, to countenance directing the actors at all. If it would be ‘pretentious and artificial’ to ‘impose . . . what their physicality should be’, why is it not pretentious and artificial to impose anything else? And if the director declines to impose on the actors, then the only way ‘to cope with the physical challenges of the space’ is to impose on the space, and that is exactly what Dromgoole has done.

‘Imposing on the Space’

Since his first season as Artistic Director in 2006 only three productions have used the space without building on to the permanent stage, and Dromgoole has never directed for the theatre as it was designed.\(^{16}\) Rather than directing the actors, he has directed the building.

He has done so, principally, in three ways. Firstly, ramps and extensions have been added to the downstage side of the stage, extending the playing area into the yard and often giving a viewer at the front stronger lines of perspective back through the central tiring-house doors. Secondly, the area above and behind the stage, originally given over mainly to seating, has been claimed as ‘design space’, changing from production to production. Thirdly, the balcony and *frons scenae* have been moved downstage. All of these changes, originated in 2006, are discussed in Dromgoole’s interview of that year.

The building-out from the front of the stage is justified on the grounds that ‘there’s a problem with the pillars, obviously – they’re in the wrong place’. Dromgoole says that this is the reason for the ramps that he used in *Coriolanus* (2006): ‘I didn’t want to play such a public play on such tight angles, permanently worrying around the pillars.’ He says that he discovered that ‘if you extended the ramp out, you could play on a much, much broader and longer angle from the base of the ramp to the top of the stage, and that gave you an immense amount more room and a much more dynamic collection of possibilities’.

The ‘possibilities’ may have been there but the logic of Dromgoole’s idea quoted above, that the unleashing of actors into a space of ‘dynamic possibilities’ will lead to those possibilities being creatively exploited, is not supported by the evidence of the production. It may be true that in the set model the distance ‘from the base of the ramp to the top of the stage . . . gave you an immense amount more room’, but in the theatre that ‘room’ was not used. Almost all the production’s staging used the area downstage centre between and in front of the pillars and the first third of each ramp (see Fig. 2, top of page opposite), an area which is in fact smaller than the unadapted stage.

Dromgoole’s response to the interruption of sightlines by the pillars is also advocated by Bill Dudley in his 2006 end-of-season interview: ‘The secret of it is to bring the stage forward, bring your actors out and use the yard.’ Dudley has always advocated treating the Globe as a market square, with a dynamic and engaged standing audience in
the yard, which he turned into a ‘fractious public forum’ in his design for Lucy Bailey’s 2006 production of Titus Andronicus.\textsuperscript{17}

Then, in 2008, they created a Timon which exploited the space above the yard, with harpies on bungee-cords stalking across a net over the stage and audience. In both productions, however, the onstage actors were largely confined downstage centre (see Fig. 3, below). The result is an anomalous situation in which scenery is constructed to enable actors to use normally inaccessible spaces – towers in the yard for Titus made them visible among the crowds, the net for Timon created a new space in the air – while much of the available stage space remained effectively unused.

In his 2007 interview, Dromgoole develops his opinion of the pillars, claiming that, ‘I don’t think there’s anybody left alive who doesn’t think the pillars are in the wrong place.’\textsuperscript{18} This assertion seems to be based firstly on the assumption that obscuring the view of the stage is ‘wrong’ (an assumption directly contradicted by the archaeological evidence from The Rose, whose pillars were flush with the front of the stage) and secondly on the evidence of Johannes De Witt’s famous drawing of The Swan, which is, of course, not a drawing of The Globe, and may well not be accurate anyway.

The ‘Problem’ of the Pillars

There is, in any case, no reason to assume that there is a single ‘right place’ for the pillars to be. The evidence suggests that early modern theatres offered a range of options, each offering different merits and problems. Nonetheless, by 2008 the view that the pillars are wrongly situated had become orthodox within the Globe’s artistic team, who show a tendency to repeat Dromgoole’s assertions as if they were facts. Jonathan Munby, interviewed after his first experience of directing at the Globe, says that the pillars are ‘really difficult’, ‘too large’, ‘in the wrong place’, and ‘a real pain’. This seems to me to be beside the point: they are where they are and need to be negotiated. The challenge of the Globe is the challenge to adapt to a new environment, but since 2006 directors and designers have not thought in that way. Where they have found a difficulty, they have tried instead to remove it.

The solution to the ‘problem’ of the pillars has usually been to build out from the front of the stage to create what Jonathan Munby calls ‘a position downstage centre where . . . an actor could be seen by everybody in the house’ (see Fig. 4, overleaf). This position was used in his Dream for soliloquies, and while it is true that it allows actors to be seen by everyone in the house, the actors did not turn or rotate to engage different areas of the auditorium, so Munby’s claim that the extension allowed the company to ‘play in the round’ does not reflect his practice.\textsuperscript{19}

Neither did the blue circle laid out to the stage in which Munby staged most of the
action. On the few occasions where it was used as if in the round, with downstage characters facing upstage (Fig. 5), it was the upstage character (in this case Theseus) who was speaking and dominating the scene, so the downstage character (here Hippolyta) is giving focus to him. She is not, as she would be on this circle in a theatre in the round, given equal weight by the staging. Munby’s actors also did not use the whole of the blue circle. Titania’s bower (Fig. 6) was placed at the upstage limit of the space used by the production.

There is a clear pattern here: Globe productions since 2006 have located themselves almost exclusively on the central forestage, which has usually been extended into the yard. Characters in the upstage and stage left and right areas are present mainly as witnesses to the action, so the key protagonists typically do not use just over half of the area of the stage. But this is not the director’s only option. For example, the obvious thing to do with the staging in Fig. 7 is to move it upstage, thereby bringing it proportionally closer to all audience members and reducing the problem of the side view being made up largely of distant backs.

Another solution would be to use the whole stage, increasing the average distance between characters and bringing it closer to the average distance between audience members and the stage. This would mean that fewer audience members felt disproportionately distant from the action and fewer felt excluded from it, since if two characters are facing each other, the further apart they stand, the more people will be between them.

‘Repeated Transformation of the Space’

Likewise, the problem of finding a position to address the entire audience is not as intractable as it seems. Just upstage of the trap there is a central point where the pillars obscure an actor only for those places in the theatre’s galleries where there are no seats (Fig. 8, opposite page). At this point, only a
few standing members of the audience are unable to see the actor and with a bit of judicious movement, she can reach everyone.

Bruce R. Smith has shown that this position ‘near the geometric centre of the space beneath the canopy’ commands ‘the greatest acoustical power’; but he argues that ‘the position of greatest visual presence [is] at the geometric centre of the playhouse’. I disagree with the second point: the ‘geometric centre of the playhouse’ at the Globe is in front of the permanent stage (though it is co-opted by Dromgoole’s extensions) and here the actor has her back to the entire stage (unless she turns upstage) and to a significant proportion of the audience, whichever way she faces.

This makes it difficult to command either the stage space or the audience as a whole. Moving upstage brings almost the entire audience and stage into her peripheral vision, and is a much more commanding position. That said, the width of the Globe’s stage means that this central position can be usefully destabilized by an actor standing either stage right or left of it, who can manipulate the central character to turn or move towards them and thereby wrest control of the stage away from the central position. Considering the number of rulers in Shakespeare’s plays whose power is challenged or undermined almost from the moment they set foot on the stage (Richard II, Henry IV, Duncan, the Dukes of Venice in both Othello and The Merchant of Venice, and many others), that possibility might be thought to provide a useful consonance between Shakespeare’s texts and this particular performance space.

The alternative to thinking in terms of these or similar staging solutions is a repeated transformation of the space by building out from the front of the stage, a policy which is problematic for at least three reasons. The
first is ethical: the changes to the Globe’s configuration shown by Figs 9 and 10 are now effectively permanent, so the vast majority of audience members in the period since 2006 have seen a version of the frontally oriented stage shown in Fig. 10, where the actors are both standing on temporary additions to the stage. This undermines the basic contract established with an audience by this allegedly historically accurate reconstruction. Secondly, Dromgoole’s solution further disadvantages audience members at either side of the stage and overwhelmingly favours those in the centre, so it does nothing to address the failures of his first season – in fact, it exacerbates them. Thirdly, the building solution is fraught with logistical difficulties and is extremely expensive.21

Thinking like Craftsmen

That final point might be questioned: the Globe isn’t bankrupt and survives without subsidy, so surely it can spend its money as it pleases. But what are the consequences of its budgetary priorities for actors? Theatres spend a small proportion of their income on performers, whose contracts are limited to the time taken to rehearse and perform the plays that they are contracted to present. Even where actors are relatively well paid, they are paid as contractors. There is no requirement that they invest in the company, and no expectation that the company invest in them.

Meanwhile, vast sums are secured for capital projects such as the RSC’s new building and smaller-scale adaptations like the Globe’s ongoing rebuilding. No time or money seems, however, to be given to the question of how these new buildings are to be used. The actors are simply (in Dromgoole’s telling verb) ‘unleashed’. The result is that theatre companies are increasingly thinking like industrialists, developing grand schemes isolated from the material processes of their implementation and unresponsive to its tensions and difficulties. But there is an alternative. Rather than reconstructing their buildings, they could reconstruct themselves, testing their thinking in action and rethinking that action when it fails to achieve its ends. Theatre-makers could learn to think, in other words, like craftsmen.22

The craftsmanship I am advocating has its roots in John Dewey’s Reconstruction in Philosophy (1920), where he distinguishes between ‘the method of learning by ideas’ and ‘the method of learning by trial and error’.23 Adopting the latter involves the redescriptions of knowledge as ‘intelligently conducted doing . . . after the analogy of experiment guided by hypothesis’,24 supplying the means by which intelligent progress perpetuates itself: ‘a constant process of forming’, which ‘requires constant alertness in observing consequences, an open-minded will to learn, and courage in readjustment’.25

This is the opposite of the permanently temporary reconstruction of the Globe under Dromgoole, which subjects the building and its performers to an inflexible idea. His tenure has effectively been a foregone conclusion since it depends upon thinking which has remained unchallenged by the observation of its consequences.26 Rather than a process of wrong turns and revelations, experimentation and discovery, he has charted a course of predetermined conclusions pursued with gradually increasing confidence.

But there is an alternative. Rather than assuming that the auditorium was, in certain respects, ‘the definition of a bad theatre design’, an artistic director might question his definition and see if he could make the theatre work. That would require experimentation, which would require actors, who would require money. The experimentation would yield certain hypotheses which would need to be tested (more time, more actors, more money). Some hypotheses would be dismissed, others might yield positive results which could be further explored in production. That process would beg further questions and reveal different problems, all of which would need, again, to be explored. This cyclical process, which the sociologist Richard Sennett calls ‘a continual dialogue with materials’, would generate an institution based on the continual reconstruction of its practice: an institution built not on building but on training.27
Figure 9 (above). *Romeo and Juliet* (dir. Tim Carroll, 2004).

Figure 10 (below). *Romeo and Juliet* (dir. Dominic Dromgoole, 2009).
The alternative was bleakly captured in a recent Guardian review of dreamthinkspool’s Before I Sleep. This was a performance installation inspired by the end of Chekhov’s The Cherry Orchard in which, as Brian Logan records, ‘A large and effervescent cast repeat their scenes on a loop for each new group of viewers.’ The reality of this situation for the performers was not lost on one of Logan’s fellow spectators, who wondered aloud, ‘Does he have to stay there and do that all night long, poor man?’

He did. That is the nature of installation, where actors and backdrops swap, and it was the nature of this production’s central figure, Firs, locked up in the old house and forgotten. But is it becoming the nature of theatre too? As companies reconstruct themselves with bigger/smaller, newer/older, better, truer buildings, what are they doing for the actors who made the old buildings work? Have they been forgotten and locked up? Has anybody got the keys?

Notes and References
5. Barry Day, This Wooden ’O’: Shakespeare’s Globe Reborn (London: Oberon, 1996), p. 291. Michael Birkett is probably also the author of the 1988 ‘Draft Artistic Policy’ for the building, an early attempt to define the chosen constraints of the Globe project, plus the expectations of the public and its backers’. It goes on to specify eight principles for the work which will be developed in the building. Of these eight, six remain legible in the Globe’s work today; leaving only points two and four: ‘At least one play each season should be presented as authentically as possible’ and ‘No production should alter or damage the fabric of the building’. See Christie Carson and Farah Karim-Cooper, ed., Shakespeare’s Globe: a Theatrical Experiment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 236.
7. These definitions are all taken from the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.
10. ‘You have to tell big stories here’, Guardian, 15 April 2009.
11. ‘End of Season Interview’ (Shakespeare’s Globe, 2008). These interviews (upon which much of my work here depends) are conducted at the end of every season by Globe Education’s Research Team and transcripts are held in the Globe’s Library and Archive.
12. ‘End of Season Interview’ (Shakespeare’s Globe, 2006).
13. Of course the conventions of upstage and downstage are ill suited to the Globe for both practical and historical reasons, but I’m using them here because the Globe’s directors do (and for want of better terminology).
15. Quotations from these directors are taken from the ‘End of Season Interviews’ (Shakespeare’s Globe, 2008).
16. The productions, which haven’t altered the space in the years since Dromgoole’s first season in 2006, were John Dove’s 2006 production of Howard Brenton’s In Extremis, Roxana Silbert’s 2006 production of Simon Bent’s Under the Black Flag and Wilson Milam’s 2007 Othello. Not including touring productions, there were 23 productions at the Globe before the 2010 season opened, and at the time of writing there have been 27, so currently about 90 per cent of the productions since 2006 have rebuilt the stage.
18. Perhaps the point doesn’t merit pressure, but this seems an odd turn of phrase for someone who runs a historical reconstruction since it implies that the dead are likely to be wrong and can thankfully be ignored.
19. Munby’s claim reiterates Dromgoole’s of the year before, when he justified ‘moving actors off the stage so they are in a position where they can pivot easily and catch the entirety of the audience’ (‘End of Season Interview’, Shakespeare’s Globe, 2007). My objection to Munby’s assertion also pertains to Dromgoole’s: the actors ‘can pivot easily’, but the evidence of his 2007 Love’s Labour’s Lost is that they didn’t.
21. Expenses are not only incurred by constructing the sets in the first place but also maintaining them, storing them, and paying a large crew to dismantle and erect them in the turnaround time between performances. The figures for expenditure published in the Globe’s Annual Reviews do not, however, provide enough detail to put a figure on the cost of this policy.
25. Ibid., p. 56.
26. As I write, four productions in the Globe’s 2010 season have opened to the public: Macbeth, Henry VIII, and Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2. All of them continue the pattern of building on to the stage.
27. Sennett, p. 125.